

THE UPRISING IN KASHMIR: A REEXAMINATION

By

Abu Taher Salahuddin Ahmed

THESIS

Submitted to
School of Public Policy and Management, KDI
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Master of International Relations and Political Economy

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is mainly about the Kashmiri Muslims' uprising in India in 1989. The uprising is viewed as the internal conflict between the Indian state's bad policies to repress the Muslim ethnic group in Kashmir and the Kashmiris' challenge against such an authority of India. The puzzles that this thesis raises: Why did the uprising break out? As it broke out, why did it break out in 1989, and not before? The study identifies both underlying causes and triggering causes of the uprising. The central argument is that the current dimension of the Kashmiri uprising is the continuation of the past, and therefore, the end-result of the Indian government endemic "misrule" (underlying macro-political causal factor) in Kashmir. This, in turn, created sufficient grounds to assert their (Kashmiri Muslim) *distinct separate Muslim identity* (ethno-religious factor) making Kashmir a case of *enthnonationalism*. Enthnonationalism took roots because they sensed that they were relatively deprived from their rights and share. This sense of *relative deprivation* (economic and political factors) led to increasing ethnic/political mobilization (triggering micro-political causal factor) among Kashmiris, especially within the new-generation. Their awakening to the realization of relative deprivation and their efforts towards ethnic/political mobilization were made possible by high rate of literacy among the Kashmiris and their access to media: both audio and video and the "diffusion" effect from the similar incidents happening across the border. Although the current uprising is chiefly driven internally by the Indian elite's bad policy (Brown's leadership-centric approach), it is also reinforced by external factors. The external factors included the successful

Iranian Revolution of 1979 (cultural/religious factor), the rise of the Palestinian *Intifada* movement and the eventual establishment of the Palestinian state (religio-cultural factor), the Soviet fiasco in Afghanistan (political factor), the ethnic-based uprising in the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia (ethnonationalism factor), and more important, the Pakistani support (bad neighbor policy) for the Kashmiri rebels. These external factors were tangential to the uprising. The causal direction was bi-directional and not unidirectional. However, now that the *genie*, the uprising, has come out of the bottle, it will keep bedeviling the bilateral relations of India and Pakistan. The Kargil crisis of 1999 amply testified that. The 1989 uprising has transformed Kashmir into a new and ongoing area of conflict in which India, Pakistan, and the Kashmiri people all have a stake.

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In memory of my late Ma, Anwara Ahmed

and

For my Baba, Seraz Ud-Din Ahmed

and

For my niece, Tanima Ahmed

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Central Library of Korea, Seoul and helped me by borrowing books for me in their cards from the university library. I am thankful to them. Also, I am indebted to our family friend, Professor Denis Wright, New England University, Armidale, Australia, for clarifying me some points on the issue of Islam in South Asia. Thanks are due to the Director General of the Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BIISS), Dhaka, and its Research Director, for their initial encouragement. It is time that I recall thankfully and fondly my debt to Mr. Shamsur Rahman, my colleague at BIISS, and a 1998 brilliant student of KDI School, for inducing me to apply at KDI School. The library members of BIISS, especially Mr. Nasir Ahmed, deserve special thanks for quickly sending me many valuable articles for my thesis. Thanks to Mr. H. K. Ahmed, Assistant Secretary, Bangladesh Ministry of Foreign Affairs for his support. To Mr. Nazrul Islam, Second Secretary (Political), Bangladesh Embassy to Korea, I owe a great deal for the diplomatic bag facilities and other logistic support.

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A CHRONOLOGY OF THE KASHMIR CONFLICT

? to A. D. 741	Pre-Muslim Period
A.D. 711	Beginnings of Islam, Hanmim, a Syrian, was the first Muslim to arrive in Kashmir. Rinchana, a Hindu military commander from Ladakh, re-named Sultan Sadr-ud-Din following his embrace of Islam, became the first Muslim ruler of India.
1320 to 1560 A.C	The Sultans of Kashmir (Kashmir as independent state)
1320	Conversion of Rinchen or Rincana to Islam at the hands of Bulbul Shah. Rinchen becomes Sultan Sadr-ud-Din, the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir.
1324	The first Muslim Mosque in Kashmir known as the Rinchen or Rintan Mosque.
1372	Madrasahs established throughout the Valley for the teaching of the Qur'an and the imparting of Muslim learning.
1846 to 1925 A.C.	The Treaty of Amritsar signed between the British and Gulab Singh. Following this the Dogras rule began in Kashmir as British sold out Kashmir, Gilgit, and Ladakh to Gulab Singh.
1885	Indian National Congress formed.
1906	Muslim League formed by Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

- 1925** Hari Singh succeeds his uncle Pratab Singh as ruler of Jammu and Kashmir.
- 1935** July 13, 1931 Mass agitation against Hari Singh by Kashmiri Muslims led by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah (the Lion of Kashmir).
- 14 August 1947** Mohamman Ali Jinnah sworn in as first Governor-General of Pakistan.
- 15 August 1947** Jawaharlal Nehru sworn in as Prime Minister and Lord Mountbatten as Governor-General of India. People of Gilgit, Hunza, Nagar, and Baltistan revolt and accede to Pakistan.
- 22 October 1947** Tribesmen from Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan help fellow Muslims liberate Jammu and Kashmir from Hari Singh's rule. Nehru calls them invaders.
- 25 October 1947** V. P. Menon dispatched to Srinagar by Mountbatten to ask the Maharaja to accede to India. The Maharaja and his family abandoned capital and take refuge in Jammu.
- 26 October 1947** The Maharaja Hari Sing signs the Instrument of Accession.
- 27 October 1947** Mountbatten accepts the accession. Indian army intervenes in Kashmir.

- 1 January 1948** Nehru internationalized the Kashmiri conflict taking it to the United Nations and filed a complaint against Pakistan there.
- 1948** India withholds Pakistan's share of post partition development funds. Sardar Patel warns that "until Kashmir issue is settled, the financial pact between India and Pakistan cannot be implemented," and says that Kashmir belongs to India. Gandhi goes on "fast unto death" to pressure India to release Pakistan's share of money.
- April 1948** A UN Security Council resolution calls for the withdrawal of Pakistani forces from Kashmir and the holding of a plebiscite, with a choice between accession to India and Pakistan..
- 1 January 1949** India and Pakistan accept UN cease-fire line that divides Jammu and Kashmir. Approximately one-third of the state becomes Azad Kashmir (in Pakistan) and two-thirds becomes the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir. Nehru reaffirms the pledge for Kashmiri self-determination through an internationally supervised plebiscite. Patel indicts the UN for mishandling Kashmir issue. Says "We accepted the UN

- Commission's cease-fire proposal but the other party did not."
- 16 October 1951** Liaquat Ali Khan, first Prime Minister of Pakistan assassinated. Khawaja Nazimuddin takes over as Prime Minister.
- 1954** Pakistan signs mutual defence agreement with the United States. Indians argue "that the circumstances in Kashmir have changed so completely that the original offer for a plebiscite is no longer valid. India accepts the Kashmir constituent assembly's vote of accession equivalent to a plebiscite." Pakistan protests in the United Nations that India is trying to usurp Kashmir.
- 1955** Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir adopts constitution that specifies the "state of Jammu and Kashmir is and shall be an integral part of the Indian Union."
- 25 May 1964** Sheikh Abdullah released from Jail and dispatched to Pakistan by Nehru to open negotiation.
- 27 May 1964** Nehru dies suddenly. Lal Bahadur Shastri succeeds as Prime Minister. Moi-Mubarak the holy relic of the Prophet Mohammad (SM) was stolen from Hazrat Bal Shrine. Massive unrest and demonstration in Jammu and Kashmir.

- 23 April 1965** India and Pakistan fight a key battle in the Rann of Kutch leading to India-Pakistan War of 1965 over Kashmir.
- 8 May 1965** Sheikh Abdullah and Miraz Afzal Beg arrested and interned in South India.
- 14 June 1965** Indian Prime Minister Shastri alleges that 3,000 to 4,000 Pakistani infiltrators are in Kashmir and warns that India will respond if the “aggression” continues.
- 6 September 1965** Second India-Pakistan war begins. India attacks several points in West Pakistan, including the city of Lahore.
- 23 September 1965** India and Pakistan accept a cease-fire following a resolution passed by the Security Council of the UN.
- 10 January 1966** President Ayub Khan of Pakistan and Prime Minister Shastri of India sign the Tashkent Declaration “affirming their obligation not to use force and [to] settle their disputes through peaceful means.” Leadership of the Soviet Union instrumental in the signing of the Tashkent Declaration.
- 7 January 1971** Sheikh Abdullah and his son-in-law barred from Kashmir, to keep them away from elections scheduled in March 1971.
- 12 January 1971** Plebiscite Front declared an illegal organization.
- 9 August 1971** Indo-Soviet Treaty signed.

- 16 November 1971** Indian troops move into East Pakistan and begin advance toward Dacca.
- 3 December 1971** Pakistan attacks India to divert its attention from East Pakistan. Third Indo-Pakistan war begins.
- 16 December 1971** Lieutenant General Jagjit Singh Aurora of India accepts surrender in Dacca by Lieutenant General Niazi of Pakistan.
- June 1972** Sheikh Abudullah, Mirza Afzal Beg, and other leaders allowed to return to Kashmir.
- 2 July 1972** Simla Agreement signed by Pakistan Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Indian Premier India Gandhi. The accord confirmed a new line of control in Kashmir and attempted to provide the basis for a “durable peace” between India and Pakistan.
- May 1974** India tests its first nuclear bombs.
- 2 July 1974** Sheikh Abdullah signs Kashmir Accord with Indira Gandhi. Kashmir agrees to continue as a constituent part of India in return for maintaining the terms of Article 370.
- 1 March 1975** Pakistan lodges a protest in the UN that Kashmir Accord violates the Simal Agreement.
- April 1975** Sheikh Abdullah drift from Kashmir Accord and talks about merger of his state with Azad Kashmir.

August 1981 National Conference leadership passes from Sheikh Abdullah to his son Farooq Abdullah.

September 1982 Sheikh Abdullah dies.

1972 to 1982 Periodic shooting across the cease-fire line but relatively little agitation in either Azad Kashmir or the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir.

May 1984 Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah dismissed and replaced by pro-Congress government headed by Ghulam Mohammad Shah, Farooq's brother-in-law and chief rival. The opposition parties—save for Congress allied AIADMK—condemn the “undemocratic removal” of Farooq Abdullah and his replacement by Shah. Farooq Abdullah latter forms a National Conference Congress coalition state government.

1985 to 1989 Uprising by Kashmiri Muslims in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir.

July 1989 Boycott of elections by Muslim population.

1989 Governor Jagmohan replaces the incumbent Governor. Farooq Abdullah resigns. President's rule imposed, and a crackdown on militants leaves 35 dead and 400 wounded. Mirwaiz Farooq assassinated. His death

- eliminates one of Kashmir's most deeply revered and respected leaders. Militant protests continue.
- May 1998** India tests five nuclear devices; Pakistan answers by testing six; International sanctions are imposed on both states.
- January 1990** Government of Pakistan raised Kashmir issue with foreign dignitaries visiting Pakistan.
- 1990** Protests and police crackdown continues. In Azad Kashmir, marchers attempt to reach the border to support protests on the Indian side. The government of Pakistan tries to maintain control by detaining leaders of the march.
- 1991** Protests continue in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir. The government of Pakistan considers the Kashmir issue as "a factor in its security environment."
- 2 April 1993** Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front and Hizbul Mujahideen sign an accord to unite their forces for the liberation of Kashmir. Protests continue and human rights violations intensify.
- October 1994** Backed by the Organization of Islamic Countries, Pakistan attempts to raise Kashmir issue at the UN. India strongly opposes the move.

February 1999	In the Lahore Declaration, India and Pakistan argue to discuss Kashmir and take steps to avoid the risk of nuclear war.
May/June 1999	The Kargil Crisis erupted pushing Pakistan and India on the threshold of fourth war on Kashmir issue
December 1999	Indian Air Line Plane was hijacked by the militants. Freeing of three Kashmiri rebels was demanded.
January 2000	Indian government accepts the condition; the passengers are freed.

I do not suggest that the Hindus and the Mahmedans will never fight. Two brothers living together often do so. We shall sometimes have our heads broken. Such a thing ought not to be necessary but all men are not equi-minded.

-Mahatma K. Gandhi, *Hind Swarj and other writings*, Anthony J. Parel (ed.), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997): 57

Indian nationalism was dominated by Hindus and had a Hindunised look. So a conflict arose in the Muslim mind. Many accepted that nationalism, trying to influence it in the direction of their choice, many symphised with it . . . and yet many others began to drift in a separatist direction

-Jawaharlal Nehru, *Discovery of India*, (London, Meridan, 1960): 304

In this Alice-in-Wonderland world in which nation usually means state, in which nationalism usually means loyalty to the state, and in which ethnicity, primordialism, pluralism, tribalism, regionalism, communalism, parochialism and sub-nationalism usually mean loyalty to the nations, it should come as no surprise that the nature of nationalism remains essentially unprobed.

Walker Connor, "A Nation Is a Nation, Is a State, Is an Ethnic Group, Is a . . .," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 1:4 (1978): 396 .

In a global age, one characterized by a global menu, global music and global time, the resurgence of claims to identity might be seen as a response to fear of disappearing into bland sameness. We can drink Coke, eat sushi and watch *Neighbours* and be in practically any country in the world. The fight for identity may at one level, be an example of resistance to such an image of global uni-identity. Alternatively, the struggle for *identity may be a reaffirmation of belonging*, in a postmodern, post-local age. This desire may be fuelled by nostalgia, *a nostalgia for 'tradition', which might be construed as a nostalgia for the nation-state, the icon of modernity*. Identities in this view may be increasingly fluid and multiply at ever more rapid rates as we approach the twenty-first century. But those properties do not make them analytically irrelevant to the international relations analyst. *Who we are, how we are, who defines us, how international processes and events are moulded and manipulated by identities: these are all questions relevant to international politics*. Anyone trying to make sense of international political trends in the near future who treats these maddeningly complex and infuriatingly dynamic identities as a mere mosquito to be swatted away risks being surprised (emphasis added).

- Marysia Zalewski and Cynthia Enloe, "Questions About Identity," in Ken Booth and Steve Smith (eds.) *International Relations Theory Today* (Cambridge: Polity Press, the UK, 1995): 302.

Geographically, economically, culturally, and religiously, Kashmir is a part of Pakistan. The overwhelming Muslim character of its population, its strategic position in relation to Pakistan, the flow of its rivers, the direction of its roads, the channels of its trade, the continual and intimate association which blinds it to the people of Pakistan from times immemorial, link Kashmir indissolubly with Pakistan.

-Speech by Liaquat Ali Khan, first Prime Minister of Pakistan, Constituent Assembly (L) of Pakistan, 19 January 1959 as quoted in Sisir Gupta, *Kashmir: A Study in India-Pakistan Relations*, (New Delhi: Indian Council of World Affairs, 1998 (reprint), 1996 (first edition): 441.

We cannot and we will not leave Kashmir to its fate. The fate of Kashmir was tied to the fate of Nehru family, their intertwined destiny—the fact is that Kashmir is of the most vital significance to India. There lies the rubWe have to see it through to the end. Kashmir is going to be a drain on our resources but it is going to be a great drain on Pakistan.

-Jawaharlal Nehru, first Prime Minister of India, Stanley Walpert, *Nehru* quoted in Brigadier (Retd.) M. Shafi Khan, *Kashmir: The Accession to India: A Fraud* (Lahore: Kashmir Study Centre, Pakistan, 1999): 424.

I. INTRODUCTION

The Muslim rulers administered Kashmir for about five hundred years. With the accession of Kashmir to India by Maharaja Hari Singh in 1947, it became a bone of contention between Pakistan and India just right after their birth in 1947. In the fifty-three years of their history, India and Pakistan have fought three wars in 1947-48, 1965, and 1971. Kashmir was the *casus belli* of the first two. To date, both hold a diametrically opposed view on Kashmir. The Pakistani official view of Kashmir is that it is “an unfinished mission” that has been put “on the back burner by the Indian government,”

and consequently, “the uprising was inevitable.”¹ The Indian official line is that Kashmir has become “a finished chapter” long time ago, and therefore, “it is no longer a core issue” between Pakistan and India.² To India, Kashmir’s accession to it was legal, and hence it views Kashmir as an integral part of it. Consequently, to the Indian government, Kashmir is nonnegotiable. By contrast, to the Pakistani government, the accession was totally illegal, and therefore it remains a disputed territory.³ For New Delhi, Kashmir is the only case through which it can vindicate its secularism. For Islamabad, it cannot substantiate its two-nation theory (Muslims and Hindus are two different nations and cannot coexist with each other) unless Kashmir becomes a part of it. Thus, right from the beginning a strong sense of irredentism kept ringing to the Pakistani ruling elite psyche. It became more virulent and exposed when Pakistan lost its eastern part, called East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), in its third war with India in 1971. Because of these opposed views, a siege mentality of zero-sum game (where my gain is your loss and vice versa) prevailed upon their dealings of the issue.

The characteristic feature that distinguishes the current Kashmir conflict is the direct involvement of the Kashmiri people with the conflict. Before the uprising of the early 1990s, the Kashmiri people were never an active actor to the conflict. Then, Kashmir was essentially a hostage to the bilateral conflict between Pakistan and India. The extent, level

¹ Interview with Mr. Tariq Osman Haider, the Pakistani Ambassador in Seoul 24 February 2000.

² Interview with Mr. Santosh Kumar, the Indian Ambassador in Seoul 25 February 2000.

³ In 1948 when Nehru took the Kashmir issue to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) in an attempt to internationalize it, the UNSC after studying the matter, passed a resolution declaring Kashmir as a disputed territory between India and Pakistan. The UNSC also made it clear in its resolution that the Kashmir conflict would be solved according to the plebiscite. Nehru pledged so, and made a speech at the UNSC where he categorically mentioned that the Kashmir dispute would be resolved according to the “wishes of the people of Kashmir”. Eventually Nehru could not keep his pledge, rather followed a Kashmir

and severity of Kashmiri Muslims' uprising are unique in the contemporary history of India. The April 2 1993 Agreement (Appendix VII) between the pro-Independent Kashmiri rebels the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) and the pro-Pakistani Kashmiri rebels the Hizbul Mujahedeen (HUM) shows the rebels' resolute commitments to attain their *azadi*, meaning freedom. The rebel groups, which have no identical goals and have no uniform profile (see Appendix VIII), have now suicide squads, and in fact, some suicide squad teams reportedly had gotten involved in the rebel activities.⁴

The year 1989, which is considered as the cut-off point of the uprising, was marked by frequent strikes, targeted assassinations, bomb blasts and attacks on government property, thus causing serious political disorder in Kashmir. From 1989 to 1990, Indian press and official media estimated there were 40 to 300, or at most 400 (Rahman, 1996: 151) rebels operating in the Kashmir valley. In August 1990, Governor Saxena estimated them to be 1,500 (Rahman, 1996: 151), but in October of the same year the estimation arose to 4,000 [with another 4,000 waiting to sneak in from across the border] (Rahman, 1996:151). The Chief of Police of India claimed that there were 3,000 rebels at large in the valley, with 3,000 to 8,000 more across the border of Pakistan (Rahman, 1996: 151).

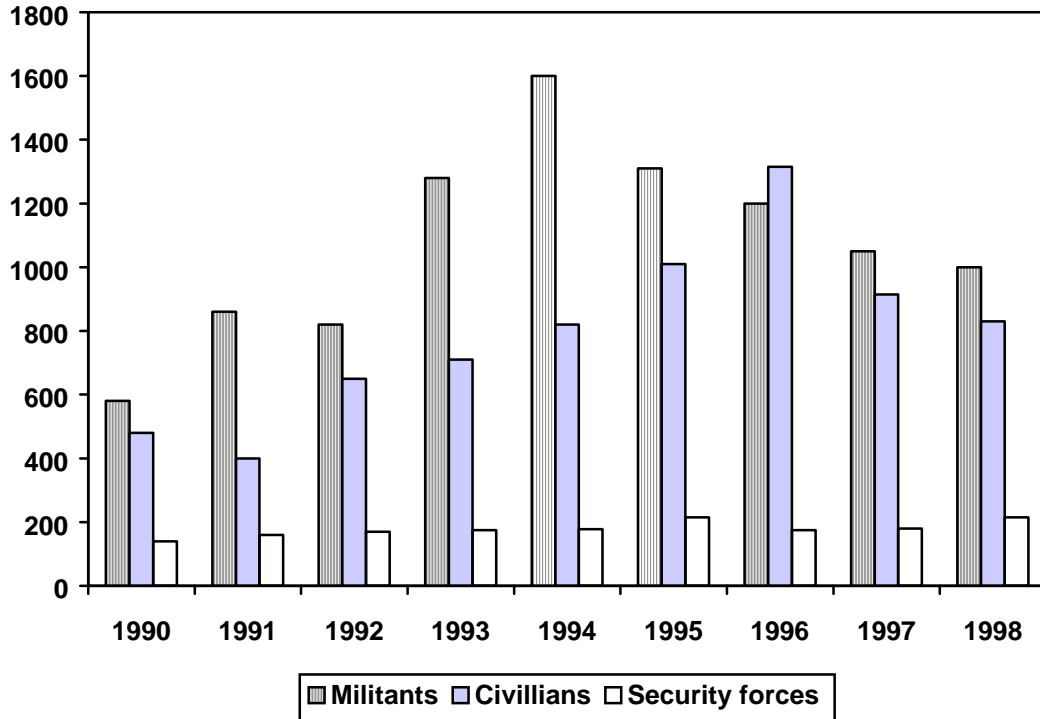
According to press reports, between July 1988 and December 1989, Indian forces killed 300 Kashmiris, including five women students at a college (Rahman, 1996: 152) In

policy that alienated the Kashmiris. For the role of the UN in resolving the Kashmir conflict and the related background, see (Korbel, 1956; Khan, 1956).

⁴WWW. *Deju.com* In South Asia, the Tamils, who are struggling to establish their own separate homeland within Sri Lanka, have a very effective suicide squads. In 1986 the Tamil suicide squads killed Rajiv Gandhi, the Premier of India. So was killed Premadasa in 1989, the President of Sri Lanka. Recently, the current President of Sri Lanka, Chandrika Kumarantanga became the victim of the Tamil suicide squads in

contrast, a total of about 1,000 people were killed and 200 kidnapped by rebels by 18 July 1991 (Rahman, 1996: 152). The cumulative casualty has kept rising (Figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1 Causalty



Source: Jammu and Kashmir government, 1998 “India and Pakistan Survey”, in *The Economist*, 22 May 1999: 11

However, the event triggered a huge exodus of over 140,000 Hindus (Schofield, 1996: 245) from the Kashmir valley, making them dubious of their fellow Muslim brothers with whom they lived for centuries in harmony and peace.⁵ On the other hand, the rebels religiously observed a blackout on 14 November, Nehru’s (the first Premier of India) birthday, and on 5 December, Sheikh Abdullah’s (first Premier of Kashmir) birthday to

December 1999 and in January 2000, respectively, causing the loss of her right eyesight and killing a number of people.

display their contempt to these two great leaders because of their betrayals to the Kashmiri cause. By 1989, a number of significant rebel groups had begun operating throughout the valley (mainly through the towns of Srinagar, Anantnag, Baramula and Sopore) with their objective of either complete *azadi*, meaning independence or of merger with Pakistan. Why did such an uprising break out?

Puzzles

The thesis tries mainly to grapple with the twin-puzzle. Why did, first of all, the uprising flare-up after a long period of local indifference? Second, why did it break out in 1989 and not before? To address these twin puzzles, the study raises the following questions: Was the uprising a function of the Indian government's "bad" policy or was it a function of a "bad neighbor's policy" of Pakistan? Conversely, did the causes of the uprising stem from the internal setting or the external setting of India? In other words, was the uprising internally driven or externally driven?

Scope and limitations

The key objective of this thesis is to study the causes of the 1989 Kashmiri Muslims' uprising that broke out in the Indian-part of Kashmir. The uprising has been viewed as the internal conflict between the Indian government (which sees it as a problem of disloyalty) and the Kashmiri Muslims who view the rule of Indian government as a

⁵ It has been maintained by some scholars that the Hindu exodus was intentionally engineered by the Indian government so that it could put the blame on the rebels to tarnish their images in the eye of the

repression of their rights and share. The study chiefly underscores the *origin-dimension* and *time-dimension* of the uprising. It also tries to reflect on the religious and cultural dimension of the uprising. While the above remains the central burden of the current thesis, it argues that the current uprising is a continuation of the past.

This study is not a comprehensive history of the Kashmir conflict that surfaced in 1947 when India and Pakistan were born. It does not aim at dealing with the solutions of the conflict either. Nor does it look at the options that India and Pakistan might have in the absence of the satisfactory resolution of the conflict. Although the thesis does not deal with the prospects of the resolution of the conflict, it does offer some policy implications for both India and Pakistan and for the South Asian region as a whole.

Importance

The importance of the study is enormous in the context of both regional and extra-regional politics. In International Relations the subject of internal conflicts of the states has always been a matter of scholarly interest because they have their far-reaching implications for the states confronting such conflicts and the external powers which get drawn to them. If the internal conflicts were once mainly viewed as the Third World phenomena, with the outbreak of the ethnic conflicts in Europe in the aftermath of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union, that notion had become a thing of the past (Tables 1.1 and 1.2).

international community (see Rahman, 1996).

Table 1.1 Secession Efforts

Region	Sovereignty	Affiliation To
Aceh	Indonesia	
Assam/Manipur/Nagaland /Punjab/Kashmir	India	
Basque regions	Spain/France	
Bougainville	Papua New Guinea	
Cabinda	Angola	Zaire
Casamance	Senegal	
Catalonia	Spain	
Corsica	France	
Karen people	Myanmar (Burma)	
Kurdistan	Iraq/Iran/Turkey/Azerbaijan	
Mindanao	Philippines	
Northern Italy	Italy	
Oromo	Ethiopia	
Quebec	Canada	
Scotland	Britain	
Southern Sudan	Sudan	
Tamil Eelam	Srilanka	India
Zanzibar	Tanzania	

Source: Karin von Hippel, “The Resurgence of Nationalism and its International Implications,” *The Washington Quarterly*, 17:4 (Autumn1994): 192.

Table 1.2 Irredentist Efforts

Region	Sovereignty	AffiliationTo/Also Claimed By
Beize	Belize, & UK	Guatemala/Mexico
Ceuta (Sebta) & Melilla Falklands, South Gerogia, & South Sanwich Is.	Spain	
(Malvinas Is.)	Britain	Argentina
Gibraltar	Britain	Spain
Golan Heights	Israel	Syria
Guantanamo	United States	Cuba
Hatay	Turkey	Syria
Kashmir	India	Pakistan/China
Kurile Is.	Russia	Japan
Kuwait	Kuwait	Iraq
Lebanon	Lebanon	Syria
Mayotte	France	Comoros
Northern Ireland	Britain	Republic of Ireland
Ogaden	Ethiopia	Somalia
Taiwan	Taiwan	China
West Bank & East Jerusalem (Palestine)	Israel	Jordan/Palestinian people
Spartely & Paracel Is.	China/Vietnam	Taiwan/Malaysia/Philip pines/Brunei

Source: Karin von Hippel, “The Resurgence of Nationalism and its International Implications,” *The Washington Quarterly*, 17:4 (Autumn1994): 192.

Currently, growing scholarly literature reflects the renewed interest in ethnic conflict both in the Third World and in Europe (Brown, 1996; 1996-197; Ganguly, 1997; 1993: 88-109; Hippel, 1994: 185-200; Lake and Rothchild, 1998; Janke, 1996; Malik, 1992; 203-214; Morris-hale, 1996; Posen, 1993: 27-47; 1996; Sadowski, 1998:12-23; Smith, 1991, 1986; 1981; Smith, 1996; Weiner, 1993: 317-333).

To India and Pakistan Kashmir is a life and death question. The 1989 uprising has further complicated the process. The Indian government spends US \$ 1 million a day to maintain Indian outposts on the Siachen Glacier⁶, the world's highest battlefield where India and Pakistan are confronting each other since 1984 (Singh, 1999e: 23).⁷ Although Pakistan spends lesser sums compared to India, it spends close to 38 percent of its budget on defence (Ganguly, 1998: 30). For Islamabad it is too burdensome. Furthermore, the Kashmir issue has never been boxed within the bilateral framework of India-Pakistan relations. It has drawn external powers to the subcontinental politics vitiating the political landscape of the region (Ahmed, 1989: 3; 1986: 6; also Cheema, 1992; Cohen, 1991; Choudhury, 1968; Gupta, 1956 [1995]; Malik, 1992; Rizvi, 1997; 1995a; 1995b). The issue remains a potential flash-point of war between India and Pakistan on the one hand, and a source of misunderstanding between them and the external powers, especially, the United States of America, on the other (Chintamoni, 1997: 987-997; Lamb, 1992; Hussain, 1992; Mehta, 1992; Harrison, 1992: 99-105).

⁶ Siachen Glacier is strategically a very vital area for Pakistan and India. China also thinks it important for it, and both India and China have a long-drawn dispute on it. For details, (Ahmed, 1996: 100-115; 1994a: 355-390).

From the developmental perspective, the Kashmir conflict has its deleterious effect on the economy of both Pakistan and India whose record of human development according to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) human development index is worse (Table 1.3). Also worse is the level of poverty in the South Asian region compared to other regions (Table 1.4).

Table 1.3 South Asia's Picture on Human Development Index

Country	Rank Number	Value
Sri Lanka	75	0.665
Pakistan	120	0.311
India	123	0.308
Bangladesh	126	0.186
Afghanistan	157	0.069

Source: United Nations, *Human Development Report 1991*

Note: All the listed countries experiencing acute ethnic conflicts of one kind or another excepting Bangladesh which has resolved its Chakma ethnic problem in 1996.

Table: 1.4 Regional Distribution of Poverty, 1985-2000

(Figure in million)

Region	1985	2000
South Asia	500	350
Sub-Sahara	175	250
East Asia	225	50
Europe, Middle East	50	50
Americas	75	50

Source: The World Bank, *Human Development Report 1990*, and *Human Development Report 1992*

⁷ India plans to spend up to US \$3.5 million a day on deploying an extra 25,000 troops on a permanent basis in Kargil (Sing, 1999e: 23).

Both the Pakistani and the Indian Ambassadors in Seoul, who underscored this point, hold that development programs in their respective countries are bound to suffer unless something is done about it.⁸ Doubtless that the Kashmir conflict shifts the attention of India and Pakistan from the developmental issues to the conflict one engaging them in a never-ending arms race (Ahmed, 1986; Ganguly, 1999; Gupta, 1996; Malik, 1992; Rizvi, 1993; Rahman, 1996).

The nuclearization of South Asia has further exacerbated the problem, heightening the U.S. concern as it has failed to stop ballistic missile race between India and Pakistan (Ahmed, 1999; Bracken, 2000; Ganguly 1999; Perkovich, 1998). The fact that both New Delhi and Islamabad fought three wars (two on Kashmir) and the recent crises that erupted in 1984, 1987, 1994, and 1999 (the Kargil crisis)⁹ centering on the Kashmir conflict speak in volume the importance of the subject.

Findings

Although it has been found that the uprising was a function of both internal and external factors, it had mainly been caused by the Indian government's bad policy (underlying cause) vis-à-vis the Muslim ethnic population in Kashmir. Factors such as relative deprivation, and ethnonationalism were found other underlying causal variables. These

⁸ The author's interview with the Pakistani Ambassador on 24 February 2000, and the Indian Ambassador on 25 February 2000.

⁹ For implications of the Kargil crisis for Pakistan's domestic politics, and the peace and stability of the region see (Singh, 2000: 14; 1999a: 25-26; 1999b: 31; 1999c: 16-19; 1999d: 26; 1999e: 22-23; 1999f: 24-25; 1999g: 26-27).

underlying factors (excepting the ethnonationalism factor that has its external dimension too) also emanated from the internal setting of India. The key triggering factors such as ethnic/political mobilization and institutional/political decay and the most immediate catalyst triggering factors such as the 1985 Rajiv-Farooq Abdullah electoral alliance and the electoral wrongdoing in the 1987 and the 1989 elections were also found emanated from the internal setting. The external causal factors seemed tangential in that they could not explain the *time-dimension of the origin* of the Kashmiri uprising.

Contribution

Using both first and second hand sources as well as some interviews, the thesis arguably has few different contributions to note. *First*, it applies an integrative theoretical approach to understand and explain the 1989 uprising as a phenomenon of conflict within the states, an exercise slighted by the scholarly research so far. *Second*, it applies the Brown leadership-centric and bad neighbor-centric approach to explain the uprising as an internal conflict. The scholars have ignored this aspect too. *Third*, it makes a specific case of Kashmiri ethnonationalism underscoring the resurgence of their distinct separate Muslim identity. This aspect also figures little in the recent analysis of the problem. *Fourth*, it tries to offer a balanced treatment of both internal and external variables that are responsible for the outbreak of the uprising, Existing approaches focuses only on the internal dynamics.

Organization

The thesis has been organized as follows. An attempt is made to look at the brief history of Kashmir conflict in section II. Section III focuses on literature review underscoring an integrated conceptual framework to explain and understand the 1989 uprising. Section IV offers the causal explanations of the uprising. Summary, conclusions, and the policy implications are given in section V.

And let me make it clear that it has been our policy all along that where there is a dispute about the accession of a state to either Dominion, the accession must be made by the people of that state.

- Jawaharlal Nehru, Broadcast to the Nation: *All India Radio*, 2 November, 1947.

We will not rest until the remaining part of Kashmir is secured. We are being threatened with a nuclear attack. Do they understand what this means? If they think we will wait for them to drop a bomb and face destruction, they are mistaken.

-Atal Behari Vajpayee, the current Indian Premier. quoted in David Gardne, "Clinton visit spurs tension in South Asia," *Financial Times* (London), Wednesday, February 9, 2000: 4.

I have said very clearly that nuclear weapons should not be used. However, when our national integrity is threatened, then we will take a decision at that time; we will take decision when the occasion arises.

- General Parveez Musharaf, the current military ruler of Pakistan. Quoted in David Gardne, "Clinton visit spurs tension in South Asia," *Financial Times* (London), Wednesday, February 9, 2000: 4.

II. BACKGROUND OF THE KASHMIR CONFLICT

The pre-1947 Kashmir

Kashmir,¹⁰ which has a long kaleidoscopic history, had been chronically subjected to Hindu and Buddhist rule, Muslim rule, Chaks rule (Muslim), Sikh rule, and Dogra rule

¹⁰ One theory maintains, Kashmir owes its name to a Semitic tribe, the *Kash*, who founded the cities of *Kash*, Kashan and Kashgar in Central Asia. Another theory contends that the old name of Kashmir was *saitasaras*, which means a land from which water (*kra*) was brought by winds (*samira*). Yet another account contends that the name Kashmir is a compound Prakrit word in which *kas*, meaning "channel" and *mar*, meaning mountain (Sufi, 1974: 12)

(Appendix I and Chronology). The early history of Kashmir was written in Sanskrit (later on in Persian) by a famous historian-poet, Kalhana who gave an account of Kashmir's history from 1182 B. C. in his masterpiece *Rajatarangini*¹¹. Kalhana writes that the Nagas, a tribal people worshipped serpent-deities, a practice that continued in the valley until the end of the sixteenth century. G. M. D. Sufi (1974) in his seminal two-volume work documents the socio-cultural and religious evolution of Kashmir with a focus on the spread of Islam in Kashmir.

Kashmir, which was ruled by a host of kings belonging to different religions, went through a process of constant metamorphosis. The Muslim rule, which lasted for 499 years (Sufi, 1974: xxvi; also see Appendix I, and Chronology), left an impressive indelible mark to the entire matrix of Kashmir's socio-cultural and religious mosaic. The most authoritative accounts, which are also the predominant view, portray Kashmir as a nation of diversity in unity (Kalhana, 1991; Sufi, 1974). The characteristic feature that marks it off from other parts of modern India is that in Kashmir a Hindu visits a Muslim's *mazar sharif* (shrine) and vice versa. Significantly, the Kashmiri *pandits* and the Muslim have the same food habit and they wear the same kind of clothes. The people of Ladakh (culturally more akin to the Tibetans) of Kashmir do say their prayer on Friday as the Muslims do. Rinchan or Rinchna, a contemporary of Edward III of England, who was a Hindu Ladakhi Buddhist Prince was converted to Islam. After conversion he took the Muslim name, Sadar-Ud-din (Sufi, 1974: 80). With him the Muslim rule in Kashmir began and lasted for about five hundred years without a break.

¹¹ Kalhana's *Rajatarangini, Saga of the Kings of Kashmir*, tr. R. S. Pandit (1991)

However, the modern history of Kashmir began with the conquest of Kashmir by the Great Mughal Emperor Akbar in 1586 (Chronology). With the signing of the Treaty of Amritsar on 15 March 1846 between Gulab Singh and the British, Kashmir became a possession of the former who bought it from the latter for a paltry sum of 7.5 million rupees (Appendix II, Article 3).¹² The Hindu rule under the Dogra dynasty became well established with the Treaty of Amritsar. The Dogra ruled Kashmir until 1947 when the British India was divided into two parts and India and Pakistan emerged as two separate states.

The post-1947 Kashmir

Before the partition of British India on 14 August 1947, 564 princely states joined either India or Pakistan, in keeping with their geographic compulsions. Only three states, (1) Junagadh, (2) Hyderabad, and (3) Jammu and Kashmir joined neither India nor Pakistan. In these states, the rulers belonged to a religion different from that of the majority of their people. In Junagadh and Hyderabad the rulers were Muslim but the majority of the people were non-Muslims; in Jammu and Kashmir the ruler was a Hindu (named, the Maharaja Hari Singh, the successor of Gulab Singh) and the overwhelming majority of his people were Muslims (about 75 percent). Later, the percentage of the Muslims population went up. Table 2.1 and figures 2.1 and 2.2 show the break down of the population of Jammu and Kashmir by region and religion.

¹² Two hundred thirty five thousand US dollars.

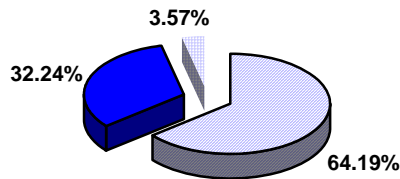
Table 2.1 Population of Jammu and Kashmir, 1981
(Figure in millions and percentage)

Region	Population	Total	Muslims	Hindus	Others
Kashmir Valley	3,134,904	52.36	94.96	4.59	0.05
Jammu	2,718,113	45.39	29.60	66.25	4.15
Ladakah	134,372	2.25	46.04	2.66	51.30*
Total	5,987,389	100	64.19	32.24	3.57

Source: Government of India, *Census of 1981*.

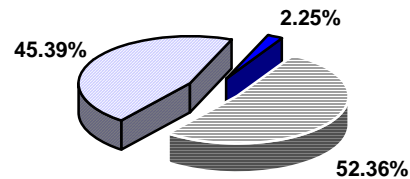
Note: * Buddhist; More recent data are not available

Figure 2.1 Population of Jammu & Kashmir: Religion-wise, 1981



□ Muslims ■ Hindus ▨ Others

Figure 2.2 Population of Jammu & Kashmir: Region-wise, 1981



▨ Kashmir Valley □ Jammu ■ Ladakah

The accession issue constituted the key source of conflict between India and Pakistan, and they developed two rival versions of history, making Kashmir a disputed territory. However, when finally the Maharaja of Kashmir Hari Singh acceded to India, some tribal men from Pakistan made entry into Kashmir in an attempt to foster an uprising in Kashmir. Hari Sing sought the assistance of India to salvage Kashmir from the imminent attack of the tribal people. Nehru, the first Premier of independent India was willing to

offer help conditionally. The condition was that Maharaja Hari Sing would require join India before Nehru could airlift the Indian army into Kashmir. Initially indecisive, Hari Singh was constrained by the turn of the events to accede to India. The heart of the Kashmir conflict lies in the legal validity of Hari Singh's accession to India. Put it simply, for India, it was entirely legal; in contrast, to Pakistan it was not. Since then two versions of the history of modern Kashmir began to be portrayed by scholars (Akbar, 1985; Bazaz, 1954; Brecher, 1949; Cohen 1994; Engineer, 1992; Ferguson, 1961; Gupta 1969; Gupta, 1966; Hewitt, 1995; Jaisingh, 1996; Jha, 1996; Lamb; 1994; 1992, 1966; Kadian, 1993; Khan, 1999; Khan 1990; Khan, 1968; Korbel, 1954; Lawrence, 1985; Madohk, 1949; Schofield, 1996; and Wakefield, 1975).

Jha's work, *Kashmir, 1947: Rival Versions of History*, two important books by Lamb, *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy 1846-1990*, and *Birth of a Tragedy: Kashmir 1947*, Khan's mini-volume, *Kashmir: The Accession to India: A Fraud*, Schofield's volume, *Kashmir: In the Crossfire*, and Hewitt's book, *Reclaiming the Past?: The Search for Political and Cultural Unity in Contemporary Jammu and Kashmir*, give fresh and updated history from the past to the current uprising. Jha's analysis represents the Indian official viewpoint, while Lamb's two volumes and Khan's one uphold the Pakistani official view. Schofield's work, and Hewitt's one take no side.

In *A Disputed Legacy*, Lamb claimed that the British government conspired with the Indian union-to-be to prevent Kashmir's accession to Pakistan because it needed a "vantage point" from which to watch Central Asia (Lamb, 1991: 107). The second

evidence of conspiracy, as Lamb contends, was the boundary commission award of three *tehsils* in Gurdaspur district¹³ to India, despite the district as a whole, and Pathankot Tehsil in particular, which had a slight Muslim majority. This made Jammu and Kashmir contiguous to India and fulfilled the principal requirement giving Kashmir the right of acceding to India. Had this not been done, Kashmir would have been cut-off from India, and lie the North West Frontier Province which had a Congress government elected by large majority in 1946, would have had no option but to accede to Pakistan.

Lamb offers three more evidences to vindicate his claim. The first is letter, described by Lamb as “confused and emotional”, written by Krishna Menon, a close colleague of Nehru, to Lord Mountbatten, the last Constitutional Governor-General of the British India. In the letter Menon warned Mountbatten of serious consequences if Kashmir accedes to Pakistan. Menon feared that Mountbatten’s purpose in going to Kashmir was to persuade Hari Singh to accede to Pakistan in order to make it as strong as possible (Lamb, 1992: 108). The second is a letter from Nehru to Mountbatten urging him to make Hari Singh see reason and release Sheikh Abdullah, whom Nehru believed to be indisputably the most popular leader in Kashmir, from jail. In his letter Nehru pointed out that although the state was 77 percent Muslim, its people would approve of accession to India because of their devotion to Sheikh Abdulah (Lamb, 1992: 108). Lamb’s third evidence is a note Mountbatten made of a communication with Ram Chandra Kak, the *Dewan* or Prime Minister of Kashmir. It was held that Mountbatten was really conveying the message that Kashmir would be well advised to join India as it would keep Hari Sing on his throne,

¹³ This is the only land corridor that connects India with Kashmir.

while Jinnah would ensure that the Maharaja's Muslim subjects would bring about this overthrow.

Pakistan's version of history has become more creditable with the updated evidence that Lamb has furnished. By contrast, Jha attempts to refute Lamb's analysis, and comes up with counter evidence mentioning the fortnightly reports of W. F. Webb, the British political agent in Kashmir, and after his departure on the lapse of paramountcy, by Gen. Scott, the commander of the state forces (Jha, 1996: 13). He makes six counter arguments to discredit Lamb's arguments which Jha believes have been designed to discredit the Indian version of history (Jha, 1996: 11-12).

Under the Indian Independence Act of 1947, a state can accede to either of the dominions by executing an Instrument of Accession by the ruler. To Pakistan's utter astonishment the Maharaja acceded to India. It appears that Indian forces were already in Kashmir before 26 October, whereas the Maharaja signed the instrument of accession on 29 October. Mountbatten had signed it on 27 October. Lamb was the first to point out that the instrument of accession was postdated, as the Indian army was already in Kashmir (Rahman, 1996: 20).

The 1965 India-Pakistan War: Why did not the uprising break out then?

Kashmir was given a special status under the Indian Constitution (Appendix III). The provisions for the special status were laid down in the Article 370 of the Indian Constitution (Appendix IV). Nehru promised to materialize those provisions. In reality, Indian began to act contrary to its declared arrangements just playing on a different tune and becoming authoritarian in its dealings with Kashmir. In 1953 Nehru dismissed Sheikh Abdullah from his Premiership of Kashmir only to silence his voice for long twenty-two years. Nehru, who was pledged-bound to hold plebiscite, could not fulfill his promise owing to the anti-forces that prevented him to give a try on it. By 1958 Kashmir began to be regarded as an integral part of India, and Nehru “lost his personal authority to decide India’s suzerainty over Kashmir” (Rizvi: 1995: 30).

In December 26, 1963 Kashmir saw violent religious agitation on the issue of the theft of the repository of the *moh-e-moqaddas* (a hair of the Prophet Mohammed (SM)) from the Hazratbal mosque in Srinagar. It caused religious protests and demonstrations both in Kashmir and Pakistan (Rizvi, 1993: 50) A qualitatively significant change was effected in 1963 following the replacement of the Article 370 with the Articles 357 and 365 of the Indian Constitution (to be discussed in detail in Section IV). The change gave India all power to decide the fate of Kashmir. This generated severe political agitation both in Kashmir and in Pakistan, as discussed in Section IV. Suffice it to say here, India, oblivious of all democratic norms and ignoring its past commitments to the Kashmiri people, assumed an all-powerful imperialist role in integrating Kashmir to India. Pakistan,

which was always sympathetic to the Kashmiri Muslims, took the religious agitation in Kashmir as signs of pro-Pakistani sentiment (Ganguly, 1992: 205). In 1964 Nehru died. It created a leadership vacuum. In April 1965, India, in the battle of the Rann of Kutch with Pakistan, could not fare well, which emboldened the Pakistani President, General Ayub Khan to show the Pakistani military prowess further by way of carrying out more military offensives against India. Meanwhile, in 1954 Pakistan became the member of South East Asian Treaty organization (SEATO) and the Baghdad Treaty later came to be known as the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). Such developments brought the Cold War right near the door of the region raising the Indian eyebrow (Rizvi, 1993: 55; Ahmed, 1985: 30). In early August the second phase of the “Operation Gibraltar”¹⁴ began. Pakistan’s assumptions for the operation were based on the following strategic calculations: i) that widespread support existed in Indian-held Kashmir for waging a guerrilla campaign; (ii) that India would not be inclined to launch a large-scale military offensive against Pakistani-held Azad Kashmir; and (iii) that India would not cross the international frontier in either the East or in West Pakistan (Khan, 1979 referred to in Rahman, 1996: 110). The freedom fighters began intervening in the worsening situation in Kashmir. Guerrilla activities, sabotage, and ambushes were daily occurrences in Indian-occupied Kashmir by August 1965 (Rahman, 1996: 110). But the uprising could not blossom in full. Why?

The answer has to be sought both from internal and external developments that were prevalent at that time in Kashmir and around the world. Internally there was an absence of ethnic and political mobilization in Kashmir. In addition, there was also an absence of

¹⁴ For the background of the 1965 India-Pakistan war, see (Khan, 1979).

leadership. Abdullah, the leader was totally cut to size, and he was out of political office for twenty-two years. The Bakshi government that was installed by India following the dismissal of Abudullah government was loyal to the New Delhi government. The Bakshi government did not favor the uprising, but rather rebuffed it. Most important, this generation of Kashmir was politically inactive and unconscious (Ganguly, 1992: 206). As this generation of Kashmiri had neither the access to media nor had the high rate of education and literacy, they were not politically conscious about their rights and privileges. Furthermore, they had long-history of maintaining a composite identity: *Kashmiriyat*, a factor that was still holding them together.

Another key internal factor was the absence of the rise of Hindu religious extremism under the leadership of the Hindu nationalist party, Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) in the 1980s. It was wholly a new phenomenon in its current form, a phenomenon that has polarized Muslim-Hindu relationship in the early 1980s, and caused the Indian Muslims to reassert their own collective identity. In the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s, it was rather secularism that was the guiding force and principle both in the Center and Kashmir.

Seen from the external perspective, there was absence of religious reawakening and social movements during that period. As Tessler and Nachtwey, in their 1998 work, "Islam and Attitudes Towards International Conflict," argue, "defying all expectations of modernization theory, the 1970s and 1980s witnessed a reawakening of religious ideas and social movements" (Tessler and Nachtwey, 1998: 619). It was during this time that secularism became a weakening force in India as Nehur's Congress party began to lose

parliamentary majoritarianism in India (Lustick, 1997: 88-117). During this time, excepting the weak and unorganized support of Pakistan, there was no instance of the Iranian Revolution of 1979 to draw a parallel. Also, there was no instance of Afghan resistance movements that drove a mighty superpower, the Soviet Union, from Afghanistan, no instance of the rise of ethno-religious based conflicts in the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, no instance of Palestinian independent state, and the like. As Tessler and Nachtwey contend: “The findings from . . . various studies suggest that religious orientations do play an important role in shaping political attitudes, Furthermore, more often than not, they suggest that religiosity pushes toward a more conservative and nationalistic view of politics and international relations” (Tessler and Nachtwey, 1998: 623). As the Islamic resurgence movement of a current type was a post-Cold War phenomenon, such an element was visibly absent in Kashmir. Thus, neither the internal nor the external dynamics were favorable to go for a full-scale armed uprising by challenging the Indian authority over Kashmir. Consequently, despite the rising discontents among the Kashmiris for the Center’s betrayal to their causes and the support from Pakistan, they deemed that time was not ripe for such an uprising.

Also, the fact that all the assumptions (noted above) on the basis of which Pakistan flexed its muscles proved wrong had its negative implications on the entire course of events. As New Delhi rather launched a full-scale military offensive against Pakistan (Pakistan lacks strategic depth) much to the contrary to the Pakistani strategic calculations, Islamabad became more concerned about its own internal security. Islamabad realized that to keep supporting the uprising movements might prove self-defeating when the fire kept fanning

its flames on its own house. These all explain why Kashmiris did not proceed with the uprising plan, and consequently it was nipped in the bud.

However, the war brought to an end with the active intervention of the Soviet Union, and in Tashkent both India and Pakistan met each other to sign the nine-point Tashkent Agreement (Appendix V) that would guide their future dealing of the Kashmir issue.

The 1971 India-Pakistan War and its Aftermath

Although the 1971 war between India and Pakistan¹⁵ was not fought on the Kashmir issue, it had far-reaching implications for the two. New Delhi, under the Simla Agreement (See Appendix VI) of 1972, compelled Pakistan to accept that henceforth the Kashmir conflict should be treated exclusively as the bilateral issue between them and therefore it should be resolved within the framework of their bilateral relations without any third party mediation.

The 1971 war, in which Pakistan lost its eastern wing, East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), dealt a severe blow to Jinnah's two-nation theory on the basis of which Pakistan came into existence in 1947. This was shock-wave-one to the ruling elite of Pakistan. Shock-wave-two was India's diplomatic and military victory vis-à-vis Pakistan in the war of 1971 out of which New Delhi emerged as a dominant power in South Asia. The ruling elite of Pakistan was bent on revenging on India. The post-1971 war period was increasingly marked by proliferation of an arms race between New Delhi and Islamabad

(Malik, 1995; Rizvi, 1993). The crises of 1987, 1990, the 1989 uprising and the 1999 Kargil crisis in the aftermath of the outbreak of the uprising are the hints of Pakistan's attempts to flex its muscle on the Kashmir issue (Jan, 1999: 699-719; Rashid and et al 1999a: 18-20; 1999b: 26; Rashid, 1999: 27).

Mutual tension and distrust between New Delhi and Islamabad following the outbreak of the 1989 uprising have made the prospects of peace and stability in the region bleak.

III. LITERATURE REVIEW

¹⁵ For the origins of the 1971 India-Pakistan war, see (Ganguly, 1995)

K. Subrahmanyam, a hawk, and the former Defense Advisor of the Indian government and the former Director of Institute of Defence and Strategic Analyses (IDSA), attributes the cause of the uprising to the Pakistani government's involvement and its logistic supports to the Kashmiri militants (Subrahmanyam, 1990: 111-139). The current Director of IDSA, Air Commodore (Retd.) Jasjit Singh and the Indian scholar D. P. Kumar also blame Pakistan for brewing the uprising (Sing, 1992: 6; Kumar, 1992: 116-126).¹⁶ According to this view Pakistan had engineered the uprising by supplying the weapon to the militants, giving them training and by providing them sanctuary. This view argues that Pakistan's involvement to the uprising could be traced back to 1988 when the General Zia-ul Huq, the President of Pakistan with his policy to fanning the religious fundamentalism in Kashmir, masterminded the "Operation Topac" to incite the militant movement in Kashmir. The rationale that they give is that Pakistan, after getting embolden morally by offering its assistance to the Afghan militants who successfully drove away the Soviets from Afghanistan, thought a low-intensity conflict was both militarily cheap and organizationally sustainable as the nuclear capacity of Pakistan and India had created a stand-off condition between the two (Kumar, 1996: 126-127). The Indian Ambassador in Seoul referring to the "Operation Topac" identified the Islamization process of Zia-ul Huq and the Pakistani "proxy war" in Kashmir as the key variable behind the uprising. In his opinion, the strategy of low-intensity conflict is both

¹⁶ Sing claims that more than 60 percent weapons were siphoned off by Pakistan (especially its ISI) to the Kashmiri militants (Singh, 1992: 6).

economically and militarily cheap and strategically feasible.¹⁷ However, it is argued that if Islamabad stops aiding the militants, the uprising will come to an end.

The problem with such an explanation is that it does not offer any scholarly objective analysis of the uprising. It is, at best, partial explanations, and libel on the state-centric propaganda gimmicks. There is no denying the fact that Pakistan's involvement is there. But it is simply fatuous to argue that the Kashmiris grievances are the handiwork of the Pakistan government. On the contrary, it is an act of the Indian government that followed a persistent policy of electoral fraud in Kashmir eventually leading to the institutional and political decay that alienated the Kashmiris. Viewed thus, explanations offered by Subrahmanyam and others are guilty of the sins of commission of sweeping generalization as it overly ignores the Indian government role by bringing the Pakistani involvement on the front burner in causing the uprising.

On the other hand, the government of Pakistan holds that the Indian government's endemic denial of the right to "self-determination" to the Kashmiri people has precipitated the uprising. So the uprising was "an inevitable process."¹⁸ The Pakistani government's view has been reflected in the work published by the Pakistan government-sponsored Islamabad-based strategic think tank. According to that work: "The current

¹⁷ Interview with the Indian Ambassador, 25 February, Seoul, 2000. The Ambassador, however, acknowledged that the uprising has its domestic roots too. Furthermore, while it is generally held that a full length article on the "Operation Topac" was published in the Indian prestigious Indian defence journal, *Indian Defence Review* (July 1989 issue), the Indian Ambassador told me that it was first published in the Pakistani paper. It should be mentioned here that the whole plan of "Operation Topac" was a "fraud" and "concocted" analyses offered by the Indian analysts as a "hypothetical case" – a fact that K. Subrahmanyam later acknowledged. (See, Desmond, 1995: 8). The US-based Indian scholar Ganguly too has highlighted this point in a similar vein (See Ganguly, 1992: footnote 2: 15).

¹⁸ Interview with the Pakistani Ambassado, 24 February 2000.

uprising in Kashmir is the outcome of multiple factors. These include historical betrayals, constitutional despotism, negation of socio-cultural identity, religious discrimination, economic deprivation, and state repression, besides 43 years of misrule and manipulation by Delhi” (Akhtar, 1991: 48).¹⁹

Such explanations suffer from the same problems as those of Subrahmayam’s. First, Akhtar simply slights the Pakistani involvement with and support for the uprising, which is believed to be real. Second, her analysis suffers from coherence in that she does not account for the relative weight that ought to be given to the particular factors that led to the uprising. Third, her claim of “religious discrimination” as a cause for the uprising is a little exaggeration in that the Indian government did not pursue a persistent policy of religious discrimination in Kashmir, for that going to be an anathema for its declared principle of secularism. Seen thus, such explanations are incomplete, and offer little systematic causal explanations of the uprising.

Rahman, a Pakistani and a professor of Cultural Geography at Iowa University, America, has argued in the similar vein of Akhtar’s. He identifies the denial of the right to the self-determination, “ineffective administration”, and “political manipulation” by authorities in India and the state of Jammu and Kashmir as the factors behind the uprising that has assumed “the shape of a classic liberation struggle” (Rahman, 1996: 149). Lamb, the distinguished British historian, offers a detailed historical discourse and identifies the Indian government’s illegitimate accession of Kashmir to India in 1947 and its consistent denial of the right to self-determination as the contributing factors behind the uprising

¹⁹ See, Shaheen Akhtar, *Uprising in Indian-Held Kashmir, op.cit.*,

(Lamb, 1992; 1994). His analysis almost follows suit of Akhtar's. These explanations, (Lamb's discourse is more rich and comprehensive than that of the Rahman's) which are, first of all, are not causal explanations, have more or less same problems as pointed out in the preceding discussion.

Two works, one by a British political scientist, Vernon Hewitt and the other by a U.S.-based Indian medical practitioner, Rajesh Kadian, have given a historical discourse of the uprising. Arguing that "the causes of the crisis remain the same", Hewitt takes a political, socio-economic approach. He then solicits the roots of the origins of the uprising in the "extraordinary degree of political manipulation and central intervention", the "disinterested political elite, lacking the skills and sensitivities needed to manage complex constitutional arrangements" of Kashmir (Hewitt, 1995: 9). To Kadian, the roots of the uprising ought to be solicited in the wrongdoing of the Farooq Abdullah government, Islamic fundamentalist sentiment, and Pakistan interference in the politics of Kashmiri state (Kadian: 1993: 12-20).

Compared to Kadian's, Hewitt's work is methodical and more refreshing. Their pieces are grounded in historical analysis. While Kadian's is more concerned with the strategic issues and options for Pakistan and India in the absence of the resolution of the conflict, Hewitt's is concerned with the ethnic composition (which is very important to understand the problem) of Jammu and Kashmir. Yet none of them offers systematic causal explanations of the phenomenon (Hewitt tries so more than Kadian's); none treats the timing dimension of the problem.

It is worth bearing in mind that the views that the Indian government's repression and betrayal have alienated the Kashmiri eventually causing the uprising have been shared by many other scholars, be they Pakistani, Indian, and Westerners (Desmond, 1995: 5-16; Fernandes, 1992; Newberg, 1995; Rizvi, 1995, 1993; 1992).²⁰

Fernandes, the former minister of Kashmir and currently the Indian defense minister attributed the current uprising to three causes. They are: (i) all-pervasive corruption; (ii) the failure of the government to alleviate economic problems, and (iii) the contrived and fruitless election process that the population has experienced in Kashmir (Fernandes, 1992: 288). Dr. Newberg, a Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment, argues: "The Indian government's interference in Kashmiri politics in the name of India's nationalism and federalism—both quite distant for Kashmiris—has taken its toll. The absence of democracy in Kashmir itself and in its dealings with New Delhi—all in the cause of an Indian security and subcontinental status quo in which the Kashmiris have never felt fully part—have sadly turned dissatisfaction into insurrection" (Newberg, 1996: 2). Rizvi, who taught for a long time at Nuffield College at Oxford, and Warwick University, and is currently the Director of Contemporary Affairs, The Asia Society, a prestigious New York-based think-tank, made the following observation. "It (uprising) is a genuine mass uprising resulting from *socio-economic neglect* and, more importantly, from a

²⁰ An exception is Hari's work. He maintains that it is rather too much concessions given by the Indian ruling elite to the Kashmiris that have created the current problem (Hari, 1992: 26).

commitment among the youth to secure an autonomous Kashmir, independent of both India and Pakistan. . . . The uprising in Kashmir . . . is inspired by a desire to overthrow the existing order”(emphasis added Rizvi, 1993: 80-81; 1992: 34).

Another Indian scholar, Dutta, identifies the following factors responsible for the uprising in Kashmir (also she includes Punjab and the states of the northeast): rising economic aspirations, perception of a threat to their political, economic and cultural interests, a communication gap between the central government and the people of these states, and loss of faith in the central government’s ability and willingness to solve regional problems (Dutta, 1998: 431). The root of Kashmir’s alienation, as Hari Om, a specialist on Kashmir, pointed out recently, lies in “misrule, bureaucratic bungling and the suppression of the legitimate expression of popular will.”²¹

Problems with these shades of explanations are threefold. First, they are mostly atheoretical, historical, itemized, and journalistic accounts of the uprising. None of them attempts in-depth systematic causal explanations putting the uprising in a conceptual framework, let alone, an integrated theoretical framework. Second, they largely fail to address the time-dimension of the origin of the uprising. Third, they are, at times, tinged and laced with emotive feelings.

Ganguly has recently offered causal explanation of the uprising (Ganguly, 1997; 1996-97; 1992a; 1992b). His explanation has much merit. He gives it a scholarly treatment

putting it in a theoretical framework. He has explained the uprising both in terms of underlying causes and proximate causes. While characteristically pedantic and sermonistic in formulation of his explanations claiming that they are the *best* ones, his analysis has also its problems. First, Ganguly's analysis does not take into account the ethnonationalism factor. But it constitutes a powerful explanation of ethnic conflicts around the globe, and not to speak of the Kashmiri case. Conversely, although he offers a theoretical explanation, he fails to take an integrated theoretical framework to explain the uprising, Second, he slights away the theory of relative deprivation. He seems to have assumed that relative deprivation has its economic component merely. His dismissal of economic factor as one of the contributing factors behind the uprising calls for reexamination as he comes with a very little evidences in his favor. Third, he ignores the extra-regional factors that acted as the "diffusion" effect of the uprising. Fourth, he identifies only two independent variables as the underlying causes of the uprising, and what he identified as the underlying causes, could well be identified as the triggering or proximate causes. Fifth, he maintains a studied silence as to the causal flows, meaning Ganguly does not say whether the causal direction of the uprising is unidirectional or bidirectional.

The necessity of an integrated approach

An integrated approach has been used to study the subject. This integrated approach entails the following: ethnonationalism approach; relative deprivation approach; international demonstration effect approach; and leadership-centric approach.

²¹ Quoted in (Jaising, 1995: 26)

Ethnonationalism approach

Nonneorealists and others who do not apply the international theories such as “security dilemma” offer an alternative explanation of the causes of internal conflicts. They identify the key factors such as “identity” “ethnonationalism”, “social structure”, and “self-determinism” as the underlying causes of internal conflicts (Anderson, 1968; Smith, 1991, 1986, 1981; Connor, 1997; 1978, 1973, 1967; Hewitt, 1977; Horowitz, 1977, 1966; Nelson, 1994; Easman, 1994; Heisler, 1977; Punjabi, 1992; Puri, 1995: 55-64; Weiner, 1994; 1993: 317-333; Varshney, 1998, 1992; Yinger, 1994; Zalewski and Enloe, 1996). While adopting the approach of identity and ethnonationalism, some of these work particularly underscoring the emotional and psychological dimensions of ethnonational identity.

The central problem that ethnonationalism poses centers on the point of loyalty versus disloyalty. As Walker Connor cogently puts:

Questions of accommodating ethnonational heterogeneity within a single state revolve about [sic] two loyalties—loyalty to the nation and loyalty to the state—and the relative strength of the two. The great number of bloody separatist movements that have occurred in the past two decades within the first, second, and third world bear ample testimony that when the *two loyalties are seen as being in irreconcilable conflict, loyalty to the state loses out*. But the two need not be so perceived (Connor, 1987: 213 emphasis added).

The problem that has been identified by Connor is more acute in a plural society like India where one witnesses the rise of the extreme Hinduism with the decline of the secular Congress Party in the early 1970s..

Milton J. Yinger, the living leading authority on the subject of ethnicity, encapsulates the problem of India in the following way, “The threat to India as a multi-ethnic, multi-religious state is most easily seen in the Muslim-Hindu conflicts, especially the rise of Hindu nationalism in several settings and *Muslim nationalism in Kashmir*” (emphasis added Yinger, 1994: 284).

Puri, an Indian distinguished scholar and the author of six books on Kashmir, offers the following explanation in relation to the *Kashmiriyat* nationalism. He argues: (Puri, 1995: 27-47; 1993)

“Why were they (Kashmiris) alienated from the Indian mainstream from 1953 to 1975? Yet why did they not respond to Pak-sponsored liberation attempts during the period? Why were they again reconciled to remaining a part of India from 1975, following the Indira-Abdullah Accord, to say, 1987? Why did a sudden insurgency overtake the valley a little later? Why have non-Kashmiri Muslims of the Indian part of the state not joined the ongoing insurgency? Why, despite the dependence on arms supply from, as also the political, moral and diplomatic support of Pakistan, is the rallying slogan of insurgent Kashmir ‘azadi’-freedom—and ‘Pakistan’? The only way this zig-zagging of Kashmir politics can be explained is in terms of the assertion of the Kashmiri identity. The Kashmiri Muslims have reacted against the threat perceived by them to their identity from diverse directions. They do react like any other Muslim community when their religious interests are endangered (Puri, 1992: 56).

Punjabi views that the roots of the causes of the Kashmiri uprising in the breakdown of a composite Kashmiri cultural identity (Punjabi, 1992). Others of the same school view it as because of the conflict between the incompatible nationalist visions (Varshney, 1998; 1992). Punjabi’s central argument is that the Indian government’s bad policy to sustain unpopular government in Kashmir against the democratic consent of the Kashmiris alienated the Muslims population of the valley leading to the break down of the common

traditional bond that held Hindus and Muslims under a common umbrella of ethnonationalism. Such a policy on the part of the Indian government contributed to Kashmiri Muslims to underscore their religious identity, which is one facet of Kashmiri ethnic identity. Varshney accounts the causes of the uprising in competing claims of three variants of nationalism: religious, secular, and ethnic. To him, all three versions of nationalism were compromised, in South Asia in general and Kashmir in particular, in the name of nation-building and political expediency.

Relative deprivation approach

A characteristic feature of a vast number of studies on the ethnic conflict is that it hinges on the theory of “relative deprivation”. That, in turn, is heavily loaded with the concept of income inequality (e.g., Muller and Seligson, 1987: 425-51; Sigleman and Simpson, 1977: 105-28; Weede, 1998: 693-54 in Dudely and Miller, 1998: 77-96).²² Some employ a composite measure of grievances based on economic grievances, social grievances, and political rights and do not find any direct causal link between measures of relative deprivation and ethnic conflict (e.g., Gurr and Mooe, 1997; Lindstrom and Moor, 1995 in Dudely and Miller, 1998)²³. In contrast to them, Dudley and Miller indicate a pronounced effect of political autonomy grievances and political rights grievances on the occurrence and severity of ethnic conflict (Dudley and Miller, 1998: 77-96).

²² There are few exceptions such as Gurr and Moore, Gurr, and Lindstrom and Moor.

²³ Their work revealed the indirect effect.

Ted Gurr has mainly popularized the theory of relative deprivation (Gurr, 1993a; 1993b; 1970; Gurr and Moore, 1997; Gurr and Scarritt, 1989, 375-405 in Dudely and Miller, 1998.). Relative deprivation, as defined by Gurr (1970: 24 in Dudely and Miller, 1998: 80), is a group's "perception of [the] discrepancy between . . . [its] value expectations and . . . [its] value capabilities." Put it differently, it is the difference between what a group believes it should receive and what it believes it will receive. One of the most commonly used indicators of relative deprivation is income inequality.

According to Gurr (1993a: 9 in Dudley and Miller, 1998: 81), "it should be obvious that state response to communal grievances are crucial in shaping the course and outcomes of minority conflicts." The degree to which a state prevents disadvantaged groups from expressing their interests and participating in the selection of leaders have often been hypothesized to influence the propensity of groups to rebel. By far the most common specification of this hypothesis is an inverted U-shaped relationship between the repressiveness of the regime and domestic political violence (Gurr, 1970: 237 in Dudley and Miller, 1998: 88).

Punjabi, Akhter, and Hewitt have looked at the economic deprivation of the Kashmiris as the cause of the uprising. They have solicited the causes of the current uprising in its socio-economic roots (Akhter, 1991; Hewitt, 1995; Punjabi, 1995: 39-54). As Hewitt maintains: "The sheer waste and mismanagement of Jammu and Kashmir's development outlays have ensured a high degree of unemployment, especially among young literate men. Coupled with a degree of *political cynicism*, *the economic hardship of the Valley*

has been one of the contributory factors behind the rise of militancy in the early 1990s” (emphasis added, Hewitt, 1995: 9).

International demonstration effect approach

In the case of group rebellion, the diffusion of conflict can occur for a number of reasons. For example, a group may mobilize to support the rebellion of kindred group either within that state or in an adjoining state. As an evidence of this, Gurr (1993a: 133) points to “generations of Kurdish leaders and fighters in Turkey, Syria, Iraq, and Iran [that] have sustained one another’s political movements.” Diffusion of conflict may also occur because one or more groups believe that the chaos and confusion caused by an ongoing rebellion or civil war represent an opportunity to pursue their own interests (Gurr 1993a: 133 in Dudely and Miller 1998). Hill and Rothchild (1986: 719-720 in Dudely and Miller, 1998) hypothesize that political conflict by one group can serve as an educational tool for other groups: “demonstrations, protests, economic boycotts, and the like are very visible political tools that can be easily copied by others for their own purposes.” In their study of the diffusion of political conflict in Africa and the world, Hill and Rothchild found that conflict was more likely to diffuse to states with a “recent history of domestic strife,” and in countries “where the mass media come under central political controls, a greater level of media development will slow the spread of conflict by offering political elite an important means by which to control the information available about outside discord” (p. 733 in Dudley and Miller, 1998: 92). Similarly, a recent study by Lindstrom and Moor

(1995: 180 in Dudely and Miller, 1998) found that “protest and rebellion . . . in neighboring countries influences mobilization and rebellion by ethnic groups.”

In the context of the Kashmiri uprising the effect of the international demonstration has been indirectly underscored by scholars (Ganguly, 1997; Rahman, 1996; Schofield, 1997).

Leadership-centric approach

Miachel E. Brown has made an in-depth examination of the causes of internal conflicts by taking account a broad spectrum of existing literature on the subject, and then comes up with his own analysis on the topic (Brown, 1996, 1-32 and 571-602; 1996-1997, 3-25). Brown points out that according to the existing literature on the subject one may identify four key clusters of factors that explain the causes of internal conflict within states. They are: 1. Structural factor, 2. Political factors, 3. Economic/social factor, 4. Cultural/Perceptual factor. He lists three main structural factors, four political factors, three economic/social factors, and two cultural/perceptual factors that the existing literature uses to explain the causes of internal conflicts (See Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 The Underlying Causes of Internal Conflict

Structural Factors	Economic/Social Factors
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Weak states	Economic problems
Intra-state security concerns	Discriminatory economic systems
Ethnic geography	Economic development and modernization
Political Factors	Cultural/Perceptual Factors
Discriminatory political institutions	Patterns of cultural discrimination
Exclusionary national ideologies	Problematic group histories
Inter-group politics	
Elite politics	

Source: Michael E Brown., *The International Dimension of Internal Conflict* (ed.) Center for Science and International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge: Massachusetts, 1996): p. 14

However, upon critical scrutiny, Brown notes three strengths and three weaknesses in the existing scholarly literature that explains the causes of internal conflicts. To fill the gap, of the weaknesses, as an alternative he chiefly offers a leader-centric, but also a neighbor-centric approach to explain the causes of internal conflicts.

The existing literature, asserts Brown, offers “a well-rounded set of twelve” structural, political, economic/social, and cultural/perceptual factors that cause internal conflict. He further contends that “if we assume that each of these twelve underlying factors can play a more catalytic role if rapid changes take place in the area in question, then we also have a list of twelve possible proximate causes of internal conflict” (Brown, 1996: 576). See Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 The Underlying and Proximate Causes of Internal Conflict

Underlying Causes	Proximate Causes
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Structural Factors	Structural Factors
Weak-states	Collapsing states
Intra-state security concerns	Changing inter-state military balances
Ethnic geography	Changing demographic patterns
Political Factors	Political Factors
Discriminatory political institutions	Political transitions
Exclusionary national ideologies	Increasingly influential exclusionary ideologies
Inter-group politics	Growing inter-group competitions
Elite politics	Intensifying leadership struggles
Economic/Social Factors	Economic/Social Factors
Economic problems	Mounting economic problems
Discriminatory economic systems	Growing economic inequities
Economic development & modernization	Fast-paced development and modernization
Cultural/Perceptual Factors	Cultural/Perceptual Factors
Patterns of cultural discrimination	Intensifying patterns of cultural discrimination
Problematic group histories	Ethnic basing and propagandizing

Source: Michael E Brown., *The International Dimension of Internal Conflict* (ed.) Center for Science and International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge: Massachusetts, 1996): 577

Brown then argues that internal conflicts may be categorized according to whether they are triggered by elite-level or mass-level factors, and whether they are caused by internal or external developments. On that basis he identifies four main types of internal conflicts, which, he argues, could be “depicted in a two-by-two matrix” (Brown, 1996: 579, 1996-97: 15). See Table 3.3 below.

Table 3.3 The Proximate Causes of Internal Conflict

	Internally-driven	Externally-driven
Elite-triggered	Bad leaders	Bad neighbors
Mass-triggered	Bad domestic problems	Bad neighborhoods

Source: Michael E Brown., *The International Dimension of Internal Conflict* (ed.) Center for Science and International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge: Massachusetts, 1996): 579

Brown's approach offers a better methodology to understand and explain the causes of internal conflicts in that he isolates one factor from another to determine why internal conflict flare-up in a particular country, while not in another. One important case that has a direct bearing on the current study is his identification of the uprising in Kashmir (Brown uses the word "insurgency") as mass-triggered internal conflict. One may, on the contrary, argue that the Kashmir uprising is mainly elite-triggered in that it predominantly has its elite-content in it.

Against the backdrop of the preceding literature review, the research problems have been addressed from an integrated theoretical framework discussed by stressing the Brown's leadership-centric approach. A set of *thirteen* independent variables has been identified to explain the phenomenon. They have been classified into two broad categories: underlying causes and triggering causes. Both underlying causes and triggering causes have again been classified into the internal versus external sources of the origins of the causes. Three key independent variables: (i) the "bad policy" of the Indian ruling elite; (ii) the relative deprivation; and (iii) the rise of ethnonationalism have been identified as the underlying causes of the uprising. Of the three, the first two emanated from the internal setting while the third one stemmed from both internal and external settings ("diffusion" effect). The triggering causes stemming from the internal setting are as follows: (i) ethnic/political mobilization; (ii) institutional and political decay; (iii) Rajiv-Farooq electoral alliance of 1985; (iv) the electoral wrongdoing in the 1987 elections, and (v) the electoral fraud in the 1989 *Lok Sabha* (Lower Assembly) elections. Of the five, the first two are the key triggering causes, while the last three proved to be the most-

immediate “catalyst” triggering factors in causing the uprising. The triggering causes, (diffusion effects), which have emanated from the external setting, are as follows: (i) the 1979 Iranian Revolution; (ii) the Soviet Afghanistan fiasco; (iii) the rise of the Palestinian *Intifada* and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state; (iv) the resurgence of ethnic-based uprising in the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia; and (v) the Pakistani support for the uprising (“bad neighbor’s” policy?). Table 3.4 shows the causal factors of the uprising in Kashmir..

Table 3. 4 Causal factors of the Uprising in Kashmir

Underlying causes emanating from the internal setting	Triggering causes emanating from the internal setting
Bad policy of the Indian ruling elite	Ethnic/political mobilization
Relative deprivation	Institutional/political decay
Ethnonationalism	Most-immediate triggering causes emanating from the internal setting
	Rajive-Farooq electoral alliance of 1985
	The electoral wrongdoing in the 1987 elections
	The electoral fraud in the 1989 <i>Lok Sabha</i> (Lower Assembly)
	Triggering causes emanating from the external setting
	The 1979 Iranian Revolution
	The Soviet Afghanistan fiasco
	The rise of the Palestinian <i>Intifada</i> and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state
	The resurgence of ethnic-based uprising in the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia
	The Pakistani support for the uprising (“bad neighbor’s policy?”)

Fifty years of failed bilateralism has proved that India and Pakistan are no in a position to solve the issue without the consent of the Kashmiri people.

-Omar Farooq Schofield's interview with Mirwaiz Omar Farooq the leader of Kashmiri militant, London, 9 November 1995 as quoted in Victoria Schofield, *Kashmir: In the Crossfire* (London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1996): 285.

They have no love for the Kashmiris, only for the land.

- Kashmiri Militant, April 1995 as quoted in Victoria Schofield, *Kashmir: In the Crossfire*: 285

Kashmiris came to insurgency when all politics seemed to fail—the politics of Kashmir's traditional politicians, politics between Srinagar and Delhi, and politics between India and Pakistan. They view themselves as victims of profound corruptions that sully the meaning of politics.

-Paula R. Newberg, *Double Betrayal: Repression and Insurgency in Kashmir*, Washington D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1995): 73

IV. EXPLAINING THE KASHMIRI MUSLIMS' UPRISING OF 1989

The above quotations show that Kashmiri nationalism has come to play an increasing role in wakening the Kashmiris about their rights and position in national politics—a factor that has been fueled by the Indian ruling elite bad policy as evident from Newberg's quotation. These issues will be examined in detail in this section in light of the integrated theoretical framework.

A. Underlying causes: stemming from the internal setting

i. Bad policies of the Indian elite

To explain the 1989 uprising one needs to examine very closely and carefully the politics of both Center (New Delhi) and the State (Kashmir). For the purpose of the current thesis three distinct periods of politics has been examined. During these three distinct periods the ruling elite of India pursued an integration policy toward Kashmir by denying to the Kashmiris their right to self-determination. In their pursuance of the integrationist policy they resorted to bad policy. This alienated the Kashmiris. The following periods will be discussed: the period of 1947-74; the period of 1974-1982, and the period of 1982-1990.

a. The Period of 1947-1974

Right from the beginning, Kashmir was a very sensitive and special case in the Indian political history. Kashmir was given a “special status”, and it was ruled by the Article of 370 of the Indian Constitution (for details see Appendix IV). A clear understanding of the Instrument of Accession of 1947 is necessary in that it formulated the basis of Jammu and Kashmir’s future relations with India. Kashmir is a unique case, for it was accorded a special status that was not accorded to other former Princely states. From the legal perspective India’s authority remained confined to external affairs, defense, and communication of Kashmir (see Appendix III). It was assumed that the issue of accession would be finally decided in accordance with the will of the Kashmiris. The Instrument of Accession specified a number of safeguards to his sovereignty:

Nothing in this Instrument shall be deemed to commit me in any way to acceptance of any future constitution of India . . .(Clause 7, see Appendix III)

Nothing in this Instrument affects the continuance of my sovereignty in and over this state . . . (Clause 8, see Appendix III)

For many reasons Sheikh Abdullah was the logical choice for Nehru who did not have any hesitation to make Abdullah the chief minister of Kashmir. Abdullah's first political role in government of the state of Jammu and Kashmir was as head of the Emergency Administration. After assuming the Premiership of Kashmir under Nehru's government, Sheikh Abdullah kept pursuing his "New Kashmir" policy. From the very beginning, Abdullah, despite his loyalty to India, subscribed to the view of "third option", meaning independence (Schofield, 1996: 169; Rizvi, 1993: 88). While visiting the United States as one of India's representative at the UN in January, 1948, this attitude of Abdullah got exposed when he privately spoke of his mind about third alternative to Warren Austin, the US representative at the UN (Schofield, 1996: 169).

The very confining nature of the 1947 Instrument of Accession presupposed that a new agreement must be made if total integration of Kashmir into the lap of India should become a reality. In the absence of it, Kashmir cannot but have one status and that is: "special status". The problem surfaced when India planned to integrate Kashmir denying its right to self-determination. New Delhi's design instantly met with disapproval by

Abdullah who made it clear to Nehru that India had no right to extend its jurisdiction in Kashmir beyond the three areas agreed in the Instrument of Accession, that is, foreign affairs, defense, and communication (see Appendix III). This special status, which was broached as an article in the Indian Constitution, drafted first as article 306-A and later on finalized as article 307. “This article” said N. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar, who moved the article in India’s Constituent Assembly in October 1949, “proposes a special status for Kashmir because of its special circumstances. The State is not in a position to merge with India. We will hope that in future the State of Jammu and Kashmir will get over the hurdles and completely merge with the Union, like the rest of the states” (Quoted in Schofield, 1996: 170). In the final revised draft, the clause relating to the Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles was omitted. “Little did the state leaders realize that they had vested the government in the State with unrestricted authority, and whoever had the government in hand, would assume dictatorial powers and powers which could be operated absolutely” (Quoted in Schofield, 1996: 171). From an Indian perspective, another unsatisfactory feature of Kashmir’s relations with the Union of India was its initial economic isolation, effected through tariff barriers which provided much needed revenue at the expense of economic progress (Schofield, 1996: 171).

Included in Article 370 was the provision for Constituent Assembly with 100 seats, a quarter of which was reserved for representatives from the part of the state retained by Pakistan. In 1951 Kashmir’s first post-independence elections were held in which Sheik Abdullah and the National Conference won seventy-five unopposed seats, chiefly because the elections was boycotted by the *Praja Parisad* (171). In July 1952, Abdullah

succeeded in reaching a consensus with the government in New Delhi on a number of issues that came to be known as the Delhi Agreement. Article 370 was accepted; Kashmir was to be allowed its own flag, but the Indian flag would be supreme; Kashmiris would be citizens of India; the President of India, would be the head of state of the whole of India, including Kashmir; the governor of Jammu and Kashmir (*sadar-i-riyasat*) would be elected by the state legislature (as oppose to nominated from New Delhi) but he could not assume office without the consent of the president of India (Schofield, 1996: 172).

Suspensions, however, remained on both sides. “Communal elements did not like the Delhi agreement”, writes Abdullah. “Some newspapers went to the extent of writing that instead of Kashmir acceding to India, in fact, India had acceded to Kashmir” (Abdullah, 1992: 118 as quoted in Schofield, 1996: 172). The people of Jammu were unhappy with their own obvious loss of political power. “Accession of the state to India and the dawn of democracy for the people of Jammu as such meant transfer of power from a Jammu-based ruler to a Kashmiri-based leadership,” observed Balraj Puri (Puri, 1993: 27). Puri had personally written to Nehru on the eve of the Delhi Agreement warning of the growing deterioration of the internal relations between the different regions (Schofield, 1996: 172).

Throughout the early years of independence, the people of Jammu found it hard to reconcile themselves to government from Srinagar. “Jammu and Kashmir, which were

united in 1846, are not known to have been mutually well adjusted regions of the state they comprise,” notes Balraj Puri “The political and administration set up after 1947 was as conducive to regional tensions as the one it had placed.” Secessionist sentiments in the valley were fed by communalism in Jammu which in turn was provoked by fears aroused by the secessionists” (Puri, 1966: 7-8). The numerical superiority of the valley, compared with 45 percent in Jammu (Puri, 1981: 99). When Abdullah had first addressed the Hindus of Jammu in November 1947, he surprised them by his tolerance. “The man so far regarded as an enemy of Hindus almost hypnotised every soul in his audience, by calling for communal peace in the name of the Hindu Dharma, Lord Krishan and Gandhi” (Puri, 1966: 11). But with the passage of time, Abdullah’s reforms aggravated the communal tensions. Those who had been oppressed were mainly the Muslims peasants. Those who were affected by his revolutionary land reforms were Hindus. The *Praja Parishad*, based in Jammu, had influential supporters as well as links with other pro-Hindu organizations throughout India (Schofield, 1996: 173).

In October 1951 orthodox Hindus launched the *Jana Sangh*, led by Shyama Prasad Mookerjee which aimed at abrogating article 370 and fully integrating Jammu and Kashmir into the Indian Union. The *Praja Parishad* saw the National Conference not only as a Muslim communal Party, but also a “cover for the extension of communist ideology (Lamb, 1992: 197). In February 1952 there was violence in the streets of Jammu and curfew was imposed for seventy-two hours. Alarmed by the significance of the Delhi Agreement, the *Praja Parisad* used the slogan: “One President, One Constitution, One Flag”. They disliked the use of the distinctive titles, *sadar-i-riyasat* and prime minister,

as opposed to those of governor and chief minister used by other states. Claiming that they could not tolerate Jammu and Ladakh “going to the winds” (Puri, 1966: 98), the *Parisad* leaders accused Sheikh Abdullah of preventing the merger of the state of Jammu and Kashmir with the Indian Union. The very critical and complex political situation that had been vitiating the Kashmiri politics was aptly highlighted by Gopal, the political biographer of Nehru in the following way:

“Trapped between Abdullah and Mookerjee for the first time since 1948 Nehru began to feel despondent about the future of Kashmir. He could face Pakistan and the United Nations and even the prospect of war; but with Abdullah and Mookerjee working in tacit concert to divide the state on Hindu-Muslim lines, the problem became almost insuperably complex” (S. Gopal, 1975: 29 as quoted in Rizvi, 1993: 55 Jawaharlal Nehru: A Biography, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1975, II.). During this time international developments shaped the history of Kashmir.

In November 1952, the *Praja Parisad* leader, Prem Nath Dogra, and one of his associates were detained by Abdullah. In February 1953 Dr Shyma Prasad Mookerjee wrote to Abdullah, “you are developing a three-nation theory, the third being Kashmiris. These are dangerous symptoms” (Puri, 1966: 98). When Mookerjee attempted to go to Jammu , he was arrested at the border. His death in detention, from a heart attack, generated suspicions of foul play. Right wing elements never forgave the Sheikh for crushing their movements.

The Ladaki people doubted Abdullah’s capacity. In 1949 the Buddhist Association of Ladaka had sent a memorandum to Nehru suggesting that Ladakah be integrated with Jammu in some way, either to become an Indian state in its own right or as part of east

Punjab totally separate from Sheikh Abdullah's administration in Kashmir (Schofield, 1996: 174). "There can be no doubt" writes Alastair Lamb "that the prospect of a deal between Sheikh Abdullah and Azad Kashmiri for what might be called an "internal settlement" of the Kashmir question caused great anxiety in New Delhi; and it was certainly a contributing factor in Sheikh Abdullah's downfall in 1953 (Lamb, 1992: 189). "By 1953 Nehru and Abdullah had grown apart. Suspicions about Abdullah's true commitment (loyalty) to Indian had festered. Abdullah had also become disillusioned with India's secularism. Although he remained opposed to the two-nation theory, contrary to his earlier expectation, Pakistan was proving viable and there were some useful comparison to be made" (Schofield, 1996: 183). His speech in Jammu in 1952 pointed to specific areas of dissatisfaction: "I had told my people that their interests were safe in India, but educated unemployed Muslims look towards Pakistan, because while their Hindu compatriots find avenues in India open for them, the Muslims are debarred from getting Government service," (Schofield, 1996: 184).

He also objected to discrimination against Muslims in the central departments as well. "Muslims were almost entirely debarred from working in postal services. Instead of striving for secularism, the officers of this department did just the opposite" (Schofield, 1996: 184). On 8 August 1953, Sheikh Abdullah was dismissed as prime minister after five years in office and put under arrest. G. M. Sadiq and Bakshi Sheikh Abdullah's associates since 1930s were instrumental in Abdullah's downfall. Bakshi was sworn in as chief minister on 9 August 1953, who developed a special relation with Sardar Patel and Karan Sing from 1948-50. Abdullah was out of office for long 22 years. He returned to

political office in 1975 when he was seventy years old (Schofield, 1996: 185). Bakshi finalized the details of Kashmir's accession to India. In 1954, the Constituent Assembly formally ratified the accession of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, which was intended to legitimize the Instrument of Accession signed by Hari Singh in 1947. This measure was also meant to end all discussion of a plebiscite. On 26 January 1957, the state of Jammu and Kashmir approved its own Constitution, modeled along the lines of the Indian Constitution. In March 1957 elections were held and Bakshi was elected as Prime Minister of Kashmir with a majority of sixty-eight seats.

The October 1964 was a turning point for the history of India, Kashmir, and for that matter for the subcontinent. In that year, India changed its policy announced the Article 370 would be replaced by Article 357 and 365 of the Indian Constitution. This move, under the new Premier, was, in essence, a complete U-turn from Nehru who dared not do so in his long sixteen years Primership. Article 356 allowed the Central government to impose the President's Rule, and the Article 357 empowered the Parliament to confer upon the President the powers of the State Legislature were applied to Jammu and Kashmir. The same year witnessed the changes in the designations of the Head of the State and the Head of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir from *Sadar-i-Riyasat* to Governor and Prime Minister to Chief Minister. These changes were accompanied by a declaration that "the state's inclusion in the union was complete, final and irrevocable" (*Time*, 1964: as quoted in Rahman, 1996: 106). Such changes greeted with angry reaction and protest in Pakistan and Kashmir. On 12 October 1964 in his meeting with Indian Premier Lal Bahadur Shastri, President of Pakistan Ayub Khan said that the issue of

Kashmir now would be “put in cold storage” for some time (Cheema, 1992: 185). On 15 January 1965 a protest day was observed throughout Kashmir with Police of Jammu and Kashmir firing at the protest crowd. Sheikh Abdullah made a speech to a huge public gathering on that day appealing the Kashmiris “to defeat the purpose of those (Indians) who were trying to tighten the chain of slavery on the Muslims of Kashmir . . . You cannot achieve freedom by imploring anybody and in view of India’s present attitude, you have to think how to face her effectively” (Choudhry, 1968: 287). Consequently, Sheikh was arrested by the Central government, which fueled more agitation politics in the State of Kashmir. The Center’s integrationist policy took its roots as the two key chief minister of this period, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad and G.M. Sadiq rivals of Sheikh Abdullah pledged their commitment to maintaining the state of Jammu and Kashmir’s continued association with the Indian Union as one of its integral parts. For instance, in 1964, Sadiq converted the ruling National Conference partly into the Indian National Congress Party expressed his firm intent to “join the mainstream of national political life” (Tremblay, 1995: 90). The sustenance of interregional harmony, an effective political opposition in the state, and an effective political opposition in the state were regarded as the factors for the successful drive of integrative politics (Tremblay, 1995: 90). On the other scale of the balance, Bakshi kept reviving the National Conference in 1966. In the 1967 elections, the revived National Conference won eight seats, “capturing 18.6% of the popular vote. The party remained marginal and was finally dissolved in 1972 and merged into the Indian National Congress (Tremblay, 1995: 91).

Three political organizations: the Plebiscite Front, the Awami Action Committee and the *Jamati-i-Islami* dominated the Kashmiri politics. Of the three, the Plebiscite Front was the most influential opposition party during the first integrative period that had been formed by Mirza Afzal Beg in 1955 (Tremblay, 1990: 90). During the period (1957-1974), inter-regional harmony between the valley and Jammu was possible owing to the successful implementation of the state's integrationist politics. The electoral results for the State Legislative Assembly of 1957, 1962, 1967, and 1972 show two trends: Jammu's approval of the leadership's integrationist choices and an absence of religious cleavages. In the 1957 elections out of Jammu's total 30 seats, the pro-Hindu *Bharitya Jan Sanga* contested 22 and won five, receiving 28.4% of the popular vote. Its proportion of the popular vote remained steady however: 24.5% in 1962, 25.9% in 1967 and 22.3% in 1972 (Treambaly, 1995: 92).

Although there was an absence of religious cleavages that greatly helped implement the integrationist policy by the Center, the history of this period also witnessed sporadic challenges by the Kashmiri leaders. They protestes because the integrationist policy was implemented at the cost of the special status and the right to self-determination of Kashmir by the Kashmiris. The following discussion amplifies this.

In September 1966, Butt clashed with the Indian army during an exchange of fire in Kunial village, near his hometown of Handwara; a co-worker was killed as well as Indian army officer. As the group captain of what was called "Operation against Indian

Domination (OID), Butt and several others were charged with sabotage and murder.

Detained in the women's jail in Srinagar, Butt defended his actions in the armed struggle:

I could not reconcile to the new political set-up brought about in Kashmir after Sheikh Abdullah's dismissal and arrest in 1955. The Sheik's successor, Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad, had, much against the wishes of the average Kashmiri, added some more laws to the armoury of repression. Any citizen could be detained in prison for five years at a stroke and Bakshi's government was under no obligation to inform the detainee about the grounds of detention. The helpless victim could be rearrested after release and detained for another term of five years (Quoted in Schofield, 1996: 209)

Amid agitation politics, Sheikh Abdullah had been released from jail in 1968. The fact his arrest was anti-democratic and the fact that the Center violated the true spirit of the Accession were well reflected by the veteran Indian politician, Jai Prakash Narain, Nehru's old socialist friend and co-worker of the freedom movement. He had written to Mrs. Gandhi in 1966:

We profess democracy, but rule by force in Kashmir . . . the problems exists not because Pakistan wants to grab Kashmir, but because there is deep and widespread political discontent among the people . . . Whatever be the solution, it has to be found within the limitations of accession. It is here that Sheikh's role may become decisive (emphasis added quoted in Schofield, 1996: 209).

The British historian, Paul Brass, has tersely reflected the tension between the Center and the State:

The centralizing and nationalizing measures taken by Mrs. Gandhi included: the political destruction of the state political bosses; the selection of the chief ministers of the Congress-dominated states by Mrs. Gandhi herself in consultation with her small clique of advisers; the increased use of President's Rule in the states; the increased use of central police and intelligence forces to monitor and control regional opposition; populist, demagogic appeals to national categories of voters, such as the poor, the landless, and the minorities; and some manipulation of xenophobic and paranoiac nationalism against Pakistan and the American CIA (Brass, 1992: 321-2 as quoted in Ganguly, 1997: 84).

b. The Period 1975-1982

1975 Kashmir Accord between Sheikh Abdullah and India's Premier Indira Gandhi brought to an abrupt end of the integrationist politics of the Bakshi and Sadiq governments. The accord was possible because Sheikh Abdullah dropped his demand to revive the pre-1953 political status of Kashmir. The war of 1971 that dismembered Pakistan was severe blow to the "two nation" theory on whose basis Pakistan was created. As the Bengali Muslim ethnic group broke away from Pakistan, which belonged to the same religion, Islam, Sheikh Abdullah found it ludicrous to press home the demand for independence of Kashmir on the basis of the religious identity. Under the 1975 Accord, the special status of Kashmir, as enshrined in article 370 of the Indian Constitution was retained. But a key change was effected: Kashmir was termed "a constituent of the Union of India" (see Appendix) Under the 1975 Accord it was further agreed that the pre-1953 status of Kashmir would not be revived. The titles of *sadar-i-riyasat* and prime minister, evidence of Kashmir's special status, would not be re-utilized. Instead, as with all other states they were to remain as governor and chief minister. The Indian government would "continue to have power to make laws relating to the prevention of activities directed

towards disclaiming questioning or disrupting the sovereignty of India or causing insult to the Indian flag, the national anthem and the constitution” (Varshney, 1992: 218). The chief minister of Congress, Syed Mir Quasim was asked to resign in favor of Sheikh Abdullah. Mirza Afzal Beg became a cabinet minister.

Sheikh Abdullah took advantage of the new situation and advised the governor to abolish the assembly and hold new elections. Elections were held from 30 June to 3 July 1977. In the 1977 elections the National Conference secured a landslide majority in the assembly. No member of Congress secured a seat in the valley. In Jammu, the National Conference won seven seats in 1977 elections (Table 4.6) were the first fair elections in the state (three previous elections had been rigged) But before the 1977 elections Abdullah became autocratic muzzling press, persecuting people who went against him. He brought his wife, two sons, and his son-in-law (G.M. Shah) into politics initiating a family politics in Kashmir. During his rule 2000 people were jailed and 130 people were killed for disloyalty to him. Food subsidies (introduced in 1953) to help poor people were withdrawn (Hussain, 1991: 188) The pro-Pakistan *Jamait-i-Islami* party became his target. He banned its activities that are aimed at the Islamization of Kashmir society. Abdullah also dissolved the Plebiscite and revived the National Conference, a single party came to dominate the politics of Kashmir. “This had a three-fold impact on the state politics: it denied political space to the most extreme members of the Plebiscite Front; it marginalized the pro-integrationist forces of this valley that relied increasingly on the national parties, thereby eroding their public support, and by Jammu’s withholding of

support for the ruling party, it generated sharp religious regional cleavages” (Treamblay, 1995: 94).

In July 1975, at Sheikh Abdullah’s suggestion the delegates of the Plebiscite Front unanimously decided to dissolve the party and revive the pre-1953 National Conference. The Awami Action Party’s pro Pakistani, *Jamit-i-Islami* could not compete with Abdullah. His long-time associates Prem Nath Bazaz described Sheikh Abdullah’s new administration as “democracy through intimidation and terror” (Abdullah, 1993: 768 quoted in Schofield, 1996: 218). That the process of political and institutional decay became an element of Sheikh Abdullah’s administration following his return to political office after 22-year has been highlighted by scholars (Treamblay, 1995; Rahman, 1996; Ganguly, 1997). He assumed authoritarian, dictatorial and less and less intolerant to opposition politics bringing political decay on the front burner. His government could detain people up to two years without trial. In September 1978, all members of the Cabinet were ordered to swear a personal oath of loyalty to Sheikh Abdullah. Those, who refused, were expelled from the National Conference. For example Mirza Afzal Beg (Rahman, 1996: 140; Treamblay, 1995: 94)., As Balraj Puri maintains, “A quantum jump in the process of political and emotional reintegration of Kashmir with the rest of India took place in what have been universally acknowledged as the fairest and freest elections to the State Assembly in 1977” (Puri, 1981: 189). Following Abdullah’s victory in 1977 elections, his government passed the Jammu and Kashmir Safety Ordinance, which place restrictions on newspapers and other publications within the state in the interests of security and public order most newspapers denounced the bill. The leader of the

opposition, Abdul Ghani Lone called it a “black law” (Bazaz, 1978: 186, as quoted in Ganguly, 1992: 72). A new generation of educated, politicized and more articulate Kashmiris and begun to emerge during his long years of political exile. As Bazaz argues: “Tremendous changes had taken place in and outside Jammu and Kashmir. The educated Muslim youth whose number multiplied several times in 30 years realized that Sheikh Abdullah’s inconsistent behaviour had done immense harm to the interests of the Kashmiris; it had thwarted their progress and deprived them of several political and human rights enjoyed by all the other Indians” (Bazaz, 1978: 161 quoted in Ganguly, 1997: 73).

c. The period: 1982-1990

In the post-Sheikh period, the crystallization and maturation of the secessionist forces within the valley owed much to the politically integrative activities of the central government into which the post-Sheikh state leadership had unwillingly been drawn (Tremblay, 1995: 96). “Mrs Gandhi and her party intensified their political campaign to increase the party’s strength in the Kashmir region, violating the sacred guiding principle of maintaining a delicate balance of the Kashmir and Muslim identity on the one hand and the regional and national identity on the other” (Tremblay, 1995: 96). The political and economic frameworks within which the first integrationist period had so successfully operated had fallen apart. Assisted by some state leadership blunders, the increased central intervention solidified the secessionist movement, encouraged an active mass participation against the Kashmiri state and India, intensified regional differences and

created a wedge between the two religious communities of the valley (Treambaly, 1995: 96). In his first act of reconciliation with the central government, Farooq decided to refer the Resettlement Bill to the Supreme Court. This legislation, allowing the permanent settlement of the “displaced” Kashmiri population, residing in Azad Kashmir had met with several criticisms, particularly by the Hindu-oriented parties in Jammu. The Bharitya Jan Sangh had expressed its fear that this blanket offer of citizenship to the refugees would facilitate the entry of Pakistani spies into the Indian territory (Treambaly, 1995: 97). The Farooq government’s referral of the bill to the Supreme Court though it served to allay the fears of the Jammu population, was perceived by the Kashmiris as denial by the new government of the legitimacy of the popularly elected new government of the legitimacy of the popularly elected state legislature. In their eyes, Farooq’s compromise with the central government questioned both Kashmiri identity and its autonomy within the Indian state.

From 1982 until his resignation from the chief ministership in early 1990, Farooq adhered consistently to the theme that Kashmir was a constituent part of India and that its political problems are largely a product of antagonistic center-state relations, contrary to the legitimacy formula carefully followed by his father. Bakshi and Sadiq, two crucial integrationist chief ministers, had maintained the crucial political equilibrium between integration and Kashmir’s distinctness within the Indian polity. Farooq’s alignment with the regional opposition leadership quickly blurred the political boundary between Kashmir and the rest of India (Treambaly, 1995: 97). In 1984 the Central Congress Party under the leadership of Indira Gandhi succeeded in creating a rift within the legislative

independent member, withdrew support for the Farooq government. Governor Jag Mohan asked Farooq's brother-in-law, G.M. Shah, to form the new government and prove his majority in the Assembly within one month of appointment. Shah, the leader of the faction of National Conference (Khalida), won a vote of confidence with the help of the Congress member in the legislature (Treambaly, 1995: 97-98). Lacking popular support for his government and owing allegiance to Mrs Gandhi, Shah began to rely on religious appeals to the public. For the first time in the valley, communal riots broke out. The Shiv Sena agitated in Jammu against Shah's allowing Muslim civil servants to hold their Friday prayers outside the Jammu Secretariat. In response the town Anantnag in Kashmir witnessed the worst communal riots: the Kashmir Pandits' properties were indiscriminately attacked, looted and burnt. Law and order collapsed fully causing the central government to dismiss the Shah Ministry and impose Governor's rule (Treambaly, 1995: 98).

ii. Relative deprivation

Literature review in section III has reflected various components of relative deprivation despite the conceptual and empirical problems that it poses. Dudley and Miller found positive correlation between ethnic conflict and relative deprivation, especially between the political component of relative deprivation and the cause of the ethnic conflicts (Dudely and Miller, 1997). The problem with Ganguly's not accounting it as a cause lies in his misunderstanding of the concept in its entirety. Even his claim that economically

Kashmir was better off help one to understand a part of the story while hiding the other part.

The Dogra dynasty considered Jammu as their home and Kashmir as a conquered territory. “They established a sort of Dogra imperialism in the State in which the Dogras were elevated to the position of the masters and all non-Dogras communities and classes were given the humble places of inferior,” wrote Prem Nath Bazaz in the 1950s (Bazaz, 1956: 127 quoted in Schofield, 1996: 63). The feeling of discrimination, under the Dogras, which both the Muslims and Hindus experienced, was to manifest itself in the next century in a series of protests against the Maharaja’s descendants. History shows that the alienation of the Kashmiris from their new ruler Maharaja Hari Singh was heightened by continuing presence of ‘outsiders’ in government service, which led to a movement known as ‘Kashmir for the Kashmiris’. In 1927 a law defining a ‘Hereditary State Subject’ was passed forbidding the employment of non-state subjects in the public services; they were also not allowed to purchase land. “ But to the annoyance of the Kashmiris, the top positions were invariably filled by people from Jammu, especially the ruling class of the Dogra Rajputs, who headed all the departments of the state administration” (Schofield, 1996:. 100).

When the Kashmiri Pandits upgraded their status in government service, this further aggravated the plight among the Kashmiri Muslims. Abdul Suhrawardy who was a young boy from the rural districts aimed in the 1930s at becoming a gazetted officer in the Indian Civil Service observed: “As I grew up I found that the Muslims were the

underdogs. The Hindus were the privileged class because they belonged to the religion of the community of the ruler. Almost all the government officials occupying almost all the ranks from the lowest up to the highest were occupied by Hindus” (Quoted in Schofield, 1995: 100).

The army was also exclusively reserved for the Dogras. No Muslim in the Kashmir valley was allowed to carry a firearm and the only Muslims who were recruited into the army, normally under the command of a Dogra officer, were the Suddhans of Poonch the Sandans from Mirpur (Schofield, 1995: 100).

The Lahore Muslim press played a key role in bringing the plight condition of the Muslim Kashmiris in the limelight. In 1929 Sir Albion Banerji a Bengali Christian, who visited Kashmir in 1927 as a senior member of the Council, resigned on the grounds that he no longer wished to serve under the Maharaja Hari Singh. He observed:

Jammu and Kashmir State is labouring under many disadvantages, with a large Muhammadan population absolutely illiterate, labouring under poverty and very low economic conditions of living in the villages and practically governed like dumb driven cattle. There is no touch between the Government and the people, no suitable opportunity for representing grievances and the administrative machinery itself requires overhauling from top to bottom to bring it up to the modern conditions of efficiency. It has at present no sympathy with the peoples wants or grievances (Quoted in Schofield, 1995: 100).

Leading Muslim newspapers in India continued to point to the progress of the Kashmiri Pandits at the expense of the Muslims: “They will till the land, feed the State, fill its

coffers, they are invariably sent to the wall and the Kashmiri Pandit is placed at the helm of affairs to rule them with a rod of iron,” put the *Muslim Outlook* in 1923 (*Muslim Outlook*, 5 May, 1923, quoted in *Punjab Press Abstract*, 12 May 1923 Crown Representatives’ Records, OIOC, as quoted in Schofield, 1996: 95) In the Spring of 1924 the workers of the state-owned silk factory demanded an increase in wages and the transfer of a Hindu clerk whom the workers alleged was extorting bribes. Established in the late nineteenth century, the factory employed about 5,000 workers, most of whom were Muslims. Although the workers were given a minimal wage increase, some of their leaders were arrested, which led to a strike. As later reported in a representation to the viceroy, Lord Reading, “Military was sent for and most inhuman treatment was meted out to the poor, helpless, unarmed peace loving labourers who were assaulted with spears, lances and other implements of warfare”. The representation, signed by the two chief religious leaders, submitted to the viceroy, through Mohsin Shah, also referred to other grievances:

The Mussulmans of Kashmir are in a miserable plight today. Their education needs are woefully neglected. Though forming 96 per cent of the population, the percentage of literacy amongst them is only 0.8 per cent . . . So far we have patiently borne the State’s indifference towards our grievances and our claims and its high-handedness towards our rights, but patience has its limit and resignation its end . . . the Hindus of the State, forming merely 4 per cent of the whole population are the undisputed masters of all departments (Quoted in *Muslims of Kashmir*, OIOC, as quoted in Schofield, 1996: 95)

The cumulative impact of this oppression is the 13 July 1931 uprising against the Maharaja Hari Singh, which plunged the state, noted his son Karan Singh who could not

become a king after Hari Sing, “into serious political turmoil, after which things were never again to be the same” (Schofield, 1995: 101).

Sheikh Abdullah, who returned to the valley in 1930, could sense the oppression well ahead as he said: “How could I have known that the nation was on the brink of an eruption. The trampled pride and hope of the people of Kashmir was like molten lava ready to flow. Nature fanned the embers of protest which were smouldering inside me. It was left to me to take the lid off the volcano’s mouth (Quoted in Schofield, 1995: 102).

Abdullah was jailed twice; once for three weeks and then for ten months when he was arrested in September 1931. His crime was that he made speeches against the injustices of the Maharaja’s rein. The 13 July 1931 uprising has had its spillover impacts on the rest of India leading Muslims to form All India Kashmir Committee to campaign for the redress of the Kashmiri Muslims. Under the pressure from the British resident, the Maharaja Hari Singh appointed a commission headed by Sir Bertrand Glancy, a senior office in the Political Department of the Government of India, to inquire into the complaints of the people. Prem Nath Bazaz and Ghulam Abbas were amongst the co-members of the commission. In April 1932 Glancy presented his report. “It is a document of great historical importance,” writes Bazaz “as it established beyond doubt that real grievances existed which needed redress.” “The commission had recommended far-reaching reforms for the development of education, particularly, primary education,” said Abdullah. “It had also suggested reforms in the appointment of governments servants, as well as granting proprietary rights to the cultivators of government-owned lands. In addition it recommended setting up industries to create employment opportunities.”

Glancy's recommendation had been supplemented by the Reform Conference, which proposed that a legislative assembly should be set up. The legislative assembly, known as the *Praja Sabha* (Peoples assembly) was a mere eyewash. As noted Abdullah: "My comrades and I were fully aware that the proposed assembly was hoax, but we wanted to use it as a forum to demonstrate that the Muslim Conference represented the majority of the population of the State. It is a strange assembly! All the legislative powers were in the hands of the Maharaja. He could also veto any act passed by the Assembly (Schofield, 105). While at the beginning of World War II, the rest of the Indian government and the Maharaja busied themselves to formulate their war-time policy, Sheikh became preoccupied with his plans for a "*Naya Kashmir*" (New Kashmir) which was ideologically hedged with socialist program. At the annual session of the National Conference at Sopore in September 1944, the members adopted the "*Naya Kashmir*" manifesto. Abdullah promised a constitution which gave freedom, equality and democracy: "To perfect our union in the fullest equality and self-determination, to raise ourselves and our children forever from the abyss of oppression and poverty, degradation and superstition, from mediaeval darkness and ignorance, into the sunlit valleys of plenty ruled by freedom, science and honest toil . . ." (Schofield, 1996: 110.)

With the opening of a University in Srinagar in 1949, and free education, a new generation of educated graduates emerged. Since there was virtually no industry in

Kashmir, large numbers remained unemployed. G. M. Sadiq, the chief minister in his meeting with Indira Gandhi in 1968 told in presence of Inder Gujral: “ India spends millions on Kashmir but very little in Kashmir. If I were to tell you that the law and order situation requires one more division of the army, you would send it, without the blink of any eye, but if I ask you to set up two factories, you will tell me twenty reasons why it cannot be done and therefore what do our youth do?” Gujral, who subsequently acted as convenor for a Committee of Ministers of State to deal with Kashmir, remarked:

But I confess with a great deal of regret and dismay, that our achievements were very marginal. We succeeded in setting up two factories, but we were unable to make any dent on unemployment. Some progress was made in agriculture, but that was not much of an achievement because agriculture and fruits were growing in any case. Most of the concessions which were given were utilized by the industries more in Jammu area, but hardly anything in Kashmir. The major failure is that we should have concentrated more on public sector investment. Apart from the merits and demerits, public sector investment encourages the private sector. And since in Kashmir disquiet was there all the time, for one reason or the other the private sector was very reluctant to invest (quoted in Schofield, 1996: 208).

iii. Ethnonationalism²⁴

²⁴ Ethnonationalism is a function of both permissive and triggering causes emanating from both internal and external settings. In this section ethnonationalism stemming from the internal setting will be discussed, while ethnonationalism emanating from the external setting will be discussed under the section of “other explanation of the uprising”. While ethnonationalism arising out of the internal setting has been viewed as a

Many vocabularies have come into force to give it a conceptual twist.²⁵ All shades of opinion on the issue are grouped as the primordialists versus instrumentalists (Easman, 1995; Yinger, 1993). Both versions have their points of strengths and weaknesses. This debate is more pronounced in South Asia (especially, in India)—a debate that has been dominated by two distinguished British scholars such as Paul R. Brass, and Francis Robinson. These two scholars differ in their approach on the issue of ethnicity and nationalism in South Asia despite their marked identical perceptions on the topic. From the angle of the primordialist, which the leaders of Muslim separatism also shares, Hindus and Muslims constituted in pre-modern times distinct civilizations destined to develop into separate nations once political mobilization took place. The differences between the two cultures were so great that it was not conceivable that assimilation of the two could take place and that a single national culture could be created to which both would contribute (Brass, 1995: 87-88). Robinson subscribes to this view.

The opposite view is that the culture and religious differences between Hindus and Muslims were not so great as to rule out the creation of either a composite national culture or at least a secular political union in which those aspects of group culture that could not be shared would be relegated to the private sphere (Brass, 1995: 88). Brass

direct cause, ethnonationalism arising out of the external setting is seen as tangential factor—a factor that is explained from the perspective of “diffusion” theory.

²⁵ Definitional problem is there. Primordialism (s), tribalism, regionalism, communalism, parochialism, and subnationalism among the more often encountered alternatives. Connor notes that imprecise vocabulary is both a symptom of and a contributor to a great deal of the haziness surrounding the study of ethnonationalism (Connor, 1987: 200-201).

subscribes to this latter view. From this point of view, Muslim separatism was not pre-ordained, but resulted from the conscious manipulation of selected symbols of Muslims identity by Muslim elite groups in economic and political competition with each other and with elite groups among Hindus (Brass, 1995: 88). Brass and Robinson, as hinted earlier, despite their agreement, differ in attaching the relative weight to be assigned to the pervasiveness of Islamic values, the strength of Muslim religious institutions, and the like. Robinson argues, as Brass points out, that the religious difference between Muslims and Hindus in the nineteenth century, before social mobilization began, “were fundamental” and that some of those differences, such as on idol worship, on monotheism and on attitudes toward the cow “created a basic antipathy” between the two communities “which helped to set them apart as modern politics and self-governing institutions developed in town, district and province” (Brass, 1995: 88). Brass admits that Robinson’s arguments were not entirely inconsistent with his own work. Brass holds that in his work it was not assumed that the pre-existing cultures or religious practices of ethnic groups are infinitely malleable by elites (Brass, 1995: 88-89).

Nation formation, Brass says is “the process by which elites and counter-elites within ethnic groups select aspects of the group’s culture, attach new value and meaning to them, and use them as symbols to mobilize the group, to defend its interests, and to compete with other groups” (Quoted in Robinson, 1995: 217). In his book, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India*, Paul Brass has explained the phenomenon thus: there was little in the objective difference between Hindus and Muslims, and not much more in their revivalist movements to make their separation inevitable. What was crucial was the process of “symbol selection”; and the fact that Muslim elites chose divisive rather than composite symbols. “Muslim leaders in north India in the late nineteenth century, Brass holds, “did not recognize a common destiny with the Hindus, because they saw themselves in danger of losing their privileges as a dominant community . . .” So they chose to stress on “a special sense of history incompatible with Hindu

aspirations and a myth of Muslim decline into backwardness” (Quoted in Robinson, 1995: 214).

The reassertion of this “Hindu nationalism” has taken a jingoistic form in the early 1980s with the rise of the BJP, the religiously extremist party of India. The following discussion testifies this. The Hindu nationalist view that India is for Hindus only²⁶ and that could be maintained through the application of “*Hindutva*” (Hinduness)—a condition where the slogan: “*Hindi! Hindu! Hindustan!*, which could be transposed as One language! One People! One country!: becomes the objectives of the state as it does not oppose *jus soil* to *jus sanguinis*. (Assayag, 1998: 27-44; Clifton, 1999: 14-15; Jain, 1994; Pandey, 1993; Vidal, 1998: 149-172).²⁷ Kakar, MacGuire and et al, and Nirod C. Chaudhury have have portrayed the extremist elements of Hindu nationalism (Kakar, 1998: 558; MacGuire and others, 1998: 561; Chaudhury, 1951: 407-408). The problem is an old one. The following quotation from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru will clarify the point:

It is interesting to note that the early waves of nationalism in India in the 19th century were religious and Hindu. The Muslims, naturally could take no part in this *Hindu nationalism*. They kept apart. Having kept away from English education, the new ideas affected them less and there was far less intellectual ferment among them. Many decades after, they began to come out of their shell, and then, as with the Hindus, their nationalism began to look back to Islamic traditions and cultures and was fearful of losing these because of the Hindu majority (Nehru, 1967: 437).²⁸

²⁶ Gandhi has maintained that if Hindus believe that “India should be peopled only by Hindus, they are living in dreamland” ((Gandhi, *Hind Swarz*, in Parel, 1997: 52).

²⁷ The classical treatment of racial origins of different nations is given by Romila Thapar, Professor of Ancient History (Thapar, 1996).

²⁸ Gandhi is the first to treat the problem of nationalism in India. Admitting that it is a “serious” problem, he takes an assimilationist approach to resolve the problem of nationalism as he underscores the need of “faculty for assimilation” and uses the word *samas*. “*Samas* is a grammatical technique of forming a new word by integrating two or more pre-existing words. For example the word *mahatma* is formed from *maha* and *atma*. Something of the old identity is retained in the new compound word, but the latter has a new identity of its own. When Gandhi says that the Indian nation has been created by a process of *samas* he

What one witnesses today is the old problem in a new form, which has assumed an extremely militant form. As various scholars argue that Hinduness has both cultural and religious components; and Hindu nationalist views it from both angles (Assayag, 1998: 27-44; Vershney, 1998: 45; Vidal, 1998: 149-172).²⁹ What is more pertinent is the BJP's political manifesto that bears serious implications for the Muslims living in Kashmir and other parts of India. The BJP's manifesto advocates, among others, (i) the construction of a Hindu temple on the site of the demolished Ayodhya mosque; (ii) the adoption of a common civil code to supersede all the personal laws of the religious minorities; (iii) the termination of the special status of Jammu and Kashmir; (iv) the liquidation of the National Minorities Commissions. They all are anathema to the Muslims of India in general and the Kashmiri Muslims in particular as they are a minority in India when compared to the total Hindu population of India. Such a philosophy carries the germs of splitting India on Hindu-Muslim ethno-religious lines. Vershney thoughtfully offers a capsule summary of the very fluid ethnic configuration in India: "The only cleavage that has the potential to rip India apart is the divide between Hindus and Muslims" (Vershney, 1998: 44).³⁰

means that though the nation is formed out of distinct ethnic, religious and linguistic groups, the new identity that emerges has an identity of its own. India in this sense is a nation. Gandhi is a cultural assimilationist in that all Indians, while retaining their sub-national identities, are supposed to share certain common values and symbols" (Parel, 1997 footnote 85: 52).

²⁹ BJP's ideology has serious implications for the future of Indian democracy. It has been asserted that if the BJP becomes successful to implement its ideology, India would leave the democracy friendly realm of what Dhal called "subcultural pluralism" and enter the more dangerous one of "cultural dualism" – a situation where Hindu majority will dominate the non-Hindu minority (Referred to in Vershney, 1998: 45).

³⁰ Scholars studying ethnic conflict have offered a valuable distinction. They are: dispersed and centrally focused ethnic configuration (Horwitz, 1985). In a dispersed configuration, there is a host of locally or regionally specific identities. By contrast, the centrally focused configuration involves a small number of identities that cut across the entire country. Under the dispersed type, ethnic conflicts remain localized; here the center can often maneuver between the fighting groups while seeming to stand outside the conflict.

Such developments and the recent rise of Hindu fundamentalist nationalism under the BJP have once again put the primordialist versus instrumentalist debate on the front burner. The debate has become all the more pertinent in the context of the current uprising in Kashmir. It is so because the very “composite national culture”, or a “secular political union”, which were the characteristic features of Kashmir that distinguished it from other parts of India, has been replaced by divisive rather than composite symbols. Consequently, instead of “secular political union” communal political union has become the order of the day. This, in turn, has contributed to the breakdown of the composite Kashmiri national identity, called *Kashmiriyat*.

Although the importance of any identity varies with each encounter, one or two identities usually take precedence. David Miller has put it tersely:

One person may think of herself as above all a woman, another as a bird-watcher, a third as a *Muslim*. In plural societies most are likely to have composite identities in which different affiliations come to the fore on different occasions. Some of these identities are chosen, some unchosen, but it will be to a considerable degree a matter of choice which aspects any particular person makes central to their conception of themselves. . . . Ethnicity is a pervasive phenomenon, in the sense that it is something that a person carries with her wherever she goes: you may be a fanatical bird-watcher at weekends, but this has no particular implications for the way in which you are treated in the weekday world, whereas if you are ethnically black in a white-dominated society, or ethnically Tamil in a society dominated by Sinhalese, this is likely to condition your experience in all spheres of life: in work, in leisure, in politics, and so forth. *As a result, ethnic identities very often give rise to demands for political recognition.* Unless the group you belong to has its identity confirmed in symbolic and other ways by the relevant state, you are likely to feel vulnerable and demeaned (emphasis added Miller, 1995: 120-122)

Under the latter type, the ubiquity of the cleavages tend to foster heightened conflict throughout the system, threatening the integrity of the center. Ethnic conflict between the Sinhalese and the Tamils in Sri Lanka, and ethnic conflict between the Chinese and the Malays in Malaysia represent the examples of the latter type, while uprising in Kashmir represents the former type in that the uprising in Kashmir has never spilled to over to include all Indian Muslim (Vershney, 1998: 43)..

In a similar fashion, A. D. Smith has asserted:

Other nations where a nation-to-be could boast no ethnic antecedents of importance and where any ethnic ties were shadowy or fabricated, the need to forge out of whatever cultural components where available a coherent mythology and symbolism of a community of history and culture became everywhere paramount as a condition of national survival and unity. Without some ethnic lineage the nation-to-be could fall apart (Smith, 1991: 42)

Bell-Fialkoff notes that in much of Eastern Europe, however, profession, as a status marker, is less important than ethnic affiliation. A West European (and even more so an American), to the question “Who are you?” will probably say that: “I am an engineer” or whatever. An Eastern European will most likely answer this question with “I am Polish” or “Ukrainian”. This shows that the stress on specific components in the total complex of collective identities has a *spatial dimension* (Bell-Fialkoff, 1996: 71). Andrew Bell-Fiakoff further argues that there is another feature of collective identity we may want to cover, its *rigidity*. In Europe, especially in ethnically mixed areas of Eastern and Central Europe, ethnicity is quite rigid: if one was born of German parents one is always a German, even if one does not speak a word of German (only intermarriage can change the children’s affiliation). In other parts of the world, affiliation is much more fluid, and people of mixed origin who feel equally at ease within two or more ethnic groups often choose their public personal depending on the situation. This gives rise to the *situational* or *optional ethnicity* that is quite baffling to Westerners (Bell-Fialkoff, 1996: 71). Interrelationships of various collectivities can be *vertical* or *lateral* (horizontal). Groups of the same order, such as tribes, may coexist side by side on terms of equality (“vertically). Others may form complex stratified systems, like castes in India or classes

elsewhere (in horizontal layers, or “laterally”). Both types of group order, vertical and lateral, may coexist within the same society: several castes may have similar status while several other castes are above and below them (Bell-Fialkoff, 1996: 71).

Some scholar such as Varshney, who teaches at Columbia University, New York, has traced, as hinted earlier, the origins of the Kashmiri uprising to the clash of three competing visions of nationalism: Kashmiri, secular, and Islamic (Vershney, 1992: 220). He argued that during the first two decades of independence, Hindu-Muslim conflict was dormant because migrations to Pakistan left the Muslim community of India leaderless and because Congress under Nehru’s secular leadership maintained a multi-religious character (Vershney, 1998: 44). But since the mid-1970s, however, Muslim middle class has emerged, while the Congress Party, mindful of its waning of its preeminence, “has compromised its once-firm secularism for the sake of electoral calculations” (Vershney, 1998: 44). According to the Hindu-nationalist ideology, India’s secularism has degenerated into ethnic and religious pandering, with the state held hostage by assertive minorities (Vershney, 1998: 45). Vershney line of arguments becomes creditable with the findings of Lijphart. Lijphart, who makes a case of consociationalism in favor of India, observes that a “weakening of power-sharing in India after the late 1960” as a result of Muslim-Hindu clashes resulting from the surging demands of lower-cast groups, linguistic and regional groups and the powerful mobilization of *Hindutva* and Muslim sentiments (Lustic, 1997: 117, for details, 88-117).

In light of the preceding discussion, especially, taking the cue from Bell-Fialkoff, one may argue that Kashmir represents both types of group orders involving vertical and lateral identities. Both these types coexisted in harmony in Kashmir in the past. Also, the very rigidity aspect of the identity was prevalent in Kashmir as the Kashmiris retained a composite identity, called *Kashmiriyat*. This rigidity component cannot always be maintained in countries where the nation-building process is an unfinished task. India, which is a fascinating laboratory of nation building, neatly fits in this scenario. It is argued that nation exists in the mind of the people and that the nation-states are “imagined political communities” has been interminably repeated since Benedict Anderson’s work: *Imagined Communities* was published in 1991 (Anderson, 1991: 6). As B. C. Smith rightly points out that a subjective belief that people constitute a nation is more important than objective definitions of historians and social scientists (Smith, 1996: 274).

Kashmir, which is another fascinating laboratory of nation building, and which retained a kind of secular identity, was subjected to assert its religious-based identity when its ethnic-based identity took a communal color on the eve of the 1989 uprising, thereby dividing the nation on lateral-based identity. In that process ethnicity became *religionized*. In India, and for that matter in South Asia, Islam provides the organic link between religion and ethnicity. This organic link is inseparable. For example, Muslims, from any part of the world, can have twin-identity at a time: one is based on their religion, and the other on their ethnicity (Ahmed, 1994b: 67-88). A Kashmiri Muslim has twin identities: Muslimness and Kashmiriness: the former is religion-based identity (horizontal

component), and the latter is ethnicity-based identity (vertical component). Both are organically linked to each other, and hence they are inseparable. When the horizontal component, that is, Muslimness is emphasized, the vertical component, that is, *Kashmiriyat* gets threatened and weakened giving rise to communalism a condition where ethnicity began to be religionized, splitting the vertical collective identity of the nation, here: the *Kashmiriyat*. It is a common practice in India to play off the “communal card” against each competing nation to realize the political goals of the Indian ruling elite. Although Kashmir has an impressive record of secular politics, this record was spotted with communal politics as was evident from the preceding analysis (see, especially, Puri, 1962). Bell-Fialkoff contends that:

“As long as religion provides the basis for collective identity and retains its strength, *coexistence with other religious groups is not to be expected*. It is feasible only when one religious group subordinates all others, as did Islam in India and the Balkans, in hierarchy of religions. In Germany of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, where a clear predominance could not be established, separation was *regious eius religio*”(emphasis added Bell-Fialkoff, 1996: 60).

In India the Hindu nationalists’ key concern centers round what they call *Muslim disloyalty to India* (Vershney, 1998: 45). Hence subnationalism continued to dominate the Indian polity, and scholars began interpreting the Kashmir conflict from the perspective of subnationalism (Chadda, 1997; Mehta, 1998; Mitra and Lewis, 1996). As Sagarika Dutta puts: “The rise of the BJP in India emphasises the importance of religious and cultural identities but still does not prove that India is a nation. There has always been a tension between national and subnational identities in India. Not everyone who lives within the territorial borders of India considers him/herself to be an *Indian*

nationalists—for example Kashmiris seeking independence” (emphasis added Dutta, 1998: 411). The Kashmiri politics that was discussed in three distinct periods shows how Sheikh Abdullah had to oscillate between two poles: loyalty versus disloyalty. As disloyalty prevailed over loyalty in his dealings with the Center (New Delhi), loyalty disappeared in the sense of Conner and ethnonationalism became the competing deciding force.

B. Triggering causes: emanating from the internal setting

i. Ethnic/political mobilization

Many believe that economic development and modernization as “taproots” of instability and internal conflicts. Better education, higher literacy rates, and improved access to growing mass media raise awareness of where different people stand in society. It also raises economic and political expectations, and can lead to mounting frustration when these expectations are not met (Brown, 1996: 21; 1996-19). Olzak and Tsutsu study extends arguments from existing theories to consider an explanation of ethnic mobilization at the world system level. The analysis uses structural equation models to compare data on ethnic mobilization in 130 countries (including India and Pakistan) from 1965 to 1990 (Olzak and Tsutsui, 1998: 691-720). Samuel P. Huntington, in his book, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, has pointed out that the combination of institutional decay and political mobilization could lead to political instability. Huntington asserts the process of economic modernization can contribute to increasing demands for political participation by opening up new opportunities for physical, social

and economic mobility (Huntington, 1968). India's political evolution matches Huntington's arguments. To Huntington, political mobilization is a function of increased literacy, media exposure, and economic development. Two more important works that analyze the impact of modernization and are relevant to the current thesis are Saul Newman's "Does Modernization Breed Ethnic Political Conflict?" (Newman, 1991: 451-478) and Charles Tilly's "Does Modernization Breed Revolution?" (Tilly, 1973: 425-447). They do identify the pitfalls of modernization and argue that modernization opens up avenues of political consciousness among ethnic groups leading them to assert their voices for more rights and privileges that are often in conflict with the states' interests. Myron Weiner has argued, accelerating mobility in the context of scarce resources in a multiethnic society can lead to political mobilization along ethnic lines and can result in interethnic tensions (Weiner, 1978).

The good level of education and the media access that primarily contribute to ethnic mobilization could be argued were prevalent in case of Kashmir. It ought to be noted here that the state of Jammu and Kashmir was perhaps the first in the country to introduce modern education. A mission school, the first to introduce a university syllabus, came up way back in 1881. English began to replace Persian and Urdu. In 1886, a state school followed the course set by the mission school and turned out a large number of matriculates. It was Dr A Mitra who raised the status of the state school, introducing English curriculum. In 1905, a college was opened in Srinagar with the help of Annie Besant, and another in Jammu in 1908.³¹

³¹ The Pandits took advantage of these institutions, while the Muslims kept away from them. However, when the Muslims realized their backwardness and were eager to take advantage of English education, the

A closer examination will show that the dramatic growth in literacy rates during the 1960s and 1970s was possible owing to the growth of educational institutions in Kashmir. In the ten years from 1971 to 1981, the overall literacy rate in Jammu and Kashmir grew by 43.54 percent, the third-fastest growth rate in the nation (Table 4.1). The dramatic increase in enrollments in educational institutions was noticeable during the period (Tables 4.2 and 4.3).

Table 4.1 Literacy Rates in Jammu and Kashmir, 1961-81

Year	Male	Female	Total Population	Ten-year % increase
1961	16.97	4.26	11.03	
1971	26.75	9.28	18.58	68.45
1981	36.29	15.88	26.67	43.54

Source: Government of India, 1981: *Handbook of Populations Statistics* (New Delhi: Government of India, 1988), p. 60

Table 4.2 Educational Enrollments in Jammu and Kashmir, 1950-93

Year	Primary	Middle	Secondary	General colleges	Universities	Engineering colleges	Medical Colleges	Agricultural colleges

Pandits had already monopolized these institutions. This created a great deal of frustration among the Muslims.

1950-1	78,000	20,000	5,600	2,779	—	—	—	—
1960-1	216,000	60,000	22,000	8,005	174	171	182	—
1968-9	362,000	105,000	51,000	16,718	1,285	1,280	848	80
1980-1	537,800	167,200	83,600	15,828	3,351	1,286	1,072	294
1985-6	663,700	232,700	132,800	20,089	4,139	2,784	1,110	312
1992-3	940,000	370,000	262,000	34,000	NA	NA	NA	NA

Sources: Government of Jammu and Kashmir, Department of Planning and Development, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Digest of Statistics, 1985-86 (Srinar: Government Press, 1968); Jammu and Kashmir: An Economic Profile (New Delhi: Government of India, 1995), p. 18

Table 4.2 shows that enrollments in primary, middle, secondary, general colleges, and universities were 216,000, 60,000, 22,000, 8,005, and 174, respectively in 1960-61. The corresponding figures jumped to 940,000, 370,000, 262,000, 34,000, and 4,139 (1985-6), respectively in 1992-93.

Table 4.3 University enrollment levels in Jammu and Kashmir, 1950-1 and 1976-7

	1950-1	1976-7
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		Number of enrolled	% of population ^a	Number enrolled	% of (1981) population ^a
General	Male	2,417		13,726	
	Female	252		7,102	
Professional	Male	50		2,986	
	Female	10		545	
Special	Male	109		370	
	Female	5		80	
Total		2,843	.087%	24,809	.414%

a. Population of Jammu and Kashmir in 1951 = 3,253,852; in 1981= 5,987,389.

Sources: Government of Jammu and Kashmir, Department of Planning and Development, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, *Digest of Statistics, 1977-78*, vol. 2 (Srinagar: Government of Jammu and Kashmir, 1978), p. 271; Directorate of Census Operations, Jammu and Kashmir, *Census of India, 1981: A Portrait of a Population: Jammu and Kashmir* (Srinagar: Government of India, 1986), pp. 11-12

Table 4.3 demonstrates that the university enrollment jumped to .414 percent in 1976-77 from its corresponding figures of .087 percent in 1950-51. It can be deduced from this tremendous growth in educational facilities that they lend a strong credence to the Kashmiris to get conscious about their rights and privileges in the society making them aware of politics at local, national and international level.

The outcome of the expanded education became all the more fruitful and rewarding for the Kashmiris in their efforts to assert their rights and privileges because of the simultaneous expansion of mass media. This gave them added fillip to mobilize them politically at a faster rate. During the period of 1965 to 1984, India in general and Kashmir in particular registered an unprecedented growth of print industry (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4 Number of newspapers published in Jammu and Kashmir and in India as a whole, 1965-84

	1965	1970	1975	1984
Jammu and Kashmir	46	102	135	203
All India	7,906	11,306	12,423	21,784

Sources: *Mass Media in India, 1978* (New Delhi Publications Divisions Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1978); *Mass media in India, 1986* (New Delhi: Publications Divisions, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1987).

Table 4.4 shows that in 1965, only 46 newspapers were published in Kashmir. Ten years later, 135 papers were being published. By 1991, the number had grown to 254. Thus, within twenty-five years, the number of newspapers published grew by some 450 percent. In addition to the dramatic increase in the actual numbers of newspapers published, Kashmir saw significant increases in newspaper circulation. For example, in 1982, total newspaper circulation in Kashmir was estimated to be around 119,000. Two years later, the circulation had risen to 192,000. In another five years, the figure was 369,000. By 1990, newspaper circulation was down sharply to only 280,000. In 1992 it stood at 297,000.

In addition, Kashmir, along with other parts of India, has seen a significant growth in the electronic media, especially television and video and audio tape recorders. Owing to its location, Kashmir was one of the earliest states in India to have access to television. (The

Indian government wanted to ensure that the Kashmiris were not exposed only to Pakistani broadcasts).

Table 4.5 reveals that in 1950-51 only 12 villages of Kashmir was electrified. By 1976-77, the corresponding figure stood at 2,047. The ability of even rural Kashmiris to receive television and radio broadcasts was facilitated by the tremendous state-driven process of rural electrification. With the blessings of rural electrification the level of consciousness swept the mass level. This is something that is unseen in other villages of Jammu and Ladakh.

Table 4.5 Extent of rural electrification in Jammu and Kashmir, 1950-1 and 1976-7

	Number of villages with a source of electrical power		
	Jammu	Kashmir	Ladakh
1950-1	3	12	0
1976-7	1,293	2,047	18

Sources: Government of Jammu and Kashmir, Department of Planning and Development, Directorate of Evaluation and Statistics, *Digest of Statistics*, 1977-78, vol. 2 (Srinagar: Government of Jammu and Kashmir, 1978), p. 150.

The Kashmiris made a good use of these modern facilities by proving them politically more conscious. In 1972 Srinagar was the third “television center” to be commissioned in India, after Delhi and Bombay. Access to television broadcasts depends on the availability of television sets. The most recent estimate, made in 1992, suggests that Kashmir had 118,000 television sets, or 1 per 65 residents (Ganguly, 1997: 36).

The same holds true about the proliferation of videocassette recorder (VCRs) and videotapes. According to the statistical figure of 1982, India had 180,000 VCRs, which accounted for 11.6 percent of those homes that had television sets. A year later, the corresponding figure rose to 530,000 pushing the percentage from 11.6 percent to 34.2 percent (Ganguly 1997: 36), meaning almost threefold increase. Although same data on Kashmir are extremely difficult to obtain, it is assumed from the increasing popularity of video parlors in Kashmir that there will be no big difference about the relative data picture between Kashmir and other parts of India. All these spectacular growth of data emphatically hint that the current generation of Kashmiris were exposed to more information making them conscious of their rights and privileges.

ii. *The political /institutional decay*

India, which is a multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-lingual state, had started-off with a federal and multiparty system of government. Although it is the largest democracy in the world in terms of population, there were flagrant violations of some fundamental principles of democracy despite its good record of maintaining its policy of secularism. The origins of the institutional decay in India could be traced in Indira Gandhi's rule. By contrast, the process of institutional decay in Kashmir dates back during India's first Premier, Nehru, when he undertook the policy of integrating Kashmir into India's fold—a point that has been highlighted in the preceding discussion. This job was done vigorously and in a more anti-democratic way by his successor governments, thereby sowing the seeds of grievances and alienation among the Kashmiris. One of the key

principles of democracy: the right to fair and free elections was consistently denied and ignored to the Kashmiri people by the Center resulting in a steady and gradual institutional decay—a process that threw India in a state of severe crisis of governability. Here particular importance will be given in the consistent electoral fraud and wrongdoing in Kashmir by the Center.

After the death of Nehru, her daughter Indira Gandhi, who became the Prime Minister of India, instituted a dynastic rule in India making Indian democracy a mockery. To effect Gandhi's personalized rule she had to resort to coercion (Mathur, 1992) and it became the order of the day for her to perpetuate her rule in India. In essence, Indira Gandhi and her successors made a U-turn from Nehru's efforts of institutionalizing democracy in India (Brass, 1994; Kholi, 1992;).³² Following the death of Sheikh Abdullah in September 1982, his son Farooq Abdullah succeeded him. Indira Gandhi went one step further in the process of institutional decay in Kashmir when in the 1983 state assembly elections Indira Gandhi pressurized Farooq Abdullah to forge an electoral alliance between Indira Gandhi's the Congress Party (I) and the National Conference. Farooq Abdullah turned Indira's proposal down, which generated tension between the Center and the State. Farooq Abdullah, much against the pleasure of Indira, contested the elections alone. The National Conference got victorious (Table 4.6). But resolute to install a Congress government in Kashmir, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi dismissed Farooq Abdullah in July 1984 on insubstantial grounds replacing him with his rival G.M.Shah who defected

³² In South Asia problems of governance is severe. On the political front one may witness a kind of criminalization process pervades the South Asian polity that corrupts the key machinery of the governments causing political and institutional decay.

from the National Conference and formed a new party under the name of the Awami National Conference (Khaleda).

C. Most-immediate catalytic triggering factors: emanating from the internal setting

i. Rajiv-Farooq electoral alliance in 1985

What Indira Gandhi could not achieve, her son, Rajiv Gandhi, who became the Indian Premier following her tragic assassination by her Sheikh body guards, could do so by forming an electoral alliance in November 1985 between his Congress Party and the National Conference of Abdullah. The move, which proved to be a tremendous psychological shock to the Kashmiris, met with their utter disapproval. They took serious exception to this arrangement, and felt betrayal by Farooq whom they hailed as their national hero when back in 1984 he rebuffed such a proposal by Indira Gandhi. To the Kashmiris he became more popular following his unjust and unfair dismissal in July 1984 by the dictates of Indira Gandhi who punished Farooq for his obduracy and disloyalty to her. It was beyond the wildest ken of the Kashmiris that the same Farooq, who did not compromise with Indira, would play a different poker game by playing foul at the cost of the Kashmiri interest. Farooq had to pay heavy price for his betrayal, for it tarnished his image, and in the image-perception of the Kashmiris, he became a traitor. As Tavleen Singh reports: “Overnight, Farooq was transformed from hero to traitor in the Kashmiri mind. People could not understand how a man who had been treated the way he had by

Delhi, and especially by the Gandhi family, could now be crawling to them for accords and alliances” (Singh, 1995: 98).

True, as a leader, he was not as charismatic as his father was. But he pledged at the time of becoming the head of the National Conference that he would never betray the cause of the Kashmiris. The Rajiv-Farooq 1986 accord was not only the break of his promise but was also a sell out of the Kashmiris interest and the crushing of the cult of pride that his father, Sheikh Abdullah, left to the Kashmiris. As the noted Indian Muslim journalist, M. J. Akbar, in his book, recalls:

[Farooq] was charged with betraying his father’s fifty-year legacy of pride. It created a vacuum where the National Conference had existed, and extremists stepped into that vacuum. Kashmiriyat had become vulnerable to the votaries of violence and Muslim hegemony, both injuring Kashmir and perverting Kashmiriyat (Akbar, 1991: 213).

Significantly, neither the Center nor the State could fathom that the accord would have serious ramifications leading to the rise of the fundamentalist forces in Kashmir—the forces that both the Center and the State tried to uproot. The religiously oriented and fundamentalist political parties numbering at least ten joined the Muslim United Front (MUF) under the leadership of Maulvi Abbas Ansari to contest the 1987 elections. Furthermore, Abdul Gani Lone’s People’s Conference and G. M. Shaha’s Awami National Conference held discussions with MUF. Such a coalition-like development was perceived as a threat to the National Conference of Farooq Abdullah. Farooq, who became fearful of such a challenging sign that never surfaced in the politics of Kashmir,

felt constraint to arrest several MUF leaders and a number of election agents before the 1987 elections hinting his unfair dealing with the oppositions right from the beginning.

ii. Electoral wrongdoing in the 1987 elections

The 1987 elections (Table 3.6 shows the election results by party-wise) are considered to be the most unfair and rigged in Kashmir's recent history (Ganguly, 1997; Hewitt, 1995; Kamal, 1995; Lamb, 1995; Newberg, 1995; Rahman, 1996; Scofield, 1996; Treambaly, 1995).

Table: 4. 6 State Assembly Elections, 1951-1987

Party	1951	1957	1962	1967	1972	1977	1983	1987
National Conference	75	68	69	8	a	47	47	38
Congress	-	-	-	61	57	11	26	28
Jan Singh	-	-	-	4	3	-	-	-
Praja Prashad	-	5	3	-	-	-	-	-
Janata Party	-	-	-	-	-	13	-	-
Bharitya Janata Party	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Muslim United Front	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Peoples Conference	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Jamat-i-Islami	-	-	-	-	5	1	-	-
Harijan Mandal	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Panthers Party	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Independents	-	1	2	2	9	4	1	4

Source: Shaheen Akhtar, *Uprising in Indian-Held Jammu and Kashmir*. Islamabad Institute of Regional Studies, 1991.

Note: a National Conference was merged in the Congress.

Table 4.6 shows that National Conference-Congress alliance secured the maximum seats, while the MUF begged 4, with the *Jamat-i-Islami* finishing with zero. Lamb asserts: "The

1987 elections were as unfree and unfair as any other held in the history of the State, with the arguable exception of those of 1977” (Lamb, 1994: 260). The farcical nature of elections held by the Indian Government in Kashmir has been exposed by Tavleen Singh: “Elections were held regularly but everyone knew that the process was not so much one of election as selection. Only those candidates who had the blessings of Delhi ever won. Everyone had learned to accept this in a sullen sort of way . . .” (Singh: 1995: 120 quoted in Kamal, 1997: 1).

Strangely enough, the Indian media was not very forthcoming in criticizing the Center-State-engineered fraud in the 1987 elections despite a few exceptions. One exception was the influential English weekly, *India Today*. It was the only leading national magazine at the time to admit that the 1987 elections had been rigged. A popular contemporary Indian journalist, Tavleen Singh, who highlighted this point, reported:

Most other newspapers, and in particular those who had been vociferous about the rigging charges they made in 1983, remained *strangely silent this time*, pretending that the election had been won fair and square. The same Farooq Abdullah who had been vilified in 1983 as a traitor and secessionist and pro-Pakistan was suddenly a national hero. There was only one reason for this remarkable change of attitude. It was Farooq Abdullah’s decision to be friends with the Congress Party (emphasis added Singh, 1995: 110)

The fact that the 1987 elections were really rigged and fraud was documented by Indian press media later, say, in 1990. The leading daily of India, the *Times of India* commented: “There was a consensus in the administration and the intelligence agencies that the Congress-National Conference alliance had resorted to large scale rigging” (*Times of India*, 1990: 6 quoted in Kamal, 1997: 10). The English weekly, *Sunday*, reported:

In anger, the election agent of Syed Salahuddin, the chief of the Hizbul Mujahideen now, tried to storm his house carrying Kalashnikov and was gunned down. Kashmiris consider him their first martyr (in the on-going freedom struggle). Salahuddin had the unparalleled experience of being declared elected by the returning officer, being given the certificate too, and then hearing on TV that he had lost massively (*Sunday*, 1995: 30).

As acknowledged later by A. G. Noorani, and by many Indian analysts:

The rigging of the 1987 poll proved disastrous for India because this time electoral fraud was coupled with the use of force. Protests were sought to be silenced by arrests and beatings. Many of the leaders of the armed militants were participants in that fateful poll, and they became utterly disillusioned with Indian democracy” (Noorani, 1995: 11).

Reflecting back on that period, Tavleen Singh writes:

The rigged election was the beginning of the end. When I next went to Kashmir some months afterwards nearly everyone I met said that most of the youths who had acted as election agents and workers for the MUF candidates were now determined to fight for their rights differently. *They had no choice but to pick up the gun*, was the message I was given. Farooq Abdullah did what Congress chief ministers had done before him. “He tried to buy Kashmir. Not since 1953 (when Sheikh Abdullah was imprisoned) had there been a properly elected, popular chief minister, so the only way for them to survive was to pour money into the Valley, to subsidize rice and do a variety of things of this kind which failed to impress the Kashmiris but served definitely to widen the chasm between them and the rest of the country (emphasis added Singh, 1995: 220-221 quoted in Kamal, 1997: 12).

The Report of the Women’s Initiative had this to say:

The 1987 elections were the last hope of the Kashmiris to have a democratic Government chosen by the people within the framework of the Constitution of India. The United Muslim Front—the origin of today’s militant groups—was

ousted even though it had already been announced on All-India Radio that it had polled the majority of votes. The rigging was led by Farooq Abdullah, representing the National Conference-Congress combine. The then Governor, Jagmohan, in his report to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, stated sarcastically: “You have won the election, but lost Kashmir” (Quoted in Kamal, 1997: 11)

Significantly, the several key insurgents leaders, Shabir Shah, Yasin Malik, and Javed Mir, who were the polling agents for the MUF in the 1987 elections, were the direct witnesses of the mass rigging of the 1987 elections. The extensive electoral wrongdoing that they witnessed in the 1987 elections was enough of a hint for this young generation of Kashmiris that the Center does not at all care to give a damn to their political rights. The electoral wrongdoing that has been consistently practiced by the New Delhi government has earned an ire and disrespect for the Center. The Center played its final stroke of electoral fraud at the cost of splitting the collective identity of the Kashmiris. Gripped by utter disillusionment and frustration, they began drifting in the vortex of violence and conflict with the Center, thereby bringing about a change in the entire matrix of communal harmony that preserved the societal fabrics of the Kashmiri society for centuries. The British scholar, Hewitt, rightly portrays the very multifaceted ramifications of the developments in the following manner:

Coming out of a period of intra-National Conference rivalries, the so-called Farooq-Gandhi pact was followed by what is commonly believed to be the most rigged election in the history of Indian politics. The year 1987 is, in retrospect, an important turning point. The Muslim United Front (MUF), which stood against the National Conference-Congress-I combine, was denied victory in several Assembly constituencies against all popular expectations, to the obvious bewilderment of some returning officers. . . . There is one rather staggering fact that casts a great deal of light upon the nature of the current Kashmir crisis. Many of the militants that we spoke to in 1994 had been involved with the MUF coalition and had enthusiastically campaigned in the 1987 election. Their shock over the result – and their experience of victimisation afterwards – was for many

the final straw. Some moved quickly to terrorism and acts of violence, others removed themselves from politics altogether. The cultural matrix of Jammu and Kashmir society quickly began to transform and to polarise, with the Hindus leaving, supporting extremist national parties (such as the BJP) instead of the Congress-I or demanding a separate political solution within their own state. The centre, preoccupied with a change to India's second non-Congress government, was slow to respond to the changing political situation, which involved the kidnapping of the Home Minister's daughter in 1989 by the JKLF. By mid-1989, New Delhi was moving troops in to deal with the militants (Hewitt, 1995: 9-10).

iii. The farcical 1989 Lok Sabha (Lower Assembly) elections

In the 1989 Lok Sabha elections (Table 4.7 shows the elections results by party-wise) the opposition did not participate. Yet the elections were held amid total boycott by the key oppositions. The Independents contested the elections. By any standard, the 1989 Lok Sabha elections witnessed the lowest voters' turnouts.

Table 4.7 Lok Sabha Elections in Jammu and Kashmir, 1967-1989

Party	1967	1971	1977	1980	1984	1989
National Congress	1	-	2	3	3	3
Congress(I)	5	5	3	1	3	2
Congress(U)	-	-	-	1	-	-
Janata Party	-	-	-	1	-	-
Independents	-	1	1	-	-	1

Source: Shaheen Akhtar, *Uprising in Indian-Held Jammu and Kashmir*. Islamabad Institute of Regional Studies, 1991.

Note: Lok Sabha, meaning Lower Assembly.

Although the massive rigging and fraud in the 1987 elections had already set the Kashmiris towards the path of the uprising, the 1989 Lok Sabha elections only confirmed

once again that the New Delhi government does not care about the opposition participation in the elections. This angered the Kashmiris.

The situation that was prevalent in Kashmir on the eve of 1989 was well portrayed by the *India Today* as it reflected throughout Kashmir in 1989 there were:

No poster, no party banners or flags, no speeches or election meetings. So successful had the militants' call to boycott the polls been that the campaign in the Kashmir Valley was distinguished by its complete absence. The National Conference under Farooq Abdullah was the only party to put up candidates for the three Lok Sabha seats in Srinagar, Anantnag, and Baramulla. . . . They will be elected unopposed without a single poll rally . . . in a mockery of the electoral process (*India Today*, 1989: 14).

According to one observer, the Lok Sabha elections in 1989 witnessed less than 5 percent vote turnout in the Valley despite the NC-Congress coalition being in power with Delhi's powerful backing (Malik, 1995: 20). But most observers reported a lower voter turnout, ranging from 3 percent to 2 percent of 2.2 million electorates in the Valley. For example, Harinader Baweja believes that a mere 2 percent of the people cast vote (Baweja, in Kamal, 1995: 20). Governor Jagmohan himself admitted that "hardly three percent of the people came out and voted in the Valley" (Zaaher, 1995 quoted in Kamal, 1997: 13). International Commission of Jurists had recorded even a lower figure of just one percentage of voters' turnout. (Report of a Mission, 1995 referred to in Kamal, 1997: 13).

D. Triggering causes: emanating from the external setting: international demonstration effect approach

i. The 1979 Iranian Revolution (cultural/religious factor)

The theoretical linkage between religion and international politics is based on the assumption that religion plays a critical role in shaping both the normative orientations of individuals and their understanding of the surrounding world through ethical or moral prescriptions (Goldstein and Keohane 1993: 16 in Tessler and Nachtwey, 1998: 620). This is more pertinent to the adherents, as Leege observes, religion “characterizes its answers as sacred, eternal, [and] implicated with the ultimate meaning of life,” (Leege 1993: 10 quoted in Tessler and Nachtwey, 1999: 620). The successful revolution exclusively based on religion that the world has ever witnessed has left its rippling effect on the Muslim world implicating them with the true meaning of Islamic life. The Kashmiris have drawn their spiritual zeal and moral enthusiasm from such a successful religious revolution, which made them further conscious of their right for self-determination on the basis of their religious identity. The new generation of Kashmiris had the access to information. It made them politically conscious; they could muster political mobilization due to media exposure. The “Iranian connection” vis-à-vis the Kashmiri uprising has been recognized by many (Ganguly, 1992; Khan, 1990:87-104; Rahman, 1996; Schofield, 1996: 220). Khan (1990: 87-104) has given more stressed on it. As Khan points out that an indication of the Iranian connection is the Indian reaction to what New Delhi called “anti-India” propaganda of the *Tehran Radio*. An Iranian diplomat, Director of Iranian Cultural Center in New Delhi, was denied entry into Jammu and Kashmir in early 1988. Apart from *Radio Tehran’s* alleged hostile attitude, it was believed in official circles in Srinagar that the presence of the Iranian diplomat at the

foundation-stone laying ceremony of a college to which he was invited would have been exploited by “anti-national elements of Kashmir (*Nation*, 1988 in Khan, 1990: 89). As Khan argues that “the ideological link of the Kashmir freedom fighters with the Islamic Republic of Iran is natural. The popular uprising in Iran, which overthrew the Shah government, had exposed the vulnerability of oppressed regimes. After the success of the Islamic revolution the new leaders of Iran encouraged the oppressed of the world, particularly the Muslims, to throw away the yoke of bondage and become masters of their own destiny.” (Khan, 1999: 95). The Imam in his final discourse said:

You oppressed masses of the world. You Muslim countries and you Muslims! Rise to your feet and get your dues with your teeth and claws, defying the noisy propaganda of the super powers, and expel the criminal men at the helm who give out the fruits of your toil to your enemies and the enemies of Islam, and let the self-committed and serving sectors of the society take the helm of your country, all joining together under the dignifying banner of Islam and rising against the enemies of Islam, marching towards an independent and free Islamic Republic and resting assured that the realization of the proposition would mean the subjugation of all oppressors of the world, and helping the oppressed masses to become leaders and inheritors of your lands. Let us hope for the advent of that day which the Supreme Lord has promised us (al-Khomeini, 1989: 357 quoted in Khan, 1999: 95).

Then, there was the Iranian support to the Afghan Mujahideen that continued throughout the Afghan resistance movement. In his message to “The Second Seminar on Afghanistan” held in Tehran, 2 October 1989, President of Iran, Hashemi Rafsanjani, alluding to the greatest commonalties that “the Iranian Muslim people” had with the Afghan people (Rafsanjani, 1989/90: 523-524 a in Khan, 1999: 96).

“Some physical distance notwithstanding”, the people of Kashmir enjoyed similar commonalties with the Iranian Muslim peoples as did the Afghans (Khan, 1999: 96).

They could therefore hope for a positive response from Iran, given its Islamic commitment. That commitment was reinforced by Iranian statements for support of the oppressed in their struggle for freedom. Mr Mahmud Mousavi, Ambassador of Iran in Pakistan, for example, declared at a press conference in Multan, in February 1986. Ever since our revolution we have “supported the freedom fighters and waged struggle against oppressors and despots as we are fighting for true independence and rule of the people” (*Muslim*, 1986: 3). Iran’s support for Kashmir uprising was demonstrated forcefully when in January 1990, Tehran asked Inderjit Gujral, the Indian Foreign Minister, to cancel his visit to Iran in protest at violence against Kashmiri Muslims. Iran by mid-April 1990, remained only Muslim country other than Pakistan to have supported openly the Kashmir Muslims’ struggle. As *Time* analyst asserts: Iran’s strong protest to the Indian Government over its use of violence against Kashmir Muslims reveals Tehran’s growing interest in the separatist struggle for self-determination in Kashmir (*Time*, 1990 as quoted in Khan, 1999: 98).

“Neither he nor anyone else could have predicted the growth in support for the Islamic movement, which came in later years, especially after the Iranian revolution in February 1979. This resurgence could not have more dramatically demonstrated by the Afghan resistance to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979” (Schofield, 1996: 220).

Professor Mustapha Kamal Pasha, who teaches Political Science at Webster University of America in his thoughtful article, attributes the uprising to the rise of Pan-Islamic nationalism:

Rather than focus on the Kashmir development issue directly in terms of the dominant matrix of Indo-Pakistan relations, our strategy is to examine the problem from the wider perspective of Kashmir's relations to the growing ferment in the Muslim world, with a more potent, self-conscious Islam providing the key element for cultural Kashmiri identification. Paradoxically going beyond the two-nation divide and examining the Kashmir issue from this wider angle gives new meaning to the two-nation theory, as we shall see later. In this context, the battle between two rival nationalisms and between secularism and religiously-conditioned territorial claims do not disappear but instead acquire a new language. The interjection of Islam into the political equation gives Kashmiri nationalism a new twist, pushing the question of self-determination onto the centre-stage, but also reforming it. . . . The new identity, more developed and revitalised may not be inconsistent with a widespread pro-Pakistan sentiment, but neither does it depend on it entirely. Kashmiri Muslims can now seek ideological sustenance from a transnational Islam, while simultaneously basking in the guaranteed patronage from across the border. Beginning with the Islamic Revolution in Iran, the mood of Islamic reassertion in the far reaches of the world of Islam—from Palestine to Pakistan, the Soviet Central Republics and Sinkiang to the Far East—has provided an awareness of faith and collective power that can rarely escape Muslims, especially those who live under conditions of subordination and find the alternative, secular mode of being, lacking in material and moral fulfilment (Pasha, 1992: 369-377).

Seen thus, the Iranian Revolution of 1979 gave them added stimuli to foster such a religious-based identity among them, and inspire them to rise them against the ruling elite of India who followed a policy of suppression against them.

ii. The Soviet fiasco in Afghanistan (political /religious factor)

A number of writers have referred to the “Afghan factor” although they did not treat it elaborately (Ganguly, 1997; Rahman, 1996, Schofield, 1996). While giving an interview to this author, the Indian Ambassador, in Seoul, singularly stressed on the critical role

that the Afghan factor played in fermenting the uprising. The Ambassador regarded the Afghan issue as a “key event” in that it created the ground for the Pakistani involvement. Pakistan, which became emboldened out of the Afghan crisis when finally Afghanistan became the Soviet fiasco, got the incentive to wage same kind of low-intensity war in Kashmir as it did it in Afghanistan side by side with the Afghan mujahideen.³³ The long involvement in the Afghanistan crisis taught the Pakistani Generals that low-intensity war was cheap, feasible, and an alternative to the costly conventional war. In such war, small powers can defeat the great ones. The Afghans, who fought two great Afghan wars against Great Britain to foil its strategic plan what came to known as the Great Gamble in Central Asia, proved to be historically well-trained fighters (Ahmed, 1984: 3). They are the best contemporary example, which established the precedent that it is possible to defeat great power through armed conflict. When the Kashmiri rebels discovered that their long-drawn “peaceful resistance” yielded no result, but the “armed resistance” applied by the Afghans in driving out the Soviets proved quite successful, the Kashmiri rebels switched from their hitherto ineffective model of “peaceful resistance” to the model of “armed resistance”.³⁴ In their process of switching from the model of “peaceful resistance” to that of the model of “armed resistance” the Afghanistan case provided them with the “diffusion” effect.

“A small nation with a small population with the limited resources and weapons rose in revolt against the Soviet onslaught in Afghanistan, to the extent that the Soviet Union ultimately disintegrated into fragments,” says Azam Inquilabi, a teacher in Srinagar at

³³ Interview on Friday, 25 February 2000.

this time. “Out of that five Muslim states emerged as independent states. So we got inspired, if they could offer, tough resistance to a super power in the east, we too could fight India.” (Quoted in Schofield, 1996: 220). The Afghan Mujahideen’s successful attempt to drive away the Soviet army from Afghanistan has had its strong “diffusion” effect on the Kashmiris. This also encouraged the Kashmiri rebels in fighting against the Indian government, and boosted their morale on the same line of their Afghan Muslim brethren.

³⁴ The author is thankful to the Pakistani Ambassador for bringing this crucial point to his notice while the latter gave an interview to the former on Thursday, 24 February 2000 at the latter’s Seoul office.

iii. The rise of the Palestinian Intifada and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state (cultural/religious factor)

It is another successful story of modern time. The rise of the *Intifada* sends a strong message for the Kashmiri Muslims. A good number of Palestinians voluntarily received training in Afghanistan (Hewitt, 1995), and helped the Kashmiri rebels in their struggle to set up an independent state of their own. The Kashmiris drew their incentive from the recent successful establishment of a separate Palestinian state. They drew a similar logic if the Palestinians could do so, why they cannot? Such a kind of spirit fueled their consciousness. Their rise in the level of their consciousness has been possible because of their greater exposure to the media. That, in turn helped them to judge things in comparative perspective, thereby eventually leading them to mobilize themselves both ethnically and politically (*Kashmir Report*, 1999).

iv. The resurgence of ethnic-based uprising in the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia (ethnonationalism factor)

Two important works in this regard are by Misha Genny: *The Return of History* (1990), and *The Fall of Yugoslavia* (1992). In the 1992 work he has highlighted the forces of nationalism and the break down of the collective identity among the various ethnic groups in Yugoslavia that caused the country to crumble. The rebel leaders routinely refer to the case of former Yugoslavia which broke away on the ethnic lines, and the rise of six new Muslim states in Central Asia (Rahman, 1996: 6). Seen from the perspective of

“diffusion” theory discussed in section III, all these chain of events provided “diffusion” effects on the Kashmiris minds. These events, which helped generate similar kind of political, cultural, and religious consciousness among the Kashmiris, also inspired them to throw a direct challenge to the Indian ruling elite under the banner of pan-Muslim nationalism—a fact that has been touched in section IV (Pasha, 1995).

v. The Pakistani support for the uprising (“bad neighbor’s” policy?)

Any objective discussion about the Pakistani support for the Kashmiri uprising must address the following key questions: 1. When did Pakistan get involved with the 1989 uprising? 2. Did it get involved before the uprising broke out or after it? 3. Was the Pakistani support overt or covert, direct or indirect? 4. If Pakistani involvement was there before the outbreak of the uprising, then what was the nature of the Pakistani support? 5. Did Pakistan proffer military support or political, moral, and diplomatic support at that time? The preceding discussion in section IV shows that the Indian side could not come up with the conclusive evidences that Pakistan was actively, directly, and militarily involved with the uprising well before it broke out. Even the doyen of Indian defense analyst, K. Subrahmanyam failed to support his arguments that he put forward in his 1990 work (Subrahmanyam, 1990: 111-139). Edward Desmond has pointed out (this has

been highlighted in section IV of this thesis) about Subramanyam's admission that "Operation Topac", which dates back to 1988 to justify Pakistani involvement well before the uprising, was "fraud" and "concocted" (1995:8). "Even so", as Desmond asserts, "this non-existent game-plan for subversion is still cited by Indian writers, and there remains a deep suspicion in the Indian establishment that the Pakistani hand lies behind the trouble" (Desmond, 1995: 8).

There is no denying that under the Pakistani President General Zia-ul Huq (General Zia declared Islam as the state religion of Pakistan) Islamization factor played a role in generating religious fundamentalism both in the Pakistani part and the Indian part of Kashmir. This process started ahead of the uprising. The Indian analysts show it as the evidence of Pakistan government's involvement. The Indian Ambassador, in an interview with the current author, conveyed the same impression identifying the roots of the origins of the uprising stemmed from Pakistan.³⁵ Evidences are there that the fundamentalist groups in Pakistan-part of Kashmir got actively involved in the uprising making the Pakistan's government's involvement unofficial and indirect. In 1992 it was discovered, that the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) had established an organization, named *Markas-Dawar*, an international center to organize Islamic militant activities in Kashmir under the active guidance of Mulavi Zaki (Hewitt, 1995:186). The India Ambassador named a few fundamentalist parties who got involved in inciting the uprising in the Indian-held Kashmir before the uprising broke out.³⁶ In addition, the fundamentalist groups from

³⁵ Interview with the Indian Ambassador in Seoul, 25 February 2000.

³⁶ Interview with the Indian Ambassador in Seoul, 25 February 2000.

The *Markas-Dwar* had provided not only training but also weapons to the Kashmiri rebels including the *Hizbul*. These weapons were the left-over from the Afghan conflict. It is also alleged that *Markas-Dawar*

Kashmir, such as *Hizbul* had the blessings to get support of the ISI, which had been spending about US \$3.3 million dollars a month on training and weapon supplies (Anderson, mentioned in Hewitt, 1995: 186). Pakistan government has little control over the policy of the ISI. It should be mentioned here that since Pakistan's inception it is the Pakistani top brass military who has the upper edge over the Kashmir policy vis-à-vis the Pakistani politicians.

It is widely believed that Pakistan now provides arms and training to the rebels. To supply arms to the rebels before the outbreak of the uprising is one thing, and to do so in the aftermath of it is altogether a different thing, for both acts have different ramifications. Unless a distinction is made between the two, one will equate cause with effect. It is difficult to establish that Pakistan was involved directly, officially, and militarily with the uprising before its outbreak. Edward Desmond, Tokyo Bureau of Chief, *Time Life News Service*, maintains:

Pakistan's Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) has become a controlling influence on the Kashmiri insurgents, both in terms of their political agenda and their military operations. But it would be *wrong to argue* that in early 1990 Pakistan was in any *direct way behind the militants*. Islamabad was as surprised as New Delhi by the sudden dramatic outburst of sentiment for 'Azadi (emphasis added Desmond, 1995: 8).

Hewitt has made similar observations on this point: "Direct evidence of Pakistani involvement is obviously notoriously difficult to prove" (Hewitt, 1995: 187). The

involves not only Afghans, but also Egyptian, Iranian, Sudanese, Algerian, and Saudi activists (Hewitt, 1995: 186).

Pakistani Ambassador told me Pakistan offers “moral and political support”.³⁷ He was even hesitant to use the word “diplomatic support”. Recently General Rashid Qureshi, a spokesman for Pakistani armed forces said: “Kashmir runs in the blood of almost every Pakistani. There is no way we can expect Pakistanis to stop moral, diplomatic and psychological support for the Kashmiris” (Quoted in Levine and Hussain, 2000: 10). One may argue that this is nothing new as this kind of moral and political support was always there for the Kashmiri people in 1947 and 1965—a point that has been discussed in section II. It is in this light that this thesis argues that Pakistani involvement in the 1989 uprising is tangential. Its involvement is both a cause and effect. It is a cause in that its moral support, which was there for the Kashmiris since 1947, had its “diffusion” effect on the rebels. All told it seems that Pakistani involvement was largely unofficial—an involvement which occurred not before the outbreak of the uprising.

³⁷ Interview with the Pakistani Ambassador, Thursday, 24 February 2000.

It is your own interest that is at stake when your next neighbor's wall is ablaze.

- Horace Epistles.

VI. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Kashmir remains the long-standing contentious bilateral issue between India and Pakistan. To India, Pakistan has no *locus standi* on Kashmir as its Maha Raja Hari Singh has acceded to it. To Pakistan, Kashmir is a disputed territory as the accession was not legal. The policy of the Indian ruling elite has been not to let Kashmir go independent. The rationale behind this is if Kashmir slips away, it will trigger a domino effect³⁸ on the federal structure of India, risking a balkanization of India. The Pakistani rulers hold that without Kashmir becoming a part of its territory, its two-nation theory cannot be

substantiated. India can ill-afford to compromise its secular underpinnings because this is secularism that has made a pluralistic society like India to maintain its communal harmony. To the Muslims, secularism is a mask behind which India's misrule is camouflaged.

Evidently, the Muslims in Kashmir want to escape Indian rule. The various rebel groups, despite their ideological differences, also want the same. To tame them, India resorted to undemocratic and coercive means to secure the unquestionable and unqualified loyalty of the Kashmiri Muslims to New Delhi's rule. To the Kashmiri Muslims, their separate distinct Muslim identity compels them to become disloyal to India's rule, making it a case of ethnonationalism. Thus, a loyal-disloyal like situation shapes the Center-State relations giving birth to internal war-like situations between these two competing actors.

Two persons whose indelible mark shaped the contemporary history of Kashmir were the Indian first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru (1947-1964) and the Prime Minister (first) and later the Chief Minister of Kashmir, Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah (1947-52, 1975-1983). The striking points of similarities between these two great persons were that both came from Kashmir; both were pandits; both were charismatic leaders, and both were secular-minded. They banked much on each other, as the preceding discussion has shown, to maintain a loyal-like situation as far as the relationship between the Center and State was concerned. Both cordiality and strain marked their relationship. The Nehru government, instead of fulfilling its pledge to put plebiscite into practice, began

³⁸ This is an official policy of the Indian government. The US-based Indian scholar Ganguly is an advocate of this official view. Rizvi, a Muslim writer, has challenged this view. For compare and contrast, see

integrating Kashmir against the will of Kashmiris. The subsequent governments pursued the same line of policy. Consequently, Kashmir became an issue of the crisis of governability. A disloyal-like situation arose when the interests of the Center and the State clashed. Abdullah, like a pendulum, kept swinging between the pole of loyalty and the pole of disloyalty. The same was true of Farooq Abdullah, the son of Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah. When Sheikh Abdullah and Farooq, under the pressure of the Center, became too loyal to the Center, it earned ire and dissent from the Kashmiris.

The idea of the third option, that is, independence of Kashmir, always crisscrossed Sheikh Abdullah's mind. A hardheaded realist, Abdullah, convinced of the impracticality of joining to Pakistan³⁹, threw his weight in favor of India. But when his government assumed a repressive nature toward the end his governance (post-1975 period), Kashmiris assessed it as the betrayal to their nation by their own leader. Abdullah fell from the grace. Abdullah's son, Farooq met with the same fate. Now, the Kashmiri rebels routinely burn the effigies of both Abdullah and Farooq on their birthdays just as they burn the Indian flag on the independent day of India (15 August, 1947). To the Kashmiris, their history is the history of "double betrayals". Both the Indian leaders and their own Kashmiris leaders have betrayed their cause. As a result, they had to take their own cause in their own hands when repression by the Center

(Ganguly, 1997; 1996, 1992); and (Rizvi, 1993).

³⁹Objective analysis shows that hardly any political leaders from the key four provinces of Pakistan entertain the idea of the practicality of the merger of Kashmir with Pakistan. On this perspective see (Shah, 1995: 103-112; Samad, 1995: 65-78).

reached no point of return. The road they chose was an uprising asserting their right to self-determination as a separate nation.

Although causes of the Kashmiri uprising ranged from socio-economic to religio-cultural to political factors, it was chiefly an internally driven uprising. In the whole process, it was the elite's decision that acted as a pivotal factor. A thirteen set of causal factors that explains the uprising shows that the triggering factors and the most-immediate catalytic factors explain why the uprising broke out in 1989 and not before. By contrast, the whole set of thirteen causal variables explains why the uprising flared-up.

While the internal dynamics were the key explanatory variables, some external factors discussed also reinforced these underlying causes. The confluence dynamic—the meeting point of internal and external dynamics—has reinforced the uprising giving it a sever form.

Evidently, the Kashmiri rebel groups have threatened the Indian rule in Kashmir. To continue its rule, New Delhi has been pursuing a repressive policy to eliminate the resistance of the Kashmiri rebel groups. In contrast, the rebels have been following a “hit-and-run” guerrilla strategy to win their *jihad*, holy war. For Pakistan, it was a good opportunity to revenge against India as Islamabad was hell-bent on doing so since its defeat in the 1971 war by India. In this connection, it is worth bearing in mind that India is an emerging dominant regional power, whose likes and dislikes, motive and temperament as well as power-weight in the matter of regional politics of South Asia are

of crucial importance. So long as the basic image-perception of India and Pakistan towards each other remains as it is⁴⁰ there is little likelihood to have a durable rapprochement between them.

Now is a crucial time for New Delhi and Islamabad to reassess their images and give up imaginary fears. Pakistan can embolden itself by borrowing power from outside and strengthen its credibility against India. It will be foolhardy for Islamabad think that borrowed power could tip the balance of power in its favor giving it a position of strength over New Delhi. Any future war between a nuclear-armed India and a nuclear-armed Pakistan would be disastrous and therefore any attempt by either of the two to bully the other might prove a self-committed national suicidal.

As indicated, the Kashmir issue was boxed in the bilateral relationship of India-Pakistan since their inception. With the outbreak of the 1989 uprising the peace and stability of the subcontinent hangs on uncertainty—a situation where India, Pakistan, and the Kashmiris have a stake.

Undeniably, the subcontinental peace and stability depend on their pragmatic behavior. Their sensible dealings with each other will augur well for the subcontinent; the contrary will bode ill for the region. The saddest part is that their objectives of increasing military

⁴⁰ The crux of the problem lies with their historical images that each has portrayed for each other over the long periods as a result of which they had to follow a divergent foreign policy. Wayne Wilcox has pointed out that India considers Pakistan a hostile state and Pakistan views India “a proven aggressor” as referred to in (Choudhury, 1968: 230). On this point also see, (Nayar, 1969).

expenditure remain unachieved. Their bilateral history shows that a reckless playing of a diplomatic poker has always brought only national setbacks for them.

Kashmir keeps bleeding as it bled in the past⁴¹. Under the state of flux that characterizes the Kashmir post-uprising situation, New Delhi and Islamabad, wittingly or unwittingly, will keep jockeying and jostling with each other in an attempt to flex their muscles to each other—an exercise that may warrant any untoward incident entailing a fresh conflict between them. Under the circumstances, Kashmir, often referred to as the paradise of the earth, will continue to bleed profusely.

Appendix I

KASHMIR CHRONOLOGY

<p>The Pre- Muslim Period of the history</p> <p>of Kashmir embracing Vedic, Buddhist and Brahmanical Times</p>	<p>}</p> <p>}</p> <p>}</p>	<p>From the earliest times to 1320 A.C.</p>
<p>The Sultans of Kashmir</p> <p>beginning with Sultan Sadr-ud-Din (Rinchana) to Sultan Habib Shah</p>	<p>}</p>	<p>1320 to 1560 A.C. or 240 years</p> <p>[From 1323 to 1338 A.C.the interval of 15 years is taken up by Udayana deva’s and Kota Rani’s rule.]</p>

⁴¹ The acts of atrocities committed by the Indian army in Kashmir have surpassed all its past record. On this point see (*Human Rights Watch /Asia*, 1996). Many British Parliamentarians and American Senators have vehemently protested the Indian army’s acts of atrocities. See, the vedio film, *Kashmir: The True Story*. Produced by the Pakistan Television, 1998.

The Chaks	}	1560 to 1586 A.C. or 20 years.
The Mughuls	}	1586 to 1752 A.C. or 166 years.
The Afghans	}	1752 to 1819 or 67 years.
The total length of Muslim rule in Kashmir	}	240+26+166+67=499 years.
The Sikhs	}	1819 to 1846 A.C. or 27 years.
The Dogras —From Maharaja Gulab Singh to	}	1846 to 1925 A.C. or 79 years.
Maharaja Pratap Singh excluding the present		[In 1946 Dogra rule in Kashmir
Ruler Maharaja Hari Singh		completed its century.]

Source: SUFI, G.M.D. 1974. *Kashir: Being a History of Kashmir: From the Earliest Times to Our Own*. New Delhi: Light and Life Publishers, Vol. I. p. lxxvi

Appendix-II

THE TREATY OF AMRITSAR [MARCH 16, 1846]

Treaty between the British Government on the one part and Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu on the other concluded on the part of the British Government by Frederick Currie, Esquire, and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the orders of the Right Honorable Sir Henry Hardings, G.C.B. one of Her Britannic Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council, Governor-General of the possessions of the East India Company, to direct and control all their efforts in the East Indies and by Maharaja Gullible Singh in person—1846.

Article 1

The British Government transfers and makes over for ever in independent possession to Maharaja Gulab Singh and the heirs male of his body all the hilly or mountainous country with its dependencies situated to the eastward of the River Indus and the westward of the River Ravi including Chmba and excluding Lahul, being part of the territories ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State according to the provisions of Article IV of the Treaty of Lahore, date 9th March, 1846.

Article 2

The eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing article to Maharaja Gulab Singh shall be laid down by the Commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh respectively for that purpose and shall be defined in a separate engagement after survey.

Article 3

In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs the provisions of the foregoing article Maharaja Gulab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of seventy-five lakhs of Rupees (Nanukshahee), fifty lakhs to be paid on ratification of the Treaty and twenty-five lakhs on or before the 1st October of current year, A.D. 1846.

Article 4

The limits of the territories of Maharaja Gulab Singh shall not be at any time changed without concurrence of the British Government.

Article 5

Maharaja Gulab Singh will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or questions that may arise between himself and the Government of Lahore or any other neighbouring State, and will abide by the decision of the British Government.

Article 6

Maharaja Gulab Singh engages for himself and heirs to join, with the whole of his military forces, the British troops, when employed within the hills or in the territories adjoining his possession.

Article 7

Maharaja Gulab Singh engages never to take or retain in his service any British subject nor the subject of any European or American State without the consent of the British Government.

Article 8

Maharaja Gulab Singh engages to respect in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of Article V, VI, and VII of the separate Engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, dated 11 March 1846.

Article 9

The British Government will give its aid to Maharaja Gulab Singh in protecting his territories from external enemies.

Article 10

Maharaja Gulab Singh acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government and will in token of such supremacy present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve shawl goats of approved breed (six male and six female) and three pairs of Cashmere shawls.

The Treaty of ten articles has been this day settled by Frederick Currie, Esquire, and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under directions of the Right Honorable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General, on the part of the British Government and by Maharaja Gulab Singh in person, and the said Treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honorable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B, Governor-General.

(Done at Amritsar the sixteenth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-six, corresponding with the seventeenth day of Rubee-ul-Awal 1262 Hijree)

(Signed) F. Currie

(Signed) H.M. Lawrence

(Signed) H. Hardinge (Seal)

By order of the Right Honorable the Governor-General of India.

(Signed) F. Currie

Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General

Appendix III

**THE INSTRUMENT OF ACCESSION OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR
STATE (OCTOBER 26, 1947)**

Whereas, the Indian Independence Act, 1947, provides that as from the fifteenth day of August 1947, there shall be set up an Independent Dominion known as India, and that the Government of India Act, 1935, shall, with such omissions, additions, adaptations and modifications as the Governor General may by order specify, be applicable to the Dominion of India;

And Whereas the Government of India Act, 1935, as so adapted by the Governor General provides that an Indian State may accede to the Dominion of India by an Instrument of Accession executed by the Ruler thereof;

Now, therefore,

I Shriman Indal Mahandar Rajrajeshwar Maharajadhiraj Shri Hari Singhji, Jammu Kashmir Naresh Tatha Tibbet adi Deshadhipathi, Ruler of Jammu and Kashmir State, in the exercise of my sovereignty ion and over my said State Do hereby execute this my Instrument of Accession and

1. I hereby declare that I accede to the Dominion of India with the intent that the Governor General of India, the Dominion Legislature, the Federal Court and any other Dominion authority established for purposes of the Dominion shall, by virtue of this my Instrument of Accession, but subject always to the terms thereof, and for the purposes only of the Dominion, exercise in relation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir (hereinafter referred to as “this State”) such functions as may be vested in them by or under the Government of India Act, 1935, as in force in the Dominion of India on the 15th day of August 1947 (which Act as so in force is hereafter referred to as “the Act”).

2. I hereby assume the obligation of ensuring that due effect is given to the provisions of the Act within this State so far as they are applicable therein by virtue of this my Instrument of Accession.

3. I accept the matters specified in the Schedule hereto as the matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make laws for this State.

I hereby declare that I accede to the Dominion of India on the assurance that if an agreement is made between the Governor General and the Ruler of this State whereby any functions in relation to the administration in this State of any law of the Dominion Legislature shall be exercised by the Ruler of this State, then any such agreement shall be deemed to form part of this Instrument and shall be construed and have effect accordingly. The terms of this my Instrument of Accession shall not be varied by any amendment of the Act or of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, unless such amendment is accepted by me by [in] an Instrument supplementary to this Instrument.

Nothing in this Instrument shall empower the Dominion Legislature to Make any law for this State authorizing the compulsory acquisition of land for any purpose, but I hereby undertake that should the Dominion for the purposes of a Dominion law which applies in this State deem it necessary to acquire any land, I will at their request acquire the land at their expense or if the land belongs to me transfer it to them on such terms as may be agreed, or, in default of agreement, determined by an arbitrator to be appointed by the Chief Justice of India.

Nothing in this Instrument shall be deemed to commit me in any way to acceptance of any future constitution of India or to fetter my discretion to enter into arrangements with the Government of India under any such future constitution.

Nothing in this Instrument affects the continuance of my sovereignty in and over this State, or, save as provided by or under this Instrument, the exercise of any powers, authority and rights now enjoyed by me as Ruler of this State or the validity of any law at present in force in this State.

I hereby declare that I execute this Instrument on behalf of this State and that any reference in this Instrument to me or to the Ruler of the State is to be construed as including a reference to my heirs and successors.

Given under my hand this twenty-sixth day of October, nineteen hundred and forty-seven.

HARI SINGH

Maharajadhiraj of Jammu and Kashmir State.

**ACCEPTANCE OF INSTRUMENT OF ACCESSION OF JAMMU & KASHMIR
STATE BY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA**

I do hereby accept this Instrument of Accession.

Dated this twenty-seventh day of October, nineteen hundred and forty-seven.

Mountbatten of Burma

Governor-General of India

**SCHEDULE OF INSTRUMENT OF ACCESSION THE MATTERS WITH
RESPECT TO WHICH THE DOMINION LEGISLATURE MAY MAKE LAWS
FOR THIS STATE**

A. Defence

1. The naval, military and air forces of the Dominion and any other armed forces raised or maintained by the Dominion, any armed forces, including forces raised or maintained by an acceding State, which are attached to, or operating with, any of the armed forces of the Dominion.
2. Naval, military and air force works, administration of cantonment areas.
3. Arms, fire-arms, ammunition.
4. Explosives

B. External Affairs

External affairs, the implementing of treaties and agreements with other countries; extradition, including the surrender of criminals and accused persons to parts of His Majesty's Dominions outside India.

2. Admissions into, and emigration and expulsion from, India, including in relation thereto the regulation of the movements in India of persons who are not British subjects domiciled in India or subjects of any acceding State; pilgrimages to places beyond India.
3. Naturalisation.

C. Communications

1. Posts and telegraphs, including telephones, wireless, broadcasting, and other like forms of communication.
2. Federal railways; the regulation of all railways other than minor railways in respect of safety, maximum and minimum rates and fares, station and services terminal charges, interchange of traffic and the responsibility of railway administrations as carriers of goods and passengers; the regulation of minor railways in respect safety and responsibility of the administrations of such railways as carriers of goods and passengers.
3. Maritime shipping and navigation, including shipping and navigation on tidal waters; Admiralty jurisdiction.
4. Post quarantine.
5. Major ports, that is to say, the declaration and delimitation of such ports, and the constitution and powers of Port Authorities therein.
6. Aircraft and air navigation; the provision of aerodromes; regulation and organisation of air traffic and of aerodromes.
7. Lighthouses, including lightships, beacons and other provisions for the safety of shipping and aircraft.
8. Carriage of passengers and goods by sea or by air.
9. Extension of the powers and jurisdiction of members of the police force belonging to any unit to railway area outside that unit.

D. Ancillary

1. Election to the Dominion Legislature, subject to the provisions of the Act and of any Order made thereunder.
2. Offences against laws with respect to any of the aforesaid matters.
3. Inquiries and statistics for the purposes of any of the aforesaid matters.
4. Jurisdiction and powers of all courts with respect to any of the aforesaid matters but, except with the consent of the Ruler of the acceding State, not so as to confer any jurisdiction or powers upon any courts other than courts ordinarily exercising jurisdiction in or in relation to that state.

Appendix-IV

THE ARTICLE 370 OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION (1950)

370* (Temporary provision with respect to the State of Jammu and Kashmir)—

- (1) Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution,—
 - (a) the provision of article 238 shall not apply in relation to the State of Jammu and Kashmir;
 - (b) the power of Parliament to make laws for the said State shall be limited to—
 - (i) those matters in the Union List and the Concurrent List which, in consultation with the Government of the State, are declared by the President to correspond to matters specified in the Instrument of Accession governing the accession of the state to the Dominion of

India as the matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make laws for that State; and

- (ii) such other matters in the said Lists, as with the concurrence of the Government of the State, the President may by order specify.

Explanation—For the purposes of this article, the Government of the State means the person for the time being recognized by President as the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir acting on the advice of the Council of Ministers for the time being in office under the Maharaja's Proclamation dated the fifth day of March, 1948;

- (c) the provisions of article 1 and of this article shall apply in relation to that State subject
- (d) such of the other provisions of this Constitution shall apply in relation to that State subject to such exceptions and modification as the President may by order** specify:

Provided that no such order which relates to the matter specified in the Instrument of Accession of the State referred to in paragraph (i) of sub-clause (b) shall be issued except in consultation with the Government of the State:

Provided further that no such order which relates to matters other than those referred in the last preceding proviso shall be issued except with the concurrence of that Government.

- (2) If the concurrence of the Government of the State referred to in paragraph (ii) of sub-clause (b) of clause (1) or in the second proviso to sub-clause (d) of that clause be given before the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of framing the

Constitution of the State is convened, it shall be placed before such Assembly for such decision as it may take thereon.

- (3) Notwithstanding anything in the foregoing provision of this article, the President may, by public notification declare that this article shall cease to be operative or shall be operative only with such exceptions and modifications from such date as he may specify:

Provided that the recommendation of the Constituent Assembly of the state referred to in clause (2) shall be necessary before the President issues such a notification.

* In exercise of the powers conferred by this article the President, on the recommendation of the Constituent Assembly of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, declared that, as from the 17th day of November, 1952, the said artc.370 shall be operative with modification that for the Explanation cl. (1) thereof, the following Explanation is substituted namely:

“Explanation: For the purpose of this article, the Government of the State means the person for that time being recognized by the President on the recommendation of the Legislative Assembly of the State as the Sadar-I-Riyasat of Jammu and Kashmir, acting on the advice of the Council Ministers of the State for the time being in office.”

** See the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order, 1954. (C.O. 48) as amended from time to time in Appendix I [of the Indian Constitution].

Appendix V

THE TASHKENT DECLARATION [JANUARY 10, 1966]

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan, having met at Tashkent and having discussed the existing relations between India and Pakistan, hereby declare their firm resolve to restore normal and peaceful relations between their countries and to promote understanding and friendly relations between their peoples. They consider the attainment of these objectives of vital importance for the welfare of the 600 million people of India and Pakistan.

- (1) The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan agree that both sides will exert all efforts to create good neighbourly relations between India and Pakistan in accordance with the United Nations

Charter. They reaffirm their obligation under the Charter not to have recourse to force and to settle their disputes through peaceful means.

They considered that the interests of peace in their region and particularly in the Indo-Pakistani sub-continent and, indeed, the interests of the peoples of India and Pakistan were not served by the continuance of tension between the two countries. It was against this background that Jammu and Kashmir was discussed, and each of the sides set forth its respective position.

Troops Withdrawal

- (II) The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that all armed personnel of the two countries shall be withdrawn not later than February 25, 1966, to the position they held prior to August 5, 1965, and both sides shall observe the cease-fire terms of the cease-fire line.
- (III) The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that relations between India and Pakistan shall be based on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of each other.
- (IV) The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that both sides will discourage any propaganda directed against the other country, and will encourage propaganda which promotes the development of friendly relations between the two countries.

Trade Relations

- (V) The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the High Commissioner of India to Pakistan and the High Commissioner of Pakistan to India will return to their posts and that the normal functioning of diplomatic missions of both countries will be restored. Both Governments shall observe the Vienna Convention of 1961 on diplomatic intercourse.
- (VI) The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed to consider measures towards the restoration of economic and trade relations, communications, as well as cultural exchanges between India and Pakistan, and to take measures to implement the existing agreements between India and Pakistan.
- (VII) The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that they give instructions to their respective authorities to carry out the repatriation of the prisoners of war.
- (VIII) The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that both sides will continue the discussions of questions relating to the problem of refugees and eviction of illegal immigration. They also agreed that both sides will create conditions which will prevent the exodus of people. They further agreed to discuss the return of the

property and assets taken over by either side in connection with the conflict.

Soviet Leaders Thanked

(IX) The prime minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that both sides will continue meetings both at the highest and at other level on matters of direct concern to both countries. Both sides have recognized the need to set up joint Indo-Pakistani bodies which will report to their Governments in order to decide what further steps should be taken.

(X) The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan record their feelings of deep appreciation and gratitude to the leaders of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government and personally to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR for their constructive, friendly and noble part in bringing about the present meeting which has resulted in mutually satisfactory results. They also express to the Government and friendly people of Uzbekistan their sincere thankfulness for their overwhelming reception and generous hospitality. They invite the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR to witness this declaration.

Appendix-VI

THE SIMLA AGREEMENT [JULY 02, 1972]

1.The Government of Pakistan and the Government of India are resolved that the two countries put an end to the conflict and confrontation that have hitherto marred their relations and work for the promotion of a friendly and harmonious relationship and the establishment of durable peace in the subcontinent, so that both countries may henceforth devote their resources and energies to the pressing task of advancing the welfare of their people.

In order to achieve this objective the Government of Pakistan and the Government of India have agreed as follows:

- (i) That the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations shall govern the relations between the two countries;
- (ii) That the two countries are resolved to settle their differences by peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them. Pending the final settlement of any of the problems between the two countries, neither side shall unilaterally alter the situation and both shall prevent the organization, assistance or encouragement of any acts detrimental to the maintenance peaceful and harmonious relations;
- (iii) That the prerequisite for reconciliation good neighbourliness and durable coexistence, respect for each other's internal affairs, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit;
- (iv) That the basic issues and causes of conflict which have bedeviled the relations between the two countries for the last 25 years shall be resolved by peaceful means;
- (v) That they shall always respect each other's unity, territorial integrity, political independence and sovereign equality;
- (vi) That in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations they will refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of each other.

2. Both Governments will take all steps within their power to prevent hostile propaganda directed against each other. Both countries will encourage the dissemination of such information as would promote the development of friendly relations between them.

3. In order progressively to restore and normalize relations between the two countries step by step, it was agreed that:

- (i) Steps shall be taken to resume communications, postal, telegraphic, sea, land, including border posts, and air links including overflights.
- (ii) Appropriate steps shall be taken to promote travel facilities for the nationals of other country.
- (iii) Trade and co-operation in economic and other agreed fields will be resumed as far as possible.
- (iv) Exchange in the fields of science and culture will be promoted.

In this connection delegations from the two countries will meet from time to time to work out the necessary details.

4. In order to initiate the process of the establishment of durable peace, both the Governments agree that:

- (i) Pakistani and Indian forces shall be withdrawn to their side of the international border.
- (ii) In Jammu and Kashmir, the line of control resulting from the cease-fire of December 17, 1971 shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to

the recognized position of either side. Neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterally, irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations. Both sides further undertake to refrain from the threat or the use of force in violation of this line.

- (iii) The withdrawals shall commence upon entry into force of the Agreement and shall be completed within a period of 30 days thereof.

5. The Agreement will be subject to ratification by both countries in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures, and will come into force with effect from the date on which the Instrument of Ratification are exchanged.

6. Both Governments agree that their respective Heads will meet again at a mutually convenient time in the future and that, in the meanwhile, the representatives of the two sides will meet to discuss further modalities and arrangements for the establishment of durable peace and normalization of relations, including the questions of repatriation of prisoners of war and civilian internees, a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir and the resumption of diplomatic relations.

(Zulfikar Ali Bhutto)

President

Islamic Republic of Pakistan

(Indira Gandhi)

Prime Minister

Republic of India

Simla, the 2nd July, 1972

Appendix VII

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE JAMMU AND KASHMIR LIBERATION FRONT AND HIZBUL MUJAHIDEEN [APRIL 02, 1993]

A G R E E M E N T

We the following signatories belonging to Hizbul-Mujahideen Jammu Kashmir (HM) and Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) agree on behalf of their respective organisations on the points detailed below subject to approval by respective highest policy making bodies of the two organisations:-

1.that Hizbul-Mujahideen Jammu Kashmir recognises JKLF's right to preach and project its ideology of independence of the whole state. Similarly JKLF does not have any objection to HM preaching and projecting its ideology of State's accession to Pakistan. Nevertheless both the organisations agree that while preaching their ideology or

otherwise, neither organisation will, directly or indirectly, have any negative criticism of the ideology, leadership or the programme of the other organisation.

2. that both JKLF and HM agree on the point of view that the right of self-determination of Kashmiri people can neither be limited nor conditioned and that Kashmiri people have full right to determine the future of the State according to their free will. If in free exercise of their right of self-determination the majority of the people of the state vote for State's accession to Pakistan, JKLF will accept this popular verdict and if the majority votes in favour of complete independence of the State, HM will accept this popular verdict.

3. During freedom struggle, both organisation will cooperate with each other in their fight against their common enemy, Indian colonialism. They also agree that, if and when needed, both organisation will extend moral, military and political support to each other.

4. That in case of any difference arising between the two organisation, and committee consisting of nominees of the two parties will settle the dispute.

Signed this Friday, the 2nd April 1993 at Islamabad (Pakistan)

FOR & ON BEHALF

FOR & ON BEHALF

JAMMU KASHMIR LIBERATION
FRONT

HIZBUL-MUJAHIDDEN JAMMU
KASHMIR

Name & Designation

Signature

Name & Designation

Signature

1. Riya Mohammed Mozaffar (Signed)

1. Abdul Majeed Dar (Signed)

Snr Vice Chirman JKLF

Advisor General

2. DR. HAIDER HIJAZ (Signed)

2. Shamsul Haq (Signed)

Central Press and Publicity Secretary		Member Supreme Command Council	
3. DR. FAROOQ HAIDER	(Signed)	3. Prof Ashraf Saraf	(Signed)
Senior Leader		Representative of Jamet-e -Islami for Tehrik-I- Hurriyat- Kashmir	

Source: RAHMAN, Mushtaqur 1996. *Divided Kashmir: Old Problems, New Opportunities for India, Pakistan and the Kashmiri People*. Boulder: London: Lynne Rienner Publishers. p. 196

Appendix VIII

THE PROFILE OF THE KEY KASHMIRI REBEL GROUPS

1. Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF)

In 1966 Maqbool Butt and Amanullah Khan formed the JKLF. Originally the JKLF was an offshoot of the Plebiscite Front. It champions Kashmir nationalism, and is against Islamic fundamentalism. This group's objective is to establish an independent Kashmiri state. Its student wing, known as the Jammu and Kashmir Students Liberation Front (JKSLF), has emerged as a powerful freedom fighter's group killing important government officials and kidnapping Rubbiyya Sayeed.

2. Hiz-bul- Mujahideen (HUM)

The HUM is considered to be the most strongest and powerful group. It is held that this group has a membership of 11,000 young men mostly coming from the districts of Badgam and Barmula. Ideologically, this group has leanings towards Islam and *jihad* (holy war). This group came to the limelight following the kidnapping and eventual killing of Mir Mustafa, a former member of the legislative assembly in March 1990. The HUM is dead against Western values, and it forces the closure of bars, beauty parlors, and cinema halls in the Valley. Most important, it is believed that the HUM has close connection with the Afghan rebels.

3. Tehrik-i-Hurriyat-I-Kashmir

Formed in March 1990, this group is a conglomeration of 11-party alliance. They include the following groups: the Muslim Conference, the Peoples League, Mahazi-Azadi, Jamat-i-Islami, the Islamic Student League, the Islamic Study Circle, Jamat-I-Tulba, Tahrir-I-Nifaz-I-Shariyat, Jamiat Ahle Hadith, Dukhtaran-I-Millat (Daughters of the Nation), and the Jammu and Kashmir Bar Association. Ideologically, it is tailored towards Islamic values while stressing on “freedom and Islam. This group holds that the Kashmiri people have a right to self-determination. It believes Kashmir’s accession to India is a transient phenomenon. It advocates a United Nations resolutions-based solution to the Kashmir problem. Young academics, legal practitioners, professionals comprise the members of this group

4. *Dukhtaran-I-Millat*

A constituent of *Terik-I-Hurriyet-I-Kashmir*, this groups came into existence in 1987 as a women's wing of *Jamiat-i-Tulba*. Following the uprising, the group has encouraged women to arm themselves to defend against transgressions by security forces. It collaborates with another women's organization, the Muslim Khwateen Mahaz (Muslim Women's Center), an affiliate of the JKLF. Members are educated women who hold rallies, block traffic, and conduct procession in defiance of Section 144 that forbids the assembly of more than four people. The members of this group are trained as paramedics to help the injured . Both wings visit houses in an attempt to persuade women to joint the movement.

Source: RAHMAN, Mushtaqur 1996. *Divided Kashmir: Old Problems, New Opportunities for India, Pakistan and the Kashmiri People*. Boulder: London: Lynne Rienner Publishers. pp. 152-55

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