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Research Paper

India Pakistan and the Kashmir Issue:

A robust South Asian frozen conflict

By Ms. Aisha Jamal Khan, Student of Department of International Relations,
University of Peshawar & PRCCSF Fellow, Pakistan Research Center for a
Community with Shared Future (PRCCSF), Islamabad



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Abstract:

This involves its historical background which lies in the 3rd June plan and the standstill agreement of Maharaja Hari Singh. Both the countries have fought three wars so far that is of 1948, 1965, and 1999 over Kashmir. The involvement of great big powers like the USA, China & UN have made it more susceptible to resolve. Pakistan's stance demands a fair right of self-determination owing to which India is playing Hide and seek for since long. Certain resolutions The only issue that is the epicenter of problems between two nuclear-capable countries is the Kashmir dispute or rather unresolved business of India partition. It is not just a disputed property, rather it horns the geopolitics of South Asia and plays a pivotal role in the balance of power between Pakistan and India. The key matter was being passed by UN Security Council over this conflict but it failed due to the mistrust between the parties which made the conflict a frozen one having to solutions. Some methods/solutions are given in this term paper for solving this conflict.

Introduction:

According to the 3rd June Plan, the Indian provinces would form two separate dominions with the Government of India Act 1935 as interim constitutionⁱ, but it did not stipulate what the five hundred Indian princely states were to do. All the British government had announced was that it's 'suzerainty' over the Indian princely states was terminated, and all treaties and agreements between the princely states and the Government of India or the British Government would come to an end. ⁱⁱ (Bangash, 2015)

Hence, essentially the Partition Act brought about what is called a Lapse of Paramountcy, with the implication that those Indian Princely states were now independent. About this, the Cabinet Mission Memorandum of 1946 had said:



“...His Majesty's Government will cease to exercise the powers of paramountcy...Political arrangements between the States on the one side and the British Crown and British India on the other will thus be brought to an end. The void will have to be filled either by the States entering into a federal relationship with the successor Government or Governments in British India, or failing this, entering into particular political arrangements with it or them.”ⁱⁱⁱ

But there was no legal instrument that explicitly gave the Indian princely states the option to accede to India or Pakistan, or to remain independent. Even in practice,

Pakistan and India fought 3 wars on Kashmir Pakistan is having an existential threat from India from the beginning which is affecting peace and stability in South Asia.



Problem statement

Failure of 3rd June plan to decide the fate of princely state (Kashmir) having no legal instrument for the princely states, in giving them option to whether accede to Pakistan, India or remain independent.

Research Question

1. What is the Kashmir Dispute?
2. What are some key events that have transpired in the development of the dispute?
3. What have been past attempts to resolve the dispute, how effective were those measures, why the conflict is a frozen one and what are recurrent factors in the failure of those past measures?
4. What are the strategic interests plus the given rationale of both parties involved?
5. What is the significance of Kashmir in Pakistan's foreign policy?
6. How has the dispute grown/have other actors been pulled into it? (Geostrategic, China and US involvement) and some important recent developments in the dispute? (India revokes article 370).
7. What might a possible solution to the Kashmir Dispute look like? What are some measures that could help foster an environment that allows better prospects for peace



Conceptual /theoretical framework

To answer these questions, the paper carries out its analysis in light of the conceptual framework of Smetana and Ludvik, who described the frozen conflict as “a long-running, post-war process, characterized by a lack of stable peace between opposing sides.” Moreover, in heated debates, ‘core issues between opposing parties are always unresolved, conflict is at the forefront of a harmonious relationship, and something is an amiss threat of renewed violence (Smetana). We will study the effectiveness of this conceptual focus on the frozen conflict in the historical context of Indo-Pakistani competition and how the conflict started after 1947 and after 3 wars and resolutions by the UN, the conflict is still unsolved and frozen.

Research Objectives

The ultimate objective of this paper is to understand the Kashmir dispute and the conflict between Pakistan and India under the influence of external factors and possible measures to resolve the frozen conflict.

Methodology

The nature of my research is Qualitative. The study relies primarily on secondary sources, analytical works of scholars including books, journal articles, and opinion pieces have been relied on. Where accessible, primary sources and original documents of relevant material have also been consulted.

Analysis

What is the Kashmir dispute is about?

The Kashmir dispute is a territorial conflict between India, Pakistan, and to a limited degree, China (as a third party). It started just after the partition of India in 1947, persisting to this day, with the



conflict having escalated into war thrice so far. The dispute is about the accession of Kashmir to either Pakistan or India.

Key cause of the dispute is the failure of 3rd June plan to decide the fate of princely state (Kashmir) having no legal instrument for the princely states, in giving them option to whether accede to Pakistan, India or remain independent.

Background

The origins of the dispute lay in the partition plan of 1947, also known as the 3rd June Plan, Indian Independence Act or the Mountbatten Plan, according to the which, the Indian provinces would form two separate dominions with the Government of India Act 1935 as interim constitution, but it did not stipulate what the five hundred Indian princely states were to do. All the British government had announced was that it's 'suzerainty' over the



Indian princely states was terminated, and all treaties and agreements between the princely states and the Government of India or the British Government would come to an end.

So essentially, the Partition Act brought about what is called a Lapse of Paramountcy, with the implication that those Indian Princely states were now independent.

But the Congress rejected this and did not admit the right of any princely state in India to declare its independence. In short, a Lapse of Paramountcy did not affect independence.

These are the circumstances of the origins of the dispute.

Coming back to the history of events that transpired, at the time of partition, the Kashmiri demographic was largely Muslim^{iv} (Khan K. B., 1901), while economic, cultural, and geographic contiguity with the Muslim-majority area of the Punjab could also be convincingly demonstrated (Britannica, 2021), but the ruler himself, Maharaja Hari Singh was Hindu.

The Maharaja's rule was a notorious one and there was already internal economic unrest because of his policies of high taxes, shortage of rations for state troops and repression; a 'no tax' campaign in Poonch was already cooking by February.

As August drew nearer, a decision about the fate of the princely states had yet to be made. Initially, the Maharaja believed that by delaying his decision he could maintain the independence of Kashmir (it is also alleged that he had made secret designs with Congress to accede to India).



Development of Dispute, brief chronological overview

The initial stages of the development of the dispute are very crucial so we will look at them with more detail.

It is key to note that the Maharaja's rule was already a notorious one and there was already internal economic unrest because of his policies of high taxes, shortage of rations for state troops and repression; a 'no tax' campaign in Poonch was already cooking by February. As August drew nearer, the princely states had to decide their fate.

In response to such grievances, fueled by the already existing economic unrest, protests were held in August which very soon escalated into revolt and eventually a Freedom Movement was launched, to which the Maharaja responded with a brutal crackdown, his forces carrying out mass evictions and massacres designed to terminate the Muslim majorities.

Seeing this, a 'lashkar' of Pakistani tribesmen from the North invaded Kashmir to wage jihad against the oppressive Dogras on 22nd October ^v[vi]. The Maharaja sought military aid from India [vii] to cope with the situation, in order to get which, he had to sign an Instrument of Accession, which he did on the 26th of October, although on the condition that once the law and order situation were restored [viii], the question of accession would be decided according to the peoples wishes. The next day Indian forces flew into Srinagar.

This resulted in a division of the region into 'Azad' Kashmir and Indian Occupied Kashmir. Pakistan was left with territory that, although basically Muslim in character, was thinly

populated, relatively inaccessible, and economically underdeveloped. The largest Muslim group, situated in the Vale of Kashmir and estimated to number more than half the population of the entire region, lay in Indian-administered territory, with its former outlets via the Jhelum valley route blocked.

In January 1948 the conflict was brought under the United Nations who set up the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) responsible for mediating and investigating their dispute over Kashmir.



Now we will briefly trace the chronology of important historical events that have transpired in the development of this dispute.

For more than a decade after the accession, political processes to resolve the conflict seemed to inevitably fail. India would constantly reject proposals and resolutions to resolve the dispute. In a shocking move, in 1962, India repudiated its commitment to holding a plebiscite in Kashmir. Six rounds of meetings were then held between the leaders to address the issue, from 1962 to '65, but they too, failed.

In March of 1965, the Indian Parliament passed a bill which declared Kashmir a province of India. Pakistan launched a secret sabotage, Operation Gibraltar which escalated into war, as India crossed ceasefire line in Kashmir and International border at Lahore on 6th



September. This was the first official Indo-Pak war. On 21st September, the UN called a ceasefire in place.

After that, once again efforts were being made to politically resolve the dispute, in the form of Tashkent Accords. Unfortunately, war would break out again in 1971, when Indian sabotages in the Bangladesh Liberation War lead to the separation of East Pakistan. Subsequently, the Shimla Agreement was signed in January 1972 to reaffirm that the issue would be resolved bilaterally.

Tensions rose again when in May 1987 allegations of rigged elections in support of National Conference caused unrest in the region and 1988 when Pakistani intelligence launched Operation Tupac supporting freedom fighters in Kashmir.

Since then, the situation in Indian Occupied Kashmir has undergone significant changes.

Key developments include:

January 19, 1990: Kashmir was brought under Indian control, Mr. Jagmohan appointed as governor.

February 27, 1990: India refused to allow any UN official to Kashmir.

April 14, 1990: Indian forces reinforced in Kashmir, military hostilities carried out.

November, 1992: Indian government did not allow international amnesty into Kashmir.

January 20, 1995: India excluded any third party involvement in Kashmir issue.



March 1997: Negotiations between Pakistan and India start again.

May 1998: Both countries carry out nuclear tests.

June 6, 1998: Pakistan proposes Kashmir resolution and a halt to nuclear arms race build up.

September 2, 1998: Non-Alignment Movement calls for peaceful resolution of Kashmir Issue.

September 28, 1998: Pakistan and India agreed to resume Kashmir talk and search for a way to peaceful resolution.

May 26, 1999: Insurgents and Pakistani soldiers infiltrated into and occupied Kashmir causing the Kargil war.

November 2000: Muslim nations were called upon to cut ties with India.

July 2001: Bihari Vajpayee and General Parvez Musharraf meet in Agra to conduct peace talks, this was known as the Agra Summit.

Since then, two of the more recent and significant developments have been the Pulwama attack in 2019, and the revoking of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution, both which have worsened the relations of Pakistan India, and dragged the Kashmir issue further.

Kashmir today

After three wars, a number of movements, numerous uprisings...the problem persist Indian union government has maintained a strong military presence there. Today, the few remaining interstate border disputes generate important international conflict Pakistan accuses India of oppressing Kashmiris and thwarting an international agreement to decide Kashmir's future by popular referendum. While India accuses Pakistan of aiding and infiltrating Islamic radicals who carry out attacks in Indian-occupied Kashmir, both countries fought three wars over Kashmir.



There was already in existence, a standstill agreement between the state and Pakistan.

Which was a legal bar to any unilateral alteration of the existing position.

At the time when accession was offered, the Maharaja, was in flight, and had been divested of power over large portions of the state by a successful popular rebellion.



At the time of accession and afterwards the governor general Lord Mountbatten and the prime minister Mr. Nehru declared that the final decision was to be made by the people of Kashmir.

India Takes Kashmir issue to the United Nations :

India on December 31, 1947 took the Kashmir issue to the United Nations for settlement.

Decision of security council:

The security council in its resolution 38, 39, 47, 51, (1948) asked for....

1. Ceasefire between two countries and demarcation of ceasefire line.
2. Truce agreement and demilitarization of the state of Jammu and Kashmir and
3. Plebiscite under auspices of the UN.

The ceasefire took effect from January 1949, and a ceasefire line was demarcated by July 1949. On April 12, 1950, Sir Owen Dixon was appointed as UN Mediator, to find the solution of Kashmir issue.

First round of talk was held at Rawalpindi from December 26-29 in 1962 between Z.A Bhutto and Sardar Swarnand Singh.

The second round of talk was held at Delhi from January 16-20 in 1963 at Delhi. The third round at Karachi from April 21-25, 1963. The fourth at Kolkata from March 12-14, 1963. The fifth round of talks were held at Karachi from April 21-25 1963. The sixth and final at New Delhi from May 14 to 16, Pakistan proposed plebiscite. January 10, 1966 Tashkent Declaration as stated “ That each of the sides put forth its respective positions”.



In Simla agreement 1973, it was stated that on jammu and Kashmir accord renamed ceasefire line as line of actual control to reflect some minor adjustments that were mutually agreed on.

On February 20, 1999 Indian prime minister Atal Behari Vajpayee and PM Nawaz Shareef at Lahore agreed to intensify their efforts to resolve all issues including Jammu and Kashmir. In May 1999 due to Kargil conflict, both parties broke their official contacts. The crisis was defused by pressure from the USA and other western countries.

Strategic and rational interest of both Parties:

External intervention of India since independence and sending its troops to Kashmir against the will of local people. Violation of United nations security council resolutions. Fear of Pakistan that India wants to isolate Pakistan from global community. No rule of International Law because of international politics. The suggestions of mediators like UN appointed and other powers are not respected from both sides (Dhobal, Jan,2017).

“Jammu and Kashmir is not only a matter of our territorial integrity but also defines our nationhood” (Narendra modi).

“We are waiting for the day Kashmir becomes part of Pakistan”

(Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif)

“The people of Jammu and Kashmir should be given a chance to decide their future” (Tufail Mushtaq, College Student Srinagar).

Involvement in various other stories, characters, and variations can contribute to conflict. Now, the conflict not only focuses on the important early issue of regional control



of Jammu and Kashmir as a symbol of Pakistani-India national projects, but retains a complex character. The original root of the conflict is steeped in politics and local interests, Islamic radicalism, development issues and new connections with the great power struggle (Schild, 2015).

Particularly since the late 1980's, the national and religious interests of the region have largely contributed to conflict resolution (A, 2019).

What is the significance of Kashmir in Pakistan F.P and how it has the dispute grown/have other actors in it;

The concept of geopolitics from the late 19th and early 20th centuries emerged as an important discourse in the modern world. Governments aim to expand the policy to expand territorial boundaries. The Geopolitics of India and Pakistan allied with Jammu and Kashmir which led to its secession. Looking at global geopolitics, the author aims to highlight the geo-political significance of such a South Asian heart namely Jammu and Kashmir the geo-political significance and strategies that put India and Pakistan at the forefront of the worst wars, hostilities, and level low. strong arguments. Both are South Asian military giants outside China and have been members of the nuclear group since 1998. Pakistan emerged as a political party on the basis of Mohd Ali Jinnah's Two-Nation Theory from the same birth in 1947, if so why have both of your siblings been fighting since 1947 until now? Kashmir is the bone of contention between the two because India is an example of his land ownership, which is the only open window facing central Asia and physically accessible to Afghanistan; Xinjiang (East Turkestan), which is why it is an important part of India according to the Instrument of Accession signed by Hari Singh of

Jammu and Kashmir in Oct. 1947. From the point of view of Pakistan, According to the Two Nation Theory of Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Kashmir should be a part. of Pakistan because of its predominantly Muslim population. Pakistan cites Kashmir as his way of life; Jugular Vein.² Kashmir is not a place of peace but a place of turmoil, a world full of war, insecurity, and tensions between India and



Pakistan. All of this is because of his physical contact with the two. The area is located between the three Nuclear Weapons regions of India, Pakistan and China (Kalees, march 2013).

Since the 19th century the country of Jammu and Kashmir has acquired a unique geo-political status in the small continent of India. Its new borders are the post-Soviet Soviet Central Asian Republics, Afghanistan, Pakistan, China and Tibet which should remain vigilant and therefore make the State very important. Pakistan's settlement in the northern part of Kashmir has provided significant strategic advantages in South Asia as the region shares similar borders with Xinjiang and Afghanistan, as well as Central Asian countries. Despite its strategic and political significance, Pakistan and India both claim Kashmir for cultural and social reasons. Kashmir has become ingrained in the minds of both Indians and Pakistanis as one major issue facing the Indian subcontinent. The weeping need of this age is to make it a place of peace, a place of eternal peace because the strategies of attack



and self-defense of both nations have put peace in the mud and it is still a dream come true. Both nations must come forward after putting their 65-year-old game of suspicion and hostility into a dustbin like France and Germany, and a spectacular vision of the future progress and prosperity of their regions (Kalees, march 2013).

The initial Indo-Pakistani conflict centred on Jammu and Kashmir changed dramatically into a conflict between different local or international actors. Moreover, powerful political links have not disappeared. We can illustrate this with the recent tensions between India, China, and Pakistan over the development of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), a project closely related to China's strategic One Belt One Road Initiative. The plan includes Kashmir living in Pakistan and is seen as a political and security issue by Indian foreign policy makers (P, 2015) It is possible to argue that the real motives of both Pakistan and India linked to Kashmir as a sign of their plans to overthrow the regime weakened over time, but did not make the conflict worse. The division of Pakistan in 1971 showed that religion alone could not be the basis for nation building in South Asia. Although it downplayed Pakistan's claim of disrespect for Kashmir, it did not abandon its claims for domestic political reasons (Gangulay, 2001). Nearly a decade later, Indian claims to Kashmir also diminished as nationalism was to be attacked within Indian politics (Gangulay, 2001). However, it was only later in the same decade of the 1980s that local actors in Kashmiri began to interfere with the conflict with their independent (and secessionist) agenda.

Thus, while some of the conflicting features may begin to fade or shrink over time, it seems that many others will continue to advance the evolutionary variability and will likely re-



emerge in some ways that have faded in some way later. Because of this versatile and trapped character, conflict is difficult to resolve. Or, in other words, the frozen state and the long-lasting nature of the conflict have contributed to making it more difficult and less likely to wither.

The main goal of U.S. policy in South Asia it has been to prevent the India-Pakistan conflict from escalating into an international war. This means that the United States wants to avoid actions that are in favour of any party. Over the past decade, however, Washington seems to be moving closer to India while relations with Pakistan continue to be viewed as shrouded in mistrust. The Trump Administration "suspended" security assistance in Pakistan in 2018 and significantly reduced non-military aid while at the same time deepening relations with New Delhi. Authorities view India as the main “anchor” of its “free and open Indo-Pacific” strategy, which some say is aimed at China. and through many important accounts, participate in advancing Afghan reconciliation negotiations. The obvious bonhomie of President Trump and the prime minister of Pakistan and promising mediation in Kashmir in July was seen by some as a new and possibly absurd strategic change^{vi}.

The US government is constantly on the lookout for conflicts in Kashmir to disrupt South Asia.^{vii} Currently, the United States does not have a Congress-certified Secretary of State leading the Bureau of South and Central Asia and no Ambassador to Pakistan, leading some experts are concerned that the Trump Administration's readiness to India-Pakistan crisis remains low.^{viii} Progress in August 2019 and after raising concerns among analysts

that the Trump Administration's "hands" on this and other global issues weakens America and increases risk we were in a state of turmoil.^{ix} Some comments, however, strongly authorized US exports.

Some important recent developments in the dispute? (India revokes article 370).

The Bhartiya Janata Party national has long opposed Article 370 and withdrew it from the party manifesto for the 2019 elections. They argued that it needed to be demolished to consolidate Kashmir and place it in the same area as the rest of India. After a return to power in the April-May national elections, the government was quick to fulfil its promise. Critics



of Monday's move link it to India's current economic crisis - saying it gives the government a much-needed opportunity. Many Kashmiri people believe that the BJP ultimately wants to change the status quo of the predominantly Muslim region by allowing non-Kashmiri people to buy land there. Although the announcement by Interior Minister Amit Shah in parliament on Monday surprised many Indians, it would have taken the government to prepare itself for a decision. The move is also in line with Mr Modi's desire to show that the BJP is tough in Kashmir and Pakistan. Kashmir will no longer have a separate constitution but will have to adhere to the Indian constitution like any other state. All Indian laws will apply automatically to the Kashmiris, and people outside the region will be able



to purchase land there. The government says this will bring development to the region. "I want to tell the people of Jammu and Kashmir what Article 370 and 35A do for the state," Mr Shah told parliament. "It is because of these stages that democracy has not been fully utilized, corruption is rampant in the state, no development is possible. The government also plans to divide the country into two smaller, federal, state territories. One region will include the predominantly Muslim Kashmir and the predominantly Hindu Jammu. Another Ladakh with a large Buddhist population, which is culturally and historically close to Tibet. P. Chidambaram, a senior leader of the opposition Congress Party, described the decision as "a catastrophic move" and warned parliament that it could have "disastrous" consequences. "You may think you have won but you are wrong and history will prove you wrong. Future generations will see the great mistake this house made today." (Article 370; What happened with Kashmir and why it matters, 2019).

According to the constitution, Article 370 can only be amended by a "national government" agreement. But there has never been a majority government in Jammu and Kashmir for more than a year now. In June last year, India enacted a law of unity after the government of the then prime minister, Mehbooba Mufti, was reduced to a handful. This means that a unity government must seek the approval of a ruler who sets out its own rules. The government says it is within its rights to bring about change and that similar decisions have been made by governments in the past. But expert opinion is very different. Another constitutional expert, Subhash Kashyap, told the ANI media that the order was "constitutionally correct" and that "no legal or constitutional error could be found in it".



However, another constitutional expert, AG Noorani, told BBC Hindi that "an illegal decision, similar to committing fraud" could be challenged in the Supreme Court. Opposition political parties may launch a legal challenge but Kashmir is a heart-breaking issue for many Indians, and many parties would be wary of opposing the move for fear of being called anti-India. That could leave any challenge to people or activists (Article 370; What happened with Kashmir and why it matters, 2019).

The possible answer to Kashmir dispute, some measures

1. Looking at the Kashmir dispute, apart from border disputes Pakistan and India should open the borders and should start cooperation and trade with each other which will be benefiting for both parties, it's a managing conflict (with trade etc they might find any solutions for Kashmir conflict).
2. They should keep their interest moderate without having too much terms and conditions securing the national interest of both sides for example Making Kashmir autonomous by making it Pakistan and Indian administrated Kashmir.
3. To weaken the conflict zone - the land of Jammu and Kashmir - with the gradual withdrawal of troops (including military forces) from both India and Pakistan in the area under their control.
4. To remove the sting of a dispute by removing the steps leading to military removal from the government on the rights, claims or positions of the three parties involved. To do this, the withdrawal of the empire may have to be the first step in reducing the Indian and Pakistani forces to their borders outside Kashmir. It is only after the peace process has been



established that the rights and grievances of the parties can be considered in a non-violent environment.

5. Transform the existing firefighting line into a permanent international border. This is the best solution. One cannot think of a better way to plant a bomb blast in South Asia that would lead to a nuclear disaster. In Kashmiri, the Control Line (LoC) is the conflict line. Talking about turning it into an international border is an insult to the wisdom of the people of Kashmir.

6. India-Pakistan condominium over Kashmir. This is not a tricky idea, but it needs two things: first, a high sense of solidarity and kindness on the part of India and Pakistan and a lack of conflict within Kashmir. In either case, the planning will not end in failure, it will create problems that are less serious than those already in place.

7. Both India and Pakistan have lost trust and we all know that it is true that they do not trust each other. Therefore, the time has come when there should be mediation, incitement or third-party negotiations to ensure that negotiations between India and Pakistan remain intact. A foreign company promoter does not have to be a U.N. or U.S., can be a person with a foreign status.

8. We want to emphasise that the people of Kashmiri are democratic. They believe that their leadership and the future of the state must be achieved through a democratic process.

9. Plebiscite must be held in Kashmir. It must be held under the supervision of UN.

Conclusion

It is thus concluded from the above discussion that the Kashmir dispute is a frozen conflict which has destabilised the relations between Pakistan and India and it is a barrier in good



relations between these two parties .Certain solutions have been given in my term paper for the solution of this frozen conflict .These ideas need to be refined, but they are based on the inescapable fact that nothing is happening in Kashmir without the primary participation and consent of the people of Kashmiri. Strategies and negotiations that ignore that fact will fail, as evidenced by 73 years of unrelenting violence in Kashmir.Finally, history will prove that the final settlement of the Kashmir conflict has undoubtedly brought peace and security not only to Jammu and Kashmir but also to the entire South Asian region - home to a fifth of mankind.



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End Notes:

ⁱ Indian Independence Act 1947, Section 8 (2) “...each of the new Dominions and all Provinces and other parts thereof shall be governed as nearly as may be in accordance with the Government of India Act, 1935...”

<https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo6/10-11/30/section/7/enacted>

ⁱⁱ Indian Independence Act 1947, Section 7 (1, b) “...the suzerainty of His Majesty over the Indian States lapses, and with it, all treaties and agreements in force at the date of the passing of this Act between His Majesty and the rulers of Indian States, all functions exercisable by His Majesty at that date with respect to Indian States, all obligations of His Majesty existing at that date towards Indian States or the rulers thereof, and all powers, rights, authority or jurisdiction exercisable by His Majesty at that date in or in relation to Indian States by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance or otherwise and...”

<https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo6/10-11/30/section/7/enacted>

ⁱⁱⁱ Cabinet Mission's Memorandum, May 12, 1946

<https://www.indiavsdinformation.com/20191207/cabinet-mission-s-memorandum-12-may-1946>

^{iv} ‘A timeline of the tribal invasion’ from “Partition 70 years on: When tribal warriors invaded Kashmir” by M Ilyas Khan for **BBC News, October 2017**.

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-41662588>

^v Pg.31 “An examination of the figures leads us to the conclusion that the predominant religion of the State is Mohammadanism representing 74.16 per cent of the total population.”

^{vi} Ric “Of Poonch rebellion and tribal incursion” by Abdul Majid Zargar for GK Magazine, May 2015.

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^{vii} In January 2019, the U.S. Director of National Intelligence predicted for a Senate panel that, despite limited confidence-building measures, hostilities in Kashmir “have hardened each country’s position and reduced their political will to seek rapprochement” (see the January 29, 2019, statement at <https://go.usa.gov/xVrFm>).



viii Lara Seligman and Robbie Gramer, “Amid Re-Election Campaign, Modi Takes the Fight to Pakistan,” *Foreign Policy* (online), February 27, 2019.

ix “Waning of American Power? Trump Struggles With an Asia in Crisis,” *New York Times*, August 13, 2019