Kashmir Conflict: A Critical Analysis

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Anurag Chakma²

Abstract

The conflict between India and Pakistan over Kashmir which is considered as the major obstacle in promoting regional integration as well as in bringing peace in South Asia is one of the most intractable and long-standing conflicts in the world. The conflict originated in 1947 along with the emergence of India and Pakistan as two separate independent states based on the ‘Two-Nations’ theory. Scholarly literature has found out many factors that have contributed to cause and escalate the conflict and also to make protracted in nature. Five armed conflicts have taken place over the Kashmir. The implications of this protracted conflict are very far-reaching. Thousands of peoples have become uprooted; more than 60,000 people have died; thousands of women have lost their beloved husbands; nuclear arms race has geared up; insecurity has increased; in spite of huge destruction and war like situation the possibility of negotiation and compromise is still absence. This paper is an attempt to analyze the causes and consequences of Kashmir conflict as well as its security implications in South Asia.

Introduction

Jahangir writes: “Kashmir is a garden of eternal spring, a delightful flower-bed and a heart-expanding heritage for dervishes. Its pleasant meads and enchanting cascades are beyond all description. There are running streams and fountains beyond count. Wherever the eye reaches, there is verdure and running water. The red rose, the violet, and the narcissus grow of themselves; in the fields there are all kinds of flowers and all sorts of sweet-scented herbs more than can be counted.” Kashmir is “a region of stupendous mountains surprises every other in the world” to Younghusband, “the terrestrial paradise of the Indies” to Bernier, a “picture of incredible beauty with its distant features half revealed half

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concealed by magic mist” to Walter Lawrance. Nehru observes: “It has a hundred faces and innumerable aspects, ever-changing, sometimes smiling, sometimes sad and full of sorrow.”

But it is a matter of great sorrow that Kashmir, the paradise of earth, is witnessing one of the oldest protracted conflicts of the world. The dispute over Kashmir between India and Pakistan is into a never ending cycle of arms race and violence. No compromise could be reached over Kashmir yet, as both the powers either claim jurisdiction over it or call it a right of self-determination for the Kashmiri people. Centering this issue, mistrust and hatred keep on spiraling, manifestation of which is found in long drawn out low intensity conflict. It is recognized that Kashmir conflict has implication on the security of the South Asia. It is also the largest obstacle for the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) to achieve its goals. It is mostly responsible for the nuclearization in South Asia. Many compare the problem of Kashmir to the time-bomb which blast can bring unlimited sorrows and suffering for the people of this region. With an eye to resolve this protracted conflict, many initiatives have been taken by both India and Pakistan, even by the international community in different times but no progress has been made yet.

**Geographical identity of Kashmir**

The state of Jumma and Kashmir is located approximately between 32° 15’ and 37° 17’, North latitudes and 72° 35’ and 80° 20’, East longitudes with a total area of 222,236.2 sq. kms. constituting about 7% percent of the total land area of India. The state has a strong genetic relationship with the Himalayas, which exercises an important influence on its geographical proximity. The state can be divided into four major parts as under;

- The North-Western Areas and Frontiers Region, which are under Pakistan occupation called Northern areas collectively
  - Ladakah, including parts under Pakistani and Chinese Occupation
  - Kashmir Division, including Muzzafarbad which is in Pakistan Occupied Areas
  - Jumma Division, including areas of Mirpur, Kotti and Poonch in Pakistan Occupied Areas.

The most prominent physiographical feature of Kashmir has been described as a double-staircase, the one ascending and facing Pakistan and the rest of India and the other descending into Tibet. To the south the first step starts from the low Punjab hills, which run in a liive with the Siwalik hills, its height exceedingly 1,000 feet and its breadth 10 miles.
The next step is reached after crossing the PirPanjal, running from Muzaffarbad to Kistwar. The third step is that of Great Himalays nearly 150 miles long.  

**Historical background of Kashmir**

The earliest kingdoms in Kashmir, according to tradition, existed before B. C. 2,000, known throughout its recorded history as Kashmira, in its original Sanskrit form, the name still lives as Kashmir, in Persian spelling Kashmir, which is its modern version. The name itself, undoubtedly, is far more ancient.

It is important to understand the background of the conflict that the Hindu-Muslim communal conflict is the outcome of British imperialist policy “Divide and Rule.” In British India, there were sharp conflicts between these two groups of people. As a result, the British India was divided into two parts along religious lines and India and Pakistan came into being as two separate states based on the ‘Two-nation’ theory in 1947. These two countries experienced a communal holocaust with some 800,000 causalities. Therefore it is argued that the Kashmir problem is actually dates back to the partition of British India.

When the British authority left the sub-continent, the princely state of Jumma and Kashmir were under the rule of Maharajah Hari Sing who was personally a Hindu by religion but the population of the state was predominantly Muslims. There were certain ambiguities over the future status of the state when the British transferred power to India and Pakistan. The Indian independence act of 1947, in theory, left the states legally independent when the ‘sovereignty of his majesty over the Indian state’s lapses. But in practice, such independence was ruled out when the Secretary of the State for India, Lord Listwell declared: “We don’t, of course, purpose to recognize any state as separate international entity. This meant in reality the states would have to seek accession to either one of the two dominions in accordance with the broad principles of the partition plan. Muslim majority states would accede to Pakistan and the rest to India.” In these circumstances, Maharajah Hari Sing, the ruler of the Kashmir, at first delayed and later concluded an agreement which Pakistan accepted but India did not. Between August and September 1947 the Muslim subjects of Maharajah rose in an open revolt. On 22 October 1947, the peace in Jumma and Kashmir was shattered by an invasion from Pakistan territory. Faced with a great threat to the life and honor of his people, the ruler as well as the leaders of the National Conference, the largest political party in the state appealed to India for urgent help. Maharajah fled from Srinagar to India and agreed to accede to India on 26
October 1947. The preamble of the constitution of Jumma and Kashmir states;

“We the people of the state of Jumma and Kashmir, having solemnly resolved, in pursuance of the accession of this state to India which took place on the twenty-six day of October 1947, to further define the existing relationship of state with the Union of India as an integral part of thereof...”

As soon as India accepted the accession and sent troops to Srinagar to quell the rebellion and to drive out of Srinagar the invasion of the Pakistani tribesmen. India took control over two-thirds of Jumma and Kashmir, and Pakistan the remaining part. Since then four armed conflict have taken place over this issue. The timeline of the Kashmir conflict was given in the following table.

Table.1: Timeline of the Kashmir Conflict

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date and Year</th>
<th>Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>Kashmir is sold: The British colonial rulers of British India Empire sold Kashmir, including its population, through a deed of sale called the Treaty of Amritsar, to a Hindu warlord who had no roots in the area. This warlord began calling himself the Maharajah of Jammu and Kashmir. His was a particularly brutal regime, memories of which persist to this day. Several mosques were occupied and shut down by his forces. The slaughtering of a cow was declared a crime punishable by death.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>The War of independence, The Subcontinent fractured into hundreds of states</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>Kashmir’s first organized protest: The people of Kashmir hold their first organized protest against Maharajah Hari Singh’s cruelty. The 1931 protest led to the “Quit Kashmir” campaign against the Maharajah in 1965, and eventually to the Azad Kashmir movement which gained momentum a year later.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 3, 1940</td>
<td>Azad Kashmir comes into being: The Muslim Conference adopts the Azad Kashmir Resolution on July 26, 1946 calling for the end of autocratic rule in the region. The resolution also claims for Kashmiris the right to elect their own constituent assembly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 14/15, 1947</td>
<td>Independence of the British-India into India and Pakistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1947</td>
<td>Kashmiri resistance encounters Maharajah’s troops: The first</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date and Year</td>
<td>Events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1947</td>
<td>armed encounter between the Maharajah’s troops and insurgent forces occurred in August 1947. At this time, Britain was liquidating its empire in the subcontinent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947/1948</td>
<td>Pashtuns from Pakistan's Afgania storm Kashmir Maharaja of Kashmir asks India for help.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Indo-Pakistan War of 1947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 6, 1971</td>
<td>Indo-Pakistan War of 1971; Secession of East Bengal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Republic of India and Pakistan agree to respect the cease-fire as Line of Control.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 13, 1984</td>
<td>The Indian Army takes Siachen Glacier region of Kashmir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Militancy begins in Kashmir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 5, 1990</td>
<td>Solidarity day is observed throughout Pakistan and Azad Kashmir for the alleged massacres by Indian armed forces as Indian state terrorism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Kargil War</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 14-16, 2001</td>
<td>General Pervez Musharraf and Atal Bihari Vajpayee meet for peace talks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2001</td>
<td>Kashmiri assembly in Srinagar attacked (38 people dead).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 2001</td>
<td>Attack on Indian parliament in New Delhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 2, 2003</td>
<td>India and Pakistan restore diplomatic ties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 11, 2003</td>
<td>Delhi-Lahore bus service resumes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 24, 2004</td>
<td>Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and President Musharraf meet in New York during UN General Assembly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July, 2006</td>
<td>Second round of Indo-Pakistani peace talks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb, 2007</td>
<td>Samjhauta Express firebombed, 67 killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June-August, 2008</td>
<td>Widespread protests in Kashmir due to Amarnath land transfer controversy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 5, 2009</td>
<td>Ommar Abdullah of Jumma and Kashmir National Conference sworn in as the eleventh and the youngest chief minister of Jumma and Kashmir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 2 &amp; 3, 2010</td>
<td>Several were killed and many were wounded.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Actors in Kashmir conflict**

Conflict is a situation in which two or more parties involved in unfair competition on incompatible goals, the goals which cannot be achieved
by two parties. In Kashmir conflict there are three parties, it has been recognized by the politicians and scholars, notably after seizing power, Pakistan in 1958, President Ayub said that “there are three parties to the Kashmir conflict- the people of Kashmir, India and Pakistan.”

India is directly involved in the conflict which becomes clearer from the comment of Nehru: “Kashmir has been in history for thousands of years-not always politically but essentially-a part of India, for thousands of years. It was politically a part of India long before the British came. Culturally, of course, it has been one of the biggest seats of Indian culture and learning throughout history for about 2,000 years. Some of the first books on Indian history were written on Kashmir.” The popular language spoken in Kashmir for centuries and even in Klahanie’s time was a dialect derived from Sanskrit which has gradually developed into the modern Kashmir. India thinks that Kashmir is an integral part of it. So, she will not sacrifice in the question of Kashmir anyhow. She wants to keep the Kashmir under his control. There is a stiff resistance and opposition against the idea of independence. Many in India view independence of Kashmir as a risk and regard it as a time bomb as well as think it as the surrender of Indian authority and sovereignty to Kashmir. Therefore, it is difficult to expect India that she will relinquish parts of its claimed territory to earn good will in search of peace.

As a party of Kashmir conflict Pakistan states that the state accession to India was brought about by fraud and violence. To repeat that Kashmir is an integral part of India is utter nonsense. Therefore, it has been observed that the Pakistan government under different civil and military regimes have not only overtly supported insurgency in Kashmir but have clandestinely been supporting them and raising the Kashmir question in international flora when the problem of Kashmir has raised and become a matter of discussion. Mohd. Ali Jinnah who is regarded as the father of Pakistan urged the Kashmiri Muslims to unite with the sub-continental co-religionists for making the ‘Muslim Nation’, a reality. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto openly spoke of dismantaling the barrier between the people of Jumma and Kashmir and their kith and kin in Azad and Pakistan. He had even once advocated the use of force to resolute the fight between Indian imperialism and Kashmiri democracy. His daughter Benjir Bhutto when became PM promised 1,000 years of war with India are often cited examples of Pakistan involvement in Kashmir conflict.

The Kashmiri people are itself a party of this protracted conflict. They have been carrying out the movement of self-determination. The latest situation of Kashmir has become very worse. People are demonstrating in the streets peacefully, sometimes violently. The Indian security force is brutally attacking on the peaceful demonstration. Several have been
killed and many wounded in August of the running year. It is also noteworthy that there are three sections among the people of Kashmir in the question of their demands. One group wants independence, the second group attachment with Pakistan and the third group wants to stay with India.

What are the factors that have made Kashmir Conflict protracted?

Both internal and external factors have contributed to make the Kashmir problem intractable. The deep-rooted mutual hostility between India and Pakistan is thought to be the major factor for the Kashmir conflict. The conflict theory argues that conflict is occurred between parties mostly on the basis of the non-negotiable goals. The parties perceive with each other as enemy in terms of seeking their vital interests. When their behaviors become violent and aggressive because of the existing contradictions, conflict escalates and takes the form of violence. In case of Kashmir conflict we can see that the conflict has originated on the incompatible goal, that is “possession of Kashmir”. The parties seek to achieve this goal. Therefore, there is no any space for compromise on the issue of Kashmir because the issue is absolutely the matter of non-negotiable goal. To the citizens whose basic identity is with Pakistan, the only legitimate unit of governance is Pakistan. On the other hand, the only legitimate unit of governance is India to the citizens which basic identity is with India. The following factors have drawn the attention of scholars.

Division along ethnic lines

In the opinion of some conflict analysts like Ted Robert Gurr and Michael E. Brown etc. multiethnic states or societies are more likely to conflict-prone than homogenous states or societies. The population of Jumma and Kashmir is divided along ethnic, religious, and linguistic lines. The major groups are Muslims and Hindus. It is believed that division of the population along ethnic, religious and linguistic lines is one of prime factors for Kashmir conflict.

Political allegiances

Political allegiances are thought to be one of the contributing factors for around 60 year’s long Kashmir conflict. We can see that there are three distinct political orientations in Indian-controlled Kashmir. Independence is preferred by a decisive majority in the valley and by a sizable minority in the Jumma region. On the other hand, there appear to be two major different political political orientations in Pakistan-controlled Kashmir as well as loyalty to Pakistan and support for the third option of ‘independence’.¹¹
Involvement of super powers
During the cold war many proxy wars between the US and Soviet Russia took place in different parts of the world although they did not fight directly. The South Asia also witnessed a proxy war in 1971 according to scholars. The rivalry between these two states also manifested in the competition of capturing the strategically important places. Kashmir, in the view of geo-politicians and military experts, became a matter of concentration because of its geographical importance during the cold war. The involvement of The US and Soviet Russia has contributed to Kashmir conflict. Since the end of the Second World War, the US started taking a keen interest in Kashmir. Papers like New York Times and the New York Herald Tribune started writing about the strategic importance of the state because of its proximity to Soviet Union and its new industrial centers. Rosinger indicated; “the interest of the US presumably arose in part from Kashmir’s strategic location, close to the USSR and bordering on Afghanistan, Sinkiang, Tibet, India and Pakistan. The prime strategic objectives of the USA were taking control on Kashmir and making it a military strategic base against the Soviet Union. In the present on-going militant movement American heightened interest in Kashmir is quite clear and visible. The American policy has changed largely from what it was during the cold war period. It has sought to persuade Islamabad to opt for a negotiated settlement of the Kashmir dispute. The Soviet Union immediately demonstrated its vital strategic interest after the invasion of the tribal forces from NWFP invaded in Kashmir in October, 1947. The Strategic importance of the Kashmir to the Soviet Union was highlighted by the Soviet Political Weekly ‘New Times’ when it asserted that “the underlying cause of war in Kashmir lay in this state’s geographical location at the juncture of several state borders, including in particular, the Soviet Union. Stalin looked at Kashmir as a military strategic area and a spring board of Soviet’s communism in the Indian Sub-continent. It is clear that the Soviet Union during Stalin’s period had clear-cut strategic objectives for seeking Kashmir an ‘Independent Nation.’ The Soviet wanted to convert Kashmir into a laboratory where further and future communists experiments could be conducted since 1953. Moscow spelled out the new Soviet policy towards Kashmir with renewed emphasis on the strategic importance of the state to the security of the Soviet Union.

Nature of politics of both India and Pakistan
The nature of politics of both India and Pakistan has been such that resolution of Kashmir problem is not so easy and possible. Pakistan was created on the basis of religion ‘Islam’. Another factor is that Pakistan was dominated by military personnel for most of the time since its
emergence. Therefore, Pakistan could not come in a compromise. India politics is not also conducive for compromise with Pakistan on Kashmir issue. Although, India was established on the basis of secular ideology, Hindu identity has played and is still playing key role in India especially, it becomes clear when Hindu-Chauvinistic BJP emphasized the point that Muslims in India have been unduly pampered it has made the question of Kashmir’s special status in the Indian Union as enshrined in Article 370’s of India’s constitution as its whipping boy.

Islamic resurgence movements

Islamic resurgence movements particularly Islamic revolution in Iran and Afghanistan contributed to the present political upheaval in the valley. The success of the Iranian revolution gave confidence and grew a sense in the minds of the people of Kashmir that ifrians can overthrow and defeat the Shah, why the Kashmiris can’t overthrow the Indian hegemony. It is Jama’at-i-Islami of Kashmir which became a bridge connecting Kashmir with the overall Islamic resurgence. The aims and objectives of the Jama’at-i-Islami emerges from the writing of its prominent leader, Syed Ali ShaGeelani who in a booklet named ‘Mukadima-Illaq spoke to the people of Kashmir in these words; 

“You the nation of Kashmiri Muslims, how long will you continue to remain easygoing slaves! Your enemies are bent upon destroying your identity and faith.”

Militancy

Militancy in Kashmir is not wholly a new phenomenon. It has peculiar history, the level of intensity was not as high and sophisticated as it has become. The seeds of militancy were sown by the erstwhile Plebiscite Front during its 22 years of political existence in 1967; the first incident of militancy came into being when some youth were arrested for allegedly attempting to murder a CRPF Jawan, Charan Das in Nawakanda area of interior Srinagar. It was again in 1968 that a group of youth from Ghandi Memorial college determined to commence an armed struggle in the state. No less than 80 underground cells and espionage rings operated including Al-Fatah, Al-Baro, and Al-Kashmir in the period between January 1960 and January 1971. The Jumma and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) is another organization which since its emergence has been engaged in militant activities. 1,667 insurgency related incidents were registered, a total of 23,492 cases of crime were registered only in 2006.
Social identity

Social identity, of course there are many factors, need to be taken into account in understanding any conflict. Human needs of identity and dignity have drawn the attention of the scholars in case of analyzing conflict. In the opinion of many scholars, identity or threat to identity is the foundation of numerous conflicts as well as contribute to high intensified conflicts, terrorisms and ethnic based clashes. Kashmir conflict is not also an exception. Racine, a social scientist, argues that the political history of South Asia in the last fifty years has been marked by the identity factor along with the religious, ethno-linguistic, caste-based and other forms of diversity. The division of India sub-continent and the emergence of Pakistan is probably the outcome of the pressure of all these multiple identities. In fact, the existence of cultural, ethno-linguistic, religious or other forms of identity in Kashmir have made a complex social reality. The India controlled part of Kashmir is inhabited by four groups-Muslims, Hindus, Buddhist and Sikhs. Each of them also belongs to different caste, sects, ethnicity, culture and tradition. On the Pakistani side, there is also same reality. Northern Areas is dominated by the Shia religious community and Sunnis are the majority in AJK (Azad Jammu & Kashmir). They belong to different culture and heritage although they profess the religion Islam. It is also notable here that there is a growing population in Northern Areas who do not never perceive themselves as Kashmiri nor Pakistani.30

The rivalry between India and Pakistan is so deep-rooted which cannot be resolved in win-win solution. Many scholars and leaders view the Indo-Pakistan relations as zero-sum game where the gain of one is seen the loss of the other. 31

The consequences of Kashmir Conflict

Forced Displacement and Refugees

A report states that the 1998 armed conflict between India and Pakistan produces a large number of displaced peoples. Over 2,200 families, comprising 11,884 persons had migrated from Doda, Udhampur, Poonch and Rajouri regions, and more than 400 of these families took shelter in the Talwara camp in Reasi in Udhampur district.32 According to the report of Ministry of Home Affairs in 2005-06, around 55,476 Kashmiri Pandit families had been displaced owing to the armed conflict in Jammu and Kashmir since early 1990. Of them, 34,088 families had been living in Jammu, 19,338 families in Delhi and 2,050 families in other States and Union Territories. 33 About two lakh Hindu refugees were living in the Jammu and Kashmir since 1947.34
Death

Kashmir conflict is one of the causes of violation of human rights in South Asia. It has resulted death of thousands of people. The table. 2 indicates the figure of death of peoples in recent times. It is estimated that the number of death is between 40,000 and 67,000.

Table 2: Death row in recent years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Civilians</th>
<th>Security force personnel</th>
<th>Terrorists</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>599</td>
<td>1116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>649</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>1774</td>
<td>2898</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gross human rights violation

Conflict and violence involves gross human rights violation. In a conflicting zone, women are raped; children are killed; people are forced to flee. Therefore, the issue of Kashmir conflict is the issue of gross human rights violation. According to a report published in the Tribune in March 26, 2003, hundreds of people had gone missing in the State since the internal armed conflict began in 1990. It can also be cited that Muzaffar Hussain Beig, the minister for Law and Finance Department of Jammu and Kashmir, made a statement in the State Assembly in March 25, 2003 that a total of 3,744 persons had disappeared in the State from 1990 to December 2002 and 135 of them had been declared dead up to June 2002. However, according to the Association of the Parents of Disappeared Persons (APDP), more than 8,000 persons had disappeared during the past 16 years of turmoil. It can also be added that killing of political party workers and leaders by the armed opposition groups were extensively reported from Jammu and Kashmir during 2006. The State Government in a reply to a question by MLA Mohammed Yousuf Taringami in the State Assembly in March 23, 2006 stated that a total of 39 political activists were killed by the AOGs only in the period between January 2005 and February 2006. 19 out of these 39 political activists were the members of People's Democratic Party, 8 of National Conference followed by Congress (5), Independent (3), CPI-M (2), Peoples Democratic Forum (1) and Jamaat-e-Islami (1). The State Government also stated in the reply that a total of 535 civilians were killed during the same period.
Widespread violence

Widespread violence is the companion of conflict and violence. Since 1947 there have been many massacres in the Kashmir. Violence was the life of Kashmir. There had and has no peace; no security; no happiness; and no fair environment. Violence is still following here.

Psychological Impacts

The psychological impact of conflict and violence is ever lasting. During the war, many lost their beloved persons that injure them psychologically. To clear it, we can take the example of Japanese who lost many things in the world War Second. There are many such kind of stories in the region of Kashmir.

The Vulnerability of Women

Conflict and violence cause a serious vulnerability of women. Particularly, women and children are the sufferers of any conflict and violence. Women and children remained extremely vulnerable. The Government only paid a meager amount of stipend or cash relief to those women and children whose husbands and parents were killed by the AOGs but did not provide any help to those whose family members were killed by the security forces. According to the report of Public Commission on Human Rights, there were about 25,000-30,000 widows whose husbands were brutally killed by the security forces. According to Yateem Trust, an NGO working with orphans and widows in Kashmir, there were about 15,308 orphans whose fathers were killed by the security forces.

Arms race and the security of South Asia

Neither India nor Pakistan has signed the NPT. There is a danger that nuclear race between these two countries may go out of hand. It would threaten both regional and global peace and security. India is a large country with its large area and population has developed a strong indigenous nuclear infrastructure. India produces a large amount of unsafeguarded plutonium and it may also have the capability to produce thermonuclear weapons. The US and other Western countries provided assistance largely to India in the field of nuclear technology before the export restrictions were imposed by the London supplier’s club in the 1970s. Today India has gained ability produce all nuclear weapons’ materials; 238,235,233 U, 239 Pu, Tritium, Detrium, Maragin steel, Cobalt-Samarium magnets and Zirconium Oxides. India has possessed sophisticated aircraft that could deliver weapons to targets both in China and Pakistan.

According to a report published in October last year, Pakistan so far possesses 50-90 nuclear weapons. The report compiled by a Washington
based nuclear watchdog, the Institute for Science and Security also claims that Pakistan has 1,000-1,250 kGs. highly enriched uranium. Besides, within last few years in collaboration with China, Pakistan has produced Al-Khalid MBT, which called tanks of 21st century. This arms race and acquisition of nuclear weapons by both India and Pakistan has increased insecurity in the South Asia.44

Initiatives to Resolve the Kashmir Conflict by Both India and Pakistan

Many initiatives have taken by both countries in different times have been given in the table 3.45

Table 3: Initiatives to Resolve the Kashmir Conflict

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Initiatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>November 1947</td>
<td>Taik between Quaide-e-Azam and Mountbatten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>Liaqat-Nehru Report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 25, 1953</td>
<td>Bogra-Nehru Talks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962-1963</td>
<td>Talks between the foreign ministers of the two countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 10, 1966</td>
<td>Tashkent Declaration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 2, 1972</td>
<td>Simla Agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February, 1999</td>
<td>Lahore Declaration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Agra Summit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 5-6, 2001</td>
<td>General Pevez Musharraf and Atal Bhari Vajpayee meet for peace talks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 24, 2004</td>
<td>Prime Minister Monmohan Singh and President Musharraf meet in New York during UN General Assembly.</td>
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<tr>
<td>July, 2006</td>
<td>Second round of Indo-Pakistani peace talks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Kashmir Conflict and the UN

The Kashmir issue drew the consideration of the UN in 1948 when India firstly raised the issue in the UN. The UN has adopted many initiatives with an eye to resolve this prolonged conflict in various times. The Security Council calls upon both countries to take immediately all measures within their power calculated to improve the situation. The United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan, in 1948, gave some proposals to both countries.

a. Cease-fire order

b. Truce agreement

c. The government of India and Pakistan reaffirm their wish that the future status of the state of Jumma and Kashmir shall be determined in accordance with the will of the people of the state.
The Commission made another resolution on 5 January, 1949. The Commission urged both countries to accept the principle of “the question of the accession of the state of Jumma and Kashmir to India or Pakistan would be decided through democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite.” In September 4, 1965 the Security Council adopted another Resolution. The Resolution calls upon both the countries;
1. To take forthwith all steps for an immediate cease-fire
2. To respect the cease-fire line
3. To cooperate fully with the United Nations military observer group in the task of supervising the observance of cease-fire
4. To report to the Council within three days on the implementation of this Resolution.

Another Resolution was adopted too by the Security Council at its 1238th meeting on 6 September, 1965 which calls upon the parties-
I. To cease hostilities in the entire area of conflict immediately
II. To exert every possible effort to give effect to this Resolution
III. To keep this issue under urgent and continuous review so that the Council may determine what further steps may be necessary to secure peace and security in the area.

But many think that the UN is absolutely failure to put the Kashmir problem to an end. It is also equally true that the role of the UN can not be ignored to prevent the parties from the nuclear war. It is also creating pressure as well as encouraging the parties to reach an effective and fruitful negotiation.

How can the Kashmir conflict be solved?
The late Indian PM Lal Bahadur Shastri put the matter in a nutshell in his speech at the opening session of the Tashkarent Meeting in January, 1996.“Respect for each other’s sovereignty is essential for peace and good relations. Once this has been clearly accepted, the whole character of Indo-Pakistan relationship could be transformed to the benefit of the people of both countries.”

Scholars have provided some recommendations to address the protracted Kashmir conflict which are as follows;

- In terms of addressing the violent insurgency movement, also termed as ‘terrorism’, in the region, although both governments have recognized to fight it jointly, measures such as arresting leaders and banning schools associated with religious indoctrination may get rid of the preachers and perpetrators of terrorism, but not the ideology nor the underlying causes of it.
The peace process has to also address the oppressive policies and the propaganda fuelling the movement.

- Increase accountability, expanding people to people contact and the deliberation on effective devolution of powers among different regions to meet their aspirations.48

The following major possible solutions have been put forward from time to time to resolve the dispute of Kashmir.

- Plebiscite.
- Line of Control (LOC) as International Border
- Independent Kashmir.
- United Nations Trusteeship
- Good Friday Agreement.
- Exercise of cultural diplomacy.

**Conclusion**

The history of international relations in the region has been marked more by conflict than co-operation. The region is experiencing the Kashmir conflict, one of the protracted conflicts in the world which is known as time-bomb for the South Asia. It is high time for realization of the importance of resolution of this conflict. It is widely recognized that the peace and prosperity of South Asia is mostly depending on the future of this conflict.
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