

**Event and Discourse: A
Review of the Transnational
Struggle for Peace and
Justice in Kashmir and
Afghanistan**

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Abstract

This paper, in the background of the historical conflicts in Kashmir and Afghanistan, attempts to understand how events and discourses inform the trans-national potential of local politics in these regions. Through empirical data on two recent major events, the paper offers an overview of the political conflict, memory, history and struggle in both places. The paper further attempts to understand the meaning of ‘identitarian’ politics beyond its political and/or religious bearing and reflects on the socio-economic cartography as memory.

Keywords: Kashmir, Afghanistan, Transnational, Peace, Justice

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Introduction

On August 5, 2019 the Indian government decided to unilaterally revoke Article 370¹ of its constitution² which formed the legal basis for the British carved State of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) to formally join the Indian Union. In such a decision, what was disregarded was that Kashmir³ was already a contest, an internationally recognized dispute⁴ which had its origins in the British India's partition and the ever eluding independent will of the larger Kashmiri people whose struggles for independence have predated the postcolonial moment of 1947 (Rai, 2004).

What transpired on August 5th was a further cementing of contesting alternative claims of political sovereignty, an incremental attestation of the fears of Kashmiri people that India does not respect their political agency. The Indian State premeditated the whole revocation in a clandestine manner; however, on ground in Kashmir, people had sensed their plan. The J&K Government issued an advisory⁵ on August 2nd to the tourists and *Amarnath Yatris* (Hindu pilgrims) to leave Kashmir, raising alarms about a potential terror threat to the tourists and international community. As soon as the news broke out, people in Kashmir flooded the markets and gas stations to stock up for what they saw as an imminent and long drawn crackdown⁶. In response to the questions asked by the media personnel about whether Kashmiri people's fears were correct, the Governor of the J&K repeatedly claimed that Article 370 would not be revoked and even accused the people of Kashmir of rumor mongering.⁷ On August 4, one of the prominent Kashmiri Indian politician Mehbooba Mufti warned that Kashmir would turn into Palestine if Article 370 was revoked⁸. Soon after most of the prominent pro-India politicians such as Farooq Abdullah from National Conference and Mahbooba Mufti from People Democratic Party were placed under house arrest and more than 500 people⁹ were formally arrested and logged in prisons outside of Kashmir. The arrest sprees, clampdown on civilian movement, snapping of internet and mobile connections continues to generate a siege for more than two months now. The revocation of Article 370 and bifurcation of the state into two union territories of ... and ... to be ruled by New Delhi came with a sort of premeditated planning. The arrests, clampdowns and curfews were organized anticipating a mass popular protest by the Kashmiri people. This shows how political decisions and processes are arbitrated and enforced through subverting the popular will in Kashmir.

Around the same time in August, the United States of America was pursuing a peace deal with Taliban who are the forerunners of the struggle in Afghanistan. The peace deal would ensure an exit of the US from the

country in which it has been at war for about twenty years now. US helped prop-up a government in Afghanistan that would help protect American interests and fight the right-wing group overthrown in 2001. The current governmental dispensation was completely sidelined in these talks. The peace deal could help the United States with a much needed recourse from all the fighting and offer a graceful exit but it drags huge swathes of people back to the same uncertainty that they have experienced since. Many anticipate a civil war, since an agreement between the Taliban and current government is far less likely because both Taliban and the local government delegitimize each other as real power bearers of the state. Afghanistan is to remain a terrain where foreign powers will regularly come to settle scores and if at all the US exit comes to fruition, it still continues to remain a terrain for regional powers like Pakistan, China and India to exert their influence. The retraction of peace deal¹⁰ by the US government further alludes to a regional game.

In this context this paper analyzes two recent major events that took place in Kashmir and Afghanistan to understand local discourse around these events and the transnational potential of local politics to influence peace, justice and governance in these regions.

2 Memory and History

Afghanistan and Kashmir are two geographical locales intertwined for thousands of years through sheer geographic proximity, cultural exchange, religion and, at many points in history, common political destinies. In 1747 AD, Ahmad Shah Durrani's Empire founded the modern Afghanistan; alongside its core territory were territories of other ethnic and cultural groups. In a more realistic manner, Durrani Empire, not unlike empires of today was a multi-ethnic conglomerate of majority Muslim nations up until 1823 AD (Green, 2016). Many Afghans remember centrality of Balochistan and Kashmir in the formation of the modern Afghan nation. The foundational cartography of the modern Afghan nation; the formation of the Empire finds its place in the anecdotes that Afghans share from the perspectives of local history;

When Ahmad Shah Baba formed modern Afghanistan, he sought allegiance of the Baloch tribes. He asked, are you Pashtun and Muslim, since Baloch shared similar tribal lifestyle with Pashtuns, they immediately offered their allegiance proclaiming, "We are both". Then Ahmad Shah Baba asked Kashmiris, Are you Pashtun and Muslim? They said, we are not Pashtun but we are Muslim and we accept you as our Baba (leader or father)" Sadat, 30 years¹¹

Such enthusiastic acceptance of a foreign rule by Kashmiris, as is framed in the anecdote above, points to the peculiar moment at which such an offer must have been made, which is Kashmir under the Mughal rule of the Indian subcontinent. Mughal rule was hated and to this day colloquial Kashmiri language testifies to such widespread unacceptance of Mughals in the term “Poge Mogul” (Kashmiri word Poge mean ill-fate and doom and Mughals were seen as foreshadowing gloom upon their arrival to Kashmir). In reprieve from the atrocious Mughal policies, Kashmir was ruled through use of collaboration with few castes and classes. Afghan rule was seen as remedying the curse. However, such a zeal for a foreign salvation proved to be of no great benefit to Kashmiri Muslims as Afghans levied exorbitant taxes on Hindus and Muslims alike (Ahmad, 2018).

Map 1: Reign of Ahmad Shah Durrani (1747-1772)¹²



Source: <https://alchetron.com/Durrani-Empire>

The fall of Durrani coincided with the British colonization of the Indian subcontinent. Commonly referred to as the Afghan rule of Kashmir is often remembered as another exploitative endeavour by Kashmiris, however, it is remembered with a certain revivalist zeal by the nationalist Afghans. The dissolution of the empire passes Kashmir to Sikh rulers and British cartography for a new British Indian empire paved way for the formation of the Dogra State of J&K through Treaty of Amritsar (1846) after Sikhs were defeated.¹³

Map 2: Former British Princely State of Kashmir



Source: <https://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/kashmir.html>

2.1 Brief Explanation of Kashmir's Struggle for Liberation

It was ruled by a British-installed Dogra monarch and is now divided between India, Pakistan, and China.¹⁴ The new monarchy in Kashmir during various periods had seen several upheavals from its subjects—Kashmiri people. These Kashmiri uprising(s) paralleled the subcontinent's anti-colonial struggle for independence from the British rule. The British exit from the region in 1947 led to the partition of the Indian subcontinent, birthing two new countries—India and Pakistan. This left the Dogra King of Kashmir, Hari Singh, with an option to join either of the newly formed countries.

Singh, presiding over a Muslim majority, remained undecided. The undecidedness of the Kashmiri monarch is attributed to the complex political nature of Kashmiri society. The uprising in Poonch region in 1947 that sought to join Kashmir with Pakistan proved that the national will of Kashmiris could not be galvanized for a merger with either one of the nations (Snedden, 2011). In the Kashmir valley, the popular leader Sheikh Abdullah propounded politics of Kashmiri nationalism with strong opposition to the idea of partition. To quash the Poonch rebellion and to deter the tribesmen entering from the north in support of the rebels, fearing that the rebellion would break the country, the monarch sought the Indian military intervention. The military help came with a condition to accede to India.¹⁵

The Indian forces arrived in Srinagar and the first Indo-Pakistani war¹⁶ over Kashmir territory was fought, leaving the people of Kashmir with an active militarized Line of Control (LoC) that divides the families. The Instrument of Accession between India and King Hari Singh maintains that the entire state belongs to India, including the part now held by Pakistan.¹⁷ The document of Accession has also remained a matter of dispute as arguments were levied that the Maharaja did not sign it at all. From the document of Instrument of Accession, India was to administer control over the defense of J&K, as well as its External Affairs, Communications and Ancillary.¹⁸

a) The United Nations Intervention

To end the fighting, India brought the Kashmir issue to the United Nations Security Council (UN) hoping that it could retake part of Kashmir now administered by Pakistan, since the signed Instrument of Accession legally conferred powers to India. However, the whole attempt backfired as the UN Security Council's Resolution number 47 in 1948 upheld that the unpopularity of the former ruler and the conditions under which the state was divided up and accession done demands that a referendum must

confirm political will of the people. The resolution further demanded Pakistan to remove the tribesmen¹⁹ that entered Kashmir to 'liberate' it. Once the tribesmen and Pakistan Army had receded from Kashmir, to the satisfaction of the Security Council, India was asked to withdraw its forces from the region in order to make way for a free and fair referendum. However, neither country fulfilled these conditions, and instead through diplomatic efforts India began to frame Kashmir as a bilateral issue between India and Pakistan and to Kashmiris it projected Kashmir as an internal matter.

Through bilateral efforts, India and Pakistan progressively dismissed all recommendations of the UN and continued to fight each other over the territory. The intermittent bilateral treaties such as the Tashkent declaration of 1966²⁰, the Shimla agreement of 1972²¹ and the Lahore declaration of 1999²² continued to digress from the main issue Right to self-determination of Kashmiri people and instead focused on 'peace'. The war, of course, was the result of fighting each other for Kashmir territory. Territoriality of Kashmir issue is further depicted in the central role it plays in state identity, electoral politics and internal narratives for social cohesion. While Kashmir becomes Pakistan's *shah rag* (jugular vein), it also remains India's *atoot aang* (inseparable part). The sloganeering such as *Kashmir banega Pakistan* or *Kashmir hamara hai* further disperse the indigenous voice of Kashmiris.

b) Kashmir's vexed relationship with India

The first Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, gave a historic speech²³ in Srinagar, promising a referendum for Kashmir. Within Kashmir there was a politically strong constituency that had little hope in the Indian system and wanted Kashmir to join Pakistan instead.²⁴ But those who engaged the Indian system in Kashmir predominantly the National Conference and its leader Sheikh Abdullah suffered a series of political failures despite his authoritarianism against his opponents. The autonomy granted under the Instrument of Accession to Kashmir also began to slowly wane, leaving the popular leader of Kashmir disillusioned. He began to make a number of speeches calling for the possibility of Kashmir's independence.

As a result, Abdullah and his associates were arrested, under orders from the Government of India, and a regime led by Bakshi Ghulam Muhammed was put in place. This coup initiated a trend that was to define the Government of India's relationship with Kashmir: Each time a Kashmiri leader attempted to hold on to autonomy, he was forcibly removed, and pro-center politicians were put in place in order to curtail the pro-independence aspirations of the people (Khan, 2014).

c) Elections in post-1953 Kashmir

After 1953, the political processes within the state have remained fraught with tensions and violence. The watershed moment came in 1984, when Maqbool Bhat, a Kashmiri nationalist leader, was hanged in India's Tihar jail on accusations of being a Pakistani agent while already serving jail terms in Pakistan accused of being an Indian agent. This event seriously radicalized the Kashmiri politics; several armed groups began to mushroom in Kashmir. By the early 1980's the failure of secular nationalist politics had forced the new generation to respond to the calls of Islamicate politics emanating from neighboring war-torn Afghanistan.

The ouster of the Muslim United Front through rigging of the polls in the Elections of 1987 paved a way for the armed uprising. Kashmiris affiliated with both secular and religious groups crossed the LoC to get arms training in the camps set up in Pakistan administered Kashmir. However, unlike the popular belief that most people who crossed into Kashmir were foreign mercenaries, the truth is many Pakistan-based Kashmiris who joined the ranks of the armed struggle were actually children of refugee Kashmiris who have moved to Pakistan in prior decades (Robinson, 2013). Many Kashmiris working for the Indian state lived under fear, which ultimately led to the mass migration of the valley's minority Pandit community from Srinagar to the neighboring district of Jammu. Thousands of Kashmiri Pandits suffer inhumane living conditions in the refugee camps set up in Jammu.²⁵

The counterinsurgency processes saw a further militarization of the Kashmiri society. According to the Home Ministry of India, twenty years after Kashmir erupted into an armed insurgency, there is one Indian soldier for every eleven civilians in Kashmir. Most recently the number of army personnel is 700,000 that are fighting 200 active militant Kashmiris. Under such militarization, the Indian army is accused of grave human rights violations by local and international human rights organizations.²⁶ In the last two decades, tens of thousands of Kashmiris have been killed or subjected to enforced disappearances and sexual violence (estimates vary between sources). The psychological impact has been felt by almost half of Kashmir's population.

Kashmir erupted three times since 2008. In 2010 alone, "over a hundred residents in as many days, mostly teenagers and youth" were killed. The militarization of Kashmiri politics has also led to the breakdown of justice systems. Lack of justice and absence of a political will to deal with Kashmir's young population makes a number of Kashmiri youth deem militant ideologies as the only option for?

d) International Stalemate

In the current uprising, the demand for the recognition of the right to self-determination is organizing the Kashmiri resistance yet again. Internationally, the resolution has reached a stalemate, as the Indian and Pakistani claims over the region obfuscate the Kashmiri political consciousness, which is routinely repressed through nationalistic narratives of subcontinental history. For decades, India has maintained that Kashmir is its internal matter, while Pakistan has kept raising the issue as an international one (though oblivious to the varied political aspirations of Kashmiris living on the Indian side) and is also blamed for denying political rights to Kashmiris in Pakistan administered Kashmir.

2.2 Afghanistan's Struggle for Peace

In Afghanistan, a nation subjected to incessant wars and foreign interventions has embarked on a more recent quest for peace since the overthrow of a previous Taliban government in 2001. In order to achieve a resolution and ensure nation building, peace process has involved a multi-lateral approach to achievement of peace as a political goal since 2001 after the Bonn Agreement. A study conducted by Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies in 2018 attempted to study the public perceptions towards the peace process and its findings linked the failure of peace process mostly to the corruption, instability and its inability generate a common national consensus. The study further brings to attention the non-people centric attitude of the peace process;

In a context where much of the analysis on peace in Afghanistan is focused on explaining the geopolitical interests and stakes of the Great Powers and Regional Powers with respect to peace and conflict in Afghanistan, very little attention has been paid to understanding and explaining the perceptions, attitudes and orientations of the common people of Afghanistan—who continue to live and suffer the terror, the Taliban, and conflict on a daily basis—with regard to peace. While everyone would like to represent the people or speak on their behalf, the knowledge of and information on the peoples' stances and attitudes is scant. The people of Afghanistan have been reduced to an invisible factor in the peace process. – (Sadr, 2018)

The study operationalized the peace process to underline two main “events” as steps towards peace. In June 2008, both Taliban and government honoured a ceasefire. Exactly after that, the US engaged in the unconditional preparatory talks with the Taliban with the objective to

achieve a peace deal in the form of a negotiated settlement between them and the Taliban.

Furthermore, interactions with the US diplomats show the decision to negotiate the settlement with the Taliban also emanated from fatigue of this twenty year old war.²⁷ Furthermore, government officials saw the US interest in dialogue with the Taliban as a treacherous breach of the “ethical issues” such as women’s rights in Afghanistan and the promise of democracy. On the pragmatic political terms though, Afghan analysts and international actors argued that ending of hostilities and power sharing between current political dispensation and the Taliban will bring some respite to the infighting.

3 The Event and Ideological Proxy Wars

In August, 2019, two events streamlined in a manner that lay bare the convergence of conflict in Kashmir and Afghanistan. As India took a unilateral decision to revoke the autonomy of Kashmir, peace deal between the Taliban and the US government was underway. The abrupt event directly influenced the possibility of a peace deal to come to fruition. In Afghanistan, as the peace talks were unfolding, it had left the current political dispensation in Kabul with a loose end of the deal. It was suddenly unsure of its destiny as a government. The event of Kashmir’s annexation brought two nuclear armed states of India and Pakistan head to head again. Many questioned the timing of the event which created massive ideological divisions between various political players. India’s deliberate timing of its Kashmir move was seen as its attempt to protect its interests in Afghanistan which would be likely threatened if the Taliban were to share power with the government. In order to stall such likelihood, the move to annex Kashmir was an effective tool to divert attention towards Kashmir. Pakistani government threatened that India’s move is directly aiming at the Peace deal.²⁸ In the miasma of political posturing and the ideological metanarratives, the local conversations about Kashmir in Kabul, were a heartening reminder that people’s basis for solidarity with Kashmiris was on the pretext of having experienced war themselves here in Kabul. Social media posts empathized with the people of Kashmir, sometimes, emotional pleas and anecdotes humanized the anti-war and oppression ideas. As the communication blackout and a civil curfew are underway in Kashmir, Afghans²⁹ recollect their experiences of being refugees and struggles under military sieges and oppression. Several others in Kabul reminiscence about the historic memory of beauty of Kashmir with certain sadness. It is important to note that the connectedness of the memory, cartography,

culture and humanity of both places offer a new insight into the attitudes of people towards issues of justice and peace overall.

4 Conclusion

Afghanistan and Kashmir represent the last frontiers of the British colonial war and chartered similarly in the motifs of resistance in the history of their contest for sovereignty and autonomy since the receding of the British Empire. Through such historicity long drawn conflicts in both places offer a colloquial criticism to the project of modernity initiated by the British and furthered by the subsequent allied powers in the postcolonial times. However, in addition to laying out a broad historical case for understanding the irresolvable nature of contest in both Afghanistan and Kashmir, the paper attempts to emphasize on the relatedness of event and discourse through proximity of geography. This clearly underlines the violence of colonial cartography and its implications for long term peace in spaces now carved within boundaries where none existed before. These borders rip through the stealthiest historical cities connected by economy and trade of ancient silk routes. The connectedness often expressed in ideological terms is basically representations of forms of political life and economy. For instance, India's insistence that Taliban incursion into Kashmir would be fatal since it raises ideological alarms is only partly true, since memory is entrenched in historical way of life that poses a political challenge not because "extremist" ideology will be outpoured into Kashmir but such journeys retrace the routes and networks of stronger economic/political transactions that harms the global neoliberal order. The insistence of movements for justice and peace in both places challenge the abruptness of the fall of old world in ways to preserve ways of life that is not simply informed by Islam but Islamicate regional cultures, when Kashmiris insist on their identity and Afghans on their tribal lifestyle, they wish the reroute modernity into ways more familiar to their own terms. The contests for the notions of justice and modernity point to the non-regional interventions that wish to displace forms of political life that has allowed for growth and prosperity in this region. By no means does this imply defense of old ways of life, social relations and discourse but rather a struggle to interpret modernity to generate its context specific equivalent that follows an organic, less violent route. The complexity of such a political project in visible in its culmination into violent political contest for sovereignty and territorial control. Thus illusive peace in the region of Kashmir and Afghanistan and its desire is transcendental as similar motifs of loss, longing and autonomy color the struggles of people in both places. Despite being wedged under different ideological regimes and postures, their unitedness in the insistence for sovereignty produces a struggle for justice offering new

insights into possible resolution of the political crises emanating through the project of Nation-state building, following three-hundred-year old imperial model that has been repeatedly shown to fail.

Notes and References

¹ “The wording of Article is reproduced here in below for ease of reference:

(1) Notwithstanding anything contained in this Constitution:

(a) the provisions of article 238 shall not apply now 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 recognised by the 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;

(d) such of the other provisions of this Constitution shall apply in relation to that State subject to such exceptions and modifications as the President may by order specify:

Provided that no such order which relates to the matters 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 to 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 provision 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 provisions 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 and 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”.

² The Constitution of India; Available online at:

- <https://www.india.gov.in/sites/upload_files/npi/files/coi_part_full.pdf> (Last accessed: 03.11.2019)
- ³ Refers to the occupied and disputed Kashmir valley in the British installed Dogra state of J&K
- ⁴ UN Security Council's Resolution number 47 in 1948 at <<http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/47>> (Last accessed 10.10.2019)
- ⁵ "Leave Kashmir ASAP: J&K govt issues advisory for Amarnath yatra pilgrims and tourists" online at <<https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/leave-kashmir-j-k-administration-issues-security-advisory-for-amarnath-pilgrims-1576494-2019-08-02>> (Last accessed 06.10.2019)
- ⁶ "Whatever it is, Kashmiris believe it is happening for sure" online at: <<https://gulfnews.com/world/asia/india/whatever-it-is-kashmiris-believe-it-is-happening-for-sure-1.1564910679489>> (Last accessed on 09.09.2019)
- ⁷ Was J&K Governor Satyapal Malik Unaware of Centre's Kashmir Decision? | Prime Time with Ravish Kumar online at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tq_dWHoQegU> (Last accessed on 06.09.2019)
- ⁸ India-J&K relations will become like Israel-Palestine if Article 370 is scrapped: Mehbooba Mufti online at: <<https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/lok-sabha-election-2019-india-jk-relations-will-become-like-israel-palestine-if-article-370-is-scrapped-mehbooba-mufti/videoshow/68726508.cms>> (Last accessed on 05.09.2019).
- ⁹ Indian forces arrest 500 in Kashmir as lockdown continues online at: <<https://www.irishtimes.com/news/world/asia-pacific/indian-forces-arrest-500-in-kashmir-as-lockdown-continues-1.3980629>> (Last accessed on 02.09.2019).
- ¹⁰ Afghan peace deal: Trump says Taliban talks are 'dead' online at <<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-49642655>> (Last accessed: 12.09.2019).
- ¹¹ Key Informant interview with the author on 11.10.2019
- ¹² This map is used for representational purposes only
- ¹³ Text of the Treaty of Amritsar. available online here <<https://www.britannica.com/event/Treaty-of-Amritsar>> (Last accessed 10.10.2019)
- ¹⁴ As in Map 2, the area depicted in green is under Pakistan, the area depicted in orange held under Indian control and stripped area is under Chinese control.
- ¹⁵ Diplomatic History of Kashmir online at <https://web.stanford.edu/class/e297c/war_peace/confrontation/hkashmir.html> (last accessed 12.09.2019)
- ¹⁶ The first Indo-Pak war of 1947 fought over possession of Jammu and Kashmir State.
- ¹⁷ As the Line of Control formed, the territory of Kashmir split into three parts, with many provinces declaring Independence and acceding to Pakistan.
- ¹⁸ The Backstory of Article 370: A True Copy of J&K's Instrument of Accession online at <<https://thewire.in/history/public-first-time-jammu-kashmirs-instrument-accession-india>> (Last accessed 18.10.2019)
- ¹⁹ Pashtun Tribesmen from Federally administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan
- ²⁰ The Tashkent Agreement online at: <<https://www.britannica.com/event/Tashkent-Agreement>> (Last accessed 15.10.2019).

- ²¹ Simla Agreement online at
<<https://people.unica.it/annamariabaldussi/files/2015/04/Simla-Agreement-July-2-1972.pdf>> (Last accessed 15.10.2019)
- ²² The Lahore Declaration online at
<https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/IN%20PK_990221_The%20Lahore%20Declaration.pdf> (Last accessed 15.10.2019).
- ²³ Extracts from Nehru's Broadcast on 2 November, 1947. Available online at:
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- ²⁶ <<https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Countries/IN/DevelopmentsInKashmirJune2016ToApril2018.pdf>> (Last accessed 15.10.2019).
- ²⁷ In many interactions and interviews with the author
- ²⁸ <<https://psmag.com/news/indias-clampdown-on-kashmir-threatens-afghanistan-peace-negotiations>>
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