



## *Bibliography*



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCES

- Census of India, Report on the Jammu and Kashmir State, 1981, 2001, 2011.
- Constitution of India.
- Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir
- J&K, Assembly Elections Report, 1962, 1967, 1972, 1976, 1977, 1983, 1987, Election Commission, Govt. of India.
- J&K, Parliamentary Elections Report, 1996, 1999, 2004, 2009, Election Commission, Govt. of India.
- Report of the Commission of Inquiry, P.B. Gajendragadkar Commission, 1968.
- Regional Autonomy Committee Report, 1999.

### SECONDARY SOURCES

#### Books

Abdullah, Farooq. *My Dismissal*. Delhi: Vikas Publication, 1985.

Anand, Adarsh Sein. *The Development of the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir*. New Delhi: Light and Life Publishers, 1980.

Appadorai, A. and Rajan M.S. *Indian's Foreign Policy and Relations*. New Delhi: South Asian Publications Pvt. Ltd., 1988.

Asthana, Vandana. *India's Foreign Policy and Sub-continental Politics*. New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers & Distributors, 1999.

- Ayub, Mohammad. *India- Pakistan and Bangladesh: Search for a New Relationship*. New Delhi: Indian Council of World Affairs, 1975.
- Aziz, K. K. *The Making of Pakistan: A Study in Nationalism*. London: Chatto and Windus Ltd., 1967.
- Bajaj, P.N. *The History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*. New Delhi: Kashmir Publishing Co., 1954.
- Bamzai, P.N.K. *A History of Kashmir: Political. Social and Cultural*. New Delhi: Metropolitan Book Co., 1962.
- Basu, D.D. *Introducing the Constitution of India*. New Delhi Prentice Hall of India, 1978.
- Bhushan, Vidya. *State Politics and Government Jammu & Kashmir*. Jammu Tawi: Jay Kay Book House, 1985.
- Bloom, William. *Personal Identity, National Identity and International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Bolitho, Henry Hector. *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan*. London: Murray Press, 1954.
- Brecher, Michael. *The Struggle for Kashmir*. Toronto: The Tyerson Press, 1953.
- Brines, Russel. *The Indo-Pakistani Conflict*. London: Pall Mall Press Ltd., 1968.
- Burke, S.M. *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: An Historical Analysis*. London: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- Changla, M.C. *Kashmir 1947-65*. Delhi: Ministry of Information & Broadcasting Publishing Division, 1965.
- Chopra, Surendra. *U.N. Mediation in Kashmir: A Study of Power Politics*. Kurukshetra: Vishal Publications, 1971.

- Chopra, V.D. *Genesis of Indo- Pak Conflict in Kashmir*. New Delhi: Patriot Publishers, 1990.
- Cohen, Stephen Philip. *The Idea of Pakistan*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Dixit, J. N. *Anatomy of a Flawed Inheritance: Indo- Pak Relations 1970-94*. New Delhi: Konark Majority in the National Publications, 1995.
- Drew, Frderic. *Jammu & Kashmir Territories*. New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1976.
- Dutt, V.P. *India's Foreign Policy*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 1984.
- Fazill, Manzoor. *Kashmir: Government and Politics*. Srinagar: Gulshan Publishers, 1982.
- Ganguly, Sumit. *The Crisis in Kashmir*. New Delhi: Foundation Books, 1997.
- Ganju, Satish. *Kashmir Politics*. New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 1990.
- Gutpa, Sisir. *Kashmir: A Study in Indo-Pak Relations*. New Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1966.
- Habibullah, Wajahat. *My Kashmir, Conflict and Prospects of Enduring Peace*. Washington: United States Institute of Peace, 2008.
- Jagmohan. *My Frozen Turbulence in Kashmir*. New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1991.
- Jai Singh, Hari. *Kashmir—A Tale of Shame*. New Delhi: UBS Publication, 1988.
- Kak, B.L. *Kashmir Problem and Politics*. New Delhi: Seema Publication, 1991.

- Kapur, M.L. *Kingdom of Kashmir*. Jammu: Kashmir History Publishers, 1994.
- Kaul, S. N. *Political Turmoil of Kashmir*. New Delhi: Rajat Publications, 2005.
- Khan, Rahmatullah. *Kashmir and the United Nation*. New Delhi: Vikas Publications, 1969.
- Koithara, Verghese. *Crafting Peace in Kashmir through a Realist Lens*. New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2008.
- Korbel, Joseph. *Danger in Kashmir*. Princeton: University Press, 1954.
- Kumar, Jaswinder. *Irritants in Indo-Pak Relations*. New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications, 1989.
- Lakhanpal, P.L. *Essential Documents and Notes on Kashmir Dispute*. Delhi: International Publishers, 1986.
- Lamb, Alastair. *Crisis in Kashmir: 1946-66*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966.
- Lamb, Alastair. *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy—1946-1990*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Lawrence, Walter R. *The Vale of Kashmir*. London: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- Madhok, Balraj. *Kashmir: Kargil and Indo-Pak Relations*. New Delhi: D.A.V. Publication Division, 2000.
- Mahajan, M.C. *Accession of Kashmir to India (The inside story)*. New Delhi: Sholapur Institute of Public Administration, 1964.
- Mohan, Krishna. *Early Medieval History of Kashmir*. New Delhi: Sri Bharat Bharti Pvt. Ltd., 1981.

- Mullik, B.N. *My Years with Nehru: Kashmir*. Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1971.
- Muni, S. D. *India's Foreign Policy: The Democracy Dimension*. New Delhi: Cambridge University Press India Pvt. Ltd., 2009.
- Nagar, G.R. *Kashmir Accord, 1975—A Political Analysis*. Srinagar: Gulshan Publication, 1976.
- Nanda, Colonel Ravi. *Kashmir and Indo-Pak Relations*. New Delhi: Lancer's Books, 2001.
- Nanda, K. K. *Conquering Kashmir- A Pakistani Obsession*. New Delhi: Lancers Books, 1996.
- Narang, Amarjit Singh. *Indian Government and Politics*. New Delhi: Gitanjali Publishing House, 1985.
- Noorani, A.G. *The Kashmir Question*. Bombay: P.C. Manakatala & Sons, 1964.
- Parmu, R.K. *History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir—1320-1819*. New Delhi: Peoples Publishing House, 1969.
- Puri, Balraj. *Communism in Kashmir*. Calcutta: Institute of Political and Social Studies, 1962.
- Puri, Rajinder. *A Tale of Two Countries: Chronicles of a Columnist*. New Delhi: Her Anand Publications, 2008.
- Ram, Hari. *Special Status in Indian Constitution: Jammu & Kashmir*. New Delhi: Seema Publications, 1983.
- Rao, H.S. Guru Raj. *Legal Aspects of Kashmir Problem*. New Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1967.
- Raza, Maroof. *War's and No Peace Over Kashmir*. New Delhi: Lancers Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1996.

- Raza, Rafi (ed.). *Pakistan in Perspective: 1947-1997*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Sawhny, Karan, S. *Kashmir How Far Can Vajpayee and Musharraf Go*. New Delhi: Peace Publications, 2001.
- Sharma, B.L. *Kashmir Story*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1968.
- Sharma, R.D. *Sheikh Abdullah: Leadership Style and Leadership Pattern*. Shimla: Archana Prakashan, 1983.
- Singh Gopal, Chauhan Ramesh K. (ed.). "Introduction," *South Asia Today*. New Delhi: Anamika Publishers and Distributors Pvt. Ltd., 2005.
- Swami, Praveen. *India, Pakistan and the Secret Jihad: The Covert War in Kashmir: 1947-2004*. New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Teng, M.K. Bhatt, R.K. and Kaul, S. *Kashmir: Constitutional History and Documents*. New Delhi: Light & Life Publishers, 1977.
- Teng, M.K. *Kashmir: Article 370*. New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 1990.
- Thakur, H.K. *Alienation and Integration in Jammu and Kashmir*. Jaipur: Aalekh Publishers, 2000.
- Trivedy, Vijay R. *Facts About Kashmir*. New Delhi: Akashdeep Publishing House, 1990.
- Trivedi, Ramesh (ed.). *India's Relations with her Neighbours*. Delhi: Isha Books, 2008.
- Vashisht, S. *Sheikh Abdullah Then and Now*. New Delhi: Maulik Sahitya Prakashan, 1968.
- Varma, P.S. *Jammu and Kashmir at the Political Crossroads*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1994.

Weiner, Myron (ed.). *State Politics in India*. Princeton: University Press, 1968.

Wakefield. W. *History of Kashmir and the Kashmiris*, Delhi: Seema Publications, 1975.

Younghusband, Francis, *Kashmir*. London: A&C Black Ltd., 1933.

### **Periodical Literature**

Aurora, Bhaavna. "Total Disconnect," *India Today*. July 19, 2010, p. 15.

Bahadur, Kalim. "India-Pakistan Relations: Road Maps and Road Blocks", *World Focus*. Oct.-Nov. & Dec., 2003, p.12.

Baruah, Amit. "A Lecture to Pakistan," *Frontline*. April 14, 2000, p. 16.

---. "The Bus to Pakistan," *Frontline*. March 12, 1999, p. 4.

Bukhari, Shujaat. "Separatists Snubbed," *Frontline*. December 19, 2008, p.30.

---. "Hope in the Air," *Frontline*. January 30, 2009, p. 35.

---. "A Winning Combination," *Frontline*. June 5, 2009, p.21

---. "Jammu & Kashmir: In Boycott Mode," *Frontline*. May 22, 2009, p. 132.

---. "Valley of Unrest," *Frontline*. July 30, 2010, p. 30.

Chakraborty, Mohar. "India-Pakistan Relations: Clouds in the Horizon," *World Focus*. Nov. - Dec. 2009, p. 447.

Chakravarti, Uma. "Disappearing the Disappeared in J&K," *Mainstream*. February 16-22, 2007, p.4.

Cherian, John. "India and Pakistan: Kashmir as the Roadblock," *Frontline*. October 8, 2004, p.47.

---. "Looking Ahead," *Frontline*. January 30, 2004, p. 12.



- Chowdhary, Rekha. "Electioneering in Kashmir," *Economic & Political Weekly*. July 12, 2008, p. 22.
- Chaudhary, Zafar. "Being Muslim in Jammu," *Economic & Political Weekly*. August 13, 2008, p. 34.
- Dua, H. K. "In Search of Peace: How about a Joint fight against terrorism?," *The Tribune*. September 13, 2004, p. 11.
- Dutt, Barkha. "Railway Crossing," *The Hindustan Times*. March 3, 2007, p. 10.
- Ehsan, Mir. "Congress-NC: Several ups, but many downs," *The Indian Express*, December 31, 2008. p.14.
- Fazili, Ehsan. "New Equations in J&K," *The Tribune*. January 1, 2009, p. 9.
- Ganguly, Sumit. "Secession is no Solution," *The Times of India*. September 8, 2009, p.8
- Ganguly, Sumit and R. Harrison Wagner. "India and Pakistan: Bargaining in the shadow of Nuclear War," *Journal of Strategic Studies*. Vol. 27, No. 2, 2004, pp. 479-507.
- Guha, Ramchandra. "J&K and Kashmir," *The Hindustan Times*. September 8, 2009, p.8
- Habibullah, Wajahat. "After the Vote," *The Indian Express*. December 31, 2008, p.10.
- Halan, Y.C. "Indo-Pak Relations," *South Asia Politics*. June 2003, pp. 19-20.
- Hussain, Aijaz & Aurora Bhavna. "Decent into Chaos," *India Today*. July 12, 2010, p. 28.

- Iyer, Ramaswamy R. "Baglihar: Resolving the Differences," *The Hindu*.  
March 1, 2007, p. 12.
- Jagmohan. "Valley cannot do without Army," *The Hindustan Times*.  
April 1, 2007, p. 10.
- Jaitly, Arun. "The State and the Nation," *The Times of India*. January 31,  
2011, p. 12.
- Jha, Nalini Kant. "India and Pakistan: Prospects of War and Peace," *India  
Quarterly*. Vol. LVIII, No. 2, April-June 2002, pp. 49-53.
- Jha, Prem Shankar. "A river of mistrust: A Final solution to Kashmir  
must wait, Now is the time to build trust," *The Hindustan Times*.  
November 24, 2004, p. 10.
- Jindal, Nirmal. "Kargil Deterrence Revisited," *Himalayan and Central  
Asia Studies*. Vol. 4, No. 2, April-June 2000, p. 25.
- . "Kashmir Issue in Nuclearised South Asia," *India Quarterly*. Vol.  
LIX, No. 3 and 4, July-December, 2003, pp. 183-198.
- Kanwal, Gurmeet. "Imagined Homelands," *The Times of India*. February  
23, 2007, p. 10.
- Kartha, Tara. "Countering Transnational Terrorism," *Strategic Analysis*.  
Vol. XXIII, No. 11, February, 2000, p. 4.
- Khajuria, Ravi Krishnan. "War on militancy: Amid odds, Security forces  
fight on," *The Tribune*. December 29, 2011, p. 11.
- Malik, V. P. "Trial by Fire: Musharraf Crosses the Border of Trust," *The  
Tribune*. September 27, 2006, p. 11.
- Massod, Bashaarat. "An Elephant Lies in the Details," *The Indian  
Express*. December 31, 2008. p.14.

- Mehta, Ashok K. "Host Pursuit: Need to Check Infiltration," *The Tribune*. August 3, 2006, p.12.
- Muni, S. D. "Dialogue and Delusion: Must the show go on?" *Frontline*. October 9, 1992, p. 34.
- Muralidharan, Sukumar. "India and Pakistan: A not so smooth ride," *Frontline*. March 12, 1999, p. 14.
- Navlakha, Gautam. "Jammu and Kashmir: Winning a Battle Only to Lose the War," *Economic and Political Weekly*. November 8, 2008, p. 44.
- Nayar, Kuldeep. "A breakthrough can wait: India and Pakistan must concentrate on small steps," *The Indian Express*. September 7, 2004, p. 12.
- . "Indo-Pak Relations," *Competition Refresher*. Vol. XXII, No. 11, November, 2004, p. 14.
- Noorani, A.G. "Kashmir Questions," *Frontline*. January 29, 2010, p. 19.
- . "The Truth About the Lahore Summit," *Frontline*. Vol. 19, No. 4, Feb.-March 2002, pp. 85-90.
- Owolabi, A.O. "Nigeria's Foreign Policy in a Changing International Environment: A New Agenda," *India Quarterly*. Vol. L, No. 3, July-September 1994, p. 17.
- Parthasarathy, G. "Pugwash Initiative on Kashmir," *The Tribune*, August 9, 2007, p. 12.
- Punjabi, Riaz. "Kashmir, Realising the Dream of Islamic Caliphate," *World Affairs*. Vol.4, No.2, April- June, 2000, p. 28.
- Puri, Balraj. "J&K: Militancy on the Name," *Mainstream*. September 23-29, 2005, p.3.

- . "Kashmir – A Test Case of Indian Federalism," *Janata*. October 8, 2006, p.21.
- . "Independence, Autonomy and Freedom in Kashmir?," *Economic & Political Weekly*. March 22, 2008, p.20.
- . "How Communal Division of J&K State was Averted?," *Janata*. February 21, 2010, p. 8.
- . "Musharaf sets the Agenda on Kashmir," *Mainstream*. February 16-22, 2007, p.7.
- . "Choice for Kashmiris: Independence, Autonomy and Freedom," *Mainstream*. May 2-8, 2008, p.15.
- . "Jammu and Kashmir: The Issue of Regional Autonomy," *Economic and Political Weekly*. August 23, 2008, p.8.
- Puri, Rajinder. "Why Kashmiri Separatists Disappoint," *The Statesman*. May 31, 2010, p.26.
- Raina, Badri. "Is Independence a Viable option for Jammu & Kashmir?," *Mainstream*. February 16-22, 2007, p.9.
- . "Heal and Renew," *Mainstream*. May 2-8, 2008, p.8.
- Rao, Jai Tirth, "India won't can't give up," *The Indian Express*. September 1, 2008, p.10.
- Saez, Lawrence. "India in 2003: Pre Electoral Maneuvering and the Prospects for Regional Peace," *Asian Survey*, Vol. XLIV, No. 1, January- February, 2004, p. 34.
- Sandhu, Kanwar. "Changing Tack in J&K," *The Hindustan Times*, March 24, 2007, p. 11.
- Sareen, Sushant. "Save the Dialogue: The Subcontinent needs peace," *The Tribune*. July 31, 2006, p. 10.

- Sastray, R. Gangadhara. "Attack on Indian Parliament: The Global Compulsions," *Third Concept*, Vol. 15, No. 180, Feb 2002, pp. 17-21.
- Saxena, Ashish. "Another leap towards land Reforms in J&K," *The Tribune*. September 21-27, 2007, p.21.
- Sharan, Shree Shankar. "The Kashmir Imbroglo," *Mainstream*, September 5-11, 2008, p.11.
- Singh, Kushwant, "Trespassers in Kashmir," *The Hindustan Times*. September 20, 2008, p.10.
- . "How J&K taught the world a lesson," *The Hindustan Times*. January 17, 2009, P. 10.
- Singh, Parneet. "Sangharsh Samiti Suspends Stir," *The Tribune*, September 1, 2008, p.10.
- Singh, Prakash. "Hearts And Minds," *The Times of India*. June 24, 2010, p.10.
- Singh, Harwant. "Quarreling over Kargil: Antiquated decision making system must go," *The Tribune*. October 18, 2006, p.10.
- . "Troop Reduction in J&K," *The Tribune*. April 9, 2007, p.11.
- Singh, Uma. "India Pakistan Relations in a Historical perspective," *World Focus*. Vol. 22, No. 10-11-12, Oct-Dec. 2001, pp. 32-37.
- Swami, Praveen. "Missing Facts on Kashmir Disappearances," *The Hindu*. February 6, 2006, p. 12.
- Swez, Lawrence. "Domestic Terrorism and India's Relations with Pakistan," *Asian Survey*, Vol. XLIV, No. 1, Jan-Feb. 2004, pp. 33-35.

- Syed, Firdous. "New Delhi- Srinagar's trust, deficit," *The Hindustan Times*. April 10, 2005, p. 10.
- . "Talk to Moderates for Peace in Kashmir," *The Tribune*, February 27, 2007, p. 10.
- Talbot, Ian. "Pakistan-India Relations Amid International Uncertainties," *Asian Survey*. Vol. XLIV, No. 1, Jan-Feb. 2004, pp. 39-41.
- Thukral, Raveen. "Changing Valley Scenario," *The Hindustan Times*. June 12, 2006, p. 11.
- Unnithan, Sandeep. "Between a Rock and a Hard Place," *India Today*. July 12, 2010, p.32.
- Vinayak, Ramesh. "Abdullah the Third," *India Today*. January 12, 2009, p. 12.
- Verghese, B. G. "Need for a sustained dialogue: India- Pakistan must address core issues," *The Tribune*. October 10, 2003, p. 10.
- Waseem, Mohammad. "Causes of Democratic Downslide," *Economic and Political Weekly*. November 2- 9, 2002, p. 4532.

### **Magazines and Journals**

- *India Today* (New Delhi).
- *Frontline* (Chennai).
- *South Asia Politics* (New Delhi).
- *Yojana*.
- *Seminar*.
- *Economic and Political Weekly*.
- *Asian Development Review*.
- *Asian Survey*.
- *World Focus*.
- *India Quarterly*.

- *Third Concept.*
- *The Indian Journal of Political Science.*

### **Newspapers**

- *The Hindu (Chennai).*
- *The Hindustan Times (New Delhi).*
- *The Tribune (Chandigarh).*
- *The Times of India (New Delhi).*
- *The Indian Express (Chandigarh).*
- *The Economic Times.*
- *The Financial Express.*

### **Websites**

- <http://www.kashmiri-cc.ca/misc/SITHUMAN.html>.
- <http://www.jammu-kashmir.com/insights/insight20071210a.html>.
- <http://kafila.org/2011/12/31/human-rights-review-jammu-and-kashmir-in-2011-jkccs/html>.
- <http://www.hindubooks.org/kashmir/ch8.html>.
- [http://www.Jammu-kashmir.com/insights/insight\\_20021030/html](http://www.Jammu-kashmir.com/insights/insight_20021030/html).
- <http://www.indian-elections.com/assembly-elections/Jammu-Kashmir/election-result-08.html>.
- <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3453.html>.
- [http://thenews.jang.com.pk/top\\_story\\_detail.asp?Id=16070/html](http://thenews.jang.com.pk/top_story_detail.asp?Id=16070/html).
- <http://www.thehindu.com/2008/09/07/stories/2008/09/07/57400100.html>
- <http://www.meaindia.nic.in/html>.
- <http://www.scribd.com/doc/14627984/Research-Paper-on-IndoPak-Relation/html>.
- <http://www.kashmirpackages.com/location.html>.

- [www.storyofpakistan.com](http://www.storyofpakistan.com).
- <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/wikipedia/html>.
- <http://www.ipcs.org/subscribe-to-newswire/html>.
- <http://www.ipcs.org/index.php>
- [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/indo-pakistani wars and conflicts](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/indo-pakistani_wars_and_conflicts)
- <http://www.dawn.com/wps/wcm/connect/news/pakistan/surviving-gunmans-identity-established-as-pakistani>
- <http://www.pakistankakhudahafix.com/2011/06/08/pakistan-inside-the-military-budget/html>.
- <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/spotlight/kashmirtheforgottonconflict/2011/07/20117311419365654551.html>.
- <http://www.peacekashmir.org/jammu-kashmir/political-parties.html>.
- <http://www.kashmir-cc.ca/misc/SITHUMAN.html>.
- <http://www.jammu-kashmir.com/insights/insight20071210a.html>.

204198