INTRODUCTION

Since war begins in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defence of peace must be constructed (UNESCO Constitution 1945)

Individual or group concern for human care is natural intuition. It is under its stimulus that individuals volunteer themselves through an organised effort. It may assume the form of what is called, service. Service is basically, a caring instinct and an inner concern for others. An orientation in services generates dedication for and devotion of time and energy to a good cause. It begets the noble quality of sacrifice for others without reward. Public service has been characterised as the noblest and most delicate one.

Service is value laden and as long as it remains the operational ideal, one is able to maintain himself above suspicion. It discourages possessive tendency and thereby, it checks selfish nature of man. He commands respect and admiration of his clientele. The relationship between them will be that of a benefactor and beneficiary.

When voluntary action is viewed as a viable peace and development alternative, different terms are found being used such as voluntary organisations (VOs) or voluntary agencies (VAs), Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), Self-Help Groups (SHG) Social Movement Groups, or Social Action groups etc. The use of a particular term for a voluntary group depends primarily on the task undertaken by it.

Scores of the NGOs have been contributing in peace building and development. Overtime, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have come to play a key role in peace building. NGOs have a vast range of diversity in their aims objectives and functioning. The range of service offered by these organisations is mind blogging from targeting the poor in hygiene to digging wells, from educating children and building roads to arrange a decent funeral for the dead.

The fifteenth of August 1947, not only changed the fate of Indian people but also wrote a script of Independent India. The conflict in Jammu and Kashmir grew intense after the partition of the country in 1947 and with the evolution of militancy and cross border insurgency in 1989. The worst face of this conflict was seen in Jammu and Kashmir during last two and a half decades. While the atrocities in th
valley were on the go, an emergence for building peace and confidence among the people was felt, to overcome the situation and to curb the conflict in a peaceful manner. Among all the Agencies, Institutions and Organizations, the role of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) was prominently different because of their sympathetic and pacific approaches towards the process of peace building and development. The NGOs, being distinctive from that of government and other organisations, have enhanced the peace process in Jammu and Kashmir and worked unceasingly for the betterment of people affected by the conflict. The Peace building and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are closely related to each other. The non-governmental organisations (NGOs) play a very significant and predominant role in preventing the start or resumption of violence or conflict in almost every part of the world. The main purpose of Peace building is conflict prevention and easing of tension in the valley. Before taking into account the Peace building efforts in Jammu and Kashmir, one should look into the matter attentively and point out the reasons of conflict particularly in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Prior to the independence of India in 1947, the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir was under the reign of Maharaja Dynasty. The emergence of building and maintaining peace in the conflict area of Jammu and Kashmir was felt with the uprising of militancy and cross border insurgency in 1989. The politically and socially recognised NGO’s have the potential to pressurize the government to meet the necessities of people in terms of maintaining peace and security in Jammu and Kashmir. There are two approaches to the conflict prevention; firstly the Militaristic approach which cannot settle the disputes alone, although being capable of implementing peace the military employs the different techniques that may sometimes prove unfavourable in certain circumstances. The second and most essential approach is the negotiated settlement or Peace building approach, to which most of the people on global level would show acceptance. So the work is best assigned to the NGOs and Civil Societies. The NGO’s having no political status, associate itself to the conflict prevention and Peace building processes in the psychologically disturbed areas of the state. Some peace NGO’s presently active in Jammu and Kashmir, have pointed out certain important but undesirable causes of violence like protests against Indian Government, patriarchal rule, post-world war consequences and the belief of alienation, aloofness and distinctness from Indian federation. While some of the researches reveal that terrorism and the military
atrocities in the valley have worsened the condition since 1989 thereby hardening the labour of socially and politically recognised NGO's. Khan and Ayoubi in their writings provide a statistical data that the large number of people in the state of Jammu and Kashmir has been affected with violence and economic downfall since 1989. Besides Peace building and conflict prevention, the civil societies and NGO's can have a leading role to play in the progress and development of the state because of the neutral character and a sympathetic approach towards the affected persons.

In order to accomplish the Peace building efforts in a particular region, the NGO's have to keep the Anthropological and geographical conditions of that region into consideration and join hands with local NGO's, institutions and communities to provide financial assistance to the needy and deserving people. For the establishment of peace in the conflict-ridden region, the civil societies and NGO's have to be vibrant and honest and at the same time local communities should accompany NGO's to make peace a reality. However people don’t have much faith in the government and its institutions because of the personal interest of political leaders. The NGO's can act as the best mediators in loosening the tension between the states and countries. Why civil societies and NGO's were required to maintain peace and help restoring normalcy in Kashmir? The answer lies in the background of conflict between India and Pakistan in 1947. The fate of people of Kashmir was to be decided by means of plebiscite and some prerequisites were laid by the then premier Pt. Jawaharial Nehru but India and Pakistan; both claimed the territory to be its own asset which resulted in the erupting of mass demonstration, violent conflicts and a feeling of right to self-determination in the minds of people of Jammu and Kashmir. The more intensified form of this conflict was seen in 1989 with the uprising of militancy and cross-border terrorism. However the scene further intensified in 2010 unrest in Kashmir. The dispute has now grown so intense that negotiations, Mediations or reducing tensions seem to have a lesser applicability. A commendable role has been played by various NGO’s to rehabilitate the victims of 1989 insurgencies. This proved to be the main reason for requirement of NGO’s to direct the state of Jammu and Kashmir towards the dawn of peace and an atmosphere free of violence and conflicts. The NGO’s highlighted the problems of people in conflict-ridden areas and forced both the counterparts (India and Pakistan) to take measures to settle the dispute of Kashmir amicably. It is because of NGO’s that a majority of people around the world came to
know the problem of Kashmir. The civil societies and NGO's have not only prevented human rights violation but also enhanced the socio-economic condition of masses in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The Chari and Chandran2 in their work illuminates the different pathways to settle the dispute in Kashmir. Amongst the role played by various agencies, religion apart can play a very essential role in the prevention of conflict because religion is of great essence and importance in a way that it decreases the animosity between the countries. Almost whole of Asia is absorbed by the conflict and concept of war and violence is at its peak, so the peace of nations and collective security gets compromised thereby forcing the international brotherhood to take immediate steps to look into the matter. While pointing out the negative aspects of peace the Newman and Richmond in his book “Challenges to Peacebuilding: Managing Spoilers during Conflict Resolution3 perceives that peace can have adverse effects if it is prolonged and the actors could be considered as the spoilers to the conflict.

It is because of large scale violence in the state of Jammu and Kashmir since 1989 large number of scholars, journalists and social activists have written about the conflict. but most of the literature is either impressionistic or motivated. A very few researches have been conducted to find out the root causes and consequences of the conflict and strategy for its resolution and peace building. Indeed, no known study of the role of NGOs in peace building in Kashmir is available. It is therefore. We have selected this area for our study.

Objective of the study:

The purpose of the present research work is to study the role of non-governmental organisations in peace building in Kashmir. The present study aims to high light the causes and consequences of Kashmir conflict. The aim will also be to analyse the problems faced by the NGOs, evaluate their prospect in the light of their performance and lastly to high light major conclusions and recommendations which have policy implications. Keeping this in view, the present study proposes the following specific objectives:

To discuss the theoretical concepts, characteristics, various classifications and definitions of non-governmental organisations.

1. To analyse the role of NGOs in involving the people in different activities.
2. To analyse, the theoretical concepts about conflict and peace building.


4. To develop a better understanding of the potential contribution of NGOs in peace building in Kashmir.

5. To highlight major conclusions and make recommendations for improving the work efficiency and better involvement of the NGOs in their peace building programmes.

Review of literature

A literature review usually is a body of text aimed to review the critical points of current knowledge including substantive findings as well as theoretical and methodological contributions related to the research topic. It acts as secondary source, and as such helps in developing new or original experimental work. Thus, it helps a lot to get the insights about the research study. The study under research is a distinctive topic and no such study with the nature of theme has been undertaken so far, so a relevant series of studies have been chosen to review the diverse themes relating to topic under research. The proportion of selection of literature has been classified as international, national and local studies covering major themes of the research. Since all the themes of the research are not covered in single compilation of literature so, review is extended from books, journals, working papers and study reports.

Tandon, R (1991), in his study "Government" NGOs "Relationship in India," has studied about the relationship of government and NGOs. He has dealt about the types of voluntary organization, the role of government vis-a-vis voluntary organization and the area of tension with VOs. In his view, the major area of conflict is funding. There is delay in release of instalments by the ignorant officers, hoping to receive a grant-in-aid. He concluded by saying that, this loss of autonomy of self-respect, of one's right to know and speak, of critically analysing arid reflecting, of voicing critique and dissent has affected a vast section of voluntary organizations, paralyzing them, demoralizing them and destroying their capacity to become a concerted force for social transformation in society. It is important that the community of voluntary organizations take stock of trends and make collective efforts.
to regain this capacity to assert its autonomous will and independent thinking and action in the interest of sustaining and strengthening democratic trends in the society.

M.N. Siddiqi (1987), in his paper titled, "Role of Voluntary Sector in Islam: A Conceptual framework", focus on the helping behaviours of a Muslim individual towards others. He discusses the role of Voluntary Sector in meeting psychological and spiritual need, in the fulfilment of material and non-material needs within the family and in supplying public goods. He emphasizes the vast potential of the voluntary sector in contributing to the welfare of Muslims societies, especially in the Muslim minorities' countries. In conclusion some present trends and future possibilities in the development of the voluntary sector are noted with special emphasis on Islamic Financial Institutions. He also points out that other than Waqaf, there is a greater resource for voluntary sector for the improvement of socio-economic condition of the Muslims. He also blames the Government and other system for the condition of Muslims and emphasis importance of voluntary sector. He also points out the Islamic financial institution as a Voluntary Sector, which is the area of study, as they are catering socio-economic needs of the community.

Humra Quraishi titled as Kashmir: The Untold Story: Since 1989, Humra portrays the Kashmir as battle ground of local militants, foreign insurgents, and Indian security forces. In all the propaganda, and news and statistics about militant strikes, counter insurgency operations, and the foreign hand, the human stories are often lost. Journalist Humra Quraishi draws upon her extensive travels in the Valley and interactions with ordinary Kashmiris over two decades to try and understand what the long strife has done to them. She, in her book, brings us painful stories of mothers, that how they are waiting for their young sons, who disappeared years ago, picked up by the army or by militants; minds undone by the constant uncertainty and fear and almost daily humiliation to local people. She narrates how entire generation of young Kashmiris who have grown up with no concept of security. The individual families and societies falling apart under the strain of the seemingly endless turmoil.

Sumantra, Bose (2002), book titled Roots of Conflict, Paths to Peace. In Kashmir, nuclear-armed adversaries India and Pakistan mobilized for war once again over the long-disputed territory of Kashmir, raising alarm around the globe. Drawing on extensive first-hand experience in the contested region, Sumantra Bose examines how the conflict became a grave threat to South Asia and the world and suggests
feasible steps toward peace. Though the roots of conflict lie in partition of the subcontinent, the contemporary problem owes more to subsequent developments, including the severe authoritarianism of Indian rule; the intricate mix of ethnic, religious, and caste communities that hinders easy solutions; the rise of a Kashmiri independence movement; and the ravages of guerrilla war waged by Islamist groups since 1990. Bose emphasizes that a viable framework for peace must address the sovereignty concerns of both India and Pakistan and take into account conflicting local loyalties and popular aspirations for self-rule. He invokes compelling comparisons to other global hotspots, especially Northern Ireland, that may offer important lessons for a settlement in Kashmir. This book is essential reading for anyone wishing to understand one of the world's most dangerous conflicts.

In a book *Curfewed Nights*, **Basharat Peer** a local author in 2008, published by Random House Publishers India Pvt. Ltd. has given the immediate account of the situation which he has witnessed while growing up in Kashmir during turmoil. His account has laid the emphasis on the misery and grief caused to human beings in Kashmir during these years. It is the plain unexaggerated account of events that happened in Kashmir in post 1989 era. However, in the light of his statements there is least pains that, highlights nature and origin of conflict. Basharat Peer was a teenager when the separatist movement exploded in Kashmir in 1989.

Over the following years countless young men, fuelled by feelings of injustice, crossed over the Line of Control to train in Pakistani army camps. In *Curfewed Night* he draws a harrowing portrait of Kashmir and its people. Basharat narrates the stories of a young man's initiation into a Pakistani training camp; a mother who watches her son forced to hold an exploding bomb; a poet who finds religion when his entire family is killed.

**Victoria Schefield**, *Kashmir in Conflict: India, Pakistan and the Unending War*, the study reflects impact of conflict in Kashmir as, famed for its beauty, "Why has the valley of Kashmir, become in the words of former President Bill Clinton, the 'most dangerous place on earth'? Why does the Kashmiri insurgency, waged since the late 1980s, continue to threaten the integrity of the Indian union? How can India and Pakistan, both nuclear powers, resolve their longstanding differences over the former princely state so that the peoples of South Asia can live in peace?"
Introduction

Victoria Schofield’s updated revision of the highly acclaimed, Kashmir in Conflict, examines the history of the state of Jammu and Kashmir from the period when the valley was an ancient independent kingdom to the most recent and potentially disastrous confrontation between India and Pakistan. Strategically situated on the borders of China, central and south Asia, Kashmir has once again confirmed its status as a likely battleground between the world's latest and most belligerent nuclear powers." Drawing upon extensive research in both countries, Victoria Schofield traces the origins of the princely state in the nineteenth century and the controversial 'sale' by the British of the predominantly Muslim valley to a Hindu Maharaja in 1846. Assessing the implications for Kashmir of independence in 1947, she analyses the issues, which divide India and Pakistan as they confront each other 'eyeball to eyeball' in a seemingly unending war.

Swami, Praveen (2007), India, Pakistan and the Secret Jihad, Routledge, Oxford. This book by a well-known Indian journalist, traces the genesis of the armed jihad in Kashmir to events that long preceded Partition in 1947. The author argues that the intensity and longevity of the conflict cannot be explained through reasons of a failure in the modern state system or of failed nationhood, but rather that the conflict is the result of the success of the modern states of India and Pakistan in terms of their geo-strategic and military planning. Even though violence and terrorist activities escalated in Kashmir as late as 1989-1990, Swami argues that a series of covert operations backed by Pakistan immediately after 1947 continued till the mid-1960s to destabilize the political situation and to organise a mass rebellion in the state. Swami argues that till the 1950s, the informal war being fought on the soils of Kashmir by Pakistan was small-scale and had little in it that was new or radical. After the defeat of the 1965 war, Pakistan turned to Algeria and Palestine for inspiration. It was at this time in history that Pakistan realized that the war for Kashmir and the war against India had to collapse into one and that the warriors of the jihad in Jammu and Kashmir would be an integral part of its overall military structure. The recruitment policy of 'jihadis' by Pakistan for waging war in Kashmir, became more organised and religion became a strong metaphor of the ideology behind it. The book not only provides a detailed account of the events of the four India-Pakistan wars of 1948, 1965, 1971 and 1999 but also highlights incidents in the periods between the wars that were to shape and were in turn influenced by the ideology and role of Kashmiri
political organisations such as the National Conference and the Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), and the Islamists and jihadi groups in Kashmir including the Hizb ul Mujahideen, Harkat ul Mujahideen and Lashkar e Taiba. The book looks at how religion was slowly but steadily entering the politics of Kashmir. General Zia’s leadership in Pakistan in the 1970s placed Islam at the core of the functioning of the Pakistani army and its involvement in what it deemed Islamist causes became an ideological imperative. The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and the success of Pakistan’s support to anti-Soviet elements gave it a further boost that the same method of warfare could be duplicated in Kashmir. The proliferation of jihadi groups in the 1990s coincided with the nuclearisation of India and Pakistan. The book provides insight into why the jihadi groups launched a wave of pan-India terror attacks following the Kargil war of 1999 and its implications for peace. Swami attempts to answer whether peace can be foreseeable in the near future and outlines some of the key challenges that could threaten resolution of the conflict if left unaddressed. This book is useful for those seeking to understand the Kashmir conflict post Partition and the evolution and ideology of ‘jihadi’ groups that have in recent years expanded their geographical scale of operations. Though it provides an in-depth description of the events between 1947 and 2004 that have framed many pressing present-day issues arising out of the conflict, the reasons for the discontent among average Kashmiris are not adequately analysed.

**Bose, Sumantra (2003), Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Paths to Peace, Vistaar Publications, New Delhi.** This book, by a professor of International and comparative politics at the London School of Economics offers an analysis of the roots of the Kashmir conflict and suggests ways to make peace. The author brings out the peculiarity of the conflict, which he terms as essentially about sovereignty, by uncovering the layers of differences in the social and political fabric of the state. Laying particular emphasis on the post-1947 developments, the author argues that the contemporary dispute is related to the discontent of the majority people of Indian Jammu and Kashmir with the Indian Union and the transformation of the state into a draconian police state. The book links the discontent of the Kashmiri youth, the trend of martyrdom and the surge in popularity of separatist political organisations in the early 1990s to authoritarian politics and repressive central control in the preceding decades. Bose shows how counterinsurgency operations by Indian security forces
were ruthless and indiscriminate in their conduct and crackdowns, eyeing with suspicion and hostility the entire Kashmiri population, and thereby only instigating fear and alienation in the latter. The book also provides insight into how this restive period of the early 1990s gave Pakistan’s Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) a window of opportunity to create pro-Pakistan guerrilla organisations to challenge the separatist outfits. It discusses at length the positions of the India and Pakistan over the issue of sovereignty and weighs the pros and cons of a plebiscitary formula for Kashmir by comparing it with the international experience of Bosnia and Northern Ireland. Bose concludes that neither simplistic plebiscitary nor partitionist models are likely to yield substantive peace dividends and suggests alternative measures. Bose sees much similarity in the conflict in Northern Ireland and Kashmir and suggests picking clues from the peace process in the former. Due to the differences, however, he argues for certain prerequisites such as improving relations between India and Pakistan, New Delhi and Srinagar and the establishment of representative and accountable political frameworks in Indian Jammu and Kashmir. The book argues that inclusive and participatory dialogue preceding action is necessary for a peace process.

Dholakia, Amit (2005), The Role of Mediation in Resolving India-Pakistan Conflict: Parameters and Possibilities, Manohar Publications, New Delhi. The focus of this book is on the potential that international mediation presents in conflict management and resolution in the case of India-Pakistan conflicts. It discusses the concept of mediation and its success and failures in the context of various international conflicts. According to the author, who is a professor of political science at the University of Baroda in India, mediation has a long history rooted in the tradition of various cultures and has been used in modern times both for domestic issues as well as in the international context. He lays out chronologically the attempts at mediation between India and Pakistan, beginning in 1948 when India approached the United Nations (UN) over alleged Pakistani support in the invasion of Kashmir. Pakistan in turn appealed to the UN to look into the legality of the accession to India of the princely states of undivided India. UN mediation to resolve the question of sovereignty of Kashmir met with limited success. It led to a ceasefire and establishment of the UN Military Observers Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP). However, the suggestions of subsequent UN-appointed Special Representatives was uniformly rejected by either Pakistan or India, or both, to the
effect that the Security Council recognised the futility of third-party mediation and directed both countries to directly negotiate a settlement. The book then discusses the role of the UN over the Kashmir dispute through the 1960s and 1970s and how since the late 1960s, India has rejected any UN intervention and mediation in Kashmir. The author argues that mediation by the Soviet Union after the 1965 India-Pakistan war met with success since all three parties had a stake in the outcome. The resulting Tashkent Declaration in 1966 was symbolic, Dholakia argues, for it was the first major agreement between the two states which committed them to peaceful resolution of conflict even though success proved short-lived. The author also discusses the World Bank-led mediation in the dispute over the sharing of the Indus river water and its success in the finalization of the Indus Water Treaty in 1960, and the use of international arbitration in the dispute over the Rann of Kutch between 1965 and 1968. The book discusses at length the role of the United States as a mediator between India and Pakistan at various points of time in their tumultuous relationship. The author argues that post Cold War, America has taken an active interest in preventive diplomacy and the resolution of bilateral disputes and that the Agra summit in 2001 and the summit in Islamabad three years later were the result of pressure from America. The book is useful for conflict resolution students and practitioners in understanding the role of mediation in conflict. It brings out the possibilities and stumbling blocks of mediation as applicable between India and Pakistan by drawing upon past instances and highlighting the positions that each country takes on various aspects of international mediation. He argues that resolving Kashmir, in particular, through international mediation is ridden by constraints, some of them being lack of political will and asymmetrical power relations. The author also discusses to some extent the importance of Track II and III meetings as an accompaniment to official mediation and facilitation as a means to counter stereotyping and changing perceptions of each other.

Dasgupta, Chandrashekhar (2002), War and Diplomacy in Kashmir 1947-48, Sage Publications, New Delhi. Dasgupta is a former Indian diplomat who explains the events that marked the genesis of the Kashmir conflict. The book studies the military and diplomatic developments during 1947-48 involving the three key actors—India, Pakistan and Britain and how these developments shaped their decision-making. It talks of the initial problems over territory that the newly
Introduction

independent states of India and Pakistan had to face and how disputes were settled often at the behest of British leadership. It was Kashmir that proved the toughest to resolve. The delay over accession by the Maharaja of Kashmir and a spurt of Pakistan-sponsored raids into Kashmir are discussed in much detail as are the reactions and actions of the Indian authorities and Britain. The author discusses the halted reactions of the latter due to its reluctance of alienating one or the other side. He argues that Britain wanted to preserve her political and strategic position by negotiating alliances with both countries. The book provides ample insight into the positions and concerns of the statesmen of the three countries; Nehru, Jinnah, Attlee and Mountbatten, as well as the defence chief commanders and personnel on the ground. It describes the conflicting views that London received from its men in Karachi and Delhi and the advice that was accepted. The book gives a minute account of the military situation in Kashmir and the confrontation of the Indian and Pakistani sides in Poonch, Mirpur, Naoshera and other areas within Kashmir. It throws light on the role of Mountbatten as a mediator and how he succeeded in getting Nehru to agree to an involvement of the United Nations in conducting an impartial plebiscite. It also talks of India's and Pakistan's concerns over how the plebiscite would be held, in particular, over the issue of presence of raiders and troops. The author discusses the various talks, proposals and plans that were suggested by each side to reach a consensus and how a failure in this regard was leading to an imminent threat of full-scale war between India and Pakistan. Britain approached the Security Council in 1948 for the establishment of a UN Commission to broker a truce agreement between the two countries. Even as Pakistan sent its army into Kashmir, Britain decided to withdraw from the region, for, as the author argues, Britain was keen to maintain its strategic interests and regarded a pro-Pakistan stance as one that would appeal to Muslim opinion in the Middle East. The book discusses the mandate and actions of the UN Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) and how it led to the passing of a resolution in August 1948 that called for the Kashmir dispute to be settled according to the will of the people of Kashmir. However, it was not able to secure an immediate ceasefire and a limited military offensive continued right up till late 1948. Further proposals were worked out and clarified to by the UNCIP and it was on the eve of 1949 that a ceasefire finally came into effect. This book provides an excellent and detailed description of the events that affected the first war between India and
Pakistan over Kashmir. It discusses at length the military and diplomatic thinking and negotiations between India, Pakistan and Britain and is useful for students of strategic affairs and diplomacy in understanding how conflict can escalate or de-escalate. It shows how Britain and later the UN had to manoeuvre within limited political space to reach a settlement that would be acceptable to both India and Pakistan.

Schofield, Victoria (2004), Kashmir in Conflict: India, Pakistan and the Unending War, Viva Publications; New Delhi. The British journalist has written a number of books on the region and provides a comprehensive account of the genesis and evolution of the Kashmir conflict up to 2001-2002. Schofield traces the political developments in Kashmir from the 16th century onwards when the Mughal rulers conquered the valley in undivided India. It gives a backdrop of the Sikh rule followed by the reign of the Dogras before moving into an in-depth account of Partition and its aftermath. The book examines the delay in accession and the events leading to Maharaja Hari Singh’s signing the Instrument of Accession. It highlights how the Indian government deliberately maintained in their official accounts that the signing took place before Indian troops were sent to Kashmir to give legitimacy to their intervention. The author brings out the differing versions of the ‘truth’ of accession as accepted by India and Pakistan and how these determine their respective positions to date. The dubiousness of the accession was met with stiff Pakistani resistance and Indian and Pakistani armies came face to face in many parts of Kashmir. The failed attempts at mediation by Britain made it refer the dispute to the United Nations. The UN Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) succeeded in securing a ceasefire only in 1949. The book throws light on the internal politics of Kashmir; the decline of the Dogras and the rise of Sheikh Abdullah as the ‘Lion of Kashmir’. The latter grew from being known for his socialist ideals and loyalty to India to being accused of harbouring pro-independence ambitions and discriminating against the non-Muslims in Jammu and Kashmir through his reforms. By 1953 Nehru and Abdullah had fallen apart and the latter was dismissed as prime minister after five years in office. Under Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad’s governance, the state made some economic progress and in 1957 the state of Jammu and Kashmir approved its own constitution. However, Bakshi’s government was not popular for it crushed all forms of political dissent. Schofield argues that his ten-year rule eroded the special status with which Kashmir had begun its relationship with India. Arguing that the end of the 1950s saw the
decline of the UN as the chief mediator between India and Pakistan, the author highlights the growing role of the US, and the strategic interests of China and Soviet Union in the region. The intricacies of diplomacy are brought out through the 1962-63 talks over the ceasefire line between India and Pakistan. The book documents the events of the next few years that led to escalation of conflict in 1965, in particular, Operation Gibraltar and Operation Grand Slam that once again saw the UN negotiating a ceasefire. The book provides a thorough account of the internal politics in Kashmir through the 1970s when Sheikh Abdullah is alleged by Pakistan to have sold out to the Indian government by signing the 1975 accord. He was not popular in Jammu or Ladakh and neither with the Islamist groups that opposed the accord; and his death in 1982 coincided with a climate of renewed assertion of religious identity and the rise of communalist tendencies. The author argues that Farooq Abdullah’s alliance with the Congress in a coalition government in 1986 further worsened the situation and created a political vacuum into which the extremists stepped. Insurgency and violence marked the end of the decade of the 1980s and she argues that the grievances of the Kashmiri people due to the erosion of the special status promised to them in 1947 and the neglect of the people by their political leaders were India’s responsibility. The tumultuous period of the 1990s began with a surge of anti-India rebellions and movements and the pouring in of Indian security forces. The Narasimha Rao government tried starting a political dialogue in 1994 after international concern was stepped up following Benazir Bhutto’s speech in the (then) UN High Commission for Human Rights the previous year. The book charts the reactions of the Hurriyat conference, National Conference and the Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) to the unfolding events and their changing nature and role over the next few years. Even as Schofield discusses the latter half of the 1990s with regard to the strained relations between India and Pakistan, she argues that the 21st century is unlikely to see a resolution of the dispute without a change of heart in both countries and without the representative participation of the Kashmiri people. This book is comprehensive in its attempts at understanding the long drawn out conflict in Kashmir and students of conflict analysis and resolution are likely to find much clarity in the complexities of the causes of the conflict and the intricacies involved in any long term resolution.
Dixit, Jyotindra Nath (2002), India-Pakistan in War and Peace, Books Today, New Delhi. This book, written by a former Indian foreign secretary and National Security Advisor, documents the history of relations between India and Pakistan, with a detailed account of many contemporary events such as the hijacking of an Indian airplane by Pakistani terrorists in 1999. Dixit provides evidence of Pakistani involvement in numerous subversive activities in India in an attempt to destabilise the latter. He argues that the objective has not just been to get control over Jammu and Kashmir but to weaken India strategically and fragment it territorially. Possession of Jammu and Kashmir has been, and remains, an internal objective of the Pakistani power structure. In May 1999, conflict broke out in the Kargil district of Kashmir following the infiltration of Pakistani soldiers and Kashmiri militants into positions on the Indian side of the LOC. Kargil, the author asserts, was the result of this unalterable ambition, and is discussed at length. Dixit argues that the reason for such a drastic step taken by Pakistan can be understood through geopolitical, operational and psychological reasons which are discussed in great detail. Even the military and tactical plans of the Pakistani army are made public in the book. Being a former foreign secretary, the author has given considerable importance to a number of reports tabled by the Indian government in parliament over the Kargil war. He analyses these closely to give the official explanations of the conduct of affairs of the Indian army and critiques the reports where they have fallen short. The book highlights how Pakistan was unable to secure the backing of China or the United States in its justification of aggression and the process of ‘losing face’. India, in fact, he argues, for the first time since the Bangladesh liberation war, succeeded in its political and diplomatic efforts due to consistent and clear policy objectives. These efforts, aimed primarily in establishing that Pakistan had crossed the Line of Control as an act of unprovoked aggression and under a clear military plan, are examined in the book. He also lists the lessons India can learn from Kargil. The historical factors behind the Kashmir conflict are discussed and the author argues that in spite of the bloody aftermath of Partition and the war between India and Pakistan over Kashmir in 1948, the period between 1947 and 1959 was still one in which the political leadership on both sides tried to resolve their differences for the foundation of a normal relationship. The years from 1958-1972 saw military dictatorship in Pakistan and a change in its foreign and security policies; in particular, the growing military ties with the US. The worsening of Sino-Indian relations and the war the two
countries fought in 1962 was watched closely by the Pakistani establishment and under the Ayub and Bhutto governments, Pakistan and China became close allies. The book provides insight into the 1965 ‘Indo-Pak’ war and the role of the international community, including the UN, in bringing the war to an end. Both India and Pakistan were unhappy with US policies and its unwillingness to act as a mediator. It fell on the Soviet Union, without any objection from the US, to take on that role and resulted in the Tashkent conference in 1966. Dixit argues that the Tashkent Declaration was meant only to defuse short-term tensions and was not the basis for a long-term cooperative relationship between India and Pakistan. Further, the results of the conference generated discontent in both countries. The breakup of Pakistan in 1971 as a result of the Bangladesh liberation war is given considerable attention in the book. The positions of India, Pakistan, China, Soviet Union and the US to the war and to the recognition of Bangladesh are discussed in detail. India defended its involvement by citing political and socio-economic reasons relating to the influx of refugees. The author discusses elaborately subsequent years of Indo-Pak relations under the different governments on both sides and argues that the Zia era was marked by comparative stability and absence of large-scale confrontation between the two countries. The early 1990s saw relations getting tense due to the high level of violence in Jammu and Kashmir. By the middle of 1992, Pakistan changed its tactic of gaining international attention from demanding self-determination for Kashmir to highlighting grave human rights abuses by Indian security forces. The author argues that international concern was only roused in 1998 when both India and Pakistan declared nuclear capacity and the prospect of war between the two posed a threat not only to regional stability but to global peace and security. All those interested in understanding the history of India-Pakistan relations from 1947-2001 will find this book extremely comprehensive in insight. It gives a thorough account of the thinking, foresight, political and military strategic planning of the two countries and their mostly hostile relations. Important events marking these relations are discussed in detail and the author provides considerable insight into the role of the international community in reaction to, and as a part of their relations.

Rizwan, Zeb & Chandran, Suba (2005), Indo-Pak Conflicts: Ripe to Resolve? Manohar Publishers, New Delhi. This book applies the established conflict resolution theory of ‘ripeness’ to study whether the Indo-Pak conflict has reached a
stage of a mutually hurting stalemate and analyses certain preconditions that would make the timing ripe for resolution. Zeb Rizwan is a security analysts based in Pakistan and Suba Chandran is Assistant Director at the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies in New Delhi. The authors note the Kashmir status quo is at a mutually hurting stalemate and that a political understanding is crucial since none of the parties to the conflict (India, Pakistan, Kashmiris and militants) can alter the impasse through military means. They argue that in spite of twelve rounds of talks between 1989 and 1998, and the Lahore Summit in 1999 between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan which resulted in a statement pledging joint commitment to intensify efforts to resolve the Kashmir conflict, the outcomes fell short since the processes weren’t sustained. The status quo over Kashmir could not be turned in Pakistan’s favour during Kargil nor in India’s favour during the military confrontation in 2002. The book shows that there has been little or no agreement at the New Delhi-Srinagar level and in fact most of the population of the Kashmir Valley has been dissatisfied with the affairs of the state. They have little faith in the state political parties with the result that the status quo is hurting all three governments—of India, Pakistan and Jammu and Kashmir (J&K). The book also discusses the role of the separatists led by the Hurriyat and the militants led by the Harkat ul-Mujaheddin (HuM), Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM) and Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT). In effect, Rizwan and Chandran argue that all these actors, state and non-state, have tried every means possible to change the status quo in their favour, but to no avail. The fact that both sides are facing an economic crisis due to a large part of the GDP of both India and Pakistan being diverted towards defence expenditure, and the huge human and material costs involved is only contributing to a mutually hurting stalemate. Analysing the 2003-04 peace process, the authors show that while there were considerable achievements, the process wasn’t sustainable since there were concerns on both sides over Kashmir. Pakistan felt that without resolution of the larger Kashmir question peace was impossible, while India was trying to circumvent the issue and concentrate on issues of Pakistan-sponsored terrorism. The authors argue that for a middle ground to be achieved, certain conditions need to be created. The book explores how these preconditions, which include prioritising the issues concerning Kashmir and agreement on the primary cause of their conflict, could be achieved by India and Pakistan. The authors suggest improvement in trade, people-to-people contact and confidence-building over nuclear weapons concerns as simultaneous
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processes contributing to resolution of the conflict. Further, they recommend that Kashmiris must be involved in each of these processes. What makes this book unique is its application of popular conflict resolution theories to the Kashmir conflict. Students of conflict and peace studies will find this book useful in learning about the way timing and ripeness of a conflict can make or break a peace process. By analysing past attempts of Indo-Pakistan peace processes over Kashmir, the book explains how future processes can meet with greater success in the presence of certain conditions. Chari, P R, Cheema, Pervaiz Iqbal and Cohen, Stephen Philip (2003), Perception, Politics and Security in South Asia: The Compound Crisis of 1990, Routledge, London. This book is an account of the events that took place in 1990 that, without blowing into a full-scale war, brought India and Pakistan to the brink of it. Pakistan-India relations were marred with heightened tensions due to the intensification of violence and militancy. P.R Chari is Research Professor at the Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies in New Delhi, Pervaiz Iqbal is Dean of the Faculty of Contemporary Studies at the National Defense University in Islamabad and Stephen Philip Cohen is a Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institute. The authors argue that the year 1990 is crucial to understand the simmering turmoil in Kashmir since it coincided with a number of international events such as the Palestinian Intifada, the fall of the Berlin Wall, and, most importantly, the defeat of a major superpower in Afghanistan. Regionally, both India and Pakistan were faced with weak central governments that had limited experience in handling Indo-Pak relations. The book explains the genesis of the Kashmir conflict before highlighting the political climate that would lead to escalation of violence in 1990. Active central government meddling in Kashmiri politics had been going on for years and the growing class of educated professional Kashmiris, dissatisfied with the state of affairs, later became the separatist movement’s core. The seesawing relationship between the Indian government and the National Conference (NC) and the rigging of the 1987 state elections in favour of the Congress/National Conference alliance was to be the undoing of the NC. It lost support of the Kashmiris who were left with no choice other than to join the extremists. Anti-India protests rocked the valley and the Pakistani flag was flown in Srinagar in 1988. Violence and strikes became common, and escalated over the next few years and led to a worsening of law and order. The response of the Indian government was to change governors and pour in paramilitary
troops into Kashmir. The authors argue that the way New Delhi handled the appointment of governors greatly reduced the possibility of a solution. The steady erosion of the special status enjoyed by Kashmir under Article 370 of the Indian Constitution further embittered its people. As the situation deteriorated, India and Pakistan engaged in a blame game, with the former accusing the latter of training militants on its soil. The book details the war of words exchanged by the two governments that was to soon turn into military preparedness for war. The build up of troops along the border on both sides is discussed in detail. However, as the book shows, the lines of communication remained open between the two sides throughout the crisis and a meeting of the foreign ministers in New York in April 1990 saw the two rivals unanimously agreeing to reduce tension through confidence-building measures. War was also averted due to the intervention of the United States. A high level delegation, known as the Gates mission, was sent to ease tensions in the region. Its objective was to help both sides avoid violent conflict over Kashmir. The authors point out that the mission was effective in its preventive diplomacy efforts. The book also discusses the nuclear aspect of the 1990 crisis in detail. According to the authors, the US intervened due to its conviction that the crisis was primarily a nuclear crisis. This book is indeed useful for those interested in Kashmir and Indo-Pak relations since it provides a comprehensive account of the lesser known 1990 crisis and the impact it had on diplomatic and military relations. It assesses in detail various factors that led to the crisis and the reasons why an outright war didn’t break out. It explores the efficacy of dialogue and the importance of social and economic ties along with political acumen in any future settlement of conflict.

Kumar, Radha (2005), Making Peace with Partition, Penguin, New Delhi. This book is a brief, but lucid, account of India-Pakistan relations and the possibilities of peace between the two nations. It highlights the important events in the history of their relations and analyses the failure and successes of past peace processes. Radha Kumar is the Director of the Nelson Mandela Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Jamia Millia Islamia University, New Delhi. As well, Kumar is a Trustee of the Delhi Policy Group.1 It provides the simple, yet startling facts about the relations between the two that make the conflict unique. The Partition, for one, was not the result of a war and the leaders of both sides had no intention of encouraging violence. The author discusses the apparent positive aspects of Indo-Pak relations that
she contrasts with the international experience of partition conflicts. Kumar argues that compared to other ethnic partitions, India’s division had a greater potential for stability. The author elucidates why the attempts at peace from 1999-2003 were a failure and why 2004 marked a watershed in the peace process. Dramatic breakthroughs were achieved at the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) summit in 2004 which included agreements on enhanced economic cooperation. The book highlights how the months preceding the 2004 summit were aimed at confidence-building measures through people to people contacts and direct talks between top security officials in both governments. Kumar argues that much of this was possible due to the growth of a public constituency for peace between 1999 and 2004 and their backing of the peace process. 1 The Delhi Policy Group and the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue are partners on the project that has produced this literature review. However, as the book shows, violence in Kashmir did not end. One of the chief reasons for this, says the author, has been the reluctance of the Indian government to talk to the Kashmiri separatists. Suggesting ways to move forward and learning from past lessons, Kumar asserts that soft borders, easing movement of goods and people across divided Kashmir, are a key element of the solution to contested sovereignties. Devolution of power to the local governments on both sides is likewise essential to do away with the tussle over control and territory. Kumar also pushes for various confidence-building measures such as reopening of routes, such as Srinagar-Muzaffarabad, Jammu-Sialkot and Kargil-Skardu; and opines that porous borders will help India and Pakistan to stabilise Kashmir. Through a comparison with the European Union model, the author assesses the possibility of a similar union in South Asia. She highlights that while cooperation on economic matters has made headway, a security pact between the South Asian countries could also mean a guarantee of the India-Pakistan peace process. The book is an optimistic roadmap of the possibility of a sustainable peace process between India and Pakistan. It shows that a number of barriers have already been overcome and that India and Pakistan are likely to emulate the international experience as has occurred in Ireland, Cyprus and the former Yugoslavia. The author shows how key elements of any successful peace process are already prevalent—local and international initiatives as well as the support of diaspora, and that the process for an enduring peace has achieved much from where it initially began. Parthasarthy,
Gopalapuram and Kumar, Radha (2006), Frameworks for a Kashmir Settlement, Delhi Policy Group, New Delhi. The frameworks in this booklet, suggested by two leading analysts on Kashmir, offer comprehensive policy directions intended to settle the Kashmir dispute by mutual acceptance of all parties to the conflict. Parthasarthy is former Indian diplomat who also served as High Commissioner to Pakistan, while Radha Kumar is the Director of the Nelson Mandela Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Jamia Millia Islamia University, New Delhi. As well, Kumar is a Trustee of the Delhi Policy Group. Parthasarthy puts forward a framework for cooperation in the fields of economy and education to spur the movement of people across boundaries in the hope that these borders would, in course of time, become irrelevant. He suggests simplification in the procedures for travel across the Line of Control (LOC) and the extension of these facilities to all residents of India and Pakistan, as well as foreign tourists. Trade is another avenue that he suggests can foment ties of cooperation between India and Pakistan. He draws on a 1998 SAARC report that had advocated the establishment of a South Asia Economic Union by 2020 to argue that both countries must move in a committed and time-bound manner to implement the recommendations of the report which include a South Asia Free Trade Agreement and a Customs Union. Parthasarathy argues strongly in favour of educational and professional institutions that would admit students from both Pakistan administered Kashmir and Jammu and Kashmir, perhaps with funding from the governments of India and Pakistan. Likewise, the public and private sector could set up world class medical facilities, facilitated by health ministers and officials in New Delhi and Islamabad. A Jammu and Kashmir Tourism Development Board, would, he suggests, be a useful mechanism to promote tourism in the entire region. The argument is put forward that a high powered Council for Jammu and Kashmir, with officials from both India and Pakistan, is required to make and implement decisions taken by it. This would then enable joint cooperation between the two governments and increase the possibility of successful implementation of initiatives and projects of joint concern, for example, hydro-electricity and environmental protection Radha Kumar dwells on the subject of governance in the whole of Jammu and Kashmir. A framework for self-governance would have to be jointly agreed by the leaders of India, Pakistan and Jammu and Kashmir. Kumar argues in favour of a three-tier system of governance to encompass centre-state, state-region, and region-district-local unit relations. She briefly examines the 1952 Delhi Agreement and the 1949 Karachi Agreement to
conclude that the former had the greatest provision for self-governance and has much to offer even today. In doing so, she argues that certain complexities need to be addressed with regard to Tier One relations, such as the role of organisations like the Supreme Court and Election Commission on both sides of the LOC. What is important to keep in mind is that any consensus would necessarily have to take into account the people in the Valley, Jammu, Kargil, Ladakh, Gilgit, Baltistan, Mirpur and Muzaffarabad. In addition, there needs to be clarity on the powers of the Legislative Assembly for Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan administered “Azad Kashmir” and the powers of the presidents of both countries in the respective areas in case of a general emergency. The issue of refugees and displaced persons needs also to be addressed by the representatives of India, Pakistan and Kashmir. With regard to internal devolution and Tier Two relations, Kumar suggests greater powers, especially fiscal, administrative and developmental, to each of the regions of Jammu, the Valley and Ladakh on one side, and the districts of Pakistan-administered Kashmir and the Northern Areas on the other. Ladakh, she argues, would have to have its status changed to a separate status within Jammu and Kashmir. Tier Three is important since it would serve as an additional structure for planning and administration. Further, she suggests, district and local relations between Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan administered “Azad Kashmir” and the Northern Areas could be considered part of the devolution package. Military arrangements are also discussed in some detail and Kumar advocates a commitment to a ceasefire and a time-bound programme of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) for all the armed groups in Jammu and Kashmir, “Azad Kashmir” and the Northern Areas. India and Pakistan could jointly monitor the DDR process. This booklet is a must-read for policymakers and those interested in conflict resolution; it lays out a framework for settlement of the Kashmir dispute by addressing all those issues that have been stumbling blocks. It shows how political will, inclusive talks and consensus are crucial to any agreement and how mechanisms can be set up to foster better relations through cooperation in governance, economy, education and military affairs. The frameworks suggested in this booklet merit a thorough look by people both in and outside the government, in India and outside; given the respect and standing the two co-authors enjoy in India and across the world.
Bose, Sumantara (1999), ‘Kashmir: Sources of Conflict, Dimensions of Peace’, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 34, No. 13 (March 27 - April 2), pp. 762-768. This article by an academic of Indian origin who is Professor of International and Comparative Politics at the London School of Economics, explores the approaches to peace in the case of the Kashmir conflict by taking into account the legitimate concerns of all parties to the conflict including territorial sovereignty, national security and the aspirations of the Kashmiri people. The author uses examples from the international experience; namely Bosnia Herzegovina, Quebec and Northern Ireland to draw lessons learned and the possibility of applying these in Kashmir. He analyses the use of plebiscites in the settlement of these conflicts and concludes that there are great limitations and dangers of using plebiscitary majoritarian mechanisms to decide highly sensitive issues of self-determination. Likewise, a partitionist model is impractical since it ignores the pro-independence groups in Kashmir. Bose suggests a three-dimensional approach to resolve the dispute, analogous to the three strands of the Northern Ireland peace process. Dimension One would focus on the relations between New Delhi and Islamabad. Inter-governmental cooperation is priority for any peace process to succeed. In practical terms, this could mean the establishment of a permanent India-Pakistan intergovernmental conference to promote the harmonious and mutually beneficial development of the totality of relationships between the two countries, and be represented by top officials. It should have a standing committee on Kashmir to be chaired by the respective prime ministers. Dimension Two would focus on New Delhi-Srinagar and Islamabad-Muzaffarabad relations. This he says, is necessary for the normalization of politics within Kashmir (in both Indian and Pakistani-controlled zones), and the devising and implementation of political frameworks which can foster a working degree of internal accommodation and co-operation within Kashmir between representatives of communities holding radically different basic political allegiances. This would require change in the present policies of both governments in their respective territories to regain the confidence of the citizens. In particular, he says, the issues of human rights, policing arrangements and political prisoners must be addressed to soothe the deep-rooted grievances of the Kashmiri people. Dimension Three would relate to the Srinagar-Muzaffarabad nexus with the objective of achieving cross-border cooperation. The author argues that this would serve as a mark of respect towards the historical integrity of the state as well as give both sides a stake
in the benefits of such cooperation. This council would address issues of trade, commerce, transportation, intra-regional waterways, cultural matters, agriculture, and tourism. With time, the potential would exist for institutions of cross-border cooperation to be gradually developed in more robust directions. This article is a prescriptive account of resolving the Kashmir dispute. By drawing heavily from the Northern Ireland experience, it shows how a three-pronged approach aimed at addressing the several layers of relationships can work to foster a long-term peace process in Kashmir.

Noorani, A.G (2000), 'Questions about the Kashmir Ceasefire', Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 35, No. 45 (November 4-10), pp. 3949-3958. This article by an eminent Indian lawyer and constitutional expert, analyses the ceasefire declaration of the Hizb ul Mujahideen in 2000 and the implications for a peace process over the Kashmir dispute. Though it was short-lived, Noorani discusses the handling of the situation by the Indian government and the lessons that could be learned from it. The author shows how the Government of India preferred a military victory over a political settlement and denied the demand of tripartite talks by the armed groups. The unilateral ceasefire was declared by the Hizb ul Mujahideen (HM) on the condition that the Indian government would initiate talks with the purpose of a political settlement of the Kashmir dispute. Noorani argues that two points in their declaration—participation of Pakistan, and dropping the insistence on plebiscite, were big gains for India. Immediately after the declaration, the Indian government invited the HM to discuss modalities of talks and the security forces on Kashmir were instructed not to take any action that would jeopardize the peace process. However, the turn around by the then principal secretary to the Prime Minister of India, imposing conditions to the dialogue process proved to be its undoing. By insisting that talks would be held within the framework of the Indian Constitution, with the exclusion of Pakistan, the HM retracted. Noorani points out that the process could have succeeded had a political negotiation involving all sides followed the ceasefire. At this stage, he envisions the All Parties Hurriyat Conference (APHC), would have come in; as these talks made some progress, Indo-Pak negotiations would have followed, now that India's conditions of "cessation of cross-border terrorism" had been met. The two tracks, Indo-Pak and Indo-Kashmiri, could have proceeded in tandem. In the last decisive stage all parties would have to coordinate their positions.
The article briefly outlines the talks that were held between the Government of India (GOI) and the HM on July 3, 2000 and the poor handling of it by the former. The author argues that the GOI could have saved the situation by accepting that eventually Pakistan would come in but it did not, and its stand at the talks confirmed the impression that the surrender of HM was its key goal. The termination of the ceasefire and the subsequent blaming of the failure of talks on Pakistan showed the lack of sophistication of the GOI in responding to a possible window of opportunity. Over the next few weeks, the HM showed interest in renewing negotiations if Pakistan were involved at a later stage but this was not to be. India's stand, the article shows, is an impossible one. It refuses to acknowledge fundamental truths. It refuses to negotiate with Pakistan or the people of Kashmir. It asserts that there exists no 'dispute'; it is a domestic matter, yet does not resolve the domestic matter either. It takes comfort from closer relations with the United States and relies on it and the other powers to bring Pakistan to heel and to stop its intercessions on Kashmir. This policy, Noorani argues, is doomed to failure. Drawing from this incidence, Noorani contrasts the scenario with the success of the Northern Ireland peace process to offer lessons that Indian government(s) can learn and apply in the case of Kashmir. The article shows just how difficult it is to resolve the deadlock over disputes is given the rigid positions of governments. It shows how, in the case of Kashmir, India must rethink its strategy and work towards tripartite political negotiations for a successful settlement of the dispute.

Research Methodology

This study is based on primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include reports, records, government sources, questionnaires and interviews. It also involves empirical research in the form of field work conducted in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Data was collected keeping in mind the representation of all age groups, income categories, level of education, religion, occupation and sex.

A stratified random sample of 245 people was taken from all the three regions of Jammu And Kashmir State in order to know the factors and consequences of the conflict. Out of the 245 people 95 persons were taken from the Jammu region and that of 120 persons were taken from Kashmir region and 30 persons from Ladakh region.
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Further in order to know the contribution of NGOs in peace building in Kashmir representatives of some NGOs which are working for peace and conflict were interviewed.

Interviews were conducted with researchers, writers, academic scholars, experts and media persons. In Kashmir region representatives of some non-governmental organizations like Jammu and Kashmir Coalition of Civil Society, Indo-Global Social Service Society, Mercy Corps were also interviewed. The study takes an analytical approach towards data collected through questionnaires and interviews.

**Hypothesis**

After extensive literature survey, the researcher needs to state in clear terms the hypothesis. It is a tentative assumption made in order to test its logical or empirical consequences. The hypothesis is a preposition or set of propositions set for an explanation for the occurrence of some specified phenomena.

Hypothesis must be specific and limited to research work. It should also be testable and may seem contrary to the real situation. It may prove to be correct or incorrect. In any event it leads to an empirical test. For the present study the hypothesis were developed. The consideration of experts, colleagues and supervisors were also included while setting up hypothesis.

In the context of above topic, our tentative assumption is that the NGOs have a unique potential and can make many positive contributions to peace building and conflict resolution so far as the problem of peace in Kashmir is concerned.

**Scope and limitations:**

The study will focus on NGOs initiatives in Kashmir that aims to mitigate conflict and build peace to gain better understanding of the issues, clarify concepts and propose a framework of NGOs peace building functions. It will review experience and analyse the strengths, limitations and risks of such approaches. The present study cannot do justice to many peace building domains in which NGOs are engaged and does not address the issue of Kashmir conflict sensitivity more broadly because of the continuous Kashmir conflict. The study will not address the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflict and in peace building.
Chapter Scheme:

The study has been divided into the following five chapters:

Chapter -1 primarily deals with the theoretical literature related to conflict and conflict resolution. It also introduces the brief sketch of social perspectives for understanding the conflict. Apart from perspectives meaning, classification, sources and consequences are other issues discussed in this chapter. It also presents a description of peace building in theoretical perspective. Moreover the chapter deals with the concept of NGOs in theoretical perspectives. It presents a descriptive analysis relating to definition, characteristics, field activities and various classifications of NGOs, role of NGOs and also it covers typologies and the problems faced by the NGOs and the challenges ahead.

Chapter -2 is concerned with portraying the setting in which conflict occurs. It depicts briefly the geographical location, population and communities and linguistic distribution of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Moreover, it gives brief information related to history, economy and culture of the state. The main reason to review this is to gain familiarity with the settings in which conflict persists. Another reason is to explore the socio historical roots of the conflict. Moreover, it deals with the review of literature about Kashmir conflict. It shows that in Kashmir conflict both exogenous and endogenous sources are involved. These exogenous sources are related with the relationship between India and Pakistan as well as ineffective role of UNO (United Nations Organisation) in mediating the conflict or conducting plebiscite in Kashmir.

There are some other sources, which appear to be responsible for the emergence and persistence of the Kashmir conflict. These are related with politics in Kashmir since 1947, economic conditions of people, ethnic diversity of the state and the role of religion in fomenting the conflict. These sources are explained separately under the broad sub heading of national dimension of the conflict.

Chapter 3 is concerned with the analysis of various factors - political, economic, ethnic and religious, which became responsible for promoting and sustaining the Kashmir conflict. Data related to these factors were collected during the field work. Our main aim in this chapter is to explore the connection between Kashmir conflict and various factors - political, economic, and religious and ethnic. And also to identify the major factors involved in the conflict.
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Chapter 4 the chapter deals with the analysis of data related with consequences resolution and peace building in Jammu and Kashmir. The first part of the chapter highlights consequences that Kashmir conflict has thrown over politics, economic prosperity, education, family, and marriage organisations. Our main objective in this section, thus, remained to assess what extent the on-going conflict in the state has effected/influenced the social structure of various religious communities there. Second part of the chapter describes the design and various conflict resolution and peace building models as suggested by different scholars regarding the peaceful solution of Jammu and Kashmir conflict. Moreover, various models of conflict resolution over which we have collected empirical data have been analysed also. Our aim of analysing these models is to explore their potential for peace building and peaceful resolution of Kashmir conflict among the people who belong to various religious communities in the state.

Chapter 5 deals with the historical evolution of non-governmental organisations in Kashmir. It throws light on some of the NGOs that are active in Jammu and Kashmir. The present chapter the problems in their functioning with the government. Moreover the present chapter presents the role of NGOs that include religious, human rights, community development, charity works for peace building in the state of Jammu and Kashmir.