# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acknowledgement</th>
<th>Page No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>List of Abbreviations</td>
<td>i-ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>iii-vii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER 1
1-21

### Jammu and Kashmir: A Historical Background

1.1 Introduction       1-2
1.3 Dogra Rule and its Nature 3-5
1.4 Birth of Kashmiri Nationalist Struggle 5-8
   1.4.1 Formation of Muslim conference 8-10
   1.4.2 From Muslim conference to National conference 10-12
1.5 Partition of British India and Emergence of Jammu and Kashmir as a Dispute 12-18
1.6 International Mediation: UN and the Promise of Plebiscite 18-21

## CHAPTER 2
22-49

### Growth of Militancy: An Analysis of Historical-Politico Factors

2.1 Erosion of Autonomy 23-26
2.2 Failure of Democratic Process 26-29
2.3 Separatist Movement 29-42
   2.3.1 Plebiscite front 29-31
   2.3.2 Action committee 31-33
   2.3.3 Jama’at-i-Islami 34-37
   2.3.4 Al-Fatah 37-39
   2.3.5 Peoples League 39-42
2.4 Muslim United Front and Election 1987 42-46
2.5 Eruption of Militancy 47-49
CHAPTER 3  50-88
Formation of All Parties Hurriyat Conference
3.1 Brief history of APHC  50-55
3.2 Ideology, Objectives and Structure of APHC  55-57
3.3 Split of APHC and Efforts for Unity  58-64
3.4 Emergence of Tehreek-i-Hurriyat  64-76
  3.4.1 Goals and Techniques of Mobilization  71-74
  3.4.2 Impact on Jammu and Kashmir Politics  75-76
3.5 Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF)  76-88
  3.5.1 Ideology  79-80
  3.5.2 Aims and Objectives  80-81
  3.5.3 Split of JKLF  81-82
  3.5.4 Methods of Political Mobilization  82-88

CHAPTER 4  89-112
All Parties Hurriyat Conference: Engagement with the Indian Government and the New Political Developments in Kashmir
4.1 Efforts by the Indian state to engage Hurriyat  89-91
  4.1.1 Dialogue Process under Vajpayee Government  91-94
  4.1.2 Dialogue Process under Manmohan Singh Government  94-95
    4.1.2.1 Working Group on Confidence Building Measures  95-98
4.2 Formation of PDP and Beginning of the Reconciliation  98-100
4.3 Protest Movements: Revival of Hurriyat  100-105
4.4 Indian Union’s Response: All party Delegation and Interlocution  105-109
4.5 Achievements of Hurriyat  109-112

CHAPTER 5  113-134
Multiple Paths to Peace
5.1 Self Rule  114-118
  5.1.1 Broad Contours of Self-Rule  115-117
5.2 Achievable Nationhood  118-123
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.2.1 Vision of Achievable Nationhood</td>
<td>119-123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3 Autonomy</td>
<td>123-128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4 Independence</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5 Accession to Pakistan</td>
<td>129-130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6 Commonalities among the above Proposals</td>
<td>131-134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCLUSION</td>
<td>135-138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>139-151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDICES</td>
<td>i-xv</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>