Chapter-1

*Introduction*
INTRODUCTION

Jammu and Kashmir is the north-western region of the Indian subcontinent. At the time of partition of the subcontinent this territory became disputed among India and Pakistan. It consists of the areas that includes the Indian-administered state of Jammu and Kashmir, the Pakistani-administered/occupied Gilgit-Baltistan and the western Jammu and the Chinese-administered/in its possession the regions of Aksai Chin and Trans-Karakoram Tract. Pakistan has about a 1/3rd of it. India administers about 2/3 of it. The LOC (Line of Control) divides the area administered by India from that of Pakistan’s administered area. China occupies a part of Laddakh. The area which is the subject of this study is one of the states of Indian Union. It is officially called as the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

The region of Jammu and Kashmir has been a conflict prone area between India and Pakistan. Both of them have fought over the issue. Their have been different groups and parties from the state both in support of either India or Pakistan as well as for independence from both India and Pakistan. Plenty of literature exists about Jammu and Kashmir. The problem has been approached and studied from different angles and perspective. Majority of literature talks about the problem of Jammu and Kashmir in the context of India and Pakistan. Few writings cover the role of groups and parties from the state in the political discourse of region. National Conference is the political group/party which has been very active even before the partition of the Indian
sub-continent. It was rather the harbinger of movement against the Dogra rule and a close ally to Indian National Congress against the colonialist Britain. In the politics of state its role has not only been an important factor but a determining one. Form the very beginning this has consistently been a cadre based political party having support at grass root level. This study in question wishes to analyse the role of National Conference in the Politics of Jammu and Kashmir with focus on post-1987 development in the state.

Objectives of the study

The objective of the thesis is to examine the mode of Kashmir politics, especially the role of National Conference (NC) in Kashmir politics in its historical and contemporary perspective and its impact on the foundation of Kashmir politics. The present research work explores the role of National Conference in and after 1987-election in Jammu and Kashmir and also examines and analyse its efforts and progress in the areas like the granting of autonomy to Jammu and Kashmir, the maintenance of peace and the significance of special status to the state of Jammu and Kashmir, the situation in which the accession was made with the Republic of India. It is also to be ascertained that how far was this accession beneficial to the people of Jammu and Kashmir. It also attempts to situate the NC’s concept of autonomy in relation to the other available frameworks for the solution of the Kashmir issue. It provides a critical analysis of the role of National Conference.
Hypothesis

1. In the politics of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, it is the national Conference—be it the freedom struggle launched in 1931 by the National Conference, or the accession of Kashmir to Indian Union after independence in 1947, coupled with the arrest of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in 1953 and his release and the conclusion of Kashmir Accord, the 1987 election, has been a dominant and determining political force at all the stages.

2. The National Conference’s long historical past and its secular credentials still give it an upper-hand in relation to the other political parties in the Jammu and Kashmir state to hold trump cards for different political developments and upheavals that occur in the state from time to time.

3. The Jammu and Kashmir National Conference’s political device of autonomy is the only framework on which a lot of consensus has been generated.


Importance of the Study

The present study assumes significance in many respects. The fact remains that the bag of historical legacy which gave National Conference a stature over and above from the other political parties seems to be losing ground. In its place a number of political parties have thronged the political scene. But the fact remains that the importance of National Conference in
Jammu and Kashmir politics is sui generis in many respects. The concept of autonomy— the main plank of National Conference has been the only arrangement on which a lot of consensus can be drawn. This discourse carried the value of expediency as it provided both an explanation for the post-1987 crises as well as solution to the problem within the mainstream politics, as an alternate to the separatist discourse of ‘azadi’.

National Conference had a strong ideological base and a cadre located in the grass roots. The political record of the party in last two decades reveals, the direction of its politics has taken new twist and new turns with the emergence of new political entities in the state politics of Jammu and Kashmir especially that of Self-Rule of People’s Democratic Party (PDP). In the party’s history 1987 stands a turning point. Before and after 1987, the Jammu and Kashmir National Conferences’ political leadership had two different phenomena. It is the divergence between the two that has posed the major challenge to the party, be it alliance with Indian National Congress in 1986 or its association with the National Democratic Alliance in 1999. In both the cases, the party, under the leadership of Farooq Abdullah, had to suffer serious erosion of its popular base. His assumption that the party needed the support of the Centre rather than the support of people of Kashmir for its survival in power had serious implications for the political fortune of the party. The relevance of the National Conference today extends beyond competitive regional politics. Its claim as the initiator of the tradition of political movement in Kashmir and its contribution to the
evolution of Kashmiri identity politics, assume importance in the contemporary situation of the State.

The research work also bears significance because, during the worst period of turmoil 1990-96, when the political establishment was absent, the administration became dysfunctional, institutions and systems got badly shaken, and people’s confidence lay shattered as they remain alienated due to on-going violence, it was National Conference party at that time which remained steadfast, and initiated the era of reconstruction, the efforts for the restoration of autonomy, peace and stability and enormous measures to provide a better life and pulled the State out of the mists of gloom when it came back to power in 1996. However, the most significant challenge before the National Conference, from 2002 to 2008, was its role as the leading opposition party of the State- a role that can actually help in meeting the challenge of separatism by extending the space that the mainstream politics occupies in the Valley. The phase of Kashmir politics since 1987 till date assumes important because this is the period in which state politics had seen ups and downs in its operation. The important thing after 2002 is that the democratic politics which had been totally delegitimised in the early period of militancy started gaining and a role played by National Conference is very important. Also, with the emergence of PDP as a rival party to the National Conference has changed the hegemonic character of National Conference and brought a competitive power politics in the state politics. Therefore the present study looks how the National Conference had retained its political space in a given political system as previously it had
retained its dominant space during the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah now had to face a challenge to capture same space. In last but not the least, the topic assumes importance because the Politics of Jammu and Kashmir has undergone a sea change during the last four years. The Amarnath Land Row got new concerns with regard to the Jammu and Kashmir Issue. During 2008 a lot of options such as, Azadi, Autonomy and revision of alignment were discussed with regard to the solution of Kashmir problem. However it was the provision of autonomy which got lot of consensus. As autonomy in the context of Jammu and Kashmiris the main plank of National Conference’s ideology. Thus the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference holds a lot of importance in any political solution proposed to the Jammu and Kashmir issue.

Methodology

Quantitative and qualitative research methodology that aims at an observation, collection and formulation of data collection has been harnessed for exploring the research work. To make the study multidimensional in character and approach both the historical as well as comparative methods has been used in this study.

Sources

Both primary and secondary sources have been used for this research work. The primary sources, which are collected, are in the form of speeches, interviews, statements, and documents. These primary sources would give a better foundation for constructing the framework in the study. However,
relying on primary data is not enough to construct a thesis of this kind. A great deal of secondary data is very necessary for the completion of the study. The secondary sources constitute of books, reports, magazines, journals, articles, newspapers and other secondary means of information available in the libraries and markets.

**Data Analysis Technique**

The data analysis process in this study is descriptive- qualitative in nature. Recognising the scope of study, which is about a state having a distinct character (special status), the analysis in the study will follow the chronological political processes occurred. Through this process, a clear picture of the phenomena will be available with analysis and interpretation.

**Limitations of the study**

This research is limited to study the role National Conference in the politics of Jammu and Kashmir since 1987. This study focuses how the National Conference has evolved itself in the political backdrop of Jammu and Kashmir. How it maintained its dominant position. How it catered the needs of the people of the state. It does not study the conflict of the state- its various dimensions, causes and possible solutions. The purpose is to locate the role of National Conference in the political discourse of the state in its all dimensions.

**Review of Literature**

A plenty of literature has been written about the Kashmir politics and National Conference. There also exist a good number of articles published in
research journals, magazines and newspapers on the issue that cover the different aspects of the Kashmir problem. However, these do not touch the objectives of my study in a sufficient and systematic manner at the micro-level aspects of various dimensions, which are directly or indirectly linked to the role of National Conference since 1987. The key sources in this study for understanding the role of National Conference in the politics of Kashmir are several and some of them are reviewed here under.


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 HariSingh’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 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. 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 unbridled 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. Probably one of the best history books on Kashmir goes into the history of the region starting from partition and ending at the year 2000. It surprisingly fairly balanced—gives the perspectives of the Pakistanis, the Indians, and for once, the Kashmiris themselves. As this book was published in 2004, it does not discuss about 2002 elections, and also lacks the information about the developments in the politics
of Jammu and Kashmir, that occurred since 2002 to 2008. It does not tell anything about the National Conference as a first time opposition party in Jammu and Kashmir. The present study has tried to fill the gap to make study comprehensive.


This work objectively, comprehensively and compassionately looks at the prospects for peace in the trouble torn province of Jammu & Kashmir. This work competently examines the broader dimensions of the India-Pakistan conflict.

Where the book really scores is in examining other conflicts from around the world and drawing lessons from there to J&K. Northern Ireland, Sri Lanka and Israeli-Palestine conflicts are examined. Their succinct histories and the complex issues involved in each come through very well. Internal conflicts are each distinct and different, this is the law of nature and sociology. No two situations will ever match and success in dealing with one can never be quite accurately replicated elsewhere. Strategies always have to be situation specific; else they lead to disaster as proved so often in history. Yet, there are common principles and approaches that will apply and must be sought. Lessons must not have to be learnt anew every time. This comparative analysis is competently done. Pity that South Africa was not considered though as a case study, for it is one successful peace effort in recent years which has enormous value. It seemed so easy afterwards, but the process had to be crafted painstakingly and
pursued relentlessly. The real payoffs come in later chapters from an analysis of the case studies and their implications for J&K. Verghese rightly concludes;

No non-capitulatory peace process has succeeded without the parties going through an exercise in strategic re-thinking and coming to the mutual conclusion that achieving a settlement is both desirable and feasible. A Peace process needs perseverance; it cannot be an on-off process. Protracted conflicts have rarely been settled with a few rounds of negotiations. Nor have they been settled with negotiations stretching interminably. Finally, without a solution zone being jointly identified before public talks begin, success is very unlikely. This is where possibilities for peace diminish in Kashmir. There is as yet no war weariness on either side and no strong desire for a viable and lasting peace, apart from clamours from the victims of violence and from peripheral groups, which both states can easily ignore. Verghese calls for crafting a peace strategy, but he comes out with nothing entirely new. Nor does he suggest an approach that may be realistic and possible. Essentially he recommends preserving the status-quo. A situation that India would accept and Pakistan find great difficulty in conceding. Verghese had earlier talked of four approaches in dealing with conflicts; management, settlement, resolution and reconciliation. Clearly resolution and reconciliation are still a far cry. What is sought perhaps is better management which will provide a semblance of a settlement. Though the author touches each and every aspect of Kashmiri politics right from the beginning, it doesn’t give the details about the policies and role of National Conference in the development of Kashmiri politics and also lacks an account
about the changes in politics of Kashmir and the impact of 2002 elections on the status of National Conference in the Kashmiri political scenario. Therefore the present study tries to highlight these concerns.


Robert Wirsing here describes how the Indo-Pakistani standoff over the territory has played out between the two countries’ nuclear bomb tests in 1998 and early 2002, when India and Pakistan appeared to be on the brink of a full-scale war. Along the way, he gives detailed summaries of negotiations in late 1998 and early 1999 for a final settlement of Kashmir between then prime ministers Atal Behari Vajpayee of India and Nawaz Sharif of Pakistan, as well as of the Pakistani incursion into the heights above the Indian-controlled district of Kargil, which aborted Vajpayee and Sharif’s bus diplomacy and led to a limited shooting war that killed at least a thousand soldiers on each side. Wirsing strains to avoid nationalist biases in his presentation of these events. He bases his narrative on a broad range of academic sources; his own research, particularly his interviews with Pakistani opinion leaders; and reports from the South Asian and international media. Wirsing does not focus on politics in Kashmir itself, yet he does convincingly portray how various the political interests are of the disparate groups inhabiting the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir, the adjacent Northern Areas of Pakistan and the sliver of territory abutting Jammu that is controlled by Pakistan and known as Azad (free) Kashmir. The author has
compiled this summary in order to ground a specific argument aimed mostly at U.S. policymakers. He sees the unambiguous introduction of nuclear weapons into South Asia as a compelling reason for Americansto insert themselves into the Kashmir debate, and he sees the gradual increase in India’s importance in world affairs as a reason for the issue to be addressed immediately, before the world simply accepts India’s opinions on Kashmir. “The Kashmir dispute”, Wirsing writes, “is not about Kashmir. . . . The phraselong ago mutated into an inclusive metaphor or ‘cover story’ for the multifaceted interstate power struggle between India and Pakistan”. This credible view of the issue as it relates to the Indian and Pakistani states is somewhat “disheartening” to the author because it means that a resolution of the territorial question, distant though that may be, would not mean that Indo-Pakistani tensions would wither away. At the same time, Wirsing’s metaphorical view of the issue allows for solutions that do not require a reparsing of the territorial question—indeed, he sees a “clash among rival subnational cultural identities” where others seek to adjudicate national claims. Differing from the United States–based Kashmir Study Group, with which he has been associated, Wirsing contends that a “solution” to the Kashmir dispute does not lie “in altering Kashmir’s territorial or political circumstances so much as it lies in a fundamentally altered relationship between India and Pakistan” (p. 196). He proposes to make “permanence of impermanence”, which is to say that India and Pakistan should be encouraged by outside forces to “learn to live more or less peacefully with [the] interim but by now wholly familiar arrangement” embodied in the Line of
Control, or ceasefire line that now divides the two countries’ possessions in Kashmir.

The macro political focus of Wirsing’s book and indeed the author's cogent skepticism of autonomy as a viable organizing principle in politics preclude a close look at politics within Kashmir. Additionally, the time period covered in the book ends before the surprising late 2002 elections in Indian-held Kashmir brought forward a coalition government that seems to favor practical moves toward decreasing violence, both from the Indian state and from the Kashmiri, Pakistani, and pan-Islamic jihadists who oppose the Indian state. This book also lacks a detailed discussion about most controversial election of 1987 which is the real cause for the fate of the present political scenario in Kashmir and transformed the dynamics of the Kashmir conflict.


A British historian Alstair Lamb in his book “Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy, 1984-90” (1991) argues about the veracity of the Instrument of Accession and concludes that it was not signed by Maharaja Hari Singh of Kashmir on 26th of October 1947, a day before the Indian troops arrived in the Kashmir Valley to defend Kashmir against the raiders from the Northwest Province of Pakistan. Lamb argues that not only India’s legal claim to the state of Jammu and Kashmir is fraudulent but that the accession was the outcome of a conspiracy between INC leaders, the Maharaja’s government and senior Indian army officers including some British. The present study has tried to find
the realities about the signing of instrument of accession and also tries to analyse those developments which led to signing of Kashmir’s accession to India.


This is the most acceptable work about Kashmir and commendable by Sheikh Abdullah himself as the most reliable source for understanding the facts about freedom struggle led by National Conference, earlier Muslim Conference up to 1938. This piece of work discusses each and every aspect of earlier political development of Kashmir under the Dogra rule which was considered as autocratic. The author gives a detailed account of socio-economic and political situation since 1931 to 1940, and the tactics used by National Conference earlier Muslim Conference to get emancipation from the Dogra rule. This work also discusses the causes which led down trodden people of the state to rise against the autocratic rule. This work will ever stand as a base for studying Kashmir politics in general and role of National Conference in particular. But the time period this work is limited up to 1940, which is the starting point as far as the of Kashmir politics under the banner of National Conference is concerned. Since then, the entire political scenario has been changed. The present research work makes an attempt to study and analyse those developments in Kashmir and tries to fill the gap till date.
"Tragedy of errors" by Tavleen Singh is a well-documented account of Indian occupied Kashmir. She explores the history of India's relations with Kashmir, and traces the events which led to the deterioration and damaging of Indian image in the eyes of Kashmiris. She boldly accuses Indian politicians and specially the Indian press for tarnishing the image of kashmiri people before Indian public. She laments the role of media, because they always treated kashmiris as traitors and pro Pakistanis. In her opinion the people of Kashmir were secular at a larger extent and that there was no fundamentalism in Kashmir. Her account of Kashmir at some points seems biased due to her personal attachment with Kashmir, but she opens up different avenues of thinking for general readers about Kashmir and the people of Kashmir. She also ventures into the internal political dynamics of India in the late seventies and early eighties. Her's is a balanced account of political manhandling of the events in Kashmir by political parties. She also highlights the level of human rights abuses in Kashmir committed by Indian Security forces. In conclusion it is a good book which covers not only history but also presents in an elaborated and well written manner. This book is a valuable addition in already available material on Kashmir.

examines the National conference as a dominant political party at all stages till 1982 under the leadership of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, but the author has not discussed how transition in leadership, splits and power shifting took place in Jammu and Kashmir National Conference. The present study has tried to analyse this phenomenon.


In a well-knit ten chapters, Behera addresses the core problem of social formations in terms of religion, ethnicity, and cultural and linguistic identities and their politicization, especially in the context of the state of Jammu and Kashmir in India. The first chapter deals with concepts of state and identity as far back as the 19th century. Behera purveys a detailed survey of the identity issue from pre-colonial India through its national freedom movement to the birth of India as an independent state in August 1947. At the end, she concludes that “the levers of state power tend to alienate and marginalise the sub regional identities.” It is a sweeping and simplistic conclusion.

Behera traces the genesis of the identity problem in the state of Jammu and Kashmir from ancient times when “an individual’s loyalty was primarily to the tribe, clan or caste group...” Behera tries to explain how the rulers of Jammu and Kashmir continued suppressing the voices of workers and peasants. She blames the Hindu King Hari Singh for suppressing factory workers who had opposed his “oppressive attitude of authorities”. Behera returns to her main theme to prove how discriminatory policies practised against the Muslims
from the days of the Dogra rulers have contributed to the process of the construction of the Kashmiri Muslim identity. After accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to the Indian Union in October 1947, ruling elites of both State and Centre failed to address socio economic problems of Kashmiri Muslims. As a result of which, as Behera has rightly pointed out, they could not “secure the emotional integration of Kashmiris into the Indian nation” (p.134). Also she seems to be correct that the failure of the Centre including ruling leaders of the state to address developmental problems of the Valley, ultimately resulted in an ever deepening internal unrest, and consequent upon Pakistan’s direct hand in sponsoring militancy in the Kashmir Valley since 1989. In her last chapter, Behera recommends that it is vitally important to “remodel state structures and transform the relationship with the sub-national identities.” But how? It is for readers to find out. Although the book does not offer fresh ideas or any innovative approach to deal with the problem of identity, it provides an excellent analysis of events in the historical context with a rich bibliography and valuable appendices indispensable for scholars and informed readership.


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 successes 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 an armed 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 organized 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 organizations such as the National Conference and the Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), and the Islamists and jihadi groups in Kashmir including the Hizbul Mujahideen, Harkatul 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.


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 essentially about sovereignty, by uncovering the layers of differences in the social and political fabric of the state.
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 counter insurgency 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.

Najar G R, *Kashmir Accord* (1975), The book highlights the certain issues in Kashmir politics, like the genesis of Kashmir dispute, politics of plebiscite, politics of Accord, politics of discord etc. Its drawback is that it discusses the political process in Jammu and Kashmir only before 1980 which is not sufficient as far as my period of analysis on the topic is concerned. So the present research work is going to study and analyse the ups and downs in the political process in the state till date.


The book is designed to alert the reader, not so much to dangers of Indian-Pakistan conflict over Kashmir, as to dangers of Communist infiltration and subversion in a strategic territory whose status is still in dispute despite UN efforts at settlement. The author having been a member of the United Nations Commission during 1948 and until the change of government in Czechoslovakia caused his resignation in 1949. He was thus an active participant in the early and crucial days of the UN’s attempt to settle the Kashmir dispute. As a scholar, Dr. Korbel attempts to present the facts behind the issues. He does not hesitate to express trenchant criticism of the UN or of the Indian and Pakistan governments’ actions. For this he will undoubtedly be charged with bias by persons whose prejudices may incline them to support one
or the other of the disputants or to react adversely to criticism of the UN. It is precisely this kind of critical analysis, however, which makes the book valuable for the reader who wants to understand a most complex problem of international relations. For the student, Dr. Korbel's book offers a case study of an international dispute, amply supported by references as a guide to more extensive investigation of the many facets of this important problem. Here also, within one volume, are the chronology and the data on the principal actors in the Kashmir drama. In his attempt to set forth the dangers of communist expansion and infiltration into the subcontinent via Kashmir, Dr. Korbel overemphasizes the potential Soviet Russian threat as against that of Soviet China. His exposition of past Russian policy in terms of a threat to India over the Himalayas is not convincing, since from a strategic point of view the area of vulnerability in terms of Russian expansion would seem to be Afghanistan and the northwest frontier of Pakistan rather than Kashmir itself. Author shows the relation between Ladakh and Tibet and the potential danger of Chinese communist infiltration into an unstable Kashmir; but he fails to relate this analysis to similar problems faced in Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan. The value of this part of the author's work lies primarily in his emphasis on the fact that Kashmir is another divided territory, like Korea, Viet Nam, Germany, and Austria, full of explosive potential. The serious student of South Asian affairs could have wished for considerably more depth in an analysis of the thorny Kashmir problem, but at least Dr. Korbel's book provides a beginning and,
because of his particular experience, some clear insights and perceptive conclusions.


This book discussed some important issues in Kashmir politics, like, Kashmir politics in its historical perspective and gives a detailed analysis of the oppressive politics of Dogra rule and the emergence of National Conference that started an effective mass movement to change the oppressive Dogra regime, genesis of militancy and politics of independent Kashmir. However, the author has highlighted these issues in general and not in the National Conference perspective and that too only till early 1990’s. Thereafter a lot of changes and trends in politics in general and National Conference in particular had occurred in the state. These things are not covered by the author. Therefore the present study will try to assess and analyse these facts and try to make the present work multidimensional.


Author has made a scholastic attempt to reveal certain important changes in Kashmir politics and leadership in National Conference. But still there are certain important things which she has not covered in this article like 2008 amarnath land row, collapse of PDP government, Shojapayyan rape and
murder incident, National conference’s return to the political scene, and how National Conference has set its political space as an opposition party in Kashmir after the emergence of PDP.


This article by an eminent Indian lawyer and constitutional expert, analyses the ceasefire declaration of the Hizbul 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 Hizbul 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.

Khan Ali Nyla, *The plutocracy and the plebeians*, in her article also highlight some of the important issues about the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference considering it as a dynastic party, committed to Kashmiri identity and compromised lot with the ideology of Indian National Congress since becoming of Farooq Abdullah as Chief Minister after the Death of Sheikh Abdullah. Hence it becomes necessary to review the literature in order to explore the nuts and bolts of Kashmir politics and role of National Conference since 1987 onwards. Therefore, an effort would be made to fill this vacuum to help my endeavours to strike a balance between objectivity and precision.

This literature review is not exhaustive. The available literature was explored at various places particularly at Aligarh, New Delhi and Jammu and Kashmir. The possibility remains that all the writings on the subject might not have located and covered in this study. Research on such issues is never complete in finality. The scope remains for further exploration and study. The subject is progressing so it requires studies in future as well. This study makes an attempt to analyse theme of the thesis making use of the resources at hand.
Chapter Arrangement

The thesis consists of six chapters supported with a conclusion.

Chapter 1. It consists of primary discussion of research, dealing with the importance of the topic, the aims of research, methodology and a brief review of literature used to explore this research work.

Chapter 2. Chapter second deals with the historical background which includes the founding of the Jammu and Kashmir state in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Amritsar. The socio-economic and political conditions of the people under Dogra rule, the character of its administrative system and its impact on the masses in general and the peasantry in particular, reveals the real cause of the political turmoil in the state.

Chapter 3. The third chapter deals with the party system in Jammu and Kashmir with special reference to the events resulting into the emergence of National Conference as a major political party.


Chapter 5. Fifth chapter deals with the electoral politics in Jammu and Kashmir with special reference to the role of National Conference in 1987 elections and its impact on the post 1987-political

**Chapter 6.** Sixth chapter deals with the role of National Conference in restoring autonomous character of the state.

**Conclusion.** It surmises the thesis in the form of conclusions.