EFFECT OF INDIA-PAKISTAN RELATIONS ON DEVELOPMENT, CONFLICTS & PEACE PROCESS IN KASHMIR: 2014 ONWARDS

A Dissertation

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled **"Effect of India-Pakistan relations on Development, Conflicts & Peace Process in Kashmir: 2014 Onwards"** is an independent research work carried out by Nitin Rawat, for the degree of **Master of Philosophy** in the department of Political Science, Central University of Haryana under my supervision. The dissertation has not been previously submitted in parts or full for any other degree of this university or in any other university.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the dissertation entitled **"Effect of India-Pakistan relations on Development, Conflicts & Peace Process in Kashmir: 2014 Onwards"** submitted by me to Department of Political Science, Central University of Haryana for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** is my own work. The content of this dissertation has not been submitted so far in full or part for any other degree of this University or any other university.

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CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFSPA: Armed Forces Special Powers Act

AUM: Al Umar Mujahideen

CAPF: Central Armed Police Forces

CASO: Cordon and Search Operations

CFA : Cease-Fire Agreement

CoIn: *Counter-Insurgency*

DeM : Dukhtaran-e-Millat

EU : European Union

ASIAN : Association of Southeast Asian Nations

SAARC : South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation

NAFTA : North American Free Trade Agreement

FDI : Foreign Direct Investment

GDP : Gross Domestic Product

HM: Hizb-Ul-Mujahideen

ISI: Inter-Services Intelligence

ISIS : Islamic State of Iraq and Syria

JeM : Jaish-e-Mohammed

JeI: Jamaat-e-Islami

JUM: Jamait-Ul-Mujahideen

J&K: Jammu and Kashmir

JKIF : Jammu and Kashmir Islamic Front

JKLF-Y : Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front – Yasin Malik Faction

JKLF: Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front

LoC : Line of Control

L.A.C: Line of Actual Control

LeT: Lashkar-e-Toiba

LWE: Left Wing Extremism

NITI: National Institution for Transforming India

NSO: National Statistical Office

OHCHR: United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights

OPHI: Oxford Poverty & Human Development Initiative

PoK: Pakistan-occupied Kashmir

S.Fs: Security Forces

UAPA: Unlawful Activities Prevention Act

UN: United Nations

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

UNHCHR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNHRC: United Nations Human Rights Council

UNCIP: United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan

LIST OF MAP/ DIAGRAM/GRAPH

CHAPTER: 1

INTRODUCTION

"The battle for peace has to be fought on two fronts. The first front is the security front, where victory spells freedom from fear. The second is the economic and social front, where victory means freedom from want. Only victory on both fronts can assure the world of enduring peace."

-Edwin Stettinius (US Secretary of State)[1]

Kashmir is an Integral part of India. Kashmir consist of Indian administered Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan occupied Kashmir, Aksai chin and Sakshagam valley. This study is focused on the effect of India-Pakistan relations on the development, conflict and peace process in Indian Administered Kashmir.

Before Independence, more than 500 princely states (consist of 48% area and 28% Population) were in direct subordination of British India. Indian Independence act 1947 allows them to choose either to remain a sovereign independent state or chose to merger with Pakistan or India. After independence and partition of India, most of the princely states either chose to accede to India (Most of them were surrounded by Indian territory and with the great effort of India's 1st Home Minister and Deputy Prime Minister Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel) or Pakistan (Most of them was surrounded by the territory of Pakistan) but some of them wish to acquire Independent Statehood

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[1] Ministry of External Affairs. (2007, March 16). *Public Diplomacy* . Retrieved May 20, 2021, from Ministry of External Affairs: https://mea.gov.in/in-focus-article.htm?1840/Speech+by+the+External+Affairs+Minister+at+the+International+Seminar+on+Economic+Security+for+Peace+and+Development+in+South+Asia+IDSA+New+Campus

like Travancore, Jodhpur, Bhopal, Hyderabad, Junagarh, and Kashmir. However in the end they acceded to India.

Kashmir was a princely state with the Hindu king Maharaja Hari Singh but the predominant population was Muslim. Both the state (India and Pakistan) offer him a proposal of accession but he pending the final decision on the state's accession. On 24th October 1947 Pakistan invaded Kashmir with an army of soldiers and Tribal Pathans. Maharaja "Hari Singh" appeals to India for help and sends his representative Sheik Abdullah to Delhi. On 26 October 1947 Maharaja Hari Singh sign 'Instrument of Accession of Jammu and Kashmir at Jammu. According to the above instrument India's jurisdiction was extended to Defense affairs, Communication affairs and External affairs of Kashmir. Therefore Indian troops airlifted to Kashmir and they fought with invaders.

Indian army evicted troops of Pakistan from major parts of Kashmir. But with the efforts of the United Nations the armistice came into force on 1 January 1949. An orderly ceasefire line was drawn based on the actual hold of the land by India and Pakistan and this activity make pending future settlement of Kashmir Conflict. This division line runs from Chhamb in the south some 700 km (closer to the city of Akhnoor) to NJ 9842 (Ladakh) in the North. During this process a part of Kashmir called "P.o.K." remains under the illegal control of Pakistan. Here are the seeds of a future conflict between India and Pakistan.

The outcome of the Indo-China conflict in 1962 prompted Pakistan to invade India. Pakistani armed forces invaded the Kashmir region of India in 1965. During the 1965 war, despite the prevalence of weapons and equipment, Pakistan suffered heavy

casualties in men and resources. Finally, with the assistance of the United Nations, a ceasefire was agreed on 23 September 1965. The Tashkent Declaration resulted in the withdrawal of forces and the status quo was maintained before the Pakistani invasion.[2]

After securing an absolute majority in the elections in 1971, the Awami League insisted upon the autonomy for East Pakistan. The military rulers of West Pakistan responded with a military crackdown and repression. Consequently, about ten million East Pakistanis fled to India. This could affect the Indian economy adversely. India asked Pakistan to create conditions for the return of refugees from India to East Pakistan. Pakistan sought to internationalize the issue by attacking India on 3 December 1971. War ended with unconditional surrender of Pak forces at 1631 Hrs on 16 December 1971. Thereafter, the Indian Prime Minister announced a unilateral ceasefire effective from 2000 Hrs on 17th December. Then Indian prime minister and the then Pakistani president have signed an "Shimla" agreement at midnight of 2nd July 1972 sorted out the residual problems of war.[3]

Fourth conflict after independence was Kargil conflict. Pakistan sends infiltrators and occupied strategically important mountains. India evict them form the heights and resume the control over the territory as was mentioned by the Simla agreement.[4]

[2] Indian Army. (2021, June 9). *History*. Retrieved June 14, 2021, from Indian Army: https://indianarmy.nic.in/Site/FormTemplate/frmTempSimple.aspx?MnId=PwzWv1dFBflyF9l8DMoDVA==&ParentID=PaBb6/t2dSAhECuYARh/aw==&flag=8CKP966uzg96kLov0aWdfQ==

[3] Indian Army. (2021, June 9). *history*. Retrieved June 14, 2021, from Indian Army: https://indianarmy.nic.in/Site/FormTemplate/frmTempSimple.aspx?MnId=8/Nh6NI87TwOrJL+s/LlyQ==&ParentID=6DdZtXzfnUxjnmEmqttS3w==&flag=8CKP966uzg96kLov0aWdfQ==

[4] NIOS. (n.d.). *KARGIL CONFLICT-1999*. Retrieved June 14, 2021, from NIOS: https://nios.ac.in/media/documents/military_history_375/Book-2/Chapter-20.pdf

After defeated four times Pakistan change its diplomacy and starts a shadow war of terrorism in Kashmir and other parts of India which affects the social-political and Economic life of the people of India adversely and increases revenue expenses on security.

(1) Kashmir an Introduction

(1.1)Territory: In this study, Kashmir denotes the composition of UT of Ladakh and UT of Jammu and Kashmir.

MAP OF UT OF JAMMU & KASHMIR AND UT OF LADAKH

Map 1.1 This Map is not to Scale.[5]

The U.T of Ladakh is divided into two Districts Kargil and Leh. Leh district also includes the areas of Gilgit, Gilgit Wazarat, Chilies, and Tribal Territory of 1947 and consist of 49136 sq. km area.[6]

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[5] Press Information Bureau. (2019). *MAP OF UT OF JAMMU & KASHMIR AND UT OF LADAKH*. Retrieved 08 21, 2021, from Press Information Bureau:
https://static.pib.gov.in/WriteReadData/userfiles/Map%20of%20UTs.pdf
[6] Govt of UT of Ladakh. (2021, December 21). *District-leh ladakh*. Retrieved December 21, 2021, from District-leh ladakh: District-leh ladakh

The U.T of J&K is divided into, Anantnag, Bandipore, Baramulla, Budgam, Doda, Ganderbal, Jammu, Kathua, Kishtwar, Kulgam, Kupwara, Poonch, Pulwama, Rajouri, Ramban, Reasi, Samba, Shopian, Srinagar and Udhampur[7] Districts and consist of "2,22,236 km sq. area"[8]. However, "78,114 sq km of Indian Territory are illegally occupied by Pakistan and 5,180 square kilometers in the Shaksgam Valley in the trans-Karakoram tract ceded by Pakistan to China illegally under their so-called border agreement of March 02, 1963. Approximately 38,000 km2 of the territory of the erstwhile state of Jammu & Kashmir in Aksai Chin is illegally occupied by China."[9]

(1.2) Demographics: 67% of the people of the Jammu and Kashmir practicing the Islalm. In Kashmir valley, 97% of the population practices Islam. Jammu is the Hindu dominant region, 4 percent Sikhs, 31 percent Muslims and 65 percent Hindus live in Jammu. Ladakh is a Buddhist dominated area. Entirety, 67% of population practicing Islam, 30% Hindu, 1% Buddhist and the Sikhs 2% of the population.[10]

(2) Statement of the Problem

Despite having enough potential (in animal husbandry, sericulture and fisheries) growth and development in the agriculture sector of "Kashmir" is not satisfactory. According to the NITI Ayog, "Jammu and Kashmir is an industrially backward state without a strong industrial base. Mineral deposits available in the state are bauxite,

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[7] National Informatics Centre. (2020, July 14). *Districts of Jammu and Kashmir(UT)*. Retrieved April 21, 2021, from Districts of Jammu and Kashmir(UT): http://districts.nic.in/districts.php?sid=JK

[8] Govt. of Jammu and Kashmir. (2012). *Jammu & Kashmir official portal*. Retrieved June 17, 2021, from Jammu & Kashmir official portal: https://jk.gov.in/jammukashmir/?q=demographics

[9] Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses. (2020, November 13). *SPECIAL FEATURE*. Retrieved June 10, 2021, from Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses: https://idsa.in/specialfeature/forgotten-fact-of-china-occupied-kashmir-srchinoy-131120

[10] Govt. of Jammu and Kashmir. (2012). *Jammu & Kashmir official portal*. Retrieved June 17, 2021, from Jammu & Kashmir official portal: https://jk.gov.in/jammukashmir/?q=demographics

limestone, sapphire, gypsum, coal, and marble, and most are located in border areas and difficult terrain."[11], due to the terrorism and defacto boundary, it is difficult to explore. 41% headcount is multidimensional poor in Kashmir.[12] Despite the high potential in the handicraft and horticulture field, 76% of the women in Kashmir are unemployed.[13] According to the survey of the National Statistical Office (NSO) female literacy rate of Kashmir is 68%. 11.4% of people of Kashmir are unemployed on 23 May 2021.[14] According to the South Asian terrorist portal launched by the Institute of Conflict Management on the period of 6 March 2000 to 14 May 2021, 9524 people and security personnel were killed and 4281 critically injured[15]. Pakistan-sponsored terrorism is one of the reasons behind the above incidents.

UNHRC's report, "Update of the Situation of Human Rights in Indian-Administered Kashmir and Pakistan-Administered Kashmir from May 2018 to April 2019," says that, human rights of the people of Kashmir are violated by armed forces as well as the insurgent group in Kashmir. Human Rights of P.o.K. is violated by Pakistan govt agencies and military. However Indian government denied the above and reject all the claims. Human rights violations trigger internal conflict. It helps anti-national elements to make their place in the heart of the local people.

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[11] NITI Ayog. (2000). *EXECUTIVE SUMMARY: JAMMU & KASHMIR: DEVELOPMENT SCENARIO.* New Delhi: NITI Ayog.

[12] UNDP. (n.d.). *MULTIDIMENSIONAL POVERTY INDEX.* Retrieved from OPHI: Oxford Poverty & Human Development Initiative (2015): India Country Briefing, Multidimensional Poverty Index Data Bank, OPHI, Univewww.ophi.org.uk/multidimensional-poverty-index/mpi-country-briefings/.

[13] The Tribune . (2020, March 20). *The Tribune* . Retrieved May 23, 2021, from The Tribune : https://www.tribuneindia.com/news/j-k/jk-failing-its-women-76-unemployed-58288

[14] Centre form monitoring Indian Economy. (2021, May 23). *Unemployment Rate in India.* Retrieved May 24, 2021, from Centre form monitoring Indian Economy: https://unemploymentinindia.cmie.com/

[15] Institute For Conflict Management. (2021, May 21). *South Asia Terrorism Portal* . Retrieved May 21, 2021, from South Asia Terrorism Portal: https://www.satp.org/datasheet-terrorist-attack/major-incidents/india-jammukashmir

Due to security reasons, curfews and operations take place most of the days of the year, frequent shutdown of the internet impacts on social, economic, political, and cultural aspects of people's life. A huge number of officers and officials of CAPF and the Indian Army deployed in Kashmir for maintaining peace. Whenever the conflicts escalate in Kashmir, the Indian Govt. dilutes other borders and increases the deployment of security personal in Kashmir. It can trigger refugee crises like Rohingya and helps to flame LWE in the red corridor of India.

Cross-firing in border areas also affects the life of the people who reside near the border.Without eradicating traditional security threats it is difficult to emphasize on developmental activities. Territorial dispute over Kashmir is not yet resolved therefore India-Pakistan relations highly affect the peace and development in Kashmir. Pakistan sponsors terrorism to escalate conflict in Kashmir. ISI and Pakistan Army are not under control of the democratic government of Pakistan. It also affects India-Pakistan relations, conflict, peace and development in Kashmir.

Conflict itself leads to loss of life, consumes wealth and resources. The World Bank described it as 'Development in Reverse'. Conflicts between insurgent and security forces and terrorist attacks on civilian make a negative impact on the developmental activities of the Kashmir. It is one of the most causes of less development, high poverty and inequality in Kashmir. Less educated, deprive and unaware people become the hand and eyes of the insurgent therefore it triggers terrorism and conflict. Due to the peace and security issue, it becomes a necessity of Govt. to increase revenue expenditure on security. Due to the limited resources the expenses that were to be paid for capital formation where transferred to the security expenditure therefore less development takes place.

While on one hand India-Pakistan relations affect development in Kashmir, on the other hand development in Kashmir affects India –Pakistan relations. However, issues of India-Pakistan relations can resolve by bilateral talks but it could be a time taking process. Until the permanent solution of the conflict between India and Pakistan, peacekeeping and peace building in Kashmir should be emphasized equally. Govt of India trying to emphasize on push and pull ways to resolve the problem and Article 370 revoked but several constraints still are present in Kashmir.

This study is trying to find a possible way to maintain peace, resolve conflict and achieve social-political and economic development goals in Kashmir. This study is also trying to fulfil the research gap between the academic disciplines i.e. International relations, developmental studies and peace studies

(3) Review of Literature

(3.1) In the book, "Trade Aid And Security: An Agenda of Peace and Development."

Author talks about the traditional and non traditional security threats and conflicts and analyse that, how Conflict makes adverse effect on development. Natural resources were destroyed during conflict and war. Aid to least developed countries helps them to make a trade-friendly atmosphere and initiate structural reforms for the economy. It also helps poor states to maintain good governance, decrease corruption, and establishing peace.

(3.2) In the research paper, "The Peace Process and Prospects for Economic Reconstruction in Kashmir."- "D. A. Mahapatra and Seema Shekhawat." The author analyses the link between conflict resolution and development and found that peace process and development impact each other. On one side where peace is a pre-

condition of development another side less development also can create conflicts. The author also suggests that the people's participation in Kashmir is essential for sustainable development and conflict resolution in Kashmir.

(3.3) In the report of UNHCHR having the title "Update of the Situation of Human Rights in Indian-Administered Kashmir and Pakistan-Administered Kashmir from May 2018 to April 2019". This report says that the human rights of Kashmiri people are violated by armed forces as well as an insurgent group in Indian administered Kashmir. Human rights of Pakistan administered Kashmir is violated by Pakistan govt agencies and military. However Indian government denied the above and Reject all the claims.[16] Human rights violations trigger internal conflict. It helps antinational elements to make their place in the heart of the local people.

(3.4) In the book "Bhartiya Videsh Neeti Bhumandalikaran Ke Daur Me" by Rajesh Mishra. The author trying to analyze India's foreign policy in the globalization era. In chapter 1 author tries to explain the historical perspective and development of India's foreign policy. He analyzes that how the ideology of the leader, geography of the country, social and political structure of the country and world order affect the foreign policy of the nation. In chapter 2 Author talks about India's relation with the South Asian countries. In chapter 3 author analyze the strategic position of the Indian Ocean and its economic importance to India. In chapters 4 and 5 he talks about India's relation to South East Asian countries from look east to act east. In chapters 6 and 7 he analyzes India's relation with the west and middle Asian countries. In chapters 8 and 9 authors analyze the India's relations with major powers of the world and

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[16] Raghavan, S. (2016, July 24). *The Hindu*. Retrieved December 18, 2021, from The Hindu: https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/JampK-gets-10-of-Central-funds-with-only-1-of-population/article14506264.ece

international institutes. In chapters 10 and 11 authors analyze India's relation with Africa Latin America and regional economic cooperation Groups example EU ASIAN, SAARC, NAFTA, APECO, etc. In chapter 12 author analyze how Indian Diaspora plays the main role to determine India's relation with other countries he discusses the role of the Indian Diaspora in the Middle East for above.

(3.5) In the research paper, "Pakistan and India Relations: A Political Analysis of Conflicts and Regional Security in South Asia" by, Muhammad Muzaffar, Iqra Jathol, Zahid Yaseen. Authors are native of Pakistan they discuss Kashmir issue, water issue, and terrorism and suggest that the solution of Kashmir issue should be done through negotiation between India and Pakistan and the people of Kashmir should be involved in it.

(3.6) In the Research Article, The Forgotten Fact of "China-Occupied Kashmir" author "Sujan R. Chinoy" reveal about the china Pakistan relation and how both of the states are plying role of disputant in Kashmir. How China misinterpreted the history of the region and claim over India's territory illegally.

(3.7) "Multidimensional Poverty Index 2019, Regarding Jammu and Kashmir by OPHI". This report measures poverty by using the Alkire Foster method method and calculate MPI for India i.e 0.123. This report also calculates the multidimensional poverty Index of Jammu and Kashmir (i.e 0.064). 15.2% headcount of Jammu and Kashmir is multidimensional poor.

(3.8) In the research paper, Investment, Industrial Growth, and Conflict in Kashmir: An Analysis by Prof. Khursheed A. Butt and Bilal Ahmad Pankow. Both the authors are native of Kashmir they analyze conditions of investment, industrial growth during

conflict and found that Kashmir is facing a trade deficit and investment is very low, developmental activities slow down due to conflict and turmoil of 90's decade. Authors suggests people's participation is necessary for conflict resolution, development, and establishing peace.

(3.9) In the research report of "India-Pakistan Bilateral Trade: Past, Present & Future, Dr. SP Sharma Ms. Malini Bhattacharya Ms. Surbhi Sharma Ms. Nidhi Gautam Ms. Shiva Kumra & Ms. Bhawana Sharma": Discuss the potential of bilateral trade among India-Pakistan and suggest that both the countries should overcome from the past of the depressed economic partnership and should join hands for economic and trade cooperation. It will provide goods and services for customers at a reasonable price and it will help to increase their saving capacity therefore health education and other social indicators will increase.

(3.10) In research paper "Life in Kashmir After Article 370", Ayjaz Wani suggests that the public safety act should be revoked, loan of the farmers of the Kashmir may be waived off because they are affected adversely from the climatic condition, lockdown and insurgent's threaten. The people of Kashmir should leave the separatism and should adopt the integration approach.

(3.11) In Chapter 2 Kashmir: A Century Struggle (1846-1948) of the book: Kashmir: Orphans, Nurture and challenges. Author Rao Farman Ali discusses the struggle of the people of Kashmir against the intruders from l846 to 1948.

3.12) In research paper "States, locals and cross-border cooperation in Kashmir: Is the secondary foreign policy in making in South Asia." Author D.A. Mahapatra

discusses the potential of secondary foreign policy to solve the cross-border disputes between India and Pakistan.

(3.13) In monograph 14, Gilgit Baltistan: Between Hope and Despair of Institute of Defence Studies and Analysis author Priyanka Singh discusses the important role of Gilgit Baltistan in Kashmir issue between India and Pakistan. she also emphasis on the developmental issue of the Gilgit Baltistan region.

(4) Objectives of Study

Objectives of the study are enumerated below:

(4.1) To find the reason behind the less development and poverty in Kashmir.

(4.2) To find that how India-Pakistan relations affect the development and peace process in Kashmir.

(4.3) To find that how less development affects India-Pakistan relations and the peace process in Kashmir.

(4.4) To find the reason that why the problem of Pakistan-sponsored terrorism has not yet been solved.

(4.5) To find the possible solution to mitigate terrorism and conflict.

(5) Hypotheses

The Hypotheses of the study are enumerated below:

(5.1) Conflicts and terrorism is the main cause of the less development in Kashmir.

(5.2) Less development is one of the reasons behind anti-national activities in Kashmir.

(5.3) Corruption is a constraint in development and it increases security threats in Kashmir.

(5.4) Less FDI is one of the reasons for less development in Kashmir.

(6) Scope of the Study

Development, Peace Process and conflict in Indian administered Kashmir and India-Pakistan relations would be the scope of the study. This study will focus on the effect of India-Pakistan relations on the Development, Conflicts & Peace Process in Kashmir from 2014 onwards.

(7) Research Gap: Most of the researchers either focus on India-Pakistan relations or the development and peace process in Kashmir. This study will fill the gap between two fields/disciplines i.e. International Relations and Development & Peace studies.

(8) Delimitations: Development is a comprehensive term and this study will focus on the social, political and economic development of Indian administered Kashmir.

(9) Research Design/Methodology

"Documentary Analytical Framework" has been adopted for this research. The design of this study is analytical and descriptive. This study is based on a Mixed Method (Qualitative and Quantitative). Secondary and Primary sources are used in this study, some sources are enumerated below.

Primary Sources - (i) Data from the Govt. Agencies like Economic survey of the Jammu and Kashmir state, Ministry of Home Affairs documents, documents of Govt of UT of Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh, etc. (ii) Data from NGO's like south East Asia terrorist portal, etc. Secondary Sources-(i) Books, Magazines, Newspapers etc.

(10) Brief Summary of Chapters

This study is divided in following chapter.

Chapter 1, Introduction: In this chapter, brief introduction of the topic and research has been highlighted. It consists of introduction of, Kashmir in brief, statement of the problem, review of literature, objective of the study, hypotheses, scope of the study, Research Methodology etc.

Chapter 2, Kashmir an Overview: In this chapter, brief introduction about the Kashmir has been discussed. This chapter embedded: Social structure of Kashmir, Politics in Kashmir, and Economic structure of Kashmir etc.

Chapter 3, Effect of India-Pakistan relations on Conflict and Peace Process in Kashmir: In this chapter, Effect of India-Pakistan relations on conflict and peace process in Kashmir have been discussed. This chapter embedded: Conflict, Conflict in Kashmir, India-Pakistan relations and conflict in Kashmir, India- Pakistan relations and conflict over Kashmir, peace, peace process, India-Pakistan relations and peace process over Kashmir etc.

Chapter 4, Effect of India-Pakistan Relations on Development in Kashmir: In this chapter, effect of India-Pakistan Relations on Development in Kashmir has been discussed. This chapter embedded: Effect of India-Pakistan Relations on

Development in Kashmir, Historical Determinants of India-Pakistan relation, Border Dispute between India and Pakistan in Kashmir, India-Pakistan relation and development in Kashmir 2014 onwards.

Chapter 5, Conclusion: In this chapter, an attempt has been made to conclude the study done in all the chapters. This chapter embedded: Reason behind the less development and poverty in Kashmir, Effect of India-Pakistan relations on development and peace process in Kashmir, Reasons for the survival of terrorism in Kashmir for four decades and possible solution to Eradicate Terrorism and Conflict etc.

CHAPTER: 2

KASHMIR AN OVERVIEW

Jammu and Kashmir is located in the northern part of India, in the Himalayan region. In 2021, total population of Jammu and Kashmir is expected to hit 13.65 million (1.36 Crores).[17] On August 5, 2019, the Government of India altered Article 370 of the Indian Constitution and bifurcate the State into two Union Territories, Jammu & Kashmir and Ladakh.

Major stream is Jhelum River in Kashmir Valley. This valley has a normal stature of 1,850 Meters above ocean level. Some significant vacation destinations in Jammu & Kashmir are Pahalgam, Gulmarg, Patnitop, Jammu, Srinagar etc.

India's Union Territories of Ladakh and Jammu & Kashmir share borders with Pakistan, Afghanistan and China, so this region is strategically important for India. India can enter Central Asian countries through Kashmir. India is the fastest growing country in the world and undergoing through the demographic dividend Therefore India is demanding energy resources. Central Asian countries have reserves of energy resources. The Gilgit-Baltistan region has reserves of energy resources which are illegally occupied by Pakistan.

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[17] UIDAI. (2021, October 20). *UIDAI*. Retrieved from https://uidai.gov.in/images/state-wise-aadhaar-saturation.pdf.

(1) Social Structure of Kashmir

Religious Stratification of Kashmir
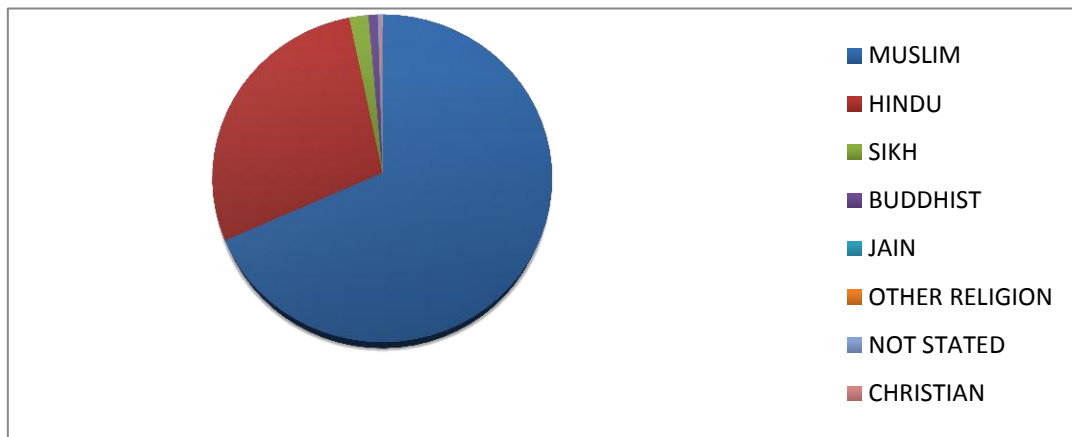
Dig 2.1, Data Source: Cast Census 2011[18]

In Jammu and Kashmir, about 68.31% of the population professes Islam. The population following Hinduism is 28.44 percent. Christianity is followed by 0.28 percent in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, 0.02 percent in Jainism, 0.90 percent in Buddhism and 1.87 percent in Sikhism. About 0.01 percent said 'other religion', while 0.16 percent said 'no particular religion'. 27.38 percent of the total population live in urban areas of jammu and Kashmir. The urban population has increased by 27.38 percent in the last ten years. The sex ratio in the urban areas of Jammu and Kashmir was 840 females per 1000 males. Children (0-6) In terms of sex ratio, the metropolitan area has 850 girls per 1000 boys. There were 425,897 children in the age group of 0 to 6 years living in urban areas of Jammu and Kashmir. In urban areas (0-6) children constitute 12.41 percent of the total population. In Jammu and Kashmir, the average literacy rate in urban areas was 77.12 per cent, with male literacy at 83.92

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[18] Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India. (2011, March 11). *2011 Census Data*. Retrieved Nov 09, 2021, from 2011 Census Data: https://censusindia.gov.in/2011-common/ censusdata2011.html

per cent and female literacy at 56.65 per cent. The total number of literates in the urban areas of Jammu and Kashmir was 2,319,283. 72.62% people reside in rural area in J&K.

(1.1) Islam Jihad and Kashmir

Root of conflict in Kashmir can be traced on history of cultural stratification since independence. After the conflict of 1987, the movement against corruption and irregularities in election 1987 become an Islamic extremist movement and extremist started to demand separation and some of them was seeking to merger with Pakistan. Few Dharmagurus/Molanas of the Islam started to wash the brain of youth on the name of so called jihad and the movement become religious however the movement was started secular. In 1990s new era of terrorism started, highly educated natives of Kashmir started to join terror on the name of jihad. So called Islamic self proclaimed Jihadee Teachers of Islam in Kashmir only emphasize on the literal explanation of jihad and not enough capable to explain jihad on anagogic manner. However they do literal explanation intentionally to promote insurgency, alienation and terrorism in Kashmir[19].

(1.2) Status of Education and Health services

Education and Health services are the determinants of human capital efficiency. Health and education are of utmost importance in militancy affected areas like Kashmir.

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[19] SIKAND, Y. (2010). Jihad, Islam and Kashmir: Syed Ali Shah Geelani's Political Project. *Economic and Political Weekly* , 125-134.

(1.2.1) Status of Education

"By education I mean an all-round drawing out of the best in child and man-body, mind and spirit. Literacy is not the end of education or even the beginning."

- M.K. Gandhi

With an overall literacy rate of 67.16%, Jammu and Kashmir don't reflect a great education system.[20] Schools remained closed in the flood-affected areas of the former Jammu and Kashmir State in 2014-15 as a result of the devastating floods[21]. Due to security concern the number of working days is less. In 2016-17 schools remains shut down on 60% working days.[22] Till date, the U.T, like the rest of the country, has followed the 10+2+3 system. The new education policy, however, will change the pattern to 5+3+3+4. Both the Central and State governments are planning to implement similar measures in the near future.

(1.2.2) Covid -19 Pandemic and Education

Education has been affected due to the ongoing conflict for almost four decades; the situation of education has worsened due to the COVID-19 pandemic. In other parts of the world students are getting education through telecommunication and internet. Due to security reasons there was double lockdown in Kashmir and students were not able to use the above mentioned mediums.

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[20] Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India. (2011, March 11). *2011 Census Data*. Retrieved Nov 09, 2021, from 2011 Census Data: https://censusindia.gov.in/2011-common/censusdata2011.html

[21] Akhzer, A. (2021, November 09). *The Indian Express*. Retrieved November 09, 2021, from The Indian Express: https://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-others/with-schools-shut-in-srinagar-future-of-thousands-hang-in-balance/

[22] Parvaiz, A. (2017, May 30). *hindustan times*. Retrieved November 09, 2021, from hindustan times: https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/since-july-2016-kashmir-s-schools-and-colleges-stayed-shut-on-60-of-working-days/story-1FlfmjKN23a8osHATOIaFM.html

According to the Kashmir's Director of school education, administrators have used all available resources. He acknowledged that "Low-speed internet is an issue but the education department broadcasts video classes for the grades of 6th to 12th on monthly basis."

"As per government data, Jammu and Kashmir region has more than 2.5 million students with more than 10,000 schools"[23]. It is important to emphasize that education is important, and its proper use can help to break the cycle of violence and mistrust. Interruptions in schooling are detrimental to a child's psychosocial, emotional and cognitive development as well as literacy.

(1.3) Health Services in Kashmir

The link between the health of a population and the degree of civilization development is complex and varies over time. Throughout history, one of the primary rewards of progress is the progress in health services. Good Health services have a positive effect on development. Health can be considered a part of a society's capital stock.[24]

The cost of treatment in private hospitals in Kashmir is high. Lack of cleanliness in government hospitals, lack of doctors, lack of ambulances, lack of paved roads from village to hospital etc. make worsens the access of people to the medical facilities.[25]

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[23] Sidiq, N. (2020, August 05). *A year without school in Kashmir*. Retrieved November 09, 2021, from A year without school in Kashmir: https://www.aa.com.tr/en/asia-pacific/a-year-without-school-in-kashmir/1931973

[24] THE WORLD BANK. (2004). Health Economics and Development. In P. Musgrove (Ed.). ashington, DC : THE WORLD BANK.

[25] Bodha, I. J. (2017). Health Care Services of Jammu and Kashmir: A study Hospitals of Jammu and Kashmir. *International Journal of Theoretical & Applied Sciences* , 54-59.

72% population of erstwhile State of Jammu and Kashmir is living in the rural areas. Doctor- population ratio is 1:10000, in rural Kashmir.[26]

(2) Politics of Kashmir

After becoming the Prime Minister in 1951, Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah implemented land reform and other program of development in Kashmir on the lines of the central government. He was sacked by "Sadar-e-Riyasat" Dr. Karan Singh in 1953 on the ground of losing confidence in his cabinet and "Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad" was appointed as his successor. Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah was arrested on the basis of irregularities. Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah's successors were not strong enough to lead Kashmir so they run the administration with the help of the Indian government. The Congress party dominated the State politics from 1953 to 1974.Thereafter several attempts were made by Sheikh Abdullah and the Indian government to achieve an agreement and to emerge from political instability. In 1974 Indira Gandhi made a pact with Sheikh Abdullah and Sheikh Abdullah became the Chief Minister.[27]

On the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah National Conference was elected in the 1977 assembly elections. After Sheikh Abdullah's death in 1982, the party was led by Farooq Abdullah and became chief minister, but he was quickly removed by the governor on grounds of losing confidence in his cabinet. Violence erupted in Kashmir due to the intervention of the central government and the removal of Farooq Abdullah.

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[26] J&K Higher education department. (n.d.). *rural healthcare infrastructurel disparity* . Retrieved November 09, 2021, from J&K Higher education department: http://jkhighereducation.nic.in/jkki/issue1/17.pdf

[27] Copland, I. (1981). Islam and Political Mobilization in Kashmir, 1931-34. *Pacific Affairs, University of British Columbia* , 228-259.

The 1987 assembly elections were held. The National Conference-Congress combination won the election, and Farooq Abdullah was re-elected as C.M. From the early 1980s, there was a developing public discontent with dysfunctional officials within the State. By 1989, the State had been hit by a militant movement mobilizing for a separate Nation for Kashmiris. The rebels get sponsorship from Pakistan. Terrorists and extremists drive Hindus out of their homes.

After the cold war, Pakistan moved the Mujahideen from Afghanistan to Pakistan and began a shadowy war of terrorism and insurgency towards India. Therefore after the 1987 elections, pro-India views of Kashmiris were dramatically changed to the views of Kashmiri separatism. As a result, Kashmir suffers everyday riots, curfews, stone pelting and firing between Indian and Pakistani forces across the Line of Control (LoC).

State election held on 1996. National conference headed by Farooq Abdulla won the election but conflict remains same as Pakistan was supporting insurgent and terrorist groups in Kashmir.[28]

In 2002, PDP with the coalition of congress come into the power and appeasement politics starts in Kashmir. In 2015, Mehbooba Mufti's People's Democratic Party collaborate with India's ruling Bhartiya Janta Party. However, this alliance did not last long. Despite the fact that the Indian government is working on several projects to contain militancy and restore normalcy in Kashmir, terrorist attacks like Pulwama have significantly disrupted the Peace Process.[29]

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[28] Widmalm, S. (1997). The Rise and Fall of Democracy in Jammu and Kashmir. *Asian Survey* , 1005-1030.

[29] Behera, N. C. (2016). The Kashmir Conflict: Multiple Fault Lines. *Journal of Asian Security (SAGE Publications India)* , 41-63.

The President of India had issued the Constitutional Order, 2019 (CO 272) under the provision mentioned in Article 370 and The Constitutional Order, 1954. As per the order, the provisions of the Indian Constitution are applicable to J&K. Furthermore on 31 October 2019, the Indian Parliament approved the Jammu and Kashmir Reorganization Act, which dissolved the state into union territories. J&K in the West and Ladakh in the East.

(3) Economic Structure

The financial system of Kashmir is based on agriculture and allied sectors. Sericulture and cold water fishing activities also take place in the valley. Kashmiri willow is used to make the cricket bats. Kashmiri saffron is very famous and brings a lot of cash to the state.

Barley, Maize, Orange, Rice, Peach, Pear, Saffron, Apple, Jowar, Millet, Cherry, Vegetables and wheat are the major agricultural exports from Jammu and Kashmir.

Despite its modest size, the enterprise sector is growing significantly, especially within the Jammu division. The ''ASSOCHAM'' have identified several business areas that can attract funding to the state.

Tourism played an important role in the Kashmiri economy before the outbreak of conflict in 1987. The tourism business within the Kashmir Valley was most affected by the conflict in Kashmir and over Kashmir. However, the sacred sites Buddhist monasteries remain important pilgrimage sites for travelers, which are located in

Ladakh and Jammu. "Every month hordes of Hindu pilgrims visit the holy sites of Vishnu Devi and Amaranth, which has a positive impact on the country's economy."[30]

(3.1) Covid-19 Pandemic and Economy of Kashmir

However lock down in Kashmir was imposed after the alteration of article 370 due to the security compulsion. Kashmir was already in lock down when global pandemic of Covid-19 broke out. Therefore double lockdown was imposed in Kashmir. There was a communication blockage. Phone line and internet was blocked due to security compulsion. It affects trade and other activities adversely. All schools and education facility were shut down. It affects human capital formation adversely. 23% workforce involved in trading. 7% workforce involved in transportation business. Due to the double lock down both the sectors faces stagnation.

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[30] Govt. of Jammu and Kashmir. (2012). *Jammu & Kashmir official portal*. Retrieved June 17, 2021, from Jammu & Kashmir official portal: https://jk.gov.in/jammukashmir/?q=demographics

CHAPTER: 3

EFFECT OF INDIA-PAKISTAN RELATIONS ON CONFLICT AND PEACE PROCESS IN KASHMIR

This chapter is trying to analyse about the effect of India-Pakistan relations on conflict and peace process in Kashmir.

(1) Conflict

"Conflict has three components i.e Contradiction (C), Attitude (A) and Behavior (B). While 'Contradiction' refers to 'No compatibility of goals between the parties'. 'Attitude' means how the parties involved in the conflict perceive and misperceive each other. And, 'Behavior' is identified with both cooperation and coercion. In addition, threats, coercion and destructive attacks are related to violent conflict behavior"[31]

(1.1) Conflict in Kashmir

The conflict situation in Kashmir began in the late 1980s with external hostility from Pakistan and the beginning of dissident insurgency. The foundation of the struggle can be traced to the political discontent which remained unresolved since the mid-fifties. Due to the loss of electoral autonomy of the state Govt., excessive involvement

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[31] Lahiry, S. (2019). Conflict, Peace and Security: An International Relations Perspective with Special reference to India. *Millennial Asia* , 76-90.

of the Central Government and absence of democratic space etc. had led to the accumulated discontent.[32]

(1.1.1) First Phase (1989 - 2002)

During this period, the most extreme levels of violence and population migration were observed. The major terrorist groups were initially commanded by the secular nationalist Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front, and then passed into the hands of the Islamist Hizbul Mujahideen and finally the more extreme Islamist Lashkar-e-Taiba. Hizbul Mujahideen and Lashkar-e-Taiba were aided by Pakistan. Between 1990 and 1992, more than 70,000 families of Kashmiri Pandits fled their homes due to communal violence by the JKLF.

When Indian troops gained control of major towns and villages in the Valley from 1996 onwards, terrorist organizations focused on capturing important areas of Kashmir's extreme northern and southern borders, particularly Rajouri, Panch and Doda districts.

Two terrorist organizations known to operate in the region, namely Harkat-ul Ansar and Lashgar-e Toiba, both include non-Kashmiris. Although there are only a few hundred so-called foreigners working in Kashmir, they represent a dangerous development in the conflict as they have no accountability to the local population and commit acts of extreme violence.[33]

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[32] Rekha Chowdary, V. U. (2016). Conflict and the Peace Process in Jammu and Kashmir: Locating the Agency of Women. In S. R. Asha Hans, *Openings for Peace: UNSCR 1325, Women and Security in India* (pp. 1-11). Jammu: SAGE.
[33] Human Rights Watch. (1998). *Behind the Kashmir Conflict.* New York: Human Rights Watch.

Reasons behind the above phase were rigged state elections in 1987, Political instability and external involvement of Pakistan etc.

(1.1.2) Second Phase (2003-2012)

Violence declined steadily from 2003 to 2012, reaching an all-time low. International support for Pakistan declined and terrorist activities declined. As the India-Pakistan conflict settlement process was underway, Indian intelligence and border control became more effective.

(1.1.3) Third phase (2012 onwards)

From 2014 to August 2019, there has been a resurgence of mass agitation, insurgent violence and deaths. Opposition to the government manifested in various ways, such as public protests, strikes, provocative unarmed but violent clashes, coordinated insurgency violence etc.

Annual Fatalities (2014–2020): Violence and deaths in Kashmir increased in the period from 2015 to 2018 and then declined after the imposition of the lockdown due to security constraints.

Graph No.3.1, Annual Fatalities (2014–2020)
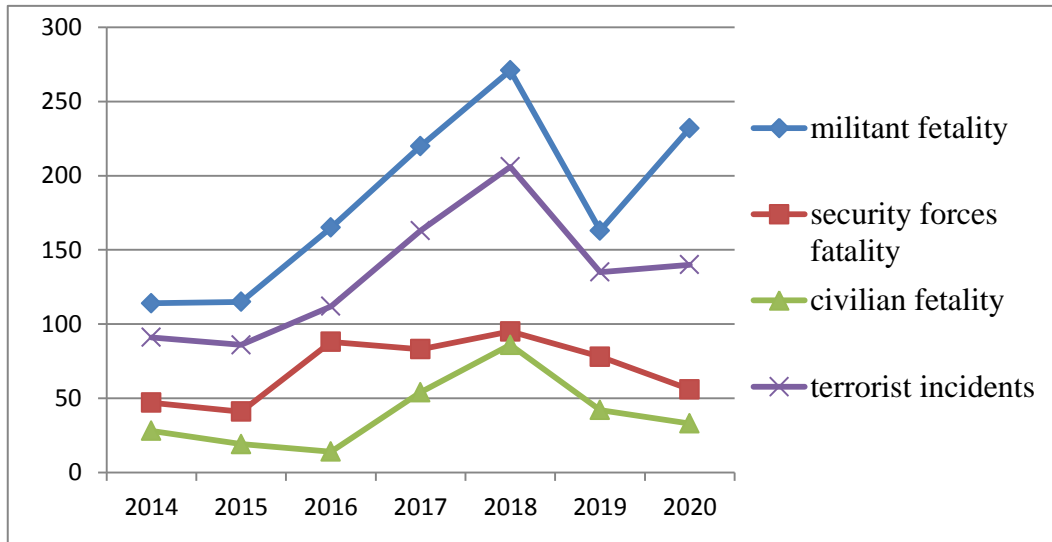
Source: Author's calculations.[34 35 36 37 38 39 40]

(1.1.4) Mass Quasi-Violence

Quasi violence is a "Gray Zone" between Non-violence Resistance and armed Insurgency. It is non lethal pressure on state.[41]

Quasi-violent activities increased in this phase of the conflict, the violence reached the highest level after the first phase. There was an increase in the involvement of local people in terrorist activities and semi-violent activities.

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[34] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2014). *Annual Report.* Departments of Internal Security, States, Home, Ministry of Home Affairs.

[35] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2015-16). *Annual Report.* New Delhi: Department of Internal Security,states,Home,Jammu and Kashmir Affairs and Border Management.

[36] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2016-17). *Annual Report 2016-17.* New Delhi: Ministry of Home Affairs.

[37] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2017-18). *Annual Report.* New Delhi: Ministry of Home Affairs.

[38] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2018-19). *Annual Report.* New Delhi: Ministry of Home Affairs.

[39] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2019-20). *Annual Report.* New Delhi: Ministry of Home Affairs.

[40] SOUTH ASIA TERRORISM PORTAL. (2021, December 28). *Datasheet - Jammu & Kashmir*. Retrieved December 28, 2021, from https://www.satp.org/datasheet-terrorist-attack/fatalities/india-jammukashmir

[41] Mohammad Ali Kadivar, N. K. (2018). Sticks, Stones, and Molotov Cocktails: Unarmed Collective Violence and Democratization. *Sociological Research for a Dynamic World* , 1-16.

Sensing the rapid involvement of youth in antinational activities, increasing terrorist activities and the threat to national security, the Government of India had to take a decision to alter Article 370 in October 2019.

(1.2) India-Pakistan relations and conflict in Kashmir

The idea of Pakistan was conceived on the bases of Islamic State. It was based on the theocracy of Islam. But India follows the policy of a secular state. Kashmir was a princely state. More than 60% of the population of Kashmir were following Islam. According to the idea of Pakistan, partition was done on the basis of religion. After the partition of Pakistan in 1972, the idea of one nation based on the religious grounds of Pakistan is no longer important. After losing wars in 1947, 1965 and 1972, Pakistan launched a shadow war of terrorism around 1987. In 1999, Pakistan again tried to capture the strategically important places of Kargil, but did not succeed. After the Cold War, Pakistan moved the Mujahideen from Afghanistan to PoK and began promoting terrorism through the literal interpretation of Jihad. There are many Pakistan sponsored and supported banned terrorist/extremist outfits operating in Kashmir, some of them are listed below.

(1.2.1) "**Hizb-Ul-Mujahideen":** This is one of the largest terrorist outfits and includes local as well as foreign terrorists. It is responsible for regular violence in Jammu and Kashmir. Headquarter of this outfit is located in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir. This outfit is sponsored by Pakistan.

Graph No 3.2, Activities of "Hizb-Ul-Mujahideen"
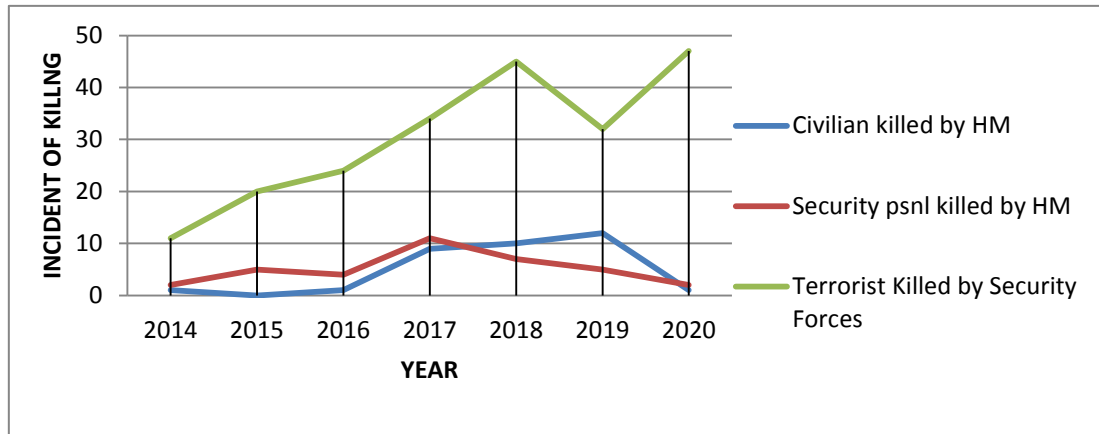
Source: Calculation of the Author.[42 43 44 45 46 47]

Graph No.3.2 shows the killings of the Hizb-Ul-Mujahideen terrorist continuously increase from 2014 to 2018 than decreased in 2019 and it show hike in 2020. Killings of security personnel increase from 2016 to 2017 and decreases significantly in from 2017. Killings of civilians increased from 2016 to 2019. In 2019 to 2020 it decreases significantly.

(1.2.2) "Lashkar-e-Toiba" : It is founded in Afganistan and based in Lahore and headed by Hafiz Muhammad Saeed. Main objective of LeT is restoration of Islamic rule over all parts of India. It also seek the unity of all Islamic countries surrounded Pakistan. Apart from Jammu and Kashmir, it is also active in other parts of Central

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[42] South Asia Terrorism Portal. (2017). *Hizb-ul- Mujahideen (HM)* . Retrieved December 10, 2021, from South Asia Terrorism Portal: https://www.satp.org/terrorist-profile/india-jammukashmir/hizb-ul-mujahideen-hm

[43] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2014). *Annual Report.* Departments of Internal Security, States, Home, Ministry of Home Affairs.

[44] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2015-16). *Annual Report.* New Delhi: Department of Internal Security,states,Home,Jammu and Kashmir Affairs and Border Management.

[45] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2016-17). *Annual Report 2016-17.* New Delhi: Ministry of Home Affairs.

[46] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2017-18). *Annual Report.* New Delhi: Ministry of Home Affairs.

[47] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2019-20). *Annual Report.* New Delhi: Ministry of Home Affairs.

Asia. This organization is aided by Pakistan and is related to Pakistan's infamous intelligence agency ISI.

Graph No. 3.3, Activities of Lashkar-e-Toiba.
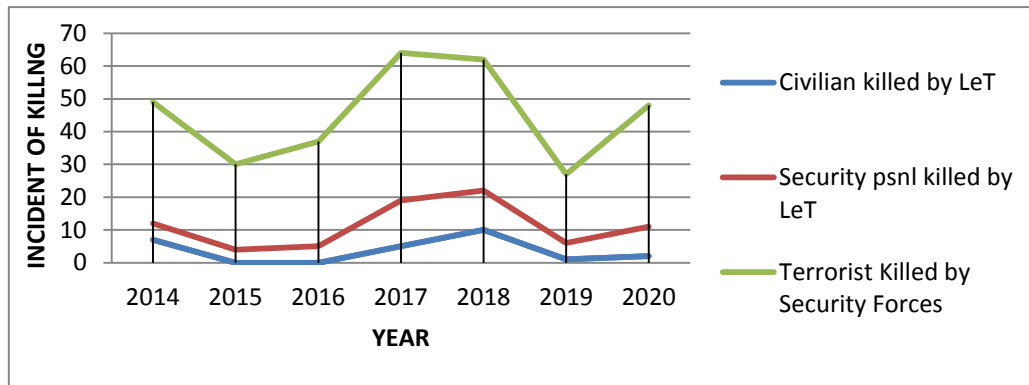
Source: Calculations of Author.[48] [49] [50] [51] [52] [53]

Graph No 3.3 shows the killings of the Lashkar-e-Toiba terrorist continuously increase from 2015 to 2018 than decreased in 2019 and again it show hike in 2020. Killings of security personnel increase from 2016 to 2018 and decreases significantly in from 2018. Killings of civilian increased from 2016 to 2018 and decreased significantly in 2019 to 2020.

(1.2.3) 'Jaish-e-Mohammed': Terrorist attack on Indian Parliament was carried out by this infamous outfit on 13th December 2001. It is banned under POTA Act. Outfit is controlled by Pakistan. It was established by Maulana Masood Azhar in Karachi in

[48] South Asia Terrorism Portal. (2017). *Hizb-ul- Mujahideen (HM)* . Retrieved December 10, 2021, from South Asia Terrorism Portal: https://www.satp.org/terrorist-profile/india-jammukashmir/hizb-ul-mujahideen-hm

[49] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2014). *Annual Report.* Departments of Internal Security, States, Home, Ministry of Home Affairs.

[50] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2015-16). *Annual Report.* New Delhi: Department of Internal Security,states,Home,Jammu and Kashmir Affairs and Border Management.

[51] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2017-18). *Annual Report.* New Delhi: Ministry of Home Affairs.

[52] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2019-20). *Annual Report.* New Delhi: Ministry of Home Affairs.

[53] South Asia Terrorist Portal. (2017). *Lashkar-e- Toiba*. Retrieved December 20, 2021, from South Asia Terrorist Portal: https://www.satp.org/terrorist-profile/india-jammukashmir/lashkar-e-toiba-let

2000 after his release during the swap of December 1999 after the hijacking of the Indian Airlines Flight IC 814 by the outfit. It also received aid ISI of Pakistan.

The objectives of the outfit is to fight against India, to "liberate" Kashmir, and to take control of the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya, Amritsar and Delhi. Outfit usually uses the method of fidayeen (suicide terrorist) attacks.

Graph No.3.4, Activities of Jaish-e-Mohammed.
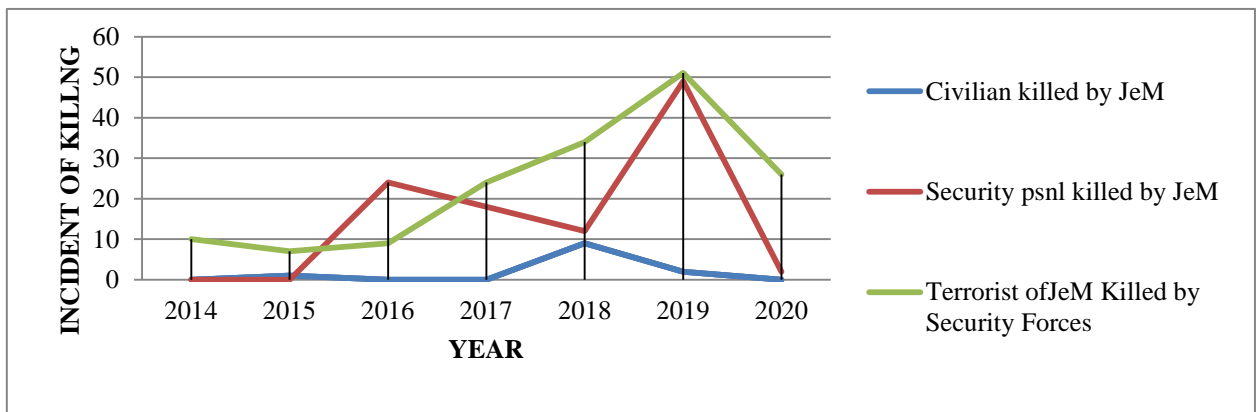
Source: Authors Calculation.[54] [55] [56] [57] [58] [59]

Graph No.3.4 shows the killings of the Jaish-e-Mohammed terrorist continuously increase from 2014 to 2019 than decreased in 2020. Killings of security personnel increased from 2015 to 2016 and decreased significantly from 2016 to 2018 and take hike in 2019 and decreased in 2020. Killings of civilian increased from 2017 to 2018.

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[54] South Asia Terrorism Portal. (2017). *Jaish-e-Mohammed*. Retrieved December 10, 2021, from South Asia Terrorism Portal: https://www.satp.org/terrorist-profile/india-jammukashmir/jaish-e-mohammed-jem

[55] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2014). *Annual Report.* Departments of Internal Security, States, Home, Ministry of Home Affairs.

[56] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2015-16). *Annual Report.* New Delhi: Department of Internal Security,states,Home,Jammu and Kashmir Affairs and Border Management.

[57] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2017-18). *Annual Report.* New Delhi: Ministry of Home Affairs.

[58] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2019-20). *Annual Report.* New Delhi: Ministry of Home Affairs.

[59] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2016-17). *Annual Report 2016-17.* New Delhi: Ministry of Home Affairs.

1.2.4) Al Umar Mujahideen (AUM): This outfit is formed in December 1989. Initially they made recruitments from the Jammu and Kashmir. The idea of AUM conceived after the ideological conflict with JKLF. Outfit is supported by the ISI and headquarter is near Mujaffarabad POK. This outfit is led by a native of Kashmir valley. No any incident of killing by AUM recorded since 2014 to 2020.[60]

1.2.5) ISIS: "This outfit also known as ISIL (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant), Outfit is a Sunni jihadist group with a particularly violent ideology that calls itself a caliphate and claims religious authority over all Muslims. It was inspired by Al-Qaida but later publicly expelled from it." [61]

Graph No. 3.5, Activities of Islamic State of Iraq and Syria.
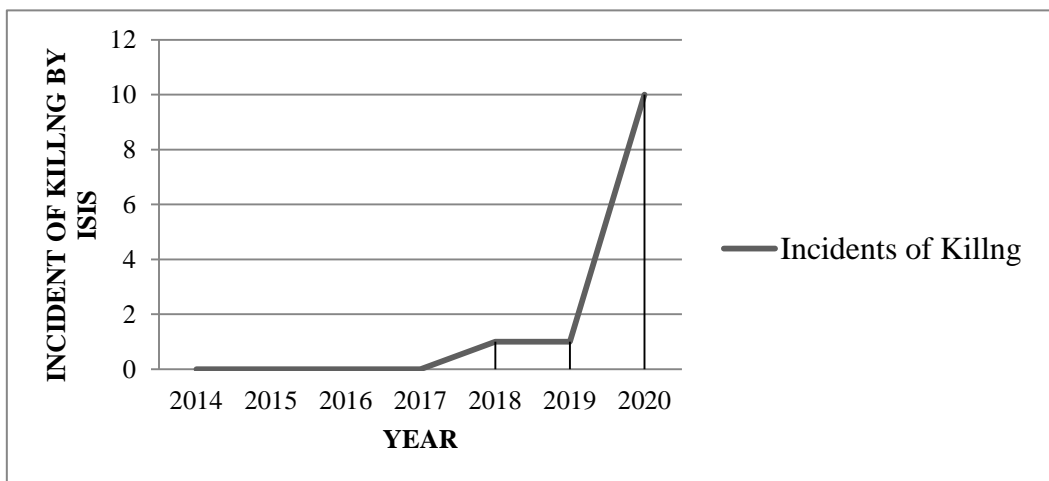
Source: Calculation of the Author.[62] [63] [64] [65]

[60] *Al Umar Mujahideen*. (2007). Retrieved December 20, 2021, from South Asia Terrorism Portal: https://www.satp.org/terrorist-profile/india-jammukashmir/al-umar-mujahideen-aum

[61] South Asia Terrorism Portal. (2017). *Islamic State/Islamic State of Iraq and Levant /Islamic State of Iraq and Syria/Daish (ISIS)*. Retrieved December 20, 2021, from South Asia Terrorism Portal: https://www.satp.org/terrorist-groups/fatalities/india-jammukashmir_islamic-state-or-islamic-state-of-iraq-and-levant-or-islamic-state-of-iraq-and-syriadaish-isis

[62] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2014). *Annual Report.* Departments of Internal Security, States, Home, Ministry of Home Affairs.

[63] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2015-16). *Annual Report.* New Delhi: Department of Internal Security,states,Home,Jammu and Kashmir Affairs and Border Management.

[64] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2017-18). *Annual Report.* New Delhi: Ministry of Home Affairs.

Graph No.3.5 shows the killings of the ISIS terrorist continuously increase from 2017 to 2019 than it show hike in 2020. It is security threat to India that activities of ISIS increased significantly.

Most of the outfits are controlled and managed by Pakistan and based either in POK or in Pakistan. "Dukhtran-e-Milat (DeM)", "Jamaait-Ul-Mujahideen", "Jamaat-e-Islami", "Jammu and Kashmir Islamic Front" and "Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front – Yasin Malik faction" are also active in Kashmir. Violence and killing committed by them has not been recorded during 2014 to 2020. Political instability and Pakistan sponsored terrorism are the reason behind the conflict in Kashmir. However Article 370 abrogated and aforesaid state of "J&K" bifurcated in UT of "Jammu and Kashmir" and UT of "Ladakh". However impact of above cannot be determined because of external factor i.e. pandemic due to COVID-19. However Abolition of Article 370 can be seen as a solution to political instability.

(1.3) India-Pakistan Relations and Conflict over Kashmir

It was mentioned in the Indian Independence Act 1947 that the princely state can merge with India or Pakistan or can maintain its independent existence. Initially, Kashmir wanted to maintain its independent existence.

On October 22, 1947, Pakistan's armed tribal Mujahideen and troops invaded Kashmir with the goal of capturing the capital, Srinagar.

Maharaja Hari Singh signed an Instrument of Accession to formally annex Jammu and Kashmir to India on October 26, 1947, to protect Kashmir from this invasion and Kashmir becomes an integral part of India.

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[65] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2019-20). *Annual Report.* New Delhi: Ministry of Home Affairs.

India sent its forces to Kashmir for the purpose of protecting Kashmir from the invaders and the war between India and Pakistan started. This war lasted for more than a year. After this the United Nations Security Council constitutes the "United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan". The UNCIP resolution of 13 August 1948 was formally approved. In this resolution the emphasis was on ceasefire. The United Nations ordered both sides to remain in their current position. "Pakistani troops had yet to withdraw from the land they had conquered by force. As a result, Pakistan was able to gain control of more than a third of Kashmir. India and Pakistan have fought two more declared wars in 1965 and 1971."[66]

After the 1971 war, the Shimla Agreement was signed. In which it was said that both the countries would respect the line of control. In the 1980s, there was internal unrest in Jammu and Kashmir, taking advantage of which Pakistan started a shadow war of terrorism against India. After the robbing of 1987 election, "Hurriyat Conference" joins hands with insurgent groups and insurgency spread in Kashmir.

As the "Indian Paramilitary Forces" were unable to deal with the widespread insurgency, the "Indian Army" was deployed to the Valley to launch the "Counter Insurgency Operation" against insurgents. India and Pakistan tested nuclear weapons in 1998, raising concerns about nuclear weapons entering an already volatile region around the world. After few days of nuclear testing, the regime of India and Pakistan take steps towards establishing friendly relations. Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee welcomed Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's offer to resume peace talks in Lahore. Hopes of peace was dashed a few months later, when Pakistani forces

[66] Indian Army. (2021, June 9). *history*. Retrieved June 14, 2021, from Indian Army: https://indianarmy.nic.in/Site/FormTemplete/frmTempSimple.aspx?MnId=8/Nh6NI87TwOrJL+s/LlyQ ==&ParentID=6DdZtXzfnUxjnmEmqttS3w==&flag=8CKP966uzg96kLov0aWdfQ==

crossed the Line of Control in the Kargil sector of Jammu and Kashmir and captures Indian peaks along the Srinagar-Leh highway. A limited war was fought in a brutal and fierce form in 1999.[67]

(1.3.1) Infiltration by Pakistan Side

India and Pakistan share a defecto border in Jammu and Kashmir. Pakistan Rangers violet seize fire agreement and help their ISI sponsored terrorists in infiltration into India. Terrorists further spread extremism, terrorism and literal jihad.

Graph No. 3.6, Infiltration on India-Pakistan Border.
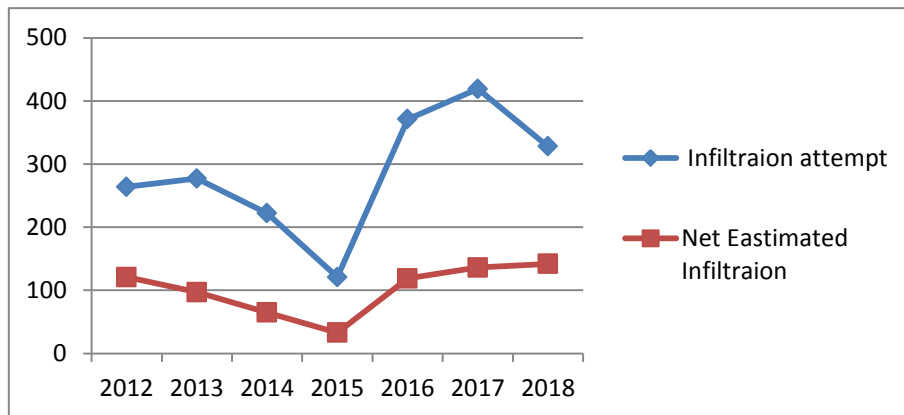
 Source: Author's calculations.[68] [69] [70] [71] [72]

Graph No. 3.6 shows the decrease of infiltration from 2012 to 2015. After 2015 to 2017 infiltration attempt show hike. After 2017 infiltration attempt decreases. Net

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[67] Britannica. (n.d.). *The Kashmir problem*. Retrieved November 10, 2021, from Britannica: https://www.britannica.com/place/Aksai-Chin

[68] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2014). *Annual Report.* Departments of Internal Security, States, Home, Ministry of Home Affairs.
[69] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2015-16). *Annual Report.* New Delhi: Department of Internal Security,states,Home,Jammu and Kashmir Affairs and Border Management.
[70] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2017-18). *Annual Report.* New Delhi: Ministry of Home Affairs.
[71] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2019-20). *Annual Report.* New Delhi: Ministry of Home Affairs.

estimated infiltration decreases from 2012 to 2015 and again increases from 2015 to 2018. Infiltrators are the proliferators of terrorism, extremism and quasi violence activities in India and create internal conflict within Kashmir. These terrorists create physical as well as psychological violence in Kashmir and other part of India.

(1.3.2) Cease-Fire Agreement violation by the Pakistan.

Pakistan Rangers and Border Action Team of Pakistan violates seize fire agreement and helps to infiltrate Pakistan sponsored terrorists, Drugs smuggling and other illicit and anti India activities.

Graph No 3.7, Cease-Fire Agreement violation by the Pakistan.

Number of CFA violations by Pakistan SFs

Number of CFA violations by Pakistan in Jammu and kashmir border.

Source: Author's calculations.[73] [74] [75] [76]

Graph No.3.7 shows the Number of CFA violation by Pakistan increases from 2014 to 2019. After alteration of Article 370 in 2019, ceasefire violations increased

[73] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2014). *Annual Report.* Departments of Internal Security, States, Home, Ministry of Home Affairs
[74] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2015-16). *Annual Report.* New Delhi: Department of Internal Security,states,Home,Jammu and Kashmir Affairs and Border Management.
[75] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2017-18). *Annual Report.* New Delhi: Ministry of Home Affairs.
[76] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2019-20). *Annual Report.* New Delhi: Ministry of Home Affairs.

significantly. Firing form Pakistan side affects the life of the Indian citizen resides near border area and helps to promote cross border illicit activities and terrorism.

Graph No. 3.8, Fatality by the violation of CFA by Pakistan Rangers and other Pakistan   Security Forces.
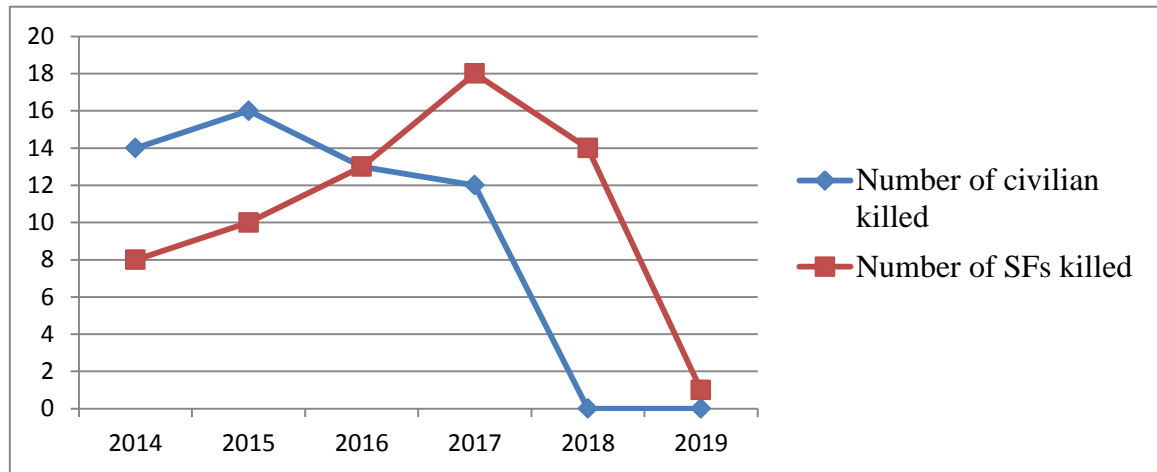
Source: Author's calculations.[77] [78] [79] [80]

Graph No.3.8 shows the increasing in the number of civilian killed by the firing of Pakistan security forces. From 2014 to 2017, it shows significant hike. After 2017, it decreases. In 2019 it shows significant drop. Killing of the security forces increases from 2014 to 2015 and decreases after 2015 to 2017. After 2017, it shows significant drop. Seize fire violation increased continuously but due to the defensive and preventive measures used by Indian government, fatality decrease after 2017.

[77] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2014). *Annual Report.* Departments of Internal Security, States, Home, Ministry of Home Affairs
[78] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2015-16). *Annual Report.* New Delhi: Department of Internal Security,states,Home,Jammu and Kashmir Affairs and Border Management.
[79] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2017-18). *Annual Report.* New Delhi: Ministry of Home Affairs.
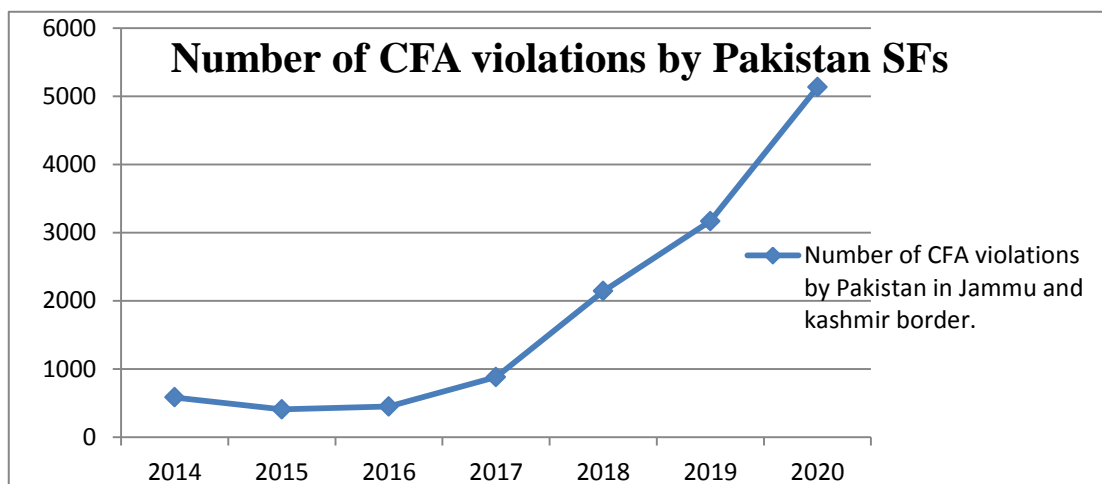[80] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2019-20). *Annual Report.* New Delhi: Ministry of Home Affairs.

(1.4) Role of China

Troops of the China and India fought in 1962. Aksai Chin, which was under Indian sovereignty before the war, has since been under Chinese illegal control. In 1963, Aprox 5000 sq Km area ceded by Pakistan to China.

(1.5) Dig 3.9, Effect of "Conflict over Kashmir" on "Conflict in Kashmir"

Territorial Dispute satrted with the Idea of Pakistan since Partition.

Pakistan attempt to accuire kashmir but lost in four wars.

Terrorism was spread by Pakistan taking advantage of political instability in Kashmir.

Internal Conflicts Ascelated.
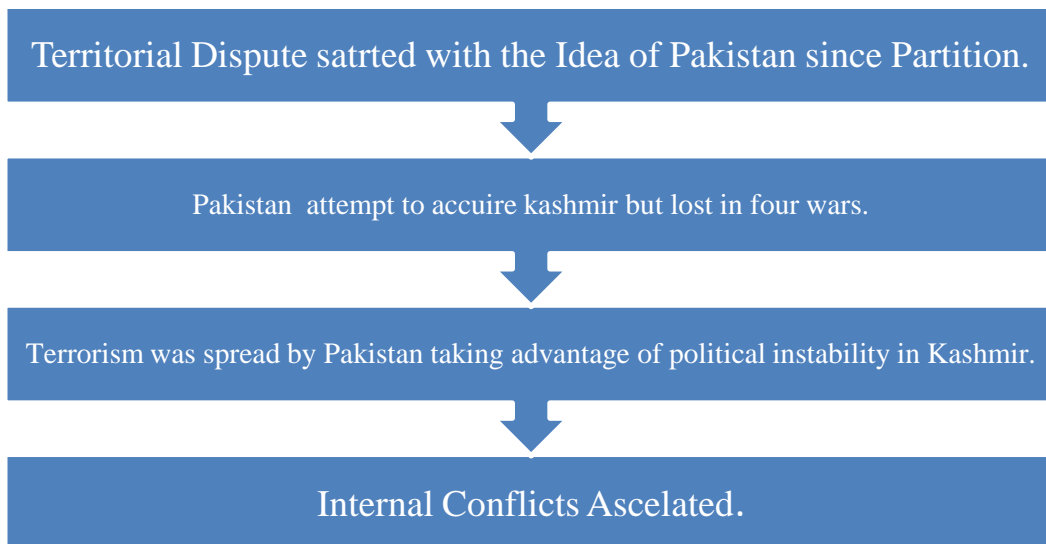
Pakistan wanted the accession of Kashmir to Pakistan but Kashmir signed a memorandum of accession with India. Therefore Pakistan started to acquire Kashmir by hard power but Pakistan failed and started promoting insurgency and terrorism against India. Conflict over Kashmir is a conflict between India and Pakistan over the territory of Kashmir but it affects conflict within Kashmir due to Pakistan sponsored terrorism and extremism.

(2) Peace

Over the centuries, the idea of peace has been assimilated into various traditions, social systems, and religious scriptures. All civilizations have always developed in a peaceful environment and progress can be achieved mainly in a peaceful environment.

If we look at the history of the development of ancient or modern civilizations, it becomes clear that the main condition of progress is peace. Every branch of the discipline, be it art, music, sculpture or literature, thrives in a peaceful environment.[81]

When there is a state of rebellion, war or conflict in a country, the development of the people or nation stops. Cultural progress happens only when the society is peaceful. Peace is believed to be as old as human civilization. The ultimate meaning of peace is a relatively new concept. The basic elements of this notion have various dimensions. There are different aspects to peace. It has enormous application, covering all levels and spheres of human and social existence. According to religious perspectives, peace and conflict resolution involve living at peace with oneself, others, or God. A pacifist would be concerned with the moral structure of a society based on non-violence. According to Marxism, peace embodies both the false promises of capitalism and the deeper reality of world-class war. The most important aspect is the absence of war or conflict for observers of world politics. According to Kant, peace is the "end of enmity". He compares peace to a "situation", which he refers to as "the ultimate goal of jurisprudence" and refers to it as "the highest political good."[82]

According to Galtung, Negative peace is the absence of conflict and positive peace is the absence of systemic violence.[83]

[81] Indira Gandhi National Open University. (2017). Introduction to Peace and Conflict Management. In I. G. University, *Introduction to Peace and Conflict Management* (pp. 07-42). Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Open University.

[82] Indira Gandhi National Open University. (2017). Introduction to Peace and Conflict Management. In I. G. University, *Introduction to Peace and Conflict Management* (pp. 07-42). Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Open University.

[83] Galtung, J. (1969). Violence, Peace, and Peace Research. *Journal of Peace Research* , 167-191.

According to Wright, peace is a "by-product of an acceptable world organization". He goes on to say, "The state of the community in which order and justice prevail, is a peaceful society, both internally among its members and externally in relations with other communities." According to traditional IR theorists, peace is the absence of conflict. It has been defined by modern theorists as the absence of conflicts as well as "Inter-State" and "Intra-State" fighting.

(3) Peace Process

The concept "Peace Process", like the concept of "Peace", can be defined in many ways. Harold Saunders, a diplomat, describes peace processes as "A political process in which disputes are handled peacefully". They are "A combination of politics, Diplomacy, Changing Relationships, Negotiations, Mediation and Discussion in both official and informal spaces." According to Saunders, peace processes take place in four areas at the same time. (a) **The Official Arena:** "It is the domain of official "Track I" diplomats who build official relationships with their counterparts, negotiate intermediate and final agreements, and attempt to enhance government-to-government relations." (b)**The Quasi-Official Arena**: "Susan Allen Nan refers to this area as track one and a half. The persons involved are not government employees but have strong ties to the government and exchange information. The Oslo Accords were created through semi-official negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians with a Norwegian mediator." (c) **Public Peace Processes: "**This is the place for non-officials to engage in expanded discourse to address the "Human" causes of conflict like: perceptions, stereotypes, mistrust and feelings of hopelessness. Such discussions have been taking place between Israel and the Palestinians for many years, but far less so than before. Similar processes have occurred in many other difficult wars,

including the Cold War, Tajikistan, Northern Ireland, Sri Lanka and Cyprus." **(d)**

Civil Society: "This is a web of citizens. It is made up of many networks of relations of citizens of hostile states. War creates cracks in the civil society structure."[84]

According to United Nations, Peace process consists of many components like Conflict Prevention, Peacemaking, Peace Enforcement and Peace building etc. (a) Conflict Prevention: It includes diplomatic action aimed at preventing Intra-State or Inter-State tensions and violent wars. This includes early warning, record keeping and rigorous investigation into the components of conflict. (b) Peace Building: It mainly refers to conflict resolution measures. It also includes a diplomatic initiative to resolve incidents of protest through communication. Messengers, governments, local enterprises, the United Nations, and other organizations can all serve as peace builders. Peace building activities can be conducted by contingency and non-governmental organizations, as well as conducted personally by an outstanding person. (c) Peace Enforcement: It involves the use of a number of measures, including the use of defense forces etc. Peace Building: The purpose of peace building is to reduce the likelihood of recurrence or recurrence of war and conflict, as well as to increase national capabilities at any level for war control and storage to achieve long-term peace and development. It is a sophisticated, long-term way of setting the key conditions for long-term peace. Measures to promote peace address issues affecting the operation of society and the state. It also strengthens the capabilities of the state.[85]

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[84] Burgess, H. (2019). *Peace Processes*. Retrieved 12 08, 2021, from Beyond Intractability: https://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/peace_processes

[85] United Nations. (n.d.). *Terminology*. Retrieved 12 02, 2021, from United Nations Peacekeeping: https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/terminology

(3.1) India-Pakistan relations and peace process in Kashmir

There are two types of peace process in Kashmir one is peace process within Kashmir, another is peace process over Kashmir. India-Pakistan relations affect both of above.

(3.1.1) India-Pakistan relations and peace process within Kashmir

Reducing the traditional security threats from Kashmir is a major challenge for the Indian government. After losing four wars, Pakistan launched a shadow war of terrorism against India. Pakistan-sponsored and Pakistan-based terrorist groups are active within the state. In the third phase of the conflict, Pakistan-sponsored terrorists and extremist groups recruited local people from Kashmir and after the killing of terrorists by security forces, the terrorists and extremists tried to portray that the terrorists had made sacrifices for the autonomy of Kashmir. They establish their connection with the local people, and incite the local people against the security forces. Therefore mass quasi-violence occurs during the funerals of terrorists. The above process helps terrorist groups to recruit local people from Kashmir.

Graph No 3.10

Source: Author's calculations based on Indian Ministry of Home Affairs annual reports 2010 to 2018 & observer research foundation.[86][87][88][89]

Above Graph No.3.10 shows continuous increase in militancy recruitment in the Jammu and Kashmir. However security forces trying to mitigate the threat but indulge of the local people with the militancy created security threats to nation and increase the security expenditure. According to Annual report MHA 2019-20, Central Govt. has spent Rs 8192.29 Crore (31.12.2018 to 31.12.2019) to deal with quasi violence activities.

[86] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2014). *Annual Report.* Departments of Internal Security, States, Home, Ministry of Home Affairs

[87] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2015-16). *Annual Report.* New Delhi: Department of Internal Security,states,Home,Jammu and Kashmir Affairs and Border Management.

[88] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2017-18). *Annual Report.* New Delhi: Ministry of Home Affairs.

[89] Ministry of Home Affairs. (2019-20). *Annual Report.* New Delhi: Ministry of Home Affairs.

(3.1.2) India-Pakistan Relations and Peace Process over Kashmir

Kashmir plays a role in the domestic politics of both government of India and Pakistan, particularly in Pakistan. For Pakistani authorities, both civilian and military, Kashmir served as a distraction from the difficult work of the development and building of a nation.

(3.1.2.1) United Nations Effort

United Nation directed Pakistan for withdrawal of his security forces from Kashmir. The United Nations stressed on a ceasefire between the two countries and provided that a plebiscite would be held in the erstwhile state of Jammu and Kashmir after following both of the above. In 1963 china ceded Approx 5000 sq km area of illegal occupied Kashmir to China. United nation construct three plans for solving the Kashmir issue.

(a) McNaughton Proposals: In December 1949, the Security Council proposed the McNaughton Resolutions. According to this proposal, both India and Pakistan will have to withdraw their security forces from Kashmir. Will hold plebiscite after completion of above. Pakistan was an infiltrator but no discrimination was made between India and Pakistan in this resolution. This was the biggest drawback of this plan. Pakistan does not withdraw security forces from Kashmir. Therefore India rejects this proposal.

(b) Dixon proposal: The resolution was set by the Security Council and was a plan to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir. According to the proposal, both India and Pakistan will have to withdraw security forces belonging to Kashmir. Following the compliance of the above, there was a proposal to divide the area on the basis of the Line of Control.

It was proposed to conduct a plebiscite in the Kashmir Valley. This proposal was rejected by India because Pakistan was an infiltrator and Pakistan broke international laws but this resolution considers both the countries as equal.

(c) Frank Graham's Mission: The mission again proposed a plebiscite and disarmament in Kashmir but due to a dispute over the decision to name the administrator during the plebiscite, the mission was rejected by India and Pakistan.

(3.1.2.2) India's Attempts

Indian attempt for Territorial Status Quo

Since 1948, proposals are being made from India's side to resolve the Kashmir issue, the basis of which was to maintain the "Status Quo".

In October 1948, at the Prime Ministers' Conferences held in London, then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru suggested to Liaquat Ali that the Kashmir issue be resolved on the basis of "status quo" But Liaquat Ali rejected the proposal.

In May 1955, during the visit of Pakistan's Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra, the then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru proposed that the regional conflict could be resolved by maintaining the status quo. Pakistan again turned down this offer.

During the six rounds of talks (1962 to 1963) under US insistence, during the talks, Railway Minister Sardar Saran Singh proposed to maintain peace and status quo. Pakistan again rejected this offer.

In the Joint Statement of the Lahore declaration in Feb 1999, India and Pakistan state that "Recalling their agreement of 23rd September, 1998, that an environment of

peace and security is in the supreme national interest of both sides and that the resolution of all outstanding issues, including Jammu and Kashmir, is essential for this purpose".[90]

In the mid-2000s, Manmohan Singh and Pervez Musharraf,(Then Prime Minister of India and then president of Pakistan respectively) arranged for "Status Ku plus". The pre-condition of this agreement was that Pakistan would not sponsor any terrorist and violent activity against India. This condition was not fulfilled by Pakistan.

Position of "Modi" Govt.

Although the Lahore Declaration spoke of resolving the Kashmir issue through dialogue, terrorist activities sponsored by Pakistan remained a hindrance to the implementation of the declarations.

From 2009 to 2010, India claimed on two occasions that the Kashmir occupied by Pakistan is an integral part of India, First: after the announcement of Pakistan's election in "Gilgit-Baltistan", Second: when Pakistan gave fifth state status to "Gilgit-Baltistan". Under the Modi regime, the government repeatedly claimed the sovereignty of Kashmir. In June 2015, the Ministry of External Affairs stated that Gilgit-Baltistan was "Forcibly and illegally annexed by Pakistan".

In the all-party meeting in August 2016, Prime Minister Narendra Modi said that PoK is part of Jammu and Kashmir. The government alters Article 370 of the Constitution in August 2019. The intention of the present government on the territorial dispute is

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[90] Ministry of External Affairs. (2012, July 24). *Public Diplomacy*. Retrieved December 24, 2021, from Ministry of External Affairs: https://mea.gov.in/in-focus-article.htm?18997/Lahore+Declaration+February+1999

clear that India's sovereignty over Kashmir and India's security will not be compromised.

CHAPTER: 4

EFFECT OF INDIA-PAKISTAN RELATIONS ON DEVELOPMENT IN KASHMIR

This chapter attempts to analyze the historical determinants of India-Pakistan relations (related to Kashmir), the impact of India-Pakistan relations on political, social and economic development in Kashmir.

(1) Historical Determinants of India-Pakistan relation

History tells us how the civilization around us developed. Through history, we get to know about the events that happened in the past, how the people of that time had dealt with the problems that happened in the past and how such problems can be dealt with in the future.

(1.1) History of Conflict

Two type of conflict existing in Kashmir. One is conflict over Kashmir and another is conflict in Kashmir. First is refers to the conflict related to the territory of Kashmir between India and Pakistan. Second refers to the conflict within Kashmir between govt and anti national elements/Extremist.

(1.1.1) Conflict over Kashmir

The roots of the Kashmir conflict can be traced on the history of India -Pakistan relations. The countries have fought a series of wars since independence, mainly on the Kashmir, on which both the countries claim their ownership. Here is a brief history of the conflict over Kashmir.

In August 1947, the British, using the policy of divide and rule, divided British India into two parts, namely India and Pakistan, the basis of this allocation was religion. Religious minorities on both sides were given a chance to migrate. This leads to communal violence on both sides.

In October 1947, Pakistan invaded on Kashmir with the help of armed tribesmen and Pakistan Army, despite of accepting "Standstill Agreement" with raja Hari Singh. Hari Singh sign instrument of accession with India and hand over the affairs of Defense, Communication and Foreign to India. Therefore Indian troops airlifted to Kashmir and they fought with invaders. Indian army evicted troops of Pakistan from major parts of Kashmir. A ceasefire was arranged on 1st January1949 and a ceasefire line was established, now called the Line of Control.[91]

In August 1965, conflicts broke out when army of Pakistan cross the L.o.C and try of spread insurgency in Indian administered Kashmir and launch operation "Gibraltar". In January 1966 the war ends followed by the signing of a declaration that promises their commitment to peace between the officials from both the countries.[92]

In December 1971, third Indo-Pakistani war started due to the civil war in Pakistan, East Pakistan demands independence from West Pakistan. Around 10 million people of East Pakistan fled to India and it create economic and security threat to India. India ask Pakistan to arrange the return back of refugees to their home but Pakistan internationalize the issue and attack on India on 3 December 1971. The war was fought both on the eastern and the western fronts. The West Pakistani army

[91] INDIAN ARMY. (2021, JULY 20). *HISTORY*. Retrieved July 24, 2021, from INDIAN ARMY: https://indianarmy.nic.in/Site/FormTemplete/frmTempSimple.aspx?MnId=3B7vhsieHFxJ8TJJa4dCYA==&ParentID=cD1VD3tB5+QoAaF4rHAfdA==

[92] BBC. (2015, September 5). *BBC NEWS*. Retrieved July 24, 2015, from bbc news: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-34136689

surrendered. On 6th December 1971 East Pakistan won independence and known as Bangladesh.[93]

In May 1999, Pakistani troops infiltrated into Indian-administered Kashmir and tried to capture strategically important locations. It was necessary for India to evict them. Conflict started between two nuclear states. In July, Pakistan withdrew its troops from Indian-administered Kashmir. India celebrates "Kargil Vijay Diwas" on 26 July every year.

(1.1.2) Conflict in Kashmir

In July 1989, after the 1987 election, Muslim parties complained that the election was a fraud against them. As a result, armed struggle against the Indian government started. The extremists started demanding independence, some of them demanding union with Pakistan. Pakistan seeks the intervention of the United Nations to resolve the problem and supports the movement. Several insurgent and terrorist groups emerged from 1989 onwards and the movement changed from secular nationalist to radical Muslim.

There were three prominent factors behind the first Kashmir insurgency and India – Pakistan tension (1987-2003). First, the rigging of 1987 election to the state assembly against the Muslim Conference and Muslim conference helps to promote insurgency against Indian government. Second, Pakistani interference in Jammu and Kashmir and third, Winding down of mujahedeen war in Afghanistan. Pakistani intelligence agency (ISI) shifts Mujahideens from Afghanistan to Pakistan administered Kashmir and

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[93] Indian Army. (2021, June 9). *history*. Retrieved June 14, 2021, from Indian Army: https://indianarmy.nic.in/Site/FormTemplete/frmTempSimple.aspx?MnId=8/Nh6NI87TwOrJL+s/LlyQ ==&ParentID=6DdZtXzfnUxjnmEmqttS3w==&flag=8CKP966uzg96kLov0aWdfQ==

Mujahideens with the support of ISI started the Terrorism training by calling Indian Kashmiris to the cross border.[94]

In December 2001, Pakistani-backed armed terrorists attacked the Indian Parliament. This adversely affects India-Pakistan relations. Face-offs and confrontations increase on the India-Pakistan border. In February 2007, India-Pakistan relations were improving but turned hostile due to the Samjhauta Express blast (68 people killed) these train service was started in 1994 as a goodwill measure.[95] In November 2008, Lashkar-e-Taiba killed 164 innocent people in Mumbai using automatic weapons and grenades. Terrorists were gunned down by security forces. Only one in ten terrorists survived and was executed in 2012.

In February 2019, Jaish-e-Mohammed attacks in Indian-Administered Kashmir through suicide car bombing. More than forty Indian central armed force personnel were killed. In reply to above, India launch air strikes across the Line of Control, and Indian aircraft shot down by Pakistan and they capture the pilot. Tension between two states increased and after two days Pakistan releases the pilot and it relax the tension. In August 2019, Indian government revoked Article 370. Reaction of Pakistan was relatively silent. However Pakistan highlighting the violence faced by Kashmiri people after August 2019.

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[94] JACOB, H. (2016). The Kashmir Uprising and India-Pakistan Relations,A Need for Conflict Resolution not Management. *Ifri* , 1-31.
[95] BBC News. (2007, February 20). *Eyewitness: India train attack*. Retrieved December 22, 2021, from BBC News: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/6380217.stm

(1.2) History of Coordination and Cooperation

Instead of a series of conflict between India and Pakistan some events of cooperation and coordination also exist, two of them are enumerated below.

(1.2.1) Cooperation during Natural Calamities

In 2001, during the Gujarat earthquake, Pakistan provides aid to India and this was the first interaction between the military government of Pakistan and the democratic government of India after the military coup in Pakistan. As a result the Agra summit takes place. In 2005, during the earthquakes in India and Pakistan, India provided $2.5 million in aid to Pakistan through UN fund raising initiatives.

(1.2.3) Track 2 Diplomacy

In 1991, Track 2 dialogues were started between India and Pakistan. The first dialogue was organized in Nimrana fort of Rajasthan. In 2014 it was organized in Dubai.

(2) Border Dispute between India and Pakistan in Kashmir.

Kashmir is claimed by three countries. Earlier the Kashmir dispute was between India and Pakistan. This dispute started after the partition of 1947. After the Indo-China war of 1962, China became a part of the Kashmir dispute. India and Pakistan claim the entire princely state of Jammu and Kashmir. China claims on some part of Ladakh. After the invasion of Pakistan in Kashmir in 1948 and the signing of the Memorandum of Accession with India by Maharaja Hari Singh, India began to eject Pakistani troops but a negotiated ceasefire line was established on 1 January 1949 by

UN efforts based on the de-facto occupation of the region by India and Pakistan. This action gives rise to a border dispute between India -Pakistan.

A 700 km long de-facto boundary line has been drawn from Chamb (Akhnoor) in the south to NJ9842 (Ladakh) in the north. A part of Kashmir, "Shaksgam Valley" was handed over by Pakistan to China on 02 March 1963. The area of this part is about 5,180 kilometers sq. This part of the Sakshagam Valley has been under illegal Chinese occupation since 1963.

(3) Gilgit-Baltistan Dispute

Map No. 4.1, Gilgit-Baltistan. Source: Unrepresented Nations & Peoples Organization.[96]

Since November 4, 1947 after the invasion of Pakistan on Kashmir, Gilgit-Baltistan region is under administrated control of Pakistan and named 'Northern Areas of Pakistan'. It was the part of Jammu and Kashmir princely state and now occupied by Pakistan illegally[97]. After self governance order of 2009 It came to be known as

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[96] Unrepresented Nations & Peoples Organization . (2017, September 11). *UNPO*. Retrieved December 22, 2021, from Unrepresented Nations & Peoples Organization : https://unpo.org/members/8727
[97] Ibid

Gilgit-Baltistan. The order of 2009 replaced by Gilgit-Baltistan order 2018 and this order incorporate Gilgit-Baltistan as the 5th province of Pakistan. This region is strategically important to India because it lies at intersection of Jhinjhiang province of China, Kashmir and Ladakh region of India and Central Asia (Afganistan). Territory of this region is five time larger than POK and this region is significant due to its water and energy resources. China Pakistan economic corridor is passing through this region. Despite of "Panchsheel" agreement, China is developing illegal infrastructure and ignoring India's sovereignty.
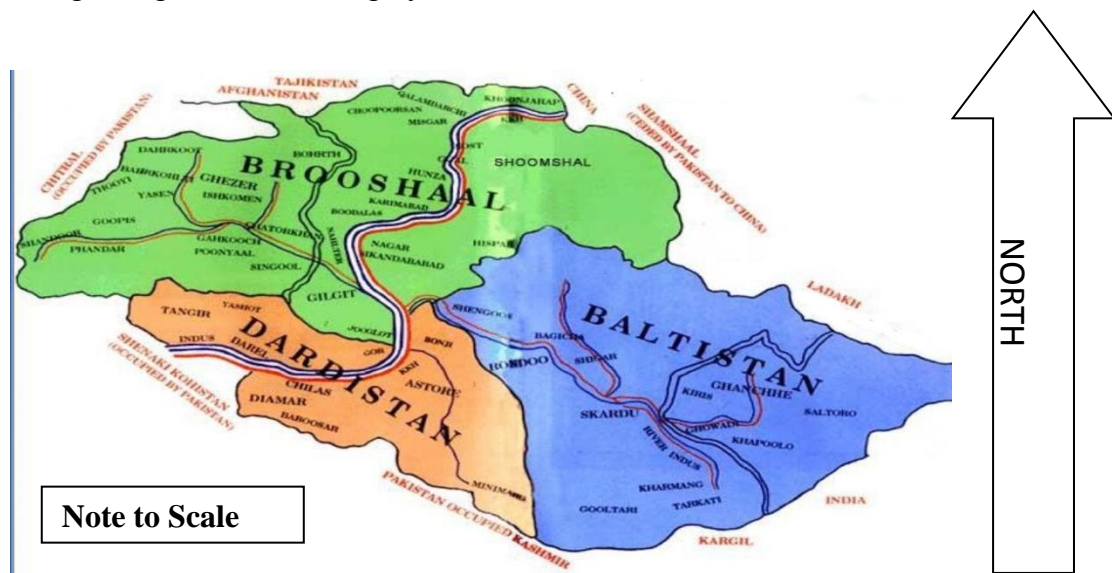
Map No 4.2 Gilgit-Baltistan. Source: Unrepresented Nations & Peoples Organization**.[98]**

(4) India-Pakistan relation and development in Kashmir 2014 onwards.

"There are different types of forces operating in Pakistan. But the government only engages with a democratically elected system. Our effort for that engagement is continuing. But our supreme objective is peace and to protect India's interests".

- Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi[99]

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[98] Ibid

India wants normal relations with Pakistan. India always wants to resolves all the issues bilaterally and peacefully. But Pakistan incorporates violence and terrorism.

(4.1) India's attempt for engagement

In 2014, Nawaz Sharif, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, was invited by India for the swearing-in ceremony of the Council of Ministers in May. In 2015, the meeting of the Prime Ministers of the two countries was held in Russia. The Indian External Affairs Minister visited Islamabad in December. Many initiatives have been taken by India to fix bilateral relations.[100]

It has been answered by Pakistan with acts of terrorism and violence. For example: a) Pathankot airbase was attacked by Pakistan-based and sponsored terrorists on 2 Jan 2016. b) Pakistan-sponsored terrorist outfit attack on Army camp in Uri in August 2016. c) The convoy of "Central Reserve Police Force" was attacked by Pakistan-backed terrorists on 14 Feb 2019.[101]

On 30 July 2018, Imran Khan became the new Prime Minister of Pakistan. Pakistan has banned trade, track-2 talks, etc. with India along with sponsoring cross-border terrorism against India. India urged Pakistan to review its unilateral action. But Pakistan continued with the restrictions.[102]

India has urged Pakistan to punish the bandit of the "Mumbai" attack. But Pakistan is not doing this. India will not compromise on its National security. After the terror

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[99] Indian Express. (2016, June 27). *Indian Express*. Retrieved December 21, 2021, from Indian Express: https://epaper.indianexpress.com/m5/854028/Delhi/27-June,-2016#sample/1/1

[100] Ministry of External Affairs. (February 2020, February 07). *Bilateral Brief: India-Pakistan Relations.* Retrieved January 01, 2022, from Ministry of External Affairs: https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Bilateral_Brief_POK_feb_2020.pdf

[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid.

attack on Uri, the Indian Armed Forces conducted surgical strikes on various terrorist launch pads across the L.o.C. Against the surgical strike and counter-terrorism action of India, Pakistan deploys the military on the Indian side by using its Air-Force but India foils Pakistan's attempt.[103]

(4.2) Development

Development is a comprehensive concept. This study is focused on the political social and economic development.

(4.2.1) Political development

"Political development refers to the progress of all those tangible and intangible structures such as attitudes, institutions, values etc. that constitute the political power structure of a country"[104].

Various methods have been adopted by analysts to depict political developments. One depiction, Political development accompanies with the rise of national sovereignty and state integrity.

Others consider, the participation of the people in the governance, political access, republic, constitutional development, a government structure so that good governance can reach the people, etc as political development. Political development is an improvement in the state's ability to mobilize resources and their rational allocation, and the state's ability to implement policy inputs.[105]

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[103] Ibid

[104] oxford university press. (2021). *political Development*. Retrieved November 01, 2021, from oxford reference: https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100334639

[105] Ibid

Territory and people of Kashmir is the part of India but Pakistan claims over Kashmir, and Illegally occupied part of the Kashmir called PoK. Pakistan ceded the territory of India (Sakshgam valley) to China Illegally. Pakistan always trying to internationalize the issue of Kashmir but India wishes to solve the problem with bilateral talks. Pakistan always challenges the sovereignty of India over Kashmir.

Corruption in Kashmir: Corruption is "The abuse of public office for private gains."[106] Acute corruption, particularly in conflict zones, impoverished the poor and vulnerable people of crucial services. They are constantly threatened and subjected to extortion. While, the influential and political elite profit from the situation. When corruption is established in a conflict zone, it adds to and becomes a major component in societal discontent and insurgency, eventually becoming a tool in the hands of terrorist groups and international organized criminal networks.[107] There are numerous corruption cases in Kashmir one of them is mentioned below

(4.2.1.1) Fake Arms License Case

The crime was uncovered after the Rajasthan A.T.S. of Rajasthan detained three "Gun Dealers" on September 11, 2017:, Vishal from Punjab's Abohar, Zubair Khan from Rajasthan's Ajmer and Rahul from Jammu. Were supplying allegedly bogus guns licenses to the customers in Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, New Delhi and Uttar Pradesh. According to data presented to the Rajasthan ATS, 4.29 lakh bogus licences were granted in the insurgency-hit state's, "Baramulla, Kupwara, Ramban,

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[106] World Bank. (1999, February). *POLICY RESEARCH WORKING PAPER 2048.* Retrieved November 06, 2021, from World Bank:
https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/175291468765621959/pdf/multi-page.pdf

[107] Wani, A. (2018, August 16). Corruption in J&K becoming a national security threat. *Observer Research Foundatiion* .

Kathua Udhampur, and Jammu" districts. Rajasthan ATS initiated 'Operation Zubeida' to investigate an inter-state scam that supplied fraudulent licences from J&K to other states. During operations at 12 sites in the five states indicated above, 100 bogus arms licences and a large cache of firearms were discovered. The ATS has been refused access to official records by the J&K government, despite repeated requests, and the J&K government has failed to take any action against individuals responsible for above crime.

"As regards the incumbency charts of the officers assigned in the Arms act 2001, it is told that all records as per the pertinent sections, were swept away during the 2014 floods," states a communiqué from the J&K State Home Department to the Rajasthan ATS. However after during the lieutenant governor rule and Alteration of article 370 the case is handed over to the CBI and investigation is going on.[108]

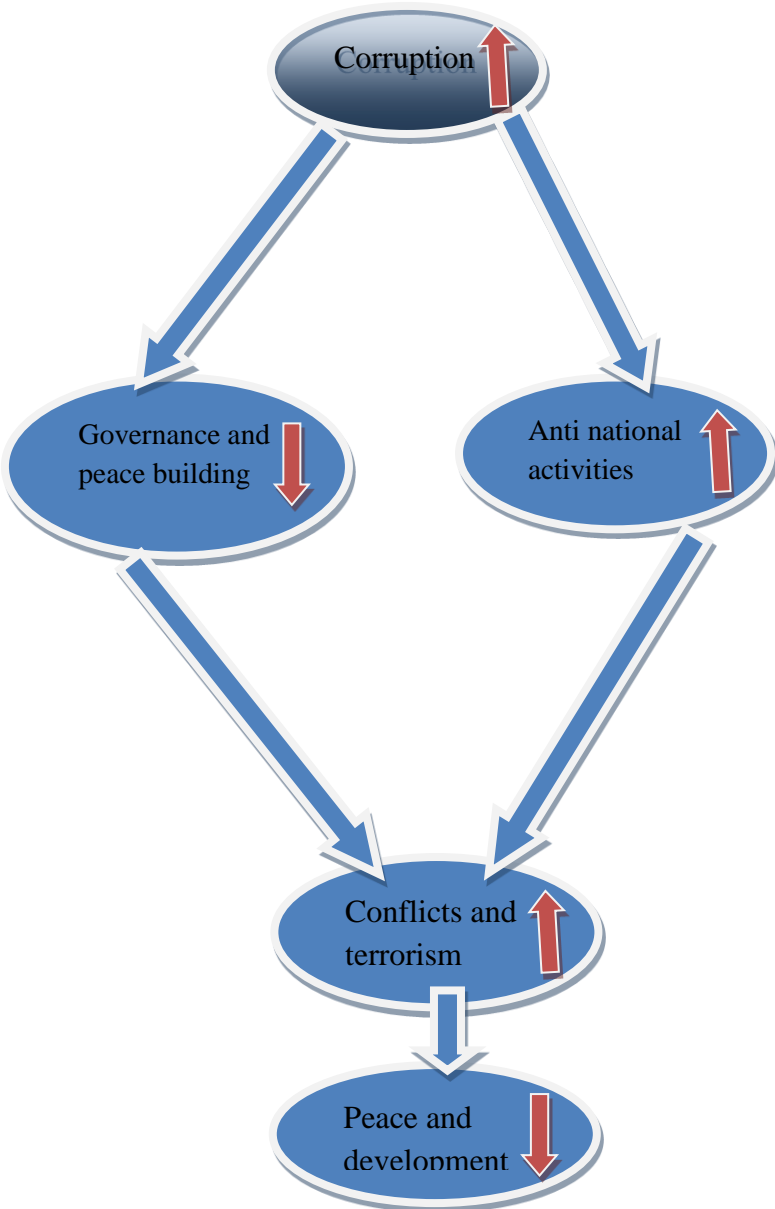**(4.2.1.2) Alteration of article 370 and Corruption**

When the Jammu and Kashmir Reorganization Act was approved by the Indian Parliament in August 2019, it essentially removed Jammu and Kashmir's special status under the Indian Constitution and divided the state into two union territories. "At least 153 state laws from the former state of Jammu and Kashmir were repealed, while 106 federal laws were extended to the newly constituted union territory". The Jammu and Kashmir "Right to Information Act of 2009" was one of the state legislation that was abolished. It has been replaced by the 2005 Right to Information Act, which was enacted by the Union government. Some rti activists of Kashmir rising their concern about that the rti act of erstwhile state of Jammu and Kashmir was

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[108] Tiwary, D. (2021, July 24). *Fake gun licences*. Retrieved October 03, 2021, from The Indian Express: https://indianexpress.com/article/india/cbi-searches-jammu-and-kashmir-arms-licences-7419951/

stronger than the rti act 2005 of union of India.[109] However Govt. of India says that after revocation of article 370 and 35A corruption in Kashmir decreases and appeasement politics ended.

4.2.1.3) Effect of Corruption on Development and Peace Process in Kashmir

Fig No.4.3

[109] Zargar, S. (2021, Feb 01). *Kashmir Report* . Retrieved November 06, 2021, from scroll.in: https://scroll.in/article/985344/fighting-corruption-in-kashmir-becomes-tougher-as-territory-loses-its-right-to-information-law

Fig No.4.3 shows that the rise of corruption in Jammu and Kashmir adversely affects governance and peace building and triggers anti-national activities (hatred against the government can also stem from corruption) both fueling conflict and terrorism. Conflict and terrorism further adversely affect peace and development. Corruption and political development indeed if we define political development as "rational modern honest government", than it cannot coexist with corruption in the same time period and if corruption is endemic in government, a politically developed society cannot exist.[110] Therefore Corruption is a constraint in development and it also can increases security threats in Kashmir.

(4.2.3) Effect of India-Pakistan relations on political development in Kashmir

Since 1980s Pakistan started shadow war of terrorism against India and sponsoring terrorism and insurgency in Kashmir in several ways. In 1990s Pakistan started training camps for Indian administered Kashmir natives in PoK region and started to promote jihad and insurgency in Kashmir. Therefore due to security compulsion India implements security tools like UAPA, AFSPA etc. it affects political as well as social and economic development in Kasmir.

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[110] Nye, J. S. (1967, June). Corruption and political development:A cost benifit analysis. *The American Political Science Review* , 417-427.

Figure No. 4.4
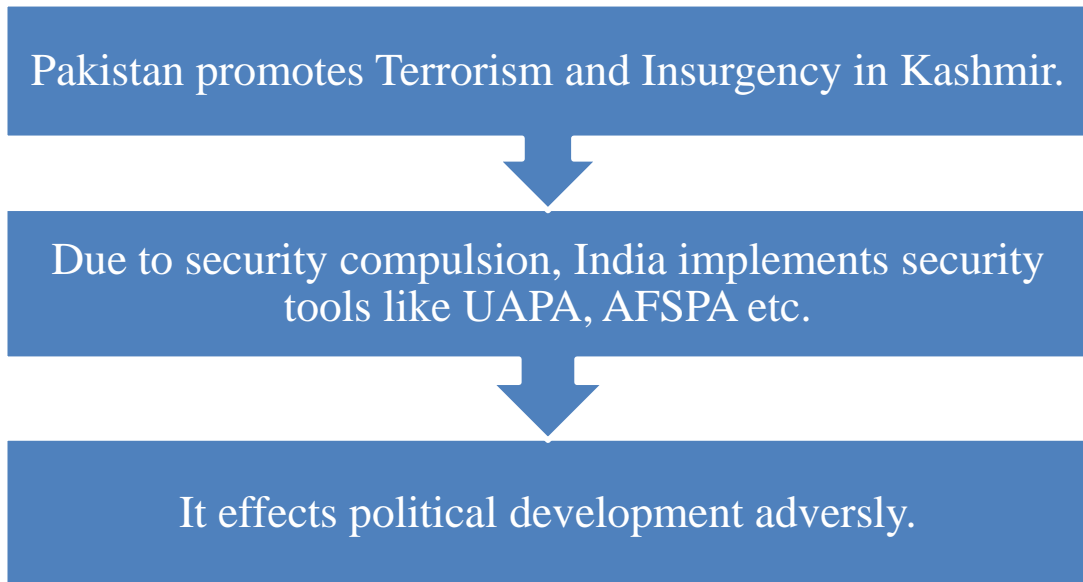
Figure 4.4 shows the effect of India-Pakistan relations on political development in Kashmir.

(4.2.4) Social Development

Social development means strengthening the process of investment in people for the development of the people. In the process of social development, efforts are made to enable marginalized people to lead a good social life. Social development is a process in which the quality of life of people is improved by strengthening their abilities. Indicators are necessary to measure any process, "Allen Webink" has given 6 indices of social development to measure social development.[111]

1) Interpersonal Safety and Trust: This is a key index of social development, often found to be weak in "Third-World Countries". Mutual security and trust mean that

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[111] Webbink, E. (n.d.). *Indices of Social Development*. Retrieved November 01, 2021, from OECD: https://www.oecd.org/development/pgd/46984879.pdf

citizens trust each other and citizens have trust in the government as well. The feeling of mutual security and trust is what makes a country a nation.[112]

2) Civic Activism: Today's world is a world of democratic governments. People's activism strengthens democracy. Civic activism means the participation of citizens in social, political and economic processes, people's access to government, information, media, demonstration, public participation in processes like policy-making, etc.[113]

3) Inter-Group Cohesion: This Index shows the relationship between the different ethnic/identity groups located in the society. If these relations are good and all the groups respect each other's feelings, then the development of the society takes place rapidly. If the mutual relations of these groups are not strengthened, then they give rise to violent riots, caste clashes, etc., which affect social, economic, and political development adversely.[114]

4) Inclusion of Minorities: The absence of discrimination against minorities in the society and their inclusion in the society is a sign of the development of the society.

5) Gender Equity: Women represent half of the population of the society. Discrimination against women can lead civilization to socio-economic and political backwardness. The strong position of women in society reflects the high stage of social development.

6) Clubs and Associations: Community relations provide the benefits of economy of scope and economy of scale to the lower strata of the society. Good social relations
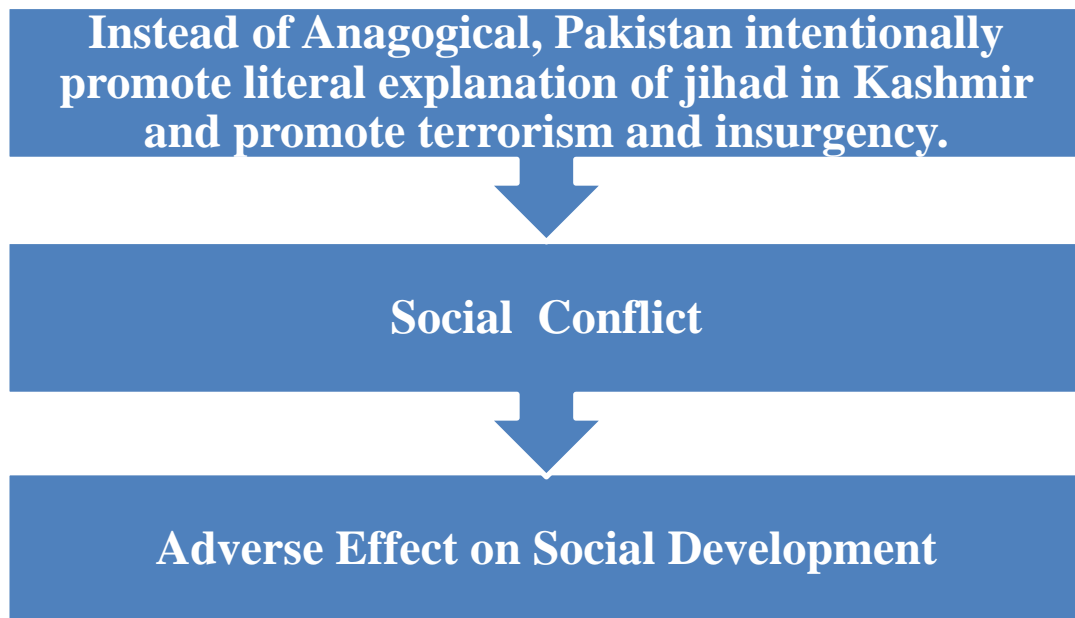
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[112] Ibid

[113] International Institute of Social Studies. (n.d.). *International Institute of Social Studies*. Retrieved November 06, 2021, from International Institute of Social Studies: https://isd.iss.nl/

[114] Ibid

are helpful in getting people out of disaster and danger. Where these relations are good, the "weighted- impact" of any disaster is less than where social relations are not strong.[115]

(4.2.5) Effect of India-Pakistan relations in social development in Kashmir

Figure No.4.5

Instead of Anagogical, Pakistan intentionally promote literal explanation of jihad in Kashmir and promote terrorism and insurgency.
Social Conflict
Adverse Effect on Social Development

In Kashmir Valley, Islam is practiced by 97 percent of the population, with sizable minorities of Buddhists and Sikhs also present. Hindus make up 65 percent of the population of Jammu, Muslims 31 percent, and Sikhs 4 percent. Buddhists make up around 46 percent of the population of Ladakh, with Muslims accounting for the remainder. Overall Islam is practiced by 67 percent of the population, 30 percent of Hindus, 1 percent of Buddhists, and 2 percent of Sikhs. After the end of cold war Pakistan shifts Mujahideens from Afganistan to PoK and started to provoke insurgency and terrorism in Kashmir. Consequently internal conflicts started and

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[115] Ibid

kashmiri pundits were exuded from the valley. Till now Pakistan sponsoring terrorism and insurgency in Kashmir. It results decline of social development in Kashmir.

(4.2.6) Economic Development

Economic development is defined as a continuous increase in the well-being of the society. In addition to a sustained increase in national income, it also involves socio-cultural, political and economic changes that contribute to progress including the supply of resources, capital formation. Size and formation of population, technology skills and efficiency, improvement in standard of living, good education system, better facilities, etc. In economic development, maximum assurance of equitable distribution, maximum creation of employment opportunities and efforts to carry out poverty alleviation Programmes.

Now development is not just limited to GDP, economists are also focusing on the development process. In this context, the famous economist Mehboob-ul-Haq's statement is very important, that "The main objective of development is to directly attack the most dreadful type of poverty. The eradication of problems like poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy, unemployment and inequalities etc. should be taken as the basis of development." Today there are two main streams related to economic development.

Traditional Approach: This approach defines economic development as economic prosperity. In fact, in the traditional view, economic growth is a situation in which the gross national product and GDP continue to grow at a rate of 5 to 7% per year and thus change the production and employment structure. So that the share of agriculture is reduced in this and the share of manufacturing sector and tertiary sector increases.

In this ideology, special emphasis has been laid on industrialization instead of agriculture. Objectives like poverty alleviation, reduction of economic problems and increase in employment opportunities are not given much importance.

New ideology of Economic Development: In the eighties, the concept of economic development was redefined and the main objective of economic development was the eradication of poverty, inequality and unemployment. We can take real per capita income as a measure of economic development of a country if it improves quality of life with increase in poverty, decrease in hunger and increase in literacy and life expectancy in such a situation, the growth of real income per capita can be considered as an index of economic development.

Development is a comprehensive term and there are many indicators to measure development. In this study per capita income is taken as the indicator of measuring development of the Kashmir. Graph No 1 shown the comparison between the per capita income of the India and per capita income of Kashmir. However capability approach includes many indicators of development but Reason behind considering this indicator is the consistency of availability of the data of each year through economic survey of Indian and economic survey of Kashmir. In 2020 due to the corona virus pandemic all sector have been affected adversely hence the direct effect of India-Pakistan relations on development in 2020 cannot be determined.

The difference between India's per capita income and Kashmir's per capita income is considered to measure the development of Kashmir in comparison to India. India's per capita income is continuously increasing. In graph No. 1 the difference between India's per capita income and Kashmir's per capita income increases from 2014 to

2019, although the gap widens from 2016 onwards. This shows that the growth in Kashmir's growth is slow as compared to India's growth on the per capita income scale.

Graph No. 4.6, Difference between Per-capita income of India and Per-capita state income of Kashmir.
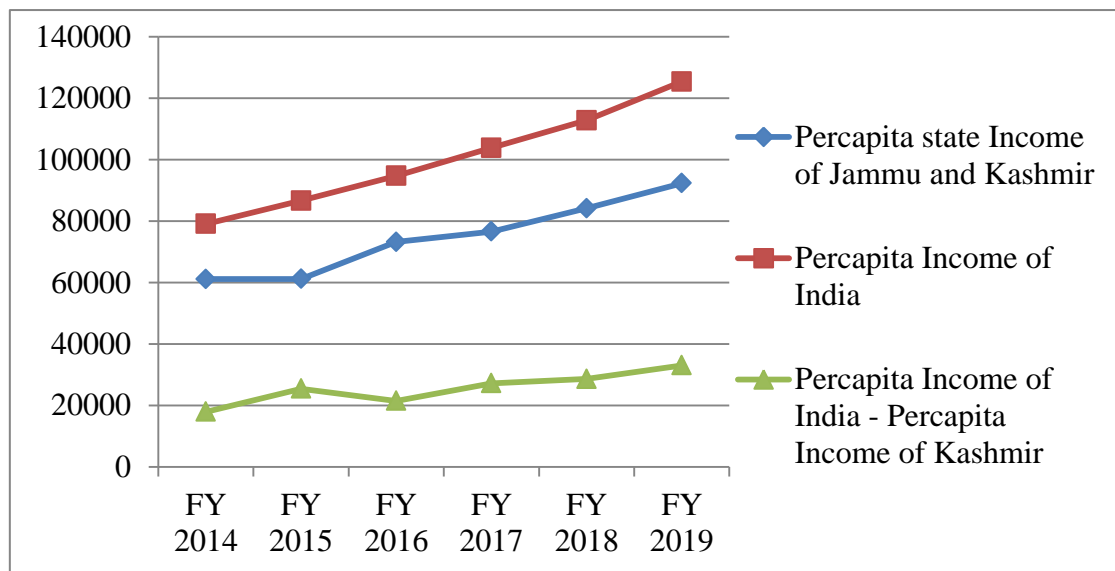
Data Source: MOSPI Economic Survey 2014-19 and Economic Survey 2014-18 Jammu and Kashmir.[116] [117] [118] [119] [120] [121] [122] [123] [124] [125]

[116] Ministry of Finance. (2014). *Economic Survey 2014.* New Delhi: Ministry of Finance.

[117] Ministry of Finance. (2015). *Economic Survey.* New Delhi: Ministry of Finance.

[118] Ministry of Finance. (2016). *Economic Survey 2016.* New Delhi: Ministry of Finance.

[119] Ministry of Finance. (2017). *Economic Survey 2017.* New Delhi: Ministry of Finance.

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[121] Ministry of Finance. (2019). *Economic Survey 2019.* New Delhi: Ministry of Finance.

[122] Directorate of Economics & Statistics, J&K. (2014-15). *Economic Survey 2014-15.* Shrinagar: Directorate of Economics & Statistics, J&K.

[123] Directorate of Economics & Statistics, J&K. (2016). *Economic Survey 2016.* Shrinagar: Directorate of Economics & Statistics J&K.
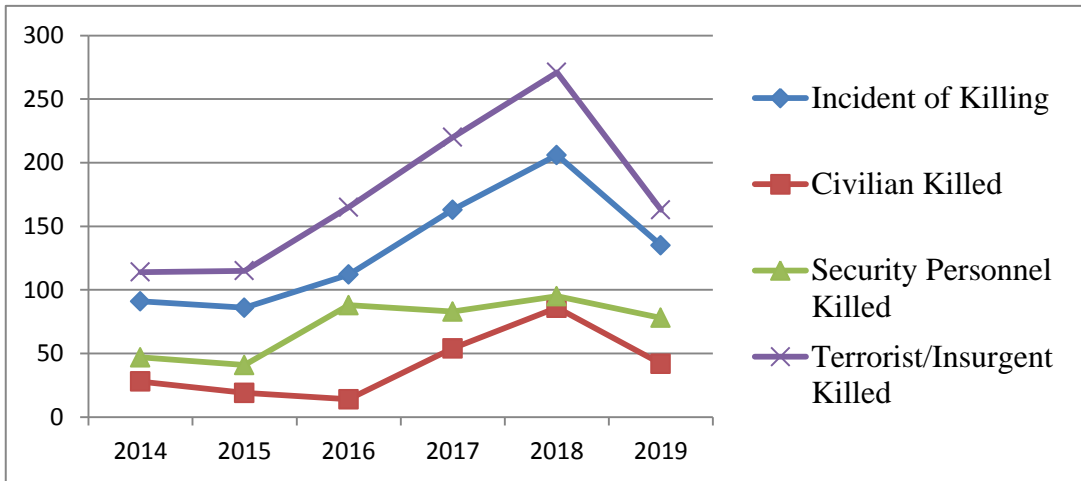
[124] Directorate of Economics & Statistics, J&K. (2017). *Economic Survey 2017.* Shrinagar: Directorate of Economics & Statistics, J&K.

[125] Directorate of Economics & Statistics, J&K. (2018). *J&K In India Economy 2018.* Shrinagar: Directorate of Economics & Statistics, J&K.

Graph No.4.7, Incidents of Pakistan sponsored insurgent activities in Kashmir.

Data Source: S.A.T.P.[126]

Graph No.4.7 shows the incidents of killing of the civilian, terrorists/insurgents, security personnel and incident of killings in Jammu and Kashmir since 2014 to 2019.In Graph No 4.7 Incident of killing in Kashmir increases from 2016 to 2018. Most of the incident of killing was commenced due to the Pakistan sponsored terrorism. Although there are many external factors influencing development in Kashmir and nothing is complete in the post-modern and post-positivist era of social science, yet this study seeks to analyze the impact of India-Pakistan relations on the development of Kashmir. Comparative study of graph No 4.6 and graph No 4.7 shows that difference between the per capita income of India and Kashmir increases with the increase of the killings in Kashmir due to Pakistan-sponsored terrorism. It denotes that the India-Pakistan relation affects development in Kashmir.

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[126] Institute of Conflict Management. (2021, October 5). *South Asia Terrorism Portal*. Retrieved October 08, 2021, from South Asia Terrorism Portal: https://www.satp.org/datasheet-terrorist-attack/fatalities/india-jammukashmir

CHAPTER: 5

CONCLUSION

There are many dimensions and reasons behind the Kashmir conflict. This study focuses on the impact of India-Pakistan relations on development, peace process and conflict in Kashmir.

(1) Reason behind the less development and poverty in Kashmir

In the period 2000 to 2016, despite receiving 10% of the total central funds with only 1% of the total population of India, Union Territories of Jammu and Kashmir and Union Territories of Ladakh scored 59 and got bottom position in the India State SDG Index 2019-20.[127]

Peace is the precondition of development and there are two types of conflicts in Kashmir. One is conflict over Kashmir and another is conflicts in Kashmir. Political instability, Pakistan sponsored terrorism and extremism, way of Govt. of India and Govt. of Kashmir to mitigate security threats (Lockdown, shut down of Internet, Ignorance of Nontraditional security threats, robbing of Election in 1987 etc.).

However there have been some positive changes in the 'Modi era' like changes in Article 370, assertive foreign policy regarding Pakistan, emphasis on border management and security reforms etc.

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[127] Raghavan, S. (2016, July 24). *The Hindu*. Retrieved December 18, 2021, from The Hindu: https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/JampK-gets-10-of-Central-funds-with-only-1-of-population/article14506264.ece

(1.1) Pakistan sponsored Terrorism.

More than 32 terrorist organizations were active in Kashmir. Now only three major terrorist organizations named Hizb-ul-Mujahideen, Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed mark their presence in Kashmir. All of the above are Pakistan sponsored and based in PoK or Pakistan.

Terrorist activities in Kashmir for the last 4 decades have hampered the ease of doing business. National security is the first priority of the government therefore it becomes the compulsion of the government to maintain national security. Lockdown, curfew and other traditional security measures are implemented to reduce national security threats and maintain National security. This also affects the development works adversely.

Terrorism not only affects economic activities in Kashmir but also increases our security expenditure. The money which is being used for security, would have been used for development works had terrorism not been a problem.

(1.2) Political Instability in Kashmir

The regime changed 30 times in Kashmir in the period from 1948 to 2019. The political instability made it difficult to fight extremists and terrorism in the Kashmir region. It also affects development activities and peace building activities in Kashmir.

The alteration in Article 370 and the subsequent bifurcation of the state into the Union Territories of Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh reduce political instability and increase the government's accountability for mitigating traditional and non-traditional security threats from Kashmir.

(1.3) Corruption

According to the report of Center for Media Studies, Jammu and Kashmir was the most corrupt state in 2017. Corruption adversely affects growth and inclusion. Some corruption cases like fake arms license case can pose a security threat to Kashmir as well as India. According to the CAG report for the financial year 2015-16, there are "serious financial irregularities" in the state.[128]

(1.4) Less FDI

According to Department for Promotion of Industry and Internal Trade (DPIIT), the union territory has attracted Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) equity inflows worth US$ 6 million during the period April 2000 to June 2019.[129]

According to RBI, the Ease of Doing Business Index rank of Jammu and Kashmir is improving significantly. It was 29 in 2015, 31 in 2016, 22 in 2017 and 21 in 2019[130]. But the number of conflicts, terrorist activities by Pakistan-sponsored terrorist organizations and CFA violations by Pakistan also increased significantly from 2014 to 2019.

Although low availability of capital and foreign direct investment is one of the reasons for low economic growth, capital formation and FDI in Kashmir can be attracted by reducing the traditional security threat and establishing peace in Kashmir.

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[128] Ibid

[129] FDI India. (2021, December 17). *JAMMU AND KASHMIR*. Retrieved December 18, 2021, from FDI India: https://www.fdi.finance/states/jammu-and-kashmir

[130] Reserve Bank of India. (2020, October 13). *State-wise Ease of Doing Business Rank*. Retrieved December 10, 2021, from Reserve Bank of India: https://www.rbi.org.in/Scripts/PublicationsView.aspx?id=20117

Therefore the main reason for low development is conflict and terrorist activities in Kashmir.

(2) Effect of India-Pakistan relations on development and peace process in Kashmir

The idea of Pakistan was based on the theocracy of Islam. India rejects the idea of Pakistan but accepts the tragic Partition. Kashmir has about 67% Muslim population. According to Pakistan, Kashmir should be a part of Pakistan as Kashmir has Muslim majority population. However the idea of Pakistan failed after the partition of Pakistan in 1972.

In 1947, Pakistan invaded Kashmir and Raja Hari Singh signed a memorandum of accession with India. The Indian Army started evacuating the infiltrators. The United Nations arranges ceasefire and defacto border between two countries. In the process, Pakistan illegally annexed about 78,000 square kilometres of Kashmir.

Pakistan tried to annex Indian-administered Kashmir again in 1965 and 1972, but failed in its path. After the end of the Cold War, Pakistan moved the Mujahideen from Afghanistan to Pakistan-occupied-Kashmir. Taking advantage of the internal political instability of 1987, Pakistan launched a shadow war of terrorism against India. In 1999, Pakistan again tried to capture strategic locations in Kargil and Dras, but again the Indian Armed Forces crushed the Pakistan Army. After losing four wars, Pakistan promotes terrorism and literal interprets Jihad in Kashmir against India. In the initial days, militancy was concentrated in the Kashmir Valley. Later, due to the effort of the security forces it was shifted to the border area of South Kashmir.

Since partition, India-Pakistan relations affect the conflict over Kashmir. Due to the conflict over Kashmir and Pakistan's policy of promoting terrorism and extremism, conflict started and destroyed the peace in Kashmir.

Pakistan sponsored terrorism effects economy adversely in two ways, first is high expenditure on traditional security. Second is adverse effect of conflicts on ease of doing business, because it is security compulsion of India to use security instruments like UAPA, AFSPA, lockdown, curfew etc. It also creates Non-traditional security threats and encourages local people to join terrorists and extremist outfits. Another reason to join outfits by local people is literal interpreting of jihad by so called self proclaimed Islamic scholars.

In the third phase of the conflict, terrorist organizations recruit local people and upon the killing of local terrorists by security forces, they portray the killed terrorist's death as a sacrifice for Kashmir's autonomy and jihad. It also encourages quasi violent activities against the security forces.

(3) Effects of less development on India-Pakistan relations and the peace process in Kashmir.

Less development affects peace building and poses non-traditional security threats in Kashmir. Non-traditional security threats trigger traditional security threats by forming the basis for the cultivation of terrorism and extremism. Pakistan is taking advantage of this since 1987.

However the conflict between India and Pakistan is more ideological rather than a territorial dispute. The root cause of the conflicts can be traced to the false ideology of

Pakistan (The idea of a religious Islamic nation which was falsified in 1972 during the partition of Pakistan and the liberation of Bangladesh).

(4) Reasons for the survival of terrorism in Kashmir for four decades.

After defeated in four wars Pakistan stated shadow war of terrorism. There are three phases of conflict and terrorism in Kashmir. First phase 1989 to 2002: In initial stage of the first phase the movement was secular and leaded by the Jammu and Kashmir liberation front. Later on, due to political instability and Pakistan sponsorship, the movement ranged from secular to Islamic extremist.

Most of the terrorists during this period were foreign Mujahideen. They were shifted from Afghanistan to Pakistan Occupied Kashmir by Pakistan after the end of the Cold War. The terrorist organizations were successful in recruiting only a few underprivileged and underdeveloped local people of Kashmir. The focus of terrorist organizations was the Kashmir Valley.

In second Phase from 2003 to 2012: Violence declined steadily from 2003 to 2012, reaching an all-time low. International support for Pakistan declined and terrorist activities declined. The reason behind the above was intelligence reform and border management initiatives taken by India. India increased the deployment of security forces in the Valley. Therefore the terrorist activities shifted from the valley to the border area of South Kashmir.

Dig 5.1: System of Conflict in Kashmir

Source**:** Drawn by Author.

Fig 5.1 shows that, there are two reasons behind the trigger of conflict within Kashmir. one is ideological conflict between India-Pakistan over Kashmir (i.e Pakistan is created on the basis of Islamic theocracy and majority population of Kashmir practicing Islamic religion therefore Pakistan seeking the merger of Kashmir with Pakistan but India rejected the Pakistan's idea) and after failing to occupy Kashmir in four wars, Pakistan started shadow war of terrorism against India and started to sponsor terrorism and extremism against India. Second is political instability in Kashmir.The regime changed 30 times in Kashmir in the period from 1948 to 2019.

Conflict in Kashmir adversely affects the peace process and developmental activities as peace is a precondition of development. Due to the security compulsion, the Indian government deployed a large number of security forces in Kashmir and used security equipment like AFSPA and UAPA. Frequent CASOs, Bandhs, Economic shortages, low education and other non-traditional security threats make the land prone to the cultivation of terrorism and extremism. Pakistan takes this as an opportunity and starts spreading lateral Jihad and inciting local people to join militancy. It acts like feedback in the above system. The above system helps terrorism to survive in the first and second stages.

In Third phase (2012 Onwards), terrorism and extremism shifts to south Kashmir. Now middle class highly educated Kashmir youth started to join terrorism. Quasi violent activities come into the notice frequently. There is different system than first and second phase. In this phase Terrorist outfits are getting public support.

This phase is more dangerous than the previous two phases as intelligence collection and counter intelligence is difficult while local literate youth support terrorist organizations. Terrorist activities and killings again increased. This adversely affect developmental and peace building activities.

Now outfits are succeeding in gaining the support of masses. Quasi violence activities during the funeral of terrorists, recruitment of local people to the terrorist outfits is increasing significantly. However recruitment of local people to terrorist outfits decreased after the amendment in article 370 and bifurcation of state in the UT of Jammu & Kashmir and UT of Ladakh. Double lockdown and increase of

concentration of security forces in Kashmir is another reasons for the decrease of

insurgency.

Fig 5.2, System of terrorism survival in Third phase.
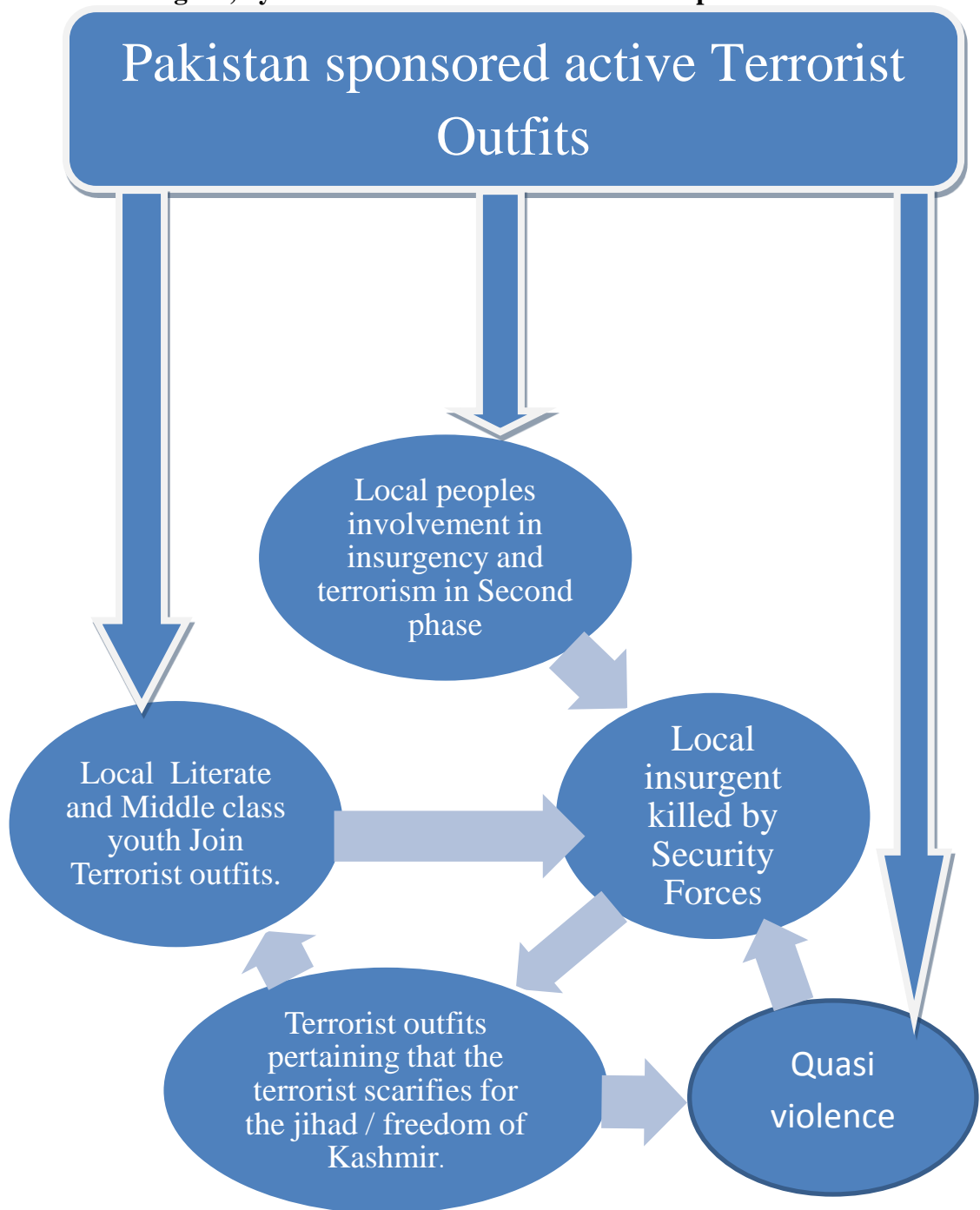
Source: Drawn by Author.

Fig. 5.2 shows that,

1) Pakistan sponsors terrorism and accelerates the cycle of Terrorism.

2) The local people of Kashmir joined the organizations in the first and second phases.

3) Local Terrorist killed by security forces.

4) Terrorist outfits and extremists try to portray that terrorists killed by security forces sacrifice for jihad and freedom of Kashmir and mislead local people to join terrorist organizations.

5) Quasi violence activities launched by Pakistan sponsored insurgents and terrorism on the occasion of funeral of terrorists and during operations by security forces.

6) Insurgents involved in quasi-violent activities were killed by the security forces.

7) Terrorists again portray that insurgent killed by security forces is sacrifice for jihad and freedom of Kashmir and mislead the local people to join terrorist organisations.

8) As a result local people are joining terrorist organizations and getting killed by security forces and this vicious circle is triggered again.

Above mentioned two types of vicious cycle is the reason behind the survival of terrorist activities in Kashmir since last four decades.

(5) Possible solution to Eradicate Terrorism and Conflict.

(5.1) Settlement of territorial dispute between India and Pakistan is time taking process because there is no political stability in Pakistan. Army of Pakistan does not

report to democratic elected government. India has to make its own security system strong.

(5.1.2) Integrated counter insurgency and Anti-terrorist Cell: For avoiding lack of coordination and cooperation between agencies there should be integrated anti-terrorist cell to mitigate traditional as well as non traditional security threat simultaneously. This cell should consist of civilian officials and officers, Central Armed Police Forces, Jammu and Kashmir Police, Indian armed forces and intelligence agencies etc.

(5.1.3) An organization on the line of special service bureau should be established to promote patriotism and countering literal Jihad.

(5.2) Traditional security threats and Non-Traditional security threats should be eliminated simultaneously.

(5.3) Participation of local people in government, Empowerment of local self government and abolition of corruption etc.

The root cause of the Kashmir conflict can be traced to the tragic partition of India and the idea of Pakistan. After four attempts to forcibly annex Kashmir, Pakistan launched a shadow war of terrorism. Political instability and Nontraditional security threats have created fertile ground for the cultivation of terrorism. Terrorism and extremism create conflict within Kashmir and affect the development of Kashmir adversely. There have been several attempts by India to resolve the conflict over Kashmir but Pakistan's policy of sponsoring terrorism and attempts to challenge India's sovereignty over Kashmir always renders India's effort inactive. It may take time to improve relations between India and Pakistan. Till the time the relations

between India and Pakistan do not improve, India will have to strengthen its security

arrangements to eradicate Pakistan-sponsored terrorism and extremism.

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