



KASHMIR: PROSPECTS OF SOLUTION

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ABSTRACT

Kashmir dispute started between Pakistan and India just after their independence in 1947. The expressed rules of partition suggested that the state Jammu and Kashmir would have joined Pakistan. More than 75% of the population of state was Muslim; the state was contiguous to Pakistan. This created tussle between the two countries, which is still continuing. Three wars have been fought on this issue. UNO passed various resolutions to settle the dispute but all in vain due to inflexible stance of India and vested interests of USA and others countries. USA tried to resolve the Kashmir dispute as per her own interest but failed. International community supported the plebiscite in Kashmir as per UNO resolutions till 1980 but later on decided to remain calm on the issue due to successful efforts but Indian foreign office. Meanwhile the Kashmiris started armed struggle for freedom in 1989. Pakistan provided all support to the Kashmiris for their right of self-determination. India tried to crush the struggle but could not achieve success.

There are a number of options to resolve the issue but if one suits to one party, it is not acceptable to others. No one is ready to accept any compromise to his stance. India and Pakistan have become nuclear powers and it is in their own interest to resolve this outstanding issue as early as possible. Peace in the region is important for the development of this region. All parties have to create a little bit flexibility in their stance to resolve the issue amicably. A mix option is being recommended which meets the requirement of the parties to a reasonable degree. United Nation and international community should play a significant role to bring peace in the region and ultimately in the world.

INTRODUCTION

The Kashmir valley is regarded as “Heaven on the Earth”. But from the last 70 years, its inhabitants have only seen miseries, economic strangulations, oppression and armed conflicts. From the last 70 years, it has been a flash point between India and Pakistan. In Pakistan, it is usually referred to as the unfinished agenda of the Indian Subcontinent’s partition plan and Pakistan considers herself incomplete without Kashmir. On the other hand, Kashmir has been declared as an integral part by India. Since independence of these two countries, Kashmir issue has transformed into a complex dispute with sharp conflicts on sovereignty, security, self-determination, ideology and territory. Wars have been fought on this soil between India and Pakistan. Besides wars, the two sides have plunged into war-like crises several times on this issue but it still remains a cause of serious disagreement. Since 1947, the Muslims of Indian Held Kashmir (IHK) had been peacefully struggling for their right of self-determination and independence from India. However, when they realized that the 1987 IHK Assembly Elections were rigged by the Indian government, the Kashmiris lost faith in Indian democratic institutions. Kashmiris took up arms against the Indian state oppression and subjugation [1].

As a response, India applied “catch and kill” policy on Kashmiris, burned their houses, raped women and destroyed holy places to crush their freedom movement. To give impetus to the movement, Pakistan besides moral and diplomatic support started militarily supporting the Kashmiris. Relations between the two neighbouring countries kept deteriorating. Indians accused Pakistan for harbouring terrorism in IHK by training freedom fighters on its soil. After achieving the status of nuclear powers and acquisition of weapons of mass destruction by both the countries, Kashmir issue has received attention of international community. The issue, which has not been solved by United Nations, has become a festering wound of South Asia. The issue which has given them hatred, mistrust, armed conflicts and wars, and if not properly resolved peace would remain elusive for this newly transformed poor nuclear region [2].

AIM OF THE PAPER

The aim of this article is to examine the possibility of normalization of relations between India and Pakistan in near future without the resolution of Kashmir issue and while highlighting various options for resolution, the strategy that Pakistan should adopt in military and diplomatic fields for satisfactory and peaceful resolution of the problem.

IMPORTANCE OF KASHMIR FOR PAKISTAN

Kashmir is important for Pakistan due to three reasons. Firstly, there exists a religious and cultural link between the people of Pakistan and Kashmir and it is an unfinished agenda of Indian

Subcontinent Partition Plan. Secondly, it links Pakistan with China through Shakra-e-Karakoram. And thirdly, Pakistan's agricultural based economy mainly rests on the supply of water from the rivers of Indus, Jhelum and Chenab, which all originate from Kashmir. These sources of water supply are life line for irrigation based economy of Pakistan [3].

INDIAN INTEREST IN KASHMIR

Kashmir is considered vital for India because of her geographical location. It provides India the strategic and economic links with China, Afghanistan and CAR's. India can control the flow of rivers originating from Kashmir and can at any time strangulate Pakistan's economy by choking the waterways. Kashmir is the major source of hydroelectricity and irrigation for Indian Punjab and India meets bulk of her timber needs from Kashmir. For India, occupation of Kashmir is also a manifestation of her unity and a symbol of secularism [4].

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

History of Kashmir can be traced back several centuries before the Christian era. Initially in the valley of Kashmir Hindus were in a greater strength than the others. Buddhism originates round about after 245 BC. Muslims started to rule this valley from 14th century. The era of Sultan Zainul Abedin from 1420 to 1470 AD is to be the most beautiful period of the Kashmir history. The Mughals conquered Kashmir in 1586 and ruled Kashmir till 1756. Between 1756 and 1819, it was under Afghan rule. Kashmir was conquered in 1819 by a Sikh maharaja named Ranjit Singh. In 1846, after the defeat of Sikh Dogra family by the British Army, the "Treaty of Lahore" was signed between Raja Gulab Singh and East India Company on 9 March 1846. According to this treaty Kashmir was created out of Sikh state of Punjab and was sold to Raja Gulab Singh for an amount of 7.5 million Rupees, who was then recognized as the sovereign ruler of the state. This decision resulted in far reaching consequences for the people of Kashmir and Pakistan. Because had the state of Kashmir remained part of the British Empire and not been sold out to Maharaja, it would have become part of Pakistan automatically being the area of Muslim majority along with district of Gurdaspur. The Dogra dynasty continued to rule the region until partition of the Indian Subcontinent in 1947 [5].

Kashmir issue is linked with the partition of the Subcontinent in 1947. The theory of the partition was that "all the Muslim majority areas would go to Pakistan whereas the areas in which Hindus are in majority would become part of India". At the time of partition there were about 600 princely states in British India including Kashmir. Lord Mount-Batten, the then Viceroy of India, advised these states "to join either India or Pakistan based on geographical situation and communal interest". The state of Jammu and Kashmir should have acceded to Pakistan because of its geographical location and overwhelming Muslim majority. However, the partition plan was so manipulated by Jawaharlal

Nehru and Lord Mount-Batten that the district of Gurdaspur in east Punjab, which had Muslim majority and the only access to Jammu and Kashmir from southern Punjab, was awarded to India. Thus, India was given direct access to Kashmir through Pathankot [6].

ACCESSION TO INDIA

When partition plan was finally declared, the Kashmiri Muslims started pressurizing Maharaja Hari Singh to announce its accession to Pakistan. Maharaja on the other hand acquired services of Indian army to crush all pro-Pakistan elements. This action provoked Kashmiri people and they decided to take up arms against the state force. At the same time tribesmen of NWFP decided to join their Muslim brothers of Kashmir and crossed the border and advanced till short of Srinagar. When the Maharaja realized that these people were close to attaining their objective, he announced complete accession to India on 26 October, 1947. The next day Indian government dispatched more troops to stop the advancement of Kashmiri fighters. By the time Pakistan army intervened Indian troops had already occupied large area of Kashmir. A big ambush took place and after receiving heavy losses of life and equipment, India lodged a complaint with the Security Council on 1st January, 1948. On 5th January, 1948 when cease-fire was declared India held two third of Kashmir and Pakistan had one third [7].

UNITED NATION RESOLUTION

The Security Council passed a resolution on 21st April, 1948 jointly sponsored by USA, UK, China, Canada, Columbia and Belgium. The resolution stated that “the decision of state of Kashmir accession will be decided by democratic and of the state of Jammu and Kashmir would be decided through the democratic and fair referendum and that United Nation Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) would make arrangements for cease fire between the two countries, ensuring withdrawal of troops by both India and Pakistan to create conditions conducive for holding free and fair plebiscite”. One of the conditions that UN had laid down to hold plebiscite was complete pull out of Pakistani forces from Azad Kashmir while India was asked for partial reduction of forces from IHK. Pakistan was reluctant to withdraw its forces from Azad Kashmir because she feared that it would create vacuum and Indians would occupy Azad Kashmir also. Since then India kept rejecting the UN resolution on one pretext or the other to delay it and in 1951, giving Kashmir a special status, incorporated the whole of Kashmir as an integral part of India under Article 370 of Indian Constitution. Therefore, no Indian leader could now agree to honour the pledge of holding a plebiscite as it would lead to cessation of the state to Pakistan thus amounting to a violation of the Indian constitution [8].

1965 WAR

From 1951 to 1965 Kashmir struggle slowly and gradually started sinking into a state of oblivion. To overcome this frustration and feeling exuberant by the success of Rann of Kutch event, Pakistani leadership made plan to initiate guerrilla warfare by infiltrating a few thousand commandos into Indian held Kashmir (IHK) to incite a rebellion from within. The name given to this operation was Operation Gibraltar, which was aimed at attacking the Indian military and Para-military forces in IHK with the help and support of local Muslims. Since the pro Pakistan Muslims of IHK were not taken into confidence prior to the Operation, it failed miserably. Operation Grand Slam was followed with an objective to capture Akhnur and isolate Kashmir valley from rest of India. This operation initially gained success but India retaliated by crossing international borders on 6th September, 1965 and an all-out war was declared. This war ended in a stalemate without achieving any objective as far as Kashmir was concerned [9].

FREEDOM STRUGGLE

The period from 1965 to 1986 again remained dormant with regards to the freedom struggle in Kashmir. The resurgence of freedom movement started in 1987 when the elections of State Assembly were heavily rigged against the Muslim political parties, especially, when Muslim leader Mirwaiz Mulvi Farooq was gunned down in May, 1990 by the Indian security forces and it left the local population with no choice but to retaliate militarily. Dozens of Mujahedeen Groups were bonded together and their strength was in excess of 32,000 men. Since then the main fighting factions have been Hizb-ul-Mujahedeen, Lashkar-e-Taiba, Harkat-ul-Ansaar, and Jaish-e-Muhammad which are pro-Pakistan, whereas, Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front is for independent Kashmir. In political sphere mainly two parties were activated i.e. 'Tehreek-e-Hurriyat-e-Kashmir' and 'All Parties Hurriyat Conference' [10].

KASHMIR A CORE ISSUE

The aftermath of tit for tat nuclear explosions by both the countries in May, 1998 brought a new dimension into the Kashmir dispute. Pakistan military mastermind once again ventured in Kashmir by infiltrating military troops in Kargil in 1999. The Kargil conflict almost brought the two countries close to another major war. After September 11 incident, India fully availed every opportunity in an attempt to get Pakistan declared a terrorist state for infiltrating regular troops and trained mujahedeen's in IHK. As a retaliation of attack on her Parliament, India mobilized her forces all along the international border with Pakistan in 2002. The two armies stood eyeball to eyeball for over eight months led to one logical conclusion that tension between the two rival neighbours has to

be reduced, which would be possible only with the resolution of the long standing Kashmir dispute [11].

DEVELOPMENT IN DIPLOMATIC FIELD

Although there had been constant efforts from both the sides to resolve the issue but, all attempts in the past showed an absence of political will largely on the part of Indian leadership in determining the future status of Kashmir. In the recent years two summits have taken place between Pakistan and Indian leaders to reduce tension in the region especially after the nuclear tests.

a. Lahore Declaration: This declaration took place between the two Prime Ministers, Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Nawaz Sharif, on 20 February, 1999. Both the PMs agreed to “intensify their efforts to resolve all issues including Kashmir and refrain from intervention and interference in each other’s internal affairs”. However, Pakistan’s and India Kargil war in 1999 overshadowed this process and India refused to resume talks unless Pakistan stopped sponsoring terrorism in Kashmir [12].

b. Agra Summit: Agra summit was between PM Atal Bihari Vajpayee and President Pervez Musharraf when later visited India on 11 July, 2001. The CBMs remained inconclusive as the two sides could not agree on describing ‘centrality of Kashmir dispute’ and ‘cross border terrorism’ in the proposed joint statement. After the summit relations between the two countries took a turn for the worse which was further aggravated by the event of 9/11. Pakistan’s decision to join the US led fight against terrorism was not well taken by India. Attack on Indian Parliament on 13 December, 2001 worsened relations leading to prolonged military standoff between the two nuclear rivals. India accused Pakistan of indulging in cross border terrorism. India urged US not to treat Pakistan as a partner and rather declare a campaign against Jihadi based elements in Pakistan operating in Kashmir [13].

WORLD PERCEPTIONS

The United Nations: The United Nations Security Council has passed a dozens of resolutions on the Kashmir dispute, urging both Pakistan and India to resolve the dispute through peaceful means. The Ex Secretary General of UNO, Mr. Perez-de-Cuellar admitted Kashmir issue to be the oldest conflict on the UN agenda, and asserted that, “if not managed and resolved, it could have disastrous consequences for international peace and security”. Despite its gravity, the issue was nearly removed from the list of current issues of UNSC agenda. This duplicity of policy speaks of the lack of will and resolve on part of UNO to find a solution to this problem. It further propounds the incapacity of UNO to implement her verdict independently, unless endorsed by the key players of the world politics, mainly the USA [14].

USA: The political situation of the world changed, when the US was attacked by the terrorists on September 11 2001. And these mostly took place in the region of South Asia specially the relations between US and Pakistan. Before the attack the relations between both these countries was not good but after the attack Pakistan was the frontline state in the war against terrorism. Presently, US wants a stable Pakistan to avoid possibility of nuclear proliferation and also a fear of war between Pakistan and India on the issue of Kashmir which the nuclear flashpoint between Pakistan and India and due to this point a nuclear war can start any time. During India – Pakistan stand-off in year 2002, the US plays important role for reducing the tension between these two countries and forced them to enter into a bilateral dialogue to resolve the Kashmir dispute peacefully. Considering the past track record and the strategic alliance between United States and India, it is viewed that the Americans cannot be trusted to help arrive at a just resolution of the issue. US are currently more serious about the reducing risk of conflict between Pakistan and India on the issue of Kashmir rather than the resolution of the Kashmir issue. The US is presently fighting war against the terrorism and also fighting war in Iraq so it very difficult for US to solve the issue of Kashmir at this time [15].

China: As far as China is concerned, her interest in Jammu and Kashmir is confined to Aksai Chin. China has re-defined her South-Asian policy, giving preference to geo-economics over geo-politics. Recently, India and China have already concluded agreements, denouncing the politics of conflict, while promoting confidence-building measures. Open support from China, which Pakistan enjoyed vis-à-vis India over the Kashmir issue has tilted towards neutrality. China has adopted a low profile towards Jammu and Kashmir issue [16].

Russia: Presently, the Russian federation, the secular and pro-Moscow Central Asian Republics, India, Iran and China are involved in forming an undeclared regional economic co-operation alliance. Forced into this alliance, primarily because of her economic crisis, Russia is obliged to adopt a similar stance on the Kashmir issue as shared by other parties for the time being. Her real interests, however, are likely to crop up only after she recovers economically [17].

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS AND THEIR FEASIBILITY

Pre-requisite of the Solution: The basic requirement of a practicable solution of Kashmir issue is that it should be acceptable to India, Pakistan and people of Kashmir, which can be possible if: -

- a.** The solution is should be according to the will and wishes of the people of Kashmir.
- b.** It does not harm the national ideology of India and Pakistan i.e. secularism and two nation theory respectively.
- c.** National egos of the people of India, Pakistan and Kashmir should not be hurt.

Various proposals being floated in South Asia and elsewhere can be divided into six broad categories. Some of these proposals combine the features of two or three categories and are discussed in the following paragraphs along with a solution formula presented by President Pervaiz Musharraf.

PLEBISCITE

Plebiscite should be conducted according to the UN resolution i.e. to ask Kashmiris to choose between India and Pakistan. This proposal does not provide satisfactory answers to various problems. In the first instance, according to article 370 of its constitution India has declared the state as its integral part. This article has always restricted Indian leadership to honour the pledge of holding plebiscite, as it would lead to cession of the state to Pakistan and would amount to a violation of the Indian constitution. On the other hand, Pakistan has always demanded a plebiscite. Although President Musharraf during recent bilateral talks with Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has already made a major concession by agreeing to “put aside”, not abandon, its demand of a solution of the Kashmir dispute on the basis of the UN resolution. Pakistan’s demand for plebiscite rests on the irrefutable logic i.e. the division of the Indian Subcontinent was based on the premise to grant independence to the Muslim majority regions. Since Kashmir was contiguous to Pakistan and is predominantly a Muslim majority area, its decision to join India or Pakistan must be through plebiscite.

Since, a substantial migration of population has taken place from both parts of Kashmir, the problems like who will have the right to vote in the plebiscite? Will it be on the basis of whole state, or will it be with reference to regions or districts? Will the result of each district or region be considered separately? What are going to be the administrative and security arrangements immediately before, during and after the referendum exercise, if it is ever held? However, all these questions can be resolved if Indian leadership and public, its constitution and UN allow it to happen. India from the start is against the referendum in Jammu and Kashmir. In the last five decades this option has been overtaken by events and for all practical purposes has been considered a redundant idea. Secretary General of the United Nations Kofi Annan has termed it as a “no more implementable solution”. Chances of exercising this option seem bleak because UN itself has abandoned this option and Indian hierarchy is not likely to violate or amend its constitution [18].

PARTITION (Chenab Formula)

This idea was initially proposed in 1960s and the option was to divide Kashmir with the line of Chenab River. And due to this distribution a large number of lands will be included in Pakistan and also the long lasted dispute between Pakistan and India will be resolved. The areas with the Muslim

population's majority will be included in the Pakistan. The non-Muslim majority districts in Jammu and Ladakh areas would go to India. This would also result in transfer of some population. Chenab formula may not be acceptable to Hindus in India. Indians see Kashmir as a constituent state of their country and fear that any such step would lead to disintegration of India, as other states in India may ask for independence. This option would also be unacceptable to Hurriyat leaders who rule out "repartition" of the state. There is also a proposal for partition on linguistic lines as an alternative to religiously based solution [19].

CONDOMINIUM

A number of proposals suggest measures about joint arrangements for the whole of Kashmir by Pakistan and India. In this type of solution, both Pakistan and India would have a say in Kashmir affairs especially in relation to foreign affairs and defence relations. In this regard, B G Varghese offered a four-point proposal.

- a.** First, the LOC will be a soft border, allowing easy movement of people and trade from both ways.
- b.** Second, each of the two parts of Kashmir will negotiate greater autonomy with the hitherto administering states, Pakistan and India.
- c.** Third, the two parts of Kashmir will allow greater autonomy to their regions, that is, further devolution of power within each part.
- d.** Fourth, Pakistan and India will "confederate" with its side of the state. This will create "an autonomous Jammu & Kashmir within an Indo-Pak condominium". Probably, what it actually means is joint control.

This option would trigger serious security implications for India and Pakistan, and discomfort for the Kashmiris. From all perspectives it would be a simple costume change, rather than any significant solution. As we know that both countries are hostile with each other from the day of inception so it is not possible for both the countries to have joint control on Kashmir for a substantial time period. Also it would not be possible to have joint control over resources of Kashmir like hydro-electric, timber and water [20].

TRUSTEESHIP

A couple of proposals were also floated for placing either the whole of the state or the Indian part under the UN Trusteeship. Amanullah Khan, leader of JKLF, suggested that Pakistan and India should vacate the whole of the state and northern areas currently with Pakistan under UN Trusteeship. A logical follow up of this proposal is the grant of independent status after the end of the Trusteeship. Presumably, if whole Kashmir is given under the trusteeship of UN, it would require consent from

Pakistan, India and the UN. In the first place this option would not be acceptable to both India and Pakistan as they would be losing the territory. Seeing the attitude and role played by the UN in Kashmir issue, it seems unlikely to be accepted by the UN. The world opinion would also be against this option as it would lead to the independence of Kashmir [21].

PRESIDENT MUSHARRAF'S PROPOSAL

President General Pervaiz Musharraf on 25 October, 2004 has floated a new suggestion to restart the dialogue process on the stalemate issue of Kashmir. In his proposal he recognized seven regions according to the geographic, language and religious entity in the disputed territory; two are held by Pakistan i.e. northern areas and Azad Kashmir, and the rest of the five a in the Indian control. He basically talked about the "Valley of Kashmir", which in his opinion should be discussed by India and Pakistan for a possible solution. The partition of the state which President Musharraf has as a primary concern likely is similar to the partition of the subcontinent in 1947. Some Indian people also recommended that it might be best for India to concede the valley to Pakistan and hold the left of the region of Jammu and Kashmir with India.

Some military thinkers feel that India would get rid of the problems she is facing in Kashmir in terms of mass militarization, huge expenditures, and though small but regular attrition. On the other hand, it would be extremely difficult for Indian leadership to win public opinion on this solution as according to Indian constitution, Kashmir is an integral part of India. India would not like to lose water coming out of Kashmir which has become lifeline for irrigation in Indian Punjab. Ninety percent of electricity provided to Indian Punjab is also coming from Kashmir. Therefore, from Indian point of view this option goes against her interest [22].

ANALYSIS

In the first place we must determine the area of Kashmir that is under dispute. As per Pakistan's point of view it is the IHK, whereas, according to Indian point of view it is the Azad Kashmir and Northern areas held by Pakistan while a faction of Kashmiris considers the whole of Kashmir as a disputed territory. On top of it India has already merged Kashmir as an integral part in her constitution. With this complexity and diversity in the view points of the parties involved, any of the suggested solutions would not be acceptable to all the three parties. According to Pakistan the only solution for the Kashmir issue is the right of self-determination of the Kashmiri peoples of the Jammu and Kashmir, and also it has been accepted the United Nations as well as by the Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. However, would this be able to be accomplished now by Pakistan? Holding a plebiscite in Kashmir under UN auspices has lost its relevance since long and may not be a

workable solution under present circumstances. Neither Pakistan has the strength nor the resources to liberate Kashmir by armed struggle, and nor has she the desired international diplomatic support. Any solution requiring new demarcation of some area is not acceptable to India. Indian leadership has been so bounded by the article 370 of Indian constitution that no Indian government would take any decision against this article. In the present circumstances, it would be in the interest of India to convert LOC into an international border and giving greater autonomy to the valley. However, this option would not be acceptable to Pakistan and majority of Kashmiris, as this solution totally rejects the principal stand of Pakistan on Kashmir and freedom struggle of Kashmiris. Independent Kashmir would not be in the interest of Pakistan and India as both countries would be losing territory. Only those Kashmiris would be benefited from this option who desire independence. The problem has turned into a complex issue and parties involved are not flexible enough to step down from their stand. If Kashmir issue is to be resolved, in the first place, India has to change her perception that Kashmir is her integral part, whereas, Pakistan should get out of her notion that she is incomplete without Kashmir. Because in the presence of these concepts a just and lasting resolution of the Kashmir issue would not be possible and any solution would remain at best a temporary one. Therefore, in the present situation possibility of a viable solution seems bleak and there appears to be no short term solution until and unless mindset of Indian hierarchy is changed.

In the present scenario, it would be important to condition the people of Pakistan and India to reach to a workable solution of Kashmir issue. It would be in fact, a matter of give and take to reach a workable solution in a win – win case for all three parties involved. Pakistan has to step down from its claim over complete IHK. India needs to be convinced that the issue is not pertaining to secularism but an agenda of long awaited promise to the aggrieved Kashmiris. In this regard the formula presented by President Musharraf was a workable solution had it not been disclosed before conditioning the people of India and Pakistan. However, President Musharraf has given an idea to be deliberated upon by the thinkers of Pakistan, India and Kashmiris. The problem is not easy to resolve and would take time to be converted into reality.

CONCLUSION

Today the question of Kashmir is the “mother of all questions” in South Asia. As a matter of fact, all fundamental questions relating to peace in the contemporary South Asia are linked to the Kashmir issue – ideological, political, cultural, economic and nuclear. Though the talks to resolve Kashmir issue are underway, the situation is that India is not at all deviating from her secular contention. She considers Kashmir as her integral part and a geographical component. Similarly, Pakistan is not for a moment giving up her moral, political and diplomatic stance over the valley. Two wars have already

been fought over this soil with number of proxy war situations held between the two countries. But the fact is that Pakistan existed without Kashmir for the past fifty-eight years and India has been unable to suppress the political and military struggle of the Kashmiri population in her portion of the state during the period.

Both Pakistan and India are nuclear powers today. The recent stand-off between the two countries has clearly demonstrated that Kashmir is a major dispute between India and Pakistan. It needs to be addressed at the earliest to save this region from the horrors of another conventional war or even a possible nuclear war between the two countries. Because of the complexity of the issue the solution may not be easy and may not be possible in the near or even distant future. However, the ability and will to change the direction and destiny of the region will be a test of leadership in both the countries. Here, the international community can also play a positive role. Especially, the UN has long standing formal liabilities in Kashmir.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In order to achieve peaceful settlement of Kashmir issue following are some of recommendations: -

- a.** While upholding moral, political and diplomatic support to the Kashmir cause, Pakistan should maintain its principled stand on the Kashmir issue and insist on a final just solution that meets the aspiration of the people of Kashmir.
- b.** Pakistan should continue with the current CBMs, which could eventually lead to greater mutual trust between India and Pakistan.
- c.** The government and the media must refrain from creating unrealistic hope and euphoria that a quick solution of Kashmir is round the corner.
- d.** The media in Pakistan needs to project Kashmir issue in a more professional fashion targeting that Indian population who do not agree with the repressive policies of their government in the valley. While highlighting the atrocities committed by the Indian security forces media should blame individual soldiers/formations and avoid ridiculing the entire Indian Armed Forces.
- e.** Pakistan should uplift herself economically and modernize her military forces for credible deterrence and influence over significant resolution of Kashmir dispute.

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