

## PhD THESIS

# POSITIVE PEACE APPROACH OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION: A CASE STUDY OF KASHMIR DISPUTE

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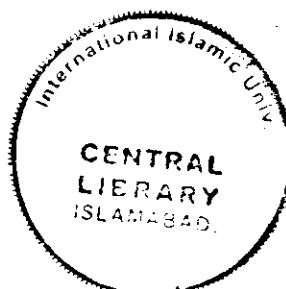
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DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
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INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY ISLAMABAD

2020



Accession No JAD4597 14/

PHD

327.54051191

SHP

Pakistan

India

Diplomatic relations

India - Jammu and Kashmir  
Politics and government

# **POSITIVE PEACE APPROACH OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION: A CASE STUDY OF KASHMIR DISPUTE**

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Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Ph.D. degree in discipline)  
Social Sciences with specialization in International Relations at the Faculty of Social  
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## **DEDICATION**

This dissertation is dedicated to the masses of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Its peace-loving vis-à-vis resilient people chained under occupation from seven decades. Kashmiris are struggling for the right to self-determination guaranteed under UNSC resolutions but are paying the huge cost while speaking truth to power? Furthermore, to all those Peace lovers who support Positive Peace, a solution to the problem of Jammu and Kashmir people's genuine aspirations?



## FINAL APPROVAL

This is to certify that we gone through and evaluated the dissertation titled "**Positive Peace Approach of Conflict Resolution: A case study of Kashmir Dispute**", submitted by Mr. Sheikh Gh. Rasool, a student of Ph. D. International Relations under University Registration No. 21-FSS/PHDIR/S16, in partial fulfillment of the award of the degree of Ph. D. This thesis fulfills the requirements in its core and quality for the award of the degree.

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## **ABSTRACT**

The international system is poised to shift from unipolarity to multipolarity. This study contributes to take advantage of current structural regional and international configuration. The study offers insight from the emerging geo-strategic and geo-economic affinity of China and Pakistan to keep Kashmir dispute as a national issue instead of mere economic interests. China not only emerged as a peace broker but strong regional actor. The study's original contribution to existing knowledge is threefold; first, peace and resolving disputes in changing regional security scenario is the requirement. The interest is vital for backing the legitimate UN framework. Secondly, the chance to engage a powerful actor to bridge the disequilibrium to influence by soft power is viable because it also upsurges Pakistan's influence. China possesses both carrot and stick; therefore, the maintenance of peace has neighbouring influential stakeholders with a linear relationship with economic interest which passes through the geography of Kashmir. Thirdly, more the quantum of interdependence, more are the chances of security alliance between Pakistan and China. The degree of interdependence remains a potent catalyst to give a gentle nudge to conflict resolution while containing a one-sided India's interpretation of peace. China understands India better than Pakistan in a new angle to bank peace upon it. The study relies on empirical findings that multi-dimensional connectivity is the mega driver of globalization. The East, South and West around India are onboard in a new drive of globalization processing spill over effects. The study maintains that India has little options either join or face regional isolation; both situations are a reagent for peace. The study predicts that China has a formidable role in Kashmir dispute in the future despite Indian reluctance. This study analyses peace from the perspective of "Peace by the Power" to "Peace by Peace" i.e., "Positive peace." The study introduces two new Kashmir centric CBMs in a "win-win" framework.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

The voyage of this doctorate dissertation passed through several crests and troughs. There were multiple and numerous intervening and confronting variables at every milestone, immensely concluding the testable problem. The collection of the primary data from reliable sources was an uphill task keeping the subject's complexities in consideration. However, the worthy Supervisor Prof. Dr. Mansoor Akbar Kundi former Executive Director-HEC and Vice-Chancellor BZU proved a potent catalyst to transform this dissertation into a culmination point. My first synopsis on "International law perspective" was dropped due to queries of bilateral treaties. The "third Generation laws" was also dropped. I am in debited to a great son of soil Prof. Dr Mohammad Khan, Professor of IR at IIUI helped to finalize the problem and provided valuable insights at every stage. I am thankful to Dr Manzoor Khan Afridi, Chairman (IR). He taught Foreign Policy Analysis with his passionate love while giving time for valuable insights. The substantiative support of Dr. Tauqeer H. Sargana was valuable. Dr Manzoor Nazeer, Dr. Masood Khattak, and other colleagues, students, whose name I cannot mention one by one but supported in data collection. The tangible support of Prof. Dr Naveed Iqbal, the grandson of Allama Iqbal, was qualitative. I am thankful to my friend former Dean Faculty of Social Sciences RIPHAH International University Dr. Awais Wasi, for concrete support at every crucial stage. This study was possible without the substantial support of Sadia Pasha, who eased my burden to handle quantitative data and statical tests. I am thankful for Dr. Fai Temple University USA, Prof. Dr. Imtiyaz Khan of George Washington University. I thank Dr. Suheel Abdullah Malik, who was helpful at every milestone. Thanks to Prof. Dr. Jumani, V.P, AF&P and Prof. Dr Amna Mehmood, Dean FSS. I am debited to Prof. Dr. Shaheen Akhter whose critical insight was crucial. The remarkable rule of my wife, son, and daughter were always pivoting to share my responsibility while keeping this study at priority.

## **Abbreviations and Acronyms**

<b>ADR</b>	Alternative dispute resolution
<b>AFSPA</b>	Armed Forces Special Powers Act
<b>AIIB</b>	Asian Investment Development Bank
<b>AJ&amp;K</b>	Azad Jammu and Kashmir
<b>APHC</b>	All Parties Hurriyat Conference
<b>BJP</b>	Bhartiya Janta Party
<b>BRI</b>	Belt and Road Initiative
<b>CBM</b>	Confidence-building measure
<b>CPEC</b>	Pakistan China Economic Corridor
<b>CPRU</b>	Centre for Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit
<b>ECCP</b>	European Council for Conflict prevention
<b>EU</b>	European Union
<b>G20</b>	Group of Twenty Finance Ministers
<b>G8</b>	Group of eight countries
<b>GB</b>	Gilgit Baltistan
<b>GoI</b>	Government of India
<b>GOP</b>	Government of Pakistan
<b>HM</b>	Hizbul Mujahideen
<b>ICC</b>	International Criminal Court
<b>ICJ</b>	International Court of Justice
<b>IGO</b>	International Government organization
<b>IHL</b>	International Humanitarian law
<b>IHRL</b>	International Human Rights Law
<b>INGO</b>	International Non-Government organization
<b>IoK</b>	India Occupied Kashmir
<b>IWT</b>	Indus Water treaty
<b>J&amp;K</b>	Jammu and Kashmir
<b>JD</b>	Janata Dal
<b>JKJI</b>	Jammu and Kashmir Jamat-e-Islami
<b>JKLF</b>	Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front

<b>JRL</b>	Joint resistance Leadership
<b>KKH</b>	Karakorum Highway
<b>LaC</b>	Line of actual control
<b>LoC</b>	Line of Control
<b>MJC</b>	Muttahida Jihad Council
<b>MSR</b>	Maritime Silk route
<b>MUF</b>	Muslim United Front
<b>NATO</b>	North Atlantic treaty Organization
<b>NC</b>	National Conference
<b>NGO</b>	Non-Government Organization
<b>NPT</b>	Non-proliferation Treaty
<b>OBOR</b>	One belt one road Initiative
<b>OIC</b>	Organization of Islamic Countries
<b>P-5</b>	Permanent five Members of UNSC
<b>PDP</b>	Peoples Democratic Party
<b>PML-N</b>	Pakistan Muslim League
<b>PPP</b>	Pakistan Peoples Part
<b>PSA</b>	Public Security Act
<b>PTI</b>	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf
<b>SAARC</b>	South Asian Organization of Regional Cooperation
<b>SCO</b>	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
<b>SoP</b>	Standard Operational Procedure
<b>SREB</b>	Silk Road Economic Belt
<b>SRF</b>	Silk Road Fund
<b>TAPI</b>	Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan India gas pipeline
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNCIP</b>	United Nations Commission of India and Pakistan
<b>UNGA</b>	United Nations General Assembly
<b>UNMOIGP</b>	United Nations Military group of India and Pakistan
<b>UNO</b>	United Nations organization
<b>UNSC</b>	United Nations Security Council

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## CHAPTER-1

### INTRODUCTION

Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) issue is an UN recognized Geo-political dispute. The conflict was a by-product of British Pre-colonialism. Kashmir the Muslim majority state was sold by East India Company along with inhabitants to Dogra Hindu warrior Ghulab Singh at NS 7500,000 under Treaty of Amritsar in 1846. Dogra Maharaja maintained peace by power for a hundred years rule of Muslim majority state. Britain divided British India in 1947 as per two-nation theory in the post-colonial era, i.e. India and Pakistan on June 3 1947. This partition plan was only applicable to Indian states under Britain control. However, Kashmir by any definition should have been part of Pakistan (Ibrahim, 1990).

J&K State comprised 84471 sq km area was neither Indian state nor directly under British control but a princely state under British suzerainty. Therefore, the dispute is the consequence of June 3, 1947, and the Indian Independence Act of July 1947. The option was given to princely states either to accede India or Pakistan, considering geographic contiguity or through the referendum on ideological affinity. Since 76% of the state were Muslim having geographic, historical, communication and trade links with Pakistan. Therefore, Kashmir was the natural part of New-born Pakistan by all respects. However, Kashmir was ruled by minority Hindu Maharaja, who did not consider the wishes and aspirations of the Muslim majority in the area (Malik, 2019).

From October 24<sup>th</sup> to 27<sup>th</sup> 1947 was a critical time. The people of Kashmir predominantly from Poonch who served in British army, launched rebellion to free Kashmir from the clutches of Maharaja Hari Singh with the support of tribal people from Pakistan. Maharaja Hari Singh fearing the defeat on the hands of tribal militia sought help from India. Indian governor General Mountbatten agreed to extend support provided Hari Singh signs instrument of accession to India. Maharaja Hari Singh had no other option and signed instrument of accession under duress and soon after that India landed its troops on Srinagar Airport on October 27<sup>th</sup> to restore peace. It was the first casualty of peace which was suppressed by India through power.

After 14 months of intermittent conflict, India took Kashmir issue to UNSC invoking jurisdiction under Article 35 and launched a complaint under para No 8. UNSC farmed a special commission named as UNCIP. UNCIP passed two resolutions first on 13<sup>th</sup> August 1948 and second resolution No 47 was adopted on January 5, 1949. The special commission UNCIP devised by UNSC through these two resolutions proposed, the right to self-determination as the ultimate solution to Kashmir dispute but it is in limbo till date (lamb, 1992). To address the conflict demands a multi-disciplinary approach through a multi-dimensional angle. The roadmap is devised through the UNCIP, if, implemented in its true spirit. The dispute resolution is already in place i.e. Let people of the Kashmir decide in the free and impartial plebiscite either to join India or Pakistan.

J&K dispute is the question of morality to respect the international laws for the cause of humanity and Peace. However, morality is promoted but not practised, which confused the Peace. The dispute has multiple dimensions and dilemma with varied nature. The dispute revolves around the Indian power matrix and realpolitik. India's substantial size, population, and magnitude of the economy vis-à-vis military hardware give her an edge to impact regional and international influence. Therefore, she manages the Kashmir dispute in her interpretations of the Peace. The study's core dilemma is how to bridge parity in Power and bring the powerful on the table to share peace dividends.

It is always crucial in asymmetrical conflicts like Kashmir, to answer, why the Kashmir dispute is not resolved. Weaker has to suffer. Consequently, India manages Kashmir dispute regionally and internationally. She maintains the status quo and interprets the Peace by the Power. It helped India for seven decades to control the land geographically. However, it did not satisfy the Kashmir masses as a primary party or Pakistan as a legal state actor; hence Kashmir dispute is lingering (Paul, 2006).

The study argues that since there is no parity between the actors of dispute; therefore, how to bridge this parity is the central aspect. India maintained negative Peace by Power till 1989, therefore. The core problem is how positive equilibrium is reached to

address the Kashmir dispute. It demands identifying the missing factors between continuous and collective demand of injured party Kashmiris, state actors Pakistan and UN, versus, continues delay and dissent by India (Lvoy, 2009).

To interpret the statistics of deadly quarrels between India and Pakistan (Polemology) is vital, to transform actually and potentially violent Kashmir conflict into non-violent political, developmental, and other forms of change peacefully. The constant mutual interplay is required between the theory and the practice. The Kashmir dilemma demands concerted efforts to reach the conflict resolution. India and Pakistan had historical baggage of hostility keeping the current grave situation of Kashmir into consideration. (Whitehead, 2007). Kashmir is a core issue between India and Pakistan (Musharraf, 2010). It is necessary that all stake holders must sit together and resolve this dispute to avoid any future clashes,

The state actors of the Kashmir dispute, "Pakistan and India" including third-party U.N. followed by IGO's and NGO's from (1948-1965), (1965-1971) and (1971-1989) tried to address the Kashmir conflict. Despite the fact, they pooled their best efforts individually and collectively but did not yield the desired outcome, i.e. "Peace by Peaceful means"; therefore, every phase of rift culminated in war. It harboured further structured-violence and vice-versa (Mohan, 2019).

Kashmir dispute changed in complex problem because of the use of power by dominant actor India. The correlation is studied between politics, geopolitics, wars, conflict, and Peace over a dispute of Kashmir. Therefore, the various forms of peace, violence, structured violence, power structures, and restorative justice methods are well-thought-out but in vain (Boilvar, 2013). The first chapter deals with this dilemma. Understanding the composition of the Kashmir conflict and its underlying implications in the domestic, regional, and international arena has crucial linkages. The peace and Conflict resolution about Kashmir had diverse interpretations; therefore, to handle the subject has relevance; however, with significant differences with other conflicts of the same nature.

It is crucial to examine and introduce discourse and dilemma of dispute; The multiple factors are in play. Many variables by state actor India are manipulated during the occupation of IoJ&K since 1947. India kept Kashmir dispute hanging in status quo till date. The dependent variables are engaged to address the Kashmir dispute. Still, it is critical to know about systematic intervening variables in conflict regulation, conflict prevention, conflict management, and conflict transformation, preventing resolving the Kashmir conflict while cementing the status quo. However, it failed in addressing the independent variable, i.e. Conflict Resolutions of the Kashmir dispute (Stailand, 2013).

How to bridge the parity between actors is hypothetically assumed in this study, in a backdrop of new regional re-alignment, of Pakistan and China, including neighbouring regional countries. The quantum leap is expected in International relations, soft Power, and primary actor Pakistan's influence nationally and internationally. Since there is correlation between Pakistan and Kashmir over resolving the issue, some missing links were not in operation; hence; conflict resolution could not be taken to the logical conclusion. The study established that conflict resolution could not be attained until Pakistan and Kashmiris have not enough influence and say to garner support from the international community. There are remote chances they can balance India. Therefore, they need some strong ally to narrow this difference. However, the compulsion is that peace partner shall have some interest to get tangled. The strategic significance of CPEC meets this essential requirement of the underlying interest. It is part of One Belt One Road (OBOR). The mega project with spill over effects on the regional, geo-economical, and Geopolitical situation is an independent variable. It will be investigated empirically (Mathew, 2020).

India's delaying tactics in conventional practices ignited the Kashmir conflict towards the highest degree of resistance called by India as violence. These tactics are costing human lives on daily basis since 1989 in IoJ&K. Therefore, there is not a single day, when any innocent Kashmiri is not being killed, arrested, humiliated, or the Indian forces did not damage their property. They keep defending the Indian rule in IoJ&K state against the will of Kashmiri people (Parihar, 1971). It is undeniably opposite in

Pakistani administered parts of AJ&K, where Kashmiris are enjoying freedom and greater political rights (Attique, 2019).

For seven decades, India's stony silence and continuous denial mode to reach any negotiated settlement ended in India's extreme radical position in 2014. She suspended the bilateral talks with Pakistan unilaterally (Dasgupta, 2015). It carries empirical evidence in the backdrop of previous wars and the highest degree of conflict. Therefore, the current situation of Kashmir and cross-firing along LoC is susceptible to bring state actors to the brink of the 4<sup>th</sup> war having nuclear susceptibility. Keeping the baggage of hostile history into consideration, if, Peace is not given a chance by peaceful means South Asian Peace is impossible (Thomas, 2019).

Keeping Kashmir dispute oscillating in "Peace by power" is the strategic objective of India. The entire Indian political philosophy to stretch the status quo relies upon it. It has a robust empirical correlation with the 4<sup>th</sup> century, BC., Kashmiri Brahman, Pundit Chankya Kautilya historic political manuscript "Arthashastra" which laid the foundation of realist school of thought (Mebett, 1996). This philosophy was engaged and put into operation by another Kashmiri Brahman Pundit Jawahar Lal Nehru. He took the Kashmir dispute to the UN in 1948 under Article 35, as first Prime Minister of India (Hersha, 1964).

Mr. Nehru managed the Kashmir conflict in a realistic setting but kept the hope of right to self-determination also manageable. He left morality from decades for academic debate. At the same time, at the operational level, India kept rigid power mounting, simultaneously in Kashmir to cement the status quo through his first Kashmir Pandit Research & Analysis Wing (RAW) Chief R.N. Kao (Duggal, 2019).

The multi-billion-dollar project CPEC has geographic proximity with Kashmir as its first milestone is Gilgit Baltistan., the northern part of J&K. Continuing this project requires peace at any cost to make it successful endure for China and Pakistan. An initial \$46 billion investment of China on CPEC), is now enhanced to \$62 billion.

CPEC is partially operative since Nov 2016. This massive project has spill over positive effects on economy, energy, and infrastructure. It also carries the tremendous potential to boost the international influence of Islamabad as a close partner of Beijing. It has the potential to change the strategic atmosphere of South Asia overwhelmingly. CPEC is enhanced by establishing Information and Technology Park. It can be the reagent to expand influence while investing \$1.5 billion on it. It is also agreed on Dec 2015 as part of CPEC. CPEC potential is implicit as that of American Marshall Plan for Europe in the post-cold war era is its other dimension or antithesis (Chan, 2018).

The first assumption is to study in this hypothesis's backdrop, that more the economic interests integrated more will be chances of supporting each other's position regionally and internationally. It will answer the first dilemma that Pakistan is strategically crucial for China. However, for Pakistan as the primary actor of the Kashmir dispute, her international influence will enhance. It will support bringing the proper interpretation of the peace on the surface, peace by peaceful means. The state policy of peace by power narrative of India will be pushed at the back foot, regionally, and internationally to keep the pace of the CPEC on cards (Liston, 2018).

The assumption tries to identify and explore one more dimension based on the win-win module. It will be beneficial for three regional actors who are nuclear powers but bordered with each other. i.e., India, Pakistan, China, and Kashmir, because CPEC is one of the powerful drivers of globalization and India cannot be aloof of it, keeping globalization's compulsion into consideration. India is currently opposing this project from pillar to post. However, former Ambassador of India Funchuk Slobodan validates our assumption that avoiding BRI could be a detriment to India; Therefore, there are possibilities that India may join BRI at any stage (Gong, 2018).

The power dilemma got the answer heterogeneously. If India maintained the distance from BRI, she would face isolation, particularly in a regional context. When her neighbours, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Myanmar, Nepal, and Sri Lanka are on board globalization in BRI. China continues to bring Bhutan in the net; India's has the

compulsion of globalization because she cannot cap it unilaterally. If she joins the BRI initiative, Pakistan will be in a better position in the lap of powerful actor China to push the resolution of the Kashmir issue by peaceful means, while offering the land route for the trade to central Asia. It will also boost the TAPI project, which is under severe stress because of Pak-India bitter relations. India and Pakistan desperately need this pipeline to meet their energy requirements. It has a leaner relationship with development (Lal, 2014). It is the net dividend for India in exchange of the Peace.

Globalization is in progression on the seat of BRI in Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, and now Nepal. Chinese direct presence in the Gulf and the Arabian Sea's mouth through Gwadar seaport will minimize an Indian influence in the region and oceans. Therefore; Pakistan will be regionally better positioned to give a gentle nudge to implementing UNCIP resolutions in a new regional realignment that was missing. The UNCIP resolutions will always be a legitimate option for any peace broker intervention if she has a stake in Peace. The U.N. resolution is discussed at UNGC every year by Pakistan; only four countries have supported Pakistan directly. SAARC nations may be influenced by Beijing influence or remain neutral. It may answer the dilemma: To what extent does the regional alignment have a relationship while addressing the Kashmir conflict (Kalashakov, 2018).

This study assumes that that balance of Power brings statuesque, favouring the Indian position on Kashmir because her interpretation of Peace is the status quo. Kashmir's principal demand is to change and shake the status quo while silencing state-sponsored violence structures and the armed resistance simultaneously, which are prerequisites of Peace by peaceful means (Nolakha, 2002). To change the status quo in IoJ&K is the core problem of this study at an operational level which demands multi-dimensional efforts sub-regionally, regionally, and internationally. To satisfy our problem, empirically requires equilibrium at multi-levels but little more influence in a linear direction, which is assumed in this study to integrate China at an advanced level. Meanwhile, we propose Kashmir-centric CBM is a catalyst for a step-by-step approach,

keeping in considerations the complexities of the Kashmir dispute caught in a stalemate that drained economy (Chacko, 2019).

Since CPEC passes through G.B., the northern part of Jammu and Kashmir's erstwhile state is disputed as per January 5, 1949, resolutions. These variables have synergy but within selective interpretations. It will answer another dilemma when we propose that CPEC be connected to AJ&K along the LoC with capital Muzaffarabad directly through Neelum Valley, where the Jhelum Neelum Project has already accomplished funded by China. It can be, by default, connected with Srinagar Rawalpindi Road, which was operative for trade between divided parts of Kashmir since 2008 along LoC (Yousaf, 2009). It may be the first road connection, linking the entire four regions of the erstwhile state of J&K, along with its winter capital Jammu. Kashmir, the summer capital of Srinagar, is already linked via Srinagar-Jhelum road with Muzaffarabad capital of AJ&K. If CPEC passed through Khunjerab to Muzaffarabad via Neelum valley, it would connect G.B. capital Gilgit with a capital of the erstwhile state of Jammu and Kashmir, Srinagar through Neelum and Jhelum valley road. It connects entire regions of the state through a single central road.

If G.B. and AJ&K controlled by Pakistan can be declared a free economic zone by Pakistan, China supports it at the first stage. The second stage can be extended towards IoJ&K because two main routes, i.e. G.B. to Muzaffarabad via Neelum along the north of LoC and the Srinagar Jhelum road the centre and south of LoC, are already linked. The entire three Kashmir regions can be integrated economically between Pakistan, India, and China while making LoC irrelevant. It will not jeopardize any of the actor's security. Still, it will bring a bounty of opportunities in an era of globalization to state actors' vis-à-vis to injured party Kashmir. They know the economy is immensely crippled in IoJ&K from 1989. Kashmiris are passing through economic and humanitarian crises, so they need immediate relief. It is vital for our survival because we are badly effected (Mubeen, 2018). This CBM maybe a mega leap towards Peace in Kashmir based on the postmodern development model's philosophy. It is a step-by-

step roadmap of conflict resolution to shape Peace from negative Peace to positive Peace and resolve the Kashmir conflict.

### **Statement of Problem**

Kashmir dispute has always studied form from power paradigm instead of the peace paradigm, which did not help chalk out the viable way forward vis-à-vis resolution of Kashmir dispute. Peace model, however, provided the viable alternative paradigm to suggest a way out for the resolution of the Kashmir Issue. The missing factor as powerful peace broker needs on the board has some interest in resolving the Kashmir issue and permanent Peace in the region.

### **1:2 Objectives of the Study**

- To understand the dynamics of conflict resolution in Kashmir
- To evaluate the interrelationship of regulation, prevention, and Power to distinguish discourse from the dilemma
- To distinguish between discourse and dilemma and in which way regulation, prevention, and Power futile the conflict resolution mechanism in Kashmir
- To analyse the promulgation of a positive peace model on Kashmir

### **Rationale of the Study**

The interconnection and interdependence on board of globalization in the South Asian region are in play. It cannot be side-stepped on India's wishes. Thus regional equilibrium is already under the influence. Therefore, regional connectivity has a formidable impact and potential to push Peace by peaceful means. The CPEC is partially operative as the vehicle of globalization; hence states inhabiting nearby are eager to join in the broader framework and vehicle of OBOR. It can bring new opportunities in the region to bridge the disequilibrium and gaps, which were primary factors of the long-standing Kashmir dispute. The regional followed by global realignment shares geographic proximity with the disputed state of J&K through G.B., which is the first milestone of CPEC hence Kashmir dispute is now entirely on the

regional radar having a global say. This study finds how the existing variables are examined to bring Peace while addressing the core issue of Kashmir.

It is routine that, the most significant change occurs amid conflict, which is susceptible to fundamental regional and international dynamics changes. The layout of CPEC is between the bullet and road initiative having a global strategic significance. It passes through the territory of the former state of J&K having disputed status as per January 5, 1949, resolutions. The domestic dimension CPEC has a linear relationship with Kashmir conflict to resolve the violent, complex, and asymmetrical conflict by taking advantage of the new actor China's emerging requirement. It is just a one step ahead of negative Peace in the region because interest and stakes area sole factor of the inter-state and international relations.

#### **1:4 Significance of Study**

This study has multi-dimension significance.

1. It gives a new angle to conflict resolution. The interest is the first time on-board the minimum prerequisite to push the peace process because Peace has new stakeholder whose interests are affiliated with Peace in the region.
2. It addresses the missing link which was not on the cards till date. Why a powerful actor gets involved
3. It is regional dynamics having international significance. The situation was not so far emerged to capitalize on it
4. It rescues Peace from the Peace's misinterpretations because India also uses Peace at any national or international forum.

#### **1:5 Period of Study**

The study is carried in Post 13 November 2016 when first regional connectivity took place. CPEC became operational Vis-à-vis Chinese cargo reached via land route through Pakistan to Gwadar and onward shipment to Africa and South Asia. The civil resistance was at the peak in Jammu Kashmir against the Indian rule. CPEC became operational despite the speculations that it has the new regional dynamics associated.

This route passed through the G.B., which is part of the Jammu and Kashmir's elsewhere sate. The opening of the CPEC was the main component of the process of globalization. It stamped the rationally that it is the first significant milestone of the regional connectivity and interdependence between China and Pakistan, which will boost international relations with the actors.

#### **1:6 Literature Review**

The Kashmir literature, both from Power and Peace paradigm, is reviewed from four periods: 1947-1965, 1965-1975-1975 to 1990 and 1990 till date. The main objective is to know what is already done in conflict realm. Understand the dimensions captured by social scientists and learn from learned ones is crucial. The missing factor's and finished ideas are preferred with due standing. It is an essential requirement. It is the main component of the study to find the gap and address it with empirical evidence.

In this study, the multi-level analysis was a requirement though it is exhaustive. The literature of Kashmir at the intrapersonal level, (Inner conflict), Interpersonal, intergroup, international, regional, and global was required to get an essence. An interplay of this entire situation and find the gap that can be addressed, not focused, form other dimensions of the Kashmir problem. In the I.R. domain, Peace and conflict is a sub-branch. It is a separate and specialized field. It has emerged in the post-cold war era as a specialized subject. However, conflict in Kashmir took birth before World War II, when Britain was winding the colonies. Therefore, scholarly literature about Kashmir conflict is also scattered in imperial, historical, political, ideological, legal discourses of War and Peace of South Asia. To review Kashmir conflict purely in peace and conflict resolution lenses and framework, it demands keen investigations beyond polemical contours; hence multi-disciplinary literature review is carried to capture the conflict's essence. It is a prerequisite to satisfy the core questions of this study.

The Taittiarya philosophy carries relevance here, who said; about the evolution of new ideas; "whenever you want to modify the current understanding in a particular direction, see what learned did, and learn from them" (Upanishad, 6<sup>th</sup> BC). The study

rely upon the scientific review, by systematic empirical, innovative, critical, which is tested and public. The asymmetrical and belligerent war between Indian and Pakistan, India's seventy-year military occupation is-à-vis an armed struggle against Indian rule in Kashmir did not culminate in addressing the Kashmir dispute. It is why? Kashmir conflict is more violent and complicated. The precious human lives are consumed as the fodder of the conflict daily (Ganguli, 1998).

Another interesting bond of this study is that the world eminent peace scholar Johan Galtung called Mahatma Gandhi master of the masters who was India's father. John Galtung spent much time in India and worked with Democracy, Peace and Development. While tracing the literature of Peace and find its relevance with Kashmir, Gandhian philosophy is the first milestone because Johan Galtung was influenced by the Gandhian thinking of Peace and its relationship with the state. However, present Indian PM. Mr. N. Modi is entirely intolerant. He is extreme right-wing radical Hindu chauvinist. His radical party BJP abuses and abandon Gandhian philosophy.

It is the core challenge to review the literature to rescue Peace engulfed in Indian interpretation of peace and power game because the Indian interpretation of Peace augmented by Indian Power had prevailed since 1947 till the doctrine of Pundit Nehru. He was himself the leading frontline preacher and practitioner of the Gandhian way of life but behaved opposite Kashmir. However, he was Kashmiri origin Pandith, who said, the physical occupation of Kashmir solves 90% of Kashmir problem, rest can be managed through academic discourse (Noorani, 2014:14).

Land occupation of IoJ&K is the physical reality of the Kashmir dispute. India is occupying Kashmir geographically; hence her sole objective is to augment the status quo. Therefore, who so ever tries to change the status quo is a "terrorist". Any other who helps the Kashmir's are sponsors of "terrorism". It is the security/liberty dilemma argued by (Azulay, 2015). It threatens civil liberty and human rights (Weaver, 1995). It creates panic because state forces have given extrajudicial powers to crush terrorism (Cohen, 1972). What is the legal perspective of the Kashmir cannot be skipped from a

literature review? It still needs to know whether Kashmir's issue is India's domestic or internal issue or it is an international armed conflict with legal legitimacy as per international law. Disputed status commission U.N. resolution nullifies to take it with the sovereignty of India.

India herself took Kashmir to the U.N. on January 1, 1948. The resolutions number 39, was adopted by UNSC on January 20, 1948, to establish the commission. India chose the commission members followed by Pakistan and third by the UNSC on the communications received by the commission December 23 and 25, respectively. It was named UNCIP. It was supplementary to the resolutions of the August 13 passed as; "The question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan will be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite." A plebiscite will be held when the Commission shall find that the cease-fire and truce arrangements outlined in Para I and II of the U.N. Commission's resolution of August 13, 1948, have been satisfied vis-à-vis arrangements for the plebiscite have been finalized.

The U.N. resolutions are the milestone of this study. However, India maintained the Peace with Power in the J&K. Until and unless other intervening variables are not associated, it is difficult to hope for Peace under absolute one-sided power imbalance. The current situation of Kashmir validates this hypothesis that more the Power exercised, more are the causalities, and more are the stakes, so it correlates because damage control drifts states towards the use of state structures of violence. It makes the underlining actors' position hardened even if in asymmetrical conflicts like Kashmir, weaker got killed or diluted. However, the cost in the shape of causality makes it hard for actors to reach the truce because every stratum of the people gets involved, trauma shrinks political space for Peace. It is conflict engagement in asymmetrical conflict.

Kapoor argues that nuclear war's risk makes it unlikely that conventional war may escalate to the nuclear level (Kapoor, 2006). These scholars emphasized the conflict's intensity, but the root cause of the conflict and how to address it has given little

importance. Literature establishes Kashmir conflict as an international dispute and nuclear flashpoint. Kashmir is the core problem that gives this study direction to examine the dispute from an international conflict perspective; hence Kashmir is not merely a bilateral or territorial dispute.

The UN Security Council may determine the existence of the threat of peace, breach of peace. The action is taken under article 40 and 41 to maintain or restore international peace and security. UNSC is reluctant to invoke chapter-vii though the maintenance of international peace and security is a U.N.'s primary objective. However, the engagement of UNSC is not simple in the contours of world peace because great powers have underlying economic interests with the world's second most populated India with a big market. It is argued that "Investing in peace: Economic Interest and International Conflict". Here, discourse shifts from international Peace's immediate maintenance to economic interests, and Peace gets little global focus. This argument links the interests with Peace in this study because states keep interests paramount to facilitate Peace endures, which correlates with the economy (Gartzke, 2003).

It is why the USSR exercised veto in 1964 at UNSC favouring India in 1964 when Kashmir was referred to UNSC against the non-compliance of UNCIP resolutions by India because USSR had economic interests. Same was repeated by China in 2016, favouring Pakistan position in Kashmir by putting the "technical hold "against the resolution backed by Britain, France, and the USA. Chicago University Scholar, Scot Gehl Bach argues in an article "the contribution of the veto players to economic Reform" that there is a relationship between Veto powers and economic interest. These findings have three direct empirical relationships with this study.

1)- Economic interests of India's great powers are a mega impediment to revoke the chapter-vii or impose economic sanctions against India on humanitarian bases, upon her bad human rights track record in Kashmir and other parts of South India. JKCCS documents two thousand two hundred case studies of the extrajudicial killings. It is enough evidence to book India for war crimes.

2)- Peace and conflict of Kashmir cannot be isolated from the economic interests' dependent variable. Interest is the key to regional or international relations. 1.3 billion Markets of India have weightage in international influence.

3)- Kashmir is used as the bargaining lever by great powers because to support the position of Kashmir is critical for both India and Pakistan to gauge their relationship with incredible powers.

The accession was fraudulent. An Eminent British Author Allister Lamb in his book, *Kashmir: A disputed legacy 1984-1990* (1991) argues that Hindu Maharaja Hari Singh did not sign the instrument of accession on October 26, 1946, a day before India launched her troops at Srinagar airport because he was in the way from Srinagar to Jammu, Therefore, Indian legal claim is deceptive due to conspiracy of Sheikh Abdullah, Pundit Nehru, Indian army officers and few British.

This argument is reinforced by renowned British author Victoria Schofield (Kashmir Conflict, 1946) referring to Delhi Alexander Simon's British High Commissioner's diary. The Maharaja left 2 AM from Srinagar in winter. It was impossible to reach within hours to Jammu on the next day. Therefore, the signing of the instrument of accession is questionable. However, Indian accession was limited in Defence, currency, and Foreign Affairs. After cashing Sheikh Abdullah Muslim posturing, He was kept away from Power from 1953 to 1974 to erode the instrument of accession up to the quantum that Kashmir is fully integrated in India while scraping special status depicts Indian democracy.

Sheikh Abdullah was jailed. Sheikh returned to Power when he was 70 years old in post inking of Indra Abdullah accord in 1974. To return in Power happened after two decades after convincing Indra Gandhi that he was the person who brought Kashmir towards India and is ready to dilute the special status of Jammu and Kashmir 370. He agreed state heads' nomenclature changes from Prime minister to Chief Minister and President to Governor at par with other provinces of India (Victoria, 2003). This

argument gives the space for the legal argument that it was the first significant encroachment to special stats by utilizing powers of India's president.

It is merely a selective elective democracy. India shrunk the space of the democracy even fired their people when required. India kept hard power increasing, while side by side squeezing an internal autonomy. The Indian government's rigid control over legislative elections in 1987 when candidates were arrested, beaten, and tortured. It gave birth to armed resistance argued (Navlakha, 2009). To shake the faith of the Kashmiris in the Indian democracy proved fatal for Kashmiris who then adopted the extreme position to challenge Indian rule. Indian Power exercised its might that bled Kashmiris, and this trust deficit had widened.

The U.N.'s fundamental objective was to guard the Peace and security of the world. However, it got mocked in selective frames. A social constructivist liberal argues that potential enmity creates anarchy's realist world (Thomas et al., 1995). The intrastate dynamics of the Kashmir conflict is that Pakistan is formally supporting the Kashmir resistance struggle morally, diplomatically, and politically while denying, the supply of arms and ammunition to Kashmir's resistance. India does not accept this argument. Pakistan though a legal party to Kashmir dispute cannot push the peace efforts on the same argument what India did in Bangladesh though India had no legal justification to intervene in Pakistan's issue.

The 9/11 brought the war of ideologies on the forefront, so human rights and Peace went on the back seat, argues (Engel et al., 2004) in his research work sponsored by U.S. Airforce published in the book Muslim after 9/11. It exuberated unique challenges for Peace in Kashmir because now U.S. linked Pakistan support to Afghanistan for his "do more" insistence with eradicating the Taliban in exchange of U.S. support in Kashmir. 9/11 augmented India to come closer to the U.S. and benefit from diluting the Kashmir policy of Washington. The U.S. support from Wilson to Bush Senior for the right to self-determination of Kashmir is shacked. As the U.S. put Syed Salah din, the Chief of an indigenous armed resistance on the U.S. terrorist watch list ultimately

benefited India. He was contesting elections in 1987 from the heart of Srinagar, Amira Kadal constituent Assembly seat. He was arrested in 1987 while released after two years. These elections were widely believed to be rigged reports (Hindu, 2017). This is a mega favour to India after decades during the present President Triumph led U.S. administration because the great Power heavily influence the outcome of the conflict argued John Mearsheimer in "Reckless state and real's" (Mearsheimer, 2009).

To persuade the great powers is the requirement of this study as Peace and stable international relations have a leaner relationship. The support of Kashmir's question had gained central importance in handling India and Pakistan's state actors. Contrary to armed one, Kashmir's resistance has passed through evolution, however; to sustain an indefinite Indian rule in Kashmir has new emerging challenges because to declare the entire population as "terrorists" is not workable for India herself (Roy, 2014).

It is not armed resistance only which ignited the conflict—substituted by the emergence of mammoth indigenous resistance by the 4<sup>th</sup> generation of Kashmir's who are more organized, charged, and laden with the highest degree of hatred against Indian rule. The mass resistance of Kashmir's is more persuasive than armed resistance because it shifted the Kashmir struggle from Pakistan centric to an indigenous one (Rasool, 2018).

It is established from the Kashmir Conflict's insight that India dominates the peace process in the same lines vis-a-vis the same fashion as North America dominated the conflict resolution in the peace studies (Baljit, 2003). Post 9/11 exceptionality had given an edge to India internationally to put more pressure on armed resistance groups. They carried operations and inflicted massive causalities which resulted in more deaths of the civilian. Indian forces carried human rights violations being free hand to ponder through Power. Therefore, armed resistance in Kashmir came under severe stress because seize fire of 2003 along LoC has seized the movement of militants along LoC. India fenced and electrified the LoC to make any movement impossible.

This study's first milestone is to learn from the scholarly work of great thinker Deutsch "chance of being obeyed". He established that" people obey a robber in a holdup or a foreign army of occupation as long as the intruder has the gun pointed to them". It is a true reflection of Kashmir for decades. However, scenario moved a few steps ahead (Karal, 1967). It is an exciting phenomenon in the Kashmir conflict context when the researcher has first-hand access to the conflict zone. Kashmir's are not feared Navadays, by the lethal weapons of Indian army'. They resist, in utter distrust against the highhandedness of the Indian military machine but get killed. They are wafted in the situation, where they feel that dying is better than living under the current situation. Either we to obey or resist (Jameel, 2018). This situation arises when the military might starch beyond the ultimate level; people get involved at a mass scale.

In this scenario, the plot for peace-making is challenging because it is dead-end. Therefore, neither alone Indian state power might bring an end to resistance or resistance alone to bring Peace and Justice because they have meagre support. India controls the land of Kashmir on gunpoint but not Kashmir's. India is comfortable up to the quantum that she has no international pressure, particularly in post 9/11 (Shaheen, 2019).

The peace had a remote chance in the presence of Indian state structures of violence. personal of Indian forces deployed in Kashmir. They add the gravity of the situation and keeps the Kashmir conflict boiling. Today the highest concentration of Indian troops can be seen in Kashmir more than Iraq, Afghanistan, and Burma (Kak, 2011). Three thousand unknown un-recorded mass graves in Machil Kupwara killed by Rashtriya Rifles of the Indian army is just a glimpse of the massive Human rights situation in Kashmir (Kashmir Process, 2009). The Kashmir dispute literature is also scattered in the antagonism between two nuclear neighbouring rival countries India and Pakistan restricted in the sphere of Peace and terrorism.

Kashmir conflict is also studied and analysed in the prism of sovereignty, bilateralism, regional, border disputes, territorial, blame gaming, Insurgencies, counterinsurgencies,

overt and covert operations, sabotage followed by bilateral agreements. However, Peace is always misjudged by India. Every misinterpretation of Peace led to one more war since 1947, followed by cease-fire and agreement vis-à-vis a fresh promise to resolve the Kashmir dispute.

To push the UNCIP resolutions for settlement of the Kashmir dispute is a peaceful route because UNCIP resolutions provide four concrete bases of Kashmir conflict. Therefore, the intervention of any third party is not breaching in the sovereignty of India. The strong legal base that Kashmir is an international issue and the presence of UNMOIP in Srinagar, Muzaffarabad, Rawalpindi, and New Delhi is a reflection that UNCIP resolutions are in place but not implemented. Pakistan and India need to report about the ceasefire violations along LoC. However, India is not reporting since 1971.

1. Therefore, Kashmir's Issue is on the UN agenda, demanding implementing the right to self-determination. It is justified in the international law perspective.
2. Legislative Assembly elections conducted by India in the disputed territory of Kashmir has neither of validity nor is a substitute to right to self-determination UNSC resolution 91,30<sup>th</sup> March 1951, Document no/ 2017/Rev.1dated March 1951: UNSC 122, Jan 24, 1957, adopted in its 765<sup>th</sup> meeting. Therefore, no internal legislation can surpass international obligations.
3. The demand for an inherent right, i.e., the right to self-determination, is purely according to the UN's charter principles. This right is guaranteed to Kashmir as per 5<sup>th</sup> Jan UNSC resolutions.
4. Kashmir is an International Armed Conflict. The rule of Law in Armed Conflicts projects (RULAC) of Geneva Academy of International Humanitarian Law and Human rights classifies the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir's princely state.

Article 1(2) of UN charter, article 1 of Universal Human Rights deceleration, reflected on 21st April 1948 UNCIP resolutions ratified by 5<sup>th</sup> Jan 1949 passed on Kashmir conflict with a solution to self-determination. These resolutions were never put in practice though endorsed and accepted by India till 1971. It is a simple and most

comfortable roadmap to bring peace in Kashmir, but India resists it at the national and international forum. The answer is simple since the population of Muslims was 74.16% according to the 1941 census against 23.72% Hindus. Besides all geographical, historic, road, and railway links through Pakistan, Kashmir was a natural part of Pakistan. Since the result of the right to self-determination is based on a majority vote, the verdict is predicted against India's demography. Hence, India is resisting the right to self-determination to Kashmir's. It is not the end. She erodes special status by abrogating article 35/A to change the demography is today's central issue.

Implementation of UN resolutions is a vector approach to peace. It is also a humanitarian and straightforward route for sustainable peace. However, neither Kashmir's nor Pakistan and UNCIP resolutions, Human rights, and Humanitarian laws could bring India in terms of the right to self-determination from 1948 till date, though, it was binding upon the members of United Nations as per article 103. Here is the first departure point of how powerful states behave under such conditions she wins, losses, or draws, argues (Deutsch, 1979). Since India keeps the Kashmir under boots, therefore, it gives her a lease in Kashmir.

From 1947-1965 India regulated the conflict which ultimately led to war, a cease-fire. Tashkent deceleration was signed, but negative peace was not maintained. The third generation from the same majority is resisting the Indian occupation currently in 2018 relying upon large on the same narrative. While carrying the interpretations of Peace in Kashmir by Indian, Pakistan, and Kashmiri, the available literature may be biased for each actor if we look at it from Indian, Pakistan, and Kashmiris perspective. However, the literature of Kashmir dispute of impartial foreign researchers indicates linear consistency in Indian policies about Kashmir. It is wholly based on conflict prevention and conflict management instead of conflict resolution (Lamb, 1991).

India's interplay of multi-dimensional and multi-prong strategy as a state actor while keeping the violence structures intact is the hegemon's style, mentions (Chomsky, 1989). He further states that powerful nations do not adhere to morality. The entire

case of Kashmir's relies on morality. Therefore, relying purely on morality will not bring peace in Kashmir, until and unless there is no hybrid arrangement to push the peace efforts multi-dimensionally. This study's contribution while giving more importance to Indian mind-set to study Indian strategy in depth. As a state actor, India is a crucial and shrovet who promotes morality but exercise power. It is an absolute dilemma which needs a focus to uncover it.

An uprising against India during Gibraltar launched by AJ&K and Pakistan was not fully backed by Kashmiris of Indian occupation which led unprovoked war in 1965. Kashmir Conflict was again prevented and India, as hegemon maintained the status quo in Kashmir because neither India was willing to leave Kashmir from the Indian domain nor Pakistan, could push it on the ground. Therefore, the 1965 war ended at Tashkent by the mediation of USSR. Indian buys time in conflict regulation. India maintained her interpretation of "peace" for up to 18 years in the third spell and again managed the conflict.

The post-1971 literature focus is regional, bilateral, and political aspects of the Kashmir Issue because Pakistan's division into Bangladesh as Pakistani ideological frontiers dented severely. However, Kashmir's took its aggression of India to Pakistan, and it increased the degree of hatred against India in her controlled part. However, Indra-Abdullah accord was the fall out of the 1971 war. The internationalization of Kashmir issue shifted in bilateralism debates. Vice-Admiral of Indian Air force Varghese Kithara argues that in exchange for the release of the prisoners of war extracted maximum concessions from Pakistan on Kashmir during Shimla accord (Koithra, 2004).

As a state actor, Pakistan recognised that the Kashmir issue is in the doldrums in the coming years, but she had no option being a new-born state struggling for survival. Therefore, she entered into SEATO followed by CENTO aligning with the USA to balance India in the region. On another side of the divide, the Kashmir conflict's internal and external dynamics got in control of India however; masses were

overwhelmingly eager to have the option to exercise the right to self-determination but were managed politically in negative peace.

When the balance in power is missing as in India and Pakistan context, great Thucydides said, “strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must”. Pakistan is suffering along with IoJ&K because parity in power never reached the climax where Pakistan could have pushed the UN resolutions of the peace. India managed the Kashmir conflict by signing the Tashkent declaration” Pakistan tried her utmost to balance the power with India, but due to its limited resources, failed. Balance in power (Earnest, 1993) is the ultimate foreign policy goal (Home, 1739). India moved one step ahead and launched a hybrid war against Pakistan in the seventies in East Pakistan by supporting Mukti Bahini terrorist group under the Congress-led Government of Indra Gandhi. She allowed R&AW to fund, train, nurture Mukti Bahini and launched militancy in East Pakistan. Indian R&AW hatched successful conspiracy and entered its troops physically in East Pakistan to dismember the country in 1971. Mukti Bahini and Mujib Bahini militants were trained and armed by the Indian military while trapping the 70,000 Pakistani troops after the full-scale war, culminating in Pakistan's defeat. Pakistan's sovereignty collapsed finally with Bangladesh's emergence. Arun Ditty Roy argues if India justifies the support to Bengalis human rights grounds then Pakistan helps Kashmiris on the same grounds which is also justified.

The nine-month war ended when Mr Bhutto and Ms Indra Gandhi entered the Shimla agreement in 1972. India this time manipulated the trap of the prisoners of the war as a grey area of Pakistan. She geared her all forces at a multi-dimensional level to get the LoC accepted by Pakistan as a de facto border. However, Pakistan agreed to change the CFL nomenclature into LoC. Both agreed that Kashmir would be resolved bilaterally according to UN resolutions.

The US helped Pakistan's Kashmir position at UNSC. She maintains now, Kashmir dispute shall be resolved bilaterally by India and Pakistan. This position helps India. It

benefits India to keep Kashmir in the bilateral framework. The US provided aid and military equipment worth millions of dollars to both states. However, the US did not prove to be a reliable ally to Pakistan at crucial time. Simultaneously, as USSR helped India at all fronts including continued supply of arms and ammunition during 1965 and 1971 wars. The USSR exercised a veto against the UNSC resolutions. It was a mega obstacle to give peace a chance by global powers' influence. In fact, the 1971 war was also a joint venture of India and the USSR. Chandra (2015) argues that India shifted its posture from a defensive position to an offensive one, after 1971, which increased the security dilemma in the region.

Mr. Ajit Doval, the present Indian security policy driver, kept conflict resolution mired in conflict management through ultimate hard power. His doctrine is based on three core philosophical connotations. 1)-Irrelevance of morality 2)-extremism freed from calculation or calibration 3)-Reliance on the military. His assumption is purely based on aggressive defensive vis-à-vis adversaries. According to his doctrine, the enemy "Pakistan" is to be engaged in three fronts 1) Defensive 2) Defensive offensive and 3) offensive modes. India effectively used TTP and terrorist groups from Afghanistan to create mayhem and chaos in Pakistan. Since 9/11, Pakistan faced thousands of terrorist attacks by the Indian proxies in Pakistan and entailed huge economic and human cost.

India always relied upon the traditional power theory, which has some severe challenges in post-cold war dynamics, when the US emerged as a sole actor of the unipolar world (Pape, 2005). In its quest to balance India in the region, Pakistan entered the nuclear era, but India brought another logic into play to balance China. Therefore, she needs more military hardware; It opened new doors for the region's armed race, bringing another regional dimension on the play. It increased threat to Pakistan's sovereignty because it carries historical baggage when India never missed the chance to dent Pakistan and her policy towards Kashmir. It is a compulsion of the small nations mainly when they are weak in hard power and soft power; it seems complicated to balance power, under these conditions, states chose to ally with the powerful (Mearsheimer, 2001). It is followed by Band wagoning (Wright, 1942). A third-world

state like Pakistan has four options to balance the Indian influence in the region: (1) internal balancing (2) external balancing (3) Soft balancing (4) Influence in the international community, but Islamabad could not manage it. In this situation, Chain-gagging is another module suggested by Mearsheimer. Additionally, the following scenario that emerged in the Pakistan-China context may be seen in the phenomena of Buck-passing, i.e. if a state fails to counter the hegemon; it passes the responsibility of security to another state, as was done by Japan in post-WW-II.

China has emerged as the third party to the Kashmir dispute through CPEC having roots in the 1963 border arrangement with Pakistan. Beijing defended Pakistani's position in 1964 and fortified its statement that Kashmir shall be resolved as per the wishes and aspirations of the Kashmiri people. China dealt with the Kashmir issue in the South Asian context; however, it has kept an eye on India's sensitivities and tried her utmost to maintain the balance in relations.

The mega project CPEC changed position in favour of Pakistan as it will give China the strategic edge beside the economic one. There is a clear shift that the sole regional power, mega economy of the world, and mega actor in the race of global power, China, needs to benefit from Pakistan in a larger framework. From economy to regional and geopolitics here scenario changed from dependence which we observe in Pak-USA relations to interdependence in Pak-China relations. It is a new changing scenario under the regional context when we connect dots in this study. One of the queries that scholars need to study further is the volume of the trade.

To further find the peace and war literature, it is discovered that peace by equilibrium, peace by empire, and peace by disequilibrium had some relationship in India and Pakistan (Aron, 2006). The peace by terror or peace by importance is India's current strategy relying on the Doval doctrine. He proposes hard power, and discouraging policy of appeasement needs some hybrid module to devise the intervening variables. Otherwise, peace in the vacuum will not sustain this study's relevance (Chanda, 2015).

India is shriven up to the quantum while behaving as regional hegemon for all practical purposes. She eroded all international norms. The UNMOIGP office located at 1-AB Purana Qila Road New Delhi was asked to vacate and stop its function. It is an accurate picture of peace that cannot sustain under these circumstances. UN representative Mr Herve Ladses, UN Peacekeeping Chief resisted the Indian narrative while arguing that UNMOIGP works on UNSC resolutions. Therefore, UNSC can only revoke its mandate when decided by the UN. It brought India on the back foot.

This study's mega challenge is that India keeps mounting the structures of violence since 27 October 1947. This deployment of military, paramilitary and other agencies had reached high in 2018 up to 735,000 troops in 83 kms width and 111-kilometre length of Kashmir valley. Another side she is continuing to dilute the special status of the Kashmir 370. Despite no progress in pushing this CBM in the second stage, this trade survived many odds because there is a stalemate in state actors' stated position. Therefore, it needs other manipulating variables that we examined from the above literature, i.e., regional equilibrium in influence is required to connect at micro, macro, and global levels using globalization as the vehicle of peace in the contours of mutual interest. The scope of this small CBM was limited. However, it can be a creative and pragmatic approach (Yousaf, 2009) for making the step-by-step progress keeping the minimum possibilities into consideration if other confounding variables are in control. Following numerous gaps has been traced in the above literature, which demands an innovative approach keeping the current process of globalization and its spell over effects in consideration. The gaps in literature can be classified from the perspective of entire actors of the conflict.

1. Nuclear deterrence had further augmented the status quo in Kashmir. Therefore, new confounding variables are at play; hence, a new innovative module must capture the conflict's essence in the post-nuclear deterrence paradigm.
2. There are paradigm ideological shifts from a state actor perspective. India has discarded the Gandhian school of thought entirely while practices the Hindutva ideology driven by its National Security Advisor Ajit Doval doctrine. Pakistan is moving in a progressive democracy with the peaceful transfer of power thrice

in three consecutive elections. BJP has clear chances to win the 2019 mandate for a further five years. From the Pakistani side, the emergence of PTI as a progressive political entity is its reflection. The PM Imran Khan's first speech about resolving the Kashmir conflict through dialogue is an open offer as state behaviour but acceptance by India followed by denial within 24 hours shows Hindutva influence to cash it, incoming elections of India in 2019. Peace has little room until the hybrid approach of peace is not constructed. However, it is time-consuming.

3. There is a transformation in non-state actor's characteristics in Jammu and Kashmir. Politics was replaced by armed resistance in 1989. The mammoth civil mass resistance led by the fifth generation of Kashmir in post killing of rebel commander Burhan Wani is a new mass movement phase. He emerged as potential actors of the dispute. So, the transformation of the resistance from armed to mass resistance has reached a national and global audience.
4. The apparent shift in international Influence is in the cards. USA is leaning towards India and Russia who vetoed the UNSC resolution on Kashmir in 1963 is now carrying joint military exercises with Pakistan. This shift of international influence is crucial, but it can influence Kashmir's peace under new emerging regional dynamics that negatively and positively carry international fallout.
5. The relations of China with Pakistan lead towards interdependence and integration it will change rules of equilibrium when CPEC becomes fully operative. Bringing KSA on board of CPEC has augmented Pakistan's position and put Pakistan on the central stage.
6. World order is shifting towards a multi-polar system from bipolar to uni-polar. This emergence of a new power struggle impacts the Kashmir conflict both in negative and positive connotations.
7. Definition of peace was misinterpreted or deliberately confused, and we need to rescue the right interpretation of peace and establish it, which is the core contribution of this study.
8. The peace efforts were in a vacuum relying purely on immediate tactical achievements, i.e., conflict prevention, conflict management, and conflict

regulation so peace cannot capitalize in a vacuum. Therefore, conflict resolution demands more focus under an innovative approach.

9. The considerable of the killing of Kashmir by Indian forces had augmented more involvement of diverse cross-sections of Kashmir's so stake has increased multi-folds because more the human cost little are chances of compromises. It does not suit to dominating actor India.
10. Peace efforts demand tangible push in multi-dimensional directions at multi-levels simultaneously.

It is based on the above inclusive literature review while clubbing these empirical findings in changing scenario in Kashmir conflict. The peace cost had been increased multi-folds. The injured party, followed by a paradigm shift in geopolitical, geo-regional, geo-strategic and geo-economical and international dynamics, demands a broader exclusive theoretical framework under new emerging realities to study Kashmir a case study. The analytical eclecticism to conclude was vital because any single theory cannot predict any headway to complex conflict of Kashmir. At the same time, we are examining the literature on the Kashmir conflict from multi-dimensional angles. The peace periods from 1951 till 1989 are used to increase violence structures by India. She took them on driving seat to dilute the real chances of conflict resolution. How to settle the conflict requires a step-by-step approach and the underpinnings of peace when the dominant actor engages the conflict at high-cost. It demands regional influence with more influential actors followed regional and international community on-board based on economic interests, so this is the gape. Therefore, we suggested the hypothesis of this study to address the first question.

The next gap is whether the regional influence is sufficient to bring the powerful actor inroads of peace. It is relevant to our second question. We build the relationship of the first question in an advanced setting with the international one, to analyse how and under what conditions regional stimulus will be the catalyst of international influence. We build the relationship of the above two questions with Kashmir-centric CBM, which is already in play but at the micro-level. We suggested the potent CBM and its

significance in three conditions, i.e. cross LoC, bilateral, regional, and international setting, which has a direct relationship with a resolution of the Kashmir issue. CPEC is the driver of globalization on board of OBOR, so we link this CBM; therefore, we are bringing into play bilateral, trilateral, and multilateral dependent variables in tandem. To find an answer to the conflict resolution under entirely new regional dynamics, which can resolve the Kashmir issue while applying new lenses and fresh approaches.

### **1:7 Relevance of Study**

Kashmir dispute is unique in its legal characteristics because the mechanism of the UNCIP resolutions and the presence of UN military observers group UNMOIP is intact for seven decades. UNMOGP has a physical presence in Kashmir; therefore, the UN's monitoring is available despite UN presence the conflict erupted in multiple wars.

To implement the 5<sup>th</sup> January 1949 resolutions had devised a mechanism to grant the people right to self-determination either to join India or Pakistan. The US charter of democracy is along the same lines. It is validated by the resistance leaders like Syed Ali Gillani and Mirwaiz Umar Farooq supported by the mainstream leaders. There is a legal lacuna that resolution is mandatory; it is still relevant as the legal base. It is a ladder of conflict resolution (Ellison, 1998). However, intervention in Kosovo by the US was having no such resolution. There was no explicit authorization. It is symbolic that powerful can intervene despite international laws (Cassese, 1999). Sweden has established the commission by appointing a judge Richard Goldstone to investigate the America's international law in settlement of Kosovo.

The UNCIP resolutions are not implemented because there is a miss-match between India and Pakistan interests with global powers which are prerequisite in creating international influence. None of the powerful states interested in intervening through the international legal framework to resolve the Kashmir conflict. It is at par with the international laws not only because of UNCIP resolutions but gross human rights violations of India in Kashmir and the indigenous mass uprising of 2008, 2012, and 2016 is testimony when hundreds and thousands of Kashmiris came out on roads to

defy the Indian rule (Michel, 1981). We witnessed various ceasefires between India and Pakistan and between the militants and the Indian forces as the potent CBM. However, none worked because the main thrust was upon the effects but not causes (Khan, 2001). Bilateralism failed for seven decades to resolve the Kashmir conflict. India is reluctant for mediation, arbitration, and third party involvement upon which the majority of the literature relies upon. India is a regional hegemon, and major powers like the US, Russia, EU and others have political, economic and strategic interests with India. However, the facilitation is a viable route and facilitation shall create the route like South Africa in 1980 (Crooker, 1999). Some interested are also generated like in Dayton agreement in 1995 between Yugoslavia, Croatia, Bosnia Herzegovina, but facilitator shall also give some incentives (Holbrooke, 1999). Morality had little relevance when there is parity in power. Furthermore; moral values are for global consumption is the case with Kashmir (Salim, 1997). The facilitator shall not be biased with the status quo (Zartman, 2000).

#### **1:8 Research Gap**

Scholars devise peace modules but how to implement it when Indian is behaving liberalistic but operating a realistic frame demands some powerful peace broker on board with underlying interest with the conflict's actors and the peace in Kashmir. The current situation had not been created, but it emerged, and there is an apparent interest of China after her huge investment in CPEC and completion of OBR project. China also has a strategic interest in this land route. Her interdependence upon Pakistan can give Pakistanis, Kashmir policy some incentive. The geo-economics is deeply embedded in the geopolitics. The peace in the region is in the common interests of Pakistan and China also countries on the board of CPEC.

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### **1.9 Hypothesis**

**H<sub>I</sub>:** More the interdependence between Sino-Pak more the chance of support for each other's position

**H<sub>II</sub>:** Less the disequilibrium between India and Pakistan more the chances of Pakistan international influence and respect by Indian to International Laws

**H<sub>III</sub>:** More potent the Kashmir centric CBM's more the chances to bring positive Peace.

### **1:10 Research Questions**

**R.Q1:** What are the dynamics of conflict resolution in Kashmir?

**R.Q2:** Does the discourse of regulation and prevention of Kashmir Dispute postulate the dilemma of Peace by power?

**R.Q3:** How Positive Peace Model promulgates the discourse of conflict resolution on Kashmir dispute?

### **1:11 Methodology**

This research methodology based on a hybrid approach carried along the quantitative and qualitative divide. The majority of the respondents chosen are the representatives of the population or the subset of the population. The mixed methodology design was used (John W. 1994:182). This study's questions were designed first in descriptive format (Grand questions and sub-questions) for the qualitative component of the study and the comparing questions or related variables for the quantitative approach. This study's distinguishing characteristics are using the mixed methodology design followed the right qualitative questions more correctively focused on the dependent and independent variables. An open-ended questioner is for the qualitative approach is used through the Interviews, Observations, documents, speeches, and the collected visual material. The researcher's position in this study played a central role because he was engaged with Noble peace winning Organization PUGWASH (1984). The unique characteristics of PUGWASH were to facilitate Pakistan and India over the resolution of Kashmir issue. PUGWASH engaged every actor of the conflict and non-stateactors for eight years.

The study applied a hybrid approach along the quantitative and qualitative divide. The

majority of the respondents chosen are the population representatives or the subset of the population but selective chosen conveniently (John, 1994). This study's questions are drafted first in descriptive format (Grand questions and sub-questions) for qualitative component. The comparing questions or related variables are for the quantitative approach. This study's distinguishing characteristics apply the mixed methodology design: it followed the right qualitative questions more correctively focused on the dependent and independent variables. An open-ended question is outlined during the qualitative approach by going through the Interviews, Observations, documents, speeches, and the collected visual material. The researcher's position in this study played a central role. The author was engaged in peace talks between India and Pakistan when the armed struggle against Indian rule was at a precipitating stage. The Noble peace winning Organization PUGWASH was confirmed the Noble peace award in 1984. PUGWASH was working to facilitate Pakistan and India over the resolution of Kashmir issue to bring peace in the region.

### **1:12 Research Design**

The mixed qualitative and quantitative design approach is utilised positively. The open-ended question is designed on primary data (Gogolian et al., 992). The qualitative approach is given priority in this study as per the approach designed by (Bryman, 2007). It was vital to understand the Kashmir conflict from the multiple dynamics keeping its complexity in concern. Historical baggage, hostility and the various stakeholders' positions are engaged carefully.

Quantitative data is collected from the primary resources followed by some secondary sources such as published data in the form of books, research articles, and reports are also used in data collection.

### **1:13 Population**

The respondents were chosen from primary sources, selectively and carefully while using convenient but random sampling, though questions were distributed to more than 340. The majority of responses were collected during the series of conferences organized in various countries and Pakistan's major Universities. The respondents'

number could not be chased in equal number from all geographical entities due to apparent reason. However, most of the respondents represented any section of the society, group, opinion group, geographical entity, resistance camp, mainstream parties, political party, University or the government. However, the respondents were asked to respond freely though they represented certain groups or party in a personal capacity to control the internal bias. The responses are collected at a Likert scale for quantitative analysis and through interviews for qualitative data analysis.

#### **1:14 Sampling**

Sampling is defined as the unit's single section to get the exclusive research use for the statistics. Here we selected the concerned selected people from India, Pakistan, China, IoJ&K, GB, AJK, and foreigners who understand the south Asian politics. From the sampling of these, we collected the data for the quantitative and the qualitative analysis.

#### **1:15 Instrumentations**

The questionnaire was distributed to get the respondents' responses from the selected people of entire geographic entities, followed by in-depth interviews to get the qualitative data. The questionnaire was formed on the scientific lines. The interviews were carried out in detail to cover the study's various dimensions. Questionnaire for the quantitative analysis has five options to respond if any respondent was reluctant to answer any question.

#### **1:16 Data Collection**

The qualitative data is collected directly from the primary resources from entire regions having a direct relation with Kashmir issue followed by China and then from the international community.

#### **1:17 Delimitations of the Study**

The study is carried out in post-November 13, 2017 when first regional connectivity took place. The CPEC became operational vis-à-vis Chinese Cargo reached via Pakistan's land route to Gwadar and onward shipment to Africa and South Asia. It was amid the tension because Mr N. Modi led Indian government adopted the muscular

posture against Pakistan. The mass resistance was at the peak in IoJ&K against the Indian rule in due course of time. The CPEC became operational despite the speculations it is having the new regional dynamics associated because this route passed through the G.B., which is part of the erstwhile state of J&K. The opening of the CPEC was the main component of the process of globalization. It is the first significant milestone of the regional connectivity and interdependence between China and Pakistan and access of China through Pakistan directly at the Gulf's mouth.

## **CHAPTER- 2**

### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

#### **2:1 Overview**

This chapter aims to study various theories in their operational context and find the relevance of Pak-India conflict on Kashmir as a state actor and analyze which international theories provide the framework to study the Kashmir conflict in a broader perspective? Which theory will guide to achieve the long-standing peace in the given situation of Kashmir? Kenneth Waltz asked the question to himself in the 1950s. He argues "to explain how peace can be more readily achieved requires an understanding of the causes of war" (Waltz, 1959). The chapter-3 and 4 are dedicated to understanding the cause of the wars and the long-standing Kashmir conflict. The discourses and dilemma are discussed in light of the literature gap and set-theoretical prism.

#### **2:2 Engaging IR Theories: Peace from Power**

To comprehend the nature and dynamics of the Kashmir conflict, it is the key to understand the dynamics through IR theories of war and peace because theory sets the proper prism to address the problem and keep the study focused on the subject. In this study, we sought the interplay between the theory and the practice. The theoretical understanding is amalgamated with the practical possibilities which have a linear relationship with the Kashmir conflict. There is no single reality about Kashmir Issue. However, multiple realities with multiple perspectives and interpretations are mega challenge; therefore, the simple frame of theories cannot capture the essence to conclude when peace in Kashmir is a mega challenge. Its human cost is very high, including the period which had added the gravity of the situation. Therefore, special care is needed to capture the nuisance of the complicated situation of Kashmir, where multiple actors and interests are involved.

It is always in the interest of the powerful actor to keep the causes of the war mired. Therefore, since decades, India's focus is to put a short-term policy issue in play, establish her policy upon it and confuse the peace because she is in geographical control of the IoJ&K. India's primary agenda is to keep any international influence at bay,

which could influence the peace and keep the military machine in operational mode to kill the Kashmir resistance in all manifestations. This is the reason that the causes of the war are not brought to the surface. Therefore, cosmetic solutions are imposed since 1947 and peace is being misinterpreted according to India's interests which occupy the land. There are two primary schools of thought to deal with the conflict. One is the behaviourist approach that deals at the micro and individual level called "Micro theory". The second is the classical approach deals at the group level and is called the "Macro theory". Power is the main macro theory instrument, i.e. Military, Technological Economic, Political, and Social. . The classical theorists' foundations are based upon the preponderance of Power, Deterrence, the balance of power, and pre-emptive doctrine. Chanakya, Machiavelli, Clausewitz, Sun Tzu, and Fuller are some political philosophers who advocate that power is the only viable tool for the state to survive, thrive, and maintain sovereignty. India is a behaving liberally, however, operates under the realist paradigm in Kashmir.

Though fundamental human right, i.e., the right to self-determination, is guaranteed by the UN. The right to self-determination is guaranteed to Kashmiris through UNCIP resolutions of the 5<sup>th</sup> October 1949. However, they have not been implemented for seven decades in Kashmir because Indian interpretation of peace is powered by hard power, and she manages the international community. Keeping the UN resolutions at bay indicates no imposing authority exists, or even if it exists, it is selective. Therefore, the world is anarchic, and the UN's purpose of maintaining world peace is selective. Since the realist school of thought questions, the international community's existence so international anarchy is the permissive cause of war, which is a strong argument having relevance when studying Pakistan India dispute and state behaviour of India.

In the international system, states are operating in an anarchical mood, and there is no higher power or political authority which could control the aggressive behaviour of certain states. When the sovereign states join the UN, NATO, EU, or any other international organisation, it does not impinge upon the individual state system because these organisations' membership is voluntary. Therefore, it is the state's discretion to

quit membership if she desires to do so. It is why either the great powers in the world or the regional hegemony state like India in South Asia can call most shots. However, the sovereignty of states in the anarchic international system is questioned by (Jackson, 1990) while as claims it, to be a myth (Biersteker. et al., 1996).

The popular theories of international relations, realism, and neorealists have synergy in understanding that anarchic relationship but individual wars may be stopped from time to time. The same is the case with Pak-India wars on Kashmir. Both popular schools of thoughts in international relations prove with empirical evidence that survival has a strong correlation with power. However, the realists and neo-realists differ in human nature, the former school of thought says, man is flawed; therefore, prone to conflict; hence cooperation is never guaranteed. The former school of thought maintains man, may or may not be flawed. Therefore, human nature is not essential to explaining the conflict and social relations among the sovereign states casually explain why wars occur. The neo-liberalist (Waltz, 1959) argument in the book "Man State and War" is the guiding line "that peace cannot be achieved without a proper understanding of war". It sets the direction of this study from a broader perspective because it prompts to remove the dust from the various dimensions of the Kashmir dispute, leading to peace. However, the state is the grid of power and also influences the international hierarchy.

There are numerous intervening challenges. Therefore, we cannot conclude until and unless we will not investigate the Kashmir conflict, multi-disciplinary, multi-dimensionally but empirically in the frame of popular theories. While going through the international system, some question gets an answer, and it guides towards right direction because Kashmir conflict cannot be resolved in isolation. Since neither the international government nor states can trust one international government to give up their power, imposing authority does not exist to implement the UNCIP resolutions. Hence, the Kashmir case is lingering in the status quo because Pakistan does not possess desired political, economic, and military power or enough international diplomatic support to coerce India to accept UN resolutions. After all, geo-economics

has relations with international influence, and India is big in every respect. Therefore, a big market in the industrial age is the potent catalyst of international relations.

The frontline realist Morgenthau replies one more question that man may not be purely evil who represents and approaches the international system. However, he is undoubtedly tainted by original sin. Therefore, the first Indian Prime minister's behaviour regarding hanging the Kashmir was under the realist paradigm. He believed in power politics and this is the reason that he never fully implemented the UN resolutions instead he preferred to linger on this conflict. However, he was a Kashmiri Pundit by origin and by birth but representing the Indian state. Therefore, his sole target was to keep Kashmir within the Indian domain. He played his role efficiently in India's interests as per Kenneth Waltz's explanation he prioritized selfish goals over communitarian goals and satisfied Indian interests. A good man influenced by the realist school of thought behaved aggressively and opened the doors for conflicts and wars, while Kashmiris and Pakistan relied upon connotations of morality. However, it has no applicability in a realistic world. Therefore, a mega gap arises when studying Kashmir conflict in liberalism because the Indian position about Kashmir is at par with philosophy of realism. However, the man who was at the helm of affairs was a devotee of Gandhi. He is considered the father of non-violence. Peace in the western world, and the literature of the non-violence is attributed to Gandhi. Jawahar Lal Nehru was successor and follower of the Gandhi. However, in practice, he killed the majority's aspirations in Kashmir in 1947 with political manoeuvring and accepted minority decision over most Muslims.

Kenneth Waltz adds another pawn to conflict and peace that a good man misbehaves in bad social organizations. A bad man can be stopped to misbehave, if, there are good social organizations' Waltz emphasizes that international anarchy is the permissive cause of war. The individual and state-level factors are essential; it is, why wars occur, and how the future war can be halted—two significant factors matter in peace and war, i.e. hierarchy and anarchy. A hierarchy describes the legitimacy of the leader upon the various centres of power within the state, and anarchy describes how politics is

described globally. Both factors play a vital role in peace and war. The realism and neo-realism are precise that since there is no international system so war cannot be prevented, South Asia's case is the same. Pak-India wars on Kashmir have severe repercussions on Pakistan because she failed to resolve the Kashmir dispute and compromised its sovereignty, dented in 1971 by India because of an absolute imbalance in Power. Pakistan tried to shrink the imbalance while entering SEATO and CENTO. However, her ally, the USA did not move to help Pakistan in critical hours of war in 1965 and 1971 though Pakistan aligned with the USA in the bipolar world followed by the unipolar world. However, this alignment was a requirement of Pakistan than the US. Hence, the discretion of the great power unilaterally of what quantum of support she provides to Pakistan and in which area and under what conditions.

In this study, it needs to be careful and cautious that the state is the only unit of analysis in the international system. However, Kashmiris are the principal actor of the Kashmir conflict which carries a sense, though, they are paying substantial human cost while struggling under the Indian occupation. However, in terms of legal interpretations, they are non-state actors. Therefore their only route to reach to UN mechanism is via NGOs, having ECOSOC status. Still, they have also emerged as an actor in post 9/11; however, in the situation of exceptionalism.

Non-state actors had a marginal role to reach the UN mechanism, so Kashmiris had little space to reach the UN mechanism except to highlight the Human rights violations; however, Pakistan needs the power to dictate the peace. Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff believe that conflict is regarded as rational, constructive, socially functional or irrational, pathological, and socially dysfunctional; therefore, social scientists are divided on this question. Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff had identified eleven core concepts by which states maintain the balance of power which was the primary requirement for Pakistan to push the peace efforts of UNCIP and address the Kashmir Issue as a legal party to dispute (1) Divide and Conquer (2) Territorial adjustments following by war (3) Creation of buffer states (4) Establishment of alliance (5) Maintenance of regional sphere of alliance (6) Military invention (7) Diplomatic bargaining (8) Peaceful

settlement of disputes through negotiations, mediation and arbitration (9) Reduction of armaments (10) Armed race (11) War (Pfalatzgraf, 1990).

To build the theories upon Kashmir conflict demands a broader grasp of peace and war theories of international relations; however, war will remain the shortest but costliest method in terms of human losses and property to resolve the conflict. Understanding the conflict theory helps us to understand the nature and dynamics of conflict. India and Pakistan have failed to mitigate differences from seventeen years because a proper understanding of friction among the nuclear powers having diverse interpretations was only power prevailed. It is bitter and the hard reality which can neither be brushed away nor put under the carpet because Kashmir question is central to the Indian power game.

The soft power is and will remain the main driver of international relations which continuously keeps shifting among nations, and the same is the case with Pakistan and India. The power tilt remained consistently favoring India because of significant state-sized vis-à-vis enormous resources than Pakistan; however, allies kept shifting. The US was a close ally of Pakistan having non-NATO status and Russia has always been aligned with India. However, after 2016, India moved closer to Washington and Pakistan also cultivated good ties with Russia after a small but significant defense deals for MI-35 helicopters. In Waltz's, opinion states need a powerful alliance that maintains the equilibrium by satisfying security concerns. India got the benefit in Kashmir by exercising the Veto by Russia in Indian favor. Pakistan got the US economic favors but failed to get any concrete support except the support of UNCIP resolutions under chapter-vi, which deals with pacific dispute settlement.

The classical work of Prof. Edward E. Azhar (Azar, 1990) in the theory of Protracted Social Conflict is reflected in IoJ&K today where there is a "crisis of legitimacy" "because the Indian government failed to satisfy the Kashmiris under occupation. She relied upon the irrelevant people's selected section though she invested substantial financial resources to consolidate the pro-Indian camp. She failed to ensure their rightful participation in running the state's affairs; it is why she kept suspending the

local assembly and imposition of the Governor's rule directly. This phenomenon ignited the conflict because of frustration and insecurity among masses. Fundamental human rights are denied to most of the population in Indian occupied Kashmir. The Kashmiris were denied adopting a peaceful route because India did not have trust in them. The 1987 legislative assembly elections are considered the primary cause of armed resistance in Kashmir. The principal armed group leadership and political leaders used to participate even accepting the Indian supremacy while taking an oath under the Indian constitution before entering the electoral process. Kashmiri leadership lost faith in Indian democracy.

The outstanding and landmark contribution of John Button in modern conflict literature defines the difference between conflicts and dispute vis-à-vis the difference between conflict settlement and conflict resolution. Burton's theory reflects that when conflict stretches beyond the maximum limit, the actors' interpretation of conflict is tagged with fundamental identity or survival. In these situations, reconciliation shrinks and differences widen. The basic needs of the party cannot be negotiated when it is jeopardized. Disputes are negotiable based on gain and loss, but it varies from case to case. He supports the institutionalization of the alternative dispute (ARD). He argues that state boundaries are drawn as a result of colonial aggression. He recommends that those societies shall adjust to the needs of people. "Burton theory" ponders the human desire and endeavors that; "No threat can deter when there are human behavioral needs at stake. Small nations can defeat great powers in their struggle for independence. Either violence cannot be continued; domestic violence persists despite the legal consequences".

John Burton is clear that "conflict prevention" and "conflict prevention" shall not be confused until it will not lead to conflict resolution. He suggests that argument, dispute, and conflict needs' to be understood while giving the basic human needs the priority. The human dimension is of paramount importance, causes, and conflict sources shall be removed to achieve conflict resolution. War results from selfishness, from a misdirected aggressive impulse, from stupidity (Waltz, 1959). As a South Asian

hegemon, (Levy et al., 2005) India is dominating the regional politics with greater impunity and primacy. India breached Pakistan's sovereignty in 1965, 1971, followed by Siachen in 1984, keeping the international community at bay, despite International laws being on the oppressed side. Mr N. Modi is now smearing the hybrid war while keeping an eye on Baluchistan. He openly threatened Pakistan to back off from the support of Kashmir. This blackmailing and inhuman attitude adds complexity to conflict because Kashmir is internationally recognized legitimate case as per UNCIP resolutions. It has nothing to do with India or Pakistan's internal conflicts. Whenever the question of resolution of the Kashmir dispute came on the international radar, India dilutes it with the argument in bringing the question of Indian sovereignty in play but simultaneously injuring Pakistan's sovereignty in hegemon style. It supports Cynthia Weber's theory that power will pass order because no international government exists (Wiber, 2005).

There is a strong connection between International Relations theories and everyday life, and to theorize the Kashmiri people's trauma is a major challenge for the researchers. However, when "sole power" was injured during 9/11, all tables were turned around. 9/11 changed the entire dynamics of Kashmir resistance, though; Kashmir's case is entirely different with its peculiar politico-legal status. The UNCIP resolutions legitimize it and indigenous mass movement is in play to get their right to self-determination. To suppress the mass movement of the right to self-determination increased the degree of trauma in Indian Occupied Kashmir. The construction of the trauma from global networks becomes a hot subject of international relations argues Antz and Lembke. The trauma of the powerful transformed into constructivism resulting in the genuine struggle of the right to self-determination of Kashmir went off in the back burner. In order to address the trauma of power, there was a shift in policies. Although the US always supported the implementation of United Nations resolutions, however, in the post 9/11 era, she changed her policies solely but gradually towards South Asia. It had been the USA's official policy for decades to declare Kashmir as a disputed territory, though India is sensitive to accepting Kashmir's disputed nature. The

UNSC resolutions and the International law provide a framework for resolving the Kashmir issue but failed to bring on the table regional powers and key stake holders.

The legal and international law dimensions of the Kashmir dispute is analyzed in detail in *Kashmir Dispute an International law Perspective*, (Hussain, 1991). He mentions in the conclusion while referring to Article 39 of the UNSC. "that India ceases the adjudicative process on the grounds of non-justifiability of the political corrector, Therefore, questions international nature of Kashmir dispute with a reference that the parties have agreed on bilateralism, "Shimla agreement", though, it was eroded by India in 1984. Power tilt was towards India; consequently, it supported the militant rebellion, Mukti Bahani but captured Siachen in 1984. Denying Pakistan's sovereignty is endorsed by India's Prime Minister, Narendra Modi, speaking in Dhaka in 2016. It is a question of inquiry that violated the Shimla agreement and beneficiary, while the powerful interpretation still prevailed.

Kegley maintains under such situations that the rules mean nothing without the "power of enforcement". Therefore, war and injustice are global problems and demands collective efforts to address them (Kegley, 1995). Kashmir cannot be resolved by Pakistan alone or followed by consuming four generations by Kashmir's in dispute while bringing the 5<sup>th</sup> generation on the streets with stones in hand.

It requires to address the gap in International Phenomena's prism followed by Indian, Pakistani, regional, and international context. This study is bound to take care of the conflict's fundamental dynamics to cover the conflict's complexities multi-dimensionally to add some concrete academic contribution. Other variables are having global significance when studying the underlining causes of suppression by India in Kashmir. Hardit and Negris' raise questions that do imperialists still exist?

Moreover, what does this mean for the state, sovereignty, and international order? There is evidence that quasi-imperial states still exist, like denying the IHL, IHRL, and

UNSC resolutions, as she processes power. There is no equilibrium in power with Pakistan, which supports UNSC resolutions (Shaw, 2002).

Kashmir is now oscillating between the interpretation of international sovereignty and International society, and it demands cautious optimism. Here in the Indian context, "Hindutva" is Narendra Modi's ideological posture in an evil organization. Leading realist, Morgenthau, (Tickner, 1992) argues that a group of people organized in the sovereign state will behave realistically to approach politics. It is a clear indication from the Indian Prime Minister. Simultaneously, as from Pakistan, there has been no radical regime in power except military regimes, though vast media framing exists that Pakistan is radicalised. Pakistan behaves responsibly. Waltz calls immoral society the leading cause of war and names it, international anarchy. The present international anarchy embedded in India's case in the region demands an empirical answer of this dimension.

War is bound to occur when there is no reliable power system to bind them to comply with international law. Therefore, each state judges their grievance according to its way (Waltz, 1959). It is India's present situation in the region, significantly when it influenced the SAARC in 2016. SAARC will remain the window to provide India and Pakistan leadership with the chance to de-escalate the tension shut by the present India regime speaks the high headedness to shrink the chances of the peace. It supports this hypothesis that the State values war goals more than peace goals and uses force to attain its goals because there is no automatic harmony (Waltz, 1959).

Liberalists argue there is basic goodness to the people that can be pursued in a lousy organization. It is empirical evidence why India insists on bilateralism and keeps at bay mediation, arbitration, and third-party involvement. The liberalist (Walker, 1993) argues that leaders who put rules and laws to temper conflict and facilitate cooperation are not seen in an Indian context. However, it is said to be a democratic country. It halted any international humanitarian and Human Rights Law and the UNSC resolution and is even reluctant to accept any outside mediation or facilitation. It is why, in our

study, we adopted a mixed approach to carry the study along quantitative and qualitative lines to capture the essence to reach the root cause of the conflict and suggest the panacea. In this study, the theory is tested by quantitative data, and the theory is also built by using qualitative data. It needs more lenses to study how Indian political doctrine is strictly based on the Chankian Philosophy of classic realism upon which she is trying to drive her neighbors.

The UN ratified Kashmir's right to self-determination demands the international community's rule; if there is no international community as a realistic school of thought interprets, it breeds horrible situation. It is fraught for weaker ones, including Kashmir's bled by imperial states like India as a regional hegemon. There is the alternative international system of Idealism, a subset of liberalism that gives hope. The same lays the foundation of this study that war can be avoided by eradicating the anarchical conditions that encourage it through cooperation empirically pervasive (Keglay, 1995). The formal or informal collective and the cooperative system exist whether they are slow, and their mode of functioning in the world system is sometimes result-oriented. However, the time bar cannot be set because this route is exhaustive to bring peace while the conflict's cost is high because power will keep suppressing the desire of peace clubbing with the interpretations of power. The idealism revolves around thinking that people can be organized in a shared understanding of humanity, who can, frankly, and honestly communicate. They can bring change, and they can transform the conflict. The idealist sees, all human beings are true actors of peace, even some people are in power, but they believe in humanity and human traditions (Walker 1993).

Idealism had brought some sustentative optimism to make the world safe for safe democracy. The Kashmir resistance leader Yaseen Malik of JKLF argues that Indian civil society perused him with consistency to avoid or shed the armed struggle. Therefore, he announced a unilateral cease-fire in 1994 in Kashmir. When he implemented in practice, the departure from armed resistance to peace endures. Yasin argues that in the coming years when our party JKLF was peaceful. He said, our party

cadre was still killed, maimed, and jailed. Indian liberals just played the role of the fire brigade. It left our party cadre under the open sky, high and dry. Ultimately, they did not back Kashmiri's fundamental rights, nor, engaged principle party in a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute. However, peace kept prevailed in Indian interpretations of peace and peace remained distant. A mighty Indian army machine digested our party cadre in Kashmir. The doctrine of great American President Woodrow Wilson, (Keglay, 1993) gave a complete solution during World War-1, even when, its principles were institutionalized into the League of Nations followed by the UN. The idealist world view, that war, and injustice are a global problem that requires multilateral rather than suffered state efforts to address them vis-à-vis the international system must recognize itself, institutionally, to eliminate the anarchy. It fits in India-Pakistan relations, but this idealistic approach does not yield the desired results so far, however, augmented the hope of the oppressed including Kashmir's that humanity prevails though, power keeps ruling the roost.

The thaw of the Cold War in 1984, end of the East-West war, the demolishing of the Berlin wall, Armed control agreements predicted that the world powers' cooperative behaviour was highly productive. It augmented the Wilson doctrine that lets people be given the right to self-determination, decide how and whom they will be governed by, is a viable solution, to put an end to the bloodshed that can save humanity from suffering (Keglay, 1995). Neo-idealists maintain that leaders are the country's face and the institutional expression; therefore, Mr Modi's statement cannot be observed at in isolation. He threatened Pakistan to use water as a weapon to compromise IWT. Though constructivism (Onuf, 1889) explores what states do, their interest is preference. However, Preferences and interest change. When the same prism is applied in Indo-Pak conflicts, we see no change, so this theory has no relevance because no change and preferences are in a stalemate.

The complex conflicts can be resolved through the UN's intuitionism, but it did not work in the India-Pakistan context to utilize its framework. Identity practice and politics are to the postmodern notion, but it does not give any framework in a particular

setting. It does not satisfy our hypothesis though are more viable and peaceful route. Analyzing the state behaviours at three levels are

- 1) Individual level
- 2) State level
- 3) The international level

It gives oxygen to the thought that the states' bad behaviour can be minimized to the quantum that it will curtail to hurt masses of Ojek, if could not be eliminated. It is a compulsion of liberal free trade agreements to strengthen international law and the UN's function as an institution. The international humanitarian responses would have spill over effects on state human rights and vice versa. W. Wilson's doctrine that the state had the compulsion to let people be allowed to decide how by whom they would be governed. It has a leaner relationship with the compulsion of great powers to bring morality back in foreign policy. However, it has little utility but empirically pervasive (Kegley, 1995).

It is why that multi-disciplinary inductive approach is pursued in this study. The study argues that lowering barriers, increasing cross LoC communication, encouraging people to communicate, and lessening the people's separation is vital. Kegley maintains that one cannot cage the sentiments because advancement in communication technology has voiced oppressed ones. It makes it difficult for states involved in heinous human rights crimes like India in IoJ&K to conceal it for an infinite period away from the radar of UNHCR and great powers. Therefore, the analogy of the international community has no direct relationship with people. Hence, in a complex international system, people's suffering is itself an actor, so the relevance of the common masses and their struggle is making the space empirically.

The constructive school of thought adds one more pawn to conflict studies while maintaining that anarchy is neither conflicting nor cooperative. Therefore, it is what the state makes out of it. The constructivist club gives one more lens to observe state behaviour and understand international conflict and cooperation. The constructivist's

core concept is what states do, depend upon their identities and interests; however, identities and interests do keep changing. What we are today entirely different from what we were yesterday. The identities and intersects change (Walt, 1998). It builds the bridges between neo-realist and neoliberal and says there is always room for constructed things. It recognizes the changes in state behaviour but not the state. The state identities can produce both competitive competition and cooperation. It is always unpredictable before a social interaction. Identities are just the basis of the interest to vow public support. Wendt et al., adds that changing the practices will change the inter-subjective knowledge that constitutes the system. It is the ego that makes the conflict complex. The crux of constructivism demands another prism to understand it in a multi-disciplinary approach.

The priming and framing of the Indian media is the active dimension of Kashmir conflict. “State-sponsored Indian media in Kashmir has huge fallout on Kashmir dispute. It produces, circulates, and transforms reality. Therefore, identities, interests, and the institutions are constructed and reconstructed”. Media make-believe that killing of common masses is in absolute interests of state and India is in the state of war. Kashmiris are “terrorists”. Any and every Kashmiri is anti-India, and their sole objective is to destroy India. However, leading top-notch resistance leader who is tagged by Indian media as the hardcore, Syed Ali Geelani maintains that they want the right to self-determination and peaceful coexistence. He is on record with confession that; if most of Kashmiris supports India during the right to self-determination, he will respect the majority's verdict.

There is nothing hard or which shall heart the sane community of India. This statement is a testimony for the international community. It is clear that democracy did not suit India as an occupational force in Kashmir are on the forefront to confront to shrink the space for any peace process. Therefore, Indian sucker morality keeps the democracy in contours of the selective instead of giving a chance to democracy. It is why? Only those who support Indian rule in Kashmir though MUF took the oath of Indian constitution before accepting their nominations.

While laying the concrete theoretical foundations of this study, it is learnt from the above discussions of realism/ neo-realism, idealism, and constructivism. All three primary schools of thought have a homogeneous definition about the conflict actors, i.e. state. Principle party are not a state actor; Therefore, they are not the unit of analysis but are primary parties to the dispute. It is why these philosophies are engaged. Furthermore, to address the dilemma when India is behaving realistically and promoting the Gandhism was a compulsion. Pakistan and India are state actors of the Kashmir conflict based on empirical social sciences above empirical findings.

The entire three main theories' goal is the survival of the state and protection of sovereignty. However, they differ in the actor's behaviour in anarchy. Realism's main findings revolve around the power to ensure survival. Idealism advocates promoting social learning through international organizations, e.g. UN and ideas through democracy and liberal capitalism. At the same time, constructivism says, that actor's behaviour is unpredictable before a social interaction. The most crucial question that directly relates to this study is if we want to mitigate India's behaviour. The realist answer is self-help because there is no imposing international authority or government vis-à-vis cooperation among the states to ponder India while compromising their interests. India has a vast market of 1.3 billion. It is the Indian main strength to keep international influence at bay and keep the query of human rights violations against Kashmiris mired in the international community.

India strictly applies this realist answer since they believe in Power vis-à-vis their strategic experts suggest the governments to behave under realist paradigm. She keeps the UNCIP resolutions at bay. India is eager to wind up the UNGOIP offices from Srinagar and New Delhi. India is eroding the special status enshrined through article 370 and 35/A. She relies upon the power to kill the mass resistance because in real terms there is no international authority to impose the UNCIP resolutions which have an empirical relationship, that resistance of the Kashmir is tagged with non-state actors. She manages them with power efficiently under the notion of an internal security issue. UNCIP resolutions are still in place but handle the Kashmir who demands its

implementation on the name of sovereignty. The degree of human rights violations varies from time to time from 1947 to date. India knows that cooperation among states is unreliable in realistic terms, so neither UN resolutions nor bilateral agreements have applicability until a mismatch exists in parity. It is a dilemma of how to address this because Pakistan cannot handle hegemon lonely.

This study's dire need is to empirically find an answer to the question that mitigates the state behaviour keeping in mind India as the state is a unit of analysis. Suppose, we do not find the desired path, to give a gentle nudge to our study from a theoretical perspective. Idealism says that there is an international society while the answer from constructivism is that to mitigate the state behaviour is the inter-subjectively structure of identities and interests. There is not a single empirical answer to address the Kashmir question.

The bold claim by Francis (Fukuyama, 1989) in his essay "The End of History" that liberal democracy had an unabashed victory after the cold war and liberalism is the only ideology left in the world. In another book, he elaborates the "End of History and Man" that conscious or unconscious ideologies are grounded forever. His emphasis that liberalism is an end to humanity's ideological evolution and liberalism is the ultimate form of government (Fukuyama, 1989). He suggests that liberalism is the only refined material form of the government and way of life which needs to be consolidated and spread by social, political, and economic institutions nationally and internationally.

There arise some severe concerns to this case study. At the same time, we were observing it in the prism of Fukuyama. Pakistani society got transformed from an extreme position to a moderate one, but it gave the cover to make up India's international outlook. Present India Prime Minister Narendra Modi is practising Hindu fascism. The liberal forces of India who were working under the blanket of secularism lost power. To refresh the memory of the liberal world, it pretends to mention that the present Indian Prime Minister Modi was banned from entering the USA in March 2005. He was denied entry under the immigration and nationality act of the USA's homeland

security. Because Modi, as CM of Gujarat, 1000 people, belonging to the minority, reported by Human rights groups, could have been saved if BJP government led by Modi could have taken the precautionary security measures. His involvement as a Chief Minister in Gujarat riots against minority communities is the stigma that the USA washed in Triumph's regime. His Philosophy has relevance in the international context. However, liberalism is used to make up, while Hindutva is in the driving seat, which depicts that liberalism may be relevant in some situations. However, it has little utility in the Indian context because India is the biggest democracy, but she practises power in Kashmir under the cover of liberalism and democracy.

It is assumed that Ideologies had been collapsed when this theory is practised in the Indian context, ideology is the primary driver of politics vis-à-vis Hindutva is a political ideology. Practising this ideology made the life of the minorities in India miserable. Compared to Indian present political philosophy, three consecutive parliament elections of Pakistan, 2009, 2014 and 2018 are not contested on the ideology's bases. Neither there was any Indian bashing, nor anti-India rhetoric used as an election stent to win the elections, while on another side of the divide "Hindutva" emerged as an absolute political ideology which is now controlling powerful military machine of state.

This radical ideology was a token of power in India, now in 2018. Hindutva is the Hindu Bomb, being started to rewriting the national textbooks by Hindu fundamentalists. Some theories have little utility in the sub-content style of pseudo-democracy (Summit, 2002). Fukuyama (1989) explains that this interpretation is the base of the study, that third world countries will remain mired in history and will keep exploiting religion for power. Fukuyama's liberalism originates from the cold war strategic paradigm guided towards a new research realm, i.e. globalization.

Globalization has roots in World War-II (Leyshoon, 1997); however, there is disagreement upon the expression of globalization that whether it is an ideology, process, or state being globality (Marchand, 2000). However, it is a floating sign of many problematic state behaviour. Globalization is well defined in the expression of

the neo-liberal and historical materialists. It carries liberal, economic, political and cultural process that has a relationship with how nations behave. It becomes vital for states to mitigate their differences to reap the fruits of globalization; otherwise, isolation cannot be affordable for any state. Any small and mega power is reinforced by soft power. Historical materialists are adamant that the economic process drives the political and the cultural process. The states had the compulsion to bring changes in institutions, ideas, and everyday life. The process of globalization overtakes the collapse of the communists and the socialist ideologies. The debates will remain in IR that whether the process of globalization had bestowed the unbiased victory, economic vis-a-vis political liberalism (Fukuyama, 1989).

Globalization is an important area of discussion for IR theorists because it impacts what we regard as the traditional peace and war domain. The globalization is studied what does it did, with the sovereignty of nations. Does the state wither away in an era of globalization or adjust herself with the thrust that she cannot avoid? (Weber, 2005). This finished idea is engaged in this study. Here in the Pak-India context geography plays a central role. The location of Pakistan is a valuable asset in the process of globalization. All land routed of India and China, half of the world, leads from Pakistan to Central Asia and Europe.

Globalization is the first milestone of this study. It is assumed OBOR is the vehicle of globalization and CPEC is its offshoot. Therefore, it carries the sense. It could be a disaster for India to mobilise the old brand of ideology for political benefit while resisting the natural process of globalization when regional power and emerging global power China, having next place among global powers is in play. Michel Hardt and Antonio Negri in their landmark academic contribution in "Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of the empire shifted the debate from universal benefits of globalization towards "servitude "and the evolution of the new World order. It is named "empire. They brought Marx "class struggle" in the new discourse. They called that new global monarchy is reshaped in the post-cold war. The US, UN, G-8, NATO, IMF, WB are global shapes of Empire, and class struggle has given birth to new resistance.

All identities are wiped out and replaced by Universal one. Economic inequality had widened. Therefore, the gap between poor and more wealthy had touched new heights.

The Empire fixes the present state of affairs for enmity and single logic of rule, i.e., "force" being presented in service of peace and single logic of the rule. They further elaborate that the rise of an empire is the end of the national conflict. The "enemy" is now no more ideological or national. Who so ever represents the threat, not to the political system or nation but the law? The term "terrorist" is now irrelevant. The conflict between nations is immaterial. They relied on Neo-Marxism and postmodernism. They fused three approaches to understanding the world; 1) Postmodernism 2) Neo-Marxism 3) Traditional IR theories (Hardit & Negri, 2000).

This mixture of complexities makes it multifaceted to understand the international order. It does not offer any panacea on how to deal with imperialism's new interpretation. They called it the "biopolitical" that mark the contribution to terrorism discourse, which is also clubbed with globalisation's discourse (Walter, 2004). The empirical work of these scholars studied in the backdrop of the 9/11 episode also shaped the new debates in peace and conflict concepts. (Mehmet, 2007).

Foucault, Deleuze, and Guattari like postmodern philosophers, believe that the Power Center keeps changing vis-à-vis cannot be described in territorial terms. Therefore, Hardit and Negri also modified that there cannot be a permanent power centre; therefore, the empire has a virtual centre. Same theory, when engaged in regional context power centres will keep changing, and none can impose monopoly forever. Hence, say cannot be diluted, if regional or international empires desired to do so. Michel Foucault's work on "biopower" and "nomadism" of the Guattari and Deleuze pushes the discourse along with the Hardit pattern that globalization should meet with anti-globalization and the multitude. The multitude force of the counter empire. In the end, we are left as a classic Marxist encounter between oppressors and oppressed, which untimely guides towards the relationship between multitude and the Empire are dialectical. Cynthia (2005). He concludes that multitude becomes the kind of militant

fighting not for pony justice as “Empire does” but for real justice. Hardt and Negri (2000) conclude that “This militancy makes resistance into counter-power and makes rebellion into a project of love”. To reflect on Empire does not only clarify the outlook that the Empires’ influence and how they exist and its enemies but its relationship with global peace. They introduced the existence of imperial and quasi-imperial states in the international order.

To engage “Empire” in this study, the resistance in Kashmir is against the quasi-imperial state India which is the regional hegemon. Therefore, the behaviour of the Indian state is imperialistic. She took Kashmir as servitude and adopts the same procedure as the imperialistic mindset does in the light of international theories. How states behave with servitudes is not a hidden fact, but study will lead us beyond the polemical or pseudo-political debate towards understanding the entire dimensions and how peace is caged in an imperialistic Indian mindset. To study the long-standing dispute which intensified the trauma of Kashmir. It demands to theories the trauma in international politics and needs to learn a lesson that empire markets trauma internationally. India is a regional actor with \$4 billion she gets benefited. The trauma has a linear relationship with the Kashmir question. It is an instrument backed by state to shrunk peace efforts with impunity. Interestingly, the Indian state machine is promoting Indian picture as oppressed by Kashmiri militants. This narrative has acceptance in some circles that conceals India's war crimes in Kashmir because as a state actor, she carries weight at international forums.

The episode of the 9/11 against the United States of America was a huge setback around the globe for oppressors who were genuine actors to demand the right to self-determination including Kashmir. The 9/11 incident shifted the entire debate of peace and war to square one. The ideology and culture returned into the discourse of war and peace. International scholars' and the practitioners who celebrated the Triumph of liberalism as an ideal form of the political order revisited their doctrine. Francis Fukuyama added one more chapter-vi to his book that needs some corrections

modifying and confessing that liberalism had not spread to the third world entirely but still needed to be done.

Just five years before 9/11, an American political philosopher and Director of Strategic Studies of Harvard University, Professor Samuel Huntington expanded his article, which he published as “Clash of Civilization and the Remaking of the World Order” got mega reception globally. The assumption is relevant to American orientalist Bernard Lewis, who was also thinking on the same lines. The September 11, 2001 incident was attributed to bestow validity of his hypothesis. Huntington's primary assumptions were that the world processes eight significant civilizations, and they are mutually antagonistic based on history, tradition, language, and identities and above all, religion. He assumed that Western and Islamic cultures are susceptible to fighting each other because of the antagonistic nature he called the clash of civilization (Huntington, 2001).

He argues in his hypothesis that the fundamental source of the conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or economic. The great divisions among the humankind and dominating source of conflict will be Cultural. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but global politics and principal conflicts will occur between nations and the groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics. The fault lines between the civilizations will be battleground of the future (Huntington, 1993). India cashed this concept at home while dealing with the Indian Muslims and Kashmir movement of the right to self-determination in the post 9/11 situation. However, this doctrine lost steam when great Asian Edward Said called it a clash of ignorance. Pakistan being a Muslim state supported the US led war against terror and lost more than 70,000 innocent lives and economic losses of more than \$200 billion in last nineteen years.

Peeping through the above empirical findings of the established social scientists dealing with security issues reveals that India is practising classic realism, so the philosophy of “Power” in India will remain at the central stage. Although India is enjoying

conventional superiority vis-à-vis Pakistan but it is also facing huge challenge of 1.39 billion population. Despite all odds the Indian economy is growing at a rapid pace which enabled India to be member to economic groups like G-20 and BRICS etc. While engaging the theories, it is presumed that equilibrium in influence is in shifting mode. Therefore, coherent regional connectivity can be attained, leading to more cemented cooperation among the like-minded parties in global arena. It is “globalization” in practice, a simple floating sign of many different problems suggested by Tauthail (Tauthail, 1998). The rule of High-Tech communication, cables, satellite, and internet is gaining importance in conflict studies. The state cannot avoid global cosmopolitism. Globalization is debated in the state's prism by (Koeman et al., 2003) while concerning international relations (Baylis et al., 1997).

Keeping the above empirical observation into consideration, the era of classical liberal principles becomes neoliberal expressions of globalization. Here is the departure point of this study that though India's present regime practised the traditional “Hinduism while cashing, Hindutva is India's radical posture. Present BJP led regime returned in power on the shoulders of Hindu extremist ideology, but the economy is still at the meeting point of India, simultaneously followed by Pakistan. Therefore, who so ever political party reaches in Islamabad and New-Delhi's power corridors, the economy will be at the centre stage. It has theoretical evidence that antagonism will haunt both nuclear powers in a regional setting. Therefore, none can bypass neither globalization nor Beijing. Economy and China in Asia had a correlation in a regional setting followed by geographical compulsions. The Chinese economy is growing a rapid pace and likely to surpass the US economy by 2030.

Guarri (1987) strengthens the argument that power is not located in any one place anymore. Instead, it flows through states. It is also ratified by the Sunday Times book of 2018 authored by Peter Frankian. He rewrote the world's new history. He establishes that Silk roads will bring an economic boom in the region on the forefront of new world order. The mega roads infrastructure and construction have a strong correlation with new opportunities to expose states' potential connecting the world markets, mega-

corporations of trade, and involving the masses in various forms. CPEC is its reflection and offshoot of globalization. This study hypothesizes that the connection of CPEC with Muzaffarabad along LoC will not dent Indian interests but can be the catalyst to boost her economy also if she joins CPEC. It is interesting to mention that whether India joins or maintains distance in both cases, globalisation cannot be ceased, unilaterally by India. The massive economy of China, emerging global power and established regional power is beyond India's range. It is augmented by social scientists' empirical findings that power is likely shifting from American continent to Asia. China used to be a superpower in the past.

Therefore, the quantum of dependency through CPEC between Pakistan and China and Pakistan's vital geographic location would bring the interest at par. The core conflict of the region Kashmir cannot be brushed apart so Kashmir dispute will get importance and due space in media regionally and internationally because it is interlinked through GB. Kashmir dispute will receive attention at the regional level, which can be the catalyst to bring it to international level. The CPEC already passes through GB, which is part of the erstwhile state of Jammu and Kashmir. Therefore, it can be merely the first milestone of inter and Intraregional connectivity (Hardt and Negri's, 2000). The concept of interdependence, augmented by Globalization provides a prism to this study to maintain this obligation that, economically viable Pakistan having a global say and good relations with neighbours is a fundamental requirement to resolve the issue. However, peace by peace means of Norwegian scholar Johan Galtung hypothesis of the positive peace. He is mathematician and pioneer of the Peace studies. His theory sets Kashmir's aspirations, who are non-state actors and requires strong state actors support.

Any peace concept includes the absence of direct violence between states, engaged in by military and others in general, and massive killing of categories of humans in particular. However, peace would be a strange concept if it does not include relations between genders, races, classes, and families. It does not also include the absence of structural violence, the non-intended slow, massive suffering caused by economic and

political structures in the form of massive exploitation and repression. Furthermore, the absence of cultural violence legitimizes direct or structural violence (CCS, 2013).

Johan Galtung's positive peace module is a theoretical prism and hallmark to understand a real interpretation of peace purely from Kashmir's perspective, including "What peace means for Kashmiris". The positive peace is the genuine aspiration of the Kashmiri people guaranteed in UNCIP resolutions. The peace is confused by the power of Indian elite media supported by a powerful actor of the dispute who occupies Kashmir. The positive peace differentiated which peace is the demand of the Kashmiri people. The positive peace is the final interpretation of conflict resolution, but positive peace cannot be in a vacuum. Therefore, we adopted the inductive, hybrid approach analytical eclecticism for the empirical conclusion.

### **2:3 Analytical Eclecticism**

Seven decades of conflict had made Kashmir dispute more complex in nature and characteristics. The Indian aggressive approach influenced by realist school of thought is costly for the south Asian security. The power imbalance favoured India, and nuclear deterrence had further cemented the status quo because neither India nor Pakistan could afford nuclear war's human and economic costs. India is neither ready to implement the UNCIP resolutions nor allows any mediation, arbitration, facilitation, or third-party involvement. Hence, they keep the Kashmir conflict's complexities in consideration to capture the Kashmir conflict's essence. The analytical Eclecticism approach was mandatory (Rudra & Katzenstein, 2008). Therefore, the explanatory theories, Models, and narratives are embedded to study the Kashmir question multi-dimensionally while pooling maximum input from theoretical science to unknot the complexities of the Kashmir conflict.

The induction module, i.e., reasoning, is applied by supporting our argument. The argument supports the conclusion. The CPEC is the practical bond of regional connectivity and the driver of globalization. It passes through the disputed territory of Kashmir. The dispute will remain on the international radar. So Kashmir's question will

get more focus, more the countries on the board of the CPEC more is the influence of Pakistan because she is at the centre of gravity. CPEC is part of China's Belt Road Initiative in which it is aiming to connect the regional and global economies through land & maritime routes. CPEC would offer greater inter and intra-regional connectivity among states which is likely to increase interdependence of nations on each other. Pakistan's political, economic and strategic clout would increase with CPEC which is going to help Pakistan to defend the Kashmir cause with assertiveness on any forum. Hence, Pakistan has good international relations to focus its national agenda. There is an observation at every stage of the study and vice versa. The reasoning from general to Kashmir as specific relevance in given conditions is observed. The positive peace is indeed the familiar voice of Kashmir, but how the environment can be created to push the peace process is deduced through both theory and practice.

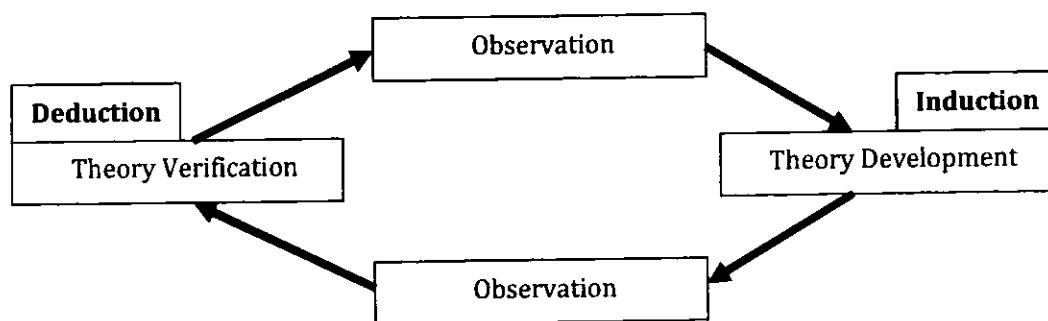


Fig.1 Analytical Eclecticism

#### 2:4 Theoretical Construct

The theoretical construct is based upon the induction, i.e., theory development. Peace: Economic Interest and International relations. It carries a linear relationship because economic interest relies upon peace (Eric Gartzke,2003). In an era of globalisation, states are interdependent because it is need of 21<sup>st</sup> Century. The theoretical construct is further cemented with the fact that power also keeps changing (Deleuze Gautarri, 1987). Over shift towards China may help Pakistan's position as a state actor on basis of her legitimate right as per UN resolutions. The Sino-Pakistan relationship is strategically augmented by interest. Both states are locked in political, economic, and strategic ties. The discourse of peace in Kashmir is under Indian control. However, there are always the limits of power to dictate own terms of peace which suites robust (Kaufman and

Youngs,2003), Even though India is a major - power in south Asia, it has limitations in using exclusive power vis-à-vis Pakistan, but her brutal occupation and consistent human rights violations are continued since 1989 in the Indian Occupied Kashmir. However, she can eradicate the armed resistance, but it can never end legitimate political struggle which is beyond her outreach. As a major stake holder, Pakistan must push the peace efforts, but she failed to do it unilaterally despite several attempts. However, the Kashmir dispute is a legitimate international dispute which has been accepted by the UN and many major powers. Pakistan needs to advance its interests with any powerful one to bridge this gap (Michel Foucault, 1982). India will again try to manage the negative peace, but India will not maintain it because Kashmiris have sacrificed thousands of lives for freedom and for the right to self-determination. It will not be based upon the threat but on this theoretical framework because both India and Pakistan are nuclear states, so this deterrence prevents war "I want peace, and I do not want to become embroiled in a nuclear war, we seek peace not because we trust each other or share each other's values, but instead we fear each other" (Hobbes 1950).

If peace is not maintained, it will also injure the Chinese interests because China is heavily dependent on Pakistan to connect its Landlocked Western province with Pakistan's Gwadar port. The mutual interest of China and Pakistan is generated. Therefore we engage the positive peace module of John Galtung; it rescues the peace by misinterpretation of the powerful actor India. It also represents the aspirations of the principle party Kashmiris. China may push it because she is interested in peace in region because if there is peace in south Asia between India and Pakistan it would generate more economic activity which is vital for China to become a number one economy in future. To balance the violent state structures is only possible by powerful peace broker. Peace-is the minimum requirement of CPEC and to consolidate this route securely demand Kashmir problem to be addressed if Pakistan keeps it on priority than mere economic interests. The theory is deduced through the analysis of the data.

## **CHAPTER-3**

### **CONTESTATION OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION ON KASHMIR**

#### **3:1 Overview**

Kashmir conflict has varied and multiple dynamics. This conflict has roots in Geography, history, ideology, regional and transitional, followed by legal and political dimensions. The position taken by the UNCIP is its major legal dimensions. It has the geopolitical, geostrategic, and geo-economic dimensions as well which makes it complex issue to be resolved amicably. The regional dynamics are now coherent because China put Kashmir three times on the UNSC radar in post 5<sup>th</sup> August 2019. India's internal dynamics are paramount when BJP put to scrap the unique position of Kashmir in her election manifesto. Present Indian government led by Mr N Modi to apply the election manifesto on 5<sup>th</sup> August 2019. The dynamics of the Kashmir conflict has roots in the geography and the history of Kashmir, which can be understood in detail by going through the Kashmir dispute in multi-dimensional aspects. The Jammu and Kashmir dispute had roots in British India when Britain parliamentarians decided to induct the Indian Independence Act of 1947 in sub-continent dividing South Asia in India and Pakistan on ideological grounds. Kashmir was not part of British India but it was as an independent state. Therefore, 564 princely Indian states were given option to live free from the suzerainty of British India. The British crown offered the options to states to join either India or Pakistan. J&K was an independent Muslim majority state ruled by Hindu Maharaja having historical, geographic and religious, correlation with Pakistan. The trade, tourist, transit, and daily commodities were supplied through Jhelum valley road which runs through Pakistan via Rawalpindi and Railway line from Sialkot Pakistan. This was the only land route linking J&K to the outside world (Sheikh, 1965).

The Muslim Majority state of J&K was ruled by a Hindu Maharaja who decided against the majority's wish and acceded to India. Delhi landed her troops at Srinagar Airport on October 27, 1947. This instrument of accession is controversial because Gandhi himself challenged it. The Indian Prime Minister Nehru promised to the masses that accession is conditional with the right to self-determination when peace would return

in the area, Kashmiris will be given a chance to a plebiscite. Indian Prime Minister took the dispute to UNSC, which was having an immediate result on the first ceasefire between India and Pakistan. The presence of foreign boots on the soil of IoJ&K is the core problem of this study. It laid the foundations of the state structures of violence. An entire problem is now relied upon how these violence structures are controlled to meet the requirement of positive peace. The state structures of violence led the counter-violence by masses followed by rebellion after 1989 against the presence of Indian troops. Kashmir's are now paying a huge cost to resist these state structures.

An Indian invasion resulted in a division of Kashmir in 1947. Pakistani troops were under Joint command of British and new-born Pakistan was not able to challenge numerical strong India. Therefore, the people of Jammu and Kashmir with the support of tribesmen from Pakistan tried to get their land freed from Indian occupation but failed to secure the entire territory. Another intervening variable was PM Nehru, who managed the Kashmir's affairs through Sheikh Abdullah. At that time he was the leader of Kashmiris. He did not support the freedom struggle at mass level in IoJ&K; hence, this area kept occupied by the Indian army. However, AJ&K and GB are free and administered by the state of Pakistan. The IoJ&K masses are now struggling against the brutal oppression of the Indian Army and facing subjugation and humiliation on daily basis.

### **3:2 Geographic Dynamics of Kashmir Conflict**

Jammu and Kashmir State's geography has a linear relationship with conflict because divided nations are always prone to conflict (Jeong, 2000). The state of J&K was historically an Independent state. Kashmir was a princely before 1947 which had an area of about 86,347 sq kms. It was ruled by a Hindu Dogra Maharaja Hari Singh under the treaty of Amritsar in 1846. His forefather Gulab Singh signed it and entered a separate treaty with the British (Hindu, 2004). Kashmir was not part of British India see British-India a map of 1846.

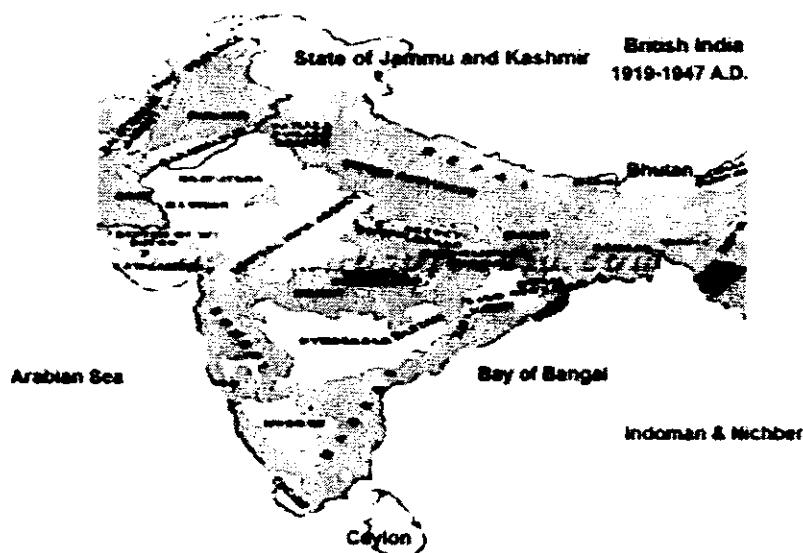
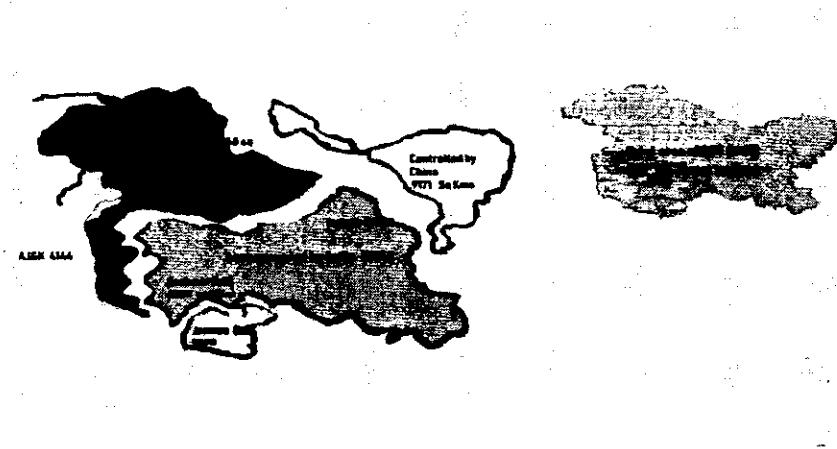


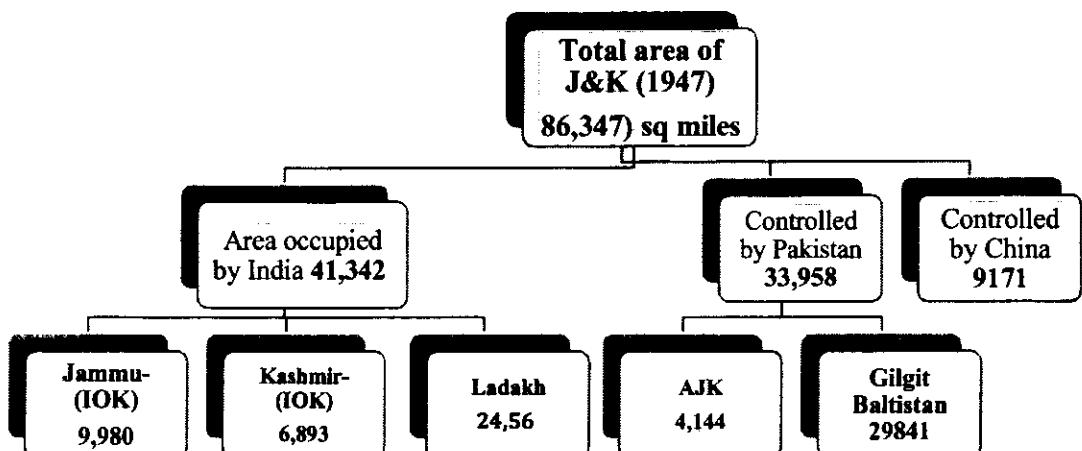
Figure 2: British India Map- Source British Maps

In the post partition of British India in 1947 into India and Pakistan as New-Born nations on the world map, its geographical proximity, historical linkages, religious affinity and cultural ties it should have been part of Pakistan. India landed its land troops in Srinagar on 27 October 1947. In the post-1947, J&K is geographically and politically divided into three parts. First part is occupied by India which is about 45.62% known as Jammu and Kashmir with its Chief Minister, and Governor ruled by India under article 370 of the Indian constitution. Second part of Kashmir is known as Azad Jammu and Kashmir which has an area of about 35.15%. It is administered by the state of Pakistan. It is further divided in parts One is Azad Jammu and Kashmir with its Prime Minister and President administered under article 257 of Pakistan's constitution and the second part is Gilgit Baltistan-(GB) having its own Chief Minister and Governor. Third part of Kashmir which is 19.23% of the total territory is under Chinese control. This area is known as Aksai Chin. The current geographical status of Jammu is 12,378 sq. miles, Kashmir Valley is 8,539 sq. miles, Ladakh and Gilgit are 63,554 sq. miles. After 1947 the Indian occupied state (J&K) is about 41,342 sq. miles, Azad Jammu and Kashmir is 4144 sq. miles, GB is 29,841 sq. miles Aksai chin under Chinese control is 9,171 sq. mile.



**Figure 3: Geographical Division of Kashmir-**

Source: Author



**Figure 4: Area Wise Division of Each Fragmented Part**

Source: Justice ® Yousuf Saraf

Elsewhere the State of J&K is currently geographically and politically fragmented from post-1947 by the *de facto* border called line of control (LoC) refers to the military-controlled line, not a *de jure* border. It divides Kashmir into Indian and Pakistani-controlled geographical parts. It is 798 kilometers long, 178 kilometers of the uncontested border are directly linked with Pakistani Punjab, 150 unidentified lines is there between in Siachen controlled by India in 1984 and Pakistan (Karnard,2004). The

line which divides China and India after 1962 is called the line of actual control (LAC). LoC was known as cease-fire line, named during UNCIP agreement of India and Pakistan in 1949. After 1972 Simla agreement its nomenclature changed as LoC. It is susceptible to conflict because people are not comfortable under Indian control, and Pakistan extends political and diplomatic support to the Kashmiris. The people of the same state are not allowed to move across the border. Such atrocities by the Indian Army force the local population to resent the brutal oppression and tyranny of the Modi government. Therefore, the gravity of the dispute increases and peace is the first casualty. Informal no man's land separates the forces. Though a ceasefire in 2003 is in place but cross border firing, mortar & rocket fire, Artillery exchange and heavy shelling has paralysed the life of Kashmiris living close to the LoC.

The UNMOGIP monitors this line with 44 members' team of observers. Pakistan always reports, support, and engage the UN observers since 1949 whenever there is any violation by the Indian Army from across the LoC. However, India is not reporting any incidents to the UN observers after 1972 Shimla agreement. The LoC is heavily fenced, electrified with barbed wire. India has also installed motion sensors, surveillance radars to curb any cross-border movement. The people who cross need to hide from both Pakistan forces deployed along LoC and the border security forces (BSF) of India (Donaldson, 2013).

The people of Jammu and Kashmir from both sides justify that the line of control is not the bar to natives of Kashmiris living on both sides of the divide, but India calls them infiltrators majority is traced and killed on the spot. It is the hot zone of conflict since 1989 when Kashmiris launched armed resistance against India. The LoC was opened at two areas one in Kashmir Uri and another in Chak- dabad in Jammu for travel and trade since 2008 when the President of Pakistan General (retd) Parvez Musharraf and Prime Minister of India Manmohan Singh signed an agreement to promote bilateral trade and ease tensions between the two nuclear powers. However, the traffic which is

very small in number is strictly operating under the standard operating procedures setup by India and Pakistan. It may be closed at any time because it did not yield the desired results.

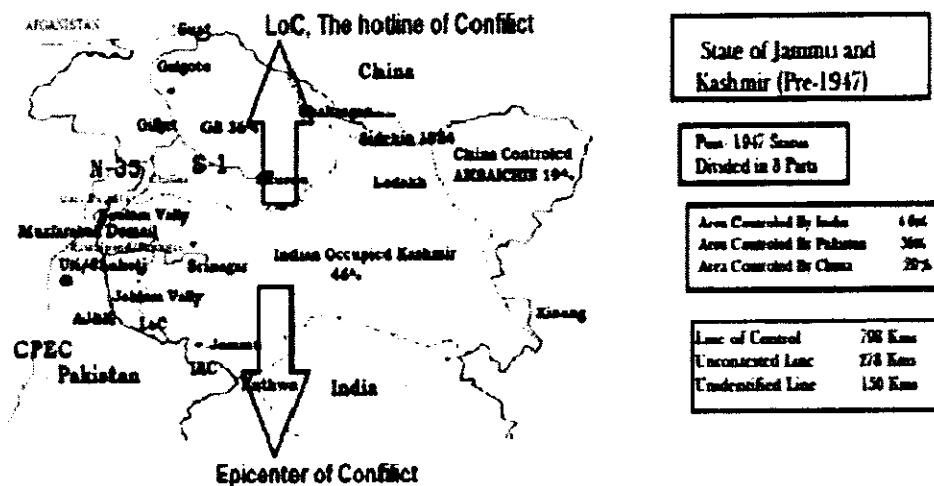


Figure 5: LoC along with Pakistan and India

Source: Allister Lamb

The total border of Pakistan excluding the J&K state with India is 2,912 km which is a hotline also when there is tension along LoC. To Pakistan's northwest lies Afghanistan, with a shared border of 2,430 Kms called the Durand line where Pakistani troops are engaged against terrorism, India also uses this to infiltrate the terrorists inside Pakistan. To its west is Iran, with 909 km borders also used by India as Indian spy Kalbhoshun Singh Yadew was arrested in Mashakhel area of Balochistan. China is towards the northeast and has a 523 km border with Pakistan, which is linked by the GB region of J&K is essential for Pakistan's security. The only safe border to Pakistan nowadays is Sust where there is no infiltration by India. CPEC connects through same border connecting GB northern area of elsewhere state of J&K with Gwadar deep seaport.

### 3:3 Legal Dynamics-UNCIP Resolutions

Maintenance of international peace and security was the primary objective of the League of Nations (1919), and the United Nations and international law are the means to ensure peace and security. States had reached at consensuses for peaceful settlement of the disputes, conflict, and the differences (Collier and Lowe, 1945). Hague

Convention of 1899 was revived in 1907 and 1928 for the peaceful settlement of the pacific disputes. It was amplified by the American treaty of the peaceful settlements in 1948 and the European convention of peaceful settlement of the pacific disputes 1857. The organization of African Unity also ratified the commission of the arbitration and the mediation in 1964. Chapter-VI of the United Nations is devoted to the settlement of the disputes peacefully between member nations. India and Pakistan are members of the United Nations (Raman, 1977). Paragraph -1 Article 33 of the UN charter devises the methods for resolving the dispute between the member states by negations, arbitration, mediation, conciliation, judicial settlement, resort to regional arrangement and agencies, and inquiry. This article has significance with this study on how China, SCO, Bricks, or the SAARC can play the rule regionally but legally.

The peaceful settlement has three methods 1) Diplomacy 2) Adjective 3) Institutional methods (Merrill, 1998). The diplomatic methods between India and Pakistan carry a history of the seven decades between themselves and by the facilitation of the USA, UK, USSR, and others. The tribunal's adjective method has also been applied. There are some examples of some issues resolved between India and Pakistan, mainly the World Bank's water issue called the Indus water treaty. However, neither India nor Pakistan had requested to take the Kashmir issue to ICJ due to some obvious reasons. The intuitional method is also exercised by the involvement of the UNSC in 1948. It pretends to mention here that before submitting the synopsis of this dissertation, it was ensured that how legally regional arrangements and the agencies have a mandate as per article 52 to legitimize the regional arrangements. Paragraph 3 requires the Security Council to encourage the development of the pacific settlement of the pacific disputes through such legal arrangements either by the states' initiatives or by reference of the Security Council.

India took Kashmir to the UN on 1st January 1948. 13 resolutions in total passed by UNICP, 21 April 1948, among these resolutions 5<sup>th</sup> Jan 1949 resolution has core importance in the Kashmir conflict on legal terms. It bestows Kashmir conflict an international legal disputed status with the UN framework of its resolution and right-to

self-determination. However, these resolutions are adopted under chapter-V1 of the United Nations charter; therefore, UNSC is bound morally but not judicially (Korbel, 1996). The principal party supports the UN position. Quote of resistance leader in enquoted "Our demand is simple; we shall be allowed to exercise our basic right, i.e. the right to self-determination, I make it clear time and again, if majority accedes to India, I will endorse the decision of majority though it hearts me" (Geelani, 2018). The principal party supports any framework of mediation, arbitration, and third-party involvement. When asked by an author, why did you opt for the armed resistance which brought Kashmiris' miseries while tossing with Indian military machine?

"We did not opt the armed resistance as its first option. We were pushed towards walls when we contested assembly election in 1987". The majority supported us under the banner of Muslim United Front (MUF) but, not only results were manipulated and announced against us, but we were arrested on the same day and put behind bars under Public Safety Act (PSA) (Salhudin, 2018). He further added that we had been pushed towards walls and Indian herself plugged the democratic route. We launched indigenous armed resistance in 1989 after 42 years of misinterpretations of peace by India. India always byes time and are never sincere with her modal of democracy. Pakistan supports the UN position vis-à-vis any every move of the primary party, the injured party's position, and any mechanism devised by International actors, including the bilateral agreements. Pakistan supports Kashmir dispute formally morally, politically, and diplomatically vis-à-vis the indigenous resistance of Kashmiri people for the right to self-determination.

India as a state actor brought Kashmir to the UN being a mega democracy of the world is reluctant to accept the UN resolutions and questions the validity of UN resolutions in the light of the Shimla bilateral agreement. She is reluctant to offer right-to-self-determination in any case; hence she is only buying the time which suits her to augment the status quo and manage the conflict. India intends to keep the parties engaged in various legal, territorial, and national interpretations of peace. India defends the status quo by military might since equilibrium in the region is in her favour. Therefore, she

manages the conflict and keeps the resolution of Kashmir at bay. India reputedly blames Pakistan in national and international forums that Islamabad is behind the weapons supply to Kashmiri armed resistance. However, Pakistan reputedly and consistently denies this allegation that Islamabad is ready to deploy the international observers along the LoC to monitor. This suggestion is never accepted, endorsed or allowed by India. It raises the suspicion of Indian claim to keep impartial observers at bay to manage the balm gaming to keep global community degree of suspicion on cards and kill the resistance by giving it a bad name.

The border disputes between Pakistan and China are settled since 1963 signed by Mr. Chen Yi Foreign minister of China and Z.A Bhutto the Pakistani foreign minister. However, article 6 of the trans- Karakorum agreement says that the final agreement will be subjected to the Kashmir dispute settlement with India and Pakistan. The borders between India and China are not settled. China built the road through Aksai Chin in 1954, and India complained against this road in 1957 (Lamb, 199). China's stakes had increased multi-folds as the 62 billion dollar's mega project is passing through the GB, erstwhile Jammu and Kashmir's state. The geopolitical role and its spill over effects on Kashmir may bridge equilibrium as a dependent variable of this study. China though controls the part of the Kashmir, mostly inhabited claims; it is the Ugarit province. China is an emerging second immense power and also is maintaining its status and mega-regional power. She shares the border with India and Pakistan through Ladakh, the northern-east part of Kashmir with India and the northern part of Kashmir through Pakistan.

China always maintained the position that Kashmir is the disputed territory. On another side, Beijing maintained diplomatic relations between India and Pakistan; however, it was not aligned visibly with Pakistan; but supported the UN position on Kashmir. China recently exercised the Veto thrice favouring Pakistan when India intended to put on Ex. rebel Commander Masood Aznar on the terrorist watch list.

### **3:4 Demographic Dynamic and Right to Self-Determination**

In 1947, Jammu and Kashmir and post 1947 fragmented states demography has a leaner relationship with Kashmir conflict and Peace. J&K was predominantly a Muslim majority state in 1947. Therefore, according to the principal of the patrician plan, Muslim majority areas will go Pakistan. However, since Kashmir Maharaja Hari Singh accedes to India, India argues that Kashmir accedes India legally, claiming it an integral part. Under these circumstances, J&K was having synergy with Junagarh and Hyderabad both Hindu majority states but ruled by Muslim Nawabs. They opted for Pakistan, but India took refuge of the patrician plan principal, therefore, invaded both these states and amalgamated this with Indian Union. The majority of analysts have an opinion, including the international experts, that if the Hindu majority with Muslim rulers can go to India despite Pakistan's accession, why not Muslim majority state with Hindu ruler who acceded to India cannot go to Pakistan. This is an absolute dichotomy, and the dual role of India is a burden on her morality.

The present KPK province of Pakistan was named NWFP in 1947. Its ruler Gaffar Khan was willing to go to India though he was Muslim. The referendum was still approved. The majority voted in favour of Pakistan, so the dispute was settled, but India was reluctant to give the chance of right to self-determination to Kashmiris because the majority will vote for Pakistan. Demography has been given standing in this study to validate this argument that the democratic model of peace, i.e. the right to self-determination is sensitive to India because she knows the result and her claim of being the biggest democracy is also brought in open. Indian next plan is to bring a mega demographic shift in Kashmir.

### **3:5 Epicenter of the Kashmir Conflict**

The entire valley of Kashmir occupied by India, including its adjacent Muslim-dominated Jammu division areas, i.e. Doda, Poonch, and Rajouri is the epicentre of conflict. The 72% population is a hot conflict zone the LOC which divides Kashmir into Indian and Pakistani. It is volatile since 1989 despite the cease-fire agreement of 2003. The massive presence of Indian troops legally protected by special laws armed

forces special powers act (AFSPA) added the gravity of conflict and armed resistance against the Indian occupation had added the degree of conflict multi-folds. Kashmir is the highest military zone in the world. India had deployed more than 650,000 to 750,000 troops. This vast number of total troops deployed in Kashmir by India is almost half of the total number of Indian forces. The ratio of Indian troops concerning Masses is 1:7. Indian troops directly occupy 1,054,721 canals including 40,000 canals of private land. The rights of 199,314 canals of rights have been transferred to an army and other India agencies by the state government. However, the graph of armed resistance is declined, but the degree of the indigenous mass resistance had been increased all times high since 2016 after Burhan Wani's death, the rebel commander of the HM. Two districts of Jammu, Udhmapur including Ladakh, are the least concerned.

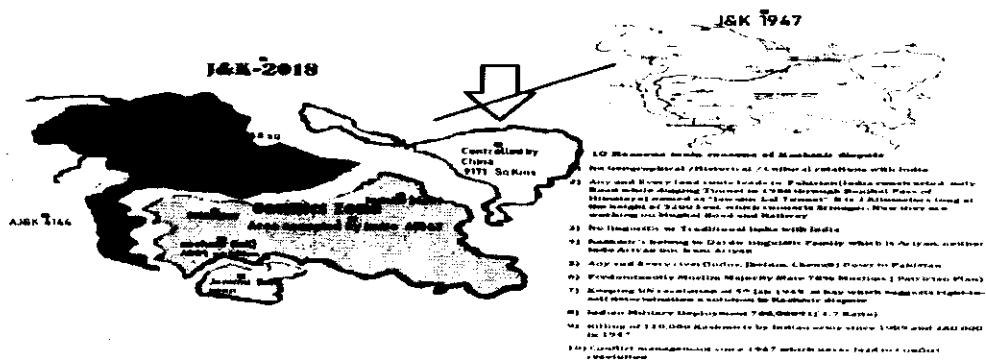


Figure 6: J&K 1947 and 2018

Source: BBC Maps

According to the Chatom house survey, 80% of state say that dispute is significant to them personally indicates based on empirical findings that the vast majority of Kashmir suffers. 87% of the Sikh community also supports while most Hindus predominately in Jammu province support Indian position, including Ladakh excluding Kargil. There are also supports for the third option which demands an independent state of Jammu and Kashmir. The pro-Indian camp is represented by NC, PDP, Congress, and BJP. NC and PDP this position that special status of J&K granted under article 370 of Indian constitution shall be restored in its original context. There are concusses in Indian

Policymakers if the right to self-determination is exercised, the majority will vote against the Indian rule. Therefore, they are trying to change the structure of current demography by invoking article 370 and the 5A while killing more than 100,000 people since 1989 had dented already demography. The generation gap can be seen because of the majority killed by the Indian forces during the struggle to right to self-determination between 18 and 35.

### **3:6 Actors of the Conflict**

There are three key state and non-state actors. Habitants of J&K are the right party of the Conflict. The political umbrella named Joint resistance leadership JRL is based upon two groups of All Parties Hurriyat Conference (APHC) with 32 small groups and JKLF who demand an independent Kashmir. A combined alliance of militants Muttahida Jihad Council (MJC). Pakistan and India are primary legal players having a direct stake in the conflict. They control Jammu and Kashmir's geographical status in their controlled areas militarily as state actors. More ever India and Pakistan are an internationally legal party of the dispute. They are signatories of UNCIP resolutions as state actors vis-à-vis bilateral agreements; Either party maintains agreements, but diversity about the Kashmir dispute mechanism is not reached convergence. They failed to reach any mutely agreed position despite multiple skirmishes, wars and bloodshed.

China had entered as the mega peace player in the scene as a state actor. She controls Aksai Chin's areas of Kashmir. She has a stake in a region with 62 \$ billion investment in China's Pakistan economic corridor (CPEC). It is strategic importance more than an economical one. It passes through GB the part of the conflict area, which are strategically essential northern areas of Jammu and Kashmir's erstwhile state.

2006). India practices a multi-dimensional strategy to keep Kashmir under her forced domain and maintains the statuesque by hook or crook. Her policy on Kashmir can be categorized into three broad headings.

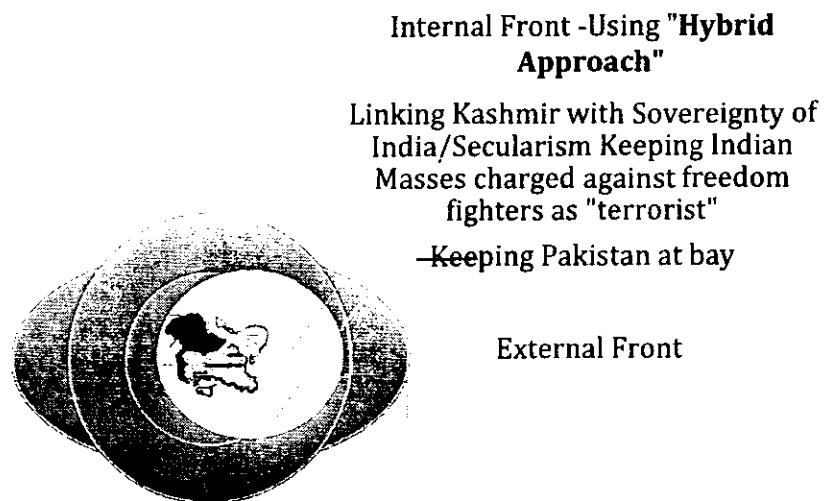


Figure 9: Internal Front-Using "Hybrid Approach."

Source: Author

### 3:9 Hybrid Status quo Approach

- a) Consolidating the status quo by demanding power, the northern command Headquarters are in Srinagar with three cores and mountain division.
- b) Engaging Pakistan and Kashmiri people separately, Signing Delhi accord and Indra Abdullah accord keeping Islamabad out and entering Karachi agreement, Lahore deceleration with Pakistan while keeping Kashmir's out.
- c) India relied upon the local mainstream political parties like NC, PDP, and then gradually extended the branches of the national parties of India Congress, JD, Dal, BJP, CPM, CPI directly.
- d) Shrink political space to political parties who challenge accession of J&K with India or want the full implementation of 370 in light and spirit.
- e) Erosion of the special status gradually and slowly grants special status to Jammu and Kashmir under article 370
- f) Neutralize resistance with the ultimate state might keep the pressure mounted up to the quantum that none questions Indian rule.

g) Any and everyone who challenges Indian rule by any means is a "terrorist" dealt with POTA, AFSPA and NIA, therefore, having legal right to assemble or exercise the fundamental human right and right to information.

### **3:9. Pakistan as a State Actor**

- 1) Indian main thrust is on Islamabad to keeping her at bay so that she will stop to internationalize the dispute and bringing Human rights violations to the surface
- 2) Hanging Kashmir dispute in bilateralism
- 3) Sponsoring, organizing, and engineering the militancy in Baluchistan and hatch levers of bargaining the Kashmir issue with Baluchistan.
- 4) It gave hype to other issues related to the Kashmir issue but engaging Pakistan in secondary or peripheral away from the core issue.

### **3:10. International Front**

- 1) Vowing support of SAARC, G-20, and other forums to put the pressure on Islamabad to ensure that, they will not raise the Kashmir issue at any international forum.
- 2) Sponsoring terrorism in Pakistan, sponsoring terrorism via Afghanistan and Iran, and encouraging Kabul and Tehran to engage Pakistan in multi-fronts including armed and ideological terrorism.
- 3) Generating a narrative internationally that mass movement has threads in terrorism which is an international threat so Kashmiri armed resistance shall be capped
- 4) Counterbalancing the Human rights violations of Indian forces internationally and building the counter-narrative of a threat to sovereignty.

### **3:11. Conflict Transformation**

The innovative, long-term, deeper, and structural involvement from the third party to bring the parties close was supported by PUGWASH. The 1984 noble prize-winning "Pugwash" followed by the United States Institute of Peace got involved from 2002 to

2014. Islamabad provided space for this organization to work. This organization carried multi-level structural workshops while involving entire actors of the conflict. Its Kashmir program was inclusive and structured. PUGWASH engaged top political, military, intelligence and top leadership from both sides of the divide of the J&K. Pakistani President General Pervez Musharraf addressed these moots of Pugwash twice. However, Indian establishment did not provide any space to conflict transformation, so PUGWASH secretary General Paolo Cotta Ramusino alleged that India is an imperialistic state neither reliable nor committed with peace (Paolo, 2016).

### **3.12. Conflict Module of Kashmir**

It is a thought-provoking mystery for IR scholars' vis-à-vis Peace and the Conflict studies to perceive. The injured party is trapped in confusing interpretations of peace. The Indian module of peace by power is only prevailing and dominating. It raises queries and various dilemmas about true peace which is sustainable and accepted by the majority.

- a) What is indispensable, the legitimacy or the state? One who holds power and claims sovereignty in the absence of the right to self-determination.
- b) What to address first, rights or the needs, and actors when the masses have no say in any truce and the agreements.
- c) Does power is the only actor to interpret the peace and one who resists has no rights?
- d) Why, and under which circumstances international norms are compromised by the international actors and the institutions that have the mandate to support peace and the right to self-determination for the sake of humanity.
- e) Who has the real ownership, the powerful actor, or the state subjects and who the principal actors shall be given the say in the international platforms?
- f) Who is responsible for the peace, local, regional, or international actors, and how to bring them in the talking terms?

It stamps this fact that when there is an imbalance in power; peace stands in a vacuum until an outside Power is unwilling to intervene. There needs space to talk about peace is a mega dilemma. Peace is misinterpreted and confused up to the quantum that this “term” itself loses its “meaning” and confuses the entire peace process (Gani, 2005). It engages in a capsule of Kashmir conflict that any and every actor of the conflict shows her utter commitment to peace. However, it is only for the international community's consumption because when a question is asked about the resolution of Kashmiri to any Indian, he responds that Peace is the inalienable right to everyone, including Kashmir. Indian simply means injured party Kashmiris shall accept the Indian rule and should neither ask implementation of UN resolutions nor resist against Indian dominance, Peace is maintained. Same happened in 1948, Nehru reputedly committed whenever normalcy returns to Kashmir, Kashmir's, will be given a chance to right-to self-determination. This sort of peace was available after every war, and after every ceasefire, India returns to his mantra of peace. It is named the negative peace, and this sort of peace has never worked, but after every failure, there is more bloodshed because the effect is addressed, but the cause is not ascertained, therefore, it consumes more human beings.

There was negative peace from 1949-1965 followed by UN resolution, but it successfully maintained the peace in status quo and misinterpretation. Again, there was war in 1965, followed by the Tashkent agreement, India kept the Kashmir question hanging. She fragmented India in 1971 and brought Kashmir in bilateral terms to keep Kashmiris away from any agreement. Kashmir's question hanged again for 18 years in bilateralism. Her lone agenda setting and the policy remained consistent with maintaining the status quo by hook or by crook and avoiding the conflict resolution. There had been six agreements, seven cease-fires between India and Pakistan, but nothing yielded the desired results. She shows reluctance to involve any third party because entirely relies upon “Peace by Power”. India gains time and kills the resistance in due course of time, if necessary, engages parties in the peace process while simultaneously managing the conflict to augment state structures of violence.

The below module can understand the jigsaw of peace. See (Fig 10) incomplete historical picture and events and conclusion; This complete picture of the entire conflict and its net outcome after every stage laid the foundations of our study that Kashmir conflict is confused in misinterpretations of peace. It also demands correlation analysis to study the relationship between and among the variables manipulated by power and how the fundamental question will be satisfied in the regional and international setting.

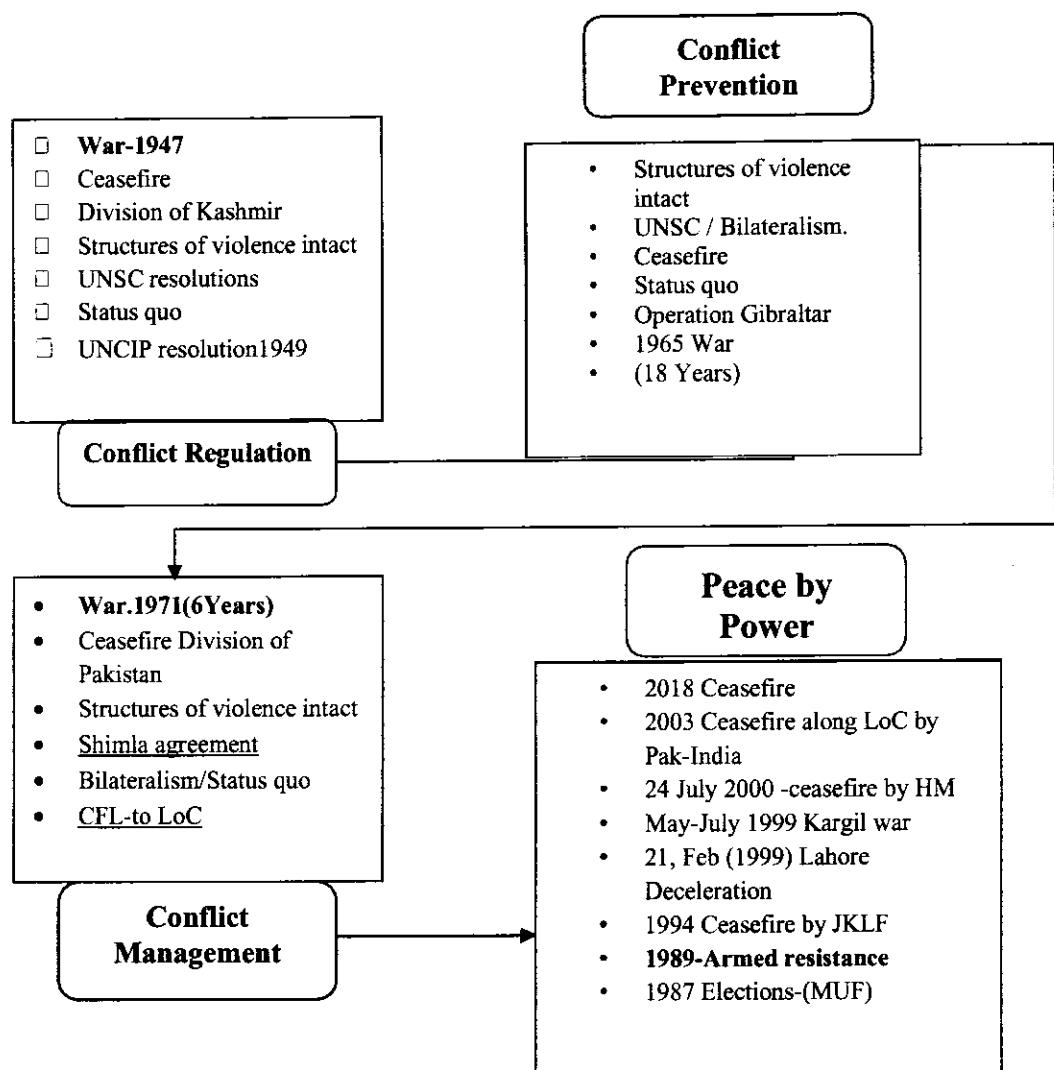


Figure 10: Conflict Module of Kashmir

Source: Author

This study's central research questions are now introduced in the light of the ground realities applied and propagated to address the conflict. However, neither dispute was addressed nor patchwork in peace sustained since 1947. What "peace" means to the injured party was neither heed nor important but was managed under peace interpretations while addressing the effect. Peace in terms of the injured party was maltreated, which was "peace by peaceful means" (Bukhari, 2008). Peace shall have been given a chance according to the aspirations of the majority. It is also the crux of UN resolutions, i.e., addressing the Kashmir issue as per aspirations of Kashmiri people who master their destiny either Hindu or Muslim through a free and impartial plebiscite. It was the true interpretation of peace where majority vote would have decided their fate democratically. The missing links of the peace in Kashmir rely on the analysis of data collected from primary resources. To answer how to move ahead beyond the conventional frenzy and how sustainable peace is brought in Jammu and Kashmir state and what precautionary measures need to be taken demands careful investigation. How peace can be pushed needs to drive the impetus from emerging regional re-alignment and international setting, and compulsions of globalization may bestow an advantage is an assumption upon which, this study's hypothesis relies upon.

We have learnt from the above argument the peace in Kashmir has multi-dimensional intervening variables associated with it. Therefore, it needs a comprehensive literature review and a broader theoretical framework to capture the essence of the conflict qualitatively and empirically. The geographical, ideological, political, economic, and resources correlate Kashmir with Pakistan. The same was the crux of a partition plan and UNCIP resolutions of 5<sup>th</sup> January 1949. Both devised the solution of a problem in the right to self-determination. However, the demography chart reveals UN resolutions are not favourable to India until and unless she will not change the Kashmir's demography. She is now thinking on these lines while bringing article 35/A under stress by India's supreme court. Despite legal, political, ideological foundations of the Kashmir issue and mammoth resistance of injured party has been against India which is entirely indigenous because stone balloting does not need any external supply of stones to satisfy their catharsis. It is a crude reality that Pakistan failed to garner

international support as a state actor; therefore, the Indian position remained dominant militarily in Kashmir. The potential of armed struggle cannot be brought up to the degree that can dent Indian forces in the state of J&K militarily.

Three full-scale wars, one quasi-war, seven bilateral agreements, the involvement of UNSC, cohesive diplomacy, mediation, arbitration, facilitation, third-party involvement, and 29 years of armed struggle against Indian occupation and indigenous mammoth mass resistance by local people have not changed the status quo. However, Pakistan's substantial human cost as state actor kept Kashmir dispute alive at the regional and international level is the lone achievement of entire actors against India till date. Based on the above inference, it is concluded that there had been various crests and trough in the Kashmir dispute during the last seven decades. However, the only interpretation of the peace prevailed, i.e. "Peace by power". Neither negative peace has been pushed towards the ultimate stage, nor positive peace was possible in the presence of 750,000 Indian troops who rule the roost because it is the only constituency of India. Her entire case relies upon. Therefore, it needs some new manipulating variables regionally and internationally, which the study will explore in the next chapters. There is a synergy between UNCIP resolutions, principal party, and legal party Pakistan but which empirical route and mechanism need to be evolved to bring India on the corridor of positive peace needs to be explored from the comprehensive literature review. Kashmir conflict demands a multi-disciplinary approach in regional and international settings to devise an alternative module driven by theory to address the fundamental problem with new dependent variables.

## **CHAPTER- 4**

### **DISCOURSE AND DILEMMA**

#### **4:1. Overview**

There is a massive gap between the discourses of the actors of the dispute. The principal party relies upon the fact that since they are Muslim majority and are engaged in resistance for decades while rendering huge sacrifices, India has no other option except to reconcile her Kashmir position. Kashmir's dominant discourse about peace is that Indian forces shall ease their occupation to go back to India peace is restored. The Indian discourse propagates that by India to win the Indian constituency; they can defeat Kashmir and maintain the status quo. Indian dilemma is that despite the vast military presence and the heavy investment in Kashmir, they failed to satisfy the majority of the Kashmiris who are now resisting the Indian rule. Kashmir is ungovernable for Indians for four decades. India is selling her discourse in indigenously to manage the Kashmir issue, but she cannot manage it and needs to rely on the occupational force on the grounds. Using excessive power carries other implications and ramifications and the continuous tussle with the state of Pakistan.

#### **4:2. Conflict Regulation**

Applying mitigation and containment methods to manage the conflict rather than resolve it. Kashmir was regulated for seven decades, also called conflict management. Negative peace was managed between the intervals of the war. However, every stage between the four wars concluded at a ceasefire since 1949, but conflict resolution was not achieved. See chart of ceasefires since 1949.

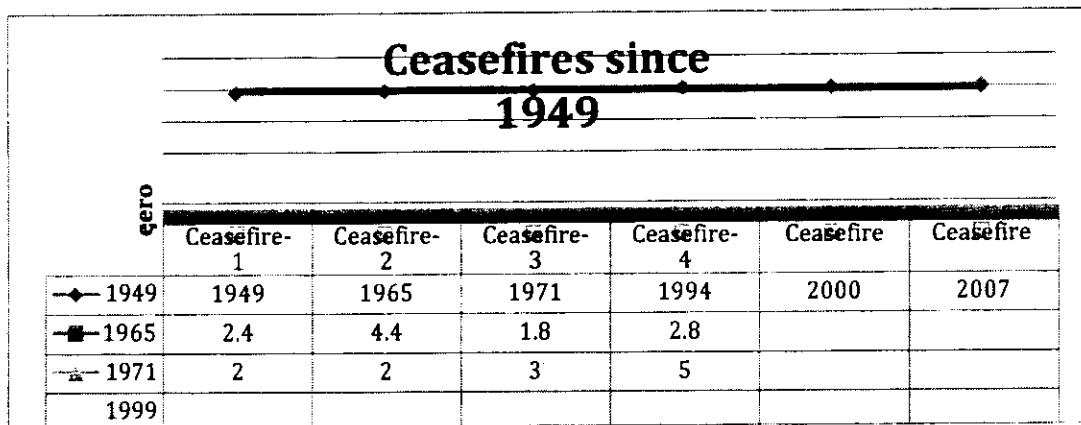


Figure 11: Ceasefires Since-1949

Source: Author

#### 4:3. Conflict Prevention

The structural or diplomatic measures to keep inter or intrastate conflicts' in control so they will not escalate into a violent one. Kashmir conflict escalated into wars, deescalated into ceasefires and violent since 1989. Armed resistance against Indian rule in place. Skirmishes along the LoC though there was ceasefire of 2003 between both states. Heavy shelling on each other's positions in Kashmir kills Kashmiris on both sides. Kashmir Conflict was prevented, and negative peace was maintained four times, and the conclusion was the status quo, not resolution. Indian unilateral setting with Kashmir's leadership at an inter-state level in Pakistan's absence while keeping the state structures of violence intact. It does not yield results because peace by "peace means" was not given a single chance while peace by "power means" has been given the room. It ultimately gave birth to a long cycle of violence and stretched the trust deficit up to the maximum degree to war level. The current Indian objective is also to prevent conflict.

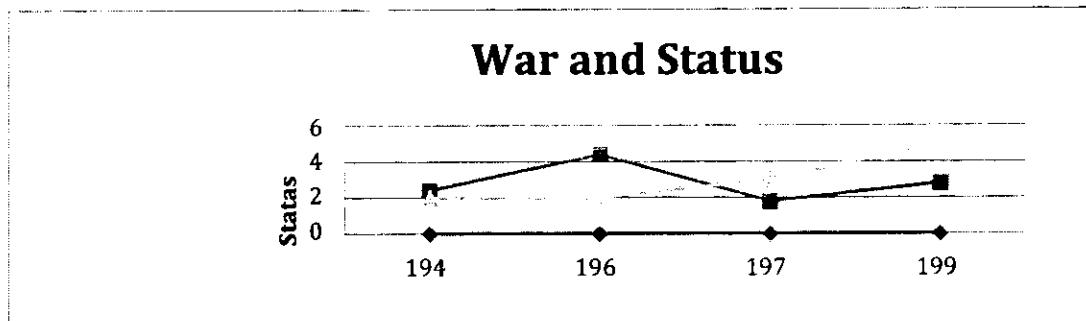


Figure 12: War and Status quo since 1947

Source: Author

#### 4:4. Concentration of State Structures of Power

The massive concentration of troops on the ground in every nook and corner of Kashmir is a significant obstacle towards durable peace. The massive presence of the Indian Army had seized the scope of talks on the table. They have now vested interests in Kashmir (Khan. N, 2016). After all, the density of the Indian troops is the trust deficit, and the reduction of troops will be an effective CBM build trust and resolve this lingering issue. Therefore, Indian main thrust is the dilution of public support by power; otherwise, such heavy troops' imposition does not make any sense. The 4<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup>, and the 16<sup>th</sup> Corps including Special Forces two battalions are under the Northern Command of the Indian Army stationed in Srinagar demonstrates the gravity of the situation in Kashmir.

The 14<sup>th</sup> Corps is deployed in Ladakh the Northern Region of Indian Occupied Kashmir.

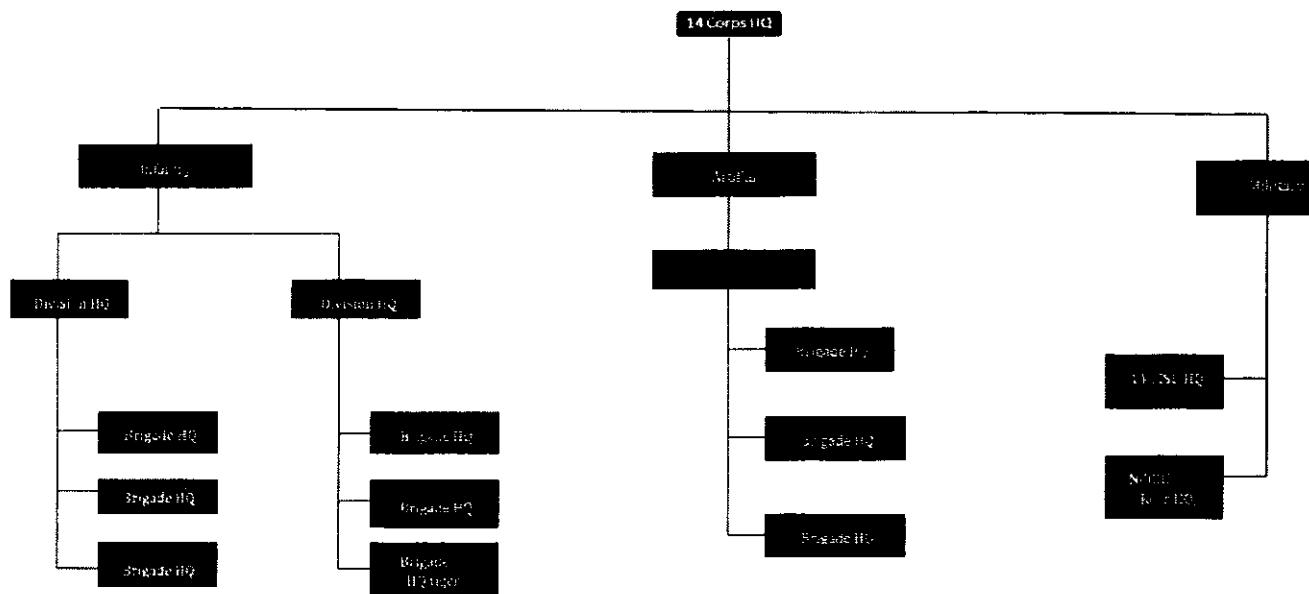


Figure 14: Deployment of 14<sup>th</sup> Corps in Leh-Ladakh Region

Source: JKCCS

The 15<sup>th</sup> Corps has maximum strength, which is stationed in Srinagar and all Paramilitary BSF, RR, CRPF, and the Reserve Police are also deployed in Central

Region. The Brigades are scattered in any every town and Battalions in villages.

Chart no 3: Deployment of Army in 15 Corps, Srinagar [Kashmir region]

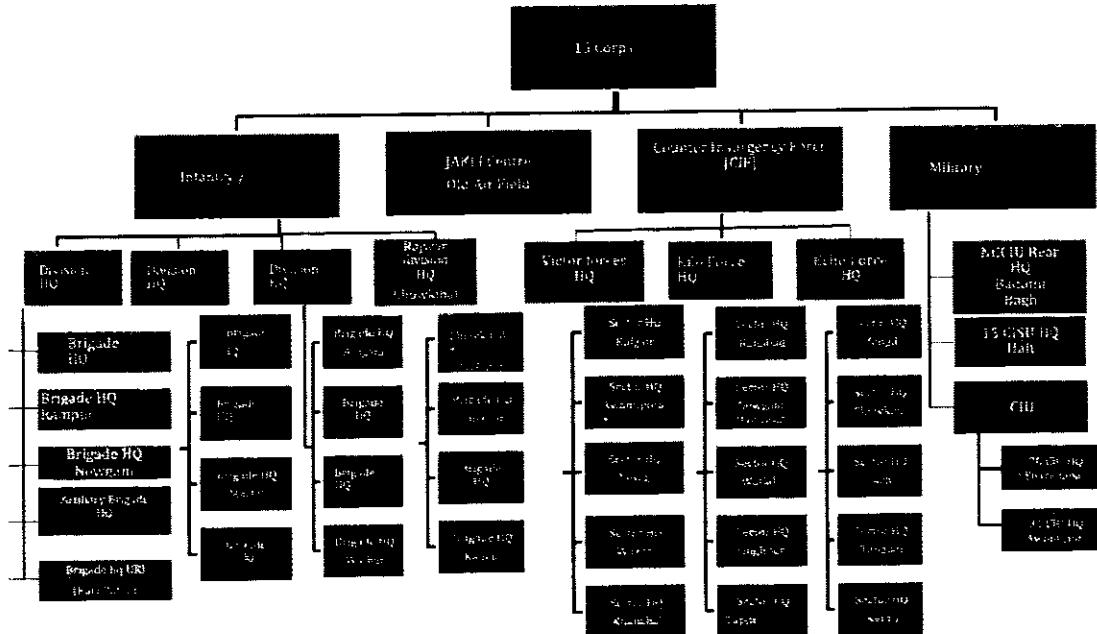


Figure 15: Deployment of Indian Army in 15 Corps, Srinagar

Source: JKCCS

The 16<sup>th</sup> Corps is stationed in the Udhmapur Jammu region.

CHART NO.4 DEPLOYMENT OF ARMY IN 16 CORPS, NAGROTA [Jammu Region]

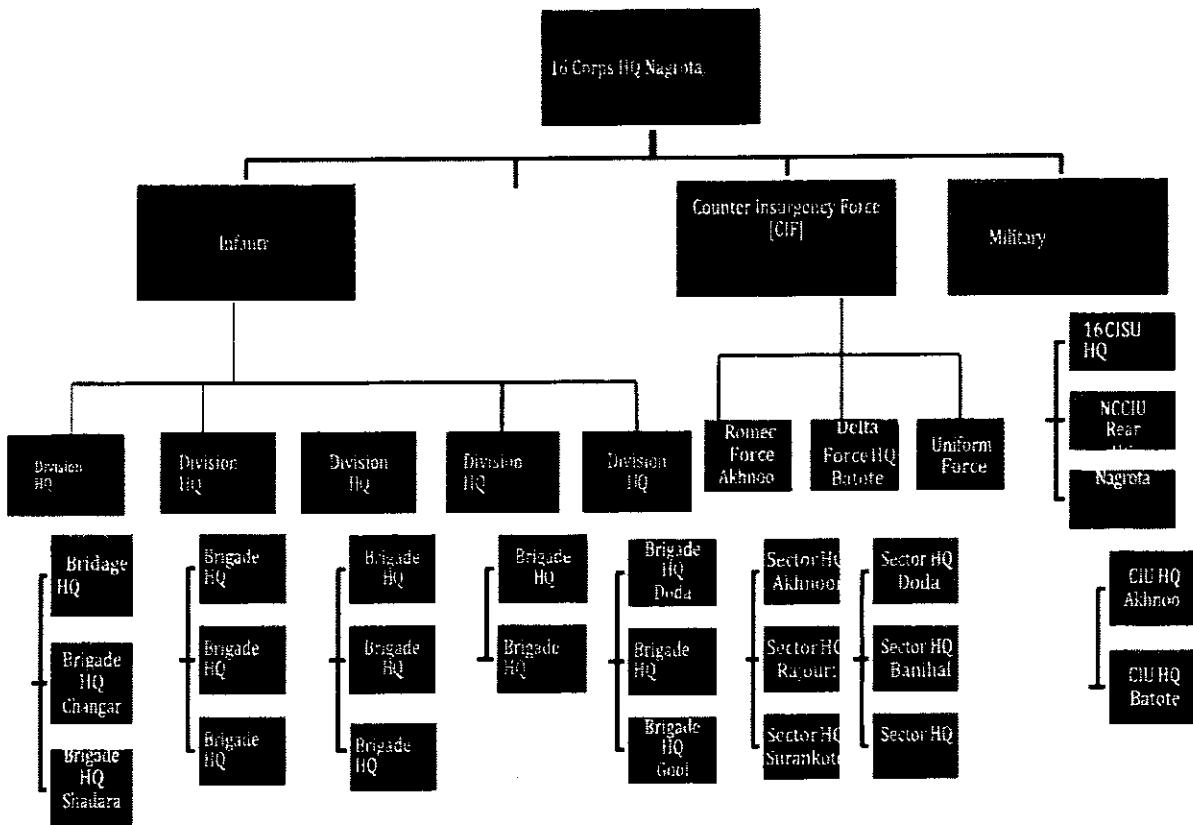


Figure 16: Deployment of Indian Army in 16Corps, Nagrota

Source: JKCCS

#### 4:5. Armed Resistance and its Level

The ratio of males and females in IoJ&K is 56%. Therefore, the total population remains 8 million 3.6% million males, among the males 12% are children, and 28% are above 50 years old, and 10% of the population is above 40-50. 2.5% population had either migrated outside Kashmir or displaced, including the Hindu Pundit population

who migrated in 1991. The Muslims migrated to AJK and India. More than one Million people are employed by the police, paramilitary forces, and other government agencies. The main population of Kashmir resisting the Indian rule in Kashmir in streets with the stones in hands is youth between the age group of 14 to 28. Therefore, the Indian armed forces' ratio against civilians is 1:4. It is alarming.

The Indian forces are equipped with AFSPA, PSA, and NIA, which gives them room to use hard power. This license to kill demands the regional followed by the international influence and the gentle nudge to create a space for dialogue. The civilian revolt after the brutal oppression of India in the post 1989 situation is considered as terrorism by the Indian government which is clear cut negation of the UN resolutions. The post 9/11 scenario was milked by the Indian establishment domestically and globally. The global war against terrorism established the narratives, which gave the Indian government an edge to link the genuine freedom struggle of Kashmir with that of terrorist and extremism. In the post 9/11 situation General Pervez Musharraf banned all the militant groups in AJK, and Pakistan. General Parvez Musharraf's government conducted a massive crackdown on the militant groups, their members & infrastructure in AJK and elsewhere to resolve the Kashmir issue through peaceful ways. Therefore, the armed resistance in IOK graph dropped drastically.

Pakistan offered a ceasefire in 2003 along LoC which was accepted by India. However, Ceasefire is in place legally, 900 people and personals of armed forces are killed since 2003, and the LoC is hot, particularly in the Modi regime. Along the LoC, Pakistan forces gave the walking hour to Indian forces who erected the 9 feet high two-layered barbed, electrified, and mined wall along the LoC. An erection of the wall along the LoC further divided Kashmir because it passed through the grazed land. The BBC reporter Z. Ali offered to invite the International observers'. "I will show the accurate picture on the ground at my own risk along LoC even a bird cannot fly".

To address the state structure of the violence is a mega stumbling block of this study. Kashmir is a complex issue and must be resolved through consistent efforts by regional

and global actors. All stake holders specially Kashmiris must be part of the solution. Excluding any stake holder from peace process would be a futile exercise. It is imperative for the Indian government to understand that this issue cannot be resolved with overwhelming force or intimidation. The Kashmir centric CBMs are required to shrink the trust deficit for the positive peace; otherwise, negative peace will prevail. Positive peace is not possible in Kashmir unless or until the Indian military continues atrocities on innocent Kashmiris. India must revise its Kashmir policy. It cannot achieve peace with force or subjugation of Kashmiris.

#### **4:6. Peace by Power: The Trajectory from Ballot to Bullet**

There was no problem in India until 1989 for 32 years to internally manage the Kashmir conflict by maintaining negative peace by hard power. There was a political aspiration to have the right to self-determination, but it was at the political level but not a direct challenge for India to manage the conflict. Indian argument was that since Kashmir participates in the elections, they are endorsing the Indian rule. In the post-1989 situation, armed resistance erupted after the 1987 elections in Kashmir, which rigged the elections because present resistance leadership participated in elections while taking the oath to the Indian constitution, which was mandatory to contest the legislative elections. Indian Government barred their entry in apprehension that if the MUF wins the elections, it may pass a legislative assembly resolution with consensus for the right to self-determination. India has no public support in Kashmir. They rely upon the army; Therefore, to kill the resistance, they kept increasing the number of forces and now Kashmir has turned into an Indian Army cantonment. The massive presence of the state structures of the violence is now a major challenge in the achievement of Positive peace in IoJ&K.

The transaction of ballot to bullets from 1947 to 1889 took 30 years after that digested the own people of Kashmir because tossing with a mega-regional power of the region was fraught for masses they are paying the enormous human cost (Vie, 2003). The chief editor of lone *English Daily* published in Jammu argues that we must understand why Kashmiris are inspired by the glorious peaceful traditions of tolerance, peace, and non-

violence. They were forced to pick the weapons because all peaceful and democratic channels were closed for them. The 1987 legislative assembly elections proved fraught with the democratic process of Kashmir within the biggest democracy of the world India. Present APHC and MJC top-notch leadership were on board for a democratic process they took an oath to India's constitution (Chadoka, 2005).

Much of the anger in the Kashmir valley is fuelled by two developments in state politics. The central government has massively violated the terms on which the state was incorporated into the Indian Union in connivance with the state government. Secondly, whenever political groups other than those belonging to the dominant political party in the state (the National Congress) have tried to enter the democratic process, their efforts have been frustrated. It led different political groups, before the 1987 elections to the state legislative assembly were perfectly willing to participate in the democratic process. They were, later on, pushed to armed resistance. There is empirical evidence that when the state acts harshly toward non-violent protesters, it leads to violent conflict. It is believed that the outbreak of militancy in Kashmir has been by the failure of political institutions and organizations and violation of the social contract (Chandoke, 2005). The reduction of state legitimacy and trust institutions led to armed violence. Kashmiris entirely relied upon the UN. Lord Mountbatten and Jawahar Lal Nehru's commitment was a social contract that was broken by India. Therefore, hope was there, that it may be implemented, and the case was simple for Kashmiris. They would not understand the complexities of geopolitics if the majority voted in favour of India. India will retain the state; however, if the result is otherwise, great Indian leaders' answer carries genuine commitment that "Indians do not believe in forced marriages let them go their own and we our own (Murshid, 2009).

These commitments acted as a strong driving force in various formal statements to keep Kashmiri's calm and away from confrontation with the state of India. However, neither the UN mechanism nor the Pak-India wars brought any change. It augmented the trust deficit while the Indian military involvement in Pakistan's balkanization in 1971 amplified it. Pakistan's open and consistent diplomatic support to the right to self-

determination remained a precursor for Pakistan's foreign policy. Dividing Pakistan had not brought any change that but it resulted in another patchwork of peace. Prime minister of India Ms Indira Gandhi entered an agreement with Sheikh Abdullah known as the Delhi agreement in 1974 in the backdrop of the apparent shift of the balance of power on the Indian side. The dropping of insistence on the 1953 position by Kashmiri leader Sheikh Abdullah correlates with Pakistan's defeat, but it did not help India in the long run (Bose, 2009).

Historically, Kashmir does not belong to any martial race. The foreign rulers have occupied them in their entire history. If Kashmiris were given a chance in 1987 when they framed the MUF named political alliance, the armed resistance would have not erupted to counter India's state violence. However, there are other intervening variables associated with it. Masses of Kashmir are overwhelmingly supporting the resistance at various levels; therefore, the conflict's degree is high because India is unwilling to give any political space. India's ex-ambassador in Pakistan G. Parthasarathy has accepted that the biggest blunder of Indian establishment in 1987 was to intervene in elections.

#### **4:7. Promulgating peace in Kashmir Resolution**

India had no issue until 1989 for 32 years to internally manage the Kashmir conflict by maintaining negative peace by hard power. There was a political aspiration to have the right to self-determination, but it was at the political level, not a direct security threat for India to manage the conflict. Indian argument was that since Kashmiris participates in the elections, they are endorsing the Indian rule. In the post-1989 situation in IOJ&K changed and armed resistance erupted after the 1987 elections in Kashmir which were considered to be rigged. The present resistance leadership participated in those elections while taking the mandatory oath under the Indian constitution to contest the elections. The Indian government never wanted to allow the ideologues from IHK because it had fears that these people after winning the elections may pass a resolution unanimously for the right to self-determination. India had no public support in the occupied Kashmir, even today the people of Kashmir have rejected the Indian

occupation. The Indian government is forcefully controlling the IoJ&K with overwhelming force to curb the dissent voices and ultimately wipe the resistance. The huge presence of the state structures of the violence is now the huge challenge for long term enduring structural peace in IOJ&K.

The USSR and the USA used the negotiation and bargaining methods to conclude as an international actor while the UN acted as a neutral third party. However, it resulted in the division of Kashmir followed by the status-quo and protracted cycle of violent conflict. Arbitration by the third party as the powerful player was missing the deterrent, which applies if any party refuses to implement the resolutions.

**Table 1: The Net Result of Negotiations between Pakistan and India from 1949-1999**

Year	Actors	Result	Net Result on Kashmir Conflict
1949	India /Pakistan	UNCIP resolutions	Division of Kashmir (Kashmir (IoK), AJ&K and GB (Kashmir as an international legal dispute)
1965	India/ Pakistan	Statuesque	Tashkent deceleration (Statuesque)
1972	India /Pakistan	Division of Pakistan	Shimla Agreement (Ceasefire line changed into LoC (Bilateralism)
1999	India/Pakistan		No Agreement (Status quo )

Source-Author

The UNCIP resolutions passed by UNSC lacked the pushing factors if any party denies the implementation of these resolutions. The UN role was advisory and conciliatory but not mandatory. Therefore, powerful actor India took due advantage from it. India avoided the Kashmir conflict's settlement and intentionally lingered on which proved to be disastrous for the already oppressed people of Kashmir. The time bar was never set to discuss and debate the issue. Therefore, Kashmir quandary is hanging in the Indian interpretations of the peace. It is not favourable to the principal party because there is no settlement on the agenda of the discussions otherwise simultaneous process de-commission of the violence could have got the chance. Talks for conflict settlement are the principal party's demand, but the powerful actor is unwilling to initiate talks minus his leverage on the ground.

#### **4:8. Ground Challenge to Positive Peace**

As per the authentic European Parliament report, covered by the European Parliamentary Research service Author (Ennen, 2018), the iron-fisted rule of the Indian forces in Jammu and Kashmir is enforced by 700,000 Indian soldiers who forcefully controlled and subjugated the population of about 8 million. The report also mentions that Human Rights workers have found 1000 unmarked graves in many parts of occupied Kashmir. The report also mentions that the plebiscite as per the UN resolutions 47(1948) was never held. As per the Guinness book of the world records, Kashmir is the largest military zone globally. It is the highest battlefield, the oldest dispute on the UN agenda and the lengthiest speeches delivered at the UN on Kashmir dispute. The troops' concentration is highest compared to any part of the world. The presence of the Indian forces away from the barracks in the civilian areas since 1990 is disturbing for the Kashmiris. It carries the enormous ramifications, particularly when they are equipped with a license to kill legally.

#### **4:9. Hybrid Peace**

It is the interplay of the internationally supported peace operations and local approaches to peace. Peace, security development, and reconstruction tend to be hybrid between external and local (Ginty, 2010). This form of peace maintains the juxtaposition between local international norms and local forms of peace; therefore, the first stage may be crucial because the politicians who maintain hybrid politics maintain violence structures (Richmond, 2015). The ownership of local actors is vital to understand the interaction between international and local actors. Therefore; hybrid peace needs ownership. Hybrid peace can work if the international community takes ownership to shrink the trust deficit (Ana, 2012).

The hybrid peace is recognized in various UN documents of the Security Council and the General Assembly. It is relevant to mention here to defy the claims of India that Kashmir is an integral part. They do not need self-determination is a falsely and self-created argument. Furthermore, the World Bank and IMF made references to self-determination, partnership, and ownership to preserve the range of rights. Same is the

urge of the Kashmir people who want right to self-determination while keeping all structures of the violence at bay, whether indigenous or the minorities (UN 1945, 1960, 1966A, 1966B).

#### **4:10. Negative Peace**

When peace serves the powerful, it may bring peace by power, but may or may not be sustained (Shamid, 1968). The same is the situation in the occupied Kashmir. The much-published peace scholar further expands it that negative peace fails the entire peace process though it hatches hope. Negative peace is also debated by scholars, i.e. the absence of violence, pessimistic, curative, peace not always by peaceful means. Still, it did not help in Kashmir. However, it can be a milestone towards positive peace if the previous practice is not repeated. Despite his religious and ideological leaning, every genuine actor is brought on board who are the state subjects without prejudice. The period is set for step by step resolution of the issue while bringing all stakeholders on the table (Gur, 2001).

#### **4:11. Triangulation Method**

The study adopted the structured methodology to collect the relevant data in the research gap and the theoretical prism to craft positive peace from negative peace. The qualitative and the quantitative methods are utilized separately at the first stage, then amalgamated while using the triangulation method. The quantitative methods and the qualitative methods are triangulated by each other and vice versa. Both types of data had augmented the limitations of one method and vice versa. In this study, special care is taken to triangulate the results. This study's chosen phenomena could not have been possible with a single approach because the Kashmir conflict has multiple variables that ignited the conflict from armed to unarmed and vice versa. There is no single reason that can be manipulated to bring positive peace. Therefore, there are domestic, regional and international dimensions of the dispute, and the result could be varied while ignored any one variable of the dispute.

The qualitative data of this study has been collected in stages sequentially or simultaneously concurrently. While collecting data for this study, the researcher's initial idea about the subject was paramount to focus on the study's direction (Benjumea, 2015). The researcher was himself the instrument of the research. Therefore, the confounding or controlling setting is the quantitative which was removed in the qualitative setting. Caution was taken to control internal and external validity. The population for quantitative analysis was more than 600. However, only those respondents were finally selected who responded to the majority of the questions designed on the Likert scale from high calibre, having higher education, including a grasp of national and international relations. The total of 168 respondents engaged in the study. The data was feed to SPSS, and the results are generated empirically for quantitative analysis.

Respondents were selected from both sides of the divide of Kashmir either controlled by India or Pakistan, JK, AJK, GB, India, Pakistan-China and international. The sample was convenient and snowball, however, it was random because they were mostly selected from the Indo-Pak conferences nationally and internationally. There is no single framing of the Kashmir conflict; therefore, more focus was given to the qualitative approach. The two methods have different lenses of reality, but the holistic approach has been applied. Special consideration has been taken between the two philosophies of the research as quantitative research believes that all individuals are similar. However, it is not the case in a qualitative approach which holds that people cannot be pigeonholed.

A quantitative approach is shallow. However, the qualitative approach strives in depth. The data is collected in the field under a natural setting. The selection of the personalities has been taken with special consideration. The researcher had this opportunity to be involved personally in Track-2 Diplomacy; therefore, to dig deep, the researcher approached the right persons who have a stake or position. No data exists without the active participation of the researcher in qualitative methods (Roger, 1998). The theory is tested in the quantitative part.

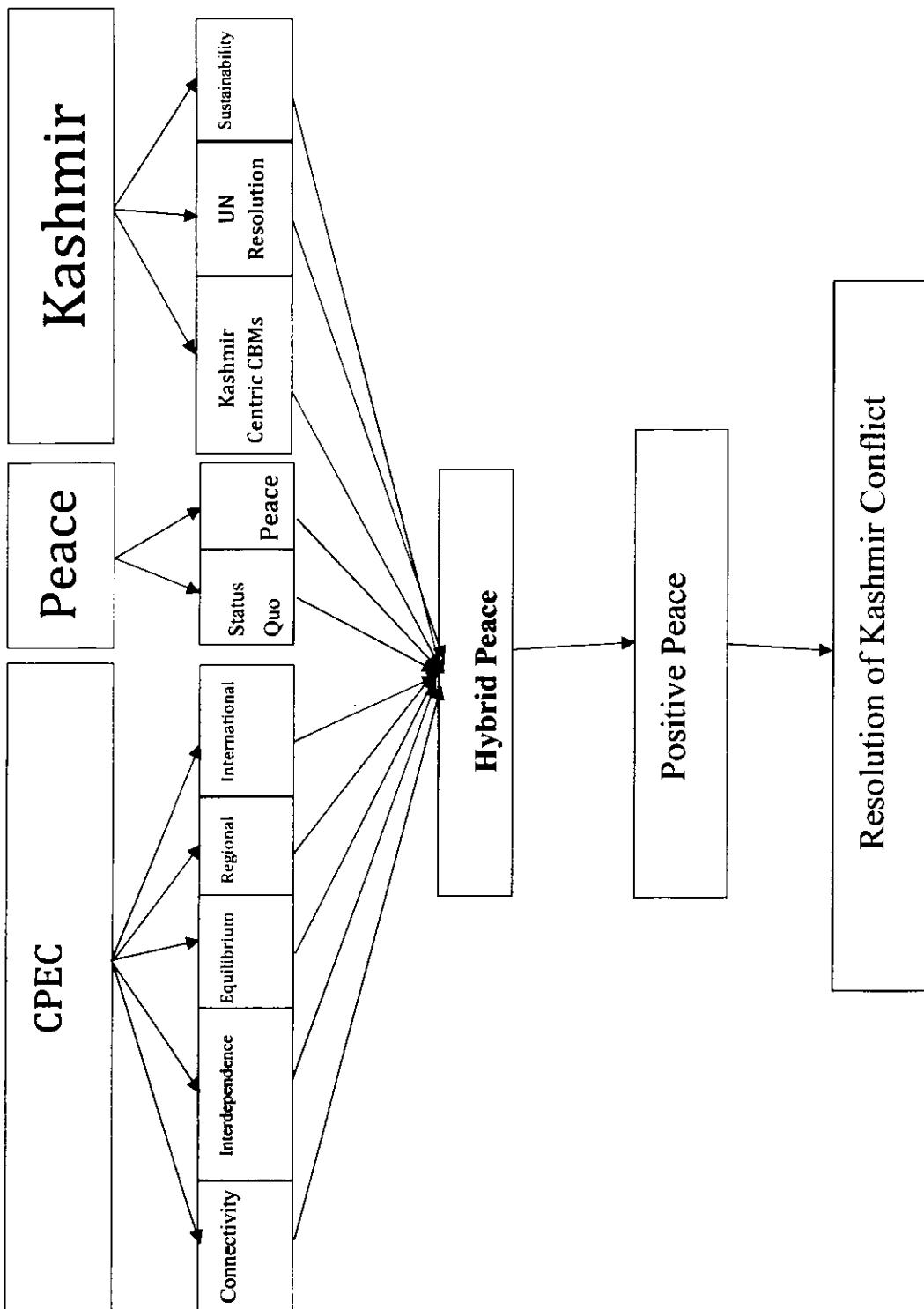
In contrast, the theory is developed in the qualitative part of the study to keep the study more focused and use social sciences' empirical methods correctively. The respondents were chosen from entire geographical areas of the conflict, including China and the International community.

**Table 2: Respondent of the Study**

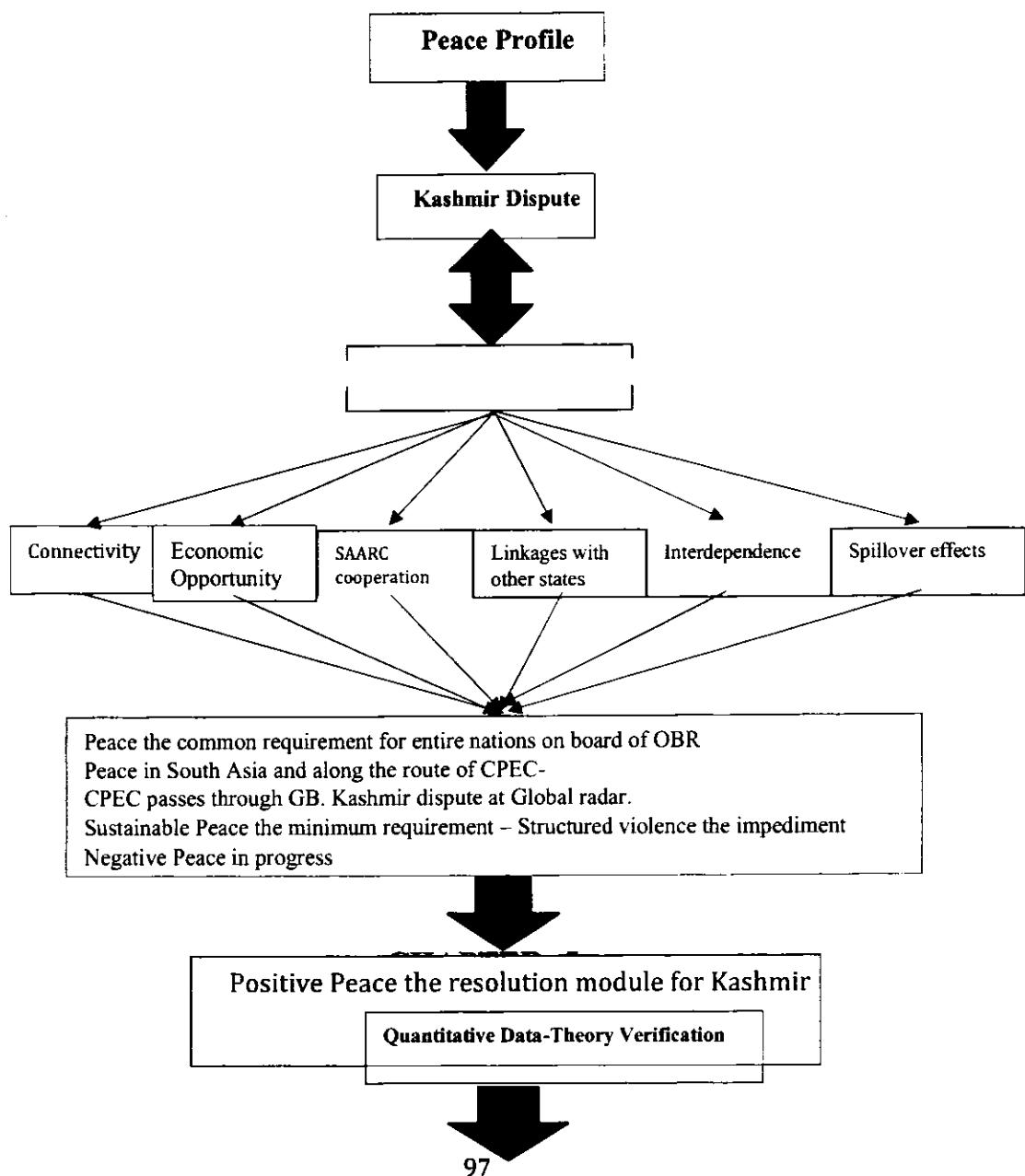
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Indian	23	13.7	13.7
	Pakistani	40	23.8	37.5
	Kashmir from IoK	40	23.8	61.3
	Kashmir from AJ&K	35	20.8	82.1
	Foreign	10	6.0	88.1
	Gilgit Baltistan	15	8.9	97.0
	Chinese	5	3.0	100.0
	Total	168	100.0	100.0

Kashmir dispute carries multiple interpretations and these multi-dimensions that changed from time to time since 1947 to date except its disputed stature as per UNCIP resolutions. Therefore, the study controlled the biases, emotional rhetoric, and all aspects were given the due consideration to academically conclude the problem. This disputed status is also brought in question multiple times by India by arguing that UN resolutions are outdated. The bilateral agreement of Shimla on July 2, 1972 had ceased its international status to bilateralism. Therefore, it hanged the Kashmir question in bilateralism for four decades while consolidating and cementing the status quo. In this backdrop deductive approach was employed to develop and test the hypothesis quantitatively. However, reasoning from particular to general was not enough; it is why an Inductive approach had been augmented in this study to build the theories towards theory development emerged from the data. The inductive hypothesis has also been developed in this study with a mathematical equation. Here strong argument has been developed which cognate. The observations are recorded at both approaches. The

CPEC is the unique condition in the region having a relationship with the Kashmir issue directly and also in the region how we developed the study see the sequence of the various variables associated with each other



The figure indicates how the peace profile of Kashmir has a relationship with the Kashmir dispute and what CPEC offers in the shape of greater regional connectivity, immense economic opportunities, and structural peace. The CPEC is not only connecting SAARC nations but also attracting investment from Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, UAE and other countries. The CPEC would increase interdependence among these states which is going to impact on the regional peace. It will have a geopolitical impact because peace will be the common interest of the entire region. The theory had been tested and builds.



## **Chapter- 5- Critical Analysis of the Primary Data**

### **5:1. Overview**

This chapter deals with the analysis and the interpretation of the data while using the mixed method approach to dig deep and reach to a comprehensive conclusion. Both qualitative and quantitative/ data is used to test the hypothesis, while qualitative data is used to build the theory. The qualitative data is collected from in-depth interviews from the primary sources and secondary sources such as the empirically published material; however, the quantitative data is purely from the primary sources while using the Likert scale. The tables, charts, and analysis are generated through SPSS; the statistical tests ANOVA and correlation are run to test the hypothesis.

### **5:2. Quantitative Analysis**

A series of tests are carried out on quantitative data. One hundred sixty-eight respondents from all regions, i.e. India, Pakistan, China, Kashmiris from AJK, GB, and IoK, including the foreigners, were engaged through convenient sampling. The data was collected at the Likert scale to investigate the research problem empirically discussed in chapter-1 of the study, and the hypothesis is tested in the theoretical framework. The convenient sampling was carried from every geographical entity to get a broader outlook. However, the majority represented their country in one or another way in the various fields and domains, including the highest position in Politics Diplomacy, Academia, and research. The resistance camp and mainstream leadership from both sides of the LoC was also approached. The majority was highly educated people to understand the gravity of the situation and the importance of peace for the success of the CPEC and its importance in South Asia's overall benefit. They understood that CPEC is a mega-project having a direct relationship with the Kashmir issue. The convenience sampling carried from the population for the quantitative as follows.

The data was fed to the SPSS computer program, and the ANOVA test followed by Parsons Correlation was carried to test the hypothesis. The conclusion was drawn empirically to investigate how regional connectivity will generate international influence if Kashmir Centric CBMs are in place. It can mitigate India and Pakistan's animosity while having Chinese and allied nations on board to CPEC interests with peace in the region and how it can bring positive peace. The countries of origin of the respondents, total number, and the subset of alpha are generated. The population from each geographic entity and the country of origin of the sample and the respondents' number is calculated with a subset of the alpha.

**Table 3: Population from each Geographic Entity**

Country of the Origin of the respondents	Number	Subset for alpha = 0.05
	1	
Pakistani	40	10.4750
Kashmir from IOJK	40	10.7250
Gilgit Baltistan	15	11.0667
Tukey B <sup>a,b</sup> Chinese	5	11.4000
Kashmir from AJ&K	34	11.8824
Foreign	10	12.3000
Indian	23	13.1304

Means for groups in homogeneous subsets are displayed.

a. Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 14.299.

b. The group sizes are unequal. The harmonic mean of the group sizes is used. Type I error levels are not guaranteed.

### 5:3. Case Processing Summary

The data of 168 samples were fed to SPSS, and cross-tabulation is generated on the sample from each geographical area. However, the sample's equal number was not possible due to obvious reasons, but percentage has been drawn equally, and missing values had been ascertained in the valid samples. The respondents of the study and the questioners have been equally distributed as per the respondents' number. The questions which were having missing values had been eliminated. The questions were crafted multi-

dimensionally but empirically to reach the main research questions' essence and test the hypothesis. The case summary is generated.

**Table 4: Case Processing Summary**

Respondent of the Study	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Per cent	N	Per cent	N	Per cent
Q1 To what extent do you think that CPEC will bring economic opportunities and hope of peace in the South Asian region	168	100.0%	0	0.0%	168	100.0%
Q2 To what extent do you agree that CPEC is being accepted as a better initiative to promote peace from both sides of divided parts of Kashmir	168	100.0%	0	0.0%	168	100.0%
Q3 To what extent do you think that CPEC will bring new economic opportunities for GB followed by the entire state of J&K	168	100.0%	0	0.0%	168	100.0%
Q4 To what extent do you think that CPEC will enhance better relations between Islamabad and Beijing	168	100.0%	0	0.0%	168	100.0%
Q5 To what extent do you think that strong ties between India and China will help in the resolution of the Kashmir Issue	168	100.0%	0	0.0%	168	100.0%
Q6 To what extent do you think that CPEC will bridge the equilibrium between India and Pakistan	167	99.4%	1	0.6%	168	100.0%
Q 7 To what extent do you think that when CPEC is extended across LoC will bring hopes of peace in the IoJK	168	100.0%	0	0.0%	168	100.0%
Q 8 To what extent do you think that China will emerge as a peace broker between India and Pakistan	168	100.0%	0	0.0%	168	100.0%
Respondent of the Study * Q9 to what extent do you think if CPEC is extended via Khunjerab to AJ&K will bring economic opportunities to AJ&K	168	100.0%	0	0.0%	168	100.0%
Q10 To which and what extent do you think that extension of CPEC to J&K will bring a thaw in skirmishes along LoC.	167	99.4%	1	0.6%	168	100.0%
Q11 To what extent do you think that Pak-China relations are more trustworthy than Pak-US relations	167	99.4%	1	0.6%	168	100.0%
Q12 To what extent do you agree bilateralism has failed to resolve Kashmir Issue and arbitration is vital.	168	100.0%	0	0.0%	168	100.0%
Q13 To what extent do you agree that compulsions of globalization will compel India to join the CPEC in the long run	168	100.0%	0	0.0%	168	100.0%
Q14 To what extent do you agree that RBI will boost international relations of Pakistan	168	100.0%	0	0.0%	168	100.0%
Q15 To what extent do you think that China can play her role for peace in region in post OBR	168	100.0%	0	0.0%	168	100.0%
Q16 To what extent do you think that CPEC will bring paradigm shift in the region	168	100.0%	0	0.0%	168	100.0%
Respondent of the Study * Q17 to what extent do you think that CPEC is driver of globalization	168	100.0%	0	0.0%	168	100.0%
Q18 To what extent do you think that CPEC will enhance strategic depth of Pakistan	168	100.0%	0	0.0%	168	100.0%
Q19 To what extent do you think that connecting the CPEC with the Srinagar Rawalpindi road will open new economic opportunities to IoK people	168	100.0%	0	0.0%	168	100.0%
Q20 To what extent do you think that CPEC will bring regional alignment in favour of Pakistan	168	100.0%	0	0.0%	168	100.0%
Q21 To what extent do you think that more the trade and economic opportunities less will be conflict.	168	100.0%	0	0.0%	168	100.0%

#### 5:4. Regional Connectivity

Regional connectivity in the study means the connectivity through CPEC, which passes through GB, which is now connected directly with China through CPEC. It is the disputed territory as per UNCIP resolutions of 5<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1949. It is also the first milestone of the overall initiative of OBOR, and it will cement the regional connectivity between Pakistan and China and other neighbouring nations that will benefit from CPEC directly like Afghanistan, Iran, Central Asian states, UAE and the KSA. Since CPEC brings the overall process onboard -Kashmir dispute will be on board of the regional connectivity, see the study's respondents, the means are displayed.

**Table 5: Regional Connectivity**

	<b>Respondent of the Study</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Subset for</b>
			<b>alpha = 0.05</b>
Tukey B <sup>a,b</sup>	Pakistani	40	10.4750
	Kashmir from IOK	40	10.7250
	Gilgit Baltistan	15	11.0667
	Chinese	5	11.4000
	Kashmir from AJ&K	34	11.8824
	Foreign	10	12.3000
	Indian	23	13.1304

Means for groups in homogeneous subsets are displayed.

a. Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 14.299.

b. The group sizes are unequal. The harmonic mean of the group sizes is used. Type I error levels are not guaranteed.

Source: Author

The analysis generated through SPSS and the responses of each geographical entity is analysed. CPEC is a representation of regional connectivity, and it will generate the economic opportunity in the region in which India is not on board. Hence, regional connectivity is still there, which was missing so far directly in the absence of the CPEC. GB is also in the centre of the CPEC. The AJK is in the centre of the entire four entities, i.e., between China, IoJK, and India. It will also generate economic opportunity in the northern part of the erstwhile state Jammu and Kashmir. The traffic is at a large scale on the corridor will pass through GB. When quantitative data was collected from Pakistan, GB, AJK, GB, Foreigners, and India, they agree that regional connectivity will generate economic opportunity. The IoJK leadership, both mainstream and the

resistance strongly agreed more than the responses of the AJK. However, the Indian side showed reluctance.

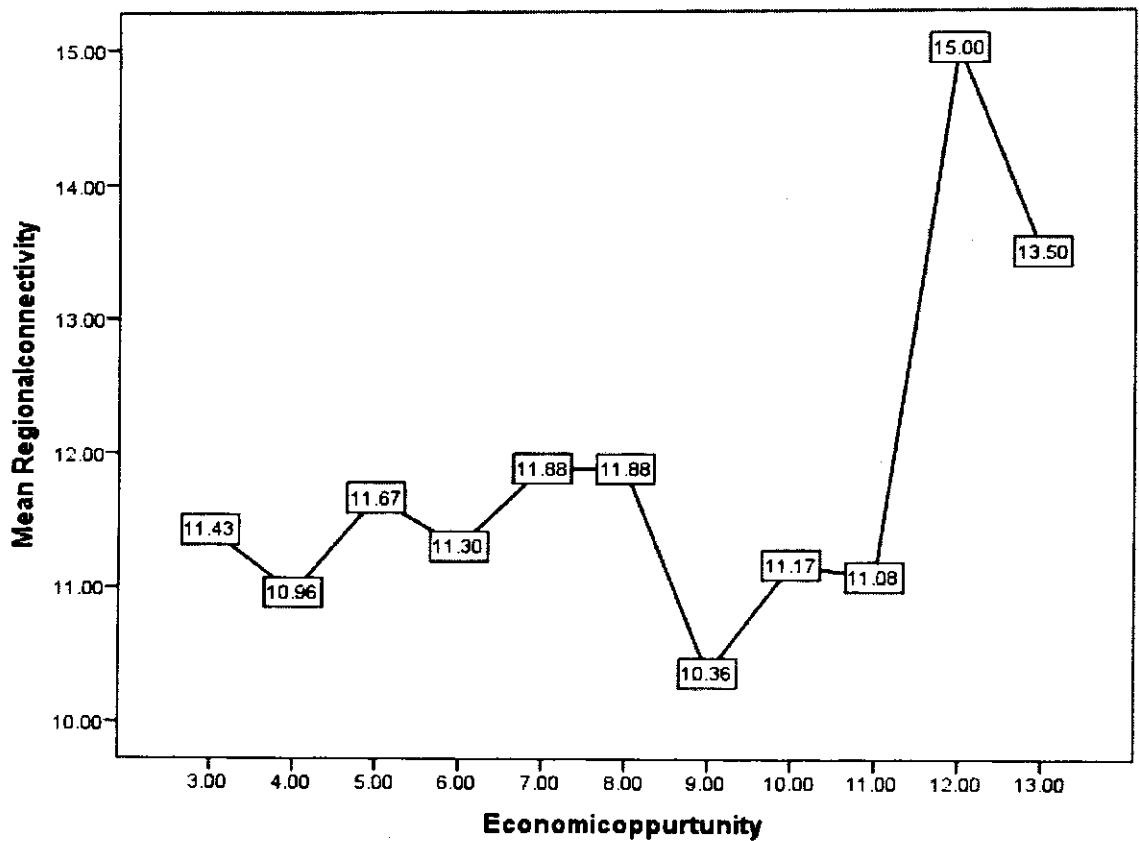


Figure 18: Regional Connectivity and Economic Opportunity

Source: Author

### 5:5. International Influence

Regional connectivity through road links will boost economic connectivity. This process has a logical sequence that the more the countries are connected; they have common interests with the road that can generate economic opportunity—the easy access to raw material and the goods to big markets. The more the regions are on board, the more influence is purely based on the interests. It is the elementary principle of international relations. More the transport loaded with goods pass through CPEC more will be other nations' interests with areas through which road passes. More the nations involved- more will be their common interests and the degree of interdependence that

has synergy from national to international. The responses based on the primary data prove this hypothesis strongly with a high significance level; however, until India will not be on board, its reluctance is oblivious. However, it will be concerned that this connectivity will boost the international influence favouring interests and the peace in the region. The data proves that most of the respondents agree that it will generate international influence favouring the country through which it passes, Pakistan and the northern part of Kashmir GB. Kashmir issue will be on the radar and peace will be shared interests of all the countries, benefitted from the corridor that passes through the northern part of Jammu and Kashmir's erstwhile state.

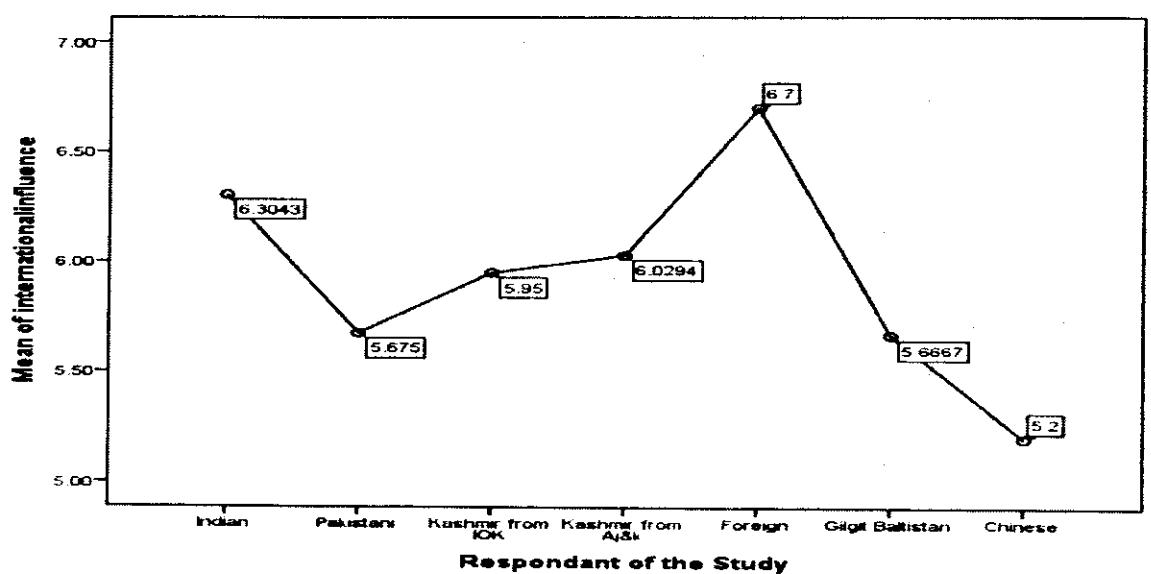


Figure 19: Respondent of study and Mean of International Influence

Source: Author

The mean difference, standard error, and significance level have been calculated the interval level mentioning the countries of the respondent's case by case.

**Table 6: Interval Level Mentioning the Countries of the Respondent's Case by Case**

(I) Countries of the response	(J) Respondent of the Study	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Indian	Pakistani	.62935	.48726	.198	-.3330	1.5916
	Kashmir from IOK	.35435	.48726	.468	-.6080	1.3166
	Kashmir from AJ&K	.27494	.50272	.585	-.7179	1.2677
	Foreign	-.39565	.70531	.576	-1.7886	.9973
	Gilgit Baltistan	.63768	.61797	.304	-.5828	1.8581
	Chinese	1.10435	.91879	.231	-.7102	2.9189
Pakistani	Indian	-.62935	.48726	.198	-1.5916	.3330
	Kashmir from IOK	-.27500	.41636	.510	-1.0973	.5473
	Kashmir from AJ&K	-.35441	.43434	.416	-1.2122	.5034
	Foreign	-1.02500	.65833	.121	-2.3251	.2751
	Gilgit Baltistan	.00833	.56376	.988	-1.1050	1.1217
	Chinese	.47500	.88324	.591	-1.2693	2.2193
Kashmir from IOK	Indian	-.35435	.48726	.468	-1.3166	.6080
	Pakistani	.27500	.41636	.510	-.5473	1.0973
	Kashmir from Aj&K	-.07941	.43434	.855	-.9372	.7784
	Foreign	-.75000	.65833	.256	-2.0501	.5501
	Gilgit Baltistan	.28333	.56376	.616	-.8300	1.3967
	Chinese	.75000	.88324	.397	-.9943	2.4943
Kashmir from Aj&K	Indian	-.27494	.50272	.585	-1.2677	.7179
	Pakistani	.35441	.43434	.416	-.5034	1.2122
	Kashmir from IOK	.07941	.43434	.855	-.7784	.9372
	Foreign	-.67059	.66985	.318	-1.9935	.6523
	Gilgit Baltistan	.36275	.57717	.531	-.7771	1.5026
	Chinese	.82941	.89186	.354	-.9319	2.5907
Foreign	Indian	.39565	.70531	.576	-.9973	1.7886
	Pakistani	1.02500	.65833	.121	-.2751	2.3251
	Kashmir from IOK	.75000	.65833	.256	-.5501	2.0501
	Kashmir from Aj&K	.67059	.66985	.318	-.6523	1.9935
	Gilgit Baltistan	1.03333	.76017	.176	-.4679	2.5346
	Chinese	1.50000	1.01988	.143	-.5142	3.5142
Gilgit Baltistan	Indian	-.63768	.61797	.304	-1.8581	.5828
	Pakistani	-.00833	.56376	.988	-1.1217	1.1050
	Kashmir from IOK	-.28333	.56376	.616	-1.3967	.8300
	Kashmir from Aj&K	-.36275	.57717	.531	-1.5026	.7771
	Foreign	-1.03333	.76017	.176	-2.5346	.4679
	Chinese	.46667	.96155	.628	-1.4323	2.3656
Chinese	Indian	-1.10435	.91879	.231	-2.9189	.7102
	Pakistani	-.47500	.88324	.591	-2.2193	1.2693
	Kashmir from IOK	-.75000	.88324	.397	-2.4943	.9943
	Kashmir from Aj&K	-.82941	.89186	.354	-2.5907	.9319
	Foreign	-1.50000	1.01988	.143	-3.5142	.5142
	Gilgit Baltistan	.46667	.96155	.628	-2.3656	1.4323

### **5:6. Conflict Resolution and Peace**

Predicting the fresh opportunities are on the cards in resolving the Kashmir conflict, which is susceptible to nuclear war when LoC is volatile, particularly in India's Narendra Modi's regime which has halted the bilateral talks since 2014 unilaterally. The new situation arises due to a considerable investment of \$56 Billion in the CPEC and China emerged as the primary stakeholder in the region which has a logical sequence with the regional connectivity through the land route with Pakistan and onwards to the international market. The second largest economy and emerging super power China is now the major actor having direct interests with the region's stability. It is in the absolute interests of the major stakeholder China to ensure the peace and peace has a direct relation with the conflict resolution of Kashmir. The Indian occupied Kashmir's is facing volatility because India exerts immense hard power to curb the resistance in IoJ&K. It keeps the conflict scorching. Therefore, Pakistan cannot brush away Kashmir from her foreign policy priorities, and China cannot be at bay due to interdependence on Pakistan.

The significance of peace is in the supreme interests of Pakistan and the people of Kashmir. However, after the CPEC initiative, it is the Chinese requirement to safeguard her region's interests. She must revisit her non-interference policy as peace broker which can be a mega incentive for Kashmir and their sole supporter Pakistan. When the quantitative data was collected from Pakistanis, Chinese, and the people residing in GB and the AJK they believed that new alignment would bring fresh opportunities; however, the Indian' responses were quite the opposite. The Z scores of the have been seen in the light of the mean of the peace the standard deviation of the analysis.

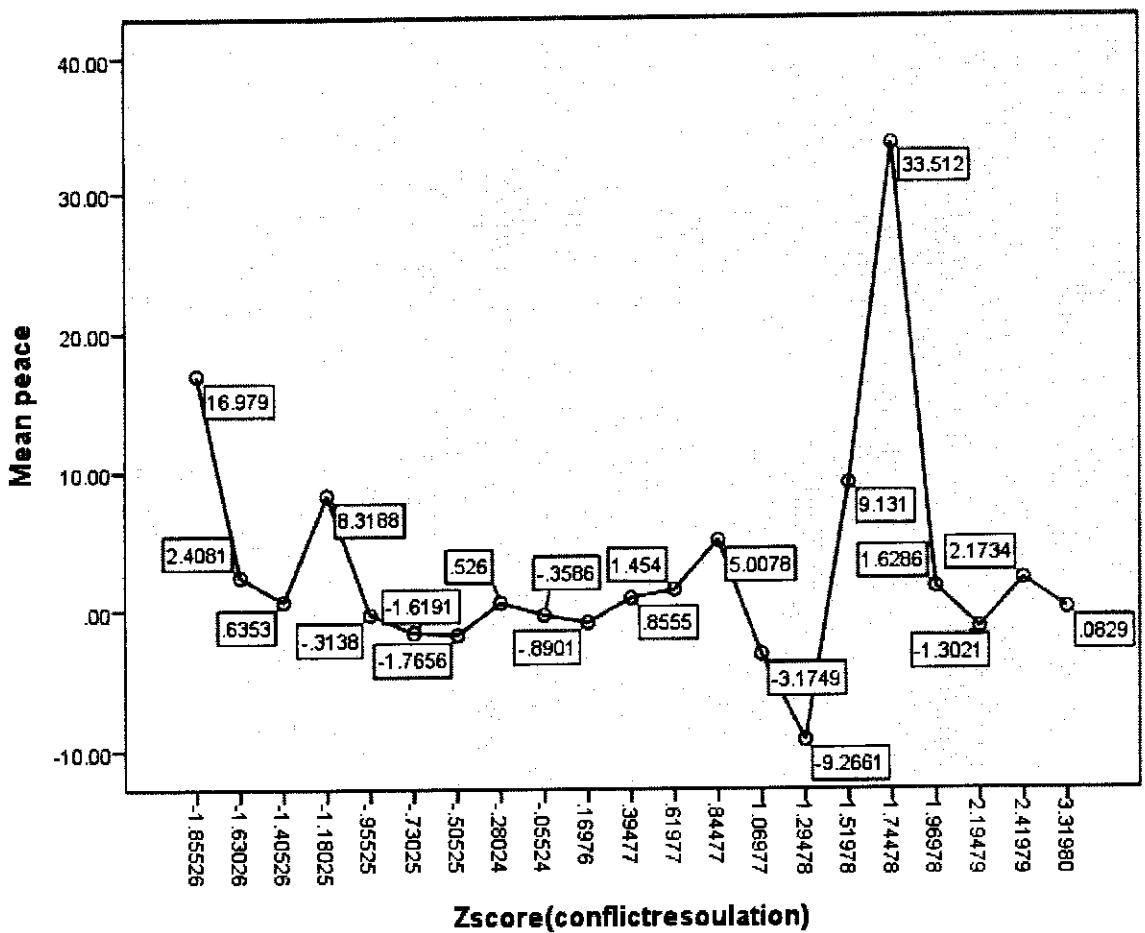


Figure 20: Conflict Resolution and the Peace

Source: Author

The comprehensive report has been generated to compare the quantum of the international influence generated with the regional connectivity Economic opportunity, declaring Kashmir FEZ and the conflict resolution of the Kashmir. The overall standard deviation with the mean and the number shows the significance level of 1. It is empirically proved that there is a correlation. Peace is essential in the region for the overall interests of entire actors but first to China.

**Table 7: International Influence with Regional Connectivity, Economic Opportunity, Declaring Kashmir as a Conflict Resolution and economic Zone**

Respondent of the Study	(International Influence)	Regional Connectivity	Economic Opportunity	Conflict Resolution	Economic Zone
	Mean	.8913495	1.7093990	2.1947867	.5508264
	N	2	2	2	2
	Std. Deviation	.48062391	1.17719558	.31820185	.92596470
	Mean	-.5530233	.7729456	.8447706	.1143225
	N	4	4	4	4
	Std. Deviation	.50977864	1.09459145	1.11748816	1.26007835
	Mean	1.0952609	.3775542	.3497647	-.2785311
	N	5	5	5	5
	Std. Deviation	1.28516353	.34821915	.56025216	.90515385
	Mean	1.1462388	.1486434	1.1822746	.3325744
	N	4	4	4	4
	Std. Deviation	.89379680	.62430223	.46838044	1.28503282
	Mean	1.2312019	.6688952	1.4072773	.9873304
Indian	N	2	2	2	2
	Std. Deviation	1.44187173	.29429890	.47730277	.92596470
	Mean	1.0046336	1.4319313	1.2947759	.7690784
	N	3	3	3	3
	Std. Deviation	.85527651	.48058808	1.57501878	.75604701
	Mean	-.4680602	1.4319313	1.0697732	.3325744
	N	3	3	3	3
	Std. Deviation	.89916500	.48058808	.81125871	.87300789
	Mean	.5958256	.8227088	1.0502078	.2946176
	Total	N	23	23	23
	Std. Deviation	1.12391817	.80650149	.90488888	.97528061
	Mean	.1266815	.3567441	.3947652	-.6495594
	N	4	4	4	4
	Std. Deviation	.42763826	.52370872	.95460554	.65475592
	Mean	-.6096654	-.5103423	-.1864917	.0779471
	N	12	12	12	12
	Std. Deviation	.92174974	1.05490801	1.16504047	1.01020826
	Mean	.2966077	.3567441	.1697625	.1143225
	N	4	4	4	4
	Std. Deviation	.50977864	.85802135	.91856961	.83584142
	Mean	-.1767581	.3418798	-.1838131	-.4157180
	N	7	7	7	7
	Std. Deviation	1.09999843	.98239674	.87004732	.86255233
	Mean	-.9211968	.0445930	-.8052491	-.2494308
Pakistani	N	3	3	3	3
	Std. Deviation	.51913315	1.24860447	.93676087	.25201567
	Mean	.2116446	.0445930	.5822674	.3325744
	N	6	6	6	6
	Std. Deviation	.91191975	1.46559668	.91580975	.27606934
	Mean	-.9778389	.2526938	-.2239922	.5508264
	N	4	4	4	4
	Std. Deviation	.58864167	1.10116563	.74341740	.83584142
	Mean	-.3066303	.0133779	-.0271148	-.0166287
	Total	N	40	40	40
	Std. Deviation	.90076922	1.05959130	.98563253	.82820801
	Mean	.8913495	-1.2040114	-.5052455	-.9769374
Kashmir from IOK	N	1	1	1	1
	Std. Deviation	.	.	.	.

		Mean	.0417184	-.3716085	-.6177469	.0051965
	-1.04975	N	4	4	4	4
		Std. Deviation	1.40124745	.96117617	1.07907496	1.44222560
		Mean	-.4195099	-.0743217	-.1998848	.0207859
	-.51034	N	14	14	14	14
		Std. Deviation	.69081793	1.18203671	.79235132	1.01908009
		Mean	-.1621930	-.5380891	-.3702439	.5071760
	.02907	N	10	10	10	10
		Std. Deviation	1.31575520	.88180602	.90125988	.68863791
		Mean	-.4680602	-.1635077	.3947652	-.1039295
	.56848	N	2	2	2	2
		Std. Deviation	.96124782	.29429890	.95460554	1.23461960
		Mean	-.2414919	.3914276	-.6177469	-.1039295
	1.10789	N	6	6	6	6
		Std. Deviation	1.08894289	1.12963760	.31014480	.95633223
		Mean	-.0149237	-.2328746	-.5052455	.3325744
	1.64731	N	3	3	3	3
		Std. Deviation	1.53247946	1.33790060	.38971608	1.15488089
		Mean	-.2216672	-.1947228	-.3477437	.1143225
	Total	N	40	40	40	40
		Std. Deviation	1.03250994	1.04481687	.76633153	.96345774
		Mean	.0417184	.8769960	-.2802429	.3325744
	-1.04975	N	4	4	4	4
		Std. Deviation	1.05664413	.83240298	.18371392	1.06921194
		Mean	.1436741	-.0109005	.1536909	-.0166287
	-.51034	N	15	15	14	15
		Std. Deviation	1.00488662	.71858997	.98853279	1.31158878
		Mean	-.2414919	-.2328746	.8447706	.4780758
	.02907	N	3	3	3	3
		Std. Deviation	.39242778	1.04741744	.22500268	1.33354158
		Mean	.2116446	-.3022416	1.0697732	-.1766802
	.56848	N	5	6	6	6
		Std. Deviation	1.46176055	.88941262	1.37233193	1.54738443
		Mean	.0983605	.3220607	-.0552402	-.3949321
Kashmir from AJ&K	1.10789	N	3	3	3	3
		Std. Deviation	1.03826631	.86639249	.59530114	1.33354158
		Mean	.8913495	-.3716085	-.0552402	-.9769374
	1.64731	N	1	1	1	1
		Std. Deviation	.	.	.	.
		Mean	.8913495	1.7093990	.1697625	-.1039295
	2.18672	N	1	1	1	1
		Std. Deviation	.	.	.	.
		Mean	.8913495	-.3716085	-.9552509	1.6420863
	2.72613	N	1	1	1	1
		Std. Deviation	.	.	.	.
		Mean	.1704504	.0813167	.2720365	.0244540
	Total	N	33	34	33	34
		Std. Deviation	.97894894	.85337544	.98734095	1.25562314
		Mean	1.2312019	-.10652776	-.1302411	-.1039295
Foreign	-.51034	N	3	3	3	3
		Std. Deviation	.33985243	.24029404	.25981072	.43650395
	.02907	N	3	3	3	3

		Std. Deviation	.85527651	.24029404	.46838044	.75604701
		Mean	.4382129	.1833268	-.2802429	.0415718
1.10789	N	3	3	3	3	3
		Std. Deviation	.85527651	.86639249	1.12501342	.66677079
		Mean	-.1282078	.8769960	-1.8552616	-.1039295
2.18672	N	1	1	1	1	1
		Std. Deviation	.	.	.	.
		Mean	.3136004	-.3716085	-.3477437	-.1912303
Total	N	10	10	10	10	10
		Std. Deviation	.96191512	.80895029	.79408913	.57468415
		Mean	-.0602373	-.6213294	-.5502461	.5071760
-1.04975	N	5	5	5	5	5
		Std. Deviation	.44311335	.86305378	.40249704	1.25755567
		Mean	.0983605	.1833268	-.5052455	-.3949321
-.51034	N	3	3	3	3	3
		Std. Deviation	1.09247270	.86639249	.38971608	.66677079
		Mean	-.1282078	-.7878100	-.9552509	-.9769374
.02907	N	4	4	4	4	4
		Std. Deviation	1.00049845	.33982709	.84188295	.71280796
		Mean	-.1282078	-1.2040114	-1.1802536	-1.8499453
Gilgit Baltistan	.56848	N	1	1	1	1
		Std. Deviation	.	.	.	.
		Mean	-1.1477651	.8769960	.1697625	.3325744
1.64731	N	1	1	1	1	1
		Std. Deviation	.	.	.	.
		Mean	.2116446	-.7878100	-.5052455	-1.4134413
2.18672	N	1	1	1	1	1
		Std. Deviation	.	.	.	.
		Mean	-.1055510	-.4548488	-.6402472	-.3658319
Total	N	15	15	15	15	15
		Std. Deviation	.73191425	.80520276	.56921677	1.12865726
		Mean	-.8079127	.4607945	-.7302482	.3325744
-1.04975	N	1	1	1	1	1
		Std. Deviation	.	.	.	.
		Mean	-.1282078	-.7878100	-1.2927549	-.7586854
-.51034	N	2	2	2	2	2
		Std. Deviation	.96124782	1.17719558	.79550462	.30865490
		Mean	.5514970	-.9959107	-.7302482	-.5404335
Chinese	.02907	N	2	2	2	2
		Std. Deviation	.48062391	.29429890	.31820185	.00000000
		Mean	.0077332	-.6213294	-.9552509	-.4531327
Total	N	5	5	5	5	5
		Std. Deviation	.78239904	.86305378	.52767807	.47816612

Source: Author

## 5:7 Constructs

Regional connectivity between Pakistan and China followed by SAARC countries excluding India but adding the data collected from Indian respondents is the first construct, variable or an indicator of this study. It has the linear relationship with Pakistan and her administered parts of Jammu and Kashmir. The regional connectivity had three modes.

1. The connectivity between China and Pakistan; therefore, there is more connectivity between China and GB because CPEC passes through GB, the northern part of Jammu and Kashmir's disputed state. Q# 4, Q# 6, Q# 16, Q# 18, and Q# 20 responses are collected on the Likert scale to collect the answers from the entire four regions though India and IoJ&K are not far, the natural part of it.
2. Regional connectivity will generate economic opportunity in the entire region, including the GB a part of the disputed state of IoJ&K. Q# 1, Q# 3Q# 9 are collected to define it. Economic opportunities will benefit the entire region to create the interdependence between Pakistan and China, China, and other SAARC countries. Peace is the essential requirement of the entire region to get the maximum dividend from the economic opportunity. If there is conflict in any region that has a direct relationship with CPEC will get important
3. The regional connectivity followed by economic opportunity will generate international influence as China is the primary driver of the CPEC. Her regional influence will be more augmented, and interdependence with Pakistan will generate an international stature of Pakistan in broader terms through the OBOR. The response of this had been collected from Q# 11, Q# 14, and Q# 17. The above three variables have sequence and relation with the Kashmir dispute if Kashmir is declared as the FEZ in three stages. Regional connectivity will play the critical role because one part of the Kashmir is already connected with CPEC. Another part is in a plan to be connected through GB to AJK, and it will connect the Srinagar Rawalpindi road the response has been collected by Q# 19Q# 21, and Q# 22.

Negative peace is already in place. However, neither Pakistan nor the entire region has

sustainable peace until and unless the Kashmir question is not addressed because LoC between India and Pakistan will remain hostile. An exchange of the heavy artillery fire

is routine. The mass uprising against India in her occupied territory of Kashmir is always in India and Pakistan's headlines, which is a mega obstacle in peace between India and Pakistan vis-à-vis SAARC and China in severe cases. Therefore, it will remain on the regional radar more important than pre-CPEC initiative.

The above three variables are the catalyst for peacefully promoting peace in the region and beyond. Therefore, the conflict resolution of Kashmir cannot be kept at the back burner though initially, China follows the same policy of interdependence between China and Pakistan will further push the security concern of Pakistan which will dent the economic interest of the region. Therefore, the conflict resolution of the Kashmir will get more focus. Q# 2, Q# 5, Q# 7, Q# 8, Q# 10, Q# 12, Q# 13, Q# 15.

**Table 8: Statistical Tests on Quantitative Data**

<b>Construct/Variable/Indicator</b>	<b>Scope/ Definition</b>	<b>Questions Submitted</b>
Regional Connectivity/Interdependence	Pakistan-China geographic connectivity through CPEC will boost interdependency. It will bring regional alignment. An equilibrium in the region in soft power and security paradigm is in play	Q# 4 Q# 6 Q# 16 Q# 18 Q# 20
Economic opportunity	Economic opportunity is the primary catalyst of international relations; the same is applied to India and Pakistan. CPEC will bring economic opportunities to the entire region, SAARC region and GB-(Kashmir) India will benefit also	Q# 1 Q# 3 Q# 9
International Influence	Close the economic relations through CPEC more is the international influence of Pakistan being a part of OBR on board of globalization	Q# 11 Q# 14 Q# 17
Kashmir as Free Economic zone	CPEC passes through GB and AJ&K is in influence while as a declaration of GB and AJK and at suitable time IoK as free economic Zone is logical which will consolidate road of peace.	Q# 21 Q# 19 Q# 22
Conflict Resolution and Positive Peace in Kashmir	Complex Kashmir Conflict demands multi-dimensional say, i.e., Domestic, regional, and international when satisfied it will bring Positive Peace	Q# 2 Q# 5 Q# 7 Q# 8 Q# 10 Q# 12 Q# 13 Q# 15

Source: Author

### **5:8. Statistical Tests on Quantitative Data**

The one-way analysis of the variance has been carried in the study- To determine to which extent there is a statistical difference between and among the means of independent groups to find the research findings carried on primary data-The tables are generated through SPSS.

### **5:9. ANOVA**

The data is parametric in this study. The data fits the normal distribution in this study. The sample of all groups is drawn from Pakistan, India, IoJ&K, AJK, GB, and China from within the same mean values. The ANOVA test carried in this study between and among the regional connectivity and the international significance, and the hypothesis is tested which shows that within-group it is close to 1.015. Therefore, the hypothesis is proved that two mean squares estimate the same quantity, therefore, it is proved because it is approximate of the same magnitude, within the groups 1.015 however, there is a difference in positions between Indian and the rest.

The economic opportunity and the international influence within the groups in, 965, close to 1; therefore, there is the significance level. International influence directly relates to the conflict resolution, and it is proved statically between, and among the groups, there is .1, 78 significance. If Kashmir is declared an independent economic zone, CPEC will generate international relations favouring peace as the primary support, and there is significance 166 in total.

**Table 9: ANOVA Table**

			Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
(Regional connectivity) *	Between Groups	(Combined)	6.577	8	.822	.810	.595
		Linearity	.038	1	.038	.038	.846
		Deviation from Linearity	6.539	7	.934	.920	.493
		Within Groups	159.378	157	1.015		
	Total		165.955	165			
		(Combined)	13.881	8	1.735	1.798	.081
		Linearity	3.886	1	3.886	4.027	.046
(International influence)	Between Groups	Deviation from Linearity	9.995	7	1.428	1.479	.178
		Within Groups	152.494	158	.965		
		Total	166.376	166			
		(Combined)	12.063	8	1.508	1.539	.148
	Total	Linearity	.157	1	.157	.160	.690
		Deviation from Linearity	11.906	7	1.701	1.736	.104
		Within Groups	153.858	157	.980		
(Conflict Resolution) *	Between Groups	Total	165.921	165			
		(Combined)	7.172	8	.897	.906	.513
		Linearity	.718	1	.718	.726	.396
		Deviation from Linearity	6.454	7	.922	.932	.484
	Total	Within Groups	156.385	158	.990		
		Total	163.557	166			

Source: Author

### 5:10. Measures of Association

To examine the relationship between the regional connectivity, economic opportunity, FEZ and conflict resolution of Kashmir, the relationship between the variables is also simultaneously examined. It is vital to mention here that Social science is concerned with examining the phenomena. It does not just happen but is an indicator which is statically tested in this study through series of statically tests because Kashmir conflict cannot be resolved in a vacuum when there are multiple complexities associated and the peace has multiple interpretations. The strength and the direction of the relationship between independent variables were generated through SPSS in regional connectivity, international influence, economic opportunity, the international influence, the Conflict resolution of the Kashmir. The international influence, the Kashmir and the free economic zone and the rule of the international influence. The measures of the association indicate that there is a significant relationship. The variables have a relationship which is near to 1. While an economic opportunity can generate the perfect

relation, i.e. 0.83, however, it is a positive relationship between the variables. It is a significant relationship between them.

<b>Table 10: Measures of Association</b>				
	<b>R</b>	<b>R Squared</b>	<b>Eta</b>	<b>Eta Squared</b>
(Regional connectivity) *	.015	.000	.199	.040
international influence)				
(Economic opportunity) *	.153	.023	.289	.083
international influence)				
(conflict resolution) *	.031	.001	.270	.073
international influence)				
Economic Zone) *	.066	.004	.209	.044
international influence)				

Source: Author

### **5:11 Correlation**

The correlation test has been cried while engaging the SPSS to test the hypothesis. They are testing the correlation between the regional connectivity and economic opportunity generated by the CPEC. The international influence will be generated; it directly relates to the conflict resolution of the Kashmir issue if Kashmir is declared as FEZ between Pakistan and India while keeping China on board as an actor and the beneficiary of the peace. It will enhance the success of the CPEC in the long run and the safeguard of China's considerable investment. Other mega projects are also in a queue, but Kashmir questions are the stumbling block. These four sets of data are correlated to examine to which degree the values increase together.

**Table 11: Correlation**

The entire set of the variables move tighter		Respondent	Regional	Economic	Conflict	International	Economic
when the tactical test of the correlation is	Of The Study		Connectivity	Opportunity	Resolution	Influence	Zone
carried on the primary data, therefore, the more the economic opportunity more is the economic opportunity. More is the economic opportunity more are the chances of the international relations of the Pakistan which is a legal actor of the Kashmir dispute and supports the Kashmir's right to self-determination as per the UN resolutions morally, politically and diplomatically officially and advocates the right to self-determination of the Kashmir at UN, IGOs and regional alliances including SAARC and the OIC but lacks the international influence to push the international community in the resolution of the Kashmir issue Vis-à-vis is economically week. The test shows that correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed) and the correlation is							
Respondent of the Study	Pearson Correlation	1	-.029	-.291**	-.356**	-.031	-.164*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.709	.000	.000	.688	.033
	N	168	167	168	167	167	168
Regional connectivity)	Pearson Correlation	-.029	1	.025	.156*	.015	.024
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.709		.751	.045	.846	.760
	N	167	167	167	166	166	167
Economic opportunity	Pearson Correlation	-.291**	.025	1	.211**	.153*	.087
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.751		.006	.049	.260
	N	168	167	168	167	167	168
conflict resolution	Pearson Correlation	-.356**	.156*	.211**	1	.031	.035
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.045	.006		.694	.649
	N	167	166	167	167	166	167
international influence	Pearson Correlation	-.031	.015	.153*	.031	1	.066
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.688	.846	.049	.694		.395
	N	167	166	167	166	167	167
Economic Zone	Pearson Correlation	-.164*	.024	.087	.035	.066	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.033	.760	.260	.649	.395	
	N	168	167	168	167	167	168

\*\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Source: Author

There is a linear relationship between regional connectivity and international influence.

The R indicates the multiple correlation coefficients; the square root of R-squares, Adjacent R square, and the estimate's standard error. The R measures the strength and direction of the linear relationship between the more international influences to resolve

the complicated Kashmir conflict. The independent variable, i.e. international influence

is a pre-requisite to address the core Kashmir conflict because Pakistan needs to influence the international community. Therefore, international influence can be generated through economic interests when there is interdependence between Pakistan and China. Pakistan will get more space in post successful in enduring the CPEC which has no other alternative to boost. There was a better relationship of Pakistan with the USA, but there was little interdependence between the relations or relations were changing because they were one-sided. The same was the relationship of Pakistan with China. Since there was little or no interdependence between China and Pakistan in the pre-CPEC scenario, so Pakistan failed to vow much support from China to resolve the Kashmir issue, now the degree of independence will increase post-CPEC scenario between Pakistan and China, See the model summary.

**Table 12: Model Summary**

R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. The Error of the Estimate
.059	.003	-.003	.978

The independent variable is the Z score (international influence).

Source: Author

When the sum of the squares and mean squares are directly applied to the independent variable, the quantum of the international influence is generated. The data interoperation shows a total of 165.744 and the significance of 045. It is the indicator that much influence is generated when the regression and the residual are measured. See the regression, residual and total with the sum of the squares, Mean squares, and the Significance.

**Table 13: ANOVA**

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	4.034	1	4.034	4.091	.045
Residual	161.709	164	.986		
Total	165.744	165			

The independent variable is the Z score (international influence).

Source: Author

### **5:12. Model Fitting Information**

By generating the fitting modal of this study, we deduce that Pakistan's international influence will increase. BRI would have a tremendous global impact, and China is the centre of gravity and forefront. CPEC carries geo-economical and geopolitical gains that will shape China's new foreign policy and its impact on Pakistan. See the Modal fitting information, Chi Squire, difference and significance.

**Table 14: Model Fitting Information**

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	902.518			
Final	.000	902.518	50	.000
Link function: Logit.				

Source: Author

This argument is supported by the chairman of the foreign relations committee of Pakistan Mushaid Hussain Syed that the USA is no more the sole world power. The same position is taken by the Indian Parliamentarian, Diplomat, and International Scholar Shashi Tharoor. This argument is supported by the blockbuster research work of Peter Frankopan, The Silk roads-The New history of the world published by oxford press that the Power is now shifting back from American content to Asia. China used to once the superpower, and China's economic superiority is a significant indicator as power cannot remain confined now in the USA. We can predict based on the supportive qualitative data that the recent trade war initiated by President Trump has little effect on China as China is importing 550 Billion dollar goods to the USA and the USA is exporting only 250 Billion dollars goods to China. There is a significant difference between the two. Even if the USA imposed the duty of the 25% on Chinese goods, it would not dent more on China because the USA has 20 trillion dollar deficit and China had surpassed the USA economy.

### **5.13. Qualitative Analysis**

This study's primary focus is data collected qualitatively through in-depth face-to-face discussions, interviews, memos, and visual materials used for analysis empirically. The respondents have been engaged during various National and Intentional Conferences

in which top leadership, Academician, Researchers, Bureaucrats, Indian and Pakistani Military leadership, mainstream leadership, and resistance leaders were interviewed. The top practitioners' experiences have been given the room beside the available scholarly peer-reviewed journals (Rossman, 1989 & Wolcott, 1990).

The position and expertise of the interviewer are central. It is considered useful and positive during the moots were data is collected from the primary resources formally and informally concerned with the Kashmir dispute (Locke & Silverman, 1987). The overall relations of India and Pakistan and are concerned with the peace in the region. The researcher's position was central in these deliberations. A researcher collected the relevant data for this research and was personally invited and engaged in discussing the Kashmir Conflict at the national, regional, and international levels. The majority of these moots were sponsored by PUGWAS a noble prize wing organization of 1984 and the Conciliation Resources London funded by the USA and European Commission

#### **5:14. Regional Connectivity**

The primary research's essence is regional connectivity and how it will boost international relations through the economic channel. Its progress is related to the region's stability. The corridor passes to connect Roads, Railway and the fibre optics are the connectivity components in which road connectivity was formally inaugurated. CPEC is part of the BRI called Yadkinville in Chinese, having two main components. Silk road and other maritime called the silk road maritime is not only the mega booster of the regional connectivity. However, it is one step ahead of the international connectivity that furnishes this study's concrete base. It will generate new concrete relations on the vehicle of geo-economics. CPEC on aboard of the OBOR is the ambitious global venture having the tremendous potential to change the global power dynamics. The significance of the CPEC is in the centre of the corridor and the roads, so it is the heart of the overall project of the OBOR (Khalid, 2019).

CPEC is an outcome of the long friendship between China and Pakistan. The corridor of regional integrity has the potential to address the economic issues of the region. The

linkage through Gwadar to the Indian Ocean while connecting Central Asia, Middle East, Southern Asia is a huge breakthrough for regional and global connectivity. It can bring changes at the regional level. The US and its EU allies may consider the rise of China as a threat. It is expected that China will surpass the US economy by 2030 and dominate the global economy. The CPEC will give boost to China's rise as powerful political & economic actor at global level and ultimate hegemon in the Indian Ocean Regions. The regional connectivity followed by international connectivity can be seen through the prism of the border and strategic alliances with Asia, Europe, and Africa, having tremendous potential to generate the economic interest that will create new phenomena of the stable alliance with close bonds corridors.

OBOR will also connect the Baltic seas with the Pacific Ocean via, roads, sea, and train. Guangxi Zhuang autonomous region flowed by the Yunnan are connected through the various seaports in South Asia sea, Andaman sea, The Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. The Persian Gulf will terminate at the Baltic sea is a tremendous net of the regional connectivity followed by international connectivity. Chinese transportation from the Strait of Malacca takes 45 days which can be reduced to 10 days through Gwadar. The deep seaport has the maximum capacity to dock the big ships loaded with oil. This is a significant difference in the shape of cost and timing. It will generate new liaison, and the route is equally beneficial, for Iran and Afghanistan. The overland communication infrastructure follows the sea routes. China is coming up with many economic corridors through its new silk route initiatives. A few of them are the China, Magnolia and Russian land corridor, China, India and Bangladesh Corridor, China, and Central Asia corridor, CPEC-China, and Pakistan's economic corridor. All these economic corridors are meant for greater connectivity.

Regional connectivity through CPEC will create intercedence, generate more economic activity and help in easing down the tensions among states specially between India and Pakistan. The majority of the Indian-occupied Kashmir leadership, whether from the mainstream or resistance camp has unanimously welcomed CPEC and hope that it would change the destiny of the region. There is a remarkable degree of connection

between CPEC and the Kashmir issue. CPEC can connect South Asia and Central Asia and Kashmir is the nucleus (Mehbooba Mufti CM IoK). She strongly advocates that CPEC will not only foster economic activity but has the potential to bring peace in the region. Economic influence is vital for the region, India and Pakistan shall involve Kashmir in this regional connectivity. Kashmir can become the centre of gravity to central Asia, and the importance of peace has now much influential stakeholder associated. According to a senior Kashmiri leader, "we Kashmiris want to be a part of the CPEC" (Mirwaiz, 2017). The success of the CPEC can be the catalyst to initiate the dialogue between India and Pakistan (Abdullah, 2018).

It is the game changer which is the official position of Pakistan and China. However, India's position is contradictory to it, which is an antithesis. In terms of economy, it has relevance in terms of Pakistan as Pakistanis are facing severe economic meltdown. Islamabad is desperate to have some alternative to meet her issues. It is just a matter of time when Pakistan will emerge as a big economy at regional and global level. Pakistan's economy will emerge among the mega economies of the world. We will be in a position to boost our regional, followed by international influence and relations. Kashmir is our core issue, and we see that CPEC will provide an opportunity to see Kashmir through different lenses (Qureshi, 2018). It is the gift of our time-tested friend, which depicts the love and commitment of this great nation. It could be assumed that now the power is shifting from East to West and USA is no more the superpower, and China is emerging superpower. Pakistan now has a central position between Europe and all neighbouring nations, so regional connectivity was already there because of Pakistan's central position in the geography to connect all Nations and India.

The geographic location of Pakistan carries strategic importance. Regional influence followed by international influence vis-à-vis balance in both economic and the strategic alliance is in play. China is Pakistan's ably ally, and the CPEC is more than that what is known through the roads. This road will be a jugular vein for our economy and international relations. the Indians would have great concern when the transport and trade activity under CPEC will beat full swing. CPEC holds huge economic and

strategic importance for both Pakistan and China. The study is predicting that India has no other viable option for regional connectivity other than Pakistan's CPEC. India cannot stop the process of globalization and CPEC is reality. In the postmodern era, the interdependency is a vehicle of progress; therefore, one who wants to keep the pace of the world's emerging realities had to be on board with Pakistan on CPEC.

### **5.15. International Influence**

The study's main crux is that regional alliance will give boost to Pakistan's international influence, which was available previously on some occasions since 1947 to resolve the Kashmir issue but degree of interdependence was missing. Mandarin is taught in Pakistan to address the language barriers it will enhance the international relations of the Pakistan multi-folds. CPEC will trigger Pakistan's international influence as the Chinese call Pakistan the iron brother and trustworthy brother called "Ba Tie" 巴铁 in Chinese (Xinhaunet, 2013). When the Chinese President came to Pakistan in April 2015, he called Pakistan-Chinese friendship an all-weather strategic partnership and signed 51 agreements (Lu, 2015). Socio-economic prosperity carries meaning in terms of political stability (Tiezi, 2016). Through Pakistan, the corridor links China with the Arabian sea and Pakistan is the concrete bridge between China and the world. Therefore, international influence is generated multi-folds. More the states connected more is the importance and significance of Pakistan (Kamal, 2017). The 1300 KM long optic fibre project that will link Central Asia with Pakistan and China is the communication lifeline (Paracha, 2016). It is the renewed economic model through the land and maritime routes, but it will enhance the Chinese role in the world's global affairs (Wang, 2015).

The CPEC passes through the Karakorum highway at the elevation of 4693 through the world-class 1300-kilometre highway. Pakistan was already allied with China, but there was no geographical interdependence except the neighbouring countries. However, CPEC will connect Pakistan with other regions, particularly with Central Asia, East Asia, Middle East and Europe through land and maritime routes. It is the geographical thread of international relations. When connections run, every milestone will connect

Pakistan and Kashmir with the world (Mofa, 2018). India is concerned with CPEC because it is going to connect Pakistan with China and many other regions, which is going to enhance Pakistan's political & economic clout in the region and beyond. Once nations have allied the boost in international relations is all but natural (Talat, 2018).

Communication and that too geographic communication is the vehicle of the relations, and our relations are more with the nations who will trade with the superpower. All traffic will pass through the CPEC can you imagine how much mega step (Khan, 2018). When we operate from the mouth of Arabian sea, it has spillover effects for many economies in the region and beyond. It has tremendous potential to boost Pakistan's international relations because now we are the receivers and the dispatchers of China's trade, which is currently massive economic power in the superpower race (Naveed, 2018). From political economy angle unrest in Indian Occupied Kashmir can hurt the CPEC and its centrality is now apparent, it can neither be ignored nor can be put on a back burner. However, this will take time for India to understand that this is the most important initiative with regional and global economic dividends. Chinese naval ships on Gwadar port will make rethink India, and Chinese influence will gravely influence the regional alignment and resistance against India will continue because Indian claim is in place that GB is disputed territory (Sharma, 2014). The politicians have seen new light in the tunnel in this region. There is a strong connection between CPEC and Kashmir issue strategically as China's entrance directly in the region will have the formidable impact India shall be part of the CPEC (Abdullah, 2018).

#### **5:16. Conflict Resolution and Peace**

The crux of the third question has a direct relation with Kashmir through CPEC which passes through GB which is the first milestone of the CPEC and is the northern part of the elsewhere state of Jammu and Kashmir. Azad Kashmir is already connected with it. Passing the CPEC through GB had now consolidated the Kashmir issue's internationalisation (Fazal, 2018). Kashmir is becoming the gateway of India, and we think that India shall be part of it (Umar, 2018). If CPEC becomes fully operative, it will benefit GB and IoJ&K (Rehman, 2016). It can be Kashmir-centric CBMs, and it

can connect the people of the entire regions of Kashmir, which can be a significant milestone to resolve the Kashmir issue. Trade relations can dilute the enmity, so trade shall go on (Qadir, 2019). Ismail (2015) describes an opportunity that we shall avail we had already passed the resolution when I was President of JKICC that Kashmir should be announced the free economic Zone. We shall benefit because the conflict has badly suffered us and we are confident that since China had entered GB means China is already in Kashmir, so we need to be connected internally with CPEC. We shall remove all barriers (Mubeen, 2018). There are some apprehensions, but trade has nothing to do with the conflict, so trade shall go on with any nations if there is India's trade through other borders, why not through LoC (Akbar, 2017). The geo-economics dimension of the CPEC can be a logical and viable step to resolve the long-standing Kashmir dispute, which has hampered the peace and stability in the region (Victoria, 2018).

Pakistan has always supported trade and travel through LoC, and it will support this initiative in future as well. China is a huge global power with immense political, economic, and strategic clout. It can play an important role in resolving the Kashmir issue with her global political and economic stature as a second largest economy and a Veto power. and Senior Kashmiri leader Mirwaiz describe that we will support it, the national conference is ready to support any and every CBM which can resolve the long-standing Kashmir Issue and we have said; New Delhi must join CPEC (Mirwaiz, 2018). Farooq (2016) explains that the Kashmir issue does not matter of any economic or trade interest, so Kashmir Issue needs to be resolved without wasting time in non -issues. We are thankful to China, and she shall play her role in the resolution of the Kashmir Issue. Ali (2017) to declare Kashmir's free economic zone is a novel idea we are ready to declare the area under our control if India takes it positively would be a good omen to resolve the complex Kashmir Issue. This wrong notion that China-Pakistan close relations will put us in the USA's distance, but I think the USA had benefitted by us in the fifties to have liaison with China. There was no relationship between the USA and China; we were the bridge to connect them why not once again. China wants good relations with the USA and never meddled in our relationship with the USA (Ali, 2018). We are a sovereign nation, and China-Pakistan relationship has nothing to do with US-

Pak relations we have good relations with both. There are crests and troughs in international relations, so we shall promote relations with every nation and the USA. The USA has always supported our position on the Kashmir issue (Aabida, 2019. However, in recent times the US is closely aligned with India because it is a huge market of 1.39 billion population. Both states are locked in deep rooted defense and strategic ties which impedes the peace process in IHK because the US will never go against India whenever talks on Kashmir takes place. However, Pakistan can use the Chinese influence to bring India on the table. China with its economic clout is important for India and many other countries which could not be ignored.

## **Chapter- 6**

### **Dispute Resolution: Positive Peace Approach**

#### **6:1. Overview**

The triangulation method is engaged. The quantitative and qualitative data analysis discussed separately is mixed in a single framework. The convergence in results is sought. The overlapping of the data analysis is carried to find both results and its contradictions. The value and the operative paradigm are ascertained with a different school of thinking. The dominant less dominant design has been given the leverage as in international relations, qualitative analysis has more importance over quantitative one (J.C et al., 1989). As Pakistan is a legal party to the dispute but failed to garner adequate international support for seven decades to effectively pursue the Kashmir cause. Kashmiris are suffering on daily basis because of the overwhelming conventional superiority and deployment of huge military muscle. However, it becomes sometimes semi-symmetrical when Pakistan as state actor puts her weight in favour of Kashmir internationally by raising the Kashmir problem at UN, IGOs and NGOs. However, it is sole diplomatic and political support that is not enough until Pakistan does not generate vibrant international support regionally and internationally because as lone-state actors having access. It is the gap in the literature. Therefore, it remains asymmetrical during the confrontation of armed resistance with well-equipped forces of India.

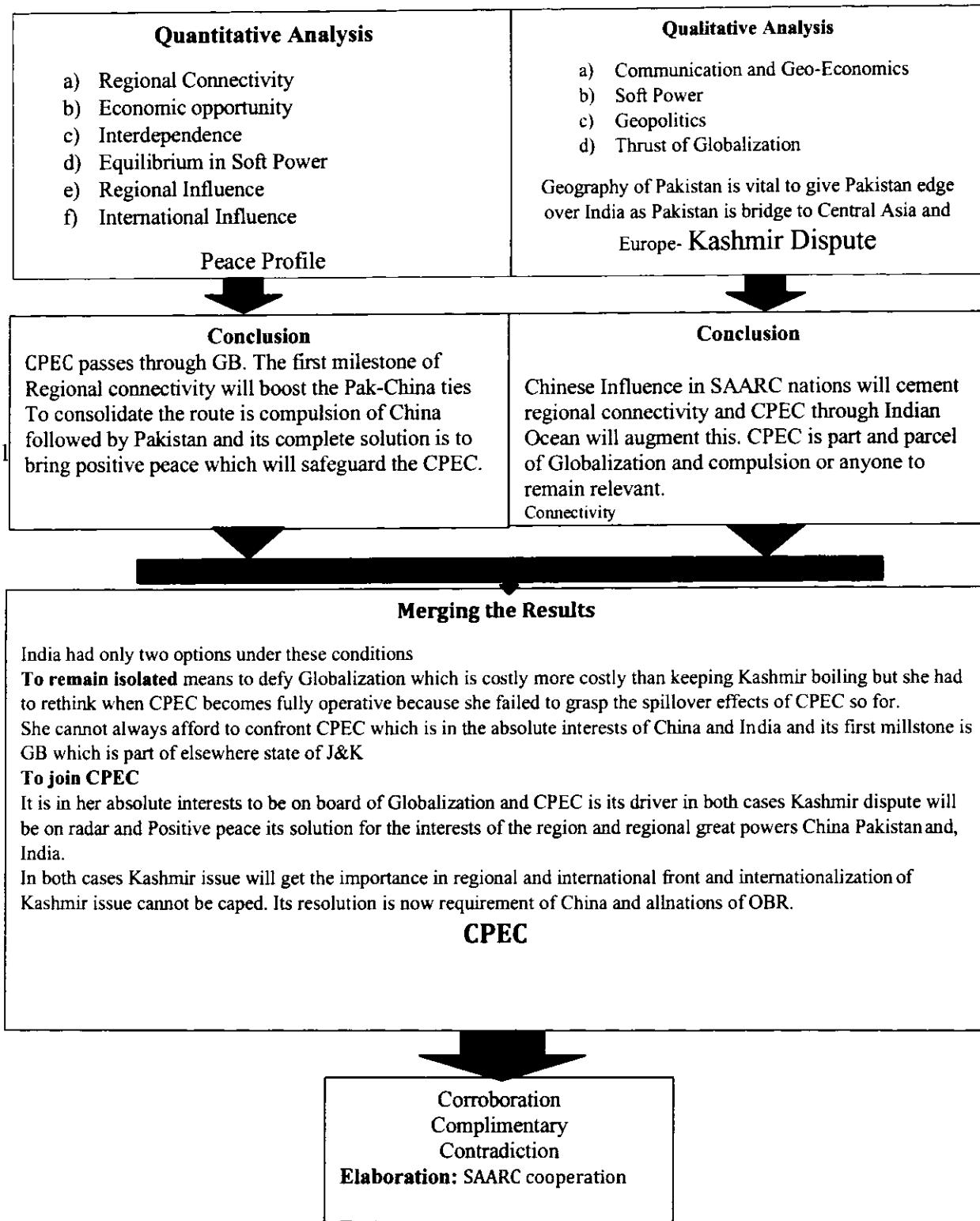


Fig. 21: Triangulation Method

Kashmiris in IHK and cashing it in her favour because it has firm control over Kashmir through her overwhelming military muscle. A balance is required to influence India in IHK because Pakistan has not enough international clout to garner global support for Kashmir, but China has the ability to maintain considerable pressure on India to get things done in her favor. Pakistan is comparatively weaker party than China to effectively pressurise India to implement the United Nations resolutions or compel India for meaningful dialogue process to resolve the Kashmir issue.

Therefore, Islamabad cannot push peace efforts with New Delhi unilaterally; consequently, this imbalance needs to be addressed. In the preponderance of Indian power but not absolute power due to Pakistan's nuclear deterrence, India has huge political, economic, and strategic standing at global level. The answer to this problem had been sought in this study to support conflict resolution.

The qualitative and quantitative data analysis is revealing. Beyond the industrial, economic, political and the geo-economical dimension has a strong relationship with the region's security, and it has a linear relationship with each other. The geographic proximity has relations with the overall project of the CPEC with Kashmir. The enhanced regional connectivity is tagged with a new geostrategic alliance between Pakistan and China. India had tried her utmost that Pakistan shall not integrate with China up to the quantum were China will share the interdependence with Pakistan. The logic was simple. More is Pakistan integrated with China; more are the chances of Chinese support over Kashmir. It cannot be put aside because CPEC is closely associated with Kashmir. China has always asked India to join the CPEC and resolve the Kashmir issue even bilaterally. However, China mediated between Bangladesh and Myanmar to address the Rohingya Issue is the primary example that China intends to break the non-interference shell and play her role as the dominant regional actor and powerful broker in South Asia and Southeast Asia.

Indian position amid the robust regional connectivity is mired. Indian relation with the US has increased with the increase of China and Pakistan relationship. This scenario

has both negative and the positive impact in the future, but the Kashmir question will keep on the radar of discussion because CPEC and the Kashmir issue will go side by side. The 56 billion dollars' economic booster is amplified by the overall objective of BRI of which approximate cost is predicted as \$21.1 trillion. It has tremendous potential to resonate the global order, and the overall change is geo-economics, followed by China's international relations. It will cement the bond of the relationship with the states who are allied of China. The alliance of Pakistan and China is already in a joint venture of JF-17 Thunder, conventional weapons, and nuclear energy; therefore, when Chinese friendship with Pakistan passes through Karakorum Highway, it carries strategic angle.

China has always maintained her position that Kashmir is the disputed territory against India's claims that Kashmir is her integral part. China is not now aloof of Kashmir's situation but raised the concern in 2016 about the gross human rights violations of Indian security machine to kill the indigenous mass uprising by force. India does not share the regional connectivity with the Middle East and has no geographical connection and land route. Vis-à-vis the political and strategic partner, Afghanistan and India carry the strategic interests because India has no direct road with Afghanistan. Pakistan had an advantage because of the direct road linkage with China.

Under the tense circumstances of India Pakistan relations when the LoC is unstable, both forces were at eyeball to eyeball. Any tussle that will bring the Kashmir region at war is now directly the sensation to Chinese interest. Economic, energy, and communication both in the road and maritime have direct relations with Kashmir issue. Under these circumstances, China would not be able to avoid the strategic and security relations with Pakistan. Kashmir can also be aligned with Afghanistan, Tajikistan, and China. The new route will create new alignments. More the traffic on the corridor more the chances that Kashmir is introduced among the neighbouring nations, therefore; CPEC is a driver to introduce the significance of Kashmir for geo-economic interests and will enhance the importance for the resolution of the Kashmir dispute peacefully and amicably.

The northern part of Kashmir is now a bridge between China, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, and CPEC have the spill over effects. Therefore, its southern part, which is under Indian control and facing turbulence. This region is also very important as far as regional connectivity is concerned, it cannot be just brushed away. This part could be a connectivity to connect the region. The CPEC will connect the oil rich Persian Gulf with China and will open new economic opportunities for two significant economies and powers of South Asia. CPEC has a linear relationship with the geo-economics and regional connectivity. Therefore, it will affect the regional politics followed by South Asia's geopolitics because there is also a relationship between interests and international relations; preferably, most scholars believe that interest is the sole driver of international relations.

CPEC is one of the flagship projects of BRI; China is already in the headline of the major powers in terms of the economy, soft trade power, and the diplomatic domain of global power. The project associated with China had already raised Pakistan's importance as China's trade and strategic partner. China gave this project more importance. However, the bleak security situation in Baluchistan where deep port Gwadar is located, and the Xinyang province of China are facing low intensity conflict. All these circumstances prove that this corridor is significant for both nations. The Chinese are reviving the old concept of old silk route with new silk route initiative in which they are going to connect China with rest of the world. CPEC is the primary concern of the constitutional status of GB with Pakistan. However, the majority of the people in GB want full integration with Pakistan and demand provincial status. Islamabad is compelled to preserve GB's special status because it would hurt Pakistan's position over Kashmir in the UN. However the Indians have now changed the status of IHK. This is the time for Pakistan to review its position on G.B. Pakistan believe that if it changes the GB status then India may also adhere to the same logic to integrate IHK despite the mass movement against Indian humiliated rule. This disputed status can keep the Kashmir dispute alive, and this disputed status can keep Kashmir at the regional and international radar through CPEC. In the long run, the actors require playing the role in the final settlement of Kashmir as per the stratification of its masses.

Chinese presence in the regional alliance SAARC will enhance the efficacy of this organisation. SAARC has been dysfunctional by India that shares the border with most small nations of this alliance and exerts her influence; this regional organization will be better positioned to mitigate the gaps between the member states and resolve the disputes.

### **6:2. Corroboration: Connectivity and Peace**

The process of globalization is supported by quantitative data findings and the qualitative data and the ANOVA tests followed by the correlation between and among the various constructs. CPEC is the driver of globalization in the region having a leaner relationship with the regional connectivity. Therefore, peace is a requirement for all parties involved. Kashmir has always been priority for Pakistan, and it will remain priority for the country in future as well. CPEC route pass through the disputed territory of Pakistan Administered Kashmir, which means this issue would remain important. The compulsion for Pakistan and China is to establish enduring peace in the region to effectively convert hostile border into friendly borders. It is also corroborated that the CPEC will generate economic opportunity in China and Pakistan.

CPEC would generate a new wave of economic opportunity for Northern Areas of Jammu and Kashmir. China and Pakistan's vast economic opportunities are already established, but there is an active debate from the Indian side regarding joining CPEC. It is an indicator that India itself feels the impulse of CPEC, and it is under discussion at the policy level. There is a successful example of the same nature as Europe became the economic engine in 1490 because of the maritime and land routes. The concept of the economy replaced the concept of violence. The age of the reason has replaced the use of the arms. The economy made the holy league between Turkey and Great Britain's Elizabeth despite Britain's bitterness with the Ottoman Empire's fall. The Pamir Mountains beyond China had new relevance with the trade, so peace and trade have historic benevolence, and the same is the findings of this study during the triangulation of the results.

### **6:3. Complimentary: Kashmir as Bridge/ Road to Peace**

A new situation has aroused after the CPEC flagship project domestically, regionally, and internationally. Therefore, keeping the geography of Kashmir involved in CPEC, Kashmir can emerge as a bridge rather than a point of the conflict between India and Pakistan. It remained historically the critical barrier to reduce poverty elevation in the region; therefore, interdependence is the compulsion globally and regionally; hence neither India nor Pakistan can survive in isolation and in conflict situation. Kashmir can be an economic bridge that had hampered sustainable security and more significant economic development in the entire region. It is vital to mention that since Pakistan is a sovereign nation; therefore, it has the absolute right as per international law to agree in her national interests. CPEC correlates with the region's economic and security sustainability and the token of Pakistan's interdependence and China having strategic significance. The centrality of the Kashmir dispute is deeply embedded in the security matrix of South Asia. CPEC is a step in right direction, it is not only going to connect Pakistan with China but also the entire region. There is a quantum of interdependence in various areas of mutual interest.

### **6:4. Contradiction: Influencing the Regional Hegemon for Peace**

Many leading scholars have raised the concern that the BRI is ambitious Chinese drive and the Chinese ambition to shape the new world order with its economic might and global stature. Some scholars had shown the reluctance that China is not stretching her power muscles on the board of geo-economics. The US had criticized the role of the new bank AIIB. The US is trying to curtail Chinese influence worldwide. There is a clear indication that India is unhappy with Pakistan's strategic position, particularly in its alignment with China in the post-CPEC scenario. R&AW has primarily focused on the CPEC and spent more than \$30 Million to sabotage this project. India is funding the rebel groups in Balochistan to maintain chaos and volatility. It has also funded certain NGO's, and think tanks to destabilize Baluchistan, just to disrupt CPEC (New York Times, 2015). India is establishing a renewed relationship with Vietnam and Japan to tackle China as well in East Asia and South East Asia. India has always

criticised CPEC passage from GB and considered it unlawful because of its disputed status. However, neither Pakistan nor China gives any heed to Indian flawed claims.

CPEC development is in progress with maximum capacity and full gear. India and China's bilateral trade is still more than the amount spent on CPEC. Therefore, there are some contradictions which have direct relevance to this study. However, there is friction between India and China. Therefore, the importance of CPEC will dominate the geopolitical and strategic significance. If India joins CPEC, it can generate more benefits because of the size of its economy and huge market. India is a 1.39 billion market for the world, and it is attractive for every major economy. India can enhance its exports through CPEC and also it can overcome its energy woes through Pakistan. The search for the new markets is paramount for the growth of Indian economy. China already holds the Aksai Chin 38000 sq. Kilometres and the Trans Karakorum track of 5180 sq. Kilometres which has direct relevance with the dispute of Kashmir. China is also already part of the dispute. The LAC that connects Indian occupied Jammu and Kashmir is named line of actual control since the 1962 war, which is the inferior border between India and China.

It is imperative to bring on record that there are some profound contradictions. i.e., China still wants to maintain the balance and equilibrium between Pakistan and Indian relations simultaneously. She maintains the relationship with China and avoided direct conflict in 2015 Sino-Indian trade reached \$71.6 billion, which is more than the Chinese investment in CPEC. Xi Jinping had assured that they want to increase the trade with India to 50 \$billion in coming years; however, the tension on Aksai Chin and Doklam could not be avoided. China gave the major blow to the Indian forces in the area. Despite the fact the CPEC pass through the GB, the former state of the J&K, neither China nor Pakistan had implemented any Power project, development project, or economic schemes in GB. However, they would still reap the fruits when CPEC becomes fully operative. The passage of the massive traffic along the corridor will bring economic opportunities, and the four projects introduced in AJK are under process.

The criticism of India that CPEC is like the marshal plan to extend the tentacles of Chinese influence and exceptionalism suites her narrative. The Marshal plan was aimed to curtail the Russian influence during cold war. The US totally and entirely planned marshal plan. There was a strategy to build the infrastructure; however, OBOR is funded by Asia Infrastructure fund AIIB with fifty signatories. The partners have the stakes in CPEC for which China has invited entire partners to invest. KSA is now entirely on board to collaborate in the investment.

#### **6:5. Elaboration: From Negative to Positive Peace**

There are cross-cutting and interdependent relations between China and Pakistan in post-completing the CPEC, and its further connection with OBOR carries spillover effects. It is proved to test the hypothesis and build the theories that reveal that interdependence leads to chain gagging and buck-passing, which is the logical sequence when interests collide. It is now the interest of China for the sole benefit of giving a gentle nudge to the resolution of the Kashmir conflict. Hence, equilibrium in the regional influence in Chinese favour will push its international influence and the partners like Pakistan.

The situation had emerged favouring Kashmiris. Kashmir requires a gentle nudge of China to handle India. Chinese regional and international stature will play a pivotal role in resolving this lingering issue. Chinese have a better understanding of the Indian policies and strategic culture, and she knows peace by power is not answer upon which India insists, and the status quo will not satisfy the primary party Pakistan, because the negative peace situation will not change the status quo. Pakistan will never be comfortable until and unless peace is not given a chance positively in South Asia. India cannot sustain the state structures of the violence in IoK in the name of the law's maintenances and order though it may curb the armed resistance in coming years. It will keep the situation tense and volatile. To achieve self-determination a robust mass support base is must; hence resistance will not calm down. India will keep utilizing the hard power to quell the resistance through her military might.

Adding more knowledge to current understanding or theory development is vital to carry this study beyond what is already known is the characteristics of this study. The study is structured on a logical sequence that depending on the compulsion and the emerging situation, i.e. the Indian population is 1.3 billion in 2017 census equal to 27.74% of the world population. The situation of Pakistan also alarming having a massive population of 197 Million. It is increasing beyond their resources; therefore, both Narendra Modi led BJP Government. The Imran Khan-led PTI government's top priority is economic growth. It has a direct relationship with world-leading economy China. The economy cannot be viewed in isolation both the states need more markets and more opportunities.

Both states have geographic proximity; hence the geographic compulsion can neither be avoided nor changed. Both nations tried their utmost to resolve the Kashmir conflict bilaterally. However, they cannot make an iota forward, and this understanding had been exercised by both neighbouring nuclear powers multiple times. Both cannot avoid globalization, and both need interdependence none can change the status quo unilaterally. Both are involved in the region's arms race; therefore, both need peace to protect their economic interests. However, Kashmir will remain the stumbling block in long-standing peace.

The significance of the peace in Kashmir has been now increased multi-folds due to CPEC. It involved the Chinese interests directly, however its relationship and trade with India are also a concern as confronting variable. However, the magnitude of security and importance of the CPEC has surpassed because it also carries strategic significance besides trade. The future Chinese vision is linked with the broader OBOR initiative; hence, the regional balance shifted towards China. Therefore, Chinese influence cannot be nullified in the region. CPEC carries security paradigm also. Research questions and hypothesis of the study in consideration and multi-level analysis and interplay between domestic, regional and international developments are pre-requisite in totality to resolve the Kashmir conflict and bring positive peace. The following findings are drawn to resolve the problem:

1. Heterogeneity of the actors is intact between Indian and others on Kashmir dispute; however, homogeneity in interest for peace between Indian and the rest is observed, which is in common interests for peace for entire parties. Therefore, Peace is not either now in isolation or peace is now only in Pakistan and Kashmir's interests, but one more beneficiary of the peace has emerged who has both interests and stakes. China, the second most powerful economy in the world and the most powerful country in the Asia will dominate political and strategic relationship with India.
2. Kashmir conflict is now more focused on the regional radar though the status quo is still intact which is in favour of India. Kashmir is in re-shaping mode because another powerful actor entered along with formidable interests. Therefore, India has severe challenges to maintain status-quo through hard power, particularly under new regional developmental dynamics. The connectivity had bridged the gap towards more integration favouring Pakistan whose geostrategic position has relevance to bringing in the net central Asian states. Pakistan is the key for Chinese BRI initiative CPEC Passing through GB will be a huge milestone for both states towards greater connectivity and regional integration.
3. The multi-level analysis revealed that steps towards conflict resolution of Kashmir demand a multidimensional approach that is missing. New domestic, political, legal, developmental followed by regional and international influence having interplay between them have changed the scenario.
4. There is a relationship between conflict, violence (structured and unstructured), and Peace. The demeaning stereotype developed between India and Pakistan and Kashmiris and Indians. Fear, anger, mistrust, hatred, and bitterness are prevalent, which is not now in the interests any party or stake holders. Long term peace and stability is the ultimate goal of China and Pakistan.
5. While involving international relations, strategic studies, and developmental studies, the multi-disciplinary approach has been amalgamated. None of the single approaches does work in addressing the Kashmir dispute in isolation only

based on the struggle for the right to self-determination of Kashmir people against India.

6. Both theoretical and practical approaches were combined. The practical experience depicts, what worked and what could not work, and what modifications are required in the current theoretical framework of Johan Galtung's positive peace module. However, it needs modifications in the given situation of Kashmir, i.e., to change the posture of the structures of violence that operates under Indian rule in Kashmir has severe challenges. However, Peace by power can repeal the militancy and impose negative peace. Negative peace was in Kashmir from 1949-1965 again from 1966-1971 followed by 1972 to 1989. These intervals of negative peace erupted because it was peace by power and peace by deceit. Simultaneously, state structures of the violence collided with the masses, and it breaded further violence cannot be addressed in this study.
7. The main component of the problem is India intends to keep Kashmiris as 'happy slaves', and it links Kashmir with the issue of sovereignty which is addressed in this study by aligning the weaker with more powerful driven by interdependence and globalization. This scene had emerged after the CPEC because this corridor is the main connecting thread of BRI, which is the driver of globalization.
8. The regional connectivity is followed by a regional alliance which has both regional and international impact. Therefore, one side interpretation of Indian peace will not work in the long run. The national, regional, and international relations have an analogy with each other. Hence, Indian claim to tag Kashmir issue with India's sovereignty will not help, particularly in new emerging scenarios in the presence of a maximum degree of interdependence between Pakistan and China.
9. The resort to regional arrangements is the mandate of the United Nations given to regional organizations as per article 33(1) when the sovereignty and the maintenance of the peace security are endangered. Therefore, BRICS, SCO, OIC, and SAARC can play the role legally under international law. The UN can

also mandate the regional arrangements as per article 52 of the charter. Paragraph 2 of this article empowers the member states to the regional arrangements or the agencies to "make every effort to achieve the local disputes' pacific settlement through such regional arrangements "before referring them to the Security Council.

10. It is necessary to mention here that before submitting the synopsis of this dissertation, it was ensured that how legally regional arrangements and the agencies have a mandate as per article 52 to legitimize the regional arrangements. Paragraph 3 requires the Security Council to encourage the development of the pacific settlement of the pacific disputes through such legal arrangements either by the states' initiatives or by reference of the Security Council.
11. China had designed to establish the Kashgar as a crucial transit point to develop the Xinjiang province as the special economic zone. SEZ is modal to develop the GB and the AJK in the first phase as SEZ because Chinese engineer's physical presence during the development of Neelam Jhelum Hydel power Project near Muzaffarabad the capital of AJK is enough evidence that there was no cross-border infiltration. India always claims it. Therefore, the Kashmir struggle is totally and entirely indigenous.
12. The study's logical conclusion is that the Kashmir conflict is asymmetrical between India versus Kashmir and Pakistan. It managed Kashmir for seven decades. India will manage it again by the killing of the resistance. However, it becomes symmetrical when the legal party disputes Pakistan to get involved with a more potent ally on India's geographical borders. India is still on denial mode to kill indigenous mass resistance and keep the international community at bay due to her vast regional and international influence. Keeping mum at the gross human rights violations means they are least concerned.
13. To change the structure is not in the interests of the top dog. The third-party through CPEC had entered the scene through the disputed territory of Pakistan administered J&K, Northern areas GB which has rejected Indian claim and continued her venture with Pakistan. Now the top dog is challenged due to

emerged situations there is a shift from the existing reality, which has opened new doors for conflict resolution.

14. The unbalanced relationship changed in the region, which has a leaner relation with the Kashmir conflict. The monopoly upon power balance by India in the region is challenged. However, China has trade relations with India. Her position about the Kashmir has changed little though not in formal statements despite Indian severe concerns. The restructuring is clearly on the cards because China has now interdependence on Pakistan not on India, so the degree of the relationship changed between Pakistan and China between India and China vis-à-vis Pakistan and India.
15. The road map from unpeaceful to peaceful demands the consistency on the board of the developmental module the hitherto -marginalized voice of Kashmir will get new space. The conflict will shift from bilateral to regional and then globally because the parties' stakes will increase. The international radar will regionally follow the underlying causes of the conflict than the effects. The route of the good offices may also open. As a peacebuilder in resolving the Myanmar Rohingya issue, China will help overcome the contradictions lying in the Kashmir conflict cause (Galtung, 1996).
16. To anticipate the future of Kashmir the positive peace lies in the degree of the interdependence vis-à-vis stakes generated through interests. The Holist concludes that peace in complex situations can only be given a gentle nudge through small positive steps while enhancing the constituency of peace and increasing the conflict's cost.
17. The study's findings reveal that the duo situation had arisen after CPEC though the power shift is debatable. Pakistan is developing a concrete relationship, and her position about Kashmir got apparent strength. The parallel institution approach is visible, followed by soft power towards a more balanced relationship. There is a clear shift that Pakistan is now in a better position because the cost of the relationship between China and India increased despite the trade relations. It opens the door for conflict resolution.

## **CONCLUSION**

The logical equation is generated through a triangulation method based on an amalgamation of the findings while keeping all discourses, dimensions, and dilemmas ranging from national, regional, and international on board. The timing and complexity of the Kashmir dispute kept into consideration. It is predicted that shift is generated away from the three types of power, i.e., Threat power, Exchange power, and Integrative power. However, soft power is imperative for entire conflict actors. India's negative peace means that she will eradicate the armed resistance within a couple of years and peace as per Indian interpretations is restored. Mr Modi had decided to lift the delimitation. She will change the demography and install their own Chief Minister while diluting the unique article 370 and 35/A, which is already under erosion. Under this scenario, positive peace has no relevance. When state structures of the violence are augmented politically, positive peace cannot be in a vacuum; therefore, the problem is answered using the exchange and integrative power to be on the cards creatively and productive.

However, speaking truth to power is the Gandhian way that needs a peaceful but consistent struggle. Sticks and carrot mechanism are required. The robust regional equilibrium is under the influence of having spill over effects. To some extent, the international one addresses the regional dimension. However, positive peace is still facing the challenges because structured violence by the Indian state has continued without any disruption, which is pre-requisite to John Galtung's positive peace module. See the logical equation elaborated from the qualitative data analysis in a given situation of Kashmir.

$$PP = \frac{Ss + Ss/N2 + Ks}{is}$$

PP: Positive Peace

Ss: Sustained Indigenous Struggle at all fronts

Ss: Sustained Domestic and Regional Support

Np: Maximum Regional States on Board/ Neutrality

Sp: Kashmir Specific CBM

Is: International. Support

John Galtung offers the solutions when one module cannot apply in toto in another situation. He mentions "For any one theory, there is almost no limit to how deeply one can penetrate. One can condition and consequences in all directions". No eternal peace can be solved under the eternal grand peace theory. He defines peace as a relation between two or more parties, and the parties are inside or between Parties groups, Nations, and the States and regions or the civilizations. Galtung himself resolves this study's challenge in terms of the Indian philosophy, i.e., sukkah and dukkha, which he uses the generic term for negative and positive peace.

Considering the above conclusion, positive peace has a multidimensional utility to translate the Kashmir people's aspirations. It is also an appropriate empirical term that fulfils the demand of the Kashmiri people. Because what will be the fate of Kashmir will be decided by Kashmir whether Muslims, Hindus, or Sikhs. It also replaces while answers the much-misused term "peace" which may less irritate the aggressor. Implementation of UNCIP resolutions, right to self-determination will remain in Indian power shadow, but it has legal importance. How to address India's presence's deep state structures of violence is still a minimum requirement of positive peace. It is answered in new regional changing dynamics where new opportunities embedded in emerging geo-economics had changed the dynamics in regional levels having a leaner relationship to the international level.

Based on the study's conclusion, we have unknotted and evolved the jigsaw of the conflict module mentioned in thesis into the peace module after testing the hypothesis 5:4,5:5,5:6, testing the theories 5:14,5:15;5:16 and building the theory and by findings 6:1,6:2,6;3,6:4 in Chapter-6.

- a) The regional connectivity had brought regional equilibrium indirect influence in three dimensions, geo-economic, geo-regional and geo-strategic and Pakistan is an immediate beneficiary.
- b) The degree of interdependence is increasing with every passing day between China and Pakistan. India is conspiring to sabotage the CPEC in Baluchistan and Pakistan and China are combining efforts to defuse the Indian involvement. This degree of interdependence has never been observed between Pakistan and the US for six decades of a close relationship.
- c) China is now major actor and stake holder of Kashmir dispute through its investment in GB. The announced projects to connect the CPEC from Mansehra to Muzaffarabad to Mirpur is its reflection. China had a direct stake in Kashmir. It has a regional and global position to be a peace broker whether Beijing gives this angel importance or not, but the Indians are clear about it.

Based on the above conclusions, the study has addressed the literature gap that the third party's interest is to be involved as peace broker directly to facilitate the peace process. India is reluctant in arbitration, mediation, or third-party involvement to implement UNCIP resolutions. Therefore, powerful actor needs to be on board.

Kashmir specific Confidence-building measures are required because the degree of hatred and distrust is at an optimal level, therefore; it needs the political will of the actors followed by regional and international influence to reach the objective of a positive peace; Connectivity is a vital milestone and a direct message for peace. GB and AJK are already engaged in new regional developments. CPEC is connected from Mansehra via Muzaffarabad to Mirpur. It shall be more feasible to connect the Muzaffarabad directly from Khunjab to Chitral along Neelam Valley to Muzaffarabad and Mirpur.

GB, AJK shall be declared a Free Economic Zone (FEZ) at the first stage while inviting India to benefit from it. The Srinagar-Muzaffarabad road is already operative between IoK and AJK till all roads and energy parks are developed. In the second stage entire state of Jammu and Kashmir shall be declared the FEZ. The Chinese, Indian, and Pakistani goods could get benefit of FEZ and may achieve greater regional integration and connectivity. It will be a huge conflict transformation approach towards step by step endures of positive peace. The conflict between Peru and Ecuador in Rio de Janeiro has relevance with the Kashmir dispute on which two countries had fought three wars between 1942 to 1998. John Galtung was involved in 1995 in Guatemala to resolve the conflict. Galtung suggested to administer the area jointly with a natural park is the best module fitted for Kashmir. a) Kashmir can be declared the FEZ. The taxes collected from the Indian side that enter IoJ&K shall go to India. The people who enter from Kohala shall be given to Pakistan to reach a win-win situation. b) Kashmir can also be declared as natural park, (ZBNP) Zoological/Botanical having the potential to attract millions of tourists from all over the world and some instinct species Hangloo, ladhakhi Pashmina goat who are at the brink of extinction could be preserved. It has attractions as the fruit of peace. Freedom from fear can get a new lease, and these Kashmir-centric CBMs will give new oxygen to life in Kashmir. The people migrated to India shall receive the people migrated to AJK and vice versa at Kohala, Tetrinote, and Madeopur crossing points. It would give boost to peace between the two belligerent and help in bridging ties. These confidence-building measures are harmless gesture having broad acceptance by the international community. It is relevant when IK led Pakistan government announced opening the Sharda Peth for Hindu pilgrims in Sharda Neelam valley. The above confidence-building measures will improve ties between open the doors for respiratory relations and identify the gap peaceful to words step by step approaches of conflict resolution on board of regional connectivity and the international relations towards the positive peace of the Kashmir dispute.

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Mr Shah Gh.Qadir, Speaker Legislative Assembly AJ&K

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Justice ® Mr Majeed Malik Ex. Chief Justice of Supreme Court of AJ&K

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Mr Sharma, President Jammu Chamber of Commerce and Industry

Prof. Bhim Singh, Chairman Panthers Party

Veid Bhaisin Chief Editor Kashmir Times

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