

Index

- 345 MW Salal Hydel Project, 58–59
Aanchar Lake, 135
Abbas, Ghulam, 128
Abbasid caliphate, 15
Abdullah, Farooq
 as anointed successor to the Sheikh, 49
 Ansari as member of government of, 38
 blamed for chaos in Kashmir, 72
 development projects, 58
 elections of 1977, 41
 elections of 1987, 61, 63
 elections of 1996, 102, 104
 on Human Rights Commission report, 113
 Indira Gandhi and, 43, 50–54, 56. *See also* Indira-Sheikh Accord
 Jagmohan's appointment opposed by, 69, 70
 National Opposition Conclave hosted by, 52
 ouster, 52–54, 56, 69, 70
 Rajiv-Farooq Accord, 43, 55–56, 58, 61–64
 Rajiv Gandhi and, 51
 on State Autonomy Committee (SAC) report, 103–104
 on visit to Pakistan, 44
Abdullah, Mohammed, Sheikh. *See also* National Conference
 abandonment by supporters, 48–49
 arrest and imprisonment, 20, 21–22, 28, 33, 49, 123
 attack of grave, 64
 Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed as advisor to, 46
 Beg-Parthasarthy talks, 33
 on the choices before Kashmir, 127–128, 157
 death of, 49, 50
 distrust of Congress Party, 48
 elections of 1977, 37–41, 45, 63
 vs. feudal order, 24, 36, 83
 followers known as *shier* (lions), 98
 food price distribution system, 47
 Hazratbal shrine as base, 35–36, 83
 Indira Gandhi considered family by, 48
 Indira-Sheikh Accord. *See* Indira-Sheikh Accord
 investment and development finance
 decentralized by, 155
 on Jamaat Islami madrassas, 57
 The Jammu and Kashmir Resettlement Act, 48, 50
 Kashmir's special status negotiated by, 6
 land reform initiatives, 134
 movement vs. the maharaka, 68
 Muslim Auqaf Trust headed by, 57
 Muslim Conference founded by, 19
 nationalism of, 162
 ouster, 14
 Plebiscite Front headed by, 30–31, 46
 "Quit Kashmir" movement, 98
 on restoration of road along LoC, 130
 return to power, 43, 45
 Stevenson meetings, 22
 succession of, 43, 47–48, 49–50
 trajectory of political career, 33
 UN speech, 20
 visit to Pakistan, 123
accession. *See* Instrument of Accession
Achievable Nationhood (Lone), 164
ADB (Asian Development Bank), 148, 149, 150
Advani, L.K., 107, 124, 125
Afghanistan
 Afghan war vs. Soviets, 46, 65, 67, 129
 migration of Kashmiri youths to, 67
 military training of Kashmiri within, 67
 possible independence of Kashmir under guarantee of, 128
 Sikh defeat of, 18
 terrorist groups from, 82
Afridi tribesmen, 21, 129
Afro-Asian Conference, 22
Agha, Shahid Ali, 159
Agra summit, 108, 119–120, 130
Agrarian Reforms (Amendment) Act, 48
Ahl-I-Hadeeth, 4. *See also* Wahabi school of Islamic theology
Ahmed, Akbar, 16–17
Ahmed, Usmaan Rahim, 171 n8
Akbar, Sofi Mohammed, 45
Alberuni, 15–16
Ali, Raja Muzaffar, 44
Ali, Tariq, 45, 83 n9
Aligarh Muslim University, 18
All Assam Students Union, 60–61, 152

- All-India Muslim League, 133
 All India Services, 13–14, 23–24
 All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, 98
 All-Party Hurriyat Conference (APHC).
See APHC
 Amar Mahal, 77
 Amira Kadal, 61–62, 63
 Anantnag District, 31–32, 54–55, 72,
 89–90, 111
 Andalusia, 15
 Anglo-Oriental College, 18
 Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam, 98
 Ansari, Maulana Iftikhar, 38
 Ansari, Maulvi Abbas, 87, 88, 91,
 106–107, 143
 APHC (All-Party Hurriyat Conference)
 creation and objectives, 82, 88
 election reform proposals, 156–157
 fear of Pakistan's Inter-Services
 Intelligence, 132, 142–143
 Habibullah's relationships with
 leaders of, 106–107
 Hazratbal shrine incident
 negotiations, 88
 Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front
 and, 107
 as mouthpiece for Pakistan, 118–119
 role in dialogue between India and
 Pakistan, 103, 124, 127, 143, 169
 on UN resolutions, 106
 armed forces. *See* military
 Asia Society, 122, 145, 146
 Asian Development Bank (ADB), 148,
 149, 150
 Assam, India, 57
 Athale, Anil, 60–61
 Aurangzeb, Emperor, 17, 36, 83
 Autonomy Resolution of 2000, 158, 163
 Awami Action Committee, 38, 45, 98–99,
 143
 Ayodhya, 84
azaadi (freedom), 151–159
 as APHC's overall objective, 82
 decentralization of India and, 154–155
 as declared objective of the
 insurgency, 65, 82
 defined, 155, 158
 Farooq's call for, 143
 Habibullah's recommendations, 155
 India's responsibility to the Kashmiris,
 152–153
 as JKLF's declared objective, 65–66, 74
 Kashmir's on, 157–158
 Kashmir's political process, 155–157
 not an option under UN resolutions, 82
 past separatist movements, 151–152
 as path to true freedom and peace,
 157–159
 Azad, Ghulam Nabi, 167
 Azad Kashmir, 20, 35
 Bafliaz-Behramgala Valley, 114–115
 Baglihar hydroelectric generation
 project, 136–137
 Bahauddin, Justice, 112
 Baizad, M. Fayazuddin, 36 n20
 Bajpai, Kanti, 65, 133, 152, 161
 Bakht, Sikander, 38
bakras (goats), 98
 Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed
 alleged theft of relic of Prophet
 Mohammed, 83, 99
 on American conspiracy to create an
 independent Kashmir, 22
 Bakshi tradition, 46–48, 134, 138
 plebiscite feasibility committee, 21
 replacement as chief minister of the
 state, 31
 Balakote Ridge, 81, 115
 Baltistan, 7, 8
 Bandipore, 25
 Bangladesh, 29–30, 32, 44
 Baramulla District, 19, 25–27,
 29, 30
 Basic Principles Committee of the
 Constituent Assembly, 158
 Batalik, 104
 Bazaz, Prem Nath, 24–25
 BBC TV, 66
 Bedi, B. S., 82
 beef, 116
 Beg, Aijaz, 77
 Beg, Bashir Ahmed, 77
 Beg, Mehbooba, 77–78
 Beg, Mirza Afzal
 Beg-Parthasarthy talks, 33
 death, 49
 on elections of 1977, 40
 ouster, 49
 Plebiscite Front led by, 30, 35
 state laws reviewed by, 48
 Begum, Misra, 166
 Bengal, 57
bhakti movement, 17
 Bharat Heavy Electricals, 58
 Bharatiya Janata Party, 69, 70, 133
 Bhat, G.N., 106–107
 Bhave, Vinoba, 26
 Bhimbar Gali, 81
 Bhutto, Benazir, 132

- Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali
 execution of, 43, 56
 overthrow of, 45, 123
 popular support for, 45
 Simla Agreement, 33
- Big Landed Estates Abolition Act, 24–25
- Bijbehara, Kashmir, 55, 89–90
- Black Flag Day, 28, 29
- Bogra, Mohammed Ali, 123
- Border Security Force (BSF). *See also* Line of Control (LoC)
 alleged crimes committed by, 77, 78–79
 Charar-e-Sharief siege, 95
 fires as Baramulla, 25–26
 Hazratbal shrine incident, 85, 88, 89
 lackadaisical patrolling by, 67
- Bose, Sumantra, 61, 128
- Buddhism, 4, 18, 83 n9
- Budgam, 139
- Bukhara, 16
- Bulbul (nightingale) Shah, 8
- Bulzar, 125
- Burkina Faso Declaration, 100–102, 103
- bus service between Srinagar and Muzaffarabad, 120, 122. *See also* tourism and travel
- Bush, George W., 145
- Butt, Maqpool, 35, 45
- CBMs. *See* confidence-building measures.
- Center for Dialogue and Reconciliation, 97, 110, 115, 166, 168
- Central Reserve Police, 68
- Chandrashekhar, Prime Minister, 102
- Charar-e-Sharief, 74, 92, 93–95
- Chaudhury, Rekha, 139
- Chavan, S. B., 88
- Chawla, Prabhu, 91 n25
- children, 139–141, 165–166. *See also* youth
- China, 22, 128, 134, 142
- Chinar (organization), 166
chinar (trees), 134
- Chishti *silsillah*, 16
- Chogali, Abdul Ghani, 27
- Chou, en Lai, 22
- Christian crusaders, 16
- Christian Mizo tribal community, 60
- Churchill, Winston, 154
- civil authority, 80–81
- Cleopatra (Shakespeare), 15
- Clinton administration, 105, 141, 142
- Code of Good Practice in Electoral Matters, 157
- Cohen, Stephen, 123
- Coimbatore Students Anti-Hindi Agitation Committee, 152
- Cold War period, 21
- communalism, 23–25
- confidence-building measures (CBMs), 119, 120
- Congress Party. *See also* Gandhi, Indira; Gandhi, Rajiv
 1975 elections, 37
 1977 elections, 45, 63
 1983 elections, 51
 1987 elections, 61–64
 1989 elections, 66
 1996 elections, 102
 on accession dispute, 21
 distrusted by Abdullah, 48
 Gandhi's proposal to join the National Conference, 46
 Kashmir policy crafted by, 132–133
 opposition to Partition, 133
 policy of appeasing Indian princes, 33
 Praja Parishad movement and, 22
 Rajiv-Farooq Accord, 43, 55–56, 58, 61–64
 support for Abdullah following Indira-Sheikh Accord, 35
- constitution (India), 101, 153–154, 165, 170
- constitution (Kashmir), 155–156
- corruption
 Abdullah's promise to beat back, 49
 Bakshi tradition, 47
 within college admissions, 59
 within elections, 29, 31–32, 38–41, 43, 61–64, 72
 following Abdullah's return to power, 43
 institutionalization of, 59
 nepotism within government, 5, 47, 49, 59
- custodial deaths of Kashmiri Muslims, 111. *See also* human rights violations
- Dabla, Bashir Ahmed, 139
- Dal Lake, 135, 166
- Damodaran, Ramu, 87
- Damoo arrest, 27–28
- Dar Commission, 154
- Dara Shukoh, 17
- Darul Uloom*, 17
- Dawn* (newspaper), 169
- decentralization throughout India, 154–155
- Defense of India Rules, 27–28

- deforestation, 134–135, 136
 Delhi Agreement, 6–7, 156, 158
 The Delhi Policy Group, 168
 Democratic League, 68
 Department of Disinvestment, 149
 Department of Kashmir Affairs, 107
 Dera Gali, 114–115
 Desai, Morarji, 38, 39–40, 51
 Dhillon, J. S., 94–95
 diaspora groups, 137, 163, 166
 displaced persons, 110–111, 139, 168
 District Institute of Education and Training (DIET), 115
 diversity of India, 15
 Dogra dynasty, 18, 19, 102
 Dogra, Girdharilal, 21
 Doraiswami, K., 69
 Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK), 151–152
 Duggal, V.K., 114
 Dutt, Barkha, 161
- earthquake, 109
 economy (India), 5, 137, 145, 146, 151
 economy (Kashmir), 134–139
 corruption and nepotism within, 5
 domestic finance, 149–150
 economic potential, 147
 energy potential, 136–137
 fruit and handicrafts, 19
 institutional development, 149–150
 international investment and trade with, 5, 147–151
 key stakeholders, 149
 need for greater economic freedom, 148
 timber industry, 19, 134–135
 trade and commerce across LoC, 132
 war as business, 5, 137–139
 water resources, 135–136
 economy (Pakistan), 5, 145–146
 education. *See* madrasa network
 1857 uprising, 17–18
 elections
 1977, 36–41, 45, 63
 1983, 51–52
 1987, 61–64, 67, 72
 1989, 67
 1996, 102, 104
 2002, 109, 156–157
 Code of Good Practice in Electoral Matters, 157
 corruption within, 31–32, 38–41, 43
 Election Commission, 156–157
 voters bullied by Special Operations Group, 156
- Emergency government, 37, 52
 employees' union strike, 76, 77
 energy potential, 136–137
 Enobarbus (Shakespeare), 15
 environmental issues, 135–136, 148, 149, 166
 Ernst, Carl, 17
 Ethan Allen (furniture business), 134
 ethnic cleansing, 9
 ethnocentric hiring in government, 23–24
 European Commission for Democracy through Law, 157
 Evans, Alexander, 3
 extremism. *See* terrorism
- Farooq, Mirwaiz Mohammed
 assassination of, 74–75, 98, 164
 Awami Action Committee founded by, 98, 143
 campaign vs. Abdullah, 41
 Farooq, Mirwaiz Omar
 anointment of, 98
 on application of India's constitutional authority, 38
 call for cessation of violence, 93
 on Charar-e-Sharief siege, 94
 Musharraf meeting, 169
 on prospect of resolution, 106–107, 143
 on return of Kashmiri migrants, 110
 Fateh Kadal, 89
Ferangi Mahal, 17
 Fernandes, George, 38, 69 n3
 feudalism, 24–25, 36, 83
 food price distribution system, 47
 forest-based industry, 5, 134–135, 136, 148
 forgiveness, 116–117
 Fourteen Points, 141
 freedom. *See* azaadi
 French Revolution, 41, 162
 Front for Freedom (Mahaz-e- Azadi), 45
 fruit industry, 136
 furniture industry, 134–135
- Gandhi, Indira. *See also* Congress Party
 Abdullah, Farooq and, 43, 50–54, 56
 Abdullah, Sheikh Mohammed and, 48, 50
 on accession dispute, 28
 assassination of, 54, 60
 defeat of, 45
 emergency government, 37, 52
 Indira-Sheikh Accord. *See* Indira-Sheikh Accord
 National Conference and, 38, 46

- resignation, 37
- return to power, 50
- Simla Agreement, 33
 - on Srinagar airport, 54
- Gandhi, Mahatma, 14, 26–27, 84, 165
- Gandhi, Rajiv
 - 1986 visit to Kashmir, 58
 - 1987 elections, 62
 - 1988 insurgency, 67
- Abdullah, Farooq and, 51, 56, 69
- All Assam Students Union accord, 60–61
- Anantnag District riots, 54–55
- ascension to power, 56
- on communications with separatist leadership, 102
- consolidation of secular forces vs. Muslim League rejected by, 59–60
- development projects, 58–59
- Iqbal Park address, 56
- Mizoram Accord, 60
- peace initiatives, 60–61
- Rajiv-Farooq Accord, 43, 55–56, 58, 61–64
- Rajiv-Longowal Accord, 60
- Sri Lanka Peace Accord, 60
- Gandhi, Rajmohan, 97, 110
- Gandhi, Sanjay, 52
- Gandhi, Sonia, 119, 166
- gang rapes, 76, 78–79
- Ganguly, Sumit, 56–57, 91
- Gani, Abdul, 69, 71 n6
- Gao Kadal, Srinagar, 70, 72, 74
- Gates, Robert, 142
- Geelani, Syed Ali Shah, 57, 106–107
- Genghis Khan, 16
- Ghai (former *tehsildar*), 114–115
- Gilgit, 8
- “give and take”, 125
- globalization, 163
- goats (*bakras*), 98
- Golden Temple (Harmandir Sahib), 54, 84
- Good Friday Agreement, 128, 164
- governor’s rule, 71–72, 79–82, 138
- grassroots efforts, 126
- Great Britain, 6, 20–21, 80
- Greenway Hotel attack, 114
- Gujar community
 - 2003 riots, 9
 - Janata party and, 38
 - language of, 8
 - LoC infiltrators guided by, 67
 - reports to Indian army from, 104
 - on solution to Kashmir question, 129–130
- Gujral, Shri Inder Kumar, 68, 104
- Gul, Mast, 94, 95
- Guru, Abdul Ahad, 81–82
- Habibullah, Enaith, 80–81
- Habibullah, Hamida, 48, 69
- Habibullah, Wajahat
 - Anantnag District position, 71, 72, 73
 - attack at Jami Masjid, 79, 143
 - on “autonomy”, 158
 - Awami Action Committee meeting, 143
 - on Damoo’s arrest, 27–28
 - as divisional commissioner of Kashmir, 77, 82–83
 - on elections of 1983, 51
 - on elections of 1987, 61
 - on Farooq Abdullah’s ouster, 54
 - on Gandhi’s 1970 speech, 28
 - Hazratbal shrine incident, 86–89, 90–91, 92 n28
 - Independence Day address, 29
 - India Administrative Service assignment, 13–14
 - on Indira-Sheikh Accord, 34
 - investigation into human rights violations, 78–79, 111, 112
 - Poonch District position, 45, 80
 - on Poonch-Rajouri area, 114–115
 - Powell and, 121
 - as presiding officer during 1972 elections, 31–32
 - recommendations for azaadi, 155
 - relationship with the military, 80–81
 - relationships with separatist leaders, 106–107
 - repopulation agreement along the LoC reached with the army, 36–37
 - Shah meeting, 23
 - Sopore position, 25–26
 - Srinagar position, 37, 38–41
 - visit to villages located along LoC, 81
- Halwai, Mohammed Yusuf, 68
- Hamadani order, 7. *See also* Islam
- Hanafi Law, 155–156
- Hapsburg monarchy, 162
- Haq, Mushirul, 68–69
- Haqqani, Husain, 18
- Harkatul Ansar, 82
- Harkatul Mujahedeen, 138
- Harmandir Sahib (Golden Temple), 54, 84
- Harwan, Kashmir, 16
- Haryana, 60
- Hassan, Munshi Ghulam, 33
- Haveli, 114–115

- Hazratbal shrine incident
 aftermath, 86–87, 105, 109
 background, 83–84
 as bastion of Jammu and Kashmir
 Liberation Front, 84–85
 BSF shoots demonstrators, 88
 first siege, 84–85
 media coverage, 89
 negotiations with militants, 87–88
 positive outcome of, 91–93
 relic stolen from, 48–49, 83, 85, 98–99
 religious significance of shrine,
 35–36, 83
 second siege, 85–93
 shrine as Abdullah's base, 35–36, 83
 turning point, 89–91, 105
- health system, 140
- Hekmatyar, Gulbuddin, 67
- Himalayan region, 122
- Hindu Welfare Society, 110–111
- Hindus and Hinduism. *See also*
 Buddhism; Pandit community
 Abdullah on unity with Muslims, 23
 Adi Shankaracharya's teachings, 15
 Alberuni's study of, 15
 Hindu Mahasabha ideology, 133
 Hindu-Muslim Relations, 9, 14–15,
 23–30, 70–71
 Hindutva, 28, 133
 languages of, 8
 population in Jammu and Kashmir, 7,
 23, 55
 Praja Parishad, 22
- Hizb ul Mujahedeen, 63, 66, 74,
 81–82, 138
- Hizbollah, 143
- Hoodbhoy, Parvez, 129, 130
- hotel industry, 136
- Human Rights Commission, 164–165
- human rights violations
 by armed forces, 109–110, 111–112
 custodial deaths of Kashmiri
 Muslims, 111
 Human Rights Commission, 113,
 164–165
- Lal Bahadur Shastri National
 Academy of Administration study,
 112–114, 140
- massacre of Kashmiri Pandits, 110
- medical care in Jammu and
 Kashmir, 140
- minority rights, 165
 by Pakistan-sponsored elements, 82,
 113–114
 rapes, 76, 78–79, 82, 112
 UN protest vs., 76
- Human Rights Watch, 113
- Hussain (PEC Workshop), 118
- Hussain, Syed Tassadque, 123–124
- hydroelectric power generation, 136–137
- 'Id Festival, 94
- IDFC (Infrastructure Development
 Finance Company), 150
- iftar* (breaking of fast), 17
- Ikhwan-ul Muslimeen, 68–69, 138
- income tax raids, 49
- Independence and Republic Day
 celebrations, 27, 29
- Independent Task Force, 122
- India
 constitution, 101, 153–154, 165, 170
 decentralization, 154–155
 Delhi Agreement, 6–7
 1857 uprising, 17–18
 independence and Partition, 6
 independence of Kashmir under
 guarantee of, 128
 Indian Home Ministry Department of
 Kashmir Affairs, 107
 Instrument of Accession, 6
 Kashmir as microcosm of, 7
 on Kashmir's secular nationhood, 133
 Muslim Personal Law, 155–156
 Pakistan viewed as a breakaway part
 of greater India, 131–132
 Parliament attack, 108, 144
 past separatist movements, 151–153
 Planning Commission, 150
 private investment in Kashmir
 discouraged by, 5
 public opinion on Kashmir dispute, 4,
 119, 142
 reactive position towards Kashmir
 dispute, 4
 refusal to commit troops to foreign
 soil, 21
 responsibility to the Kashmiris,
 153–154
 Soviet support for, 142
 The States Reorganization
 Commission, 154
 unity of, 154
- India Independence Act, 20–21
- India-U.S. nuclear agreement, 145
- Indian Express* (newspaper), 10
- Indian National Congress. *See* Congress
 Party
- Indian-Pakistan war, 29–30
- Indira-Sheikh Accord
 Abdullah's return to authority under,

- 34–35
 as benchmark for future settlements, 101, 103
 ignored by State Autonomy Committee, 103
 Jammu and Kashmir constitution
 accepted as part of, 44, 155, 156
 leeway granted by Sheikh by, 48
 points of agreement, 33–34
 Sayeed's opposition to, 37, 69
 sovereignty issues, 44, 63–64, 101
 young Kashmiris outside Kashmir on, 45
 Indo-Kashmir Forum, 163
 Indus Waters Treaty, 136–137
 infrastructure advances, 58–59
 Infrastructure Development Finance Company (IDFC), 150
 Instrument of Accession, 6, 20–22. *See also* Partition
 insurgency
 All-Party Hurriyat Conference (APHC), creation of, 82
 army's role during, 79–82
 Charar-e-Sharief siege, 93–95
 Hazratbal shrine incident. *See* Hazratbal shrine incident
 1989–1990 revolt, 65–75
 Saxena's governorship, 75–79
 Integrated Watershed Development Program, 148
 Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI)
 APHC fear of, 132
 infiltration across LoC supported by, 4, 65, 82, 142–143
 insurgent groups funded and trained by, 67, 137
 restrained by Musharraf, President, 143–144
 International Crisis Group, 131
 international investment and trade, 5, 147–151
 Ireland, 128–129, 164
 Ishaq, Munshi Mohammed, 33
 ISI. *See* Inter-Services Intelligence
 Islam. *See also* Muslims
 evolution of Islam in Kashmir, 15–17
 exclusivist trend in, 18
 Hanafi Law, 155–156
 history of within Kashmir, 7–8
 imperial vs. spiritual Islam, 16–17
 Islamization of Pakistan, 121
 modern changes in Kashmir's Islam, 97–100
 Sufism, 16, 17
 Syed Ahmad Khan as progenitor of modernism in India's Islam, 18
 Wahabi school, 4, 99–100
 Islam, Mushtaq ul, 79
 Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen, 56
 Jagmohan, Governor
 appointment of, 52–53, 69–70, 75
 as competent municipal administrator, 71
 on Farooq Abdullah's governance, 72
 My Frozen Turbulence in Kashmir, 72
 resignation, 75
 response to 1990 revolt, 73–75, 76
 response to corrupted elections, 62
 Jaish-e-Mohammed, 82, 114, 138
 Jaitly, Ashok, 76
 Jalal, Ayesha, 120
 Jaleel, Muzamil, 10
 Jamaat Islami
 Bhutto's murder, 43
 Chogali as supporter of, 27
 elections of 1977, 38, 45
 elections of 1987, 61–62
 Hizb ul Mujahedeen, 63, 66, 74, 81–82, 138
 ineffectiveness of, 121
 isolation of, 45
 Muslim religious seminaries of, 57
 Muslim United Front led by, 56–57
 on relic of the Prophet, 85
 Shah, Ghulam Mohammed and, 85
 Sopore as stronghold, 27
 Jamali, Prime Minister, 121
 Jami Masjid, 35, 41, 79, 99, 143
 Jammu and Kashmir Awami League, 138
 Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF). *See also* Malik, Yasin
 APHC and, 107
 Charar-e-Sharief demonstration, 74
 declared objective of, 65–66
 elections of 2002, 157
 Hazratbal shrine as bastion of, 84–85
 on Indira-Sheikh Accord, 45
 insurgency led by, 65–72, 81–82
 invitation to engage in dialogue, 124
 Kashmiriyat as unofficial motto, 55
 kidnappings by, 67, 68–69, 81–82
 “Quit Kashmir” movement, 68
 Signature Campaign, 126
 Jammu and Kashmir, overview of. *See also* Jammu Division; Kashmir Division; Ladakh region
 Autonomy Resolution of 2000, 158
 constitution, 155–156

- decentralization, 155
- demographics, 7, 20
- overview of, 7–8
- Jammu and Kashmir Peace Alliance, 88, 95 n34
- Jammu and Kashmir Protection of Human Rights Act, 113
- Jammu and Kashmir Resettlement Act, 48, 50
- Jammu Division. *See also* Jammu and Kashmir
 - majority and minority populations, 23–24
 - migration of Muslims to Pakistan following Partition, 23, 50, 66
 - overview of Partition, 6, 7–8
 - Pandit migrants, 66, 110
 - Praja Parishad, 22
 - rail lines through, 59
 - terrorist infiltration into, 65
- Jammu-Udhampur Rail Link, 170
- Janata party, 37, 38, 48
- Jehan, Begum Akbar, 34, 48, 69
- Jehangir, Asma, 130
- Jha, L. K., 37
- Jha, Prem Shankar, 92
- Jhelum River, 136
- Jinnah, Mohammed Ali, 19, 133
- JKLF. *See* Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front
- Joshi, Manoj, 91

- Kanwar, Brigadier, 90
- Kargil conflict, 7, 104–105, 146
- Karra, Hameed, 38–39, 48
- Karra, Mohiddin, 38, 48
- Kashmir American Council, 120
- Kashmir Division. *See also* Jammu and Kashmir
 - absence of violence during Partition, 71 n5
 - demographics, 55
 - dignity of Kashmiris, 162, 169
 - geographical location of, 21
 - historical background, 6–7, 15, 17–22, 128–129
 - Independence and Republic Day celebrations, 27, 29
 - India's responsibility to, 153–154
 - Kashmiri view of conflict, 127–130, 167–168
 - lack of Kashmiri territory for “give and take”, 125
 - language, 7
 - Mahbooba Mufti on Kashmiris, 161
 - as microcosm of India, 7
 - nationalist traditions and, 162–163
 - Northern Ireland compared to, 128–129, 164
 - as occupied state, 132, 148
 - overview of, 7–8
 - Pakistan on Kashmir as unfinished work of Partition, 133
 - perception of autonomy, 158
 - religion of, 7, 15–17, 18
 - role of divisional commissioner, 83
 - skepticism of Kashmiris on Indo-Pak dialogue, 123–124
 - state government, 4–5
- Kashmir Independence Committee, 35
- Kashmir: Portents of War; Hopes of Peace* (Ganguly), 56–57
- Kashmiri diaspora, 137, 163, 166
- Kashmiri Study Group, 163
- Kashmiriyat, 24–25, 55
- Kathwari, Farooq, 134, 163
- Kaul, Pushkar Nath, 39
- Kennedy, John F., 142
- Khalistan, 152
- Khan, Ayub, 33, 48–49
- Khan, Aziz, 150–151
- Khan, Fazli Ahmed, 14
- Khan, Ghulam Mustafa, 39
- Khan, Mohammad Amin, 25
- Khan, Sardar Attique Ahmed, 169–170
- Khan, Syed Ahmad, 18
- Khannabal constituency, 31–32
- Khatoon, Habba, 161
- Khera, H.L., 69
- kidnappings, 67, 68–69, 81–82, 105, 113
- Kishan, Ram, 81
- Kitab ul Hind* (Alberuni), 15–16
- Korbel, Josef, 6, 127, 133, 157, 158, 162
- Koul, Lassa, 71
- Kubrawi orders, 7. *See also* Islam
- Kumar, Radha, 122–123
- Kunan Poshpura, 78–79, 112
- Kupwara, 26, 76

- Laccadives, 147
- Ladakh region, 7, 8, 104–105, 156. *See also* Jammu and Kashmir
- Lahore Declaration, 104
- Lahore, Punjab, 18, 19
- Lakshadweep, 59–60, 147
- Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration, 112–114, 140
- land reform initiatives. *See* feudalism; Resettlement Act
- languages, 7, 8

- Lashkar-e-Taiba, 82, 114, 138
 Leh, 7, 156
 Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), 153
 Line of Control (LoC). *See also* Border Security Force (BSF)
 Baramulla fires, 25–27
 deforestation along, 135
 Gujar community use of grasslands along, 129–130
 Gujar shepherds as guides across, 67
 Habibullah's visit to villages located along, 81
 infiltration across by terrorists, 4, 65, 82, 142–143, 147
 Kargil incursion, 104–105
 lax management of, 67
 Pakistan's willingness to compromise and create settlement along, 120
 repopulation along, 36–37
 restrictions on Pakistani travel across, 129, 130
 Simla Agreement, 45
 trade and commerce across, 132
 Linguistics Provinces Commission, 154
 lions (*sher*), 98
 local village councils (*punchayats*), 14
 Lone, Abdul Gani, 164
 Lone, Abdul Majid, 27
 Lone, Sajad, 164, 168–169
 Longowal, Harcharan Singh, 60
 Lyngdoh, J. C., 62, 156
- Madhok, Balraj, 28
 Madras, 151–152
 madrasa network, 17, 57, 146–147
 Mahaz-e-Azadi (Front for Freedom), 45
 Mahmooda, Miss, 28
 Mahmud of Ghazni, 15
 Mahsud tribesmen, 21, 129
 Malaysia, 146
 Malhotra, Inder, 54
 Malik, Jacob, 21
 Malik, Yasin, 92, 93, 124, 125–126, 142–143, 156–157. *See also* Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front
 Manipur, 152
 Maqbool, Rubiya and Khalida, 166
 Masoodi, Maulana, 38, 48
 Mazzini, Giuseppe, 162
 Mèdecins Sans Frontières, 140
 media
 abuses by armed forces, 112
 on AFHC's role in dialogue between India and Pakistan, 143
 BBC TV perceived as impartial, 66
 Hazratbal shrine incident coverage, 89, 93
 Kashmiris as newspaper correspondents, 10
 medical care, 140
 medical colleges, 59
 Memorandum of Understanding, 60
 Mendhar Tehsil, 36
 mental health services, 139–141, 166
 Meraj, Zafar, 92 n28
 Mevlevi school, 16
 migrant camps, 139. *See also* displaced persons
 military
 abuses by, 4, 76, 78–79, 111–112
 during British Raj, 80
 coordination with civil authority, 5, 80–81
 during governor's rule, 79–82
 Habibullah's relationship with, 80–81
 location of commander-in-chief's house, 80
 murder of Guru arranged by, 82
 Poonchis within Indian army, 24
 Special Operations Group, 138
 Minar-i-Pakistan, 131–132
 minister for education, 109
 minority rights, 165. *See also* human rights violations
 Mir, Javed, 106–107
 Mirpur, 19, 20
 mirwaiz position, 98–99, 100
 Mishra, R. K., 105, 107
 Mizo tribal community, 60
 Mizoram Accord, 60
 Mizoram secessionist movement, 152
 Moh-i-Muqaddas, 83
 Mohammed (the Prophet), relic of, 48–49, 83, 85, 98–99. *See also* Hazratbal shrine incident
 Mohiuddin, Taj, 111
 Moore, Thomas, 13
 mosques. *See* shrines
 MUF (Muslim United Front), 56–57, 59–60, 61–64, 73
 Mufti, Mahbooba, 161
 Mughal dynasty, 16–17, 18, 36
 Mumtaz, 115
 Musharraf, Pervez
 commitment to resolving conflict, 119, 121–122, 127, 130, 166–167
 Farooq meeting, 169
 ISI restrained by, 143–144
 on madrasa system, 146
 Powell on resolution of dispute by, 122

- rivalry between elements represented by, 107
- on self-governance and demilitarization in Kashmir, 132
- terrorist attacks vs., 144
- on terrorist elements within Pakistan, 126, 142–143
- U.S. relationship with, 121, 142–143
- Muslim Auqaf Trust, 57
- Muslim Conference, 19, 98
- Muslim League, 21
- Muslim Personal Law, 155–156
- Muslim United Front (MLF), 56–57, 59–60, 61–64, 73
- Muslims. *See also* Islam
 - All-India Muslim League, 133
 - beef avoided by, 116
 - exclusivist characteristics, 17
 - Hazratbal shrine, 35–36
 - Hindu-Muslim Relations, 9, 23–30, 70–71
 - increasing sense of divisiveness within Kashmir, 4
 - as majority religion of Kashmiri people, 23
 - massacre of Muslims of Bengali origin, 57
 - pan-Islamic tradition, 98
 - radicalism, 58
 - subtle religious distinctions among the Muslims of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, 83–84
- Muzaffarabad, 19, 120, 122, 129
- My Frozen Turbulence in Kashmir* (Jagmohan), 72
- Nadimarg, 110
- Nadwatul Ulama*, 17
- Nagaland, 152
- Naicker, Periyar E. V. Ramaswami, 152
- Naik, Niaz, 105
- Naqshbandi order, 16
- National Conference. *See also* Abdullah, Mohammed, Sheikh
 - 1977 elections, 38–41, 63
 - 1983 elections, 51–52
 - 1987 elections, 61–64
 - 1989 defeat, 67
 - 1996 elections, 102
 - 2002 defeat, 157
 - on accession dispute, 21
 - alliance with Congress Party, 35, 46, 59–60
 - Burkina Faso Declaration targeted at, 101
 - vs. feudal order, 24
 - founding of, 19
 - Pandit support for, 24–25
 - “Quit Kashmir” movement, 98
 - Rajiv-Farooq Accord, 43, 55–56, 58, 61–64
 - as Sheikh’s political base, 46
 - National Construction Board, 158
 - National Democratic Alliance (NDA), 103, 124, 133
 - National Human Rights Commission, 89
 - National Minorities Commission of India, 165
 - National Opposition Conclave, 52
 - nationalism, 162–163
 - Nehru, Arun, 51
 - Nehru, B. K., 52
 - Nehru, Jawaharlal, 19, 20, 22, 33, 123
 - Nellie, India, 57
 - nepotism, 5, 47, 49, 59
 - New Priorities in South Asia* (U.S. Council on Foreign Relations), 122
 - Newberg, Paula, 120
 - 9/11 terror attacks, 143, 147
 - 1989–1990 revolt, 65–75, 137–138, 148
 - 1999 war, 7
 - Non-Aligned Summit, 166
 - nonviolent agitation, 92–93
 - Noorani, A. G., 8
 - Northern Ireland, 128–129, 164
 - nuclear weapons, 3, 144, 145, 146
 - Operation Gibraltar, 49, 99
 - Operation Parakram, 108, 146
 - Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), 9
 - orphans, 139–141, 165–166
 - Osman (PEC Workshop), 117
 - Ottoman Empire, 162
 - padayatris* (peripatetic pilgrims), 26–27
 - Pakistan
 - Abdullah’s visit to, 123
 - abuse by Pakistan-sponsored elements, 113–114
 - accession dispute brought to UN by, 20–21
 - Afridi tribesmen, 21, 129
 - APHC as mouthpiece for, 118–119
 - assistance to Afghans during Soviet occupation, 65
 - Bhutto on flawed Kashmir policy, 132
 - Chinese support for, 142
 - creation of, 6, 17–18

- development efforts, 146
- economy, 5, 145–146
- education system, 146–147
- elections of 2005, 158
- Indian-Pakistan war over Bangladesh, 29–30, 32
- Indian public opinion of, 119
- infiltration across LoC by terrorists, 4, 65, 82, 142–143, 147
- Instrument of Accession contested by, 6
- Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI). *See* Inter-Services Intelligence
- Islamization of Pakistan, 121
- Kashmir American Council, 120
- on Kashmir as unfinished work of Partition, 133
- Kashmir independence under
 - guarantee of, 128
- Mahsud tribesmen, 21, 129
- migration by Kashmiris to, 48, 50, 67. *See also* Resettlement Act
- migration from Jammu City to, 23, 50, 66
- military balance with India, 131
- National Construction Board, 158
- 1999 war, 7
- Operation Gibraltar, 99
- Pakistan-Occupied Kashmir (Azad Kashmir), 20, 35
- perceptions of Kashmir, 4, 129
- on plebiscite, 131
- Plebiscite Front financed by, 46
- public opinion of U.S. role, 142
- quest for identity, 131–132
- “red line” in attitude towards defense, 30
- on Sufi shrines, 17
- travel restrictions, 129, 130
- U.S. relationship with, 21, 105, 123, 147
- waning Kashmiri support of, 45–46
- water rights, 136–137
- willingness to compromise, 120
- pan-Islamic tradition, 98
- Panchayati Raj, 155
- panchayats* (local village councils), 14
- Pandit community. *See also* Hindus and Hinduism
 - demographics, 66
 - exodus from Srinagar, 72–74, 110–111
 - government service of, 23–24
 - landed properties of, 24–25
 - massacre of, 110
 - minority status of, 165
 - Peace Education–Conflict Management workshop, 115–118
 - as principal targets of terrorists, 66, 71
- Pandit, Mohammed Shafi, 41
- Pandit, Vijaya Lakshmi, 22
- Pant, K.C., 107, 108
- Parray, Mohammed Yusuf (Kuka), 138
- Parthasarthy, G., 33
- Partition
 - Gandhi on pain of Partition, 14
 - Indian National Congress party opposition to, 133
 - Instrument of Accession, 6, 20–22
 - Kashmiri people’s rejection of India, 8
 - legacy of India’s freedom movement and, 154
 - Muslim-Hindu Political Confrontation, 17–18
 - partition of India by Great Britain, 6
 - past separatist movements, 151–153
 - as recognition of two separate nations in India, 18
 - violence in Punjab and Jammu following, 71 n5
- Patankar, Lieutenant General, 111
- Pattan, 111
- Peace Education–Conflict Management workshop, 115–118
- peasantry, 24–25, 36
- People’s Conference, 56, 164
- peripateti pilgrims (*padayatris*), 26–27
- Pilot, Rajesh, 87, 105
- Pir Panjal, Jammu and Kashmir, 20
- plebiscite
 - alternatives to, 130–131
 - Benazir Bhutto on, 132
 - Bogra and Nehru’s support for, 123
 - Indira Gandhi on, 45
 - Korbel on, 127–128
 - Noorani on, 8
 - Pakistan’s misperceptions, 129
 - UN resolutions calling for, 21, 30, 44, 46
- Plebiscite Front (PF). *See also* Abdullah, Mohammed, Sheikh Beg-Parthasarthy talks, 33
 - creation and objectives, 30
 - elections of 1972, 30–31
 - financed by Pakistan, 46
 - Kashmir Independence Committee merged with, 35
 - protest of the disappearance of the relic from Hazratbal, 48–49
 - protest of the Indira-Sheikh Accord, 35
 - on rice subsidies, 47
 - police quarters bombing, 79

- pollution, 166. *See also* environmental issues
- Poonch District
- Abdullah's visit to following Indira-Sheikh Accord, 34
 - Bafliaz-Behramgala Valley, 114–115
 - Habibullah's posting, 81
 - martial tradition, 24
 - National Conference supported by, 19
 - public support for Pakistan within, 20
- Poshnar, 111
- post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), 140–141
- Powell, Colin L., 122, 144
- Powell, Nancy, 121
- Praja Parishad, 22, 28
- Press Council of India, 112
- Preventive Detention Act, 39
- prime minister's residence, 80
- Project Interec, 166
- psychosocial toll of terrorism, 139–141, 166
- public perceptions of conflict
- Kashmiri view of conflict, 129–130
 - Pakistani perceptions of Kashmir, 129
 - of U.S. role in Kashmir conflict, 142
- Public Safety Act, 49, 62
- public works contracts, 5
- Pugwash, 168
- Pukhraj, Malka, 23
- Punjab
- demand for a separate Sikh nation of Khalistan, 152
 - Golden Temple (Harmandir Sahib), 54, 84
 - Kashmir's overdependence on, 18
 - language, 7, 8
 - Muslim-Hindu political confrontation, 18–19
 - pain of Partition within, 14
 - Sikh imbroglio in, 60
 - violence following Partition, 71 n5
- Puri, Balraj, 103
- Puritanism, 99
- Qadiri order, 7. *See also* Islam
- al Qaeda, 114
- Qasim, Syed Mir, 31
- Qazi, Ashraf Jehangir, 120
- "Quit Kashmir" movement, 68, 98
- Radcliffe Award, 6
- railway network, 58–59
- Rajasthan Rifles, 78
- Rajiv-Farooq Accord, 43, 55–56, 58, 61–64
- The Rajiv Gandhi Foundation, 166
- Rajiv-Longowal Accord, 60
- Rajnath (PEC Workshop), 117–118
- Rajput, 7, 8
- Rajya Sabha, 75
- Ram, Babu Jagjivan, 38
- Ramadan, 17
- Ramzan, 17
- Randhawa, Brigadier General, 25–27
- Rao, Krishna
- appointment to governorship, 79
 - defeat in 1996 elections, 102
 - dismissal from governorship, 69, 79
 - Hazratbal shrine incident, 85, 87, 90
 - on repopulation along the LoC, 36–37
- Rao, Narasimha, 100–101
- rapes, 76, 78–79, 82, 112. *See also* human rights violations
- Rashtrapati Bhawan, 80
- Rashtriya Rifles, 111
- Ratanlal (PEC Workshop), 116, 117
- Rawalpura Air Force base, 70
- refugees. *See* displaced persons
- Regional Engineering College, 59, 86–87
- Rehman, Maulana Fazlur, 121
- Rehman, Syed Sharfuddin Abdul, 8
- religion in Kashmir, overview of, 7, 9, 15. *See also* shrines; *specific religions and sects by name*
- Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), 75
- Resettlement Act, 48, 50
- restitution, 77–78
- revenge, 117
- rice subsidies, 47
- Rishi silsillah, 16
- Roots of Terrorism* (Bajpai), 65, 161
- Rumi, Maulana Jalaluddin, 16
- Rusk, Dean, 142
- Russia. *See* Soviet Union
- SAARC. *See* South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation.
- SAC. *See* State Autonomy Committee.
- Sadbhavana Trust, 165–166
- Sadiq, G. M., 13–14, 21, 30, 31
- SAFTA. *See* South Asian Free Trade Agreement.
- Sagra, 115
- Saivite heritage, 18
- Salahuddin, Syed, 63
- Samata Party, 60
- Sangh, Bharatiya Jana, 28
- Saraf, Shamlal, 21
- Savarkar, Vinayak Damodar "Veer", 133

- Save the Children Fund, 139
- Sawhney, V. K. Sood Pravin, 108, 146
- Saxena, Girish Chandra (Gary), 75–76, 79, 118–119
- Sayeed, Mufti Mohammed
 as Abdullah family opponent, 37, 48, 51, 69–70
- Anantnag elections of 1972, 31
- as chief minister of the state, 31
- daughter kidnapped by JKLF, 67, 68, 69
- as home minister, 70
- Indira-Sheikh Accord opposed by, 37, 69
- Jagmohan's appointment supported by, 69
- Sayeed, Rubaiya, 68, 69
- Sazawal, Vijay, 163
- schools. *See* madrasa network
- SEATO. *See* Southeast Asia Treaty Organization.
- secessionist movements, 151–153
- separatist movements
 benefits to members serving in, 138–139
- financing by ISI and Kashmiri diaspora, 137–139
- Habibullah's relationships with leaders of, 106–107
- human rights violations reported by, 113
- India's use of force vs., 152–153
- invitation to engage in dialogue, 105–107, 124, 127
- loyalties to India's security forces, 138
- return of those that crossed over to Pakistan-administered Kashmir, 168
- September 11, 2001 terror attacks, 143, 147
- Shah, Aqil, 146
- Shah, G. M. (Gul), 52–53, 56
- Shah, Ghulam Hassan, 40, 41
- Shah, Ghulam Mohammed, 49, 85
- Shah, Ghulam Mohiuddin, 40, 61, 62
- Shah, Javed, 114
- Shah Jehan, 17, 35–36
- Shah, Khalida, 49, 53
- Shah, Khwaja Mubarak, 23, 25, 35
- Shah, Maulvi Rasool, 98
- Shah, Maulvi Yusuf, 98
- Shah, Sheikh Mirak, 16
- Shah, Mirwaiz Yusuf, 98
- Shah, Mohammed Yusuf, 61–62, 98
- Shah, Shabbir Ahmed, 68, 107, 110, 124
- Shah, Syed Yusuf, 63
- Shah, Yusuf, 73, 98
- Shahid, Agha, 97
- Shamsuddin, Prime Minister, 31–32, 83
- Shankaracharya, Adi, 15
- Sharif, Nawaz, 105
- Sharma, Brig., 112
- The Sheikh's Base at Hazratbal, 35–36
- sher* (lions), 98
- Shia Islam, 7, 8
- Shiromani Akali Dal, 60
- shrines. *See also* Harmandir Sahib;
 Hazratbal shrine incident
- architectural style of Jamia Ahl-I-Hadeeth (JAH) mosques, 99
- arson incidents in, 85, 86
- Charar-e-Sharief siege, 93–95
- refuge in, 95
- Sialkot, 18
- Siddiqi, Surayya, 88, 95 n34
- Signature Campaign, 126
- Sikhs and Sikhism
 assassination of Indira Gandhi by, 54
- defeat of Afghanistan, 18
- demand for a separate Sikh nation of Khalistan, 152
- evolution of, 17
- as minority in Kashmir, 23
- Peace Education–Conflict Management workshop, 115–118
- Rajiv-Longowal Accord, 60
- Shiromani Akali Dal, 60
- Silk Route, 134
- Simla Agreement, 33, 44, 45, 123
- Singh, Chaudhury Charan, 38
- Singh, Karan, 102–103, 128
- Singh, Maharaja Hari, 19
- Singh, Manmohan
 on Agra, 119
- Communist-supported government of, 149
- dialogue with separatists, 127
- on empowering people of Jammu and Kashmir, 170
- Lone's *Achievable Nationhood* and, 164
- public call for resolution, 127
- redrawing of borders ruled out by, 9
- response to Musharraf's points of settlement, 167
- roundtable discussions held by, 167–168
- Singh, V.P., 69 n3, 70
- Smith, Vincent H., 11
- software revolution, 145
- Sopore, 25, 26–27, 29
- South Africa, 165
- South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC)
 India and Pakistan's dialogue, 121, 125–127, 162

- Khan on, 151
- South Asian Economic Union
 - proposal, 121, 137
 - terrorist violence condemned by, 144–145, 147
 - trade and travel restored by, 150, 158
- South Asian Economic Union
 - proposal, 137
- South Asian Free Trade Agreement (SAFTA), 137
- Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), 123, 126, 127
- Soviet Union
 - on accession debate, 21
 - Afghan War, 46, 65, 67, 129
 - decline and fall of, 66, 71
 - Kashmir as opening to South Asia for, 21
 - possible independence of Kashmir under guarantee of, 128
 - support for India, 142
 - weapons left in Afghanistan by, 67
- Special Operations Group, 138, 156
- Sri Lanka, 60–61, 153
- Srinagar, Kashmir
 - airport, 54
 - bus service between Srinagar and Muzaffarabad, 120, 122, 129
 - cloister of Sheikh Mirak Shah, 16
 - elections of 1977, 38–41
 - Greenway I Hotel attack, 114
 - Independence and Republic Day celebrations, 27
 - Jamia Ahl-I-Hadeeth (JAH) mosques within, 99
 - middle class, 45–47
 - psychiatric hospital, 140
 - railway network, 58–59
 - road to Muzaffarabad, 18–19
 - shrine, 15
- State Assembly Elections of 1972, 30–32
- State Autonomy Committee (SAC), 102–104
- State Autonomy Resolution, 158, 163
- state of emergency declared Gandhi, 37, 52
- The States Reorganization Commission, 154
- Stevenson, Adlai, 22
- strike by Kashmiri government employees, 76, 77
- Subramanian, Nirupama, 169
- Sufis and Sufism. *See also* Islam
 - history of within Kashmir, 4, 7–8
 - madrassa network, 57
 - regeneration of spirituality in India and, 17
- Rumi, Maulana Jalaluddin, 16
- shrines, 35–36, 83. *See also specific shrines by name*
- Sikhism as offshoot of, 17
- vigilantes of, 66
- Wahabi school of Islamic theology, 99–100
- weakening of following 1989 civil breakdown, 100
- Sunni Kashmir, 7
- Suri, A. K., 85
- Surroor, Ale Ahmad, 53
- Swami, Praveen, 67, 138, 147, 162
- Taj Mahal, 36
- Takkar, R. K., 74
- Talbott, Strobe, 141, 151
- Tamil Nadu, 152
- “teachers for social responsibility”, 116–118
- Teen Murti Bhawan, 80
- Tellis, Ashley, 143–144
- Tennyson, Alfred Lord, 43
- terrorism. *See also* violence
 - from Afghanistan, 82
 - attack on India’s parliament, 108, 144
 - during Bush administration, 142–143
 - dark shadow cast over peace process by, 127
 - foreign tourists as hostages, 113
 - forests as hideouts, 135
 - vs. Musharraf, 144
 - Pakistani support for, 126, 132, 142–143, 147
 - psychosocial toll of, 139–141
 - al Qaeda, 114
 - rape by, 82
 - SAARC condemnation of, 144–145
- timber and deforestation. *See* forest-based industry
- tourism and travel, 58, 59, 136, 151. *See also* bus service between Srinagar and Muzaffarabad
- trade. *See* economy
- Treaty of Versailles, 141
- Tripura, 152
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 165
- Tsawalkhowa, India, 57
- Tulbul Navigation Project, 137

- Ummat-I-Islami, 56
- United Nations
 1948 resolution, 21, 44, 46, 136
 accession dispute brought to, 20–21
 APHC support for UN resolutions, 106
 azaadi not an option under resolutions, 82
 call for a plebiscite, 21, 30
 inability to resolve the demilitarization issue, 129
 Musharraf on UN resolutions, 130
 Pakistani request for UN role in bus service between Srinagar and Muzaffarabad, 120, 122
 protest vs. violation of human rights in Kashmir, 76
 UN Military Observers Group (UNMOGP), 74
 on water rights, 136
- United States
 Abdullah's meeting with U.S. embassy representatives, 22
 assistance to Pakistan, 123, 147
 India-U.S. nuclear agreement, 145
 investment and trade, 148
 Kashmir American Council, 120
 mental health services for Kashmiris, 141
 Mohammed on American conspiracy to create an independent Kashmir, 22
 Musharraf relationship with, 121
 role in India-Pakistan relations, 141–147
 self-determination policy, 141
 Soviet Union critical of U.S. intentions in Kashmir, 21
- Urdu, 8
- U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), 141, 148
- U.S. Council on Foreign Relations, 122, 145, 146
- U.S. Institute of Peace, 163
- Uttar Pradesh, 84
- Vajpayee, Atal Bihari
 calls for resolution to conflict, 104, 125, 127
 confidence-building measures (CBMs) announced by, 119, 120
 defeat of, 127
 dialogue with separatists, 105–106, 124, 127
 on Indian public opinion on Pakistan, 119
 loss of credibility with separatists, 108–109
 Powell on resolution of dispute by, 122
 Verghese Committee, 112
 Vinoba, 26
 violence. *See also* human rights violations; terrorism
 as commonplace, 109
 de-legitimization of, 161
 Vohra, N.N., 108
- Wahabi school of Islamic theology, 4, 99–100
- Wajahat, Mr., 91 n23
- Wandhama, 110
- Wani, Abdul Majid, 88
- Wani, Ashfaq Majid, 88
- war as business, 137–139
Washington Post, 89
 water resources, 135–136
We the People (NDTV), 161
 “What Went Wrong and How?” (Hassan), 33
 widows, 165
 Wilson, Woodrow, 141
 Wirsing, Robert, 131, 158
 women
 army's mass rape of, 76, 78–79, 112
 psychosocial toll of terrorism on, 139–141
- Wordsworth, William, 41
- World Bank, 136, 148, 149, 150
- Wular Barrage Project, 137
- Wular Lake, 135
- Yasin, S.M., 78–79
- Young, Allan, 140
- youth. *See also* children
 migration over LoC, 66–67
 transition from violence to political agitation, 92
 work abroad by, 139
- Zaki, Lieutenant General, 88, 90–91
- Zakura (suburb of Srinagar), 74
- Zehra, Nasreen, 118
- Zia, General, 121
- Zoji La pass, 104
- Zulqarnain, 81–82

About the Author

Wajahat Habibullah has spent much of his long and distinguished career in the Indian Administrative Service working in Kashmir, in positions including divisional commissioner, Kashmir; chief executive, J&K Lakes and Waterways Development Authority; and deputy commissioner, Srinagar and Poonch. Key national government offices include secretary, Ministry of Panchayati Raj; secretary, Ministry of Textiles; secretary, Department of Consumer Affairs; and joint secretary to the Prime Minister of India. He has also served as minister of community affairs and minister of education, embassy of India (Washington, D.C.); director, Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration; and secretary, Rajiv Gandhi Foundation; and is now, after retirement, serving as the first chief information commissioner of India, an institution set up as the court of final appeal under the Right to Information Act of 2005. A Senior Fellow at the United States Institute of Peace in 2003–04, Habibullah is the author of several articles and the recipient of the Rajiv Gandhi Award for Excellence in Secularism and the Gold Medal for Distinguished Service, Governor of Jammu and Kashmir.

About the Institute

The United States Institute of Peace is an independent, nonpartisan, national institution established and funded by Congress. Its goals are to help prevent and resolve violent conflicts, promote post-conflict stability and development, and increase peacebuilding capacity, tools, and intellectual capital worldwide. The Institute does this by empowering others with knowledge, skills, and resources, as well as by directly engaging in peacebuilding efforts around the globe.

Chairman of the Board: J. Robinson West

Vice Chairman: María Otero

President: Richard H. Solomon

Executive Vice President: Patricia Powers Thomson

Vice President: Charles E. Nelson

Board of Directors

J. Robinson West (Chair), Chairman, PFC Energy, Washington, D.C.

María Otero (Vice Chairman), President, ACCION International, Boston, Mass.

Holly J. Burkhalter, Vice President, Government Affairs, International Justice Mission, Washington, D.C.

Anne H. Cahn, Former Scholar in Residence, American University, Washington, D.C.

Chester A. Crocker, James R. Schlesinger Professor of Strategic Studies, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

Laurie S. Fulton, Partner, Williams and Connolly, Washington, D.C.

Charles Horner, Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute, Washington, D.C.

Kathleen Martinez, Executive Director, World Institute on Disability, Oakland, CA

George E. Moose, Adjunct Professor of Practice, The George Washington University, Washington, D.C.

Jeremy A. Rabkin, Professor of Law, George Mason University, Fairfax, Va.

Ron Silver, Actor, Producer, Director, Primparous Productions, Inc., New York, NY

Judy Van Rest, Executive Vice President, International Republican Institute, Washington, D.C.

Members ex officio

Robert M. Gates, Secretary of Defense

Condoleezza Rice, Secretary of State

Richard H. Solomon, President, United States Institute of Peace (nonvoting)

Frances C. Wilson, Lieutenant General, U.S. Marine Corps; President, National Defense University

My Kashmir

Text: Palatino and Optima

Display text: Trajan Pro and Futura Medium Condensed

Cover Design: Cynthia Jordan

Page Makeup: Helene Y. Redmond

Interior Design: Katharine Moore

Developmental Editor: Michael Carr

Proofreader: Amy Thompson

Indexer: Mary Coe