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Post- 370 Kashmir

*Emerging Security Challenges -
Roadmap for the Future*

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Post- 370 Kashmir:

Emerging Security Challenges – Roadmap for the Future

As Jammu and Kashmir enters the fifth month since the abrogation of Article 370, the national and international media, opposition leaders, and many public intellectuals have continued to repeatedly raise serious concerns about the security and communication lockdown in Kashmir. On November 20, 2019, Majid Memon asked in the Rajya Sabha¹, “When will complete normalcy return to Kashmir?” The question aptly captures the fears, anxieties, biases and also the superficial understanding of a large segment of commentators repeatedly raising alarm bells over the issue of “normalcy” in Kashmir.

In this analysis, an attempt is being made to address these concerns relating to restoration of ‘normalcy’ including an analysis of the security situation post-370. Also, the article will attempt to discuss the future-challenges and a brief outline for the future.

The ‘Normalcy’ debate

At the very outset it needs to be stressed that since the decision was announced on August 5, 2019, the Government of India (GoI) has not shied away from giving information and updates on the situation in Kashmir. Whether it is replying to national and international media, in global multilateral forums, parliament, or arranging tour of European MPs, the government has been remarkably forthcoming in providing physical access to the region, within reasonable limits, and in sharing its assessment of the ground-situation and its plans for the future.

This approach speaks volumes of India’s strong democratic credentials vis-à-vis the nations who blatantly accuse India of HR violations. In contrast, their human rights track record reeks of despotism and brutality.

It appears that for a vast majority of commentators, the concept of ‘normalcy’, largely evolves around the release of political prisoners, restoration of internet and phone connectivity, lifting of curfew, normal functioning of schools, colleges, health services, government offices, commercial establishments. For those who have followed the dynamics of the conflict in Kashmir, one respectfully disagrees with the rigid and narrow interpretation of the state of ‘normalcy’ mentioned above. However, one cannot deny that the indicators mentioned above have great significance in terms of optics and even substance, for both the lay observer and the discerning analysts. Hence, it is essential to answer such questions.

In this context, it would be pertinent to begin with Home Minister Amit Shah’s reply² to the questions raised by Mr. Ghulam Nabi Azad and Majid Memon in Rajya Sabha. If the indicators mentioned above are to be accepted as a full measure on normalcy, then HM Shah’s detailed reply, laced with statistics (given below³) categorically shows that the situation has progressively returned to near

normalcy. In his reply to the debate in the parliament, the Minister highlighted the following:-

- 20,411 schools have opened and are functioning;
- 99% attendance was recorded in the recently held school examinations (10th and 12th);
- All hospitals and medical facilities functioning well;
- In Sept. 2019- 60,66,000 OPDs (Out Patient Department) cases were attended to in Srinagar and in October 2019- the number went up to 60,91,000 OPDs in Srinagar;
- In law and order, not a single person died in police firing after the revocation of article 37. Stone pelting incidents came down from 802 in 2018 to 544 in 2019;
- All restrictions under Cr. PC 144 lifted in 195 police stations;
- 36,192 new cases registered in the High Court and 52,000 cases disposed of after August 5, 2019
- All Urdu and English newspapers and TV channels are working;
- Banking services are fully functional;
- In October, out of 316 blocks, Block Development Council (BDC) elections were held in 307 blocks with overall 98% voting;
- There has been significant rise in the sale of petrol, diesel, rice, and LPG;
- Of the estimated apple production of 22.58 lakh metric tons, NAFED has assured to buy the product if it is not sold in the market;
- On the issue of communication lock-down, 97, 4800 landlines are now working and 280 E-Terminals set-up in 10 districts to provide internet connectivity.

Home Minister Amit Shah explained that the internet ban was placed to ensure peace and security of human life. He added that once the local administration recommends the restoration of the internet, the center will execute it⁴.

Most likely, limited internet connectivity will be restored in the valley shortly. Also, in all likelihood, the political detainees will be released soon, as assured by the MHA. Interestingly, those alleging that the Delhi has acted with a vengeance against the mainstream politicians of J&K, may like to note that National Conference leader Dr. Farooq Abdullah has been appointed as a member of the parliament's 21-member consultative committee on defense⁵. It speaks of Delhi's integrationist, progressive, and accommodative intentions.

Normalcy beyond numbers-nuanced approach needed

Having mentioned in detail the facts and figures required to pass the 'normalcy' test, questions are still being asked whether everything in Kashmir was 'normal'? Such a superficial approach to analyze the recent political developments in Kashmir, appears to be not only amateurish but also tends to be detrimental to India's national security, diplomacy, and development of the political process in the Jammu and Kashmir. One needs to adopt a more nuanced and cross-disciplinary understanding of the various aspects of conflict in Kashmir and how it has evolved over the last three decades or more

to understand the necessity, gravity and the implications of the abrogation of Article 370.

Closer scrutiny will reveal that Kashmir, over the last three decades, rapidly slipped into the most disturbed state in the country. Long-term observers of Kashmir affairs maintain that this happened due to 1) Pak-sponsored militancy, 2) Jihadi radicalization, and 3) Delhi's ad-hocism, status-quoism, placing greater reliance on quick-fix solutions instead of serious attempt to find lasting political solution with a long-term holistic vision.

The fact today is that a liberal and syncretic society like Kashmir, known for its intellectual pursuits, did become home to 10-year old stone-pelters, suicide bombers, hawala money, massive drug abuse, and caliphate ideology. It is enough to make even a lay observer understand the extent of psychological, sociological and existential crisis which the Kashmiri society is undergoing.

That said, confining the definition of 'normalcy' to an array of numbers like telephone lines restored, internet connections extended, political detainees released and the schools and colleges reopened, would be rather fallacious. All such things have already started happening as outlined in earlier write-ups.

Reportedly, on November 21, 2019, after things seemed to return to 'normalcy,' valley-wide protests erupted with shut-downs and hartals. Posters released by militant organizations threatening the shop keepers to keep the markets closed, were put up in different parts of the Valley, and some shops were also burnt⁶. The resurgence of disturbance after the quiet phase of public silence over the last three months showed that the malaise was deeper and more wide-spread than anticipated. Pakistan's terror, sabotage, and radicalization infrastructure are firmly entrenched in certain parts of the Valley. And therefore, Kashmir cannot move towards full 'normalcy' unless there is a massive and multidimensional crackdown on Pakistan's terror machinery in the state. For this to happen, political leadership, cutting across party lines and thoughtful analysts may like to look at the broader issues when they talk about restoration of 'normalcy'.

The very first step in that direction has to be an unequivocal affirmation that Kashmir's journey towards normalcy has begun with the abrogation of Article 370. Once this happens, an attempt can be made to draw up a roadmap for the future to restore 'normalcy'. This could commence with initiating restoration of security and peace in the region and include:-

- Ridding the society of the deep-rooted psychological depression and low self-esteem that this conflict of three decades has brought;
- Ushering in a healthy political process and building a secular, rational, open-minded, democratic and multicultural social fabric;
- Initiating sustained and sustainable Economic development, encouraging entrepreneurship, development, cottage industries, small scale industries and creating employment opportunities for the youth, keeping the local traditions and cultural identity intact
- Environmental conservation.

Pakistan Stunned-Security Challenges likely to Escalate

Delhi's Kashmir move dealt a massive blow to Pakistan's sabotage-machinery- strategy, key actors, and the long-term plans. The move was the most unexpected for Pakistan's deep state. According to people familiar with the working of Pakistan's ISI, the decision to revoke Article 370, and its swift implementation, stunned the ISI and was seen as a grave intelligence failure.

Over the last four decades, Pakistan had made deep inroads through the separatist leadership, Islamist socio-political organizations, and religious organizations/sects. The other institutions of the state, such as the academia, police, state intelligence, and civil administration, were also not immune to Pakistan's deep penetration. The abrogation of 370 and bifurcation of the erstwhile state into two union territories has dealt a death blow to the power and interests of those mainstream politicians of J&K who failed to provide visionary and corruption-free governance and misled people by pandering to unrealistic and false dreams and appeasing anti-national and extremist forces. In a Union Territory, directly controlled by Delhi, the scope of their functioning and decision-making even in the internal affairs of the administration gets marginalized. With that, Pakistan's deep penetration in the institutions of the state also comes to an end.

Further, in run-up to the end of special status, the NIA (National Investigation Agency) investigations⁷ revealed the separatist Hurriyat, militants, pro-Pakistani media groups, and mainstream politicians as corrupt and opportunistic leaders living a luxurious life off the crumbs doled out by the intelligence agencies of India and Pakistan⁸ (AS Dulat, *The Spy Chronicles*). In 2018-19, SFs (Security Forces) had already neutralized all the top terrorist commanders⁹. As a result, the terrorist groups, already facing an acute shortage of weapons, are in disarray. Hence, Pakistan's decades of investments in building high-capability assets in politics, media, and militancy have hit rock bottom. It faces the most challenging policy crises on Kashmir. It stands the risk of losing the trust of the people of Kashmir who, for years, were fed with convenient lies of Pakistan being a champion of their cause and Islam. Pakistan's loss of goodwill among the people has been brewing up for the past some time. Recently, AQ chief Zawahiri¹⁰ accused Pakistan of using Kashmir's people for its strategic interests. Earlier, militant commander Zakir Musa, who had almost become a cult figure, parted ways with Pakistan while affirming his belief in the establishment of a caliphate¹¹. He also vowed to slit the throats of Pro-Pak Hurriyat leaders¹².

Hence, Pakistan is desperate to show its commitment to Kashmir's people. Post-370, the dominant sentiment among the separatist/pro-Pak constituency is that this is the time for Pakistan to teach a lesson to India and do something for its supporters as the abrogation of 370 is a fatal blow to the separatist movement, annulling the gains made so far. Additionally, the pro-Pak constituency is also losing credibility in the eyes of an average Kashmiri, as they stand exposed as agent-provocateurs who misled ordinary people to fight and die in an unethical and un-Islamic battle against the Indian state for their selfish political and monetary gains.

On the other hand, Pakistan is severely perturbed by loss of credibility in the eyes of the world community as its image as the sponsor of terrorism has left only a few takers of its saga of victimhood. Domestic issues like faltering economy, political turmoil, and ethnic and sectarian fault-lines are threatening the very integrity of the country.

That said, Pakistan's jugular vein, Kashmir stands out as the sole recourse for its army to sustain its monopoly over the state power, as it has always done in the past. Further, India's success in getting

the support of the global diplomatic community on its Kashmir move and Pakistan's failures after an arduous mission to corner India in United Nations Human rights Commission (UNHRC), United Nations Security Council (UNSC), and United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) has worsened its desperation and helplessness. Hence, it wants to do something spectacular to pump oxygen into Kashmir issue that is fast becoming redundant due to fatigue and, also, losing legitimacy, with its sharp turn towards ISIS-styled caliphate jihadism.

The swift precautionary move by the GoI before August 5 announcement to arrest key separatist leaders, Overground Workers (OGWs), and politicians capable of mobilizing people for protests, left very few options with the Pakistanis. By cutting off the internet and phones lines, and arresting its agent-provocateurs, Pakistan found itself in a helpless situation. It failed in instigating people into a civil revolt, the way it did in the 2016 after the encounter-death of militant commander Burhan Wani. Left leaderless and exhausted with decades of violence, people also could not mount a protest, more so in the face of massive deployment of security forces (SFs) and the existing level of disenchantment with the separatists and mainstream politicians who were seen as the biggest beneficiaries of Pak support. The silence of the people of Kashmir further strengthened Pakistan's fears of Kashmir slipping out of its clutches.

Pakistan's deep-state is likely to bring substantial innovations in its strategy and modus operandi for the militants, to respond to India's Kashmir move. It becomes pertinent, therefore, to understand the evolving situation to make better forecasts about the future militancy or rather terrorism in Kashmir. However, realizing full well that the Modi-led NDA government will not hesitate to strongly retaliate against proxy war tactics followed thus far with surgical strikes, Balakot type air raids and heavy trans-border shelling, Pakistan is forced to believe that internationalization of the Kashmir issue is the last useful arrow left in its armor.

Therefore, Pakistan's future Kashmir strategy will primarily be aimed at internationalizing the Kashmir issue to pressurize and embarrass India at global platforms. This revised strategy was quite evident in Imran Khan's warning of a potential nuclear war in South Asia, in his UNGA speech¹³.

Review of security situation

A change in the security situation is also evident in the more recent trends in terrorist violence in which, making a departure from the past, civilians have been targeted. In the last 22 days, after the restoration of post-paid phones on October 14, four non-resident truck drivers¹⁴ and six Bengali laborers¹⁵ (killed on the day of EU MP's visit) have died in terrorist violence. A grenade attack in Sopore on 28th Oct. injured 20 civilians¹⁶. In the deadliest attack after the abrogation of Article 370, a grenade was lobbed in the Lal Chowk area of Srinagar on November 4, killing one person and majorly injuring at least 35 people, mostly civilians¹⁷.

As the list of terror incidents grows, informed sources believe that Pak-supported terror groups are likely to-

- Engage a high-value target, i.e., by either kidnapping a high-profile target or executing its assassination;
- Stage a hostage crisis in a high-profile government installation;
- Launch Fidayeen attacks on civil and security facilities and the convoys of the security forces;

- Continue to indulge in targeted killing of non-Kashmiri civilians, mostly non-local laborers, students and entrepreneurs willing to invest in the state;
- Try to execute significant terror attacks in prominent metro cities of India;
- In Kashmir, Srinagar and North Kashmir are likely to witness the revival of militancy;
- Try to create a united front of Khalistan (Sikh separatist movement) in Punjab and Kashmir resistance front, not only in militancy but also in global diplomatic platforms;
- Launch random grenade attacks and immolate schools to strike fear to compel the people to continue the strike;
- Force markets to remain shut that there is no return of normalcy and simmering discontentment reigns, even though if it's artificial;
- Try to revive militancy using the communal fault-lines in the Doda-Kishtwar region of J&K, once the hotbed of militancy, having an almost equal concentration of Hindus and Muslims, with Muslims outnumbering Hindus in many areas. The region has a chequered history of bitter Hindu-Muslim riots. Since last year, two prominent leaders of Rashtriya Sewak Sangh (RSS), have been killed by pro-Pak terrorist group Hizbul Mujahiddin¹⁸.

The long-term aim is to force a 1990-style migration of the local Hindu population to strengthen the Islamist and separatist constituency;

- Hinder the growth of nationalist political process by targeted killings of the new entrants into politics;
- Resort to 2016-styled massive civil unrest like situation in Kashmir.

It deserves to be mentioned here that the current phase of comparative silence in militancy should not be interpreted as a change in Pakistan's attitude. As per informed interlocutors, the militant commanders, OGWs, and radical Islamist clerics have been instructed to maintain a low profile at this stage to protect the terror infrastructure from the government crackdown and to project an image that Pakistan is the victim of India's "annexationist move." They believe that post 370, the world media and activists are framing India on human rights issues and communication lockdown. In such a milieu, if any terror strike takes place, it will further harm the credibility of Pakistan's claims and narrative. Another reason for this silence is the fear of Financial Action Task Force (FATF) sanctions in the upcoming February 2020 meeting. Hence, inactivity is strategic. However, it is not going to be so in the future. Most likely, the next summer will witness high-voltage militant activity. The infiltration attempts over the last three months also indicate such a possibility.

In the last two-months of communication lockdown, as per the police, 60 foreign terrorists have infiltrated from Pakistan¹⁹. According to unofficial sources, the figure may be as high as 200-250. Infiltration has taken place from all the possible routes, i.e., from LoC, Pooch-Rajauri (Jammu region), and Punjab. Besides, there is a decent possibility of terrorists using maritime routes along Southern India's long coastline.

Lately, in Maharashtra²⁰, Kerala²¹, and Tamil Nadu, a favorable ecosystem is emerging for Jihadi extremism with Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI)²², Islamic State (IS) and Al Qaeda, taking roots in

Southern India. Recently, in Harami Nala (Kachch border, Gujarat), Pakistani fishing boats were seized by the Border Security Force (BSF), strongly suggesting the possibility of infiltration from Pakistan²³. On the Punjab border, GPS-fitted drones were used to drop weapons²⁴.

The police recovered a cache of weapons²⁵ from a truck coming from Punjab, at Kathua (J&K's border district), pointing towards Pakistan's deep state aims to resuscitate the Khalistan (Sikh) insurgency and unite it with Kashmir proxy war²⁶, in line with Pakistan's traditional K2K (Kashmir to Khalistan) policy. According to informed sources, Jaish-e-Muhammad has developed close ties with Khalistan terrorist groups. In the future, the Kartarpur corridor²⁷ (a road passage joining Sikh religious sites in India and Pakistan) remains highly vulnerable to misuse as a conduit for aiding the Khalistan militancy in Punjab. On the other front, Pakistan has lent support to the Sikh referendum 2020²⁸.

In the recent past, incidents of burning schools²⁹ and killing civilians have taken place. Such killings will have repercussions in the other states of India in the form of attacks, murder, and lynching of Kashmiri students and business personnel based in different states of India. When the news of such incidents reaches Kashmir, alienation and hatred against Delhi and Indians will likely intensify, resulting in anarchy and civil unrest in Kashmir. There is also a likelihood of communal polarization and the resultant Hindu-Muslim riots in the Jammu region and other parts of the country. The civilian killings will also discourage non-resident investors and sabotage Delhi's agenda of development. Further, the events mentioned above are expected to put India in the spotlight on an international level, as the one responsible for the widespread backlash.

With the US withdrawal from Afghanistan, there is a possibility of Pakistan using Taliban fighters in Kashmir to keep the pot boiling. As per the intelligence sources, Afghan jihadis have been spotted in Kashmir³⁰. Large-scale infiltration in the recent past indicates that Pakistan once again will rely more on better trained and resilient foreign terrorists from Punjab and KP region. Turkey's particular interest in Kashmir witnessed in its advocacy on article 370-issue and support for Pakistan in FATF³¹ raises alarm bells. Erdogan's project is much bigger than Kashmir, which the author has explained in detail in an article written for Haaretz³². However, the release of several IS fighters³³ during the recent Turkish raid in Kurdish areas of Syria raises the possibility of diverting some of them towards Kashmir also. Though it sounds a bit far-fetched, people are already talking of Turkey sending IS fighters in Kashmir.

With the Kashmir issue sufficiently internationalized over the last two months, one could expect a spurt in Pakistan's efforts to draw the attention of the diplomatic community, activists, journalists, and public intellectuals towards real and fabricated stories of human rights violation and other humanitarian issues in Kashmir. Pakistan's diaspora will be an active arm in this project, as already witnessed in the violent protests staged by Pakistan's diaspora outside Indian high commission in the UK on August 15 and in Brussels³⁴. Pakistan's allies Turkey and Malaysia will also try to ramp up international spotlight on Kashmir. Turkey, already having made some inroads in Kashmir, is doing it through its propaganda literature in the TRT World (Turkey's National Broadcaster) for quite some time now. Recently, the three countries announced a joint TV channel³⁵, officially to counter Islamophobia, most likely to be used to create a useful narrative on Kashmir.

Currently, as disclosed by informed stakeholders in Kashmir, terrorists are facing immense difficulties in logistics and communications due to internet lockdown. It may not be a coincidence that after the post-paid phones became operational several incidents of violence have taken place. To overcome internet lockdown, the militants are using primitive techniques like human courier and innovative

methods like CDR³⁶ (Cognitive Digital Radio) applications, enabling militants to use smartphones as off-grid radio-sets on a peer-to-peer basis. That said, once the internet starts, there is a strong likelihood of a significant spike in terrorist incidents.

Pakistan is treading a fragile line. With Uri surgical strikes and Balakot airstrikes, India has unequivocally signaled to Pakistan that India will exercise the right to proportionately or otherwise retaliate against any act of cross-border terrorism. However, keeping Kashmir on the boil to internationalize it is also a compulsion for the Pak army for reasons more than obvious. Hence, to pre-empt any accusation on Pakistan of a potential terror attack on Indian soil and a likely retaliation, PM Imran Khan, in his UNGA speech, categorically announced that there would be a “bloodbath” in Kashmir³⁷, once the internet opens. He also warned of ‘nuclear Armageddon’³⁸ in case India retaliates and escalates. However, that hardly absolves Pakistan of its potential role in terrorist violence in India. Rather, such a speech confirms that Pakistan’s deep state is improvising on its devious machinations to unleash fury in India and internationalize Kashmir.

On the other side, the post-2014 India has shown that it will follow zero tolerance to terror in letter and spirit with hard-hitting responses to Pak-sponsored Uri and Pulwama attacks. In response to any future terror strike by Pakistan, India may retaliate proportionately or disproportionately. However, Pakistan fails to see the writing on the wall. That said, there is a real possibility of a significant security crisis erupting in South Asia if the situation escalates after a major terrorist attack in India.

A Brief outline of Short and Medium Term Road Map

First and foremost, there is a strong need to continue with the ongoing multi-dimensional crackdown on Pakistan sponsored terror machinery comprising Islamist organizations, terrorist groups, media groups, and anti-national and Islamist charities.

Jama’at-e-Islami continues to be the most dangerous Islamist socio-political organizations, which is the backbone of the Hizbul Mujahidin. Though the Center has banned the Jama’at, its network and finances are still largely intact. NIA is doing a commendable job; however, the task is humongous and needs to be done on war-footing. NIA also needs to create a robust grassroots network for generating actionable intelligence.

Currently, as a result of the actions taken by the security and intelligence services, Pakistan’s sabotage machinery and spirits are on the back foot, facing severe existential and policy crisis. There is obviously a need to continue the pressure.

Mainstream politicians having lost credibility with their dubious and opportunistic politics exposed, there is a crisis of alternate credible political leadership. It may thus be the right time to make an outreach to the second rung leaders through different mechanisms of engagement, without yet getting into a structured dialogue. This can be attempted in the following ways-

- Official and unofficial interaction with the diverse sections of society, such as the business groups, horticulturalists, farmers, and clerics, students (schools and college) could begin.
- A dedicated team of 50-60 young and passionate civil servants can play a yeoman’s role in this task. Even if it requires visiting colleges and schools, one should not hesitate. The approach and execution has to be beyond the rigid bureaucratic mold and work on a people-to-people basis.

- A well calibrated programme of reformation of the education system at all levels, schools, colleges, and universities, need to be introduced to get rid of Islamist and extremist content and the elements.
- A significant overhaul of curriculum and faculty is needed in the schools run by Jama'at-e-Islami. It is informally learnt that there are about 10,000 such schools in the valley where radicalisation of young and impressionable minds is being carried on. Also generating funds for militant organizations is being reportedly done through these institutions.

While maintaining operational focus on the crackdown on terror-machinery, outreach and education reform, efforts are also needed on revival of healthy, democratic, secular and constructive political processes. It has to be ensured politicians with dubious loyalties and corrupt past, are not perceived as being patronised. New and young faces with credibility and nationalist credentials are the future of Kashmir.

It is absolutely essential to provide efficient and corruption-free governance, create employment opportunities for the youth and unleash measures that give a growth-spurt in the tourism sector. The idea is that people should be made to feel the immediate benefits of the abrogation of article 370 and full integration with India.

Currently, the common people are in an uneasy state of silence. While interacting with ordinary citizens across the spectrum, one gets the feeling that over the years, Pakistan's propaganda machinery has successfully misled the people, instilling false apprehensions in their minds that revocation of article 370 would lead to demographic changes in the state and that they would also be deprived of the ownership of their land and natural resources. They have also been told that Delhi's Kashmir move is an assault to their unique cultural identity. A large part of such fears prevails because of the lack of sufficient awareness among the people about the exact import of Article 370 and the implications of its removal. These need to be explained and re-explained.

Lately, there has been a new addition to the anti-India propaganda machinery in the form of Turkey's official broadcasting service TRT World which has embarked upon an even more dangerous agenda of projecting India as the land of Hindu extremists where the minorities are not safe. The aim is to shatter the faith of Indian Muslims in India's secular and democratic constitution.

The outreach efforts must address such concerns and assure that India is a democratic country that has always respected and protected diversity. Delhi must convince them that their Kashmiriyat is their identity, and it will be protected, promoted and respected. The people should also be told that the most significant harm to Kashmiriyat came from jihadi radicalization and Pak-sponsored terrorism in the state.

Intellectual and emotional investments are needed in winning the hearts and minds of ordinary people and creating a narrative of nationalism, development and secularism. Interaction of Kashmiri youth with the people of the other states of India- An exposure to the fast-paced and developed life of metro cities will also be useful.

It is also the time to think about the future of Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (PoK) by creating a well-documented narrative about the state of affairs in PoK, stressing its legal status as an alienable part of India, and that India has genuine sympathy and concern for the people of PoK who are facing persecution and oppression at the hands of the fascist and dictatorial regime of Pakistan. The

humanitarian crises in PoK and the excesses of the Pak army must be exposed in all multilateral fora. Having outlined the roadmap for the future of Kashmir, it must be admitted that it will be extremely challenging to implement the roadmap without first re-establishing peace and order in the region. It's a tall order but India has the determination and commitment to do it. What the country needs are national consensus and clear national will. The sooner these are evolved, the smoother and quicker the process would be.

End Notes

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