

## **THE KASHMIRIS**

**August, 1947:** The subcontinent is partitioned to create the states of India and Pakistan. The rulers of princely states like Jammu & Kashmir are given two choices: join India or Pakistan, subject to their demographic composition and geographic constraints. Kashmir has a majority Muslim population and a Hindu monarch. Independence is ruled out, although a popular movement led by Sheikh Abdullah favors this option. The Hindu monarch concludes standstill agreements with both countries to ensure that services such as posts and transports will continue (Baxter et al. 1987, 371). For India, Kashmir is a critical demonstration of its secular ideals. For Pakistan, the incorporation of Kashmir is viewed as vital to the two nation theory that was used to justify the creation of the Muslim state of Pakistan.

**October 1947:** A tribal rebellion breaks out in Poonch, along the western reaches. Pakistan sends in troops disguised as tribesmen to support the rebellion. As the rebels approach Srinagar, the Maharajah contacts New Delhi for aid. Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru agrees subject to two conditions: Kashmir would have to accede to India and the accession would have to have the support of Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, the leader of the largest and most popular secular movement in the area. The Instrument of Accession is signed; Indian troops land on October 27 and rapidly halt the invading forces (Ganguly 1996a, 149-50).

**January 1, 1948:** India brings the issue to the Security Council, accusing Pakistan of sending infiltrators into Kashmir. The Security Council is requested to restore peace in Kashmir. The holding of a plebiscite under international supervision is conditionally accepted (Wirsing 1994, 264).

In 1948, Sheikh Abdullah becomes the head of Jammu & Kashmir, taking over from the Hindu ruler.

**January 20, 1948:** Security Council Resolution S/654 establishes a UN Commission on India and Pakistan (UNCIP). The three member Commission is to go to Kashmir to investigate and to exercise a mediatory influence (Wirsing 1994, 264).

**April 21, 1948:** Security Council Resolution S/726 expands UNCIP to five members. The commission is authorized to begin arrangements for holding a plebiscite (Wirsing 1994, 264).

**May 1948:** Pakistani troops enter Kashmir.

**August 13, 1948:** The UNCIP brings about a cease-fire and truce agreement while in Kashmir. Provisions are made for the withdrawal of Pakistani troops and the bulk of the Indian forces as a prerequisite to the holding of a plebiscite on the future of Jammu & Kashmir (Baxter et al. 1987, 371; Wirsing 1994, 264). However, neither India nor Pakistan abide by the troop withdrawal.

**January 1, 1949:** The ceasefire is implemented.

**January 24, 1949:** The first UN military observers arrive to supervise the ceasefire.

**April 28, 1949:** The UNCIP submits new truce proposals that are rejected by India and Pakistan. The result is that Jammu & Kashmir remains divided with Pakistan controlling the 1/3 of the state it had militarily captured while India controls the remaining 2/3.

**July 27, 1949:** The Karachi agreement is reached between India and Pakistan to establish a ceasefire line in Jammu & Kashmir. The presence of UN military observers, the UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) is also authorized (Wirsing 1994, 265).

**December 22, 1949:** India and Pakistan reject a UNCIP proposal on demilitarization and a plebiscite (Wirsing 1994, 265).

**March 14, 1950:** The UNCIP is replaced by a UN representative (Wirsing 1994, 265).

**PHASE I. CONVENTIONAL MOBILIZATION** (see Appendix A for a description of the internal conflict phase scheme utilized in this chronology)

**1950-1958:** Various UN representatives attempt to mediate the dispute between India and Pakistan. However, all the draft proposals on demilitarization and the plebiscite are rejected by the two countries.

**November, 1951:** Discontent arises in Kashmir over the election of a Constituent Assembly that is to debate and settle the question of accession to India. Candidates that oppose the ruling National Conference under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah do not participate in the talks (Varshney 1991, 1009).

**Summer 1952:** A popular Hindu movement under the leadership of a regional party, the Praja Parishad, emerges. Fearing Muslim domination, the movement supports full and irrevocable integration with India (Varshney 1991, 1009).

**1953:** Sheikh Abdullah, who has ruled Kashmir since 1948, is deposed by a faction of his party that supports greater integration with India. Abdullah spends most of the next two decades in prison.

**1953-1972:** At least 12 meetings are held between Pakistani and Indian representatives in order to negotiate a settlement to the Kashmir issue. No agreement is reached.

**1954:** Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Pakistani Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra hold unsuccessful meetings that seek to end the dispute (Baxter et al. 1987, 371).

**1955:** Pakistan joins the US military alliances SEATO and CENTO. The Soviet Union responds by actively supporting India's stand in the UN, utilizing its power in the Security Council to veto any resolutions against India (Varshney 1991, 1011). The USSR's increasing involvement in South Asia is also likely an effort to counter China's influence in Pakistan. Meanwhile, the US turns its attention to the Arab-Israeli dispute and Vietnam (Lindgren et al. 1991, 48).

**1956:** India proclaims Kashmir as a state of India. Prime Minister Nehru also withdraws the offer of a plebiscite asserting that Kashmir's Constituent Assembly has approved the merger with India (Varshney 1991, 1011).

**1956:** The issue of Kashmir arises in the Security Council, as proposals are put forth for the use of a temporary UN force for the settlement of the dispute. The proposals are vetoed by the Soviet Union (Lindgren et al. 1991, 47).

**1958:** Another resolution is brought up in the UN. However, Lindgren et al. argue that by this time it is apparent the UN is unable or unwilling to implement any of these proposals. Also, they assert that the parties concerned are not willing to make any tangible concessions (Lindgren et al. 1991, 47).

**1958:** Indian Prime Minister Nehru and Pakistani Prime Minister Feroz Khan Noon meet to discuss Kashmir. No agreement is reached (Baxter et al. 1987, 371).

**1960s:** No attempts are made at mediation through international fora (Lindgren 1991, 48).

**1962:** The Sino-Indian War. The Chinese victory gives it effective control of the Askai Chin, in the eastern part of Kashmir (Cranna 1994, 58). Sporadic skirmishes between the large contingents of Indian and Chinese troops in this area continue to the present.

**1962-1963:** Attempts are made to resolve the issue through bilateral negotiations. However, Ganguly asserts that the talks were destined to fail as India had just suffered a humiliating defeat

to the Chinese and couldn't afford to make any concessions to Pakistan (Ganguly 1996a, 150).

### **PHASE IIIa. LOW-LEVEL HOSTILITIES**

**1963:** Anti-Indian riots erupt in Kashmir in December 1963 following the theft of a holy relic, a hair of the Prophet Mohammed from the Hazrat Bal Mosque in Srinagar. Pakistan believes that the demonstrations signal support for its position (Ganguly 1996a, 150).

**January 1965:** Pakistani President Ayub Khan conducts a limited probe in the Rann of Kutch along the poorly demarcated border with Gujarat. India doesn't respond vigorously so Pakistan decides to seize Kashmir. Some members of the Pakistani army infiltrate Kashmir posing as local tribesmen in order to foment a local uprising. The local populace though doesn't respond favorably and instead informs Indian authorities. Through the summer, border skirmishes occur along ceasefire line.

**September 1, 1965:** The second Indo-Pakistan war breaks out as the Pakistani army crosses into Jammu. India attacks across the Pakistani border a couple of days later. Full hostilities lead to an Anglo-American arms embargo on both sides. The war lasts less than 2 weeks.

**September 4 and 6 1965:** Security Council Resolutions call for an immediate ceasefire and full cooperation with the UNMOGIP (Wirsing 1994, 266).

**September 23, 1965:** The UN India-Pakistan Observation Mission (UNIPOM) is established to supervise a ceasefire and the withdrawal of the two countries' armed forces. The tasks of the UNMOGIP are confined to monitoring the ceasefire line in Kashmir (Wirsing 1994, 267). A small contingent of the UNMOGIP remains in place today.

### **PHASE I: CONVENTIONAL MOBILIZATION**

**January 4, 1966:** A settlement to the war is reached through Soviet mediation at Tashkent. Both countries revert to the status quo in Kashmir. The Indian government imposes strict censorship, jails virtually all supporters of self-determination and enacts measures to limit the development of opposition. These measures are relaxed toward the end of the decade when India turns its focus to promoting economic development in Kashmir (Kalven 1977, 99).

**March 1966:** UNIPOM is terminated following completion of its mission.

**December 1971:** The third Indo-Pakistani war over Bangladesh. During this year, around 10 million East Pakistanis cross the border into India, fleeing the military campaign of the West Pakistani army. In the summer of 1971, India signs a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the USSR. Meanwhile, Pakistan is supported through the crisis by the US and China. Indian

military intervention in support of the Bangladeshis results in the establishment of a new state. The war ends in two weeks when India declares a unilateral ceasefire.

**July 3, 1972:** The Simla Agreement is negotiated between India and Pakistan. The two countries along with the UN agree to a new line of control based on the ceasefire line of the 1971 war. Claiming that this agreement supersedes all previous UN resolutions, India calls for the UN presence to be withdrawn. However, Pakistan argues that it has not accepted the line of control as a border; it also reserves the right to bring the issue to the UN (Cranna 1994, 58). Both parties continue to hold differing interpretations of the Simla Agreement. India argues that it indicates that any conflict should be resolved on a bilateral level, while Pakistan supports a solution under UN auspices (Lindgren et al. 1991, 48).

Ganguly contends that the 1971 war alters the distribution of power of the subcontinent, effectively foreclosing Pakistan's ability to wrest Kashmir from India (1996a, 151).

**1974:** India explodes a nuclear device, referring to it as a peaceful nuclear explosion.

**1975:** India annexes the small Buddhist kingdom of Sikkim.

**February 1975:** Sheikh Abdullah signs an agreement with New Delhi accepting that the state is a "constituent unit of the Union of India". In return, he becomes Chief Minister and Kashmir retains more autonomy than any other state with regard to social security, personal law, and cultural matters (Varshney 1991, 1014).

**June 1975:** Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi declares an Emergency, suspending civil rights throughout the country.

**June 1976:** A large demonstration is held by orthodox Muslims and pro-Pakistani students in Kashmir (Kalven 1977, 100).

**1977:** The Emergency is rescinded and elections are held. At the center, Indira Gandhi and her Congress Party suffer a massive defeat. In Jammu & Kashmir, the first reportedly fair state elections are held. Sheikh Abdullah is elected Chief Minister and his National Conference receives broad support. Abdullah rules until his death in 1982 (Varshney 1991, 1014).

**1980s onward:** There are continual minor skirmishes between Indian and Pakistani troops, largely in the Siachen Glacier area that crosses the ceasefire line. Attempts to make this a

demilitarized zone have failed (Cranna 1994, 58).

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and subsequent American support for the Afghan rebels overshadows other disputes such as Kashmir for much of the decade.

**1983:** Sheikh Abdullah's son, Farooq, succeeds his father and his National Conference wins state elections by a broad margin over the state's Congress Party which rules at the center. The elections are viewed as fair and free (Varshney 1991, 1014).

**1984:** The Farooq Abdullah government in Kashmir is dismissed. Analysts indicate that this is the part of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's efforts to centralize control by undermining state governments. This dismissal is also viewed as the beginning of a new phase of alienation in the Muslim-majority Kashmir valley (Varshney 1991, 1015).

## **PHASE II. MILITANT MOBILIZATION**

**1985:** A 1983 agreement to create a regional organization is ratified resulting in the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). Its members are Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, the Maldives, and Bhutan. However, SAARC generally avoids political and bilateral issues and focuses upon social, economic, environmental, and technological concerns (Baxter et al. 1987, 379).

**1986:** US intelligence reports conclude that Pakistan is a de facto nuclear power (Hagerty 1995-96, 95).

## **PHASE IIIa. LOW-LEVEL HOSTILITIES**

**January 1987:** Indian military exercises named Operation Brasstacks are conducted near the border with Pakistan. These are the largest military exercises in South Asian history. The result is a near war between the two countries. However, nuclear weapons do not appear to be a major factor (Hagerty 1995-96, 95).

**March 1987:** Pakistani President Zia ul-Haq admits that Pakistan can build a nuclear weapon whenever it wants (Hagerty 1995-96, 95 cites William R. Doerner, "Knocking at the Nuclear Door", Time, March 30, 1987, p.42).

**1987:** State elections are held in Kashmir. For the first time, Islamic parties coalesce to form the Muslim United Front (MUF) in order to contest the elections. Previously, orthodox Muslim parties have fared poorly at the polls. A coalition of the Congress Party and the National Conference are declared the winners, although charges abound that the election was rigged and

that MUF candidates and supporters were subject to harassment (Varshney 1991, 1015-16).

After the elections, riots against the Kashmiri state government break out and orthodox Muslims burn the Indian flag (Varshney 1991, 1016).

Two militant groups are reported to be active in Kashmir: the Jammu & Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) and the Hizbul Mujahideen. Both groups are allegedly operating from Pakistan. The JKLF is largely secular and seeks independence while the Hizbul Mujahideen seeks to join Pakistan on the basis of common religious ties (Varshney 1991, 1016).

### Roots of the Insurgency (1989-present)

1980s: Kashmir is overshadowed by the Afghanistan crisis but the impact of the success of the Afghan rebels, the Iranian revolution, and repression by the Indian government contribute to the emergence of the insurgency (Lindgren et al. 1991, 49).

1989 onward: Ganguly argues that the immediate precipitants of the insurgency can be traced to three key forces: 1) the political mobilization of an emergent generation of Kashmiri Muslims; 2) the deinstitutionalization of Indian politics; and, 3) efforts by Pakistan to exploit incipient political discontent (Ganguly 1996a, 149).

1) Economic modernization has resulted in the emergence of a middle class and a young, more politically astute generation that turns to violence following the 1987 elections (151-52).

2) The consistent undermining of the electoral process in Kashmir coupled with the stifling of the development of an effective opposition severely limit the avenues for the expression of discontent. Ganguly says that fraud and harassment techniques during the 1987 election campaign effectively closed the final avenue of legitimate dissent for Kashmiris (151-52).

3) The emergence of discontent provides Pakistan with an opportunity to exploit anti-Indian sentiment. In contrast to the past, the Kashmiris now welcome Pakistani aid (sanctuaries, weapons, and training) (152). Varshney also argues that this is a period of Pakistan's military revival. The US reliance on Pakistan as a conduit for the Afghan rebels ensures continued military support for Pakistan along with supplying an open market amply supplied with cheap armaments (Varshney 1991, 1016).

### Positions of Key International Actors

China maintains a close relationship with Pakistan and is reported to have even supplied Pakistan with some of the expertise and materials to build a nuclear weapon. However, it has not supported the Pakistani claim to Kashmir or the Kashmiri self-determination campaign. Rather China has implied that the two countries seek a solution based on the 1972 Simla Agreement. It is likely that China's position reflects its concerns about its minorities in Xinjiang and Tibet that border Jammu & Kashmir (Kadian 1993, 142).

US interest in South Asia largely declines after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. In the

post-Cold War period, the US focuses its attention on what it considers are high-priority regions such as the Middle East and Eastern Europe. Its main interest in South Asia is in ensuring that tensions do not escalate into a full-blown war that could include the use of nuclear weapons. The US relationship with Pakistan, which was a vital conduit for aid to the Afghan rebels, runs into difficulties in the 1990s due to Pakistan's nuclear weapons program. Meanwhile, India and the United States move into an era of friendlier relations that includes military cooperation. The US position on Kashmir in the 1990s incorporates calls for both the resolution of the dispute through the Simla Agreement and the holding of a plebiscite (Kadian 1993, 142-43).

Ties between Russia and India continue although at a lower level than during the Cold War. Russia has also largely withdrawn from the USSR's international role as it focuses upon domestic issues.

Pakistan continues to maintain broad political support from the majority of the Islamic countries. However, only Iran has reportedly provided financial and material contributions to the Kashmiri insurgents. It has even offered to mediate the conflict (Kadian 1993, 146).

**July 1988:** A series of anti-government demonstrations, strikes, and isolated violent attacks against government targets occur in scattered areas of the Kashmir valley. The media generally refers to these incidents as the formal onset of the insurgency (Wirsing 1994, 113).

### **PHASE IIIb. HIGH-LEVEL HOSTILITIES**

**December 1989:** Confrontation between the insurgents and the government reaches a head with the kidnaping of Dr. Rubaiya Sayeed, the daughter of Home Affairs Minister Mufti Mohammad Sayeed. Mufti Sayeed is a Kashmiri Muslim who is considered as a contender for political leadership in Jammu & Kashmir. Rubaiya Sayeed is released in exchange for the freedom of five detained militants (Wirsing 1994, 113).

**January 1990:** The state is virtually at a standstill due to insurgent initiated shutdowns and government curfews. On January 20, security forces open fire on a crowd of demonstrators that have defied a curfew. Thirty-eight people are killed (Hagerty 1995-96, 96).

**January-March 1990:** Only a few thousand of the 150,000 Hindus remain in the Kashmir valley. The vast majority have fled to camps in Jammu and New Delhi (Varshney 1991, 1017). Meanwhile, thousands of discontented Kashmiri youths have left for Pakistan (Wirsing 1994, 114).

**April 1990:** Bombs explode at two police stations in New Delhi. The actions are attributed to Kashmiri insurgents.

**May 1990:** The escalation of violence in Kashmir coupled with the deployment of security

forces by the Indian government raise tensions between India and Pakistan.

One version of the May crisis put forward by journalist Seymour Hersh states that early in the year Pakistan threatened India with the first use of nuclear weapons if tensions continued to escalate in Kashmir. In response, rumors spread of an impending Indian strike on Kahuta, reported to be Pakistan's main nuclear weapons facility (Cranna 1994, 69 cites W. Burrows and R. Windrem, book, *Critical Mass: The Dangerous Race for Superweapons in a Fragmenting World*, New York: Simon and Schuster Ltd, 1994, no page no. given).

Another version being put forth by Hagerty asserts that while tensions increased, there was no Pakistani threat to use nuclear weapons (1995-96). He argues that it is unlikely that Pakistan had the ability to do so at that time. US National Security Advisor Robert Gates is sent to New Delhi and Islamabad to prevent the escalation of the conflict. Following his visit, both sides agree to a number of confidence and security building measures (Ganguly 1996a, 153). Hersh argues that Gates' visit was critical in defusing tensions while Hagerty says at most it marginally helped and likely provided an excuse for the countries to defuse tensions.

**May 1990:** Maulvi Mohammad Farooq, the chief Moslem cleric of the Kashmir valley, is killed by unidentified gunmen. At least 50 people die when troops fire on mourners during his funeral procession.

**July 1990:** The Indian government suspends the state assembly and imposes direct federal rule.

**October 1990:** US President Bush imposes an economic and military aid freeze against Pakistan. This is the result of the Pressler Amendment that kicks in when the President does not provide yearly certification that Pakistan is not actively seeking to develop nuclear weapons.

**March 1991:** A local politician's daughter, Nahida Imitiaz Soz Srinagar, is kidnaped by the JKLF on February 27. On March 8, she is freed in return for the release of imprisoned "militant" activist, Mushtaq Ahmed. Three policemen are also abducted to secure the release of five separatist activists.

In clashes between Indian security forces and Kashmiri insurgents, 27 people are killed. Around 1000 individuals are also arrested.

**March 20, 1991:** Indian authorities deny charges made by the Pakistani government of widespread human rights violations in Kashmir. The allegations include a mass rape of 30-60 girls and women on February 23 when the village of Kunan Poshpura was sealed off by 800 troops of the 4th Rajput Rifles.

**March 31, 1991:** Two Swedish engineers are kidnaped by the Muslim United Front (MUF), marking the first time foreigners are seized during the insurgency in Kashmir. The MUF

demands that the UN and Amnesty International send teams to investigate atrocities allegedly being carried out by Indian security forces.

**April 18, 1991:** A presidential order excludes the state of Jammu and Kashmir from national elections in May.

**May 4, 1991:** An Asia Watch report accuses India's security forces of "a deliberate campaign of terror which includes shooting unarmed civilians". Summary executions, kidnappings and assaults are also reported.

**May 5, 1991:** All-India Radio reports that 66 "Pakistan-trained militants" have been shot dead by Indian security forces at the Line of Actual Control in Jammu and Kashmir.

Also, this month, security forces open fire at a rally in Srinagar, killing 14 people and injuring 24.

**July 26, 1991:** Six Israeli tourists are kidnaped in Srinagar by the JKLF. One of the Israelis and a guerrilla die during a successful escape.

**August 26, 1991:** President's rule is extended for another six months in Kashmir.

**September 1, 1991:** Indian troops attack a Pakistani post in Nezarpur on the Line of Control, killing three Pakistani soldiers.

**September 9, 1991:** Indian security forces allegedly use force to enter the Hazrat Bal shrine and molest worshipers. The next day millions of Kashmiri Muslims respond to a call for an indefinite strike to protest the entry. The call is issued by pro-Pakistani groups. At least 50 people die as security forces step up their operations.

**September 20, 1991:** Firing by Indian soldiers leaves 7 people dead in Neelain valley in Jammu & Kashmir.

**November 7, 1991:** A 3-day general strike is launched to protest Indian rule in the Kashmir Valley.

During November, the Indian government refuses to allow a delegation from the European Parliament to proceed with a planned visit to the region.

**January 13, 1992:** A French engineer held by Muslim separatists in Kashmir escapes after three months in captivity.

**February 1992:** The Pakistan-based chairman of the Jammu & Kashmir Liberation Front

(JKLF), Amanullah Khan, calls upon Kashmiris in Azad Kashmir to cross the line of control into Indian Kashmir. The call is widely heeded and Pakistani authorities utilize force to halt the march. The JKLF claims that 16 people are killed and 350 injured (Kadian 1993, 141).

**April 1992:** Sixty-seven people are reported killed in clashes between Muslim insurgents and Indian troops. Official authorities report the number dead at 20 and the arrest of 22 members of the Ikhwan-ul-Musalmeen and Hizbul Muslameen groups.

**July-August 1992:** The Lok Sabha passes a bill aimed at transferring the lawmaking powers of the Jammu and Kashmir Legislature to the President. President's rule is extended again for six months.

**September 1992:** An OIC Foreign Ministers meeting severely criticizes India for "state repression" of Kashmiri Muslims. The ministers also agree to send a fact-finding mission to the majority Muslim state (Reuters, 02/11/93).

**1992:** The US House of Representatives votes to cut US \$24 million of its foreign aid to India to express disapproval at human rights abuses in Kashmir and India. This is part of a US \$1.4 billion development aid package (Cranna 1994, 68 cites "House Votes to Cut India Aid, Voice of Kashmir, September, 1992).

**December 6, 1992:** The centuries-old Babri Masjid (mosque) at Ayodhya in northern India is destroyed by Hindu militants although security forces had been deployed to protect the mosque. The destruction of the mosque occurs after Hindu-Muslim riots over the issue in recent years and previously thwarted efforts to demolish the mosque. Just days earlier, India's Supreme Court had ruled that a Lord Ram temple should not be constructed on the site of the mosque. Official figures reveal that 1200 people are killed in subsequent Hindu-Muslim riots.

The destruction of the mosque reveals the growing strength of Hindu militants who are challenging India's stated secular orientation. Primary among these are the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) which was reported to be at the forefront of the mosque demolition and militant groups such as the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the RSS.

**January 1993:** More than 60 people in Sopore are killed when Indian Border Security Force (BSF) troops reportedly begin indiscriminately shooting and setting fire to buildings in retaliation for an attack by Kashmiri militants. Thousands of Kashmiris take part in a strike and stage anti-India protests.

**February 1993:** Asia Watch and Physicians for Human Rights accuse Indian security forces of "a campaign of terror against civilians" in Kashmir. During this month, 33 people are reported killed.

An OIC fact-finding mission is refused permission to enter Kashmir. India has often denied human rights groups like Amnesty International access to Kashmir. The Indian government admits some human rights abuses have occurred but asserts that action has been taken whenever they were brought to its attention. It also says that it is establishing a national human rights commission (Reuters, 02/11/93).

**March 1993:** Abdul Ahad Guru, a prominent Muslim heart surgeon and leading member of the JKLF, is killed after being abducted by armed gunmen. Police open fire at mourners attending his funeral the next day.

**April 1993:** Seventy people are killed in various incidents. Meanwhile, an alliance is established bringing together some two dozen Kashmiri militant groups. The organization, the All Party Hurriyat (Freedom) Conference includes the secular JKLF and other more orthodox Islamic groups (Wirsing 1994, 134).

A fact-finding report by OIC Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs, Ibrahim Bakar, accuses Indian security forces of excessive repression in its efforts to quash the Kashmir insurgency. Bakar was not allowed to visit Kashmir; he compiled his report based on information he gathered in Azad Kashmir and through human rights organizations' reports. The report also absolves Pakistan of Indian charges that it is supporting terrorism in Kashmir. OIC members are urged to review their economic and trade relations with India and to consider linking these with human rights practices in Jammu & Kashmir (Reuters, 04/27/93).

**August 1993:** Police forces reportedly kill six people during a demonstration against the murder of a Muslim family, allegedly by Indian security forces. Meanwhile, a gunman hijacks a bus and killed 16 Hindus.

**September 1993:** Around 80 people are reported dead following clashes between Kashmiri insurgents and government forces.

**October 13, 1993:** Indian security forces lay siege to the Hazrat Bal Shrine in Srinagar, where Kashmiri separatists have taken refuge. Muslims believe that the 17th century shrine is one of the holiest sites in Islam. There are 200 hundred people in the mosque, 50 of whom are believed to be armed rebels. The siege involves the withdrawal of electricity and water supplies. Immediately afterwards Kashmiris engage in popular protests often organized by the APHC. A curfew is imposed in Srinagar. Twenty-nine people are killed as protests continue in defiance of the curfew.

**October 19, 1993:** In a letter to newly-elected Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao calls for a "comprehensive dialogue" on issues relating to Kashmir (Wirsing 1994, 269).

**October 24, 1993:** The Organization of the Islamic Conference strongly condemns India's

human rights practices in Kashmir. The Islamic body is particularly critical of the "brutal use of force and indiscriminate firing by the Indian Army". It calls upon India to respect the rights of Kashmiris including the right to self-determination (Reuters, 10/24/93).

**November 16, 1993:** Kashmiri insurgents holed up in the Hazrat Bal surrender, ending an approximately month-long siege. In the interim before the surrender, intense negotiations occur with the help of local Muslim clergymen, family members and pro-militant politicians. Approximately 60 people die during demonstrations triggered by the siege.

**November 23, 1993:** The 51-member Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) welcomes a decision by India and Pakistan to continue talks over the Kashmir issue. The OIC also says that it has delayed tabling a draft resolution on human rights in Kashmir at the UN General Assembly to allow negotiations to proceed (Reuters, 11/25/93).

**January 2-3, 1994:** The foreign ministers of the two countries hold talks in Islamabad; however, no progress is reported and no further talks are scheduled (Wirsing 1994, 269).

Meanwhile, at least 22 people are killed in clashes between militants and Indian security troops.

**February 1994:** Seven soldiers and 14 Kashmiris are killed in incidents this month. Meanwhile, the Kashmir valley observes a total strike against Indian rule on February 7. Azad Kashmir and Pakistan also participate in the strike.

**March 1994:** A general strike called by the All-Party Hurriyat Conference (APHC) is observed to demonstrate the determination of Kashmiris to "liberate" themselves from Indian occupation.

Meanwhile, at least 18 people and 10 soldiers are killed in various incidents.

**May 1994:** There are several clashes between Indian forces and Kashmiri separatists across Kashmir in which at least 17 die.

**May 9, 1994:** A general strike called by Islamic militants brings Kashmir to a halt. The strike is intended to call attention to accusations by local human rights groups that Indian security officials are killing and torturing Kashmiris in detention.

**May 11-13, 1994:** Pakistan accuses India of attacking Kashmiris in the Pakistan controlled part of Kashmir. This eventually escalates to clashes between Indian and Pakistani troops. India accuses Pakistan of supporting Kashmiri rebels.

**Note:** Tensions and sporadic clashes along the border of Indian-controlled Kashmir and Azad Kashmir have occurred since the beginning of the insurgency in late 1989.

**May 1994:** The US State Department acknowledges that Pakistan has resumed its support for

militant Islamic separatists in Kashmir. The level of this support is however in dispute. The State Department only recognizes moral, political, and diplomatic support. The Washington Post, however, reports that this aid includes arming, training and providing logistical assistance for the militants. There are also reports of private groups in Pakistan supporting the militants.

**May 21, 1994:** The leader of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) offers to give up violence if India agrees to undertake talks on the Kashmiri question. For the time being, the JKLF declares a unilateral cease fire.

**June 2, 1994:** JKLF leader Yasin Malik survives a failed kidnap attempt by the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen.

**June 3, 1994:** Gunmen open fire on a march led by JKLF leader Yasin Malik. Islamic militants kidnap 2 British tourists in Kashmir. The Harakatul Ansar group claims responsibility. The hostages are eventually released unharmed about 2 weeks later.

**June 15, 1994:** Indian troops kill the chief of a secessionist group called the Jihad Force. The Jihad Force accuses the troops of torturing its leader to death and it strikes in protest.

**June 17, 1994:** Indian security forces kill 19 suspected Kashmiri separatists.

**June 20, 1994:** Qazi Nissar Ahmed Srinagar, a prominent Muslim Kashmiri politician, is shot dead by unknown gunmen after being abducted from his home. 20,000 mourners join in a procession to carry his body home. Separatists blame India for the killing and India blames the separatists.

**June 21, 1994:** A general strike is called to mourn the death of Qazi Srinagar. At least 150,000 attend his funeral.

**June 23, 1994:** India's Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) launches a campaign to fill up Kashmir's jails with protesters opposed to the government's handling of the Kashmiri situation. The BJP wants the government to declare the region a "disaster area" which will allow the government to carry out military operations including air strikes. This remains the stance of the BJP through 1995.

**July 1994:** Security forces state that they detained more than 10,000 people in Jammu and Kashmir from 1990 until mid-1994 and that over 7,000 of these were released. Human rights groups maintain that the government does not acknowledge holding without charge as many as 7,000 additional prisoners in incommunicado detention.

**July 1994:** Around 25 Kashmiris are killed during various incidents.

**July 29, 1994:** Indian troops surround the Hazrat Bal Shrine after several separatists, (including

JKLF leader Yasin Malik) who were trying to enter the shrine to begin a hunger strike, are arrested. Indian troops are placed around the Shrine on "guard duty", sparking protests from Islamic groups.

**August 1994:** In several bombings and clashes between Indian security forces and Kashmiri separatists, at least 84, mostly separatists, are killed. This includes a bombing of a Hindu school which kills 8 children.

**August 6, 1994:** Indian forces end their siege of the Hazrat Bal Shrine.

**August 29, 1994:** Journalist Ghulam Mohammad Lone and his young son are shot dead in their home. Recently, he had reportedly received a death threat from an Indian army officer in connection with a story reporting corruption in the military.

**August 31, 1994:** A general strike is called by the All Party Hurriyat (Freedom) Conference (APHC) and the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen to protest an upsurge in violence and brutal actions by security forces in Kashmir.

**September 1994:** In multiple clashes between security forces and Kashmiri separatists, at least 86 are killed. This includes the killing of 9 bus passengers by Indian security forces in what witnesses call an unprovoked attack.

**September 7, 1994:** India bars APHC delegates from traveling to Pakistan for an Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) meeting.

**September 20, 1994:** Two young Kashmiri women defy local taboos to tell reporters that they have been gang raped by Indian troops.

**Note:** There are reports and accusations of rape by Indian security forces since the early 1990s.

**September 22-24, 1994:** A 3-day strike called by the APHC in protest of political and human rights abuses paralyzes Kashmir.

**October 1994:** India frees several Kashmiri separatist leaders as part of a plan to calm the situation in Kashmir. Some of the freed leaders are greeted by crowds of several thousand well-wishers.

**October 1994:** India proposes that state elections be held in Jammu & Kashmir. Insurgent groups almost unanimously reject the elections stating that only a plebiscite on secession will be sufficient.

**October 27, 1994:** Kashmir virtually shuts down in a APHC-called strike on the anniversary of the 1947 arrival of Indian troops in the state.

**October 31-November 1, 1994:** Al Hadid, a little known Kashmiri militant group, kidnaps 4 British tourists, demanding the release of 10 separatists from Indian jails. Police free the hostages in a raid.

**November 1994:** At least 18 militants, many of whom are possibly Afghanis, and 4 soldiers are killed in clashes between government and separatist forces.

**November 28, 1994:** A bomb in a bus kills at least 7 Hindu pilgrims on their way to a shrine in Kashmir.

**December 10, 1994:** JKLF leader Yasin Malik is severely beaten by Indian security forces as he leads a protest march.

**December 14, 1994:** In a policy shift, the Indian government allows 2 Kashmiri separatists to attend an OIC meeting in Casablanca.

**December 24, 1994:** 10 Indian soldiers are killed by a mine likely planted by Kashmiri separatists.

**December 29-31, 1994:** Several Kashmiri militants are killed in what appears to be a rivalry among Kashmiri separatists.

**1994 sum up:** This year around 1300 civilians, 200 police personnel and 1,600 militants die due to violence in Kashmir.

**January 9, 1995:** India offers tax breaks to businesses in Kashmir in a bid to reduce discontent in the region.

**January 26, 1995:** Three bombs kill 8 in a stadium in Jammu during an Indian Republic Day parade.

**January 30, 1995:** At least 9 are killed in clashes between separatists and government forces.

**February 1995:** In a landmine explosion and clashes between government security forces and Kashmiri separatists, at least 21 are killed. This includes 5 civilians reportedly shot dead by Indian security forces in retaliation for an armed attack by Kashmiri separatists.

**February 5, 1995:** A general strike paralyzes Kashmir. The APHC calls for the strike after Pakistan's Prime Minister Bhutto announces a strike in Pakistan to demonstrate support for the separatist revolt in Kashmir.

**March 1995:** In several bombings and clashes between government security forces and Islamic

separatists, at least 28, including an army brigadier general, are killed.

**March 8, 1995:** Indian troops surround the Charar-e-Sharief Shrine near Srinagar where they believe over 100 armed Kashmiri insurgents are hiding. This leads to a general strike in Kashmir to protest the army action. Sporadic clashes between the Indian army and the separatists holed up in the Shrine occur until May.

**April 1995:** In several clashes between Indian forces and Kashmiri insurgents, at least 35 are killed.

**April 4, 1995:** Indian troops allegedly fire at a group of peaceful Kashmiri protesters in Azad Kashmir, the Pakistan-controlled area of Kashmir.

**April 13, 1995:** A strike to protest the firing of 22 government workers accused of having links to separatists paralyzes Kashmir.

**May 7, 1995:** JKLF leader Yasin Malik accuses Indian troops of trying to assassinate him.

**May 9, 1995:** Indian troops arrest Kashmiri separatist leaders taking part in a march to the Charar-e-Sharief Shrine where guerrillas have been holed up since March 8.

**May 11, 1995:** Indian security forces destroy the Charar-e-Sharief Shrine after a pitched battle with separatist guerrillas holed up in the shrine. Indian authorities later impose a total curfew throughout Kashmir and order security forces to shoot on sight anyone violating the curfew. Battles with separatist militants continue for several days after the destruction of the Shrine.

**May 12-19, 1995:** Spontaneous protests, riots, and arson attacks on Hindu temples and other Hindu and Indian government targets occur in the wake of the destruction of the Charar-e-Sharief shrine by Indian security forces. Protesters often clash with Indian security forces who use force including tear gas and gunfire into the air to disperse the protesters.

**May 13, 1995:** A Pakistani Islamic extremist party, the Jamaat-I-Islami, says that its followers have been fighting Indian forces in Kashmir and that 900 of its own men have died in the last 4 years.

**May 21, 1995:** More than 5,000 march in Kashmir's capital, Srinagar, to protest the destruction of the Charar-e-Sharief shrine by Indian security forces. The APHC designates the date as "martyrs' day".

**May 22, 1995:** About 10,000 Kashmiris rally at the site of the destroyed Charar-e-Sharief Shrine. Several smaller protests are held elsewhere in Kashmir and India.

**May 26, 1995:** The APHC holds a rally to protest India's plans to hold elections in Kashmir next July.

**May 27, 1995:** An APHC called strike occurs in Kashmir to protest proposed July elections.  
**Note:** The elections are rescheduled to December 1995 after being postponed indefinitely. They eventually occur in September 1996.

**July 1995:** Several bombs kill at least 22.

**July 5, 1995:** Two British and two American tourists are kidnaped while visiting Kashmir. Many separatist groups issue statements condemning the action. A previously unknown group called Al-Faran claims responsibility.

**July 8-11, 1995:** A German and a Norwegian tourist are kidnaped in Kashmir by Al-Faran in two separate incidents. Al-Faran demands the release of 20 captured guerilla leaders and threatens to kill the hostages if its demands are not met.

**Note:** Throughout the duration of the incident, which drags on for several months, Al-Faran constantly changes its demands for the release of the hostages. But the demands always include the release of some captured separatists.

**July 9, 1995:** One of the American hostages escapes from Al-Faran.

**July 21, 1995:** Two of the hostages held by Al-Faran are injured in a gun battle between Al-Faran militants and Indian security forces.

**July 22, 1995:** At least 7 soldiers and 2 rebels are killed when militants ambush a patrol in Kashmir.

**August 1995:** Several attacks and bombings occur on an annual pilgrimage of thousands of Hindus to a sacred cave in Kashmir despite the protection of thousands of Indian troops. At least 20 people are killed. Harakat-ul-Ansar claims responsibility for most of the attacks.

**August 1995:** Violence in Kashmir including several bombings leaves at least 103 dead.

**August 13, 1995:** Al-Faran announces that it has killed one of its 5 western hostages and threatens to kill the other 4 if India does not release some jailed separatists. The beheaded body of a Norwegian hostage is found shortly thereafter. JKLF chairman Amanullah Khan and many other separatist leaders condemn the beheading.

**August 14-15, 1995:** Kashmiris strike to mark India's independence day and to protest the execution of a Norwegian hostage by Al-Faran.

**August 16-17, 1995:** There are several accusations by Pakistan and some Kashmiri separatist groups that India is staging the ongoing Al-Faran hostage crisis to raise tensions in the region for its own political ends. Pakistan and most of the separatist groups have condemned the

kidnapings. India denies the charges and accuses Pakistan of being behind the kidnapings.

**September 1995:** Violence in Kashmir including several bombings and clashes between separatist militants and government security forces kill at least 30.

**September 21, 1995:** JKLF leader Khan (who is currently living in exile in Pakistan) says that he has dissolved the political wing of the group headed by Yasin Malik and appointed Shabbir Ahmad Siddiqie as president of the organization in the Indian-ruled part of Kashmir. Khan states that Malik had failed to obey policy orders and has engaged in damaging internal vendettas against those who disagree with him on petty organizational issues. Khan also criticized the leader of the Ikhwan-ul-Musalmeen group, which is believed to have links with Indian intelligence agencies.

**October 11, 1995:** A poll shows that 72% of Kashmiris believe that only independence can bring peace to the region and 80% say that elections are not the answer.

**October 11, 1995:** Reuters reports that the All Party Hurriyat Conference (APHC) is opening a propaganda office in New Delhi to campaign against India's proposal for holding elections in Kashmir.

**November 4, 1995:** India announces plans to hold elections in Kashmir in December. Separatist groups condemn the plan.

**November 5, 1995:** Hindus from Kashmir clash with police while attempting to disrupt the opening of a Kashmiri separatist group's office in New Delhi.

**1995:** Reports indicate that there are 400,000 Indian army troops and paramilitary forces deployed in Kashmir, although most of these are deployed along the line of control and in Ladakh at the border with China. It is estimated the various rebel groups have 6-8000 active fighters. Around 1-2000 of the insurgents are allegedly from Afghanistan and also from as far away as the Sudan (Ganguly 1996a, 152-53).

**January 3, 1996:** The Jammu and Kashmir Islamic Front, a previously unknown group, claims responsibility for a bomb attack in Delhi which results in seven casualties (Reuters, 01/03/96).

**January 4, 1996:** Demonstrations are held and businesses are closed in Srinagar to protest recent attacks on the leader of the Hizbul Mujahideen (Reuters, 01/04/96).

**January 5, 1996:** Businesses close for a second day in Srinagar; this time to protest against the UN failure to arrange a plebiscite (Reuters, 01/05/96).

**January 10, 1996:** The National Conference calls for an official enquiry into human rights

abuses in Jammu and Kashmir (Reuters, 01/10/96).

**January 12, 1996:** Shops and government offices close in Kashmir in protest of the killing of a Jammu and Kashmir Islamic Front leader (Reuters, 01/12/96)

**January 15, 1996:** The All-Hurriyat Conference offers to help further negotiations with Al-Faran, the group reportedly responsible for kidnaping and holding four Westerners hostage for the past six months (Reuters, 01/15/96).

**January 17, 1996:** President Benazir Bhutto says Pakistan is ready to discuss the Kashmir issue if India puts it on their bilateral agenda. She also indicates that her country is willing to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) if India also does (Reuters, 01/17/96).

**January 24, 1996:** A local Congress politician is killed in Srinagar (Reuters, 01/24/96).

**February 9, 1996:** Four former leaders of rebel groups offer to open peace talks with Delhi without the inclusion of Pakistan (Reuters, 02/09/96). The Hurriyat Conference rejects the leaders' offer the next day (Ibid., 02/10/96).

**February 14, 1996:** The Muslim Janbaz Force puts out shoot-on-sight orders for the four rebel leaders who recently offered to open peace talks (Reuters, 02/14/96).

**February 16, 1996:** The Hurriyat Conference calls for tripartite talks with India and Pakistan. The JKLF says that 95% of Kashmiri residents they polled voted in favor of talks (Reuters, 02/16/96).

**February 20, 1996:** India declares a 24-hour unilateral ceasefire in Jammu and Kashmir to coincide with the Muslim festival of Eid. This is the first such offer in the six year insurgency (Reuters, 02/20/96).

**March 8, 1996:** A protest in Srinagar against excesses by both sides is broken up by police (Reuters, 03/08/96).

**March 14, 1996:** Pakistan opposes India's plans to hold peace talks with four Kashmiri rebel leaders, arguing that the peoples' true representative is the Hurriyat. Meanwhile, 15 rebels and 3 soldiers are killed in clashes between the two sides (Reuters, 03/14/96).

**March 15, 1996:** Interior Minister Shankarrao Chavan holds talks with four Kashmiri rebel leaders in Delhi. This is the first direct meeting between the government and any rebels since 1990. A day-long strike is held in Srinagar (Reuters, 03/15/97).

**March 22, 1996:** Two of the four rebel leaders who recently held talks with the government state that they are against May elections for federal posts in Jammu and Kashmir. The two leaders first want three confidence-building measures enacted by the government. These are:

- 1) the disarming of pro-Delhi militants
- 2) the release of Kashmiri prisoners
- 3) the halting of security and military operations by security forces in the state (Reuters, 03/22/96).

**March 23, 1996:** Three senior Indian officials meet with the four rebel leaders to discuss confidence-building measures in Kashmir (Reuters, 03/23/96).

**March 24, 1996:** At least seven people are killed as security forces and the JKLF clash outside the state's holiest shrine, the Hazratbal in Srinagar. JKLF rebels remain inside the shrine for two days until a deal is worked out with the government for their safe passage (Reuters, 03/24/96).

**March 26, 1996:** In a speech to the UN Human Rights Commission, Pakistani Foreign Minister Assef Ahmad Ali accuses India of making Kashmir a "killing field". He says that more than 50,000 have died so far and that war is not the only option to lasting peace (Reuters, 03/26/96).

**March 27, 1996:** Police break up a crowd in Srinagar protesting the killing of a local human rights activist. His widow asserts that the government is responsible for his death (Reuters, 03/27/96).

**March 29, 1996:** The National Conference says that it won't contest May's federal elections in Kashmir unless the region gets more autonomy. The elections will be the first held since the insurgency began in 1989 (Reuters, 03/29/96).

**March 30, 1996:** 21 rebels are killed in gunbattles with security forces. Among the dead is JKLF faction leader Shabbir Siddiqui (Reuters, 03/30/96).

**March 31, 1996:** A four-day strike is held in Srinagar in protest of yesterday's killings of rebel forces (Reuters, 03/31/96).

**April 1, 1996:** The Hurriyat accuses the Western world of turning a blind eye to India's "reign of terror" in favor of profit and trade (Reuters, 04/01/96).

**April 2, 1996:** The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Jose Ayala Lasso, calls upon India to investigate the recent killing of a prominent Kashmiri human rights activist and to punish those responsible. He also calls for peace talks (Reuters, 04/02/96).

**April 9, 1996:** A Congress member is killed by rebels (Reuters, 04/09/96).

**April 11, 1996:** Two Hurriyat leaders who oppose elections in Kashmir escape deadly attacks. They allege that the government's death squads are responsible (Reuters, 04/11/96).

**April 16-17, 1996:** Three people are killed and 10 wounded in a bomb attack against security

forces in Jammu and Kashmir. Al-Jihad claims responsibility (Reuters, 04/16-178/96).

**April 18, 1996:** A strike is held in the Kashmir valley, the heart of the insurgency (Reuters, 04/18/96).

**April 20, 1996:** 12 rebels and 1 soldier are killed in gunbattles (Reuters, 04/20/96).

**May 4, 1996:** Pakistan accuses India of involvement in recent bomb blasts in its Punjab province. It says that the attacks are an attempt to detract attention from upcoming federal elections in Kashmir (Reuters, 05/04/96).

**May 5, 1996:** Prime Minister Narasimha Rao visits Jammu and Kashmir and urges residents to vote in upcoming elections. This is his first visit since he was elected in 1991 (Reuters, 05/05/96).

**May 6, 1996:** 8 Nepali migrant workers are killed in militants in Kashmir. This is likely to be the first attack on migrants in the state (Reuters, 05/06/96).

**May 7, 1996:** A strike is held in the Kashmir valley but large numbers peacefully turn out to vote in Jammu and Ladakh. Federal elections will be held in the valley on May 23 and 30 (Reuters, 05/07/96).

**May 20, 1996:** 7 policemen are wounded in a rebel grenade attack in Srinagar (Reuters, 05/20/96).

**May 21, 1996:** A car bomb in a Delhi marketplace kills 13. A Kashmiri rebel group claims responsibility but police are not sure who the perpetrators are (Reuters, 05/21/96).

**May 23, 1996:** Around 1000 residents demonstrate against the holding of federal elections in Baramulla, 35 miles from Srinagar. Police disperse the crowd. Protests are held in other areas and some Kashmiris assert they are forced to vote by police forces (Reuters, 05/23/96).

**May 25, 1996:** A bomb in Jammu kills 1 and injures 46. Protests occur in Srinagar (Reuters, 05/25/96).

**May 27, 1996:** In pre-election violence in the valley, grenades are thrown at security patrols and three houses are burnt (Reuters, 05/27/96).

**May 28, 1996:** Six people die following a rocket attack on a Srinagar hotel. A general strike is held (Reuters, 05/28/96).

**May 30, 1996:** Anti-election protests are held in the valley. Two die and 25 are injured. A 37% voter turnout is reported in elections for federal seats from the state. Residents allege they are forced to vote (Reuters, 05/30/96).

**June 2, 1996:** 5 militants of the Jammu and Kashmir Ikhwan and the Muslim Mujahideen are killed when they try to disrupt vote-counting. Both groups are reported to have ties with Indian security forces. The Congress Party wins 4/6 parliamentary seats in the state (Reuters, 06/02/96).

**June 5, 1996:** The new United Front Prime Minister H.D. Deve Gowda says that he will hold talks with Pakistan about Jammu and Kashmir. He asserts that peace will only arise through granting the state maximum autonomy and that his government is working on a new proposal. The Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front says that it doesn't want autonomy but independence and reunification with Pakistan's Azad Kashmir. The Hurriyat Conference says trilateral talks that include Kashmiris, India, and Pakistan are necessary to obtain a peaceful solution. Otherwise, it says autonomy won't work. The leader of the National Conference, Farooq Abdullah asserts that the government promise is a step in the right direction. Pakistan indicates that there is nothing new in the Indian offer (Reuters, 06/05/96).

**June 7, 1996:** Indian Foreign Minister I.K. Gujral calls for high-level talks with Pakistan. No bilateral talks have been held in the past two years. Earlier, Pakistani President Bhutto had sent a letter to Prime Minister Gowda asking for negotiations (Reuters, 06/07/96).

**June 7, 1996:** Pakistan asks Sri Lanka to use its good offices to bring it and India to the bargaining table (Reuters, 06/07/96).

**June 8, 1996:** 4 people are killed as Indian and Pakistani troops exchange gunfire across the Line of Control (extends over 1012 km.) (Reuters, 06/08/96).

**June 9, 1996:** Militants kill 10 Hindu villagers east of Jammu. Ambassadors from Germany, the US, Norway, and Britain visit Srinagar to help promote the release of 4 Western hostages kidnaped in 1995. Hurriyat leaders protest to the UNMOGIP over an alleged attempt by Indian forces to kill one of their leaders. This is the latest in a series of attacks on the organization's leadership (Reuters, 06/09/96).

**June 12, 1996:** A five-member EU delegation arrives in Srinagar to obtain first-hand information on the political situation. It meets with Hurriyat representatives and human rights activists (Reuters, 06/12/96).

**June 24, 1996:** The government considers introducing a resolution in next month's parliamentary session to grant autonomy to Jammu and Kashmir (Reuters, 06/24/96).

**June 30, 1996:** Up to 4 civilians are killed in gunbattles between security forces and militant. Prime Minister Gowda says that Kashmir will not be discussed in proposed bilateral talks with Pakistan (Reuters, 06/30/96).

**July 6, 1996:** Prime Minister Gowda visits the Kashmir valley. Protests are held. He is the first

Indian leader to visit the valley in nearly 10 years (Reuters, 07/06/96)

**July 7, 1996:** Militants kill 11 North Indian migrant workers in the state. Recently, 10 Kashmiris were also murdered (Reuters, 07/07/96).

**July 8, 1996:** The government announces that state elections will be held in Jammu and Kashmir in September or October. New Delhi has reportedly been encouraged by indications of an economic turnaround, increased rice production in the state, and an alleged decrease in violence. Meanwhile, 19 Indian journalists are detained by rebels who want to meet with their newspaper's editors (Reuters, 07/08/96).

**July 10, 1996:** Reuters asserts that Indian security forces are reluctant to disarm pro-government militia groups. At least three such groups, comprised of former rebels, are reported to be in existence. They are the Ikhwan ul Muslimoon, the Jammu and Kashmir Ikhwan, and the Muslim Mujahideen (07/10/96).

**July 16, 1996:** 6 Indian tourists are killed in the state (Reuters, 07/16/96).

**July 19, 1996:** 1 civilian dies in a landmine attack aimed at security forces in Srinagar (Reuters, 07/19/96).

**July 23, 1996:** The Indian government announces a \$715 million project to build railway lines along the Kashmir valley. This is part of a package to boost the state's economy. A major road project and the acceleration of two hydroelectric project

**July 28, 1996:** 4 civilians are killed when a bomb explodes in Anantnag, Kashmir (Reuters, 07/28/96).

**July 30, 1996:** The Awami League says that it won't contest state elections due to the alleged rigging of May's federal elections. The League and its military arm, the Ikhwan-ul-Muslimoon, a pro-government militia, reportedly helped ensure the smooth running of the parliamentary polls (Reuters, 07/30/96).

**July 31, 1996:** 7 Hizb-ul-Mujahideen rebels are killed after paramilitary forces storm their camp (Reuters, 07/31/96).

**August 2, 1996:** Prime Minister Gowda announces an economic plan for Jammu and Kashmir. Along with waiving the state's outstanding loans, an additional \$100 million will be added to the state budget to develop an airport and other infrastructure projects to encourage tourism (Reuters, 08/02/96).

**August 5, 1996:** Prime Minister Gowda visits the state to help pave the way for upcoming state elections (Reuters, 08/05/96).

**August 7, 1996:** State elections are set for September 7, 16, 21, and 30 (Reuters, 08/07/96).

**August 8, 1996:** The head of the People's League, Shabir Singh, is suspended by the Hurriyat for meeting with Frank Wisner, the US Ambassador to India. Last week, the Hurriyat had agreed not to meet with him after Wisner reportedly stated that the Hurriyat had been meeting with Indian authorities. The Hurriyat denies any meeting with government officials and plans to boycott the upcoming state elections. Meanwhile, Pakistan denounces the Indian attempt to hold elections while its troops are still deployed in the region (Reuters, 08/08/96).

**August 11, 1996:** A key leader of the pro-Pakistani Hizb-ul-Mujahideen is killed by security forces. The National Conference, run by Farooq Abdullah, states that it will participate in the upcoming state elections as Prime Minister Gowda has promised to provide the state with autonomy (Reuters, 08/11/96).

**August 15, 1996:** A strike is held in Srinagar to mark India's independence day. Some 100 pro-India members of the Jammu and Kashmir Awami League hoist a national flag (Reuters, 08/15/96).

**August 22, 1996:** Pakistan is attempting to reverse a UN Security Council decision to delete some 50 items from its agenda, including its dispute with India over Kashmir. If a country launches a protest, the Security Council will keep the issue on the agenda for another year. Kashmir has been on the table since 1949. An Arab group within the United Nations has also taken up the issue along with a ministerial contact group of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. They will write to the Security Council to protest the deletion (Reuters, 08/22/96).

**August 31, 1996:** 12 rebels and 5 security personnel are killed in gunbattles during the past two days. There has been an increase in violence in the state in the run-up to elections. British Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind calls for international observers to monitor the election proceedings. India rejects this while indicating that individuals will be allowed to observe the process (Reuters, 08/31/96).

**September 6, 1996:** Over 200 anti-election protestors demonstrate in Srinagar. A strike is also observed (Reuters, 09/06/96).

**September 7, 1996:** India and Pakistan exchange gunfire across the Line of Control. To avoid any potential disruptions of voting, India arrests a number of separatist leaders (Reuters, 09/07/96).

**September 12, 1996:** National Conference leader Farooq Abdullah escapes a grenade attack while campaigning in a village south of Srinagar (Reuters, 09/12/96).

**September 19, 1996:** Rebels attack government forces in 10 different locales. The Dhuktaran-e-Milat (Daughters of the Nation) holds an anti-election protest (Reuters, 09/19/96).

**September 20, 1996:** 20 senior Hurriyat leaders are arrested prior to elections to be held in Srinagar the next day. A strike is observed in the region (Reuters, 09/20/96).

**September 21, 1996:** A dozen blasts occur across the state. The attacks are targeted against security forces (Reuters, 09/21/96).

**September 23, 1996:** 4 people are injured when a grenade is hurled at the Congress Party headquarters in Srinagar (Reuters, 09/23/96).

**September 30, 1996:** Sporadic violence marks the last phase of state elections. An approximately 56% voter turnout is reported (Reuters, 09/30/96).

**October 6, 1996:** 7 National Conference activists are shot dead while 11 rebels and 2 civilians are killed on the last day of state elections (Reuters, 10/06/96).

**October 10, 1996:** Pakistan accuses the Farooq Abdullah government of being a puppet administration. It asserts that a real solution is a UN plebiscite and that the Hurriyat is the true representative of the people (Reuters, 10/10/96).

**October 11, 1996:** Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister Abdullah asks rebels to lay down their arms. He states that his government will establish a commission to monitor human rights (Reuters, 10/11/96).

**October 12, 1996:** The Harkat-ul-Ansar has claimed responsibility for a bomb attack that kills 2 soldiers and injures eight others (Reuters, 10/12/96).

**October 14, 1996:** Three soldiers are killed in a landmine attack in Jammu and Kashmir (Reuters, 10/14/96).

**October 18, 1996:** The Jammu and Kashmir legislature convenes for the first time since 1990 (Reuters, 10/18/96).

**October 19, 1996:** Chief Minister Abdullah warns rebels to lay down their arms within 30 days or face a security crackdown, including the efforts of various pro-government private militias (Reuters, 10/19/96).

**October 21, 1996:** 7 relatives of a National Conference activist are killed in a bomb attack (Reuters, 10/21/1996).

**October 23, 1996:** Rebels detonate a car bomb outside a government building in Srinagar, killing 2 people. The Jamiat-ul-Mujahideen, which favors a merger with Pakistan, claims responsibility, asserting that the attack was in response to Chief Minister Abdullah's October 19<sup>th</sup>

ultimatum (Reuters, 10/23/96).

**October 27, 1996:** A strike is held in Srinagar to mark the 49<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the arrival of Indian troops in the region (Reuters, 10/27/96).

**October 28, 1996:** Pakistan says that it will fence its border with India to check illegal immigration. The fencing will begin in Pakistan's Sindh province. Meanwhile, Chief Minister Abdullah urges foreigners to invest in Jammu and Kashmir (Reuters, 10/28/96).

**November 16, 1996:** A rebel grenade attack kills one civilian. Up to 9 Hizb-ul-Mujahideen and rebels from other groups die in gunbattles with security forces (Reuters, 11/16/96).

**November 28, 1996:** 9 people are injured when a bomb explodes in a Srinagar marketplace (Reuters, 11/28/96).

**December 3, 1996:** Investigators blame Kashmiri, and not Sikh, militants for a train bomb that kills 12 near Chandigarh, Punjab province. The train was enroute to Jammu (Reuters, 12/03/96).

**December 4, 1996:** A bomb at a communist political rally in the state kills four people (Reuters, 12/04/96).

**December 5, 1996:** A bomb attack is reported against state Chief Minister Abdullah, who escapes uninjured (Reuters, 12/05/96).

**December 10, 1996:** Around 1000 Hurriyat members, mostly women, demonstrate in Delhi against human rights abuses in Jammu and Kashmir. They are confronted by about 50 Kashmiri Hindus who fled the state in 1990. No violence is reported (Reuters, 12/10/96).

**December 16, 1996:** A strike is held by the womens' group, Dhuktaran-e-Milat, in Srinagar to mark Bangladesh's 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary. The women assert that Bangladesh's independence is part of an Indian conspiracy to divide Muslims (Reuters, 12/16/96).

**April 1996:** General elections begin in India

**May 1996:** No party wins a majority of seats at the federal level. The Hindu Bharatiya Janata Party emerges with 194 seats including its allies. It has the largest number of seats for the lower house, the Lok Sabha. The Congress wins 136 seats and the left-wing National Front-Left Front (now referred to as the United Front) 117 seats. The leader of the BJP, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, attempts to form a government but resigns when he faces the prospect of losing a non-confidence vote. On May 28, H.D. Deve Gowda of the United Front, with the support of the Congress, becomes Prime Minister (Reuters, 07/30/96).

**May 21, 1996:** A car bomb explosion in New Delhi kills 13 people. Kashmiri separatist groups

opposed to the holding of state elections claim responsibility (Reuters, 07/30/96).

**Mid 1996:** Ganguly argues that the insurgency has reached a stalemate. Neither the Indian government nor the rebels, even with Pakistani support, can achieve a military victory. The Indian government is following a three-pronged approach. It continues its military campaign to suppress the insurgents while attempting to sow discord among the groups through offers of negotiation. Finally, it is attempting to revive the political process (Ganguly 1996b, 77).

None of the militant groups have been willing to open negotiations with the government as such a move is considered political suicide. The rebel movement remains fragmented and dissension erupts into periodic violence between the various organizations (Ganguly 1996a, 153). There are at least a dozen major insurgent groups including the secular JKLF which supports independence and the pro-Pakistani, Islamic extremist Hizb-ul-Mujahideen (HUM), Hizbollah, Ikhwan-ul-Musalmeen and the Harkat-ul-Ansar. In the early 1990s, Pakistan reportedly reduced its support for the pro-independence JKLF and now provides the bulk of its aid to the pro-Pakistani groups (Wirsing 1994, 123).

The two most widely supported groups are alleged to be the JKLF and the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen. Most of the rebel groups are also reported to have links with the state's political parties. In the case of the JKLF, it has been linked to the National Conference, which previously ruled the state, although such links are strictly tacit (Wirsing 1994, 132-33).

Estimates are that 15-20,000 people (insurgents, armed forces, civilians, etc) have died since the insurgency began (Ganguly, 1996b, 77).

**June 1996:** The Deve Gowda government unveils its policies which include a conciliatory approach to the Kashmir insurgency. Gowda offers "maximum autonomy" to the state. The BJP asserts that it will oppose any bill to grant special status to the Muslim majority state (Reuters, 07/30/96, 10/02/96).

**July 6, 1996:** Prime Minister Gowda tours Jammu & Kashmir, the first Indian leader to do so in a decade (Reuters, 07/30/96).

**September 7, 1996:** The first phase of state elections ends in Kashmir. Voting will also take place on September 16, 21, and 30 to allow security forces and polling personnel to travel to the regions. A record 142 candidates are running for 87 seats. These are the first elections since 1987; in 1990, direct rule was imposed. In this first round, 50-53% of the electorate cast ballots amid some violence and allegations that security personnel forced some residents to vote. Some 200,000 troops are in the state. The APHC, a coalition of 30 Kashmiri groups, which remains divided over objectives and the degree of militancy, has boycotted the elections. A foreign diplomat says Kashmiris are tired of the violent gun culture (Reuters, 09/07/96).

**September 12, 1996:** At least 20 political activists have been killed and 12 candidates escaped

attacks since campaigning began in late August (Reuters, 09/12/96).

**September 17, 1996:** Pakistani Prime Minister Bhutto urges India to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty which was recently approved by the UN General Assembly. She says her country won't join until India does (Reuters, 09/17/96).

**September 20, 1996:** Asiaweek asserts that Indian Prime Minister Deve Gowda was critical in ensuring that local leaders contest the elections. Gowda has promised maximum autonomy for Kashmir following the elections. He is opposed by Hindu nationalists from the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). The magazine also states that local guerrilla movements have been largely crushed (09/20/96).

Reports indicate that only 28.8% of voters cast ballots in Srinagar, which is the heart of the insurgency (Reuters, 09/20/96).

**October 2-4, 1996:** The National Conference party led by former chief minister Farooq Abdullah wins a large majority in Kashmir's state elections. The National Conference captures 57/87 assembly seats, followed by the BJP with eight and the Congress with seven seats. The socialist United Front, Gowda's coalition, wins four seats. Kashmiri insurgent groups under the banner of the All Party Hurriyat (Freedom) Conference called for a boycott and a 38-day strike to oppose the polls. However, most shops and businesses only observed a two-day strike in the last phase of polling. National Conference leader Abdullah, who escaped two grenade attacks during the elections, vows to continue a crackdown on the militants, stating they should move to Pakistan. Political analysts believe the vote is in favor of autonomy although Srinagar residents remain cynical that the new state government can quell violence and obtain autonomy (Reuters, 10/02-10/04/96).

**October 4, 1996:** The All Party Hurriyat Conference rejects a government offer to hold talks. The Conference includes some 30 groups including the JKLF. APHC acting Chair Ghulam Nabi Sumji accuses Chief Minister Abdullah of being a puppet of New Delhi (Reuters, 10/04/96).

**October 6, 1996:** J & K Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah says that autonomy will be implemented within a year. He also joins Gowda's center United Front coalition. Abdullah wants a return to Kashmir's 1952 status as mandated by the Indian constitution. Kashmir was provided with wide state autonomy except in the areas of communications, foreign affairs, and defense. Also, Abdullah states that a constitutional provision should be implemented allowing the state to select its own President who cannot be dismissed by Delhi without state approval. Well-known author and analyst M.J. Akbar asserts that Kashmir could provide a model for devolution and thereby strengthen the Indian federal structure (Reuters, 10/06/96).

**November 4, 1996:** The government pledges to release 450 people imprisoned for reported links with separatist elements. India says 2400 such people are in custody; separatists state the figure is more than 10,000. Meanwhile, 144 militants have recently surrendered (Reuters, 11/04/96).

**November 5, 1996:** Pakistani President Farooq Leghari dismisses the government of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and dissolves Parliament (Reuters, 11/05/96).

**November 26, 1996:** J & K Chief Minister Abdullah forms a committee to recommend ways to restore and safeguard autonomy and promote cordial relations with New Delhi. The eight-member committee is headed by Karan Singh, a former state leader. Its report is expected within a year (Reuters, 11/26/96).

**January 1997:** Since Deve Gowda became Prime Minister around six months ago, India has made a conscious effort to ease tensions with its regional neighbors. India has settled long-standing water disputes with both Bangladesh and Nepal. The "new" approach focuses on what India can do for its neighbors and seeks to deepen relations within South Asia. The smaller regional states often accuse India of playing a Big Brother role (Reuters, 01/97).

**January 5, 1997:** A bomb explodes near Chief Minister Abdullah's residence (he is away). 7 people are killed and the Jamaat-ul-Mujahideen claims responsibility. The federal and state governments have not yet presented their autonomy package (Reuters, 01/05/97).

**January 8, 1997:** Police, residents, and analysts assert that despite recent elections violence has not abated in Kashmir. In November and December, 48 bomb explosions and 55 grenade attacks were reported. This is up from 35 explosions and 38 bomb attacks in July and August. The number of dead did decline from around 400 in July-August to 325 at year's end. However, security officials believe that the cold weather is largely the reason. They state that illegal cross-border infiltration from Pakistan has increased since the elections.

Meanwhile, Chief Minister Abdullah provides the army with greater powers to counter insurgency operations. The army is no longer required to seek the approval of the state Home Ministry before undertaking operations (Reuters, 01/08/97).

**January 14, 1997:** 3 people are dead following a bomb explosion at a Srinagar mosque (Reuters, 01/14/97).

**January 24, 1997:** Protests are held in Srinagar against security operations in advance of India's Republic Day on Jan. 26 (Reuters, 01/24/97).

**January 31, 1997:** The US State Department's 1996 Report on Human Rights Practices in India has, according to Indian officials, for the first time noted that separatists are also responsible for human rights abuses (Reuters, 01/31/97).

**February 3, 1997:** Federal elections in Pakistan lead to an overwhelming victory for Nawaz Sharif, who ruled the state before Benazir Bhutto's election in 1993. Meanwhile, the army

declares a week-long unilateral ceasefire in Jammu and Kashmir to mark the Muslim festival of Eid. Some 400 foreign militants have reportedly been killed in the last three years (Reuters, 02/03/97).

**February 4, 1997:** 4 policemen and 5 pro-government militants are shot dead (Reuters, 02/04/97).

**February 13, 1997:** Indian Prime Minister Gowda says that while he favors a resumption of talks with Pakistan, India will not give up the area of Kashmir that it controls. He also announces \$2.1 billion in federal aid while visiting the region. Recently, Chief Minister Abdullah drew the ire of Hindu nationalists when he suggested that the line of control be made a permanent boundary (Reuters, 02/13/97).

**February 18, 1997:** The United States urges India and Pakistan to begin peace talks quickly and calls upon India to provide an “accommodation”, based upon Prime Minister Gujral’s new regional doctrine. US Ambassador to India, Frank Wisner, states that his country is not seeking to mediate between the two sides (Reuters, 02/18/97).

**February 20, 1997:** A member of the National Conference, Saifuddin Soz, is given a cabinet posting in the federal government. The Conference is part of the federal United Front coalition (Reuters, 02/20/97).

**February 24, 1997:** A grenade attack aimed at a security patrol misses and kills one civilian in Srinagar (Reuters, 02/24/97).

**February 26, 1997:** A grenade attack on the shrine of a Muslim saint in Bahugund village injures 31 people (Reuters, 02/24/97).

**March 3, 1997:** A former National Conference legislator is shot while a bomb blast in a mine kills three people and one soldier. Chief Minister Abdullah accuses Pakistan’s Inter-Services Intelligence of recent car bomb attacks in the state. He argues that they are an effort to stop peace talks (Reuters, 03/03/97).

**March 7, 1997:** Three leaders of the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen are killed in a gunbattle with security forces. The Hurriyat asserts that they were murdered while in government custody (Reuters, 03/07/97).

**March 9, 1997:** The foreign ministry secretaries of India and Pakistan will meet in New Delhi from March 28-31. This will be the first talks since January, 1994 when negotiations bogged down over Kashmir. No agenda has been announced although Pakistan has previously insisted that Kashmir is the core issue. A two-day protest strike is held in Srinagar (Reuters, 03/09/97).

**March 11, 1997:** One civilian is killed and 12 injured in two grenade attacks against security

forces (Reuters, 03/11/97).

**March 13, 1997:** Protests are held in Jammu and Kashmir following the decision of the US Supreme Court against a request by a coalition of Muslim groups to remove a sculpture of the Prophet from the premises. The sculpture has been in the courtroom for 66 years (Reuters, 03/13/97).

**March 17, 1997:** Referred to as Kashmir's "prisoner of conscience", one of the region's most popular separatist leaders urges India and Pakistan to involve Kashmiri leaders in their upcoming bilateral talks. Shabir Ahmad Shah was expelled from the APHC last year when he met with US Ambassador Frank Wisner against the organization's wishes. Shah says that talks will be as futile and unproductive as before unless Kashmiris are included (Reuters, 03/17/97).

**March 20, 1997:** The US State Department's top person for South Asia, Robin Raphel, says that no enduring trust can be achieved unless regular communications are held between India and Pakistan. Other officials are hailing the upcoming meeting as a "window of opportunity". In previous separate talks with India and Pakistan, the US has urged the opening of a dialogue leading to:

- a) the demilitarization of the Siachen Glacier area.
- b) mutual reduction of conventional weapons and defense expenditures.
- c) an agreement whereby both countries agree to stop involvement in each other's insurgencies.

Selig Harrison, who is a visiting fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center, says that the promising factor is that influential elements, that is, industrial leaders, in Pakistan now favor opening trade with India. Previously, fears of being economically swamped by India had hindered such efforts (Reuters, 03/20/97).

India unilaterally eases travel restrictions against Pakistanis who want to visit India. This triggers protests by pro-Hindu Bharatiya Janata Party MPs and forces an adjournment in the federal house of parliament, the Lok Sabha. Pakistan recently released 38 Indian children held with Indian fishermen who were seized in Pakistani territorial waters (Reuters, 03/20/97).

**March 22, 1997:** Seven Hindu males are killed in J & K, the first such attack since last September's elections. The APHC condemns the incident. Noteworthy is the fact that JKLF leader Mohammad Yasin Malik lit the funeral pyres saying they were like his brothers. Hindu custom mandates that the eldest son light the pyre. Around 300,000 Hindus fled the Kashmir valley when the insurgency began in 1990; around 8000 Hindu families reportedly remained (Reuters, 03/22/97).

Two grenade attacks in Srinagar injure 10 people. The Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front urges the Organization of the Islamic Conference to support its freedom struggle. Toward this end, a small demonstration is held at an OIC summit in Islamabad, Pakistan (Reuters, 03/22/97).

**March 23, 1997:** One soldier and four rebels are killed in a clash outside Srinagar (Reuters, 03/23/97).

**March 25, 1997:** In Jammu, some 25,000 Hindus protest against the recent killings of seven Hindus. The demonstration is dispersed by police. Chief Minister Abdullah criticizes the Hindu protests stating that “no tears were shed when thousands of Jammu and Kashmir Muslims were killed” (Reuters, 03/25/97).

A one-day Organization of the Islamic Conference Summit in Pakistan declares its “support to the fundamental rights of the Kashmiri people, including their right to self-determination” (Reuters, 03/25/97).

**March 26, 1997:** 7 rebels are killed in encounters with government forces near Srinagar (Reuters, 03/26/97).

**March 27, 1997:** No agenda has been set for tomorrow’s talks between India and Pakistan. Pakistan says that they need to address the core issue of Jammu and Kashmir (Reuters, 03/27/97).

**March 28, 1997:** Some 100 All-Party Hurriyat Conference supporters hold a rally in Srinagar to protest its exclusion from today’s talks between India and Pakistan. A strike closes down the city. Protests are also held in Pakistani-held Azad Kashmir. Indian Prime Minister Gujral says the focus of the meeting will be on cooperation and particularly upon expanding trade and economic cooperation to ease tensions within the context of the 1972 Simla Agreement (Reuters, 03/28/97).

**March 29, 1997:** APHC Chairman Mirwaiz Umar Farooq criticizes India and Pakistan for holding talks about Kashmir’s fate without including the very Kashmiris whose destiny is at stake. The APHC favors a plebiscite to determine the region’s future status. It says that Pakistan did not consult the organization before its talks with India. Farooq believes that the APHC can play a positive role by attempting to persuade militants to suspend or renounce their activities, if India scales down its security operations and opens talks with the Kashmiris (Reuters, 02/29/97).

A car bomb in Jammu kills 16 people (Reuters, 03/29/97).

**March 30, 1997:** Four people are injured following a grenade attack in Srinagar (Reuters, 03/30/97).

Police officials report that there has been a recent increase in violence with 192 people killed this month, including 92 militants and 12 security personnel. Over 17 explosions and 18 grenade attacks occurred. No figures for February were provided (Reuters, 03/30/97).

**March 31, 1997:** Talks between India and Pakistan in New Delhi have ended. The two countries will meet again in Islamabad (Reuters, 03/31/97).

**April 3, 1997:** A grenade attack in Srinagar injures six people (Reuters, 04/03/97).

**April 6, 1997:** Five rebels are killed in two shootouts with government forces. Also, Kashmiri militants are reported to be responsible for a bus explosion in Punjab state which kills two people (Reuters, 04/06/97).

**April 7, 1997:** Four rebels are reportedly killed in encounters with security forces but witnesses asserts that two of the four were civilians murdered by government authorities (Reuters, 04/07/97).

**April 8, 1997:** At the Non-Aligned Movement meeting in New Delhi, Pakistani Foreign Minister Gohar Ayub Khan asserts that his government is determined to resolve its differences with India. He plans to meet with Indian Prime Minister Gujral (Reuters, 04/08/97).

**April 11, 1997:** One person is killed when a grenade explodes outside Jammu and Kashmir's holiest shrine, the Hazratbal (Reuters, 04/11/97).

**April 17, 1997:** Amnesty International accuses India of failing to cooperate in an investigation of last year's murder of a leading human rights activist in Jammu and Kashmir. The activist's widow asserts that the government is responsible for the attack while officials blame the militants (Reuters, 04/17/97).

**April 23, 1997:** A compromise has been reached to replace Prime Minister Deve Gowda following a no-confidence vote. The Congress Party has agreed to his replacement by United Front member, Inder Kumar Gujral, who was sworn in today. He is a former Congress Party member and was Foreign Minister under Gowda (Reuters, 04/23/97).

**April 25, 1997:** Five members of the Ikhwan-ul-Muslimoon, a pro-government militia force, are killed by rebels. In the first three months of this year, 537 people have been killed in 159 bombing and other incidents (Reuters, 04/25/97).

**April 26, 1997:** Five family members are killed in a village northwest of Srinagar (Reuters, 04/26/97).

**April 27, 1997:** To show the importance he attaches to Kashmir, Prime Minister Gujral chooses the state for his first visit outside New Delhi. He states that the focus should be on economic development. He also indicates that he has no plans to hold talks with the APHC in preparation for his meeting with Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif on May 12 at the SAARC summit in the Maldives (Reuters, 04/27/97).

**May 2-5, 1997:** Both India and Pakistan issue invitations for Britain's newly-elected Labor Prime Minister Tony Blair to visit their respective countries. In pre-election campaigning, Blair

stated that Britain would help negotiate a settlement on Kashmir as it is historically responsible. India says the issue is a bilateral affair while Pakistan welcomes outside involvement. Kashmir's Chief Minister Abdullah states that Blair should not meddle and instead focus on solving his problems, i.e., Northern Ireland (Reuters, 05/02-05/97).

**May 8, 1997:** The Hurriyat says that human rights violations by security forces are increasing at an alarming rate. It asserts that they have killed at least 818 people since January, including 141 people who were in custody. The government states that more than 700 people have been killed this year in 174 incidents (Reuters, 05/08/97).

**May 10, 1997:** Around 200 people in Srinagar rally against human rights abuses. A four-day strike called by the Hurriyat is observed (Reuters, 05/10/97).

**May 12, 1997:** Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah announces that a state human rights commission will soon be formed. He also accuses Pakistan of instigating human rights abuses (Reuters, 05/12/97).

**May 13, 1997:** For the first time in four years, bilateral talks are held between the prime ministers of India and Pakistan at the SAARC summit in the Maldives. Prime Ministers Gujral and Sharif agree that each country will release more than 200 civil detainees, a direct telephone hot line will be established between the prime ministers' offices and both countries will consider easing travel restrictions across their borders. Each country will also form working groups on various issues. Foreign ministry level talks are scheduled for late June in Islamabad (Washington Post, 05/13/97).

**May 14, 1997:** The seven countries that comprise the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) will form a free trade zone by the year 2001. Previously, SAARC sought to dismantle all regional tariffs and quotas by 2005 (Washington Post, 05/14/97).

**May 15, 1997:** 15 rebels are killed in encounters with security forces. For the first time ever, Kashmiri newspapers halt publication for three days to protest against human rights violations (Reuters, 05/15/97).

**May 19, 1997:** Hundreds of people protest in Pulwama, south of Srinagar, following the killing of six people by a government-supported militia, the Ikhwan-ul-Muslimoon (Reuters, 05/19/97).

**May 21, 1997:** India denies Hurriyat claims of human rights violations in Jammu and Kashmir. The government says that 224 army and paramilitary personnel have been punished for human rights violations since 1990. Since 1992, government officials are reported to have investigated some 2600 abuse cases with 2288 being found false (Reuters, 05/21/97).

**May 25, 1997:** The Indian Navy eases requirements to increase recruits from Jammu and Kashmir. The government says that there has been a 25% decline in violence in the state from

January to April, in comparison to last year. 1200 incidents with 718 casualties have been reported this year compared to 1600 incidents and 949 deaths in the same period in 1996 (Reuters, 05/25/97).

**May 26, 1997:** Three security personnel and two rebels die in gunbattles. Earlier, five rebels were killed in other encounters (Reuters, 05/26/97).

**May 27, 1997:** Worries are surfacing in India that the Taleban consolidation of power in Afghanistan and Central Asia might worsen the Kashmiri insurgency. The Taleban, along with Pakistan, have reportedly provided military assistance to Kashmiri insurgents. India had supported the former Afghani Prime Minister Rabbani (Reuters, 05/27/97).

A strike is held in Srinagar to protest against human rights violations (Reuters, 05/27/97).

**May 28, 1997:** Pakistan lodges a protest over an overflight by an Indian jet asserting that it was engaged in a spying mission. India denies the incident (Reuters, 05/28/97).

**June 3, 1997:** 8 policemen are wounded in a grenade attack against a National Conference minister who emerged unharmed (Reuters, 06/03/97).

India will spend \$93.3 million to clean up Jammu and Kashmir's famous lakes and forests that have been neglected due to the insurgency (Reuters, 06/03/97).

**June 4, 1997:** 3 soldiers are killed in a landmine attack (Reuters, 06/04/97).

**June 6, 1997:** Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif says that he has asked India to withdraw its troops from Jammu and Kashmir as a gesture toward a "new beginning" in bilateral relations. The foreign secretaries of the two countries will meet in Islamabad later this month. A hot-line between the two leaders will be installed this month and both sides will soon simplify visa procedures to allow greater cross-border visits (Reuters, 06/06/97).

Seven people are dead following a bomb explosion on a bus in Punjab province. Either Kashmiri or Punjabi militants are reported to be responsible (Reuters, 06/06/97).

**June 7, 1997:** At least 13 rebels are killed in encounters with security personnel. The government says that they infiltrated the state from Pakistan (Reuters, 06/07/97).

**June 11, 1997:** A Pakistani army officer dies in shooting across the Line of Control (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 06/11/97).

**June 16, 1997:** Britain's Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs says that his government will not attempt to mediate the Kashmiri dispute, indicating that it is a bilateral affair (BBC, 06/16/97).

**June 20, 1997:** Talks open in Islamabad, Pakistan between the foreign secretaries of India and Pakistan.

**June 21, 1997:** Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister Abdullah asserts that Pakistan must return its portion of Kashmir (Azad Kashmir). He says that bilateral talks should focus upon the Kashmiri issue and that Pakistan should stop supporting rebel forces. Meanwhile, six rebels are killed in battles in the state.

**June 23, 1997:** Talks between the foreign secretaries of India and Pakistan lead to an eight-point agenda for future peace talks which include the issue of Kashmir. Both sides will release fishermen who were detained by the two governments on July 15. Working groups will be established to address various bilateral issues. The two foreign secretaries will meet again in September in New Delhi (Agence France Presse, 06/23/97).

**June 27, 1997:** A Hurriyat-called strike in the valley demands United Nations' intervention to resolve the Kashmiri dispute (Agence France Presse, 06/27/97).

**July 9, 1997:** A bomb blast on a train in Punjab province is being blamed on either Sikh or Kashmiri militants. 34 people are killed (Agence France Presse, 07/09/97).

**July 17, 1997:** Analysts believe that this is the first time since 1947 that India and Pakistan have had the most favorable relations (Agence France Presse, 07/17/97).

**July 21, 1997:** 37 people, including 22 rebels and 5 soldiers, die in recent violence across the state.

**July 25, 1997:** Former Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto accuses India of fueling cross-border tensions and asserts that a "weak [Indian] coalition government cannot solve Kashmir". She says that strong decisions are needed, especially as tensions are increasing due to the alleged Indian deployment of the Prithvi missile near the Pakistani border. India denies any missile deployment.

**July 26, 1997:** A Hurriyat-called strike is held in Srinagar as Prime Minister Gujral visits the state.

**July 27, 1997:** Prime Minister Gujral offers to hold unconditional talks with rebels while on a visit to Jammu and Kashmir. This is the first unconditional offer by an Indian government to Kashmiri militants. Rebel leaders hail the offer. However, the next day Gujral states that the rebels will first have to surrender their arms before any talks can occur. He also seems to rule out negotiations with the Hurriyat, arguing that they have no political mandate. The government estimates that there are some 3000 rebels, including foreigners (Agence France Presse, 07/27/97).

**August 3, 1997:** The Panun Kashmir, an organization of Kashmiri Hindus who fled due to the rebellion, rejects a government offer to relocate them in three “safe zones” in the area. The government’s \$780 million package also includes economic aid and education for their children. The Panun Kashmir argues that it is still unsafe to return.

**August 7, 1997:** The Indian Parliament is told that since last September, 1773 people have been killed in Jammu and Kashmir. This includes 873 civilians, 138 soldiers, and 762 rebels .

**August 8, 1997:** 17 rebels, 2 soldiers, and 1 civilian are killed in Jammu and Kashmir.

**August 12, 1997:** 4 soldiers die in a landmine attack. 3 civilians are killed in two other incidents.

**August 14, 1997:** Fewer protests than in recent years are held to mark Pakistan’s Independence Day. Rebels do raise the Pakistani flag in the valley. India says the decline in support for the militancy is due to fatigue and a security crackdown. Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif urges India to resolve the Kashmir dispute.

**August 20, 1997:** The Hurriyat appeals to the international community to stop the massacre of Kashmiris. The call follows the shooting of two women who were a part of a peaceful demonstration (BBC, 08/20/97).

**August 20, 1997:** Shooting between Indian and Pakistani troops occurs across the Line of Control. It continues for a few days (Agence France Presse, 08/20/97).

**August 23, 1997:** The Indian army says that so far it has blocked the entry of heavy weapons from the Afghan conflict into Jammu and Kashmir. Hundreds of Afghans are reportedly fighting in Kashmir (Agence France Presse, 08/23/97).

**August 24, 1997:** 3 Indian and 20 Pakistani soldiers have been killed in recent shooting incidents across the Line of Control (Agence France Presse, 08/24/97).

**August 25, 1997:** New Delhi hails an Amnesty International report that condemns Pakistan’s military support for Kashmiri rebels and rebel killings of Hindu civilians (BBC, 08/25/97).

**September 1, 1997:** India denies a Pakistani claim that it is backtracking on setting up a interstate working group on Jammu and Kashmir (Agence France Presse, 09/01/97).

**September 2, 1997:** Radio Pakistan reports that a new organization, the Jammu and Kashmir Solidarity Forum, has been established. The organization will form a plan for achieving self-determination for the region, including the holding of a UN plebiscite. The Forum is comprised of three organizations: Azad Jammu and Kashmir, the Hurriyat, and the Muttahida Jihad Council (BBC, 09/02/97).

**September 14, 1997:** Two Pakistani high commission staff members were expelled from New Delhi last week. Pakistan reciprocates with a similar expulsion (Agence France Presse, 09/14/97).

**September 16, 1997:** Talks between the foreign secretaries of India and Pakistan open in New Delhi.

**September 17, 1997:** Two days of talks between India and Pakistan's foreign secretaries end. India reportedly focused upon expanding trade ties while Pakistan asserted that Kashmir must first be resolved before progress can be made in other areas. Prime Ministers Gujral and Sharif will meet at the United Nations on September 23 (Agence France Presse, 09/17/97).

**September 23, 1997:** Pakistani Prime Minister Sharif calls for a non-aggression treaty with India while visiting the United Nations. He also refers to Indian aggression in Jammu and Kashmir, including the repression of the population (Agence France Presse, 09/23/97).

**September 30, 1997:** Firing across the Line of Control results in the deaths of 16 Indian and 2 Pakistani civilians (Agence France Presse, 09/30/97).

**October 1, 1997:** Pakistani leader Sharif says he will review his government's policy toward India following what he says is Delhi's backtracking on Jammu and Kashmir (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 10/01/97).

**October 2, 1997:** Shelling across the Line of Control stops after the two Prime Ministers speak on a newly established hotline. 14 Pakistani civilians have died recently in these shooting incidents (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 10/02/97).

**October 5, 1997:** 17 Indian and 20 Pakistani civilians die in shooting incidents across the Line of Control (Agence France Presse, 10/05/97).

**October 6, 1997:** New Delhi asserts that there has been a decline in killings in Kashmir this year. Up to September of this year, it reports 1536 civilians, 130 soldiers, and 170 rebels have died. By the same month in 1996, 2284 civilians, 125 soldiers, and 128 rebels had been killed. Authorities also contend that over the same period there has been a 40% decline in bombings, abductions were down from 521 to 345 incidents, and attacks on security posts from 1220 to 915.

Jammu and Kashmir's Chief Minister Abdullah announces that troops will be withdrawn from Srinagar, Baramullah, Anantnag, Kupwara, and Phulwama. No date is given. The soldiers were first deployed in these areas in 1990. Troops will remain on the Line of Control. Abdullah says that this is part of his government's demilitarization plan (Agence France Presse, 10/06/97).

**October 9, 1997:** India rebuffs British offers to mediate the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. It says third parties cannot serve a useful purpose. 3 Indian civilians are killed in fighting across the Line of Control (Agence France Presse, 10/09/97).

**October 10, 1997:** India says it hopes that Pakistan will destroy the training camps of the Harkat-ul-Ansar as the United States recently declared the group a “terrorist organization”. The group is blamed for the kidnaping of five Western tourists. It is one of 30 organizations labeled as “terrorist” by the US (UPI, 10/10/97).

**October 13, 1997:** The Indian government denies that Prime Minister Gujral recently referred to Britain as a 3<sup>rd</sup> rate power. The comment allegedly followed Britain’s offer to mediate the Kashmir dispute (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 10/13/97).

**October 14, 1997:** Four pro-independence Kashmiri groups join together to announce that they will hold rallies over the next week to coincide with a pro-Pakistani Kashmir Solidarity Forum human chain. The groups are: the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front, the Jammu and Kashmir National Liberation Front, the Jammu and Kashmir National Awami Party, and the Kashmir Freedom Movement (Agence France Presse, 10/14/97).

Two days of talks between Indian and Pakistani military officials end with both sides pledging to end recent clashes across the Line of Control (Agence France Presse, 10/14/97).

**October 16, 1997:** 4 retired Hindu soldiers have been killed over the past month along with 7 Hindu civilians. The four soldiers were part of a village defense committee in Doda, the 2<sup>nd</sup> largest Kashmiri district with a 35% Hindu population. The committees were created after an increase in attacks on Hindu civilians (Agence France Presse, 10/16/97).

**October 18, 1997:** Prime Ministers Sharif and Gujral are expected to meet later this month during the Commonwealth summit in the United Kingdom. This would be the third meeting since the two leaders took office this year. India has not yet commented on Pakistani leader Sharif’s proposal put forward at the UN in September to set up a mutual non-aggression pact (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 10/18/97).

Pakistan urges India to agree to substantive discussions on Jammu & Kashmir to put their bilateral dialogue back-on-track. Pakistan says that India is still unwilling to establish a working group on Kashmir, as agreed upon in June (Agence France Presse, 10/18/97).

**October 24, 1997:** An Indian soldier is killed and three injured in a shootout near Jammu city. Two others die in a bomb blast on the outskirts of Srinagar (Agence France Presse, 10/24/97).

Two civilians die as Indian troops fire across the Line of Control into Azad Kashmir (Pakistan). The incident follows a recent demonstration in the area in support of the freedom struggle in India’s Jammu & Kashmir. It was organized by the Kashmir Solidarity Front which is led by

Pakistan's Jammata-i-Islami party (Agence France Presse, 10/24/97).

**October 25, 1997:** British Prime Minister Tony Blair says that his country is not seeking to intervene in Kashmir which he terms as a bilateral dispute. His comments follow recent tense relations with India over an offer by Britain's Foreign Minister that it help resolve the conflict (Agence France Presse, 10/25/97).

**October 26, 1997:** Hundreds of supporters of the Jammu & Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) demonstrate in Karachi, Pakistan, in support of independence for the region. They condemn both Indian and Pakistani interference. In 1995, the JKLF split with one faction, led by Amanullah Khan, which is primarily supported in Azad Kashmir. The other faction operates in Indian Kashmir. This group has condemned recent India-Pakistan bilateral talks and the UN inability to hold a referendum in the region (Agence France Presse, 10/26/97).

Following meetings between Indian and Pakistani leaders at the Commonwealth Summit, the two sides agree to resume talks as soon as possible. Talks ended in a deadlock earlier this year over India's reported refusal to establish a separate working group to consider the Jammu & Kashmir issue. Pakistan maintains that this is the core dispute that needs to be resolved (Ibid.).

**October 27, 1997:** Protest rallies, some organized by the Hurriyat Conference, are held in Islamabad and parts of Azad Kashmir to demonstrate against Indian rule and push for independence (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 10/27/97).

Indian Prime Minister Gujral says that progress was made during meetings with Pakistani counterparts at the recent Commonwealth summit. He states that the issues of crossborder terrorism and the need for a common extradition treaty were added to their bilateral agenda (Ibid.).

**November 2, 1997:** The Press Trust of India reports that 110 people were killed and 860 injured in 366 violent acts in Jammu & Kashmir in the first nine months of 1997. In all of 1996, there were 106 casualties and 1153 injuries. Meanwhile, 3 deaths were reported in bomb blasts in Srinagar (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 11/02/97).

**November 7, 1997:** Jammu & Kashmir's chief Muslim priest is placed under house arrest and banned from visiting Srinagar's largest mosque for weekly prayers (Agence France Presse, 11/07/97).

**November 8, 1997:** Pakistan appears pessimistic about an early resumption of talks with India. The negotiations are set to resume in December (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 11/08/97).

**November 14, 1997:** JKLF leader Amanullah Khan, in a letter to US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, asks the Americans to persuade India and Pakistan to solve the dispute based upon complete independence for a reunited Kashmir. Albright begins her tour of the region in the next few days (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 11/14/97).

**November 18, 1997:** US Secretary of State Albright says that India and Pakistan have to resolve their problems through dialogue and that the US can only “nudge the process along”. She also indicates that America wants good relations with both states. Pakistan has urged the US to take an active role in resolving the Kashmir dispute. The Secretary also expressed concern over nuclear proliferation in the region (Agence France Presse, Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 11/18/97).  
**November 19, 1997:** Indian Prime Minister Gujral visits Bangladesh next week for a business summit where he is expected to meet with his Pakistani counterpart (Agence France Presse, 11/19/97).

**November 21, 1997:** Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat offers to mediate talks between India and Pakistan on Jammu & Kashmir, if both sides are willing to accept his offer. He says that he was instrumental in getting Indira Gandhi and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to hold talks in 1972 (Agence France Presse, 11/21/97).

**November 29, 1997:** Junior Indian Foreign Minister Salim Sherwani meets his Pakistani counterpart, Mohammed Siddique Khan Kanju on the sidelines of a SAARC summit in the Maldives. The meeting occurs just before India’s federal coalition government resigns following the withdrawal of support from the Congress Party (Agence France Presse, 11/29/97).

**December 5, 1997:** Pakistani Prime Minister Sharif says he regrets the collapse of the Gujral government and hopes that talks can resume once the new government takes over (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 12/05/97).

**December 10, 1997:** A strike to protest human rights abuses paralyzes the Kashmir valley. It is called by the Hurriyat which asserts that soldiers killed 292 suspected Muslim guerrillas and destroyed 157 “rebel” houses this year. The Kashmir government denies the charges (Agence France Presse, 12/10/97).

**December 16, 1997:** A senior Chinese official visiting India denies that his country is supplying Pakistan with long-range missiles. India asserts that this could lead to an arms race on the subcontinent. Both sides agree to continue working on border issues and confidence-building measures (Agence France Presse, 12/16/97).

**December 18, 1997:** Pakistan says that it has sent new proposals to India on resuming a dialogue to normalize relations that have stalled over the issue of Jammu & Kashmir. The proposals are reportedly meant to remove “procedural bottlenecks”. Pakistan does however assert that the core issue is still Kashmir (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 12/18/97).

**December 20, 1997:** Sri Lankan President Chandrika Kumaratunga says that her country supports the peace dialogue between India and Pakistan and is willing to help further the process (Agence France Presse, 12/20/97).

**December 27, 1997:** Pakistani Foreign Minister Gohar Ayub Khan says that his government seeks to promote political stability and economic cooperation in the South Asian region. But he states that the Kashmir dispute is the “primary reason for instability”. While hoping that talks will resume with India after its federal elections, Khan alludes to the country’s hegemonic desires (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 12/27/97).

**December 29, 1997:** The prime ministerial candidate of the Hindu-nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, says that he favors a decentralization of power in Jammu & Kashmir while Delhi retains control over key areas (Agence France Presse, 12/29/97).

**January 5, 1998:** Several thousand people, including Hurriyat members, hold rallies in Pakistan and Azad Kashmir calling on the United Nations to accord the area self-determination. They also march to the UNMOGIP offices (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 01/05/98).

**January 8, 1998:** Indian Prime Minister Gujral and Pakistani PM Sharif are expected to meet next week on the sidelines of a business/economic summit in Dhaka, Bangladesh (Agence France Presse, 01/08/98).

**January 10, 1998:** 40 are injured in three separate grenade attacks in Jammu & Kashmir (Agence France Presse, 01/10/98).

**January 13, 1998:** Pakistan protests to India over the alleged desecration of Islamic shrines in Jammu & Kashmir. One shrine was reportedly set on fire, while others were desecrated (Agence France Presse, 01/13/98).

**January 14, 1998:** Indian Prime Minister Gujral says that the tri-nation business summit between India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh was a “good start” for regional cooperation (Agence France Presse, 01/14/98).

**January 15, 1998:** Following three days of talks at a business summit in Dhaka, Pakistan’s Foreign Secretary says that India and his country have agreed to resume stalled talks after India’s federal elections. He also noted that Jammu & Kashmir will be on the top of the agenda (Agence France Presse, 01/15/98).

**January 17, 1998:** Pakistani Prime Minister Sharif says that solving the Kashmir dispute is vital to a normalization of relations between the two countries (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 01/17/98).

**January 19, 1998:** Jammu & Kashmir’s Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah accuses Pakistan of recruiting Afghani mercenaries to create disturbances in the state. He says that normalcy is returning, many mercenaries have been killed, and several Hindus have returned (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 01/19/98).

**January 24, 1998:** Pakistan says it has received a proposal from India to resume stalled bilateral talks. But it says that India must first honor last year's agreement to set up a mechanism to tackle outstanding issues like Jammu & Kashmir (Agence France Presse, 01/24/98).

**January 26, 1998:** 23 Hindus are killed on the outskirts of Srinagar (Agence France Presse, 01/26/98).

**January 27, 1998:** A couple of hundred Hindus protest in Delhi and Jammu following the recent murders of 23 Hindus near Srinagar. They call for a general strike to mark the single bloodiest attack since 1989. Jammu & Kashmir Chief Minister Abdullah earlier called upon a UN team to monitor human rights violations by Muslim rebels whom he claims are backed by Pakistan. The Hurriyat Conference has called upon Amnesty International to investigate the recent killings (Agence France Presse, 01/27/98).

**January 28, 1998:** The US condemns the recent massacre of Hindu villagers (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 01/28/98).

A Kashmiri Hindu organization, the Panun Kashmir, calls for a Hindu homeland within Jammu & Kashmir. Prime Minister Gujral visits the state. Hindus enforce a strike in Jammu, attack government vehicles, and also protest in Delhi. The national human rights commission calls upon the government to shift Hindus to safe zones within Jammu & Kashmir (Agence France Presse, 01/28/98).

**February 2, 1998:** A visit by Prime Minister Gujral to a Kashmiri village where nine Muslim protestors were recently killed by troops, who were attempting to arrest two militants, has been postponed due to bad weather. A military inquiry into the incident has been launched (Agence France Presse, 02/02/98).

**February 3, 1998:** The Hurriyat Conference calls for an international probe following the recent killings of Muslims by security forces. It also criticizes Hindu Kashmiris for failing to condemn the killings of their Muslim brethren. The Hurriyat will urge both Amnesty International and the OIC to investigate (Agence France Presse, 02/03/98).

Jammu & Kashmir Chief Minister Abdullah condemns Kashmiri Hindus for failing to show concern over the deaths of their fellow Muslims (Ibid.).

**February 4, 1998:** Pakistan says that it may have to review its non-proliferation policy if India goes nuclear. It also condemns a BJP plan to build a Hindu temple at Ayodhya, where in 1992 Hindu extremists tore down a centuries-old Muslim mosque (Agence France Presse, 02/04/98).

**February 5, 1998:** Thousands hold rallies and a nation-wide closure of offices and businesses is observed throughout Pakistan and Azad Kashmir to mark solidarity with Kashmir's freedom fighters. Since 1989, this day has been observed in Pakistan. This year also marks the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of UN resolutions calling for a plebiscite to determine the region's future status.

While Pakistani Prime Minister Sharif says he will stand by India's Kashmiris, a right-wing religious party in his country, the Jamaat-i-Islami, accuses him of compromising on the issue in order to increase trade with India (Agence France Presse, Deutsche Presse Agentur, 02/05/98).

In Jammu & Kashmir, eight union leaders are arrested after they advise government employees to boycott upcoming federal elections due to separatist threats (Agence France Presse, 02/05/98).

**February 9, 1998:** In a visit to Jammu, Prime Minister Gujral vows that "Pakistani-sponsored terrorism" will be wiped out (Agence France Presse, 02/09/98).

**February 11, 1998:** Pakistan dismisses India's BJP party president's comments that it and Bangladesh should reunite with India. Islamabad says that Lal Krishna Advani's views are "wishful thinking" and reveal "Indian hegemonistic ambitions". The BJP is expected to win the most seats, though short of a majority, in India's federal elections set for Feb. 16 to March 7 (Agence France Presse, 02/11/98).

**February 15, 1998:** A number of deaths are reported in Jammu & Kashmir during the run-up to federal elections. Separatists have called for a boycott of the polls (Agence France Presse, 02/15/98).

**February 20, 1998:** Two die and 10 are injured in three separate bombings in Kashmir (Agence France Presse, 02/20/98).

**February 23, 1998:** Pakistani President Muhammad Rafiq Tarar calls on India to accept the right of the people of Kashmir to determine their future through a UN-supervised referendum. He also condemns "brutal atrocities" in the state (Agence France Presse, 02/23/98).

**February 25, 1998:** Pakistani Foreign Minister Gohar Ayub Khan suggests that instead of seeking an India-Pakistan-Bangladesh confederation, BJP president Advani should strive for a conflict and tension-free relationship between India and Pakistan (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 02/25/98).

The prime ministerial candidate of the BJP, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, vows to take back Azad Kashmir (under Pakistani control) if his party is voted to power. He also says Pakistani interference in Jammu & Kashmir will be halted (Agence France Presse, 02/25/98).

**February 26, 1998:** The arrest of a number of separatist leaders leads to anti-India protests and strikes in the valley. The Hurriyat continues its campaign to urge a boycott of federal polls (Agence France Presse, 02/26/98).

Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif says that his government won't compromise on Kashmir. He renews his calls for a UN plebiscite and indicates that he has written to UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan to press for the implementation of the 1948 resolutions calling for the referendum. Pakistan also calls on leaders of the Bharatiya Janata Party, expected to form the

next government in India, to refrain from statements that could halt the resumption of talks (Agence France Presse, 02/26/98).

**February 28, 1998:** A second day of strikes is held in the Valley to protest upcoming federal elections in Jammu & Kashmir. Clashes are also reported between soldiers and militants. 2 children and 1 soldier are killed and 12 Congress Party members abducted in these incidents. Many people are reported to stay away from voting (Agence France Presse, 02/28/98).

**March 3, 1998:** Pakistan warns that it will take a tough line against any provocation from India if the BJP, which is expected to win federal elections, takes power (Agence France Presse, 03/03/98).

**March 6, 1998:** The Indian army says it has discovered a huge cache of weapons in Jammu & Kashmir. The weapons were reportedly to be used to disrupt federal elections. A few days ago, rebels opened fire upon a rally held by J & K Chief Minister Abdullah. He was not injured (Agence France Presse, 03/06/98).

**March 7, 1998:** The person expected to be the next Prime Minister of India, BJP leader Vajpayee denies charges that his party will threaten India's secular traditions (Agence France Presse, 03/07/98).

Russia offers to mediate talks between India and Pakistan on Jammu & Kashmir. Pakistan welcomes the offer (Ibid.).

**March 10, 1998:** Pakistan accuses India of involvement in terrorism in its country. This follows the 2<sup>nd</sup> train bomb attack in Pakistan in the last 24 hours. Around 30 people were killed. Pakistan says that India's intelligence organization, the Research and Analysis Wing, was involved (Agence France Presse, 03/10/98).

The right-wing Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party has been asked to form a federal government in India. The party won 178/545 seats, the largest by a single party followed by the Congress and the United Front (Ibid.).

**March 11, 1998:** Pakistan's Foreign Affairs Minister, Gohar Ayub Khan, warns that his country will be forced to enter an arms race with India if the BJP makes good on its election promise to make India an overt nuclear power. During the federal election campaign, BJP leader Vajpayee stated that India might exercise the nuclear option (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 03/11/98).

India's former Home Minister and a newly-elected Congress Party MP for Jammu & Kashmir, Mufti Mohammed Syed, calls for unconditional talks between India and Kashmiri militants. Recently, three soldiers and three rebels died in clashes in the state. Anti-India protests were also reported (Agence France Presse, 03/11/98).

**March 12, 1998:** Pakistan has approved a crackdown on religious separatists in its own country while also appealing for international pressure on India due to the “terrorism” exercised by its security forces (Agence France Presse, 03/12/98).

**March 15, 1998:** India expels some Pakistani embassy officials after a similar act by Pakistan. This is a regular occurrence in the relations between these two states (Agence France Presse, 03/15/98).

**March 16, 1998:** Pakistani Foreign Minister Khan says he hopes the new BJP-led government will resolve “procedural impasses” that have held up talks on normalizing relations between the two states. His comments were made during an Islamic Foreign Ministers meeting (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 03/16/98).

**March 18, 1998:** BJP Prime Minister designate Vajpayee vows that India will develop nuclear weapons. Pakistan says it will respond in-kind. Vajpayee’s comment follows reports that Pakistan has developed a long-range ballistic missile. The acrimony signals a new low following talks between the two sides last year (Agence France Presse, 03/18/98).

**March 19, 1998:** Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee says he wants friendly relations with Pakistan. The new BJP led-coalition government appears ready to repeal the “Gujral Doctrine” (his predecessor) that sought peaceful relations with neighbors on a reciprocal basis. The Prime Minister, who also holds the foreign affairs portfolio, contends that India will follow an “assertive foreign policy that stops unilateral concessions in exchange for talks...This will be unlike the previous government’s stance” (Agence France Presse, 03/19/98).

**March 20, 1998:** Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif invites his Indian counterpart to resume bilateral talks, indicating that he is ready to go the “extra mile” for friendly relations (Agence France Presse, 03/20/98).

**March 21, 1998:** Pakistani Prime Minister Sharif says that a normalization of relations with India can only take place when the Kashmir issue is resolved. He reiterates his offer of talks (Agence France Presse, 03/21/98).

**March 24, 1998:** Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee appeals to Pakistan to continue bilateral talks. He says his government is committed to continue the process begun under the previous United Front government (Agence France Presse, 03/24/98).

**March 25, 1998:** In the BJP-led coalition’s speech to Parliament, no mention is made of the BJP’s election promise to exercise India’s nuclear option. The government does however state that no outside mediation or interference is needed to resolve bilateral disputes (Agence France Presse, 03/25/98).

**March 27, 1998:** The leader of the Jammu & Kashmir Liberation Front, Amanullah Khan, urges

India and Pakistan to solve the Jammu & Kashmir dispute based upon independence for a reunited Kashmir (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 03/27/98).

**March 28, 1998:** Pakistan says it looks forward to a stable government in India in order to resume stalled talks, especially on Jammu & Kashmir (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 03/28/98).

**April 2, 1998:** India's Defense Minister George Fernandes accuses Pakistan of helping separatists in Jammu & Kashmir. He says his government is prepared to respond in kind to the "proxy war". Fernandes also indicates that he has evidence of Pakistani interference in Kashmir and India's northeast states (Agence France Presse, 04/02/98).

Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee says that he welcomes talks with Pakistan on any issue but Jammu & Kashmir (Ibid.).

**April 3, 1998:** Pakistan says that fighting along the Line of Control has resulted in the deaths of 8 Indian soldiers and 6 Pakistani injuries. India denies that any incident occurred (Agence France Presse, 04/03/98).

**April 6, 1998:** Pakistan contends that it has not exported and never will export its nuclear or missile technology to other countries. Prime Minister Sharif's comments come one day after Pakistan successfully test-fired a long-range missile, called Ghauri. He says that the test should not influence the process of normalizing relations with India (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 04/06/98; Agence France Presse, 04/07/98).

**April 7, 1998:** India accuses Pakistan of clandestinely obtaining ballistic missiles and missile technology. It accuses China and North Korea of providing Pakistan with the know-how. China denies the charges (Agence France Presse, 04/07/98).

**April 8, 1998:** Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee says that Pakistan's recent missile test poses no danger to India's security (Agence France Presse, 04/08/98).

**April 11, 1998:** Pakistan's Foreign Minister Ayub Khan calls upon India to negotiate a settlement over Jammu & Kashmir instead of issuing threats (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 04/11/98).

**April 15, 1998:** US Assistant Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs, Karl Inderfurth, says that the recent Pakistani missile test was "regrettable and avoidable". He says that talks on the nuclear issue should be held between India and Pakistan. Inderfurth also asserts that the recent North Ireland accord could serve as the basis to resolve the Jammu & Kashmir dispute. In the past few months, the US has restored OPIC facilities to Pakistan. These were withdrawn under the Pressler Amendment in 1990 when US President Bush refused to certify that Pakistan did not possess nuclear weapons. President Clinton is set to visit South Asia this autumn (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 04/15/98, 04/16/98).

**April 18, 1998:** Pakistan says it is ready to resume official talks with India with Kashmir being the core issue on the agenda. India says that it has already put forward proposals to Pakistan to resume talks and that it is waiting for a response to its ideas (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 04/18/98).

**April 20, 1998:** 26 Hindus are killed by Muslim rebels in a village north of Jammu. In the last six months, some 30 Hindus have been murdered. The state's chief minister, Farooq Abdullah accuses Pakistani-backed rebels for the incident (Agence France Presse, 04/20/98).

**April 22, 1998:** Some 1000 Hindus flee the region where 26 Hindus were recently killed. In the past week, nine rebels and four soldiers died during a gunbattle (Agence France Presse, 04/22/98).

**April 24, 1998:** The head of the foreign affairs committee of the BJP, the largest party India's coalition government, says that India may introduce nuclear weapons into its arsenal without any testing in order to avoid international sanctions. He also indicates that India will not be the first to use nuclear weapons (Agence France Presse, 04/24/98).

**April 25, 1998:** Pakistan says it will respond in kind if India introduces nuclear weapons in its arsenal (Agence France Presse, 04/25/98).

**April 28, 1998:** India's Defense Minister George Fernandes says his government is ready to talk with militants in Jammu & Kashmir. He says he might meet some of them during his current visit to the state (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 04/28/98).

Pakistani officials have blamed Indian "terrorism" for the massacre of some 22 persons in a village in Azad Kashmir, located next to the Line of Control. They assert that the killings could be revenge for the April 10 murders of some 2 dozen Hindus in Jammu & Kashmir (Agence France Presse, 04/28/98).

**May 1, 1998:** Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee says that he is keen to have talks with Pakistan over a wide-range of issues, including trade. Pakistan has proposed that talks focus upon the major dispute, Jammu & Kashmir (Agence France Presse, 05/01/98).

India says it is attempting to verify reports carried by a notable Indian newspaper that an American firm is helping Pakistan develop a new weapons facility, likely with a nuclear capability (Ibid.).

**May 3, 1998:** The BJP, the largest party in India's coalition government, says that Pakistan will be "brought to its knees" if it continues to foment terrorism in India. The party also reiterates its commitment to its Hindu ideology, asserting that it is "cultural nationalism" and that it is an

inclusive approach (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 05/03/98).

Indian Defense Minister Fernandes contends that China is a bigger threat to India than Pakistan due to its military buildup around the country. Fernandes asserts that a Chinese naval expansion along with the building of bases and the deployment of nuclear weapons in Tibet threaten India's security (Agence France Presse, 05/03/98).

**May 4, 1998:** Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee expresses anger at yesterday's outspoken remarks by his defense minister regarding China. The major opposition party, the Congress, asserts that Fernandes' comments could jeopardize relations with the PRC (Agence France Presse 05/04/98).

**May 5, 1998:** The PRC slams Indian Defense Minister Fernandes' recent comments that China is the number one threat to India, indicating that this is "ridiculous" (Agence France Presse, 05/05/98).

Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif says that Islamabad is keen on developing tension-free relations with India (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 05/05/98).

**May 6, 1998:** Hindu mobs rampage in Poonch district in Jammu & Kashmir, burning government offices and vehicles following the recent murders of four Hindus. Up to 10 others are killed when conducting funeral rites for the dead (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 05/06/98).

Some Indian film-makers arrive in Jammu & Kashmir, for the first time since 1989. Despite heavy security, the presence of the film stars and crew is seen as an attempt to restore normalcy to the state (Agence France Presse, 05/06/98).

Seeking to diffuse recent tensions between India and China, India's Defense Minister Fernandes indicates that he favors talks with the PRC (Ibid.).

The Communist Party of India-Marxist calls for Defense Minister Fernandes to quit over his recent anti-China comments. The CPI-M is the third largest party in parliament (Ibid.).

**May 7, 1998:** Hindu families flee Poonch district following the recent murder of four Hindus. In the past six months, more than 30 Hindus have been killed (Agence France Presse, 05/07/98).

**May 11, 1998:** India tests three nuclear devices, including a thermonuclear one, in the Rajasthan desert. Pakistan vows to take all the necessary steps to ensure its security. Domestic pressure to follow suit begins to build within Pakistan. Countries such as Japan and the United States condemn the Indian explosions and move to impose sanctions against New Delhi. Sanctions are automatically imposed under American domestic legislation. France, Russia, and China do not levy sanctions. The Indian tests occur just over a month after Pakistan successfully test-fired a medium-range ballistic missile, which was reportedly developed with Chinese assistance (Agence France Presse, 05/11/98).

**May 13, 1998:** India conducts two more nuclear explosions. The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) does not comment on the tests as under its mandate it is not allowed to become involved in the internal affairs of member countries or in bilateral issues. Bangladesh and Nepal do however call for restraint and a halt on any further testing (Agence France Presse, 05/13/98).

**May 15, 1998:** US Assistant Secretary of State Strobe Talbott meets with Pakistan's Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in Islamabad to dissuade Pakistan from a tit-for-tat response to India's nuclear tests (Agence France Presse, 05/15/98).

**May 19, 1998:** India's ruling Hindu-nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) warns that Pakistan will pay a heavy price for fueling the rebellion in Jammu & Kashmir. In Kashmir, Muslim rebels attack a military camp while Indian and Pakistani soldiers exchange fire across the Line of Control (Agence France Presse, 05/19/98).

**May 21, 1998:** India reportedly moves heavy arms to the border between Indian-held Kashmir and Pakistan. Delhi contends that Pakistan has increased military activity in the region. Sporadic firing across the LOC continues (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 05/21/98).

New Delhi warns that relations with Britain could be adversely affected after the British Foreign Office officially received the Prime Minister of Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (Agence France Presse, 05/21/98).

**May 24, 1998:** Jammu & Kashmir Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah indicates that a major offensive will be launched against foreign guerrillas in the state, particularly those who are reported to be from Pakistan and Afghanistan. Indian intelligence reports assert that some 1200 foreigners are actively participating in promoting turmoil — many of these are alleged to be members of the Afghan-dominated Harkat-ul-Ansar. Abdullah says their activities need to be stopped to restore peace in the region. The Chief Minister also “dares” Pakistan to conduct its own nuclear test in response to India's explosions two weeks ago (Ibid.).

Violence in Srinagar results in six casualties (Ibid.).

Home Minister Lal Krishna Advani, referred to as a BJP hardliner, is put in charge of the federal portfolio on Jammu & Kashmir (Ibid.).

**May 28, 1998:** Pakistan conducts five nuclear tests in the Baluchistan desert. Prime Minister Sharif says that the account with India has been evened. US sanctions enter into effect against Pakistan (Agence France Presse, 05/28/98). Islamabad contends that its actions were in response to reports that India was planning to conduct a preemptive strike against its military facilities.

**May 30, 1998:** Pakistan conducts two more nuclear tests (Agence France Presse, 05/30/98).

**June 3, 1998:** Around 60 Muslims try to march on the Pakistani embassy in New Delhi to denounce Pakistan's nuclear tests. They are arrested (Agence France Presse, 06/03/98).

**June 4, 1998:** A general strike called by the All Party Hurriyat Conference (APHC) is observed in the Kashmir valley. Four people are injured as protesters demonstrate in front of the UN's observer office in Srinagar demanding international mediation to settle the Kashmir dispute (Agence France Presse, 06/04/98).

**June 7, 1998:** Pakistan blames India for a train bombing that kills 23 people in its Sindh province. Both countries regularly accuse each other of sponsoring cross-border terrorism (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 06/07/98).

**June 9, 1998:** The Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan are set to meet at next month's SAARC summit in Sri Lanka. India's leader Atal Bihari Vajpayee has urged Pakistan to return to bilateral talks while his counterpart, Nawaz Sharif, says that outside involvement is needed to resolve the Kashmir issue (Agence France Presse, 06/09/98).

**June 19, 1998:** Pakistani Prime Minister Sharif says that his country has no intention of conducting more nuclear tests in the near future but that he will not sacrifice national security to appease international concerns. The United States asserts that \$4 billion in multilateral loans will be frozen yearly as part of the sanctions imposed on the two countries (Agence France Presse, 06/19/98).

**June 23, 1998:** 25 Hindu men participating in a wedding ceremony were killed by rebels in Jammu & Kashmir on June 19. Two days later, 10 other people died in separatist-related violence. Muslim leaders ask Amnesty International to investigate the killings of the Hindus (Agence France Presse, 06/23/98).

Four people are killed and several injured as a bomb explodes under a train heading from Jammu to New Delhi. This is the 6<sup>th</sup> train bombing in the last two years. The incident coincides with a visit to the region by Home Minister L.K. Advani, who also recently assumed the federal portfolio for Jammu & Kashmir (Ibid.).

**June 24, 1998:** Indian Home Minister Advani accuses Pakistan of fueling rebellion in Kashmir, but states that the democratic process and development in the region will be extended. He indicates that contentions over Kashmir should not hold back cooperation with Pakistan on other issues. Large parts of the Kashmir valley observe a APHC-called strike to protest Advani's visit (Agence France Presse, 06/24/98).

**June 26, 1998:** Indian Defense Minister Fernandes says that security concerns over the US, China, and Pakistan played a part in the decision to conduct last month's nuclear tests (Agence France Presse, 06/26/98).

**July 7, 1998:** Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee urges Pakistan to sign a no-first-use and non-aggression pact. He rules out accepting the Line of Control (LOC) as the permanent border between the two countries. Islamabad has also rejected this suggestion. While speaking to the United Nations General Assembly last fall, Pakistani leader Sharif proposed a non-aggression pact between the two countries. However, Vajpayee says that he didn't receive any communications from Sharif about his proposal (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 07/07/98).

**July 10, 1998:** The UN Security Council asks Secretary General Kofi Annan to convince India and Pakistan to settle their differences through dialogue. Last month, Annan sent an envoy to the region. The envoy reported that the two countries' nuclear tests are likely to lead to long-term tensions. In early June, the Security Council asked India and Pakistan not to conduct further tests, to adhere to non-proliferation treaties and to begin talks on issues like Jammu & Kashmir (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 07/10/98).

Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee says that his country will not sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). He also indicates that India will not shelve plans to develop and build an arsenal of guided missiles. Delhi did state that it was prepared to join talks on a Fissile Materials Cut-Off Treaty in Geneva. This treaty would prevent the export of nuclear-related materials (Agence France Presse, 07/10/98).

**July 13, 1998:** Pakistani leader Nawaz Sharif urges UN Secretary General Kofi Annan to visit the region to help promote peace ahead of an expected meeting between the leaders of India and Pakistan at a SAARC summit in Sri Lanka at month's end (Agence France Presse, 07/13/98).

**July 14, 1998:** Pakistan offers to discuss a nuclear test ban treaty with India that would formalize the moratoriums declared by the two countries. Islamabad is likely to raise the issue when the two Prime Ministers meet at the SAARC summit (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 07/14/98).

Indian Defense Minister Fernandes contends that the Indo-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir has grown worse and can't be resolved by UN mediation, as proposed by Pakistan. He rules out a plebiscite in the region (Agence France Presse, 07/14/98).

**July 15, 1998:** Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat offers to mediate between India and Pakistan. Arafat was reportedly involved in the negotiations that resulted in the 1972 Simla Agreement. That agreement followed India's military intervention in East Pakistan that helped ensure the secession of Bangladesh (Agence France Presse, 07/15/98).

15 militants are killed in Jammu & Kashmir. Home Minister Advani asserts that militancy is on the ebb and that tourism has increased. Some 5000 people reportedly visited the region last year (Ibid.).

**July 16, 1998:** 5 Indian border security troops are killed in an exchange of gunfire with Pakistani forces across the Line of Control. A few civilians on both sides also die in the

encounter (Agence France Presse, 07/16/98).

A Pakistani envoy dispatched ahead of the SAARC summit in Colombo, Sri Lanka, urges member states of the regional organization to pressure India to open talks on the nuclear issue and the Kashmir dispute. He asserts that negotiations are vital to improving regional economic ties. Colombo says that it does not want to act as a mediator with regard to the Kashmiri conflict (Ibid.).

Jammu & Kashmir Chief Minister Abdullah contends that India and Pakistan should impose a 25-year freeze on their dispute over the region in an effort to promote peace. He instead suggests that the two should build relations on other issues such as trade and tourism. Abdullah however does not believe that the Kashmir dispute will lead the two sides to a nuclear confrontation (Ibid.).

**July 18, 1998:** China states that India and Pakistan should solve Jammu & Kashmir within a bilateral framework. After the two countries' nuclear tests, Beijing offered to act as a mediator (Agence France Presse, 07/18/98).

**July 20, 1998:** Firing across the Line of Control results in the deaths of 4 Indian soldiers. New Delhi contends that the incidents are a diversion to allow for the infiltration of foreign guerrillas into Jammu & Kashmir. 7 soldiers and 2 rebels are killed in four separate incidents in Jammu (Agence France Presse, 07/20/98).

A US delegation led by Assistant Secretary of State Strobe Talbott meets with Indian officials in New Delhi. India suggests that it is willing to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in return for international recognition of its nuclear status and a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. The two parties will meet again in Washington in August (Ibid.).

Indian lawmakers are considering a proposal that would impose stiff punishments for illegal entry. The bill is aimed at the alleged involvement of foreign rebels, especially from Pakistan, in the Kashmir insurgency. Home Minister L.K. Advani asserts that more than 9000 people have been killed by Pakistani-supported rebels in the state in the past three years. Advani also reveals that security at the India-Pakistan border has been stepped up (Ibid.).

**July 23, 1998:** Three days of talks between Pakistani officials and a US delegation led by Assistant Secretary of State Talbott end without any agreement. Islamabad rejects American efforts to obtain its accession to the CTBT. Pakistan argues that the Kashmir dispute must first be resolved. The US says it will use its influence to help promote a settlement. The American delegation did reveal that the US will no longer block credit to the country from the International Monetary Fund. This funding was frozen as part of the sanctions against Pakistan after its nuclear tests. The two sides will meet again in Washington in August (Agence France Presse, 07/23/98).

India rejects a Pakistani suggestion for third-party mediation of the Kashmir dispute. The announcement follows Prime Minister Sharif's suggestion to US Assistant Secretary of State

Talbott that the international community should help resolve the conflict (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 07/23/98).

**July 25, 1998:** Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee says that he will discuss the nuclear and Kashmir issues with Pakistani leader Sharif at the upcoming SAARC summit. He will again offer Islamabad a no-first-use agreement. This will be the first meeting between the prime ministers of the two countries since last November's SAARC summit in the Maldives (Agence France Presse, 07/25/98).

**July 26, 1998:** Exchanges of gunfire are reported at three different sites at the Line of Control. No casualty tolls are given. Within Jammu & Kashmir, 6 civilians and 7 militants are killed in three incidents (Agence France Presse, 07/26/98).

The chairman of the Jammu & Kashmir Liberation Front, Amanullah Khan, contends that the dispute over the region could lead to a nuclear war. He urges the two countries to seek a peaceful solution (Ibid.).

**July 27, 1998:** The United States and China renew their commitment to press India and Pakistan to reduce nuclear tensions. They will urge the two states to adopt the benchmarks laid down by the UN Security Council and the Group of 8. These include: non-deployment of nuclear weapons, unconditional accession to the NPT and the CTBT, and the undertaking of confidence-building measures (Agence France Presse, 07/27/98).

Pakistani Foreign Minister Gohar Ayub Khan asserts that the first talks with India since the two countries conducted their nuclear tests will be futile if Delhi refuses to discuss Kashmir. Khan urges third-party mediation, a proposal that has been consistently rejected by India (Ibid.).

Analysts expect that the upcoming meeting between the leaders of India and Pakistan at a SAARC summit could eventually set the way for a rapprochement. While nuclear weapons are not on the official agenda, last year's SAARC summit resulted in a call for world-wide nuclear disarmament. The summit is expected to focus on plans to implement a South Asian free trade zone by 2001 (Ibid.).

**July 28, 1998:** 15-18 Hindus are killed in two attacks in Doda district in Jammu & Kashmir. In an unrelated incident, 2 of 6 militants killed in clashes with security forces are reported to be Afghans (Agence France Presse, 07/28/98).

Shelling across the Line of Control claims the lives of 2 people. Since mid-May, 12 people have been killed in cross-border exchanges (Ibid.).

**July 29, 1998:** Prime Ministers Vajpayee and Sharif meet for 90 minutes on the sidelines of the SAARC summit in Sri Lanka. The two agree to have their foreign secretaries attempt to work out a timetable and agenda for future talks (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 07/29/98).

A strike called by the APHC closes down the Kashmir valley. The action is held to protest the exclusion of Kashmiris from talks between India and Pakistan at the SAARC summit (Ibid.).

**July 30, 1998:** Pakistan agrees to join talks on a treaty banning the production of fissile material for military uses. The decision follows meetings between US and Pakistani officials last week. In return for Pakistan's involvement in the Geneva talks, the US will stop blocking IMF aid to Islamabad (Agence France Presse, 07/30/98).

**July 31, 1998:** Talks between India and Pakistan at the SAARC summit fail to make any headway. Both countries blame each other for the failure to re-open bilateral negotiations. Pakistan asserts that India is taking a rigid position on Kashmir while India counters that Islamabad is "neurotic" in its insistence that Kashmir be the main issue in any talks. The two leaders could possibly meet again later this year at a Non-Alignment Movement summit in South Africa (Agence France Presse, 07/31/98).

Two days of heavy fighting across the Line of Control results in over 50 casualties. Many of the dead are villagers who reside in the border areas of the two countries (Ibid.).

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## **Appendix A: Internal Conflicts Phase Scheme**

*Phase I. Conventional mobilization.* A political/communal group organizes in pursuit of collective objectives, relying on conventional and nonviolent strategies of political action.

*Phase II. Militant mobilization.* A political/communal group organizes in pursuit of collective objectives, developing capacities for disruptive and violent strategies of political action.

*Phase IIIa. Low-level hostilities.* A political/communal group makes limited, localized, selective use of disruptive and violent strategies; the regime makes limited and selective use of reactive force.

*Phase IIIb. High-level hostilities.* A political/communal group, or the regime, or both use intense, widespread, and organized armed violence against their opponent.

*Phase IVa. Talk-fight.* Discussions and negotiations are pursued, or cease-fires are declared, while substantial armed violence continues. Fighting may be done by the principals themselves (for example as a bargaining tactic) or by factions that reject dispute settlement.

*Phase IVb. Cessation of open hostilities.* Fighting largely ceases but one or both principals remain prepared to resume armed violence if settlement efforts fail.

*Phase V. Post-hostilities phase.* Interim or partial settlements are in place and accepted by most parties and factions; demobilization, disarmament, and stand-downs are underway.

*Phase VI. Settlement phase.* A final settlement or agreement is accepted by most parties and is being implemented.