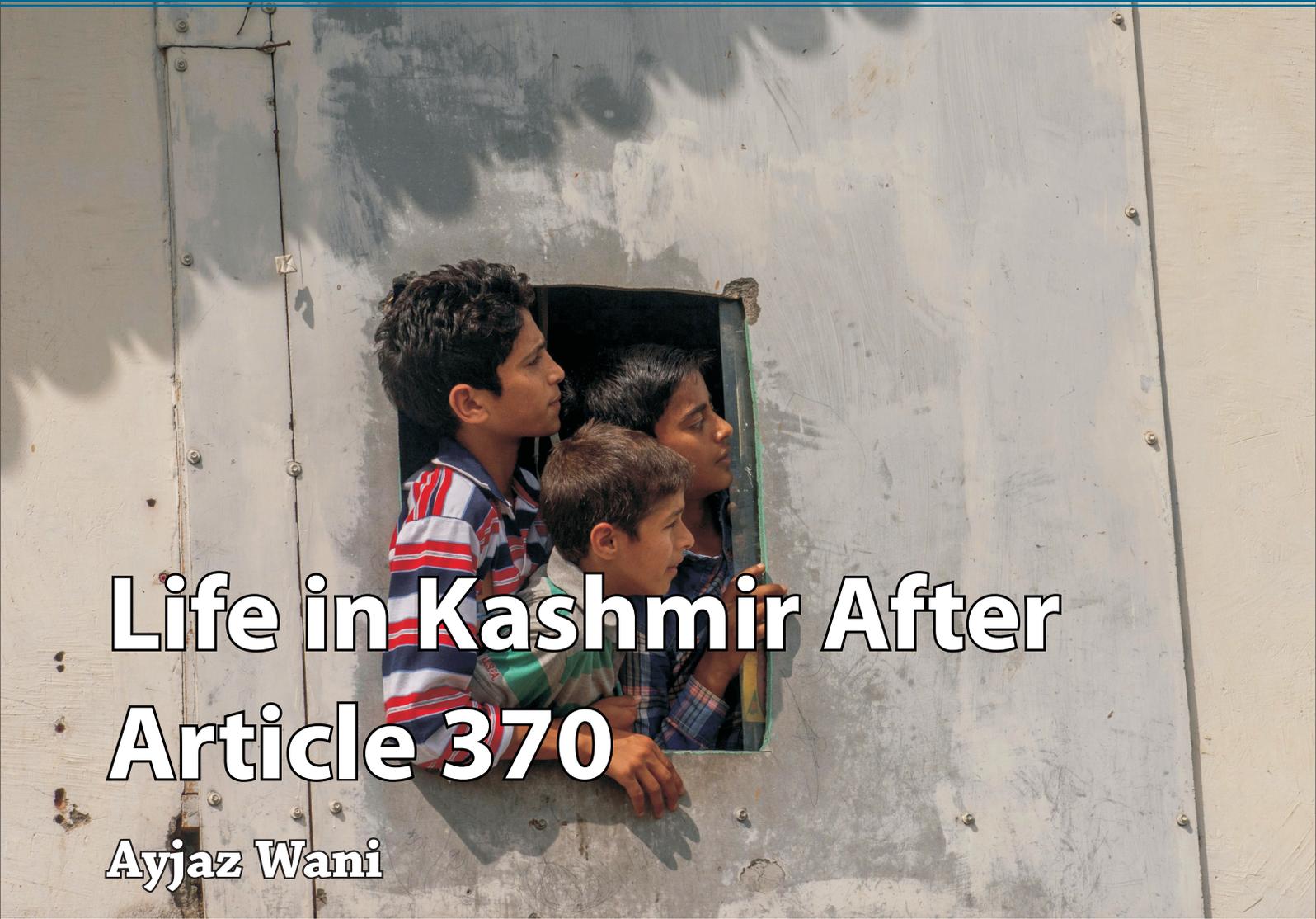


99

# ORF SPECIAL REPORT

JANUARY 2020



## Life in Kashmir After Article 370

Ayjaz Wani

*Children watch as clashes erupt between government forces and protesters against the revocation of Article 370. Srinagar, 30 August 2019.  
Photo: Yawar Nazir/Getty Images*

Attribution: Ayjaz Wani, 'Life in Kashmir After Article 370', ORF Special Report No. 99, January 2020, Observer Research Foundation.

**Observer Research Foundation** (ORF) is a public policy think tank that aims to influence formulation of policies for building a strong and prosperous India. ORF pursues these goals by providing informed and productive inputs, in-depth research, and stimulating discussions.



To know more about  
ORF scan this code

ISBN: 978-93-89622-57-7

© 2020 Observer Research Foundation. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, copied, archived, retained or transmitted through print, speech or electronic media without prior written approval from ORF.

## **ABSTRACT**

This special report analyses insights gathered by the author from different sections of the Kashmir public regarding the impact of the abrogation of Article 370 on their lives. The interviews were supplemented by secondary sources, primarily news reports in the national and international media after 5 August 2019, when the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)-led government of India abrogated the enforcement of Article 370 of the Constitution, which since 1950 has given near-autonomy to the state of Jammu & Kashmir (J&K). On the basis of these findings, this report makes recommendations for the way forward.

## **INTRODUCTION**

The long-drawn armed conflict in Kashmir has claimed thousands of lives and made the economy bleed, and has posed grave threats to the country's security. It was in 1989 when the insurgency was born, as an indigenous movement against the corrupt governance and autocratic rule of Sheikh Abdullah. Externally, too, Kashmir has long been a bone of contention between India and Pakistan; the two countries have fought four wars over the valley. The insurgency has ruined the normal functioning of the state, and has forced New Delhi to notify the erstwhile state of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) as a “disturbed area” and invoke controversial and draconian laws like the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) to maintain peace. Though New Delhi tried to occasionally reach out to Pakistan and even to Kashmiris over the years, but for some brief periods of hope, peace has not prevailed in the Kashmir Valley.

Following the precedent set by his predecessors, Atal Behari Vajpayee and Manmohan Singh, Prime Minister Narendra Modi has also tried to reach out to Pakistan. For two years from his swearing-in ceremony in 2014, Modi made overtures to find a peaceful resolution to the conflict over Kashmir. He invited Nawaz Sharif, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, for his swearing-in ceremony, and made an unscheduled landing in Lahore on Christmas 2015 to greet his counterpart on his birthday—a move that defied diplomatic convention and stunned foreign policy experts.

However, the excitement over a possible turnaround in India-Pakistan relations was short-lived. The beginning of 2016 saw a terror attack on the Pathankot Air Force Station, involving five Jaish-e-Mohammed terrorists. Months of tension followed the attack, escalating in the subsequent months after the killing of popular militant leader Burhan Wani in an anti-insurgency operation in August 2016. Within hours of the encounter, streets in South

Kashmir became theatres of violent protests and stone-pelting. Burhan's killing reignited the calls for *azadi* and *jihad* and opened the floodgates for homegrown insurgency, as scores of the local youth joined terror groups. Pakistan was quick to exploit the situation, stepping up infiltration of trained terrorists to carry out attacks on Indian military installations. The target of the first terror strike was the 12th Brigade of the Indian army in the Uri sector on 9 September 2016 in which 17 army personnel were killed and 20 others were injured. In response, India retaliated by conducting surgical strikes on suspected terror launchpads in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK).

The escalated conflict in Kashmir created two situations. Amidst the fatigue of the past several decades and after trying out various unsuccessful 'soft measures' to mitigate the conflict, the state came hard on J&K – adopting measures such as the 'Operation All-Out' in its quest to establish peace. Second, the BJP-led government used the escalated conflict in the Valley as an excuse to fulfil the dream of its ideologue Shyama Prasad Mukherjee to abrogate Article 370 and Article 35A. Mukherjee, who died while leading a protest against the special status of J&K in 1953, had stressed that there cannot be two constitutions, two prime ministers, and two flags in one nation.

## **ABROGATION OF ARTICLE 370: RATIONALE AND IMMEDIATE IMPACT**

Article 370, over the decades, was diluted many times with the consent of the Kashmiris and the elected state government to facilitate integration, better administration and good governance.<sup>1</sup> Despite these dilutions, however, Article 370 bore great symbolic and psychological significance for Kashmiris. It also displayed India's asymmetric federalism, which granted differential rights to certain federal subunits, often in recognition of their distinctive ethnic identity.<sup>2</sup>

Before the unilateral decision of New Delhi to abrogate Article 370 and split the state of J&K into two union territories, all pro-India Kashmiri politicians were arrested.<sup>3</sup> Thousands of security personnel were sent in and the Valley was clamped down with severe and all-encompassing communications blackout.<sup>4</sup> According to New Delhi, this "implemented constitutional transformation" was done to pave the way for better administration, good governance and economic development of the region.<sup>5</sup> The government also said Article 370 was the root cause of corruption and militancy in the state of J&K.<sup>6</sup>

According to official data, Kashmir witnessed 1,999 stone-pelting incidents in 2019 as compared to 1,458 in 2018 and 1,412 in 2017.<sup>7</sup> According to recent

estimates of the Multi-Agency Centre (MAC) headed by the Intelligence Bureau, 400 militants are active in the Valley,<sup>8</sup> increasing the possibility of heightened insurgency activities in even the border districts of Rajouri-Poonch and Kishtwar. Alarmed, the government backed its 5 August decision by putting the entire region under an unprecedented high-security grid and a communications blackout.

Six months later, New Delhi seems less sure of its future steps. While the government – both through the office of the Lieutenant Governor in the newly carved Union Territory and at the Centre – has yet to conduct any proactive measures to regain the trust of the people and normalise the situation, even as its actions have dented India’s global image as a liberal democracy.<sup>9</sup> The abrogation of Article 370 has also led to the internationalisation of the Kashmir conflict—an eventuality that the NDA government had resisted, claiming Kashmir to be India’s internal issue.

In the last five months, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) has met two times for closed-door meetings on the situation in Kashmir.<sup>10</sup> The US Congress has passed two house resolutions on Kashmir, condemning New Delhi’s decision. The House resolution No. 745 that was introduced in the House of Representatives last year by Indian-American representative Pramila Jayapal has gained 36 co-sponsors, 34 of whom belong to the Democratic Party and two, Republicans.<sup>11</sup> This increased focus on the situation in Kashmir (from the UNSC and the US, in particular) has forced New Delhi to invite foreign diplomats and lawmakers to the Kashmir Valley on ‘fact-finding’ trips. The first one was in October 2019, when the government invited a group of European Union lawmakers to the Valley. Those who came represented some of the EU’s far-right political parties like France’s Rassemblement, Poland’s Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, the UK’s Brexit Party, Germany’s Alternative für Deutschland, Italy’s Lega Nord Party, Belgium’s Vlaams Belang and Spain’s VOX.

As international criticism mounted, the second group of foreign diplomats including the Ambassadors and High Commissioners to India of 15 nations were taken on an official visit to Jammu and Kashmir. They included diplomats from the US, South Korea, Vietnam, Bangladesh, Fiji, Maldives, Norway, the Philippines, Morocco, Argentina, Peru, Niger, Nigeria, Guyana and Togo. The diplomats of the European Union skipped the visit and insisted on meeting the detained political leaders<sup>a</sup> on another date.

---

a The detained political leaders include former J&K chief ministers Farooq Abdullah, Omar Abdullah and Mehboob Mufti as well as other pro-India leaders. These political leaders were under house arrest since August 5, when the Centre abrogated Article 370 and bifurcated the state into two union territories.

Today, life in Kashmir is slowly and steadily limping towards normalcy. However, the Valley stands in the midst of an uneasy calm that may explode at the slightest provocation from across the border.<sup>12</sup>

## **PUBLIC PERCEPTION POST-ARTICLE 370**

### **Research Methodology**

From 10 November to 16 December 2019, this author travelled across the Valley to talk to people from diverse sections of society. Given the uncertainty over the next government action and the fear psychosis of the people, the author considered it inappropriate to undertake a detailed survey through questionnaires. The methodology adopted was interviews and group discussions with participants from the University of Kashmir, the Islamic University of Science and Technology, Awantipora, and other Kashmiris, especially those from the rural areas of Pulwama and Shopian in South Kashmir. There were 180 participants (100 students, 60 farmers, 15 businessmen, and five street vendors), who engaged in small group discussions, where the author asked them to share their opinions and insights on the Kashmir conflict, as well as their feelings and views after the revocation of Article 370.

### **Interview Findings**

The following sections will summarise the insights obtained during the interviews. They give a glimpse of how the ordinary people of Kashmir view the recent developments following the abrogation of Article 370. The author builds on these public views and offers an analysis of the specific subject matters involved.

### **Nullifying Article 370 and Public perception**

The abrogation of autonomy without the consent of the Kashmiris has raised the threat perception among the people of the Valley. The participants in the group discussions said that even though the ‘autonomy’ granted to J&K under Article 370 may have been more of a ruse by pro-India political parties in the Valley, it had symbolic and emotional significance for Kashmir’s people. After 5 August, people are feeling a heightened sense of fear and suspicion regarding their identity and cultural issues such as religion, customs and language. This reinforces the findings of a September 2019 study by the New Delhi-based Concerned Citizens Group (CCG), which says, “the abrogation of Article 370 will necessarily bring outsiders to the Valley, because they will be packaged as development projects. The third strategy, the locals believe the government may use for demographic change is to create settlement enclaves for Kashmiri Pandits and ex-servicemen (Sainik Colonies).”<sup>13</sup>

The suspicions are not mitigated by certain incidents where politicians in Kashmir and in New Delhi have engaged in falsehoods. For example, on 23 September 2019, Union Minister G Kishan Reddy said that around “50,000 temples” have been closed down in J&K over the years, and that some of them have been destroyed and idols defaced. “We have ordered a survey of such temples,”<sup>14</sup> he said, adding that the government plans to reopen these temples soon. However, according to Sanjay Tickoo, a prominent Kashmiri Pandit leader who heads Kashmiri Pundit Sangarish Samiti (KPSS) and a Srinagar resident, there are only 4,000 temples in J&K.<sup>15</sup>

In the newly-formed Union Territory of J&K, the central government is trying to formulate new rules that will give domicile rights to residents over land and in government jobs.<sup>16</sup> This has been a response to the perception that the unemployment rate in J&K is higher than the national average.<sup>17</sup> Domicile rights have also been a long-standing demand of the Dogras of Jammu and the Buddhists of Ladakh.<sup>18</sup> While most of those interviewed by this author chose to remain silent on the issue of domicile rights, a few expressed their fears that such a move will further limit the employment opportunities for the local youth and also lead to a demographic disruption in the Valley.

Their doubts may have been proven right when the J&K High Court on 31 December 2019 invited applications from across the nation for filling 33 vacant non-gazetted posts.<sup>19</sup> The notification was cancelled after opposition parties in Jammu criticised the move and demanded enactment of laws for safeguarding the rights and interests of the youth in J&K.<sup>20</sup> While the notification has since been withdrawn, it has been reported that the Centre is examining other options regarding the issues of opening up jobs, ownership of land, and seats in professional and college education to non-Kashmiris. These arrangements are in line with those in other states like Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand and other Northeastern states, which are covered under Article 371 of the Constitution.<sup>21</sup>

The absence of any outreach by New Delhi after 5 August has created more confusion and anxiety. As the revocation of Article 370 makes laws of the Union of India automatically applicable in J&K, it also makes the erstwhile laws of state *ultra-vires* (or they no longer apply). The question is why draconian laws enacted by the erstwhile state assembly such as the Public Safety Act (PSA)<sup>b</sup> are

---

b The PSA was enacted by Sheikh in 1978 under the excuse of curbing timber smuggling. However, it was increasingly abused as a tool to crush democratic voices of disgruntled youth against the corruption, nepotism, undemocratic rule and inconsistent behaviour of Sheikh Abdullah. Under the PSA, a person can be detained for a maximum of two years without any trial. While some of the provisions of the PSA were diluted following an amendment in 2012, it continues to remain one of the most autocratic and exploitative legislations in India.

still operative; also that hundreds of youth, civil society members and even former chief ministers are languishing in jails. These contradictions have made the people feel that the abrogation of Article 370 under the excuse of “one constitution, one rule of law,” has only made them second-class citizens. They also want the immediate and unconditional release of all the detainees who were arrested for alleged offences under the PSA and continue to languish in jails.<sup>22</sup>

### **Corruption and Governance**

On 5 August 2019 when the Union home minister introduced the Jammu and Kashmir Reorganisation Bill in the Rajya Sabha, he said that the special status given to J&K under Article 370 was the root cause of corruption, terrorism, and alienation of the state.<sup>23</sup> It is true that widespread and deep-rooted corruption in J&K has restricted the growth potential of the state, and at times, also posed national security threats. The “fake arms licences case”, that involved almost six States across India, is a testimony to this dangerous phenomenon.<sup>24</sup> The people interviewed by this author argued that the corruption, nepotism and misgovernance that have led to the alienation of Kashmiris, stem from New Delhi’s policies, rather than Article 370. The policy of unconditional appeasement of regional political leaders by a succession of governments at the Centre has protected vested interests, trapping the Valley in an unending cycle of bad governance and corruption.<sup>25</sup>

When asked for their views on corruption and misgovernance after 5 August 2019, ORF’s interviewees, especially the farmers amongst them, were highly critical. They maintained that the local administration has become more corrupt after the abrogation of Article 370 and the claim to give Kashmir corruption-free administration and governance was simply rhetoric.

The farmers,<sup>c</sup> in particular, highlighted the misery they experienced in selling their produce in the local markets run by the National Agricultural Cooperative Marketing Federation of India Ltd (NAFED). There were two main reasons: the unseasonal snowfall in early November 2019 that destroyed their crop; and the threats made on their lives by the militants. For the militants any local Kashmiri carrying on life and business as usual after the abrogation of Article 370 was considered to be accepting the unilateral decision of New Delhi. This was not the case before the annulment of Article 370.

---

c All the farmers own their land in Kashmir and as compared to their counterparts largely in the rest of India, are economically better off. The unseasonal snowfall of 6 November 2019 caused widespread destruction of crops as well as orchards of all the farmers in the Kashmir valley.

The Union Territory administration announced this untimely snowfall as a natural disaster, but there was complete inaction from the Centre.<sup>26</sup> The silence of New Delhi on their plight have made the farmers feel cheated and only served to reinforce their perception that they had become “second-class citizens”. They now demand New Delhi to send a team to monitor the situation, assess the damages and announce due compensation as would have been done, they said, in any other region of India.

Raghav Langer, District Commissioner of Pulwama, in an interview with this author following the announcement of the natural calamity, claimed the UT administration made teams under respective Tahsildars to conduct on-farm inspection and assess the losses. However, farmers complain that the exercise was done carelessly and several affected villages were not assessed at all. During the course of research for this report, the author was witness to one such Tehsil team which, instead of visiting the farms for an on-ground assessment, operated from the home of an influential person in the village and summoned the farmers for the verification of their bank account numbers and other papers for compensation. Most farmers have no clue whether they will receive any compensation at all. Many farmers recounted that in 2018, too, only the rich and influential families were compensated for damaged orchards. Many farmers compared the current civil administration with the colonial rulers, bereft of professionalism and ethics.

Interestingly, salaries of all the employees of the UT administration were increased after 5 August, but they continue to work irresponsibly, with the same careless and highhanded attitude, said all the respondents. The trade union president of Pulwama district who was interviewed, referred to the staff of the Pulwama Municipal Committee and medical officers at the district hospital as “most notorious”. One of the most corrupt government organisations under the erstwhile state, the Pulwama Municipal Committee had, in the past, allowed rampant construction on canals and other such malpractices. The people feel that the bifurcation of the state into UTs will not make a dent in eradicating corruption.

### **Economy and Education**

Core sectors of the economy of J&K have witnessed a steep decline after the abrogation of Article 370. Due to the communications blockade, curfews, and militant threats, in the past five months alone, the economy of Kashmir lost INR 178.78 billion and more than 90,000 jobs in the sectors of handicraft, tourism and information technology.<sup>27</sup> The horticulture sector is in distress,

tourism is in shambles, and students are suffering because of the ongoing internet blockade. It is for the first time in the past 70 years that rural Kashmir is facing such a great degree of economic slowdown. The apples industry in Kashmir, worth INR 80 billion which contributes eight percent of J&K's GDP, has been worst affected. Threats from militants, coupled with the government's severe clampdown delayed the harvest for over a month, dealing a crippling blow to the industry during the peak harvest season. By the time the government intervened and apple produce was procured and marketed by NAFED, the damage had been done. Much before this intervention, hundreds of farmers were forced to either sell their produce at throwaway prices or just watch their produce rot.

The continuing internet blockade has severely affected college and university students. College students and research scholars, for instance, have not been able to fill the online forms for competitive exams, scholarship grants and research papers. Most of the hostels in the Kashmir University are shut indefinitely. Internet access to university libraries has been disrupted, increasing the stress levels of students. The students see this as a "deliberate policy of New Delhi" to keep them out of contention for national- and international-level competitions. The respondents also complained that with personal access to internet services cut, they have had to queue for long hours outside district headquarters, the only government offices where public access to internet services is being provided. Besides wasting precious time, each student has had to shell out INR 100 to 200 per online submission at these offices.

## **CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

The interviews conducted by this author amongst 180 individuals in Kashmir gave a glimpse of how the annulment of Article 370 has made common Kashmiris lose their trust on the pro-establishment political class of Kashmir. The respondents feel that, with this move, New Delhi has labelled all common Kashmiris as separatists. Without exception, all the participants in the various discussions initiated by this author thought that they are now living in a 'colony' and are being denied their basic rights. They accuse New Delhi of abusing the Constitution of India and its democratic ethos, and neglecting Kashmiri sentiments.

The LoC is witnessing an uneasy calm following the Balakot air strikes and Grey Listing of Pakistan by the Financial Action Task Force (FATF).<sup>28</sup> However, infiltration has continued unabated. As reported by MAC, 55 terrorists are

believed to have crossed the LoC after 5 August. The total cross-border infiltration has been pegged at 114 in 2019.<sup>29</sup> Under the uneasy calm and the façade of normalcy that has returned to the Valley, the situation is simmering. Pakistan can use the resulting deep sense of alienation to serve its ends just the way they did after the rigged elections of 1987. Both the Kashmiris as well as New Delhi must introspect to forge a reciprocal relationship. Political gimmickry, and the rigid policies of New Delhi will only be counterproductive and further escalate the conflict in the coming months. For their part, Kashmiris need to rethink their integration with the rest of India rather than continue with their isolationism.

The following paragraphs outline this report's recommendations.

- 1) The foremost challenge for New Delhi is rebuilding trust. The way New Delhi annulled Article 370 has created an impact on Kashmiris of all persuasions, including the pro-India voices who have always remained neutral in this conflict. The decision not only delegitimised the pro-establishment political class in Kashmir, but also resulted in common Kashmiris having more sympathy for separatists. To rebuild the trust deficit and to win over the confidence of the Kashmiris, the government must immediately repeal the PSA – which should have become *ultra vires*, in the first place. This will create a sense of oneness among the Kashmiris and will help change their perception towards New Delhi.
- 2) Due attention must be given to address rural economic distress created after the unprecedented, unseasonal snowfall in November. While the farmers were not able to sell their produce to outside markets because of the communications blackout by the government, and because of militant threats, the snowfall caused widespread damage to the crops. To make matters worse, even the government's alternative to rope in NAFED to buy the produce was marred by alleged corruption. The government should compensate all the farmers with a loan waiver if it is serious about regaining the trust of the people.
- 3) After changing the contours of conflict over Kashmir and the region's political geography, New Delhi has to think beyond its hard policy approach. It will have to come out of the mindset that "he who rides a tiger is afraid to dismount". The Centre should – at least now – work more on perception management through soft measures instead of adopting a hard-line approach. It should not waste any more time to make certain special arrangements for the people of J&K under Article 371 of the

constitution. That will soothe nerves and address the rising ethno-cultural and economic issues of both Jammu as well as Kashmir. New Delhi should ensure that the land's pluralism is defended by assiduously handling the identity, cultural and religious issues.

- 4) Kashmiris have to revisit their centrifugal tendencies like separatism and militancy, and learn from other nation states in the world that are adopting a more integrational approach. If they seek constitutional guarantees from New Delhi, they will have to stop falling prey to pro-Pakistani propaganda that is only too willing to exploit them emotionally and psychologically to continue to foment trouble in the Valley. For example, in demanding constitutional guarantees that the people of Kashmir must exercise their democratic right to protest – but by using the Indian Tricolour instead of waving Pakistan's Parcham-e-Sitara. Kashmiris should use the turn of events to their advantage by strategically changing the narrative to suit their interests, and not those of Pakistan's.
- 5) The government must immediately lift the internet blackout in all educational institutions. Prolonging the internet curfew any longer will only alienate the students and the youth, who are already hurt and angered at the Centre's unilateral action. Without any delay, the Centre must also announce establishment of modern higher education institutions and IITs in its new UT. Quality manpower is a prerequisite for the promised economic growth of the region. Simultaneously, New Delhi should actively help to restore regular functioning of closed educational institutions that have been shut since 5 August 2019 and equip them with all modern scientific facilities. The Centre must also announce a new set of attractive scholarships for Kashmiri students.
- 6) The Centre must realise that now is the time to renew India's ties with the region by initiating a series of serious and sincere interlocution measures to win over the confidence of the alienated Kashmiris. New Delhi should send a team of interlocutors to listen to common Kashmiris, especially in the rural areas, as well as the students. Such a team of interlocutors must be free of political interference. This will help New Delhi to focus on pressing local issues, nurture new local leadership and loosen the grip of the political elite on the Valley.
- 7) Other policy measures like the overhaul of the local administration should be taken as soon as possible as corruption, appeasement and nepotism have remained the biggest hurdles in the peace-building process in Kashmir.

- 8) New Delhi should learn from the mistakes of past governments and not selectively pander to the whims of a handful of local political leaders. In the present state of affairs, the political process is being hijacked and political leaders are under detention. The release of the political class, that has lost its dignity as well as their identity in the eyes of the people of Kashmir, will send a positive signal. However, New Delhi must ensure that in the new political process, it has to nurture subdued voices from within the Valley that will stress on an integrational approach and establishment of a clean and corruption-free administration. [ORF](#)

#### ABOUT THE AUTHOR

**Ayjaz Wani** is a Research Fellow at ORF, Mumbai.

**ENDNOTES**

1. Sumantra Bose, *Kashmir, Roots of Conflict Paths to Peace* (London; Harvard University Press, 2003)
2. Louise Tillin, “The Fragility of India’s Federalism,” *The Hindu*, August 8, 2019. <https://www.thehindu.com/2019/08/08/opinion/lead/the-fragility-of-indias-federalism/article28872165.ece>
3. Rebecca Ratcliffe, “Kashmir leaders placed under arrest amid security crackdown”, *The Guardian*, August 5, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/Kashmir-leaders-placed-under-arrest-amid-security-crackdown>, The Guardian, 5 August, 2019, /world/2019/aug/05/kashmir-leaders-placed-under-arrest-amid-security-crackdown
4. Ratcliffe, “Kashmir”.
5. PM Narendra Modi speech Updates: “Article 370 was a hurdle for development of Jammu & Kashmir”, *Business today*, 8 August 2019. <https://www.businesstoday.in/current/economy-politics/pm-narendra-modi-speech-live-updates-prime-minister-to-address-nation-8-pm/story/371222.html>
6. Rakesh Mohan chaturvedi, “Article 370 cause of Corruption and Terrorism”, *The Economic Times*, 6 August, 2019. [https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/articleshow/70546744.cms?utm\\_source=contentofinterest&utm\\_medium=text&utm\\_campaign=cppst](https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/articleshow/70546744.cms?utm_source=contentofinterest&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=cppst)
7. 1,999 stone-pelting incidents in 2019 in J-K, 1,193 post abrogation of Article 370, *The Economic Times*, 07 January, 2020, [https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/1999-stone-pelting-incidents-in-2019-in-j-k-1193-post-abrogation-of-article-370/articleshow/73129411.cms?utm\\_source=contentofinterest&utm\\_medium=text&utm\\_campaign=cppst](https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/1999-stone-pelting-incidents-in-2019-in-j-k-1193-post-abrogation-of-article-370/articleshow/73129411.cms?utm_source=contentofinterest&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=cppst)
8. Sudhi Ranjan Sen, Government warned of spike in violence in Jammu and Kashmir, no troop withdrawal, *Hindustan Times*, 11 January, 2020, [hindustantimes.com/india-news/government-warned-of-spike-in-violence-in-jammu-and-kashmir-no-troop-withdrawal/story-Gu0T5V1H2Rj4weaRdytrMN.html](https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/government-warned-of-spike-in-violence-in-jammu-and-kashmir-no-troop-withdrawal/story-Gu0T5V1H2Rj4weaRdytrMN.html)
9. India’s repression in Kashmir is not compatible with democracy, *The Washington Post*, 13 October 2019. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/indias-repression-in-kashmir-is-not-compatible-with-democracy/2019/10/13/31b5af60-eaba-11e9-9306-47cb0324fd44\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/indias-repression-in-kashmir-is-not-compatible-with-democracy/2019/10/13/31b5af60-eaba-11e9-9306-47cb0324fd44_story.html)
10. UN Security Council discusses Kashmir, China urges India and Pakistan to

ease tensions, *UN News*, 16 August, 2020. <https://news.un.org/en/story/2019/08/1044401>

11. Situation in Kashmir violates human rights: US Congresswoman Debbie Dingell, *The Economic Times*, 14 January, 2020, [https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/situation-in-kashmir-violates-human-rights-us-congresswoman-debbie-dingell/articleshow/73238543.cms?utm\\_source=contentofinterest&utm\\_medium=text&utm\\_campaign=cppst](https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/situation-in-kashmir-violates-human-rights-us-congresswoman-debbie-dingell/articleshow/73238543.cms?utm_source=contentofinterest&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=cppst)
12. PTI, Four months after revocation of Article 370, normalcy returns to Kashmir, *The Times Of India*, 3 December,2019. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/four-months-after-revocation-of-article-370-normalcy-returns-to-kashmir/articleshow/72348614.cms>
13. South Asia Citizens Web, India: Sixth and Seventh Reports of the Concerned Citizens' Group on Kashmir Sep 17-18, 2019 and Nov 22-26, 2019 , 18 December,2019. <http://www.sacw.net/article14242.html>,
14. Article 370 gone, Modi govt draws up plan to reopen 50,000 temples closed in Kashmir, *The Financial Express*, 23 September,2019. <https://www.financialexpress.com/india-news/article-370-gone-modi-govt-draws-up-plan-to-reopen-50000-temples-closed-in-kashmir/1714936/>
15. Mudasir Ahmad, “ How can Centre reopen 50,000 Temples in Valley, When there are only 4000 in J&K?”, *The Wire*, 5 October,2019. <https://thewire.in/rights/how-can-centre-reopen-50000-temples-in-valley-when-there-are-only-4000-in-jk>
16. Indo-Asian News Service, “J&K residents to get domicile rights for land, govt jobs”, *India Today*, 5 December,2019. <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/j-k-residents-to-get-domicile-rights-for-land-govt-jobs-1625556-2019-12-05>
17. Niti Kiran, J&K among top 5states with high monthly average unemployment rate, *India Today*, 6 August,2019. <https://www.indiatoday.in/mail-today/story/j-k-among-top-5-states-with-high-monthly-average-unemployment-rate-1577640-2019-08-06>
18. Peerzada Ashiq, Focus turns to domicile laws, land, jobs in proposed Union Territories of Jammu and Kashmir, Ladakh,*The Hindu*, 20 August,2019. <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/focus-turns-to-domicile-laws-land-jobs-in-proposed-union-territories-of-jammu-and-kashmir-ladakh/article29161988.ece>
19. Sunil Bhat, Political storm over J&K HC job advertisement, *India Today*, 31 December,2019. <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/political-storm-over-j-k-hc-job-advertisement-1632966-2019-12-31>
20. Bhat, “Political”.

21. PTI, Centre mulling option of introducing residency norms for Jammu & Kashmir, *The Economic Times*, 3 January, 2020. [https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/articleshow/73087617.cms?utm\\_source=contentofinterest&utm\\_medium=text&utm\\_campaign=cppst](https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/articleshow/73087617.cms?utm_source=contentofinterest&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=cppst)
22. Naseer Gnai, Arrests under PSA amount to “Thought Crime” say Kashmir Lawyers as 100s remain under detention, *Outlook*, 3 October, 2019. <https://www.outlookindia.com/website/story/india-news-arrests-under-psa-amount-to-thought-crime-say-kashmir-lawyers-as-100s-remain-under-detention/339932>
23. Chaturvadi, “Article 370”.
24. Ayjaz Wani, Corruption in J&K becoming a national security threat, Observer Research Foundation, 16 August, 2018. <https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/43328-corruption-in-jk-becoming-a-national-security-threat/>
25. Ayjaz Ahmad Vani, The Kashmir Conflict: Managing Perceptions and Building Bridges to Peace, Observer Research Foundation, October 2018 [https://www.orfonline.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/ORF\\_Issue\\_Brief\\_261\\_Kashmir-Survey.pdf](https://www.orfonline.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/ORF_Issue_Brief_261_Kashmir-Survey.pdf)
26. J&K Classifies Untimely Snowfall in Valley, Jammu As Natural Disaster, *NDTV*, 17 December, 2019. <https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/j-k-classifies-untimely-snowfall-in-valley-jammu-as-natural-disaster-2150437>
27. Kashmir Economy suffered loss of Rs. 17,878 cr in 4 months after Article 370 Abrogation, *The Indian Express*, 17 December, 2019. <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/kashmir-economy-suffered-loss-four-months-after-article-370-abrogation-jk-6172096/>
28. Rahul Tripathi Dipanjan Roy Chaudhury, Pakistan to remain in FATF grey list, black listing looks unlikely, *The Economic Times*, 24 January, 2020. [https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/pakistan-may-be-out-of-fatf-grey-list-next-month/articleshow/73562010.cms?utm\\_source=contentofinterest&utm\\_medium=text&utm\\_campaign=cppst](https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/pakistan-may-be-out-of-fatf-grey-list-next-month/articleshow/73562010.cms?utm_source=contentofinterest&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=cppst)
29. Snehesh Alex Philip, “Intel Data says 55 terrorists sneaked into J&K since 5 August, but Army doesn’t think so”, *The Print*, 20 December, 2019. <https://theprint.in/defence/intel-data-says-55-terrorists-sneaked-into-jk-since-5-august-but-army-doesnt-think-so/341754/>



**Ideas • Forums • Leadership • Impact**

---

20, Rouse Avenue Institutional Area, New Delhi - 110 002, INDIA  
Ph. : +91-11-35332000 Fax : +91-11-35332005  
E-mail: [contactus@orfonline.org](mailto:contactus@orfonline.org)  
Website: [www.orfonline.org](http://www.orfonline.org)