



**Jammu & Kashmir: A Case for Multilateral
Peaceful Conflict Transformation
JKCFA – Position Paper
July 2025**

ABSTRACT

The enduring Jammu and Kashmir conflict underscores the urgent need for a transformative, process-driven approach grounded in the principles of the United Nations Charter (1945). A lasting resolution must go beyond one-off settlements to meaningfully confront entrenched historical grievances, identity-based tensions, and asymmetries of power. This calls for sustained engagement through multilateral mechanisms that integrate legal adjudication, structured mediation, human security monitoring, and inclusive, community-led institution-building efforts. This Jammu Kashmir Council on Foreign Affairs (JKCFA) position paper proposes a framework for peaceful conflict transformation in Jammu and Kashmir.

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JKCFA – Position Paper

Jammu & Kashmir: A Case for Multilateral Peaceful Conflict Transformation

For the 22 July 2025 UN Security Council Open Debate on “Promoting International Peace and Security through Multilateralism and the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes”.

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1. Executive Summary

The enduring Jammu and Kashmir conflict underscores the urgent need for a transformative, process-driven approach grounded in the principles of the United Nations Charter (1945). A lasting resolution must go beyond one-off settlements to meaningfully confront entrenched historical grievances, identity-based tensions, and asymmetries of power. This calls for sustained engagement through multilateral mechanisms that integrate legal adjudication, structured mediation, human security monitoring, and inclusive, community-led institution-building efforts. This [Jammu Kashmir Council on Foreign Affairs \(JKCFA\)](#) position paper proposes a framework for:

1. **ICJ Advisory Opinion + Dialogue Mandate** on plebiscite modalities, demilitarisation, and transitional-justice options (UNSC, 1945, Art. 96);
2. **J&K Peace Transformation Commission** (revitalised UNCIP) to oversee phased withdrawals, confidence-building, reconciliation workshops, and periodic citizens' juries. Include Jammu and Kashmir in the UN Peacebuilding Commission-supported initiatives and establish the J&K Peacebuilding Office (Khan, 2025).
3. **Embedded UN Special Procedures** within a participatory human-rights and peace-building J&K PJR Scorecard co-designed with local stakeholders (UNHCHR, 2024);
4. **J&K Transformation Forum** to sustain political and technical engagement through thematic working groups on governance, economic recovery, and social cohesion (JKCFA, 2025);
5. **Strengthened Role for UNMOGIP** integrated into transformation architecture—leveraging its ceasefire observation, investigations under the 1949 Karachi Agreement, and field reporting to inform the Jammu & Kashmir Peace, Justice & Resolution Scorecard and the Transformation Commission's adaptive mandate (S/RES/47,1048; JKCFA, 2025);
6. **Embedded Transitional Justice & Psychosocial Support Mechanisms**, including a truth and reconciliation commission, community-based reparations, and trauma response teams (JKCFA, 2025).

2. Historical & Political Context

- **Partition and First Conflict (1947–48):** The contested accession of Jammu & Kashmir after British India's partition led to war and division along the ceasefire line (Schofield, 2000).
- **UNSC Resolution 47 (1948):** Called for a ceasefire, withdrawal of irregular forces, and a plebiscite under UNCIP supervision (S/RES/47, 1948).
- **UNSC Resolution 51 (1948 and 80 (1950):** Reaffirmed demilitarisation and UNCIP's authority to prepare for a plebiscite (S/RES/51,1948; S/RES/80, 1950).
- **UNCIP Stalemate:** Early UNCIP efforts faltered amid bilateral adjustments and geopolitical shifts, freezing the conflict in a militarised status quo (UNCIP, 1951).
- **UNMOGIP Formation & Evolving Mandate:** Established January 1949 to supervise the original ceasefire under UNSC S/RES 39 (1948) and 47 (1948), then re-tasked after 17 December 1971 to observe adherence to that ceasefire and investigate violations, with reports to the Secretary-General. (S/RES/91,1951; UNMOGIP, 2025).

3. Why Conflict Transformation?

1. **Beyond Legal Settlement:** Legal rulings and plebiscites, while necessary, cannot on their own repair fractured social relations or address systemic injustices.

2. **Human-Security Imperative:** Prolonged militarisation and rights abuses undermine local trust; a transformation approach integrates security with justice, reparations, and psychosocial healing ([S/2004/616](#), 2004).
3. **Adaptive Governance & Local Ownership:** Empowering local governments in Pakistan and Indian administered regions of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, City and District councils, citizens' juries, and civil-society networks ensures reforms respond to evolving needs and build legitimacy (Khan, 2025).
4. **Sustained Multilateral Engagement:** Iterative UN supervision and a dedicated group of supportive Member States prevent relapse into bilateral brinkmanship (Gilani, 2025; JKCFA, 2025).
5. **Learning from Other Missions:** Lessons from UN peace operations in Cyprus and Timor-Leste underscore the importance of confidence-building, joint workshops, and transitional governance (Engel, 2015; UN Peacekeeping, 2024).

4. Framework for Multilateral Conflict Transformation

Seventy-seven years after [Security Council Resolutions](#) S/RES/38 (1948), S/RES/47 (1948), S/RES/80 (1950) and S/RES/96 (1951) pledged a free and impartial plebiscite in Jammu & Kashmir, the region remains mired in militarisation, widespread human rights violations (see the [UN High Commissioner for Human Rights \(OHCHR\) in 2018](#) and [2019 reports](#)), and socio-economic paralysis. Three full-scale wars (1947–48, 1965, 1971), the Kargil conflict of 1999, and the recent five-day (May 2025) military clash between India and Pakistan have repeatedly thrust [civilians into the crossfire](#), leading to the loss of innocent lives, mass displacement, and long-term trauma. Livelihoods have been destroyed, access to education and healthcare severely disrupted, and environmental stability shattered across the [UNMOGIP-monitored Ceasefire Line](#) (S/RES/91, 1951; Khan, 2025). The ongoing conflict is further marked by curbs on freedom of speech, expression and movement, deepening the sense of siege and silencing critical voices from the ground. The situation now constitutes a growing threat to international peace and security and ongoing, serious violations of the right to life, liberty and security of persons living in the disputed territory of Jammu and Kashmir. The Government of India's unilateral revocation of [Articles 370 and 35-A](#) and the annexation of the State on 5 August 2019 further contravened UN-mandated mechanisms and attempted to extinguish the Kashmiri people's long-promised right to self-determination (Al Jazeera, 2019). As violence escalates and hope fades, there is a growing erosion of trust in the United Nations Security Council and its ability to resolve the Jammu and Kashmir dispute, despite it being one of the oldest items on its agenda. Faced with this protracted stalemate—one that neither New Delhi nor Islamabad can resolve bilaterally—we urge the Council to harness its collective wisdom and adopt the JKCFA Framework for Multilateral Peaceful Conflict Transformation. Only a robust, UN-led approach—rooted in existing resolutions, institutionalised confidence-building, impartial legal guidance, and sustained civil-society engagement—can break this cycle of conflict, protect civilian lives, restore fundamental freedoms, and fulfil the Charter's promise of justice for the people of Jammu & Kashmir.

Step	Description	Timeline & Mechanism
1. ICJ Advisory Opinion + Dialogue Mandate	Reinvigorating Legal Mandates <ul style="list-style-type: none"> UNSC Resolution 47 (1948) called for a ceasefire and plebiscite under UN auspices (UNSC, 1948). 	July 2025: Presidential Statement: Reaffirming the relevant UN resolutions and exercising its

Step	Description	Timeline & Mechanism
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UNGA Resolution 80 (1950) reaffirmed the need for a free and impartial plebiscite (UNGA, 1950). <p>JKCFA recommends that the Security Council adopt a Presidential Statement in July 2025 reaffirming these resolutions and authorising:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A revised ceasefire mechanism under UN military observers, modelled on UNFICYP's Joint Military Observer Group (Diehl, 2013). 2. Refer the Kashmir question to the International Court of Justice (Article 96, UN Charter) for an Advisory Opinion on plebiscite modalities, sequencing of demilitarisation, voter-list compilation by the UN, based on pre-August 5, 2019 status of the Jammu and Kashmir, and democratic guarantees for all Kashmiris and transitional-justice frameworks. This provides neutral legal guidance and reduces process ambiguity. <p>Simultaneously launch a moderated dialogue series among India, Pakistan, and Kashmiri representatives facilitated by ICJ-appointed experts.</p> <p>JKCFA further recommends that, in addition to reaffirming the relevant United Nations resolutions and exercising its mandated authority, as mentioned above, the Security Council should adopt a Presidential Statement in July 2025 urging India to restore Articles 370 and 35-A of its constitution. This measure would seek to reinstate the pre-August 5, 2019 status of Jammu and Kashmir, thereby reaffirming the region's historical and constitutional standing within the broader framework of international law and commitments.</p>	<p>mandated authority, urging India to restore Articles 370 and 35-A of its constitution, reinstating the pre-August 5, 2019 status of Jammu and Kashmir, thereby reaffirming the region's historical and constitutional standing within the broader framework of international law and commitments.</p> <p>Oct 2025: Vote on referral & dialogue terms; Mid 2026: Opinion and interim dialogue report (ICJ, 2026).</p>
<p>2. Establish J&K Peace Transformation Commission</p>	<p>Building on UNCIP, establish the J&K Peace Transformation Commission—a standing, Chapter VII-mandated body to:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Supervise phased demilitarisation along the Ceasefire line with UN military observers (400 personnel) and liaison officers embedded with Indian and Pakistani commands. 2. Convene reconciliation workshops and citizens' juries in every district to deliberate on governance and rights. 3. Oversee CBMs: family reunions, pilot trade links, cultural exchanges. 	<p>Aug 2025: UNSC resolution re-establishing commission; Q4 2025–Q4 2026: Commission activities. Include Jammu and Kashmir in the UN Peacebuilding Commission-supported initiatives and establish the J&K Peacebuilding Office.</p>

Step	Description	Timeline & Mechanism
	4. Monitor human rights and humanitarian access, reporting semi-annually to the UNSC and OHCHR.	
3. Embed UN Special Procedures	Integrate SRs on Torture, Freedom of Assembly, and OCHA into a joint “Jammu & Kashmir Peace, Justice & Resolution Scorecard” co-designed with Kashmiri NGOs; track security, education, healthcare, and freedom of movement with triggers for emergency response.	July 2025: Framework endorsed by Council; Oct 2025: First J&K PJR Scorecard release.
4. J&K Transformation Forum	Launch an informal coalition of Member States, SAARC, OIC, SCO, and NGOs to sponsor thematic working groups on: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transitional governance & judicial reform; • Economic recovery & infrastructure; • Youth & inter-community exchanges; • Cultural heritage & psychosocial healing. • Impacts of Climate change and food insecurity in Jammu and Kashmir. 	July 2025: Forum launched at Open Debate; Quarterly working group reports.
5. Strengthen UNMOGIP Integration	Expand UNMOGIP’s operational role by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coordinating its ceasefire observations and violation investigations with the Transformation Commission; • Feeding reports into the J&K PJR Scorecard; • Supporting reconciliation workshops and confidence-building across the LoC. 	July 2025: Council endorsement; Ongoing: Joint field missions and reviews.
6. Transitional Justice & Psychosocial Support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establish a Truth & Reconciliation Commission to document abuses and recommend reparations; • Deploy trauma-response and psychosocial support units trained by UNHCHR; • Launch survivor-led rehabilitation and reparations programmes. 	Q1 2026: Mechanisms established; Q2 2026: First outreach and survivor consultations.

5. Anticipated Outcomes & Impact

- **Holistic Peace-building:** Legal clarity, psychosocial healing, and inclusive governance address both structural and emotional roots of conflict.
- **Incremental De-Escalation:** Confidence-building, observer coordination, and rights monitoring reduce tensions and restore civic trust (UNMOGIP, 2025; UNHCHR, 2024).
- **Locally Responsive Governance:** Citizens’ juries and NGO co-designs allow context-specific adaptation (JKCFA, 2025).

- **Sustained Political Attention:** The Forum and quarterly J&K PJR Scorecards maintain visibility and action between Council debates.
- **Data-Driven Triggers:** The J&K PJR Scorecard enables targeted responses to security, health, and education indicators.

6. Conclusion

Our objective must transcend mere management or resolution of the long-standing Jammu and Kashmir dispute and focus instead on fostering meaningful transformation. This entails confronting the root causes, reshaping entrenched narratives, and advancing a holistic approach aimed at lasting peace and regional stability. Achieving this vision calls for more than official engagement—it demands the active participation of civil society on both sides of the Line of Control (LoC), supported by the United Nations. Such inclusive dialogue can make a substantive difference in shifting public narratives, deepening mutual understanding, and fostering durable trust.

Reframing the Jammu and Kashmir issue as a case for multilateral conflict transformation—rather than simply a dispute to be settled bilaterally by Indian and Pakistan—opens the door to a more comprehensive and enduring approach. This perspective integrates legal, social, and economic strategies under sustained United Nations stewardship. Drawing on lessons from comparable UN peace operations, a revitalised role for UNMOGIP, and the incorporation of locally embedded Jammu & Kashmir Peace, Justice & Resolution Scorecard and psychosocial and transitional justice mechanisms, the UN is well-positioned to uphold its longstanding mandate and deliver on its commitments to the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

About us:

Jammu Kashmir Council on Foreign Affairs (JKCFA)

An independent, non-partisan think tank and citizens' diplomacy network

The Jammu Kashmir Council on Foreign Affairs (JKCFA) is an independent, non-partisan think tank and citizens' diplomacy network—founded by members of the Jammu & Kashmir community and its global diaspora—to amplify local voices in multilateral forums and negotiations.

Guided by our vision of a peaceful, inclusive Jammu and Kashmir—where every voice shapes a future of cooperation, understanding, and shared prosperity—JKCFA empowers and represents the people of all the regions of the State of Jammu and Kashmir through rigorous research, equitable trust-based dialogues, and strategic coalition-building. We map clear pathways to sustainable peace, convene decision-makers, activists, and influencers in safe-space discussions, and forge partnerships at local, regional, and international levels. By fostering informed debate on Jammu & Kashmir's evolving role in South Asia and beyond, we turn conflict into opportunity for cooperation and mutual understanding.

Our Vision:

A peaceful, inclusive Jammu & Kashmir—where every voice shapes a future of cooperation, understanding, and shared prosperity.

Our Mission:

To empower the people and diaspora of Jammu & Kashmir through independent research, equitable dialogue, strategic citizens diplomacy, and coalition building—transforming conflict into opportunity and amplifying community-driven solutions on the global stage.

What We Do

We transform conflict into opportunity by amplifying community-driven solutions on the global stage, empowering the people and diaspora of Jammu & Kashmir through:

- **Independent Research:** Rigorous, policy-relevant analysis that identifies pathways to lasting peace.
- **Safe-Space Dialogue:** Equitable, trust-based dialogues (“JKCFA Rule”) that build mutual understanding.
- **Strategic Citizens’ Diplomacy:** Coalition-building at local, regional, and international levels.

Our Core Values

6. **Independence & Integrity:** Non-partisanship and rigorous standards
7. **Inclusivity & Representation:** Diverse stakeholder engagement
8. **Respect & Trust:** Safe-space dialogue and trusted exchanges
9. **Excellence in Research:** In-depth research, actionable insights
10. **Collaboration & Coalition-Building:** Partnerships for Collective Action and Impact
11. **Transparency & Accountability:** Clear processes and open communication

Why Join or Support JKCFA?

- **Be Part of the Solution:** Contribute your ideas to a movement transforming conflict into cooperation.
- **Access Exclusive Forums:** Participate in Safe-space dialogue and trusted exchange forums that influence policy.
- **Leverage Global Networks:** Connect with scholars, activists, and policymakers worldwide.
- **Drive Real Impact:** Help us produce research and coalitions that shape sustainable peace.

Get Involved

Whether you’re a policy-maker, academic, civil-society leader, or concerned global citizen, JKCFA offers multiple engagement pathways—from research fellowships and event sponsorships to volunteer citizen diplomacy fellowships.

👉 Visit www.jkcfa.org/join to learn more and become part of the change.

Email us: admin@jkcfa.org

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