

ual subjects common to all identified regions and those subjects that are beyond the scope of self-governance".

However, like other Pakistani policy positions on Kashmir, this position was also subtly targeting Kashmiri civic nationalism. It surrendered the right of self-determination for Kashmiris and divided the state on a regional, linguistic, and racial basis. The people-to-person contact, softening of borders, and easing travel formalities were a diplomatic way of converting the line of control to a permanent border and separating the two parts of Kashmir. Kashmiri nationalists rejected the move. Secondly, Musharraf's proposal was implemented in consultation with stakeholders. The formula envisaged that the area should be de-militarized and there should be movement from one part of Kashmir to another. But at the same time, it also says borders cannot be withdrawn, which is akin to making the line of control into an international border. Secondly, self-government here clashed with self-determination. If the self has the right to govern, how could the notion of self-determination be negated? The joint management system would only give endless powers to the external rulers.

Conclusion

The external factors contribute in both negative and positive ways to the Kashmiri nationalism. As an external factor, the Kashmiri diaspora represents pursuing a culturally diverse political territory. Attainment of a state functions as a starting point for civic nationalism, so the diaspora intervenes in exciting ways to imagine and reinforce the idea of a state. The Kashmiri diaspora promotes the ideals of territoriality, citizenship, civic rights, and legal codes. Through its interaction with modernity, it eliminates cultural cleavages for the formation of a unified culture. It endorses a welfarist culture that emerges and is nourished by factors such as advanced communication and education. In a way, it negates all the primordial affinities and claims commonality on non-genealogical variables.

The intervention of the Pakistani state as an external factor has negative consequences as it bases its claim on irredentism. This irredentism is played through a metaphoric body of an Islamic nation-state and ummah. In this sense, a geographical, spiritual, religious, and emotional continuity is imagined between Pakistan and Kashmir. Kashmir is linked through biological expressions such as *shah-rag* (jugular vein) and varying configurations; Pakistan places itself in a representative position to take up the case of Kashmir. The projection happens through exaggerated news, rumours, and dramatised accounts to reinforce a strict ethnic essence to Kashmiri nationalism.

This claim of common genealogical descent towards attaining a shared national identity is fostered through myths and memories. Common religious ties between Pakistan and Kashmir are used to enforce commonality between different people, eliminating any sense of difference. Pakistani nationalism emerged out of reaction and is marked by vagueness and ambivalence. This necessitated a need for invention to create a history that makes the aspirations for a nation look legitimate and natural. Thus, the ethnic irredential intervention in Kashmiri nationalism by Pakistan is an essential part of issuing a history.