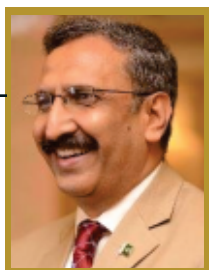


Contents

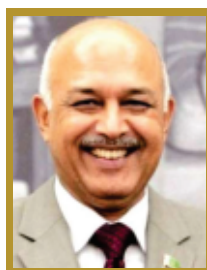
—	Advisory Board, Pakistan House	—	1
—	Introduction	—	3
—	Programme Layout	—	4
—	Speaker Profiles	—	6
—	Welcome Address	—	9
—	Keynote Addresses	—	10
●	Guest of Honour	—	10
●	Keynote Speaker 1	—	12
●	Keynote Speaker 2	—	16
●	Guest of Honour	—	18
●	Remarks by Chief Guest for First Session		21
—	Noteworthy Snippets	—	24
—	Video Session Speeches	—	27
—	First Session Speeches	—	34
—	Second Session Speeches	—	43
●	Remarks by Chief Guest for Concluding Session	—	46
—	Analysis & Recommendations	—	52
●	Analysis	—	52
●	Recommendations	—	53
—	Photo Gallery	—	54



Chairman
General Ehsan Ul Haq,
HI (M) NI (M) (Retd)



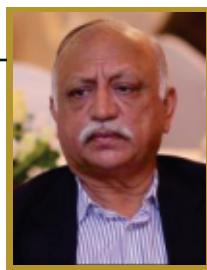
Director General & Founder
Mr. Muhammad Athar Javed



Board Member
Lt. General Asif Yasin Malik,
HI (M) (Retd)



Board Member
Lt. General Khalid Rabbani,
HI (M) (Retd)



Board Member
Brig Riaz Chib,
SI (M) (Retd)



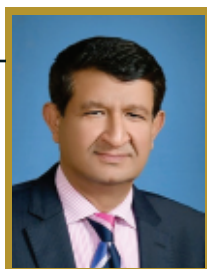
Board Member
Ambassador Zamir Akram
(Retd)



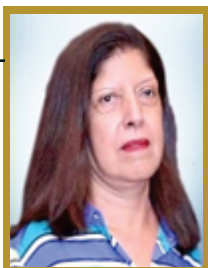
Board Member
Vice Admiral Rao Iftikhar
Ahmed, HI(M), (Retd)



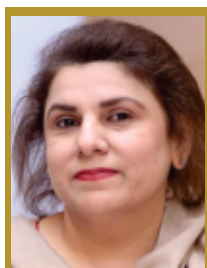
Board Member
Ambassador Salman Bashir
(Retd)



Board Member
Dr. Ishtiaq Ahmad



Board Member
Ms. Iram Allauddin



Board Member
Dr. Shabana Fayyaz

Introduction



Pakistan House organized a one-day International Conference on 25th of February 2019 in Islamabad on "Occupied Kashmir: The Victim of State and Societal Coercion". Ms. Sana Maqbool, News Anchor at PTV World, was the Master of Ceremony.

This popular event witnessed the participation of ambassadors, diplomats, policy makers, academics, civil-military bureaucrats, government officials, media personnel, university students, and other dignitaries.

Mr. Chaudhry Fawad Hussain graced the occasion as the Chief Guest for the Keynote Session whereas Mr. Shah Mahmood Qureshi graced the occasion as the Chief Guest for the Concluding Session.

Mr. Kjell Magne Bondevik, former Prime Minister of Norway, and H.E. Sardar Masood Khan, President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir honoured the occasion as guests of honour.

The esteemed Chief Guests, Guests of Honour, Keynote speakers, other dignitaries, and audience members praised the content and eminent speakers for delivering an invaluable analysis on state and societal coercion eminent in Indian Occupied Kashmir.

This report presents a summary of statements by the Chief Guests, Guests of Honour, Keynote speakers, and key remarks delivered by the speakers during the conference. It also presents an analysis and policy recommendations for the state institutions.

Programme Layout



Keynote Session

Welcome Remarks by Mr. Muhammad Athar Javed
Director General Pakistan House

Guest of Honour:
Mr. Kjell Magne Bondevik
Former Prime Minister of Norway

Keynote Speaker 1:
Mr. Saiyed Abdullah Gillani
Convener, All Parties Hurriyat Conference (APHC)

Keynote Speaker 2:
Ms. Mushaal Hussein Mullick
Chairperson Peace and Cultural Organization

Guest of Honour:
H.E. Sardar Masood Khan
President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir

Remarks by Chief Guest:
Mr. Chaudhry Fawad Hussain
Federal Minister of Information & Broadcasting

Video Session

How to Internationalize the State Coercion in IOK Messages from British and European Member of Parliament

Moderator: Muhammad Athar Javed
Director General Pakistan House

Ms. Debbie Abrahams
Chair of All-Party Parliamentary Group on Kashmir in the UK Parliament

Mr. Afzal Khan
Shadow Minister Immigration

Mr. Tony Lloyd
Shadow Secretary of State for Northern Ireland

Mr. Tanmanjeet Singh Dhesi
Member of Parliament, UK

Ms. Jean Lambert
Green Party's Member of European Parliament for London and Chair of Delegation for relations with the countries of South Asia

Ms. Kate Green
Member of Parliament, UK

Lord Qurban Hussain
House of Lords, UK

First Session



Right to Self-Determination vs. Militarization of IOK

Chair: Lt Gen Khalid Rabbani HI (M), (Retd)

Former Corps Commander XI Corps (Peshawar) and former Managing Director, Army Welfare Trust

Indian Military Occupation of Kashmir and State Coercion

Ambassador Ashraf Jehangir Qazi (Retd)

Former Pakistan's Ambassador to the United States

Supporting right to self-determination of Kashmiris: Implications for Regional Peace

Ambassador Salman Bashir (Retd)

Former Foreign Secretary

Pak-India Relations: A Diplomatic Conundrum

Ambassador Abdul Basit (Retd)

Former High Commissioner to India

Second Session

The Role of Indian State in Social Coercion

Chair: Amb Ashraf Jahangir Qazi

Former Pakistan's Ambassador to the United States

Kashmiris Under Siege: Rise of Hindutva and HR Situation

Group Captain Sultan Mahmood Hali

SI (M), (Retd)

Defence Analyst

Preventing Unabated Killing and Role of Indian State

Dr. Ishtiaq Ahmad

Vice Chancellor, University of Sargodha

Concluding Session

Remarks by Chief Guest:

Mr. Shah Mahmood Qureshi

Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs

Vote of Thanks by

General Ehsan Ul Haq NI (M), (Retd)

Former Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee and Chairman Advisory Board, Pakistan House

Speakers Profiles



Mr. Kjell Magne Bondevik,
former Prime Minister of Norway

Mr. Kjell Magne Bondevik is the Founder and Executive Chair of the Oslo Center. He has served twice as the Prime Minister of Norway from 1997-2000 and 2001-2005. He has also been Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of Church and Education. He was a member of the Norwegian Parliament from 1973-2005. Moreover, he has served as the UN Secretary-General's Special Envoy to the Horn of Africa in 2006-2007. Mr. Bondevik holds the degree of Cand.Theol. and was ordained as a priest in the Lutheran Church of Norway in 1979.

Mr. Saiyed Abdullah Gillani,
Convener, All Parties Hurriyat Conference (APHC)

Mr Abdullah Gillani is the convener of All Parties Hurriyat Conference and a representative of Mr. Syed Ali Geelani in the All Parties Hurriyat Conference. He was born in 1970, in a renowned scholar's family of North Kashmir's Baramullah town. He is the younger brother of renowned rights Activist, Professor SAR Gillani. He joined freedom Struggle at the age of 17, was first imprisoned in 1988 on the charges of stone pelting against occupation forces. He has represented Kashmir movement in different capacities for last 25 years. His articles are published in different newspapers in IOK and Pakistan.

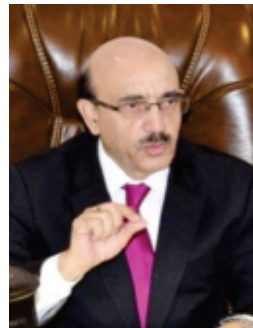


Ms. Mushaal Hussein Mullick,
Chairperson Peace and Cultural Organization

Ms. Mushaal Hussein Mullick is wife of Kashmiri freedom fighter Yasin Malik. She is a peace activist and Chairperson of Peace & Culture Organization. She has extensively contributed to the Kashmir issue nationally and internationally.

H.E. Sardar Masood Khan,
President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir

Mr. Sardar Masood Khan is a retired diplomat who serves as the 27th President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. He joined the Foreign Service of Pakistan in 1980 and went on to serve in various diplomatic positions. From August 2003 to March 2005, he served as the Spokesperson for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Pakistan's Ambassador to China between September 2008 and September 2012 and as Pakistan's Permanent Representative to the United Nations between October 11, 2012 and February 7, 2015. He also served as the Director General of Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad between February 2015 and August 4, 2016 before being appointed as President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir.





Mr. Chaudhry Fawad Hussain,
Federal Minister of Information & Broadcasting

Mr. Chaudhry Fawad Hussain is a lawyer by profession and a politician by passion and lineage. Chaudhry's family has strong political credentials and has played a very significant role in local as well as national politics. His grandfather and other family members have also served on important positions in the government as well as in the superior judiciary. Chaudhry Fawad Hussain served as Special Assistant to Prime Minister (2012-13). After joining the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), he has been handling media-related issues as Secretary Information of the party. In addition to being Federal Minister for Information & Broadcasting, he is also

Secretary Information and Central Spokesman for the ruling party. Chaudhry Fawad was elected Member National Assembly from Jhelum (NA-67) in the general elections 2018 held on July 25. He also won a provincial assembly seat (PP-27) from Jhelum, which he vacated in order to retain his National Assembly seat. In the Federal Cabinet, he has been assigned the portfolio of Minister for Information and Broadcasting. He assumed the charge of the Ministry on August 20, 2018.

Ambassador Ashraf Jehangir Qazi (Retd),
former Pakistan's Ambassador to the United States

Ambassador Ashraf Jehangir Qazi has held various important positions as a diplomat. He served as the Pakistan's Ambassador to the United States, China, Russia and Pakistan's High Commissioner to India.



Ambassador Salman Bashir (Retd),
former Foreign Secretary of Pakistan

Ambassador Salman Bashir (Retd) is a Pakistani diplomat who served as the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan and as the High Commissioner of Pakistan to India. Mr Bashir has served as the Ambassador to Denmark, Lithuania, China and Mongolia. He also did a stint at Pakistan's Mission to the United Nations in Geneva.

He served in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a Section Officer (1976–1980), Director (1985–1987), Director General (1995–1999), Additional Foreign Secretary (2003–2005) and the Foreign Secretary (2008–2012). Whereas, his foreign diplomatic assignments included: Pakistan Mission to the United Nations Office at Geneva (1980–1984), OIC Secretariat Jeddah (1988–1995), Ambassador of Pakistan to Denmark and Lithuania (July 1999 to February 2003), Ambassador of Pakistan to China and Mongolia (2005–2008), and High Commissioner of Pakistan to India (2012–2014).



Ambassador Abdul Basit (Retd),
former High Commissioner to India

Ambassador Abdul Basit is a retired Pakistani diplomat who has served as High Commissioner to India and Ambassador to Germany. Abdul Basit holds a Master's degree in International Relations from Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad and joined the Foreign Service of Pakistan in 1982. During his career, he has been posted at Moscow, New York, Sana'a, Geneva and London. He has also served as the President of the Islamabad Policy Research Institute after retirement. Presently, he hosts a TV show, "Awaz E Pakistan, Abdul Basit Ke Sat" (Voice of Pakistan with Abdul Basit).





**Group Captain Sultan Mahmood Hali SI (M), (Retd),
Defence Analyst**

Group Captain Sultan Mahmood Hali is a veteran of the Pakistan Air Force (PAF). He served as the PAF's Director of Public Relations. After retiring from the service, he took up media as a profession and completed his Masters and M Phil in Mass Communication along with broadcast journalism from USA. He has been hosting a weekly English talk show, "Defence & Diplomacy" on PTV News since March 2009 and on PTV World from 2013-2016. For his meritorious service, Government of Pakistan has conferred upon him Sitara-e-Imtiaz (SI).

**Dr. Ishtiaq Ahmad,
Vice Chancellor, University of Sargodha**

Dr. Ishtiaq Ahmad is the Vice Chancellor of the University of Sargodha, Pakistan. Previously, he has served as the Director of the School of Politics and International Relations at Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad (2016); Quaid-i-Azam Fellow at St. Antony's College, University of Oxford (2010-15); Associate Professor of International Relations, Quaid-i-Azam University (2005-10); Assistant Professor/Vice Chair of International Relations at Eastern Mediterranean University, North Cyprus (1998-2005); and Senior Research Fellow at Area Study Centre, Quaid-i-Azam University (1996-98), from where he did his PhD in Area Studies in 1996. He also reported for The Nation and edited The Muslim (1991-96)



**Mr. Shah Mahmood Qureshi,
Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs**

Mr. Shah Mahmood Qureshi is the Foreign Minister of Pakistan since 20th August 2018, a portfolio which he held previously from 2008 to 2011. He started his political career in 1983 from the District Council from where he elevated to the Provincial Assembly of Punjab. He remained the Member of Punjab Assembly from 1985 to 1993 and served as Minister of Planning and Development; and Minister of Finance in the Punjab Government. He was elected five times as Member of National Assembly from Multan in elections held in 1993, 2002, 2008, 2013, and 2018. He has also served as the Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs in the Federal Cabinet from 1993 to 1996, and the Mayor of Multan from 2000 to 2002. He is also the Vice-Chairman of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf.

Welcome Address



Mr. Muhammad Athar Javed
Director General Pakistan House

Ladies and Gentlemen,
Assalamu Alikum. I would like to welcome our honorable chief guest for Keynote Session Mr. Chaudhary Fawad Hussain, Federal Minister of Information and Broadcasting, respectable guests of honor Mr. Kjell Magne Bondevik, former Prime Minister of Norway and Mr. Sardar Masood Khan, President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK). I would also like to welcome other distinguished speakers, Chairman of our advisory board General Ehsan ul Haq (Retd), and all other board members and diplomats present here.

It gives me immense pleasure to inform you that despite the postponement of our event on 18th February 2019, Mr. Bondevik was kind enough to reschedule on a very short notice.

Today's conference is about one of the central themes of our organization, "Dialogue and peace". Pakistan does not want war, it seeks a peaceful resolution of Kashmir dispute and it also asks the international community to implement the United Nations (UN) resolutions and halt all kinds of human rights violation in the Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK).

The efforts by the current Government of Pakistan for achievement of peace will be discussed by our honorable chief guests and all other speakers. I pay my gratitude to Mr. Bondevik and H.E. Ambassador Zaheer Pervaiz Khan (Pakistan's Ambassador to Norway) for their contribution in this regard.

Keynote Addresses

Guest of Honour



Mr. Kjell Magne Bondevik
Former Prime Minister of Norway

I want to thank Pakistan House for organizing this seminar and for bringing us together today. It is crucial to pay more attention to the ongoing conflict in Kashmir since it is the longest ever ongoing conflict in Asia. The people of Kashmir are suffering, and the abuses of human rights have created refugee problems in the region. During wars in Syria and Yemen it is difficult for the international community to focus on Kashmir;

Kashmiris deserve the engagement of international community. Therefore, I want to contribute towards the cause of Kashmir. I have been engaged with Kashmir issue for the last two years together with Mr. Aamir Sheikh. I will try to do my best to put the people of Kashmir out of misery. The abuses of human rights there are well documented in the report by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) and also in a report by All Party Parliamentary Group on Kashmir of the British Parliament.

I have been visiting Kashmir for the last two years and during those visits I have learned about the gravity of the current situation and the severity of the violation of the human rights in IOK. We need to give more attention to these violations, and we need to strengthen our efforts for political solutions.

Violence and terror should not be accepted as means of resolving this issue. I, therefore, condemn the recent 2019 Pulwama terrorist incident which clearly indicates that there is no military solution to the conflict. All parties concerned must now restrain from the statements and actions that will increase tensions between Pakistan and India that lead towards a more dangerous situation. The only sustainable solution is a political settlement between India, Pakistan, and leaders of Kashmir. I encourage the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India to initiate steps to pacify the situation and to start the process towards reconciliation and peace.

It has been useful for me to meet several politicians and other activists during the conflict such as the President and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan, the President of Pakistan Council of Kashmir, the Chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee here in Islamabad and in India, the member of parliaments and several political, ethnic and business leaders in Srinagar in the IOK.



My engagement with Mr. Sri Sri Ravi Shankar, a famous Indian guru and a peace activist, has also been supportive and instrumental. It has also been useful for me to meet with the former President of Pakistan, Mr. Pervez Musharraf to discuss with him his four-step approach that he presented back in 2003 because it was the meeting between him and the then Prime Minister of India,

Mr. Manmohan Singh, during which a ceasefire was declared; however, with time violent incidents took over. There have been also several other initiatives to establish peace between India and Pakistan, such as the Shimla agreement in 1972 and in 2012, the meeting between the then President of Pakistan Asif Ali Zardari and the then Prime Minister of India Manmohan Singh - but once again violence took precedence over dialogue and peace.

Now is the time to introduce initiatives and in addition, the international engagement and efforts are required to encourage both parties and all concerned stakeholders to meet for a new series of dialogue. Meanwhile, the international community must focus on this conflict and increase pressure on parties to meet and start the process for an effective ceasefire and a political settlement on the basis for lasting peace.

It was promising when Prime Minister Imran Khan on August 2018 pledged that Pakistan government is willing to take two steps towards peace if India takes one. I also agree with him for presenting the idea to the UN Secretary General for appointing a UN special envoy for Kashmir. This can help to focus on the situation to convey messages between parties and to encourage and start a bilateral dialogue.

This conflict has several dimensions which must be addressed; it has political, military, ethnic, religious, economic and natural resource problems. Special attention must be given to the Line of Control (LOC), as there is hindrance for people to do business across the line and for families to meet their beloved ones across the border.



The future status of Kashmir has to be addressed. It is not for us in the international community to impose any solution on the concerned parties, but it is, in fact, a moral and a political duty for us to do our utmost to encourage the decision makers to bring the violence and human rights abuses to an end and start a process for a political solution and lasting peace; people of Kashmir deserve this as their fundamental right.

Keynote Speaker 1:



Mr. Saiyed Abdullah Gillani
Convener, All Parties Hurriyat
Conference (APHC)

I would like to extend my deep appreciation and sincere gratitude to Pakistan House, especially to Mr. Rana Athar Javed for inviting me to participate and share my thoughts. It's indeed a great honor and privilege to be here today with you all.

This year marks seven decades since the United Nations adopted a resolution outlining the principles and procedure to be followed for the final settlement of the Kashmir dispute. In this historically significant and, as far as Kashmir issue is concerned vitally important document, the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) notes with satisfaction that both India and Pakistan have agreed and have communicated to the commission their acceptance of the principle of democratic method of plebiscite as the basis for deciding the future of Kashmir. Seventy years on, Kashmir dispute not only remains unresolved but has left a horrifying trail of death, destruction and immeasurable human suffering in its wake.

For those acquainted with the history of Kashmir dispute would know that it was India which first approached the UN seeking its intervention in resolving the Kashmir issue and for the last seventy years India itself has been the main hurdle in the resolution of this dispute. Today, India is not only in complete denial about the nature and history of Kashmir dispute but has been using brutal means of repression at its disposal to crush the Kashmiri people's ongoing movement for the right to self-determination.

Nearly hundred thousand Kashmiri Muslims have been killed, twenty-two thousand women have been widowed and more than hundred thousand children have been orphaned by Indian occupation forces since the mass uprising against Indian rule broke out in the 1980's. The occupation forces have also maimed and disabled tens of thousands in torture centers and have used rape as a war weapon thereby violating the dignity of nearly ten thousand women.

Thousands of Kashmiri Muslims have also been disappeared without a trace while tens of thousands languish in prisons without any trial. These staggering statistics leave no doubt that the Kashmiris are suffering a genocide. In recent years, India's coercive policies against Kashmiris have intensified even further, since the Hindu nationalist party, the BJP came to power in India. Indian atrocities and barbarity in Kashmir has reached new extremes.



Under the so-called, "Operation All Out" the occupation forces have embarked on a renewed and communally motivated killing spree. While, on the one hand, Kashmiri youth are being mercilessly slaughtered and children as young as five and ten years old are being blinded with short-gun pellets, pushing their future into darkness.

Infamous draconian laws are unabatedly being used to violently crush peaceful protests and torture and maim pro-freedom Kashmiris. At the same time resistance leadership is kept under constant detention and contact between them and the masses is being impeded and thereby a vicious attempt is being made to deprive the movement of its leadership.

This atrocious and inhumane treatment of Kashmiris is not just limited to Kashmir; many Kashmiris who travel to different parts of India pursuing their education or looking for employment and business opportunities are also being targeted and victimized not only by the state authorities but also by general Indian public. Hundreds of such cases where Kashmiris were ferociously targeted and in some cases even fatally attacked by violent mobs in different parts of India have surfaced in recent years indicating that India not only as a state but also as a society has turned against Kashmiris.

Although, a segment of Indian civil society does understand the plight and pain of Kashmiri people and it does raise its voice against the injustice meted out to Kashmiri people; however, such voices are in a small number and are often discredited and labeled as traitors or anti-national elements. India's state terrorism against Kashmiris is at its peak but the world doesn't appear to care much, I must hasten to add here that there have been some honorable exceptions to this international indifference towards Kashmir and some of our esteemed guests today represent that exception; Mr. Kjell Magne Bondevik in particular deserves our sincere gratitude for his interest and concern over the ongoing situation in Kashmir.

Even the fact that all these heinous crimes are being perpetrated by a country that doesn't ever tire of posting about being the so-called largest democracy doesn't seem to make any difference to the international community at large. As a result, Indian forces continue to violate human rights and international laws flagrantly with absolute impunity.

India's attempt to change the nature of dispute over Kashmir has now become even more emboldened, and sinister plans are afoot to abrogate article 370 of the Indian constitution in order to force Kashmiris out of their land and property and to alter the demography of the region.

Even the recent report by UNHRC on the human rights situation in Kashmir appears to have not achieved much in-terms of either bringing about any change in India's behavior or awakening the international conscience.



In-fact India responded to the UN report with the same traditional denial that has been its hallmark for the last seven decades. However, we must understand that the status quo in Kashmir is neither in the interest of India, Pakistan, and Kashmir, nor in the interest of the South Asian region and the world at large.



India has nearly a million-armed forces stationed in Kashmir, turning the region into the most militarized zone in world. Three generations of Kashmiris have resisted India's occupation largely peacefully but India's continuing and oppressive policies are now creating a new generation of resistance fighters that is born and brought-up under the shadow of guns and is increasingly resorting to armed struggle. Kashmir therefore is a powder-keg waiting to explode and the world cannot afford to ignore it any longer.

The recent Pulwama attack in which more than forty Indian soldiers lost their lives and its aftermath, should serve as a grim reminder of the perils of allowing the status quo to continue in Kashmir. Protests that broke out across India in response to the killings have already taken the shape of violent anti-Muslim riots in the Hindu majority region of Jammu while in the rest of India they are turning into a war hysteria with some politicians and a section of media hell-bent on fueling crises and vitiating the atmosphere even further.

I would like to end by reading out the statement issued by the Joint Resistance Leadership (JRL) of the Kashmir on the killing of Indian soldiers which, I believe, echoes the collective feeling and sentiment of all Kashmiris as a nation.

The statement reads: People and leadership of Kashmir regret every killing that happens on its soil, as we witness killing of our loved ones, our young ones and shoulder their coffins each day, we can feel and understand the pain and sense of loss that the family and friends of those who are killed go through, not for a day or two when everyone is expressing grief and condolences to them, but the silent grief and loss that stays with them for a lifetime.

The delay in the resolution of the Kashmir dispute, the denial to engage with the sentiments and aspirations of the people of Jammu and Kashmir and instead the use of a muscular military approach to counter an essentially political and human problem, is wreaking havoc on Kashmir, especially, on our next generation by consuming them while those who are here to execute this policy are also under stress and paying a price with their lives.

Militarization, army operations, use of bullets and pellets, blowing-up homes, blinding and maiming, draconian laws and torture as a means to crush legitimate political aspirations of the people has not only failed but worsened the situation. If this, 'death dance' has to stop, if hatred and revenge has to cease, if killing and counter-killings has to stop and if we really want peace in the region, we have to put an end to hostilities immediately.



And the most effective and civilized manner to do so, is to reach out, engage, and listen to the concerns of all stakeholders and address them in the spirit of humanity and justice in order to resolve the Kashmir issue for all times.

Keynote Speaker 2:



Ms. Mushaal Hussein Mullick,
Chairperson Peace and Cultural
Organization

It has been an honour for me to speak on this topic at this crucial time when India is suppressing Kashmiri community after the Pulwama attack 2019. Kashmir issue is one of the oldest pending issues on the globe that cannot be resolved unless the concerned parties agree to a concrete political solution, but it can be said that

we are moving towards positivity because the issue of Jammu & Kashmir is rising in many countries who are now trying to find a solution for Kashmiris. Last year, I met Mr. Bondevik in Oslo, Norway and suggested him to visit Jammu & Kashmir so that he himself breathes that air of claustrophobia, of coffins, of people trapped under occupation. Mr. Bondevik & Mr. Aamir Javed Sheikh assured me that they will try their best to visit Jammu & Kashmir and will try to initiate peace dialogue between Pakistan and India.

It is important here to mention that Mr. Kjell Magne Bondevik was the first high profile dignitary who broke the glass ceiling, broke the deadlock, and went to the valley last year in November. The day he reached Kashmir, almost eight people were killed by the Indian forces. He met Mr. Syed Ali Shah Geelani, Chairman All Parties Hurriyat Conference, and Mr. Mirwaiz Umar Farooq another great leader of freedom movement, but unfortunately couldn't meet Mr. Yasin Malik, Chairman, Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) because he was jailed at that moment. These prominent freedom fighters gave me hope that a miracle might happen, that the new world order would be able to change the principles of liberty, and that one day we might find a solution to Kashmir issue through peaceful means.

Kashmiris are facing economic, security and educational issues. Our youth will be destroyed if Kashmir issue is not resolved. Recently, I presented my paintings in an art exhibition, where every picture had a story of victimization of Kashmiris by the Indian Forces. There was a human face like Insha Mushtaq - one of the youngest victims of pellet gun. Although, she has been left blinded for all her life, yet she courageously said, "You can take my vision, but you cannot take the vision of freedom from Kashmiris." This is the spirit of Kashmiris.

Presently, people from different parts of the world and even the international organizations are taking steps for Kashmir. The UN report on human rights violations was released last year right before the British parliament issued its report, and now the European parliament has commenced its proceedings on Kashmir.

These steps are important because we need support of the people from the developed world who feel the pain of humanity. My message to everyone is that we must join hands for peace, and I hope that situation might change after Indian elections.



The people from the Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK) are main victims of Indian forces' brutalities, they have no army to defend themselves, and they can't even deliver a message to the international world as all means of communications are blocked. We should create an environment and convince P5 countries to bring Indians and Kashmiris on table as Kashmiris are the principal party of this conflict. We must think about regional stability and that road passes through Kashmir. Therefore, we must resolve the issue of Kashmir.

After the 9/11 attacks, it has been proven that everyone wants peace. At that time Mr. Bill Clinton, former President of US and the American authorities said that now peaceful means must be restored, starting from the peace process in Palestine and then the Kashmir issue. Many Kashmiris were set free on the demand of American authorities as my husband was one of them. Mr. Imran Khan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, before being elected, gave a statement that he will resolve Kashmir issue through dialogue and peaceful means. His approach is correct because Kashmir issue could only be resolved via dialogue as no one can win Kashmir through war.

For stability in long term regional global dynamics, policies must change. We are part of Kashmir and the world must realize that Kashmir is an important part of the emergence of the new South Asia - a new South Asia where all global stakeholders are involved, where all policymakers and all regional players can coexist because the beauty of this era is that this is an era of linkages, an era of co-existence. But, unfortunately, unless and until this issue of Kashmir is solved, the emergence of a new South-Asia is nothing more than a myth. If a limited war starts in Kashmir, then it will continue for ages because any blunder can lead to endless war. Whereas, in case of a nuclear war, the whole world will face the consequences. Hence, it's better to find a peaceful solution through table talks; to achieve regional peace and prosperity, the regional powers and the international community need to resolve Kashmir dispute.



In the end, I would like to say that we can never ever get a society where our future generations are saved from the aggressive and oppressive measures unless we achieve positive peace. Therefore, we must strive for peace. Long Live Kashmir!

Keynote Addresses

Guest of Honour



H.E. Sardar Masood Khan
President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir

I thank Mr. Kjell Magne Bondevik for being at this event and applaud his efforts for peace in Kashmir. He is a statesman of international stature and has promised that he would invest his political will, time and energy for the resolution of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. Now, he comes at a time when we have a grim and gruesome backdrop in South Asia.

The situation that prevails presently in IOK, in the aftermath of Pulwama Attack on the 14th of February, has left Kashmir in crackdowns and curfews. People are being hounded, and additional 10,000 troops have been rushed to the territory in Jammu as if 700,000 troops which are already deployed in the occupied territory are not enough. The businesses and houses of Muslims are ransacked, their vehicles are set to fire and Kashmiri youth are being regularly targeted and gunned down by Indian occupation forces. There is palpable fear in the valley of Kashmir, in Ladakh and in Jammu because Hindu extremists are bent upon avenging the Pulwama attack as calls have been made by violent extremists to start a drive for genocide in the territory.

The Indian forces are not distinguishing between militants and civilians, between combatants and noncombatants, and considers the entire population of Kashmir as an enemy population. Therefore, there is no room for application of international humanitarian law in IOK-laws pertaining to distinction, proportion and precaution. It is my opinion, which is shared by many Kashmiris and Pakistanis, and in fact many representatives of the international community, that India is interested only in the territory of Kashmir and is not interested in the people of Kashmir because it does not own them and considers them to be enemies.

Moreover, India has also deliberately and systematically incited hatred against its other Muslims citizens and the state of Pakistan. They have vowed reprisals and "punishment for Pakistan". India is a country which claims to be part of international comity of nations, yet it considers itself above the international law. It comes up with false evidence and claims that it would itself decide the, "punishment against a sovereign state". This is in clear violation of Article 24 of the United Nations Charter. This also violates Article 51 of the United Nations Charter which gives a right to the people of Jammu and Kashmir to defend themselves from Indian oppression.

In this situation, Pakistan should invest in diplomacy. Pakistan's recent response to the provocations from India is measured and balanced. It has shown restraint and responsibility whereas India has deliberately tried to whip up anger in its population against our country.

Our efforts to defuse and de-escalate the situation should continue, and we should play a constructive role and set an example.



I would appeal to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and to the United Nations Secretary-General to take cognizance of the situation, appoint a special envoy or engage with the two countries in whatever manner he deems fit and pave the way for the implementation of the UN Security Council's resolutions, or facilitate talks between India and Pakistan which must also include the representatives of the people of Jammu and Kashmir because there are three parties to the dispute; Pakistan, India, and the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The people of Jammu and Kashmir must be given representation in negotiations or consultations because any decision would likely impact their political future.

Only bilateral contacts in the context of Kashmir have proved to be a mirage. The comprehensive dialogue process has done two things in the past. First, it has reduced the importance of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute in the bilateral agenda between Pakistan and India. By 1972, the Jammu and Kashmir dispute used to be the core issue between the two countries and now it has lost its significance. Second, India has used bilateral dialogue process to scuttle the process. Therefore, I have advised multiple audiences that we need to go back to the international community to generate pressure, whether it is the United Nations General Assembly, the Security Council, Human Rights Council of the European Parliament, the British Parliament, or the U.S. Congress.

In the recent past, India has been bewildered and angered that many forums have spoken up about Kashmir, such as the report by the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, the report by the All Party Parliamentary Group on Kashmir in the British Parliament, and a full hearing in the European Parliament on human rights violation being committed by India in the IOK. So, there is a new wave of awareness and critique on India's conduct. India wants to eclipse this new wave and the reality in Kashmir by projecting its dispute about Kashmir with Pakistan as a conflict about terrorism not self-determination. The realization all over the world is, however, growing that the core cause of dispute between India and Pakistan is the unresolved Kashmir dispute.

India is also trying to change the demography of the region. It has taken some steps to tinker with Article 370 and Article 35-A of its constitution, and against the fourth Geneva Convention and Additional Protocol (I). Kashmiri leaders in IOK have warned them and I also want to warn them using this platform that this semblance of autonomy that they had given to the IOK, if they take it back, Pakistan will go back to the pre-October 1947 situation in the region because then India's loose illegitimate claim on the territory would vaporize.

Let me make a declaration here that the movement in Kashmir doesn't subscribe to terrorism. It is neither sustained by terrorism because India itself says that it has deployed 700,000 occupation troops in Kashmir to fight 250 militants. The real intention of the Indian occupiers is to keep the entire Kashmir population captive, because Indians are not afraid of 250 militants there, but they are afraid of millions of people who are chanting slogans of "Go India Go Back!" and "Leave Our Kashmir".

It is the resolve of the people of Jammu and Kashmir (both sides) particularly the people who are trapped in the Indian Occupied Kashmir that they will get their freedom, their liberty and their right to self-determination under all circumstances. India's military might, India's terrorization, and brutalization of the people will not deter them to forge ahead with their movement and secure their rights; this is India's tryst with history. Shortly after getting independence, India turned Kashmir into a colony and became a colonizer and an occupier. However, the colonized people of Kashmir also vowed that they would get their freedom under all circumstances and no power can stop them from getting their rights.

The movement of Kashmiris spans around two hundred years. They were subjugated by the tyranny and despotism of the Rajas and Maharajas of the Dogra dynasty. But still, India is under an illusion that it would be able to defeat the Kashmiri aspiration for freedom. It has seen the manifestation of its flawed policies in the past seventy-one years. India has brutalized the Kashmiris in many ways: firstly, it has tried to bribe Kashmiris through economic development; secondly, it has raised political parties which are allies of Delhi like the National Conference of the Jammu and Kashmir Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and they have presented Kashmiris as militants; thirdly, it has projected Pakistan as a state, backing terrorism in Kashmir and tried to isolate Pakistan at the International level in the diplomatic world. But to India's frustration, after all the techniques and instruments in their repertoire which they have used for the past seventy-one years, the slogans that are raised from the squares of cities and towns and villages of Kashmir are, "Hum Pakistani Hain, Pakistan Hamaara Ha" (We are Pakistani, Pakistan is ours) and, "Go India Go Back, Leave Kashmir". Therefore, Kashmiris and the people of Pakistan have not failed but it is the Indian state which has failed in recognizing the realities on the ground.

As I said earlier, we appeal to the United Nations to play a more active role and take steps for the implementation of Security Council's resolutions. The UN's Secretary-General should appoint a special envoy on Kashmir.



If there can be a special envoy in South Sudan or Central African Republic then why can't be there an envoy to facilitate talks, dialogue, and engagement on Kashmir. We demand from this platform that India must stop repression against the Kashmiris. We also demand that boycott, divestment, and sanction movements against India should be initiated internationally. As India is trying to isolate Pakistan diplomatically and demonize Kashmiris, it is our responsibility to act together and isolate India which is committing crimes against humanity in the IOK.

Mr. Bondevik had mentioned a while ago that the best thing is to engage in dialogue. Our dilemma is that Pakistan and Kashmiris have always been willing to engage, but India has rejected all such overtures. India's policy towards Kashmir, as summarized by their National Security Advisor - firstly, is to kill Kashmiris beyond their capacity to bear such punishment; secondly, not talking about Kashmir in political idiom, but treat it as law and order situation and shut all the doors for talks with Pakistan. Recently, Mr. Yashvant Sinha of Bharatya Janata Party (BJP), former Minister of External Affairs, repeatedly said that he has talked to the Cabinet-Ministers of Mr. Narendra Modi who confided in him that the working policy towards Kashmir was the Doctrine of Force: the doctrine of force, which was propounded by Machiavelli or Chanakya. The doctrine is to use brutalization towards Kashmiris and towards Pakistan; no diplomacy, no democracy, no consultations, and no negotiations - just the naked doctrine of use of force will give the results. India, however, is sadly mistaken. The freedom movement of Kashmir has proved its resilience beyond a shadow of doubt. No matter what happens, Pakistan will persevere in the effort for the Kashmir cause.

Keynote Addresses

Remarks by Chief Guest for First Session



Mr. Chaudhry Fawad Hussain
Federal Minister of Information & Broadcasting

I am extremely exalted by the presence of Mr Kjell Magne Bondevik Former Prime Minister of Norway and the longest serving non-Labour Party Prime Minister since World War II. Thank you for being here and thank you for your support for the people of Kashmir, thank you for your support for human rights and thank you for your support for justice. I am also

grateful to Mr Aamir Shiekh who has played a pivotal role in bringing Mr Bondevik here. And I am thankful to Pakistan House who regularly contribute towards the cause of Kashmir.

Soon after partition when Muhammad Ali Jinnah met the then American Ambassador Paul H. Alling to Pakistan. In that meeting Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah said to Mr Paul that he wishes the relations between India and Pakistan as an association to be similar to that between the USA and Canada.

Two aspects that didn't let this dream come true:

1. Communal riots soon after the partition of the Sub-continent.
2. Kashmir issue.

Kashmir issue is as old as Pakistan itself is. It is also the longest waiting agenda of the United Nations Security Council. Government and people of Pakistan reiterate their continued and steadfast political, moral and diplomatic support to the people of Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK) in their heroic struggle for their right to self-determination. Pakistan is committed to a just and peaceful resolution of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute based on the UN resolutions. Pakistan stands for peace, but this is only possible when India would stop its brutalities in IOK.

Pakistan reminds the international community of its responsibilities in the matter and urges it to fulfill its promise made with the people of Jammu and Kashmir 72 years ago.

The whole international community wants a concrete resolution for the issue of Kashmir, yet no solid solution has been devised for this issue. Pakistan wants to offer its hand for peace because Pakistan wants stability for the political and economic growth of the region. This stability can only be achieved through progressive economic and political policies for the region. But with the Kashmiri atrocities this goal can never be achieved.



India cannot keep on pressurizing the innocent Kashmiris, suppressing the fundamental rights of Kashmiris is the violation of the international law. Indian attempts to claim that the deteriorating human rights in IOK is an internal affair of India which is factually incorrect, legally untenable and indeed a violation of the UN Security Council's (UNSC) resolutions. The international community, especially the permanent members of the UN Security Council, has an important role to play to uphold the principles of the international humanitarian laws. The Indian oppressive measures cannot deter the valiant people of Jammu and Kashmir from their demand of exercising their fundamental right to self-determination in accordance with the UN Security Council resolutions.



India has turned Kashmir into the most militarized territory of the world. Now it is expecting that peace would come under current circumstances which is impossible. India has to demilitarize the land of Kashmir to establish positive peace. The access to basic rights to health, education and liberty must be given to the people of Kashmir because only this way the Kashmiris would practice their freedom. India needs to realize that Kashmir has not been a part of India and nor it would ever be.

Pakistan wants to establish good relations with India. It wants to expand its trade with the neighboring country. Prime Minister Imran Khan on his visit to Saudi Arabia expressed his desire to establish stable relations with India and Afghanistan because a positive relationship among the regional countries can boost this region's economy and social developments.

Pakistan does not want war in any case, it believes in diplomatic solution to the ongoing problems. The Government of Pakistan still wants to settle the Kashmir dispute with peaceful measures. We, again, say to India that you take one step towards us for the peaceful negotiations, we would take two steps towards you.

Since the extrajudicial killing of the Kashmiri youth leader Burhan Muzaffar Wani, the occupation forces have unleashed a reign of terror against the innocent civilians of IOK. There is an acute shortage of food and other basic services leading to severe humanitarian crisis. The use of lethal force against innocent civilians protesting for exercising their promised right to self-determination is condemnable and deplorable. The incidents of people suffering from pellet gun injuries have been extensively covered by the international media including the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Guardian and many other print and electronic media channels.



The people of Jammu and Kashmir are waiting for the implementation of several UN resolutions. The only peaceful, plausible, logical and conceivable solution to the Kashmir dispute, which is also consistent with the international law and norms, is the implementation of the UN Security Council's resolutions. Peace in the region will remain elusive until the resolution of the Kashmir dispute in accordance with the will of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. War is not a solution to the Kashmir conflict. Three conventional wars have been fought between India and Pakistan and those have resulted in nothing but a back fall of economic and social prosperity of both nations. Both Pakistan and India are not in a condition to declare war on each other because both nations possess nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction, so a fourth war will bring an end to the region of sub-continent.

We need to fight together for the bigger issues like poverty, lack of quality education, inadequate health system and inappropriate social policies. Hundreds of millions of people in sub-continent are living under the poverty line, the social conditions in this region are depicting a well-defined picture of human suffering.

Again, the Government of Pakistan offers its hand towards India for a peaceful solution to the Kashmir dispute.

In the end, I would like to pay homage to the people of IOK for their sacrifices in fighting for their freedom and right to self-determination.



“It is not for us in the international community to impose any solution on the concerned parties, but it is, in fact, a moral and a political duty for us to do our utmost to encourage the decision makers to bring the violence and human rights abuses to an end and start a process for a political solution and lasting peace; people of Kashmir deserve this as their fundamental right.”

Mr. Kjell Magne Bondevik

“If this, ‘death dance’ has to stop, if hatred and revenge has to cease, if killing and counter-killings has to stop and if we really want peace in the region, we have to put an end to hostilities immediately.”

Mr. Saiyed Abdullah Gillani

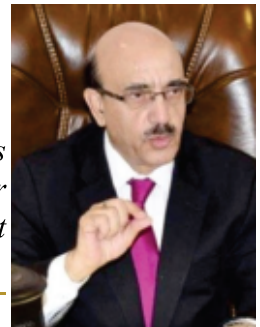


“We are part of Kashmir and the world must realize that Kashmir is an important part of the emergence of the new South Asia - a new South Asia where all global stakeholders are involved, where all policymakers and all regional players can coexist.”

Ms. Mushaal Hussein Mullick

“The freedom movement of Kashmir has proved its resilience beyond a shadow of doubt. No matter what happens, Pakistan will persevere in the effort for the Kashmir cause.”

H.E. Sardar Masood Khan



“The only peaceful, plausible, logical and conceivable solution to the Kashmir dispute, which is also consistent with the international law and norms, is the implementation of the UN Security Council’s resolutions”

Mr. Chaudhry Fawad Hussain

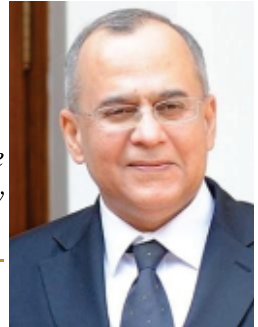


“Is the world going to sit back and see another Holocaust? Is the world going to sit back and see a confrontation and possible war between two nuclear powers? The world’s conscience must now awaken as the peace and survival of the world is at stake.”

Ambassador Ashraf Jehangir Qazi (Retd)

“Tangible steps need to be taken to provide material support and to strengthen civil society movement of the Kashmiri people.”

Ambassador Salman Bashir (Retd)



“Pakistan would not agree on a solution which is fundamentally not in the interest of Kashmiris because Kashmiris have placed their trust in Pakistan”

Ambassador Abdul Basit (Retd)

“Pakistan wants peace not war; but Pakistan will never sell our self-interest and let the sacrifices of our Kashmiri brothers and sisters go in vain.”

Mr. Shah Mehmood Qureshi



“The only solution is through dialogue and Pakistan hopes that better sense will prevail. We hope that the Indian government and the Indian leadership will come to the negotiating table to address the issue of Kashmir dispute and give Kashmiris their rights and provide them safety and security.”

General Ehsan Ul Haq (Retd.)



Ms. Debbie Abrahams
Chair of All-Party Parliamentary Group on
Kashmir in the UK Parliament

Group on Kashmir published a report in human rights abuses in Jammu and Kashmir. Unlike UN report we also recommended that the Armed Forces Special Powers Act and Public Safety Act shall be repealed. We also made a recommendation for process of peace and reconciliation on both sides of the Line of Control and that diplomacy and dialogue must be used to come out with a sustainable and a peaceful solution. I will continue to work with UK Government and with any organization including UN and the Common Wealth to ensure that we do that.



Mr. Afzal Khan
Shadow Minister Immigration

The root problem of Kashmir dispute is that Kashmiris do not have the fundamental right to decide for themselves. Although both India and Pakistan have already agreed on what the solution should be and there are

several UN resolutions in support of that but to no avail. I think India must face reality and stop oppressing the Kashmiri people. War is not a solution, but the solution lies in negotiations. Every party has already agreed on what the solution should be, so they must move forward to implement it. Kashmiris are the most important party in this, therefore, they cannot be ignored.

The European Union is a source of lesson in this regard. Europeans after World War II had realized that wars lead to destruction. So, for the last seventy years they have been living together peacefully and for this reason they have seen prosperity, development and are leading humanitarian causes all over the world. This can also happen in South Asia if they rethink and move forward. South Asia will only prosper if Kashmir issue is resolved. The alternative; war between nuclear powers will bring destruction that the world cannot afford. We will do our bid to push and help both Pakistan and India to find a resolution and I hope everybody else does that too.



Mr. Afzal Khan
Shadow Minister Immigration

The root problem of Kashmir dispute is that Kashmiris do not have the fundamental right to decide for themselves. Although both India and Pakistan have already agreed on what the solution should be and there are

several UN resolutions in support of that but to no avail. I think India must face reality and stop oppressing the Kashmiri people. War is not a solution, but the solution lies in negotiations. Every party has already agreed on what the solution should be, so they must move forward to implement it. Kashmiris are the most important party in this, therefore, they cannot be ignored.

The European Union is a source of lesson in this regard. Europeans after World War II had realized that wars lead to destruction. So, for the last seventy years they have been living together peacefully and for this reason they have seen prosperity, development and are leading humanitarian causes all over the world. This can also happen in South Asia if they rethink and move forward. South Asia will only prosper if Kashmir issue is resolved. The alternative; war between nuclear powers will bring destruction that the world cannot afford. We will do our bid to push and help both Pakistan and India to find a resolution and I hope everybody else does that too.



Mr. Tanmanjeet Singh Dhese
Member of Parliament, UK

I want to congratulate both Pakistan and Indian Government for their recent endeavours, with respect to the Kartarpur Sahib Corridor.

It is an excellent step forward, not only for the Sikh pilgrims who wanted to visit those places that are associated with Guru Nanak Ji and others in the Sikh faith, but I believe that opening this corridor would hopefully be a call for peace and ensure that we have other similar initiatives elsewhere.

Hopefully, both nations would go towards a peaceful resolution of the Kashmir dispute which is why All-Party Parliamentary group on Kashmir has been formed. We with other likeminded colleagues such as Ms. Debbie Abrahams, Mr. Afzal Khan, Lord Khalid Hameed, Ms. Naz Shah and other parliamentarians including Mr. Fazal Rasheed, Mr. Muhammad Yaseen, Mr. Imran Hussain, have presented a Report on human rights situation within Jammu and Kashmir. I sincerely hope that you would continue to invest your time and effort to ensure that we all endure to fight collectively for human rights and move towards a peaceful Subcontinent.



Ms. Jean Lambert
Green Party's Member of European
Parliament for London and Chair of
Delegation for relations with the
countries of South Asia

It has been very clear over the years since I have been in the European Union Parliament,

how important the issue of Kashmir really is and how little attention it gets. When we look at the enormous militarization on the Indian side, the human rights abuses, and people who still have not the chance to decide their own future, it becomes very important that the international community pays much more attention to the situation in Kashmir, because the possible conflict in Kashmir will have a major effect all over the world. Thus, I really hope that we can move forward and find a solution to the issue of Kashmir so that people of Kashmir can live in peace.



Ms. Kate Green
Member of Parliament, UK

I have the honor of representing and having met Kashmiri families who have made their home here in Manchester.

I realize from talking with them that their heart is still at home in Kashmir, and they feel an immense amount of pain and sadness as Kashmir still is not free. The Indian and Pakistani governments have a responsibility to bring this division and conflict to an end and United Kingdom also shares an equal responsibility because of our history in the region. Furthermore, the International community too can play its part. I hope we can continue to work together for a free, just, and peaceful Kashmir.



Lord Gurban Hussain
House of Lords, UK

It gives me immense pleasure, speaking at this conference via a video message. I thank Pakistan house for giving me this opportunity

and I would also like to thank the former Norwegian Prime Minister, Mr. Kjell Magne Bondevik for his continued support for the rights of Kashmiri people.

Kashmiri people are only demanding their right to self-determination granted by the United Nations Security Council Resolutions. Whereas India has always changed its stance on Kashmir and has refused to give Kashmiri people their rights. Those who stand up to demand rights are met with bullets, illegal detentions, torture and rape. There are thousands of mass graves identified in Kashmir, and there are thousands of half widows whose husbands' whereabouts are unknown and many of them fear they could be buried in those mass graves. The international community has opened its eyes as India is refusing the mission of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to visit Indian Occupied Kashmir and investigate the human right violations reported to them.

After the Pulwama incident, Indian Prime Minister is threatening to go to war with Pakistan at a time when both countries are nuclear powers and any war between them will lead to a devastation that not only will affect the region, but the whole world will suffer the consequences. Therefore, it is the duty of UN Security Council to step forward and ask for the state to be demilitarized and give the Kashmiri people the right promised to them by UN Security Council Resolutions and resolve this long outstanding issue and bring an end to the misery of Kashmiri people. I will continue supporting the Kashmiris right to self-determination.



Ambassador Ashraf Jehangir Qazi (Retd)
Former Pakistan's Ambassador to
the United States

and repression exercised by India in Occupied Kashmir and India's policy of strategic coercion against Pakistan itself. Strategic coercion is meant to minimize one's diplomatic options to bring about a pressure short of a war but includes the threat of war to make one accept a course of action that it would not voluntarily accept on his own. Whereas military occupation is direct repression, therefore, it doesn't need any explanation.

Talking about the important subject of "the human rights situation in the Indian Occupied Kashmir" it is our opinion that the dispute is not just a territorial dispute between India and Pakistan, but it relates to human rights - an issue of central importance in international relations particularly over the last two decades. However, in the case of Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK), there is an important difference: the human rights situation in IOK is not just self-sufficient as it derives from the denial of political rights. Hence, it is based on the very insistence of the Kashmiri people on exercising their political rights as acknowledged by the international community and international law embodied in the United Nations Security Council resolutions which are still valid. So, these rights which the Kashmiri people insist on being respected have led to a situation whereby human rights have been denied to the Kashmiris. The Indians have stated their offer, in the words of a previous Prime Minister, "You can ask for heaven and it will be yours but within the Union of India, outside of that there is nothing on offer to you". This attitude of India still exists, and the Kashmiris have proved time and again that they will not compromise on their stance.



When I was the High Commissioner in India, A.S. Dulat confessed to me that he knew if the Kashmiris were allowed a free vote, they would have voted in Pakistan's favor. However, India is never going to let this happen,

Therefore, there is not much we can do about the human rights of Kashmiris because they insist on something which is unacceptable to India - even though it is illegal of India to insist upon this, keeping in view the International Law and UN Resolutions etc.

This is the conundrum in India-Pakistan talks, because when a dialogue takes place and the subject of Kashmir is discussed, we can't have an agreement on the agenda. Pakistan's stance states that according to international law embodied in UN resolutions, this is a disputed territory that needs to be peacefully settled through a plebiscite or reference to the wishes of the Kashmiri people and, therefore, Pakistan and India should negotiate with each other on how to implement this decision of the international community and the United Nations Security Council. However, according to India's position "it is not a disputed territory, but it is a part of India and we are willing to talk about Kashmir only for asking you to vacate our territory which is Azad Kashmir and stop interfering in Indian Territory, which is the whole of Kashmir". Hence, diplomacy fails at this impasse.

There have been some occasions in the past when it seemed that progress might be possible but it was a very brief period of bonhomie. In the so-called back channel talks in 2004-2005, where close door meetings were held, and both sides agreed on a number of tentative interim understandings with respect to four or five principles, and these understandings were supposed to lead toward an arrangement which would be of fifteen years duration and then the Kashmiris would be able to decide whether they wanted to make such an arrangement permanent or not. The assumption was that such an agreement will make India-Pakistan relations mutually trusting to a point where they would accept whatever the verdict would be. It is also important to remember here that Nehru had said that he was the one who went to the UN, he was the one who had said that whatever the decision of the plebiscite is, even if it is against India, he shall grieve, and be sad but India's moral stature is such that it will obey whatever decisions are made by Kashmiri people no matter how bitter it is for the Indians. However, he wasn't able to live up to his own moral commitment citing Pakistan's joining of the Defence and Security Pacts with America as a reason to back out of his commitment. It was quite clear that he never really intended to do that because in his separate statements he had always stated that Kashmir can never be anything but an Indian territory as he himself was of Kashmiri origin.





Now, the problem is how to move forward with the emerging threats; Pulwama bombing shows that there is an inherent threat of violence in the state of relations between India and Pakistan about Kashmir.

Pulwama also marks a possible end to India's confidence that it can resolve the Kashmir dispute by two methods; firstly by crushing Kashmir using its military might and secondly by efforts to isolate Pakistan and tarnish Pakistan's image to an extent where no matter how legally valid its arguments are or how reasonable and cogent and peace loving its policies are, its position is made irrelevant because of India's size, stature, market, and influence. Moreover, in the contemporary world where the divisions have grown significantly, the importance of India for some super powers, particularly US, is such that the human rights count little as evident from Palestine and Myanmar.

India now is beginning to back away from its threat of force, but not its threat of isolation as Prime Minister Modi has said, "we will isolate Pakistan, but we will not do it militarily, we will do it diplomatically". In other words, targeting Pakistan internationally by portraying it in the most negative manner. There are also various other issues and challenges faced by Pakistan which India is trying to exploit, such as Financial Action Task Force (FATF), in which India is responsible for the fact that Pakistan didn't get off the grey list this time and they're still hoping to get Pakistan on to the black list.

Indian diaspora is also playing its part. The Non-Resident Indians (NRI's) in the world produce an income equal to the income of India itself and India itself is more than a trillion dollar economy. In the United States these NRIs are influential in many different platforms such as university boards, academic boards, scientific boards, the Congress, the staff of the Congressmen, the staff of the White House and Governorships etc. It is important to mention that all these Indians are loyal to India, and although it is a good thing, but in the case of Kashmir it means a blind loyalty to the mother country which works against Pakistan.

Hence, the challenge for Pakistan now is to remain on the path it has chosen for itself, that is to extend a hand of friendship and understanding with India, to look towards the resumption of dialogue, and to centralize the issue of Kashmir as has always been the case with Pakistan because the issue of Kashmir is a core issue as it threatens the regional and international peace. The world needs to recognize that India's current policy, no matter how cynically they have been in turning a blind eye towards the rights of Kashmiris, has failed and because of its failure, the new generation of Kashmir will not give up irrespective of Pakistan's position.

Is the world going to sit back and see another Holocaust? Is the world going to sit back and see a confrontation and possible war between two nuclear powers? The world's conscience must now awaken as the peace and survival of the world is at stake. Pakistan is already facing enormous global challenges: the population is projected to be 400 million by 2050, climate change, water crisis, and desiccation. It's within this context that the urgency of Kashmir has taken on a new scale. Diplomatically, all we have to do is to speak the truth, and always maintain the stance of prioritizing the requirement of peace which cannot be met by suppressing the human rights and the political rights of the Kashmiri people. If we can stick to this message, over a period of time, pressure will fall upon India. It is important that we move towards a win-win solution and not a zero-sum solution; Pakistan wants a resolution that is primarily a win-win solution for the people of Kashmir.



Ambassador Salman Bashir (Retd)
Former Foreign Secretary

It is my pleasure to participate in this conference on Kashmir because it is a matter of grave concerns. This conference is very

timely because the world's attention is now diverted towards the Pakistan-India situation, the core of which is the issue of Jammu and Kashmir. We are familiar with the history of Kashmir, and the apathy of the world towards the Kashmiri people. This is an issue which has been on the agenda of the United Nations (UN) for more than seventy years.

I had the privilege to spend my service time at the UN. I started off in Geneva with United Nations Commission on Human Rights (OHCHR) and I remember how hard we fought both in Geneva and in the United Nations General Assembly on issues of the human rights, not only in the UN but in the Commonwealth and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). Pakistan was and, indeed, it is greatly concerned about the fundamental right of self-determination of the Kashmiris.

He right to the self-determination is the central architecture of the present global order. It is a principle which is central to the Charter of the UN as the very first lines of UN Charter highlight the equal rights of people and their right to self-determination.

In the last century the principle of the right to self-determination was seen at work in the process of decolonization leaving behind the disputed territories and unresolved issues on purpose, all over the southern hemisphere. The issue of Kashmir is also rooted in that process of decolonization. The right of self-determination is a fundamental right that lies, especially, in the civil and political category. This right of self-determination is the first step towards any democratic dispensation.

India projects itself as one of the largest democracies but for the last seventy years it has, absolutely and with great impurity, suppressed the rights of the Kashmiri people and their right of self-determination.



There is a large body of the international legislation pertaining to the right of self-determination, generally of human rights, that establishes mechanisms to monitor, evaluate and intervene in cases of gross violations of those well-defined human rights.

It's not a secret anymore that the international community recognizes the right of the people under an alien domination to arms struggle. What is being witnessed today in Jammu and Kashmir is the inherent right of the people of Kashmir to strive for their freedom and to protect their dignity. They have been forced by the circumstances surrounding Indian brutal occupation of Kashmir to take up arms.

The current situation regarding Pulwama or other incidences of violence, are a reaction to Indian brutalities against the Kashmiri people. Although, Ambassador Ashraf Jehangir Qazi hopes for a win-win solution where all three parties (Pakistan, India and Kashmiris) win, having spent forty years in various capacities at the Foreign Office and leading the Foreign Secretary talks with India, I have come to the sad realization that there is no win-win solution.

The world has changed; since the last two-three years we are seeing a global reversion to an era which was known as the dark ages, tribalism and xenophobia. It has taken grip not only in the southern hemisphere but in the northern hemisphere as well. When President Trump spoke at the United Nations General Assembly in September, I applauded his speech because he talked of self-determination and nationalism. Although, we see the lament worldwide on the fading of liberalism but what has liberalism really done in the case of Kashmir? Those who uphold to these values have been the first to distance themselves from such values for political expediency, economic interest to turn their heads and eyes from the gravity of the Indian oppression against the Kashmiri people. But on the other hand, we've seen the steely resilience of the Kashmiris. During my days as a High Commissioner to India, I had the opportunity to have close connections with the Hurriyat leadership, and I can tell you that I was really impressed of their concern about the fate of Kashmiri people and the state of the situation in Kashmir. They also were very concerned and desirous of the strength of Pakistan.

The fact is that while the Kashmir issue has been kept alive by the Kashmiri people, as a state Pakistan has single-handedly kept it alive at the international level. Therefore, Kashmir issue is very much alive at the UN General Assembly and the Security Council and for this the credit goes to the people of Pakistan and Government of Pakistan.

Pakistan should and will continue to extend moral, political and diplomatic support to the just cause of Kashmir people, but the question is what Pakistan can do tangibly? This is a struggle that will take perhaps some years to realize its full dimension. We are seeing a qualitatively new situation where the youth of Kashmir, the women and the children have given their total alienation from the Indian side and have demonstrated once again that they will not submit to Indian colonialism. But what Pakistan can do besides extending moral, political, and diplomatic support is to give more attention.



Pakistan should and will continue to extend moral, political and diplomatic support to the just cause of Kashmir people, but the question is what Pakistan can do tangibly?



This is a struggle that will take perhaps some years to realize its full dimension. We are seeing a qualitatively new situation where the youth of Kashmir, the women and the children have given their total alienation from the Indian side and have demonstrated once again that they will not submit to Indian colonialism. But what Pakistan can do besides extending moral, political, and diplomatic support is to give more attention.

There is a large Kashmiri diaspora all over the world and we need to take tangible material steps to provide material assistance and strengthen the civil society movement within Kashmir. We need to find ways and means to extend to the teachers, to the doctors, to the lawyers and to the youth to sustain their struggle.

I can give you many instances where verbal support is of very high importance, such as statements we have just seen in video session (Please Refer to Page 27) and statements from European Member of Parliaments (MPs) which indicate greater sensitization towards the issue. But I think tangible steps need to be taken to provide material support and to strengthen civil society movement of the Kashmiri people. As we go ahead, the leadership is now with youth of Kashmir and that aspect also must be thought about within Pakistan as well. On the other hand, in terms of what Pakistan can do, we need to really build Pakistan into a strong prosperous country and Azad Kashmir with its development must remain the center of attraction.

.....



Ambassador Abdul Basit (Retd)
Former High Commissioner to India

Thank you, Pakistan House, for inviting me to talk on the topic, "Pak-India relations a diplomatic conundrum". How can we break the

impasse in Indo-Pak relations? How to normalize relations and build a cooperative framework? This is a huge challenge because we have seen in the past that both Pakistan and India have been working on different approaches. Pakistan had disapproved big issues just to settle all the core issues and then perhaps to adopt a ray for confidence-building measures, but India always insisted on first improving the environment.

What we need is to establish agreed mechanisms between two countries, for example, India would not like to talk about Kashmir. Now, for Pakistan, if another stressed issue is resolved, this Kashmir dispute will be settled. There is simply no other way through which these two countries can build mutual trust or have a normal relationship. Both countries need to convince each other to resolve the disputes otherwise there is no hope for them to normalize the relations.

After the 9/11 incident, international environment has changed. Terrorism and peace cannot go together, therefore, we must break this gridlock to maintain peace in the region and eliminate terrorism to resolve disputes like Kashmir. On 10th July 2015, National Security advisors from both the countries met to discuss issues related to terrorism. We must work on them again and come up with a solution. Despite all the issues, we must solve the Jammu and Kashmir dispute with the composite dialogue process. The comprehensive dialogue process has a separate stream of talks to be headed by the two foreign secretaries on Jammu and Kashmir; this may not be agreeable to Indians, but we need to build international pressure on India for these bilateral talks. India itself is also realizing that things may not be very simple and easy for them to control in occupied Kashmir with times to come.

Indians are not willing to move from their position that Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India and several parliamentary resolutions have been passed to support their stance. So, it is a difficult situation for both the countries as they are not willing to discuss any type of settlement in Indian Occupied Jammu & Kashmir. During the leadership of General Pervez Musharraf, a four-point formula was presented which included demilitarization, free movement across the border,

self-governance without independence and a joint supervision mechanism of the area; however, that too did not achieve success.



In my opinion, we can solve this diplomatic conundrum by building pressure on India to discuss Jammu and Kashmir issue with Pakistan; only then we will get to know how to solve the issue of the disputed territory. On the other hand, speaking of terrorism, India must realize that Pakistan itself is facing the brunt of terrorism. Since India, too, is a victim of terrorism, both countries can gain from each other's experience. The problem is that India creates artificial gridlocks in bilateral engagements and then after two/three years resumes a dialogue process without any result.



How these two countries can move forward?



In my opinion, we can solve this diplomatic conundrum by building pressure on India to discuss Jammu and Kashmir issue with Pakistan; only then we will get to know how to solve the issue of the disputed territory. On the other hand, speaking of terrorism, India must realize that Pakistan itself is facing the brunt of terrorism. Since India, too, is a victim of terrorism, both countries can gain from each other's experience. The problem is that India creates artificial gridlocks in bilateral engagements and then after two/three years resumes a dialogue process without any result.

My suggestion would be: first, Pakistan and India need to immediately appoint their national security advisers in the new setup with the task for the mandate of handling or addressing the mutual concerns vis-à-vis terrorism. Second, perhaps on Kashmir, the two foreign secretaries can engage with each other, and it is possible that India may not like to do it publicly, so we should be open to the idea of the back-channel diplomacy on Jammu and Kashmir because we are not going to lose anything in that process. Hence, if India is willing to work and compromise with us, we are ready to give our best for regional peace. Moreover, third-party mediation is also needed as it will help to push this process forward, but India would never want third-party mediation in Kashmir issue and had rejected it many times before. After the Shimla Agreement of 1972, almost 47 years have passed and, bilaterally, we are not able to reproduce much so the lesson is that bilateralism will not work. In any case, this problem will continue because both sides are quite strong on the issue of Jammu and Kashmir. The negotiation process begins slowly, and gradually it starts dealing with the different and difficult issues. Meanwhile it is necessary that the Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) which have already been agreed upon should be allowed to work.

To some extent I agree with Ambassador Salman Bashir that it is very difficult to anticipate that Pakistan and India can create win-win situation for each other given our seventy-two years of history. The world is changing and India would also understand that in order to achieve its goals, it must mold its interests. So, in order to achieve the global aspirations, resolution of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute is very important to have good relations with all its neighbors. Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) haven't worked in the past nor will they work in future so, it is important to come up through other channels such as media, trade and political settlements. It is important that first Pakistan and India engage with each other, bilaterally, and then as we move forward, and the two countries gain some bilateral confidence, the Kashmiris can be invited to be a big part of that process.

Pakistan would not agree on a solution which is fundamentally not in the interest of Kashmiris because Kashmiris have placed their trust in Pakistan. It is important that we work out on something which is mutually agreeable by all the three concerned parties, and this is how this conundrum can be addressed. I hope that India will realize that this deadlock neither serves India's long-term interests nor the interest of the region. If India wants to have a cooperative long-term relationship, bilaterally as well in the regional context, it is important that the Jammu and Kashmir dispute is resolved taking care of the aspirations of the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

.....



**Group Captain Sultan Mahmood Hali
SI (M),
(Retd) Defence Analyst**

introduction of the book and spoke on the occasion.

On February 20th of 2019, my book "Rising Hindutva & its Impact on the Region" was launched. We are lucky to have amongst us today the Chairman of Advisory Board Pakistan House, General Ehsan ul Haq who was the chief guest at the book launch and wrote the foreword of the book. We also have with us Ambassador Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, who wrote the

Hindutva, a term was coined by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, is not a creed nor a religion, in fact it is different from the essence of Hinduism; it is Hindu fundamentalism and extremism. What Savarkar tried to propagate through his book "Hindutva" was that the phenomenon of 'Hindu supremacy' is fading but the Sangh Parivar, which happens to be the family running the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh or RSS - the mother of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) - has revived the Hindu supremacy. The party, although has been in power earlier with Atal Behari Vajpayee being elected as the Prime Minister of India twice, but it is Narendra Modi, the current Prime Minister of India who is a stone activist of the Hindutva. Narendra Modi came into power raising this slogan of reviving Hindu fundamentalism and this is exactly what he is doing in India by suppressing the minorities and the helpless Kashmiris.

What happened at Pulwama was a direct implication of putting the innocent Kashmiris against war. Adil Ahmed Dar, who is the mastermind behind this suicide attack was arrested back in 2017. He was psychologically tortured by the Indian Army, and his brothers and cousins were martyred. If a person is pushed against the wall and is pressurized to this extent, then he will react in an aggressive manner. Hence, it is pointless to blame Pakistan for this aggressive act since it is an indigenous act.

On June 2015, Narendra Modi stood on the floor of the Bangladesh Parliament and said that India was responsible for the creation of Bangladesh and took credit for having been part of that separation movement. He actually admitted to the acts of terrorism because the Mukti Bahini, at times, was involved in the terrorist acts supported by India as evident from my personal experience. My own aunt was raped, and my two cousins were slaughtered who were in the erstwhile East Pakistan. What the brothers' rifles of the East Pakistan Army did to the members of the West Pakistan Army and their families is all history.

Prime Minister Modi has probably miscalculated the current situation by raising the feverish pitch of jingoism and warmongering to an extent that now his nation wants him to retaliate in a destructive manner, similar to what happened back in September 2015 when the drama of the so-called surgical strikes was created; however, this time Prime Minister Modi has gone too far.



The Indian Government knows that international powers do not want a direct confrontation between the two nuclear states because the results will be devastating - there will be a phenomenon of mutually assured destruction. Good sense will have to prevail, but above all the issue of Kashmir has been brought to the limelight and it is hoped that the Pulwama incident will act as a catalyst in bringing a peaceful solution for Kashmir.



Dr. Ishtiaq Ahmad,
Vice Chancellor, University of Sargodha

Pakistan has a certain level of commitment to the Kashmir cause, spanning over the last seventy years. It is an unfinished chapter of the partition. History is very clear but let us focus on the recent times as to what pragmatic motives India has taken vis-a-vis Kashmir. In the recent months,

Pakistan has re-emerged as the number one state facilitator of the Afghan peace process, due to which the Afghan regime, which is sustained by the Americans, has become very insecure. The Americans under the Trump administration want to walk out of Afghanistan. The regional backer of the Afghan regime, namely India, is simultaneously very insecure and is likely to do whatever it takes to sabotage Pakistan's re-emergence and its role as the key facilitator of the Afghan peace process.

Iran on the other hand has adopted a pro-peace approach in Afghanistan; it does not share the worries of India and the Kabul regime, yet Iran sees itself in a big rivalry in the entire Arabian region and West Asia vis-a-vis Saudi Arabia. In the second week of February 2019, a bombing took place in Iran whereby Iran accused Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates (UAE). On the very second day another bombing took place in Pulwama (Occupied Kashmir), whereby India blamed Pakistan. What Iran did was probably because the crown prince of Saudi Arabia was visiting Pakistan, hence by sabotaging the Prince's visit, India and Iran both shared their concerns. It is in India's interest to sabotage the Afghan peace process in order to prevent Pakistan's emergence as a key player in the region.

Regardless of Indian allegations, Kashmiris' fight for freedom continues. India bids to blame Pakistan for all instances of violation and violence that take place in Kashmir. Since this pattern will continue, Pakistan needs to adopt and re-adjust its policies. In my opinion, civil-military convergence is visible in Pakistan on Afghanistan and in South Asia with regards to Kashmir. We can witness that the political leadership is determined and taking a proactive stance for the sake of the Kashmiris. Furthermore, Pakistan's bid should be to increasingly and aggressively expose India and try to isolate it internationally on the issue of Kashmir.

Remarks by Chief Guest for Concluding Session



Mr. Shah Mahmood Qureshi
Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs

Let me begin by thanking the organizers for an event like this. The timing couldn't have been more significant considering that Kashmir is at a center stage once again. Today, the stated policy of India is to isolate Pakistan. India has tried this in the past and failed, and I can confidently assure you that they will fail once again.

In my opinion, 2018 was an important year because two significant events took place. First, the report of the United Nations High Commissioner on Human Rights (UNHCHR) was publicized in June, and the report has endorsed Pakistan's stance. When Pakistan highlighted these atrocities in past, it was described by the Indians as, "usual propaganda from across the border". Now it was not Pakistan but the United Nations which was recommending a Commission of Enquiry on the deteriorating situation of human rights in the Indian occupied Kashmir (IOK). Second, on 30th of October, another report by the All-Party Parliamentary Group on Kashmir was published which reiterated and endorsed what had been recommended in the UN report also re-emphasizing Pakistan's stance.

This year also started with a significant development when the Members of the UK Parliament belonging to the Conservative Party, the Labour party, and the Liberal Democrats unanimously agreed to hold an International Conference on Kashmir in the House of Commons, the mother of Parliaments, on 4th February, where Pakistan was represented not only by the Foreign Minister but every major political party. I was accompanied by the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PMLN), Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA), and Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM). The message was loud and clear that there is an absolute unanimity on the issue of Kashmir, and this is a very sound and good message to friends, brothers, and sisters across the Line of Control (LOC) who are carrying out a heroic struggle despite facing Indian atrocities and brutalities on a regular basis.

As I landed in Germany for the Munich Security conference on 14th February 2019, the first news I got was about the Pulwama attack. I knew the next day that I would be in the eye of the storm; international media hovering around and obviously asking questions linking Pulwama to Mumbai. I had faced a similar situation when Mumbai attacks happened as I was on a visit to Delhi as a Foreign Minister. Nonetheless, it also gave me an opportunity to engage with the leadership of other countries to present Pakistan's point of view as the German Foreign Minister and the representatives of P5 were also there.

On 15th February 2019, I had a chance to meet twenty representatives of the United States of America of which nine were the members of the Senate and eleven were the members of the House. It was an important opportunity to articulate Pakistan's point of view and I did my best to tell them that Indian allegations of linking Pakistan with Pulwama are unacceptable, and Pakistan rejects them. The Prime Minister of Pakistan also made a policy statement about Pulwama incident on the 21st of February 2019.

We condemned the incident and condoled the families of victims that had lost their lives because we cannot and should not ignore the human factor. So, there was no hysteria but a mature and measured response that was full of strength.

The Prime Minister very clearly stated that Pakistan is willing to cooperate and urged India to share any actionable evidence that they have, assuring that Pakistan is willing to investigate with sincerity. This is the government that reflects the thinking of a "Naya Pakistan" and we are very clear that Pakistan's soil will not be used for any terrorist activity against any state, including India.

Moreover, there is a political consensus in the country on the National Action Plan, 2014. We owned it while in opposition, and we own it today as well. There was a military and political component to it. Militarily, Pakistan Armed forces did their job well in clearing the tribal areas bordering Afghanistan. Today, it is internationally recognized that the Pakistan Army has succeeded in defeating terrorism and politically we have the resolve to take steps to curb extremism.

We need peace in the region, and we need peace on both Western and Eastern borders. On the Western side, Prime Minister Imran Khan has been, for years, advocating that there is no military solution to Afghanistan and the only way forward is through a negotiated political settlement. For this stance, he was being accused of being too soft towards certain elements. But today, the world has converged to his point of view as we can see that in Doha the representatives of a global power, and the representatives of the Taliban are negotiating and trying to find a way forward; this is a great achievement. The political settlement was never easy, and it never will be easy, because we know there will be spoilers. We also know who the spoilers could be as when I look to the East, I can detect a big spoiler.

What could Pakistan have gained from Pulwama attack? Nothing! In fact, such an incident distracts us from what we want to achieve on the Western border.





A frenzy has been created by the Indian media and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) who have been warmongering for electoral reasons. In response, however, Pakistan has made no irresponsible statements, rather throughout this situation Pakistan has remained composed. Pakistan is willing to engage and is ready for a dialogue and if the Indians feel that dialogue and terrorism cannot go side by side then we should sit and talk on terrorism.

We condemned the incident and condoled the families of victims that had lost their lives because we cannot and should not ignore the human factor. So, there was no hysteria but a mature and measured response that was full of strength.

The Prime Minister very clearly stated that Pakistan is willing to cooperate and urged India to share any actionable evidence that they have, assuring that Pakistan is willing to investigate with sincerity. This is the government that reflects the thinking of a “Naya Pakistan” and we are very clear that Pakistan's soil will not be used for any terrorist activity against any state, including India.

Moreover, there is a political consensus in the country on the National Action Plan, 2014. We owned it while in opposition, and we own it today as well. There was a military and political component to it. Militarily, Pakistan Armed forces did their job well in clearing the tribal areas bordering Afghanistan. Today, it is internationally recognized that the Pakistan Army has succeeded in defeating terrorism and politically we have the resolve to take steps to curb extremism.

We need peace in the region, and we need peace on both Western and Eastern borders. On the Western side, Prime Minister Imran Khan has been, for years, advocating that there is no military solution to Afghanistan and the only way forward is through a negotiated political settlement. For this stance, he was being accused of being too soft towards certain elements. But today, the world has converged to his point of view as we can see that in Doha the representatives of a global power, and the representatives of the Taliban are negotiating and trying to find a way forward; this is a great achievement. The political settlement was never easy, and it never will be easy, because we know there will be spoilers. We also know who the spoilers could be as when I look to the East, I can detect a big spoiler.

What could Pakistan have gained from Pulwama attack? Nothing! In fact, such an incident distracts us from what we want to achieve on the Western border.

No one understands terrorism better than Pakistanis as we have suffered seventy thousand casualties and our economy has been hit to the extent of over \$128 billion. We have lost countless of Police and Army officers and unfortunately India is trying to lecture us on terrorism. India must realize that her policy on Kashmir has failed and that excessive use of force by India will have a strong reaction; Pulwama attack could be a single demonstration of such a reaction.

Going into details of the Indian allegations, the suicide bomber was a Kashmiri from the Indian side, the explosives were locally acquired, and the vehicle was Indian; however, fingers are still being pointed at Pakistan. The Indian government must do its soul-searching. They must analyze why today Mehbooba Mufti is saying that ‘you can arrest a person, but you cannot arrest an idea’. Why Mirwaiz Umer Farooq is saying that ‘coercion can be exercised but it will not change ground realities’. The Indian opposition is also questioning the logic, the arguments put forward by the BJP government and most importantly, they are questioning the intentions behind Pulwama attack.

Where does Pakistan stand in all of this? As the Foreign Minister I have written to the Secretary General of the United Nations to intervene and to de-escalate the tensions in the region. We feel that India is following a path that can destabilize and compromise peace and security of the region. I have also written to the President of the UN Security Council, asking him to play a role in de-escalation. Moreover, from the last few days, I have been talking to foreign ministers and world leaders, articulating Pakistan's point of view. I believe with confidence that our concerns are getting registered. Today, people all over the World are witnessing the situation in Indian Occupied Kashmir.

It is strange to observe that even though an incident happens in Pulwama (which is about 20 km from Srinagar), the Kashmiri students in New Delhi are being attacked. Similarly, a 24 years old journalist is being attacked and beaten in Pune without any reason. The vehicles belonging to Kashmiris are being burnt, their properties are being attacked and the Kashmiri products are being thrown out of Bazaar (Markets);



a complete shutdown is seen in Kashmir Valley as well. My question is that, is Pakistan that influential that it can organize a shutdown of the entire valley? If yes, then India must think twice.

Pakistan wants peace but India should not misread us. If there is any misadventure, we will retaliate immediately. We have a right to self-defense. So, this war frenzy has to be curtailed and Kashmiris must be engaged as there are three parties to the Kashmir dispute. India has refused to talk to Pakistan and has always shied away from dialogue, while Pakistan has always shown reconciliatory approach. On the 26th of July, even before being sworn in as the Prime Minister, Mr. Imran Khan told the Indian Prime Minister that if India takes one step forward for peace, Pakistan will take two steps forward. He also wrote to him that he would like Foreign Ministers of both countries to meet on the sidelines of New York so they can work a way forward. In response, the Indians agreed to a meeting, but canceled it at the eleventh hour.

Also, as a gesture of goodwill, we opened Kartarpur, a corridor of friendship and understanding which has been appreciated by the Sikh Community all over the world. We also have liberalized the visa regime so that foreigners can visit Pakistan with ease and the negative image of Pakistan is shattered. Also, to project our vision of Pakistan, as laid down by Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, we are trying to develop a progressive democratic welfare state, not a fundamental state or an orthodoxy.

In conclusion, my message to Kashmiris is that Pakistan stands with them. Pakistan's diplomatic, political, and moral support will remain with the Kashmiris and in fact the whole World has started to speak in support of the Kashmiris. The European Parliament also organized a hearing on the 19th of February 2019 giving a message that India must stop its atrocities in the Occupied Kashmir. Pakistan wants peace not war, but Pakistan will never sell our self-interest and let the sacrifices of our Kashmiri brothers and sisters go in vain. I would also like to thank Mr. Magne Bondevik for being at the House of Commons to speak for the rights of Kashmiris. I reiterate that there is no solution to the Kashmir dispute other than dialogue. The Indian government must realize that as two nuclear neighbors we have no option but to sit and find a solution and I hope we will find a solution with the support and the prayers of the people.

.....

Vote of Thanks by



General Ehsan Ul Haq Ni (M), (Retd)
Former Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff
Committee and Chairman Advisory Board,
Pakistan House

At the outset I would like to extend my profound gratitude and felicitations to Mr. Rana Athar Javed and the Pakistan House team for organizing today's event.

This event is very timely because it has been organized when Kashmir is in the limelight and the post-Pulwama developments are being monitored internationally. Also, it is important because at this juncture, India has been attempting to deflect attention from the grave humanitarian crisis in Occupied Kashmir.

I would also like to thank the dignitaries who participated today; it means a lot to us and to the people of Kashmir who have been the victims of state and societal atrocities. I would particularly like to thank Mr. Bondevik for his presence and Mr. Shah Mahmood Qureshi for joining us in the closing session as your presence has added substance to the whole proceedings and has made it very profound.

This conference has been a very high-profile event as the Information Minister was with us in the opening session and the Foreign Minister has joined us in the closing session. Excellencies, your presence is a reiteration of the fact that the international community is getting increasingly aware of the outrageous situation in Indian Occupied Kashmir and Indian efforts to misguide the international opinion have failed.

A few important conclusions from today's deliberations are that the issue of Kashmir is neither terrorism nor a territorial dispute rather it is about the democratic principles of self-determination and human rights. This would be a stark reminder to the Indians that Kashmir issue cannot be pressed if left unresolved, it will keep recurring as a crisis as happened in 2010, 2012 and now recently again.

With unprecedented intensity since 2016, the status quo offers no solution as it is suffocating the Kashmiris, perpetuating the denial of the human rights, and compelling them to resort to desperate measures. The struggle in Kashmir has shifted to a new generation of Kashmiris with the youth and children as young as 10 years old in the forefront. This new generation is far better educated and since they have grown up in the shadow of Indian arms they have stopped fearing them.

And incidentally, with each new generation that comes into the struggle, intensity of the struggle increases. The spontaneous nature of the current uprising is firmly established and the Indian attempts to unfairly malign Pakistan stands exposed.



Another important point that we learned during today's proceedings was that the alienation of the Kashmiris from India is total and irreversible. Some of you may not be aware that Kashmiri youth who were sent on the Indian Prime Minister's scholarship to institutions in the rest of India, are now being targeted and being chased in their hostels and universities, and are being considered the ones who are most radicalized and in support of the struggle. Indian claims and attempts about pacifying the region have not been successful. Despite employment of coercive political and overwhelming military means, the muscular approach of the Bharatya Janata Party (BJP) stands entirely discredited even in the eyes of many Indians and this is the reason for the current crisis in Kashmir. Besides the political and security crisis, the present situation is a daunting humanitarian challenge to people's right to life, liberty, and security. Pakistan hopes and expects its international allies to spread this cry for help to the rest of the international community.

A powerful motivation for resorting to violent struggle is occupation. Anywhere there is occupation and denial of political and human rights, there will be a resort to violent struggle. Therefore, one cannot agree with any stigmatization of the struggle of Kashmir as terrorism. This is the right given to occupied people by United Nations and by all other human rights organizations. Kashmiris think that their human rights are violated due to the overwhelming presence of foreign troops; it may be an Indo- Pakistan dispute, but over and above it is primarily an issue related to the destiny of the people of Kashmir. Therefore, even if the international community can be neutral between India and Pakistan, it cannot stand neutral between a perpetrator and a victim.

To conclude, there is no military solution for Kashmir. The only solution is through dialogue and Pakistan hopes that better sense will prevail. We hope that the Indian government and the Indian leadership will come to the negotiating table to address the issue of Kashmir dispute and give Kashmiris their rights and provide them safety and security. In the end, I would like to thank Pakistan House for arranging today's extremely useful and beneficial event and once again thanks to the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Shah Mehmood Qureshi, for being with us.

Analysis & Recommendations



Analysis:

The ensuing analysis of speeches highlights the need for the international community to halt the plight of Kashmiris and the brutalities committed by the Indian forces in the Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK). International engagement is essential to initiate a series of dialogue with the concerned stakeholders. Hence, the international community must increase pressure on the key stakeholders to initiate the process for an effective ceasefire and a political settlement on the basis for lasting peace. Pakistan should invest in diplomacy and efforts to defuse and de-escalate the situation and the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and the United Nations Secretary-General should also be urged to take cognizance of the situation by appointing a special envoy to pave the way for the implementation of the UN Security Council's resolutions.

The people from the Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK) are the main victims of Indian forces' brutalities; militarization, army operations, use of bullets and pellets, blowing-up homes, blinding and maiming, draconian laws and torture as a means to crush legitimate political aspirations of the people have worsened the situation. People of Indian Occupied Kashmir don't have a platform to deliver their message and concerns to the international world since all means of communications are blocked. Hence, Pakistan should create an environment and convince the P5 countries to bring Indians and Kashmiris on the negotiating table as. Efforts to facilitate talks between India and Pakistan must include the representatives of the people of Jammu and Kashmir as this is a trilateral dispute with three parties; Pakistan, India, and the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The people of Jammu and Kashmir, hence, must be given fair representation in negotiations.

India's is also attempting to change the nature of dispute over Kashmir through an alteration of the demography of the region by abrogating article 370 of the Indian constitution in order to force Kashmiris out of their land and property. Against the Fourth Geneva Convention and Additional Protocol (I), India has taken steps to tinker with the Article 370 and Article 35-A of its constitution as well. Pakistan should make sincere efforts to highlight this at an international level in order to unveil the Indian atrocities in the Occupied Kashmir.

The Indian diaspora is also playing a key role in maintaining the Indian narrative internationally. The Non-Resident Indians (NRI's) in the United States are influential in many different platforms such as university boards, academic boards, scientific boards, the Congress, the staff of the Congressmen, the staff of the White House and Governorships, etc. Their blind loyalty to India and their influence in the international realm has played a key role in sabotaging the efforts to raise an awareness about the on ground realities in the Occupied Kashmir. Hence, Pakistan should actively engage with the Pakistani and Kashmiri diaspora to counter such efforts by the Indian community.

Recommendations:



The following recommendations for policy practitioners and concerned quarters are proposed:

- **International Engagement**

The international community must focus on this conflict and increase pressure on parties to meet and start the process for a political settlement on the basis for lasting peace. Pakistan should invest in diplomacy and efforts to defuse and de-escalate the situation should continue.

- **Appointing Special Envoy in Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK)**

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and the United Nations Secretary-General should be urged to take cognizance of the situation and to appoint a special envoy or engage with the two countries to pave the way for the implementation of the UN Security Council's resolutions.

- **Diplomatically and Economically Isolating India**

Boycott, divestment, and sanction movements against India should be initiated internationally since India is trying to isolate Pakistan diplomatically and demonize Kashmiris. Through engagement with other regional partners and allies, pressure should be built on the international community to initiate sanction movement against India in the face of the atrocities committed against Kashmiris.

- **Engaging with the Kashmiri Diaspora**

There is a large Kashmiri diaspora all over the world and tangible steps need to be taken to provide material assistance and strengthen the civil society movement within Kashmir by involving the Kashmiris settled all over the world. Efforts should also be made to engage the Kashmiri diaspora with the international think tanks and NGO's that are working on the Kashmir dispute.

- **Establishing Confidence Building Measures (CBMs)**

The negotiation process between India and Pakistan could be a slow process that might deal with the myriad of issues between the two countries. Meanwhile, it is necessary that the Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) should be established and strengthened in order to provide a foundation on which further negotiations can be made.





