

KASHMIR CONFLICT AND FOREIGN POLICY OF PAKISTAN

ZAIN UL ABIDEN MALIK¹ & ANEEQA NAWAZ²

¹Research Scholar, International Relation, Preston University, Islamabad, Campus, Pakistan

²M.Phil Scholar, Pakistan Studies, NUML University, Islamabad, Campus, Pakistan

ABSTRACT

India and Pakistan fought three wars (1948, 1965, and 1971). In May - June 1999, once again Kashmir became the focus of World attention when India and Pakistan fought a limited war in Kargil heights located in the valley. Kashmir issue has been discussed many times between India and Pakistan. On 2 July 1972 Shimla accord, signed by Indra Gandhi and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. On 21 February 1999 the x-Prime minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif and Atal Behari Vajpayee signed Lahore declaration. In July 2001 General Pervaz Musharraf visited India and attended Agra summit. When General Pervaz Musharraf took over the control of Pakistan, he changed the Kashmir policy, after 9/11 Kashmir issue turned into a new and critical direction. India says Pakistan involves in terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir and on the other hand Pakistan without of the opinion and says that Kashmiris are fighting for their self determination.

KEYWORDS: Kashmir, Foreign Policy, Pakistan

INTRODUCTION

State of the Jammu and Kashmir is situated towards North-West of the India. It covers an area of 84,471 squares miles and has a population of more than 6 million, which is mostly Muslim. Unfortunately, the Maharaja of Kashmir Hari Singh was breaking of all his commitments and against the wishes of people, on 26 Oct 1947 signed the instrument of accession to India. As a result, India sent its troops to the valley which is located neighboring to Pakistan in 6 January 1948 India took Kashmir dispute to UN Security Council. On 17th January 1948 the Security Council passed a resolution. On 22 March 1949 India and Pakistan appointed the UN commission on Kashmir issue is still in United Nation. United Nation could not play its role to solve the great problem of Kashmir.

India and Pakistan fought three wars (1948, 1965, and 1971). In May - June 1999, once again Kashmir became the focus of World attention when India and Pakistan fought a limited war in Kargil heights located in the valley. Kashmir issue has been discussed many times between India and Pakistan. Shimla accord was signed by Indra Gandhi and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. On 21 February 1999 the x-Prime minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif and Atal Behari Vajpayee signed Lahore declaration. In July 2001 General Pervaz Musharraf visited India and attended Agra summit. When General Pervaz Musharraf took over the control of Pakistan, he changed the Kashmir policy, after 9/11 Kashmir issue turned into a new and critical direction. India says Pakistan involves in terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir and on the other hand Pakistan without of the opinion and says that Kashmiris are fighting for their self determination. Through the research and study we can get knowledge relating to the Kashmir issue. There is a great importance of Kashmir conflict. It became flash point in South Asia. The peace process in South Asia attached with this issue. Energy and economy of Pakistan depends on Kashmir. India adopts very hostile attitude with the Pakistan and Kashmiri people.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Considering Kashmir's need for world attention and towards it's as a serious issue the following sources would be utilized for the various aspects of the subject.

Several factors have contributed to the change in Pakistan's policy toward Kashmir and India. First, Pakistan was unable to obtain international support for its position on the role of Pakistan-based extremist Islamic groups. And the aftermath of the terrorists attacks in the US (September 2001) and on the Indian parliament in December 2001. Pakistan gradually pulled back from these groups in 2003-2004. Secondly Pakistan reviewed its policy on Islamic militancy after being confronted the blowback effects of Islamic militancy in Afghanistan and Kashmir. Islamic extremism threatened the fabric of Pakistan's politics and society, because the armed Islamic extremists used their newly acquired power to settle scores with those who did not share their perspectives on Islam. Islamic-sectarian violence and killings and strong pressure on religious minorities threatened internal political order, peace, and stability.(Rizvi, 2007)²⁰

Thirdly Pakistan's participation in the global coalition against terrorism allowed the lifting of US, the EU countries, and international financial institutions. This helped Pakistan cope with the economic predicament it faced in 2001 and thus contributed to the longevity of the army-dominated Musharraf regime. The paradoxical nature of General Musharraf's Kashmir policy persists, however. While he is willing to look for options outside the UN resolutions, including soft borders and joint control' of the Valley, he has yet to politically pull the plug on the Jihad option for good. Even though some Jihadi groups have targeted army and political leaders of Pakistan, the establishment continues to be selective in its crackdowns because it believes the Jihadis have strategic value in securing the national objectives in Kashmir.(Behera, 2006)²¹

Indian army has launched a tacit war on the people of Kashmir. Young men are killed, old men suffering women harassed and raped, economy destroyed. There is shortage of necessary supplies shortage of life saving drugs. People have reached the point of hunger. Indian army has started prowling house and shop. Life and freedom have no safeguards. Indian Security forces launched a great suppression and power against the people of Jammu and Kashmir India forces many special power acts against the innocent people like Jammu and Kashmir public safety act 1978. Terrorist and Disruptive Act (TADA) 'security forces act. Indian forces doing Human right violation through extra legal killing, agony a children and Women, House burning. Missing the person, killing and through shock and fear (Malik, 2006).

Within Indian Kashmir, on 25 July 2000, the main Kashmiri militant group Hizbul-Mujahideen announced a unilateral cease-tire for three months. This message was followed by talks in Srinagar between the separatist group and the Indian government on August. Those talks soon distorted though, and within two weeks of announcing its cease-fire Hizbul-Mujahideen called it off and ordered its forces to start again fighting with Indian troops. (Malik, 2002)²⁷

Almost at once though, he held out the lime branch to Pakistan, inviting General Musharraf to New Delhi for talks. Bearing in mind Prime Minister Vajpayee's earlier rejection to even participate in the same conference as Musharraf, this was really a big about-turn. It was almost certainly prompted by India's desire to improve its relations with the United State: Indo-Pak aggression over Kashmir, and the prospect inherent in that of nuclear war, is a great source of concern for Washington. Vajpayee wanted to show that he was striving to resolve the issue. General Musharraf accepted the Indian Prime Minister's invitation. (Rathore, 1992)²⁸

After the General Musharaf regime Pakistan entered in to democratic period and Pakistan People's Party formed its Government in the Centre. President Asif Ali Zardari and Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani the Prime Minister of Pakistan showed the desire of peaceful solution of Kashmir conflict many times foreign secretaries of both the countries met but could not reached on any positive result. During this regime Pakistan continuing the moral diplomatic and political support to Kashmiris. (Iffat, 2010)

METHODOLOGY

A part from the above sources some more primary and secondary sources would be included as, Articles, Books, Maggazine and Government's official record. This Research would be based on the historical events and developments connected to this subject. An effort has been made to present this research in three chapters. Chapter one would be the introduction of the subject. Second chapter would deal with the Kashmir Freedom movement and demand of the Self-determination. The Third chapter would reflect the Foreign policy of Pakistan and Kashmir issue (1988-2010) and would follow the conclusion on the subject.

DISCUSSIONS

Demand of Self-Determination and Pakistan's Stance

Kashmir is a case of self-determination. It is an original cause of conflict between India and Pakistan. The right of self -determination of Kashmiri people is the recognized by the World under the United Nations resolution. But due to the rejection of India the people of Jammu and Kashmir are still denied from their basic right. After the partition of Sub-Continent, freedom movement got new turn. The Jammu and Kashmir people did not accept to taking over Kashmir with India by Maharaja of Kashmir.

War of 1948

The first Kashmir war was started by India when it launched its military offensive On April 8, 1948 almost at once in both Jammu and Kashmir areas. In Jammu the main purpose was to get as close to Pakistan's border as possible whereas in Kashmir the major aim was to recapture the town of Muzaffarabad that was liberated by the Azad forces. At the time of spring offensive India had already moved two-divisions were already in Kashmir. With such a large force the Indian army began to push the tribesmen and Azad Kashmir forces towards Pakistan's border. Although both the tribesmen and Azad forces put up tough resistance; they were no match to a well prepared, skilled equipped and supported Indian army despite the fact that many of the men, particularly from Poonch and Mirpur, serving Azad forces were experienced. (Haider, 1990)

Consequently in May 1948 Pakistan sent a full division of its army to back up the tribesmen and Azad forces in their efforts to stop the Indian advance thus began the first limited war in Kashmir between the two new nations. The war did not last long and by the end of 1948 a military draw stepped in. The Indian forces were able to move forward the tribesmen out of areas like Baramula and the city of Poonch but once the Pakistani forces connected the tribesmen and Azad forces, the Indian advance was effectively checked. The Pakistani forces, on the' other hand, were able to merge their position in the areas that now from Azad Kashmir. (Haider, 1990)

Resolution of Plebiscite

India and Pakistan agreed on cease-fire line which forced on 1st January 1949. United nation passed a resolution on 5th January 1949 for the plebiscite. That the question of taking over of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or

Pakistan will be decided through the democratic method of free and fair plebiscite. (Rathore, 1992)

Kashmir and War of 1965

In early August, 1965, the second phase of Operation Gibraltar began. The process was consisted of three important assumptions:

- That extensive carry existed in Indian-occupied Kashmir for waging a rebel movement.
- That India would not be disposed to start a major military offensive against Azad Kashmir;
- That India would not cross the global limit in either the East or in West Pakistan.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Pakistan's foreign minister, assured Ayub Khan that India forces would not violate the Indo-Pakistan border, based on an estimation by the Chinese foreign minister Marshal Chen Yi. (Jalazal, 2000)

The Mujahideen began intervening in the worsening situation in both Pakistan and Azad Kashmir there was a great deal of interest for the freedom struggle. Guerrilla activities disrupt and ambushes were daily occurrences in Indian-occupied Kashmir by August 1965. Bridges were blown and police station attacked. On August 1965 began the voice of Kashmir Revolutionary Council to liberate Kashmir from Indian oppression. In January 1966 President Ayub Khan and prime Minister of India Lal Bahrdur Shastri agreed on Tashkent declaration. Pakistan withdraws their forces on August 1965 position this was a great hold up for the Kashmir Mujahideen and the Freedom Movement. (Jalazai, 2000).

War of 1971 and Kashmir

India interfered into Pakistan's internal affairs, supported Anti Pakistan elements in East Pakistan and attacked on Pakistan 1971. In July 1972 Simla Agreement signed by president of Pakistan Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Prime Minister of India Mrs. Gandhi. At the start India insisted that the cease-fire line should be altered into an global state line, While Pakistan argued for a go back to the U.N. supervised Cease-Fire Line as it existed before 1971. The compromise between two extreme positions produced the Line of Control. While the Simla Agreement confirmed that within Jammu and Kashmir, the line of control follow-on from the Cease-Fire of december 17, 1971 shall be valued by either part, it is quite clear that the Indian position over Kashmir was strengthened. (Haider, 1992)

Kashmir Dispute and Siachin Glacier

Siachin Glacier: Linked with Kashmir dispute, in physical sense, are the recently surfaced issues of Siachin, Wuller Lake barrage and Kashmiri intifada. The Siachin glacier dispute heated up during the early 1980s primarily because of Indian attempts to occupy hitherto, unoccupied areas of the glacier. The Siachin glacier is situated in an area where together the Cease-Fire Line and the Line OSf Control are unwell clear. The climatic clash of the region forbidden together India-Pakistans to go for an in depth a number of cruel clashes separation of the line. The Indian attempts to obtain the physical work of the glacier resulted into a number of clashes. (Haider, 1992)

Freedom Movement after 1988-89 and Pakistan Stand for Self-Determination

In 1988-89 Kashmir Freedom Movement got energy inside the Jammu and Kashmir. Especially youth of Jammu' and Kashmir re-organize their struggle against Indian forces. Pakistan gave completely attention in to human right abuses within Jammu and Kashmir and supported the demand of Kashmiris Right of Self-determination. During, the year of 1989-92 a tide of panic butchery was heading across the enchanted valley of peace and fragrance, touching countless lives

and destroying millions. Many people were either killed or pushed behind bars on trumpeted-up charges of spying and treason. No one knows for sure the precise number of those innocent men women and children tortured to death in lockups. The valley is locked in a virtual state of siege by inhuman attacks against its citizens. (Rathore, 1992)

The human rights violation in occupied Kashmir is a big dare to the people of the world who believe in human rights, democracy, freedom and self-respect of human being. Kashmir problem is outcome of wicked rejection of human rights and present situation is a reflection of use of wicked force for control of human rights and forcing 12 million people to a state of slavery and suppression. Indian forces have converted Kashmir into a Dark Island where all civil liberties have been curtailed and human rights have been crushed. (Rathore, 1992)

Pakistan Ambassador Akram Zaki Address at the Beijing University, on Pakistan's Foreign Policy and Kashmir at Beijing 23 June, 1990

Ambassador Zaki said, Pakistan having come into being on the basis of right of self-determination, supported principle of self-determination and national liberation movements throughout the world. He expressed doubts that in Kashmir, people were being deprived of their right of self-determination. He also gave detailed account of the history of Kashmir dispute mentioning the various relevant UN resolutions to which India and Pakistan were seriously pledged but India has failed to honour its commitment. (Syed, 1990)

Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto to German Society of Foreign Affairs on "the Situation in South Asia" on 20 April 1994 Suggested That

Since 1990, Pak-India relations have additional deteriorated because of the repression carried out by India forces to crush the struggle of the people of Jammu and Kashmir for the restitution of the right to freedom which was pledged to them by India, Pakistan and the international community, through a number of resolutions of the UN Security Council. The atrocities being committed by Indian forces have not undermined the resolve of the Kashmiris to continue their struggle. She also hoped that destabilized the resolve of the Kashmiris to continue their struggle. Further discussed that of Kashmir problem as to enable the peoples of the two countries and of the South Asian region to achieve peace and prosperity. (Syed, 1994)

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to the Nation on 14 August 1991

In Kashmir our elders, mothers, brothers and sisters are sloping in a best effort for securing their right of self-determination. They are facing an armed might with their bare bodies to blaze a new chapter of Liberation struggle. We cannot stand aside and with them droop in pain and angriest. We shall continue depiction them- full support at the diplomatic, political and human lend. (Syed, 1991)

Address of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto to Joint Session of AJK Joint Session of Legislative Assembly and Azad Jammu and Kashmir Council at Muzafabad, 13 March 1990

Address the joint session of Azad Jammu and Kashmir Assembly and Kashmir Council Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto said Pakistan would fulfill its international, Political legal and ethical obligations on Kashmir Issue and would never give up its Principle position. (Syed, 1990)

Policy Statement of Shahabad Ayub Khan on Kashmir Issue on T.V and Radio 30 January 1990

We cannot compromise on Principal nor can we good deal the basic Right of Kashmir Particularly their right of

self-determination. We will attach to our real stand. Pakistan will not yield to any pressure on threat and will continue to support that right of freedom of the people of Kashmir. (Syed, 1990)

Statement of Nawabzada Nusrullah Khan Chairman, Parliamentary Committee on Kashmir of the National Assembly of Pakistan, 11 October 1995

It is extremely tragic that the right to freedom of the people of Jammu and Kashmir is being denied through the use of brutal force by the Indian occupation forces. The right to freedom of the people of Kashmir was the first to be recognized by the United Nations. It is ironic that even after the lapse of 48 years; the people of Jammu and Kashmir have yet to work out this exact. (syed, 1995)

Briefing by the Chairman Parliamentary Kashmir Committee Nusrullah Khan to a Visiting German Parliamentary Delegation on Kashmir

Briefing a 7-member German Parliamentary delegation, Chairman parliamentary Kashmir Committee, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan said Pakistan has nothing to do with Al-Faran, a fake organization created by the Indians to criticize Pakistan in the comity of nations. In an hour-long meeting the Chairman PKC explained the Kashmir issue narrating terrible story of Indian slaughter on the freedom fighters of Kashmir. With its 6000,000 army, India is not only trying to contain the freedom movement in the Indian held Kashmir but was not even undecided to destroy the mosques and Muslim shrine he said.

Pakistan is devoted socially, morally and politically to support the freedom fighters of Kashmir but no material help is being granted by Pakistan he said. The 600,000 Indian army has blocked any way on the borders by building three tiers of its forces. It is not humanly possible to exceed 14 thousand feet high snow-loaded mountains to provide any material help across the borders to the freedom fighters in held Kashmir he said. (Syed, 1996)

Statement of Mr. Abdul Sattar Foreign Minister of Pakistan in Geneva 26 March 2002

The twelve million people of Kashmir Issue have their life and more at chance. They seek nothing more than the chance to work out the right of self-determination. This right is inherent, and it was pledged to the Kashmir by Pakistan as well as India and blessed in the resolutions of the UN sonority Council. (Syed, 2000)

Statement of President Musharaf to National Kashmir Committee on 15 January 2002

As a party to Kashmir Pakistan will stand behind its Kashmiri brother and sisters in

Their brave struggle against the Indian occupation Kashmir. (Syed, 2002)

Musharaf Address to the Joint Session of Legislative Assembly and Azad Jammu and Kashmir Council at Muzafabad on 5, Feb 2002

On 5th Feb. 2002 has, our the years become on important day for us as on this day the government and the people of Pakistan repeat the harmony with their brother and sister in the Indian occupied Kashmir and reconfirm their antivenin and unequivocal legitimate support to the valiant struggle of the Kashmir people for their inalienable right of freedom. (Syed, 2005)

Statement of Raja Pervez Ashraf Member of National Assembly Agenda Item 5, Session of the Commission of human Rights in Geneva on 18 March 2005

The right of people to freedom is enshrined in the Charter of United Nations, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the Covenants on Human Rights. This right has been repeatedly reaffirmed in documents adopted by all major conferences. Freedom is an absolute right and cannot be compromised. It exclusively belongs to the people. No other authority can exercise this right on their behalf. It shields the vulnerable against aggression occupation and domination. Its denial has caused untold suffering, misery and instability. Fifty-seven years ago, the United Nations conferred the right to freedom on the people of Jammu and Kashmir. Security Council resolutions provide that the final outlook of the state of Jammu and Kashmir will be made in agreement with the will of the people expressed through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under the support of the United Nations. This goal has yet to be achieved. (Syed, 2005)

Address by Mr. Marghoob Saleem Butt. First Secretary, on the “Right of People to Freedom” to session of Human Right Commission 13 March 2008

President Musharaf has shown the way by suggesting a flexible approach for resolution of all dispel out including the care' issue of Jammu and Kashmir. His proposals of dernilitrization and self government of Kashmir manifesto out sincere desire to constructively engage with, India to find a peaceful and durable solution of Kashmir Issue. Though any solution of Kashmir must be in agreement with the aspirations and will of the Kashmir people. (Syed, 2008)

Pakistan’s Traditional Policy on Kashmir

Pakistan’s case on the Kashmir dispute is based on the resolution adopted by the United Nations Commission on India and Pakistan (UNCIP) in August 1948. January 1949 and subsequently endorsed by the UN Security Council. It decided was for holding a plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) to determine whether the people Wanted to join Pakistan or India. (Rizvi, 2007)⁴

The UN Security Council remained actively engaged with the Kashmir problem for the next ten years, but these resolutions could not be implemented for a number of reasons. ‘India and Pakistan did not agree on the modalities for holding the UN-proposed plebiscite in J&K. The UN sent several missions to India and Pakistan. Some proposals were suggested for the implementation of its resolutions on Kashmir. However, no commonly suitable formula agreement for holding a plebiscite could be agreed upon by the both parties. Another major reason on the UN resolutions was that the Kashmir problem was entangled with the cold war stuck between the United States and the Soviet Union. (Rizvi, 2007) Pakistan fully helped the United Nations Commission for the free of charge and impartial plebiscite but India’s attitude was not fair. After the first Kashmir War in 1948, on 1st January 1947 India and Pakistan signed Alliance. Due to this factor Soviet Union move close to India and accepted the Indian policy on Kashmir and in 1957 and 1962 India take full advantage from Russia because Russia used Veto power on United Nations Security Council resolutions on Kashmir.

Tashkent Agreement and Kashmir

Pakistan loses the opportunity to pressurize India for the solution of Kashmir in 1962, during the Indo-China War President Ayub Khan did nothing in this regard. In 1965 India and Pakistan fought a war on Kashmir Issue. After the war in January 1966 India and Pakistan signed Tashkent agreement and Pakistan withdraw from its territorial position in Kashmir.

Shimla Agreement and Kashmir Policy

In July 1972, after the separation of East-Pakistan, Shimla agreement signed by India and Pakistan. Shimla agreement also failed to present a peaceful solution of Kashmir dispute. Pakistan continued to raise the Kashmir issue in the annual session of the UN General Assembly and at other international forums, such as the organization of Islamic 'Conferences and the Non-Aligned Movement (since 1979). At this juncture Pakistan did not pursue any specific military or diplomatic strategies in this regard. (Rizvi, 2007)

CONCLUSIONS

Pakistan has always fully supported the people of Kashmir, morally, materially and politically. Pakistan has always emphasized the importance of this issue and suggested to resolve Kashmir dispute, its solution would promote growth and success in the region. Pakistan and India would be capable to use their capital for wellbeing of the people.

Pakistan respects the United Nations Charter and always acted upon the United Nations resolutions. Pakistan always assisted United Nations to solve the Kashmir conflict on humanitarian grounds. The United Nations determined many years ago that the Kashmiri people have the right of freedom and set up a plan for realizing this right and resolving what was then a political and military crisis between India and Pakistan over the nature of Kashmir. Though this plan has not able to be implemented and the Kashmiri right to self-determine is as yet unrealized. India and Pakistan have continued to fight over Kashmir a battle that has generated a number of wars and many military skirmishes. Kashmir situation continues to trouble the world, particularly now that both India and Pakistan have developed nuclear weapons capability. The Kashmiri people continue to undergo from serious human rights and humanitarian law violations in the course of India's military actions against them. Pakistan presented Kashmir issue before other international forums like, OIC NAM, SAARC and European Union but Kashmir problem could not solve.

Kashmir conflict remained a basic element in Pakistan's foreign policy. Kashmir is a core issue between two atomic powers India and Pakistan. Both the countries fought many wars on this dispute. Being an agricultural country the economy of Pakistan depends upon the rivers of Jammu and Kashmir. Recently India has made Dams on Pakistan's rivers in Jammu and Kashmir. According to Indus water treaty, it is against of world laws. India wanted to convert Pakistan's fertile lands into deserts. Due to the Kashmir dispute, it's a great threat of peace to this region.

India continued to maintain its control over the Jammu and Kashmir but they were blatantly rigged. India prevents the world organizations and international media who wanted to cover election process in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Indian military and security forces have been accused of abusing human rights. The Terrorism and Disruptive Activities Prevention Act (TADA) led to the arrest of over 76,000 individuals. Various anti-terrorism measures were notable for their violations of human rights. Indian forces committed acts of human rights violations like, burning of suspects, regular curfew, rape, custodial killings, arbitrary arrests and extra judicial killings. Human rights abuses became daily feature of life in Jammu and Kashmir. It is a great test case for the modern world.

After 9/ 11 Pakistan withdraws from its traditional foreign policy on Kashmir dispute and search the solution of Kashmir out of box. President Musharraf's oath to break down on Islamists led to the prohibition of groups that had been operating in Kashmir among them the Lashkar-e-Tayyiba and Jaish-e-Mohammad. According to the International Crisis Group, these groups renamed themselves and sustained their activities, after which they were barred again.

Before the Musharaf regime in Pakistan, the democratic governments of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif fully supported the cause of Kashmir the only way of solution according to the desire of people of Jammu and Kashmir. During the first term of Benazir Bhutto (1988-1990) and second period of Nawaz Sharif (1997-1999) were the golden periods in this regard.

RECOMMENDATIONS

India wanted the permanent seat in UN Security Council. Pakistan should globalize the Kashmir issue because India has violated the UN Charter and suppressed the rights of people of Jammu and Kashmir through military power. Through statesmanship and courage, Pakistani leadership can highlight the Kashmir dispute before the World.

REFERENCES

1. Dr. Muhammad Farooq khan, Kashmir issue background, Current situation and its solution, (copyright to author, 2002) p. 47.
2. Dr. S. M. Haider, Kashmir and South Asian Security, A friends publications, Islamabad, 1992 p.42-43
3. Hassan Askari Rizvi, Islamabad's new approach to Kashmir,(Viva book publishers, New Delhi, 2007) p.138.
4. Javid Iqbal Rathore, Kashmir Myth and Reality, Panorama Publication, Islamabad, 1992 P. 67.
5. Malik iffit, Kashmir issue, The News, July19, 2010.
6. Musa Khan Jalazai, The foreign Policy of Pakistan, Dua publication, Lahore, 2000 P. 117.
7. Navanita Chadha Beher, Demystifying Kashmir (Brookings institution press, Washington, 2006) p.83.
8. Riaz Ahmed Syed,Foreign Pakistan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, March, 2008 P. 91
9. Sayyid Abul Ala Mawdud, Kashmir: A call to the conscience o f human. (Kashmir study center, Lahore, 1966) p.32.
10. Victoria Schofield, Kashmir in conflict: India Pakistan and the unfinished war, (I.B Tauris publisher, London, 2000) p.194.

