

## **Kashmir and Global Powers**

**Amjad Abbas Khan**

*University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan.*

**Sardar Sajid Mehmood**

*Kashmir Centre, Karachi, Pakistan.*

**Mehboob Alam**

*Government Postgraduate College, Chakwal, Pakistan.*

### **ABSTRACT**

Kashmir is generally visualized by the global powers with Indian and Pakistani perspective rather than a humanitarian issue. No doubt it is a bone of contention between two countries but cannot be declared as a simple bilateral conflict because of multi-dimensional nature. Kashmiri people have been struggling for their birth right, the right of self-determination since 1948, in the light of UN Security Council's resolutions. This paper highlights responsibilities and the role played by global powers in the resolution of longstanding issue of Asian Sub-continent according to the UN Security Council resolutions for peace and prosperity of the region.

**Key Words:** **Bilateral, Self-Determination, Plebiscite, Humanitarian, Resolution**

### **Introduction**

Former State of Jammu and Kashmir is an important region having direct links with Pakistan, India, China, Afghanistan and very close border with the former Soviet Union. It is considered to be a paradise on earth situated in the heart of Central Asia (Nizami, 1998). The term paradise for Kashmir is not being used only in the sense of beauty but due to peace and prosperity of the region too, as described by a well-known Persian Poet Urif Sherazi in his various couplets (Rafai, and Kraipak, 1991). People of Kashmir have been severely brutalized by external forces over the years during Afghan and Sikh rule. This region became a Paradise Lost especially in the last seven decades due to the conflict between two nuclear powers i.e. India and Pakistan. Kashmir issue has been transformed in to a crucial inter-state conflict during the first and second Indo-Pakistan wars of 1947 and 1965 owing to conflict over Kashmir (Cheema, 2015). Pakistan and India are directly linked with China and the former Soviet Union respectively through the State of Jammu and Kashmir, which ultimately increases geographic and strategic value of the region. Therefore, regional as well as global power's interests are also involved in Kashmir dispute (Fayaz, 2016).

Currently former state of Jammu and Kashmir has been divided into four parts due to people uprising against the government of Hari Singh, the last Dogra ruler of Jammu and Kashmir and Indian intervention in Kashmir during October 1947. These includes the Indian occupied part of state, the Pakistani administrated part

i.e. Gilgit and Baltistan, Azad Kashmir and the Chinese-administered regions of Aksai Chin with Trans-Karakoram Tract (Cody M., 2011). Presently, 45% area of Jammu and Kashmir is under illegal occupation of India. The rest of area is controlled by Pakistan and China with the ratio of 33% and 22% respectively (Sankaran & Sethi, 2003). Subcontinent is considered to be most dangerous place in the world due to Kashmir conflict as expressed by former US President Bill Clinton; his thought provoking and alarming statement rang the bells loudly throughout the world in March 2000. While describing the 21<sup>st</sup> century's reality, he said that "the Kashmir conflict between India and Pakistan had undergone a complete transformation from apparently contained, bilateral situation into an international issue" (Sankaran & Sethi, 2003). Former US President Richard Nixon also indicated the alarming situation by describing that Kashmir dispute could be a nuclear flashpoint between India and Pakistan (Nixon, 1992).

## **Kashmir Issue**

There are various viewpoints regarding Kashmir issue due to difference in ideology and interests. The simple issue of right of self-determination has been turned into a complex conflict between India and Pakistan (Rizvi, 1994). With the emergence of new dominions of India and Pakistan, according to partition plan in the light of Indian Independence Act of 1947, British suzerainty over the 584 (Korbel, 1966) princely states of subcontinent ended. Princely states were left to choose whether to join India or Pakistan as stated by the last British Viceroy of subcontinent in his policy statement that "rulers of Princely states have a choice to join one or other dominion in respect to geographic situation of the state as well as public interests" (Mehmood, 1997).

Kashmir is neither a territorial nor a religious issue between two neighbouring countries. It has various dimensions but mainly it is based on basic right of people of Jammu and Kashmir, the right of self-determination in the light of UN Charter and resolutions of UN Security Council. The right of self-determination has been denied to the people of Jammu and Kashmir since 1947 (Yousaf, 1994). For India it seems to be a matter of prestige to save her claim of secularism while it is considered to be an unfinished agenda of subcontinent by most of Pakistanis as well as Kashmiri people. Most of Indian leaders now believe that Kashmir is an integral part of India while referring the fake instrument of accession made by Maharaja of Kashmir with Indian dominion. A renowned scholar Alaster Lamb claimed that instrument of accession had not been signed between India and Kashmir (Kazmi, 2009). At the same time, Pakistani as well as Kashmiri leaders declared the accession of Kashmir as the biggest fraud of 20<sup>th</sup> century (Sardar Sajid Mehmood, 2015). Pakistani leaders consider Kashmir as an unfinished agenda of subcontinent's partition, a life line and jugular vein due to geographic importance of the region and religious relationship between people of both regions. Pakistan's government and people are committed to provide moral,

## *Kashmir and Global Powers*

political, economic and diplomatic support to people of Jammu and Kashmir who are continuously struggling to achieve their final destination (Mehmood, 2016).

There had been three 3-4 major wars between India and Pakistan due to differences on this core issue. However, Kashmir issue should not be a reason of war between both neighbours as it is a justifiable struggle of Kashmiri people for basic right, the right of self-determination in the light of UN resolutions. This right was provided to exercise the people of 584 Princely States, but Kashmiri people are denied till now in this modern era (Yousaf, 1994).

### **Kashmir in Security Council**

Kashmir is not a bilateral issue as it has a global personality, India itself took the matter in UN Security Council on January 1, 1948 by lodging a complaint against Pakistan (Rizvi, 1994). As a result, a number of resolutions have been adapted by UN Security Council and United Nation Security Council's Commission for India and Pakistan (UNSCIP) yet Kashmiris are waiting for implementation on the basis of facts and justice by proactive approach of global powers. In the beginning, Indian leaders made several promises and commitments to Kashmiri people, government of Pakistan and world through different statements that issue of final accession of Kashmir would be decided through free and impartial plebiscite (Abdullah, 1998). Later on, they changed their basic stance while declaring the nature of accession being final through rectifying a resolution of National Conference i.e. a pro-Indian political party of Indian occupied Kashmir and so called Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir (Lamb, 1994). New stance of Indian leadership that Kashmir is an integral part of India however was not recognized by international community due to lack of Anglo American sympathy during the cold war era (Rizvi, 1994).

UN Security Council in its resolutions of March 30, 1951 and January 24, 1957 clearly declared that "the convening of a Constituent Assembly as recommended by the General Council of All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference and any action that Assembly may have taken or might attempt to take to determine the future shape and affiliation of the entire state or any part thereof, or action by parties concerned in support of any such action by the Assembly, would not constitute a disposition of the state according to above principle; decides to continue its consideration of the dispute" (See UN resolutions 91 (1951) on 30, March 1951 and 122 (1957) on 24 January 1957 adopted by the UNSC, available at [www.unsecuritycouncil.com.org/resolutions](http://www.unsecuritycouncil.com.org/resolutions)). Before 1957, a lot of efforts were made by UN Security Council by nominating the various UN mediators to sort out the ways to provide the chance of exercising the right of self-determination to people of Jammu and Kashmir in the light of resolutions adopted but disregarded by India (Korbel, 1966). Soviet Union did not veto the most important resolutions of January 24 and December 2, 1957. According to Yousaf Buch, a prominent Kashmiri academic and former diplomat based in US, "evidently, the Soviet Union was still keeping the lines open with Pakistan at that

point. It was President Ayub Khan's realization of danger from north during 1959 that proposed joint defense with India which impressed the Soviet Union the futility for her flexible attitude on Kashmir" (Buch, 2003).

## **Role of Global Powers**

Western powers except US and Britain strongly supported Pakistan's point of view in the Security Council during 1957 to reopen the Kashmir case in UNSC when Dr. Frank Graham submitted his final report on 28 March 1958. Both powers expressed the fear of another Soviet veto (Buch, 2003). According to Dr. Frank Graham, Great power has to stand up to situation in Kashmir and not equivocate because of importance of India even if this means Soviet veto and referral of case in the General Assembly. According to him, a straight forward stand could only prove effective for UN in long run. Big powers would assert pressure to bear on both but India in particular as Kashmir problem could not be swept under the rug as some people seemed to think (Buch, 2003).

Premier of Pakistan Mr. Ferooz Khan Noon had once made a meaningful speech in the National Assembly in this regard on March 8, 1958 while threatening to sever ties with US if there would be no progress on Kashmir issue because of weak support by America and hardening of Soviet attitude in the beginning of 1958 (Buch, 2003). Outbreak of Sino-Indian border conflict during October 1962 helped to bring the Kashmir dispute back into the forefront after a long time due to Soviet veto against the resolution of Security Council and neutral policy of US and Britain (Rizvi, 1994). U.S started to supply weapons to support India on Indian request during Sino-Indian border dispute. Pakistan protested to Washington on the ground that India will not use the weapons against China but Pakistan as well. There was a clear belief in West that Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan should be resolved on priority basis to control up-coming influence of China on Pakistan but did nothing pragmatically (Rizvi, 1994).

In spite of this, Pakistan remained neutral during Sino-Indian border war of October, 1962 as advised by President Kennedy to Ayub that it would have a positive impact on settlement of differences between India and Pakistan (Buch, 2003). Later on, six rounds of foreign ministerial futile talks between India and Pakistan sponsored by US held soon after Sino-Indian war (Buch, 2003). However, Pakistan's position was strengthened by development of friendly relations with China in wake of Pak-China boundary agreement (<https://defence.pk/pdf/threads/sino-pakistan-frontier-agreement-1963.5212/>).

On September 16, 1965 China addressed a note to India which spoke of India's denial of the right of the Kashmiri people to self-determination. In response to Chinese note, UK High Commissioner in Pakistan assured President Ayub that British Government and others are now determined to settle the Kashmir Issue. President Ayub said to him at that time that Pakistan government had already told China to remain out of the present conflict (Buch, 2003). As a result of war between Pakistan and India, Security Council on September 20, 1965 adopted a

## *Kashmir and Global Powers*

resolution calling for a ceasefire and promising to set a process of equitable settlement of Kashmir Issue. This promise once again was vaporized during Tashkent Declaration due to neutral position of US by staying away from competing Soviet Union in 1966. China called it joint US-Soviet plotting and Johnson described it as “statesmen reuniting together” (Buch, 2003).

### **Struggle of Kashmiri People and Indian Stance**

The people of Kashmir have been continuing their struggle for right of self-determination since 1947. Once again a mass political movement started in Indian held Kashmir due to rigging in the election of 1987 of Kashmir legislative Assembly and lack of opportunities for 85% Kashmiri Muslim as compared to 15 % Kashmiri pundits in all bureaucratic positions (Muhammad, 1994). This movement resulted in an armed struggle because of Indian repression, and Kashmir issue once again gained the centrality in Indo-Pak relations. Both countries were first time on the verge of war since 1971 (Qadir, 1994). A well-known researcher described that the struggle initially was non-violent. India used brutal force to suppress the movement under the umbrella of various black laws like Armed Forces Special Powers (Jammu & Kashmir) Act (AFSPA), Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act (TADA), Prevention of Terrorist Act (POTA), Public Safety Act (PSA), and DAA. Indian forces killed and tortured thousands of innocent Kashmiri people through crack downs and search operations. In response to undemocratic and inhuman activities of Indian forces, people especially youth of Kashmir compelled to hold arms in self-defense which ultimately turned into armed struggle against India (Pervez, 2013). India tried to label the indigenous movement of Kashmiri people with religious war between Muslims and Hindus imposed by Muslim fundamentalists to attain sympathy of West. India tried to highlight the movement as a terrorist activity sponsored by Pakistan (Qadir, 1994).

It is an old strategy of India to blame Pakistan for supporting the struggle of Kashmiri people to cover inhuman acts of Indian forces. India is responsible for worst human rights violations and state terrorism in Kashmir. It is the policy of deception adopted by Indian to mislead the world and attaining the sympathy of international community to continue her repression in the Indian held Kashmir (Pervez, 2013). In response to Indian propaganda, Pakistan rejected the view point of India and strongly condemned worst human rights violations in the light of various reports published by world’s famous human rights organizations like Human Rights, Asia Watch and Amnesty International (Human rights Asia watch 1990-1998 and Amnesty International Reports, 1990-1998).

Indian supplies to the forces in Siachen were stopped in April 1999, during fighting at Kargil sector. India blamed Pakistan for her direct involvement and threatened to invoke a full scale war. Kargil crisis was ended through the involvement of US President Bill Clinton with Washington Accord. Due to the Kargil crisis, world realized that Kashmir conflict can be a nuclear flashpoint

between India and Pakistan. India has developed strong relations with the United States after Kargil crisis as US played a key role in the settlement of crisis. India tried to isolate Pakistan by convincing international community regarding unsuitable action in Kargil sector (Fayaz, 2016). One school of thought opines that the struggle of Kashmiri people has badly affected due to ban on jihadi organizations by US and other states because of terrible incident of 9/11. India's well-staged episode of terrorist attack on Kashmir Assembly helped it to label the freedom struggle of Kashmiri people with terrorism (Dawn, 15 December 2001). Indian forces are responsible for record brutalities on Kashmiri people but international community is silent while considering the issue as bilateral nature because of strong relations between India and US. Indian government has been using the tool of diplomacy effectively and tactfully. Resultantly, India remained very successful to achieve the support at international level for its stance on Kashmir. At the same time, almost all research reports revealed that there can be no peace and prosperity in the region without solution of outstanding problems between two nuclear powers. Most of the researchers are agreed that regional organizations like SAARC cannot grow to leading regional development and economic integration without good relations between India and Pakistan (Fayaz, 2016).

### **Expectations and Responsibilities of Global Players on Kashmir Issue**

Global players can play a vital role for the settlement of Kashmir issue through providing the right of self-determination to Kashmiri people. In November 2014, Pakistani Premier Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif asked the President of US to take up Kashmir issue during his visit of India. But nothing has been heard about US of taking the issue with India during the said visit (Daily News, November 22, 2014). Pakistan has expressed her worries on growing relations of US and India as it will lead to strategic difference and disappoint the resolution of Kashmir conflict. This point of view was well expressed on January 28, 2015, by Sartaj Aziz, advisor for foreign relations of Pakistan. He said that US has agreed to supply nuclear material to India for civil use. This agreement has led to an alarming situation which can affect badly to peace keeping efforts and strategic stability in the troubled region (Daily News, January 28, 2015). UN and global Powers can play their due role as they played for the solution of East Timor and other worldwide issues based on the right of self-determination. US can play a key role to resolve Kashmir problem (Fayaz, 2016).

It is considered that huge market of India is the main reason of silence over one of most critical humanitarian issues by Global Powers and it is a strategy of US to use India as a restraint against China to continue her own domination in the region. In this regard, US is avoiding from the settlement of Kashmir conflict by supporting the Indian stance while branding Kashmiri freedom fighters as terrorists after 9/11 to strengthen the relations. Some people think that an ongoing conflict between Pakistan, India and China provides an opportunity to US to

### *Kashmir and Global Powers*

involve in the region and keep her influence. A well-known researcher described that Pakistan and India are considered to be the favorite markets to sale of US weapon due to outstanding conflict of the Kashmir between both countries. According to her discussion China also think that supporting Kashmir's right of self-determination will harm her own interest in Xinjiang region where separatist movement is ongoing while the enduring Kashmir problem will also keep on engaging the main opponent India (Fayaz, 2016).

Recently it is stated by the US State Department that our policy on Kashmir has not changed. After China's open support for Kashmir and its instantiation US have openly supported India's view on CPEC and objected it as passing through a disputed territory. US Defense Secretary James Mattis has told the Senate Armed Services Committee that "the One Belt, One Road (China-Pakistan Economic Corridor or CPEC) also goes through disputed territory" of Jammue and Kashmir (Iqbal, October 7, 2017). Vice President of US Mike Pence said that the deal-making skills of Donald Trump can help in resolution of Kashmir problem (The Express Tribune, April 4, 2017). US already had designated the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen's leader, Syed Salahuddin, as a global terrorist in June 2017. Nafees Zakaria, spokesperson for foreign affairs of Pakistan said that we are disappointed the designation awarded to the individuals or groups who are supporting the Kashmiri People's right to self-determination as terrorists by US. He further emphasized that it was unjustified (Aqsa, October 5, 2017).

#### **British Members of the Parliament a debate on Kashmir.**

The motion before the House of Commons urged the United Kingdom (UK) government to encourage India and Pakistan to start peace negotiations for settlement of Kashmir dispute on a long-term basis. The declaration stated that House has noted the escalation of violence and breaches of international human rights on the Indian side of the Line of Control in Kashmir. It called upon the government to raise the matter in the UNO. It further asserted the government of UK to encourage Pakistan and India to start dialogue process for the settlement of Kashmir issue based on the basic right of the Kashmiri people to determine their own future according to the provisions of UN Security Council's resolutions (Kashmir Observer, January 19, 2017).

Russia's changed stance urging both India and Pakistan to resolve Kashmir issue using amicable means is a positive sign and it also highlights new emerging regional and global alignments. Despite India's reservations on Pakistan-Russia joint military exercises but the former did not hostage itself to India viz-a-viz its relations with Pakistan.

What role Muslim Ummah can play for the just cause of the Kashmiri people? Are the Muslim countries exerting enough moral and political pressure on the government of India to stop atrocities against the innocent Kashmiri and to resolve Kashmir issue in light of U.N resolutions (Iqbal, 2003)? These are big questions that did not have satisfying answers. A few statements and some political efforts

through the platform of OIC could only be witnessed. In this regard, former member of the Pakistan senate, Dr. Javed Iqbal stated that OIC (Organization of Islamic Cooperation) sometimes is cynically described as an impotent body but in case of Kashmir there has nothing achieved by U.N except of some resolutions adopted but not yet implemented by International community (Iqbal, 2003). According to Dr. Javed Iqbal, OIC played an important role while supporting the settlement of Kashmir issue in the light of U.N resolutions. OIC exerted political and moral pressure consistently on India to stop repression of people of Jammu and Kashmir. OIC adopted a number of resolutions to support the view point of Kashmiri people, these include OIC resolution at Cairo Egypt in August, Istanbul Turkey in August 1991, Dakar Senegal in December 1991, Karachi Pakistan in April 1993, Islamabad Pakistan in September 1994, Casablanca Morocco in December 1994 including 7<sup>th</sup> Islamic Summit Conference, Conakry Guinea in December 1995 and extraordinary session of the Islamic Summit Conference, held at Islamabad Pakistan on 23 March 1997 (Iqbal, 2003). Due to changing world political scenario and struggle of Pakistan, atrocities in Indian held Kashmir took a serious attention in the Organization of Islamic Conference in March, 2008. The member states of OIC took a just stand while supporting the Pakistani view point that Kashmir dispute must be resolved according to the relevant UN resolutions and the desires of the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

Turkey emerged as a strong supporter of the Kashmiri freedom struggle and an ally of Pakistan. During his recent visit to Pakistan, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the President of the Republic of Turkey, offered and supported Pakistan's stance on Kashmir. He assured highest degree of support to Pakistani view point on the issue and said that the struggle of Kashmiri people have come to the point where Turkey can no longer ignore it. He stated that we will continue to extend the highest degree of support as Turkey is the current President of OIC Contact Group on Kashmir. The support from Turkey is a candle light in the extreme dark which can open new opportunities for engaging an exploration of new political possibilities as Pakistan enters into a new era of strategic partnership.

### **Impact of CPEC**

The Pakistan-China friendship has moved into a long-term strategic domain with the initiation of the CPEC. For the next century, the two neighbors are getting embedded into a strategic security and economic relationship that is mutually beneficial and beyond it. In addition, as the China-Pakistan strategic interests collide with that of India-US-Afghanistan axis, the Chinese are showing signs of renewed interest in the Kashmir dispute reiterating their support for the Kashmiri freedom struggle albeit in subtle terms. This interest needs to be harnessed positively and the Chinese engagement has to be built into a strong regional narrative between Kashmir, Pakistan and China. This will ultimately nudge India to join dialogue with the three parties to work out a lasting solution to the Kashmir problem.



### *Kashmir and Global Powers*

China urged Pakistan and India to hold talks to settle down the Kashmir conflict. As Kashmir is a leftover longstanding issue of subcontinent, China expressed that core issue can be resolved by using the tools of communication and dialogue between India and Pakistan. Chinese spokesperson for foreign affairs Lu Kang while responding to a question regarding the OIC Contact Group on Jammu and Kashmir's reaffirmation of solidarity with Kashmiri people said that 'China's position on the Kashmir issue is clear cut' (The Nation, September 23, 2017).

After a hiatus of several decades, the Chinese government has shown more interest in articulating its concern on the situation of Kashmir and reiterated its traditional stand from early 1960s that calls for a just resolution to the dispute. During the last six months of the uprising in Kashmir, China issued more than four statements calling for the resolution of Kashmir in accordance with the aspiration of the masses.

Gilgit Baltistan, a part of erstwhile state of Jammu and Kashmir is important region of CPEC. Due to its huge investments in China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, China is offering its mediation for the settlement of Kashmir issue which is declined by India. China recently organized a summit of leaders from South and South-East Asia besides Europe and discussed the "One Belt, One Road" project. The proposed CPEC project will link the Gwadar (Pakistani city) with China's Province Xinjiang through a vast network of highways and railways. It is considered to be a game changer leading to peace and stability in the region (Roche, May 3, 2017).

China has a more predominant role in global politics as a permanent member in the UN Security Council. Although the Kashmir dispute is usually considered a bilateral conflict between India and Pakistan, but China also controls a part of the disputed region of Jammu and Kashmir known as Aksai Chin. The ownership of that region is also claimed by India as it considers Kashmir her integral part. India expressed reservations on CPEC. While addressing a seminar in University of the Punjab on "Kashmir in Focus: Avoiding Conflict and Quest for Peace", President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir Sardar Masood Khan said that India is trying to sabotage CPEC. He demanded that China and Russia should convince India not to make such efforts to disrupt the project and realize her own benefits of CPEC. Khurshid Mehmood Kasuri, former Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan while discussing on the role of international community declared that "international community is deaf, dumb and cruel but we should keep appealing international community through effective, proactive and vibrant diplomatic efforts for resolution of Kashmir issue" (Ahmed, October 26, 2016). He further said that war is not a viable solution to resolve the conflicts, so there is a dire need that India and Pakistan should use proactive diplomacy to design the options for an acceptable resolution.

CEPC is opening new vistas and putting new impetus to the freedom struggle of Kashmir. The One Belt, One Road project is going to be a major catalyst to normalize the relations between Pakistan and India. Due to the project, world community started paying attention to the Kashmir problem and all the leading

world powers are offering their proactive role for the conflict resolution. China, Turkey, Iran and even Russia are asking for the resolution of dispute because it can endanger the world peace. The growing economic interdependence could enhance the chances of peaceful resolution and CPEC will lead to economic prosperity in the region and the entire world (Ali, October 8, 2017). In this response, one school of thought strongly believes that Kashmir may lead to a gate way between India and Pakistan to get the benefits of CPEC in future.

To diminish growing international pressure India is using Baluchistan to counter balance the Kashmir dispute. The arrest of Kalbhoushn Yadev an Indian spy and his confessional statements and India's open support for Baluchistan is evading the truth about Kashmir. In recent meeting, former chiefs of ISI and RAW at London said that only dialogue can resolve the Kashmir issue. Amarjit Singh Dulat accepted that India is responsible for chaos in Kashmir during last 15 months. He further said that heavy handedness has never worked in Kashmir. Both agreed that if left unresolved, it will keep returning as a crisis with increased intensity (Dawn, October 8, 2017).

## **Conclusion**

International community has been miss-briefed by India that Kashmir is her internal problem. On the other hand, Pakistan's point of view is that it is a matter of right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. It is a dispute between both countries as admitted by Indian leaders themselves in various commitments made by them on different occasions. The world powers while diluting the International personality of the humanitarian issue, considered the Kashmir as a bilateral issue. The Kashmir problem is still seeking the attention of global powers for resolution for 70 years. Full support and vibrant role played by international community is considered to be vital for the resolution of Kashmir problem which the Kashmiri people are deprived for their just cause. UNSC has adopted number of resolutions to hold plebiscite for the self-determination of Kashmiri people but it is not bound to implement the resolutions of Security Council and did not play a strong role to resolve the conflict. The UN is under direct influence of global powers having their own interests. International community especially the global powers and the United Nations will have to sort out a viable solution to the Kashmir conflict on the basis of legal and moral mechanisms instead of political rhetoric and commercial interests. Unfortunately, because of unsupportive and irresponsible policy of world powers, Kashmir is longest unresolved issue on the agenda of UNO. But after the murder of Burhan Wani, mass human rights violations and CEPC, the conflict has come to a limelight again.

The study concludes that there is a dire need to resume unconditional talks on all outstanding contentious issues between Pakistan and India by tone-down anti propaganda against each other. They need to explore the option of adopting a shared approach towards the on-going strife in Afghanistan. India needs to

## *Kashmir and Global Powers*

tone down ultra-nationalism and curtail the role of hardliner Hindu groups in the BJP (Bhartia Janta Party) and stop human rights violations in the region.

### **References**

- Nizami, Tariq. (1998). *Kashmir: The Undying Spirit*. Muzaffarabad: JKLC.
- Rafai, Syed Noorul Hassan and Kraipak, Abdul Kabir. (1991). *Kashmir Bleeds*, Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies.
- Cheema, Musarat Javaid. (2015) Pakistan–India Conflict with Special Reference to Kashmir, *South Asian Studies*, Vol. 30. No. (1), 45-69.
- Fayaz, Sadia. (2016) Kashmir Dispute between Pakistan and India: The Way Out. *The Dialogue*, Vol. XI. No. (1), 65-82. Available at [http://www.qurtuba.edu.pk/thedialogue/The%20Dialogue/11\\_1/Dialogue\\_January\\_March2016\\_65-82.pdf](http://www.qurtuba.edu.pk/thedialogue/The%20Dialogue/11_1/Dialogue_January_March2016_65-82.pdf)
- Poplin, Cody M. (Fall 2011). The Conflict in Kashmir: An Examination of Security Imperatives for the United States, *Global Security Studies*, Vol. 2, Issue No (4), 20-35.
- Sankaran, Vivek and Ramit Sethi, (2003) India, Pakistan, and the Kashmir Conflict: towards a Lasting Solution. Available at <https://web.stanford.edu/class/e297a/India,%20Pakistan,%20and%20the%20Kashmir.pdf>
- Nixon, R. (1992). *Seize the Moment: America's Challenge in a one-Superpower World*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Rizvi, Gowher. (1994). *India Pakistan and Kashmir problem 1947-71* (ed.) *Perspectives on Kashmir* by Dr. Kaniz Fatima Yousaf, Islamabad: Pakistan Forum.
- Korbel, Josef. (1966). *Danger in Kashmir*, California: Princeton University Press.
- Mehmood, Irshad. (1997). *Masla Kashmir ke Imkani Hal*. Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies.
- Mehmood, Sardar Sajid. (2015). *Facts of Accession and Indian Intervention in Kashmir*. Muzaffarabad: JKLC.
- Mehmood, Sardar Sajid. Et al, (2016). *Short History of Kashmir Solidarity Day 5<sup>th</sup> February*, Sangar Mall, Lahore: University of the Punjab. Also see Z.A Bhutto speeches in Security Council during 1965- 71and speech of former Prime Minister Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif in UN General Assembly, 2013 and 2015.
- Abdullah, Sheikh Muhammad. (1986). *Atish-e-Chinar*. Srinagar: Ali Muhammad and Sons.
- Lamb, Alastair. (1994). *Birth of a Tragedy Kashmir 1947*, Wiltshire: Redwood Books.
- See UN resolution 91 (1951) on 30, March, 1951 and 122 (1957) on 24 January 1957 adopted by the Security Council, Available at [www.unsecuritycouncil.com.org/resolutions](http://www.unsecuritycouncil.com.org/resolutions)
- Kazmi, M R. (2009). *A Concise History of Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Buch, Yousaf. (2003) *Kashmir Dispute*; Islamabad.
- Pakistan Defence (May 11, 2017) Sino-Pakistan Border Agreement-1963, Available at <https://defence.pk/pdf/threads/sino-pakistan-frontier-agreement-1963.5212/>

- Qadir, Shah Ghulam. (1994). *International effort to solve Kashmir issue* (ed.) *Perspectives on Kashmir* by Dr. Kaniz Fatima Yousaf, Islamabad: Pakistan Forum.
- Pervez, Muhammad Shoaib. (2013). *Security Community in South Asia: India-Pakistan*, London: Routledge Press.
- Playing with the basic law, (15 December 2001), *Dawn*, available at <https://www.dawn.com/news/1062444/dawn-editorial-december-15-2001>
- Daily News, Islamabad, November 22, 2014
- Daily News, Islamabad, January 28, 2015
- Iqbal, Anwar. (October 7, 2017), CPEC passes through disputed territory: US, *Dawn*, available at <https://www.dawn.com/news/1362283>
- US to mediate between Pakistan and India over Kashmir issue. (April 4, 2017), *The Express Tribune*, available at <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1373860/us-mediate-pakistan-india-kashmir-issue/>
- Ejaz, Aqsa. (October 5, 2017), Veiled motives of US sanctions on Kashmiri freedom fighters. *Pakistan ka Khuda Hafiz*, available at <http://www.pakistankahudahafiz.com/veiled-motives-us-sanctions-kashmiri-freedom-fighters/>
- (Kashmir Observer, January 19, 2017). British Parliament holds debate on Kashmir situation. *Kashmir Observer*, Available at <https://kashmirobsrver.net/2017/local-news/british-parliament-holds-debate-kashmir-13931>
- Iqbal, Dr. Javed. (2003). *Kashmir and Muslim Ummah, fifty years of the Kashmir Dispute*, Islamabad: Pamgraphic (Pvt.) Ltd.
- The Nation, (September 23, 2017). China urges Pakistan-India to hold talks on Kashmir. *The Nation*, available at <https://nation.com.pk/23-Sep-2017/china-urges-pakistan-india-to-hold-talks-on-kashmir>
- Roche, Elizabeth. (May 3, 2017). China keen on helping resolve Kashmir dispute due to CPEC investment, *Live Mint*, available at <http://www.livemint.com/Politics/kNZ42zbc3PYbZ7gwjCzGPL/China-has-vested-interest-in-mediating-in-Kashmir-issue-rep.html>
- Ahmed, Salim. (October 26, 2016). Int'l community needs to focus on Kashmir issue: Kasuri. *Pakistan Observer*, Available at <http://pakobserver.net/intl-community-needs-to-focus-on-kashmir-issue-kasuri/>
- Ali, Shafaqt. (October 8, 2017). US ask to focus on HR abuses in Kashmir, not CPEC. *The Nation*, available at <https://nation.com.pk/E-Paper/lahore/2017-10-08/page-1/detail-4>
- Dawn (October 8, 2017). 'Only dialogue can resolve Kashmir issues,' concur former ISI, Raw chiefs. *Dawn*, available at <https://www.dawn.com/news/1362483>

**Biographical Note**

**Dr. Amjad Abbas Khan** is Assistant Professor at Pakistan Study Centre, University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan.

**Sardar Sajid Mehmood** is Assistant Director at Kashmir Centre, Karachi, Pakistan.

**Mehboob Alam** is Assistant Professor at Government Postgraduate College, Chakwal, Pakistan.

---