



A STRUGGLE OF RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION



KASHMIR: REGIONAL & INTERNATIONAL DIMENSIONS

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KASHMIR: REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL DIMENSIONS

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To the people of Kashmir who are struggling for the right to self determination as per United Nation Resolution and international community who are supporting the right to self determination which is fundamental human rights.....

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FOREWORD

Kashmir Valley in particular or the State of Jammu and Kashmir, in general, has a very long story of uncertainty, despotic governance, unbelievable cruelty, fear, and humiliation which Kashmiri Muslims faced, from the very beginning of their history until today. It is really hard to believe what we observe in the Occupied Jammu and Kashmir however, this is a crucial fact that a group of people i.e. Kashmiris were terrorized and suppressed under the brutal and merciless governance by the foreign force, India. Occupation comes to this peaceful valley during its long history, one of which is the everlasting Indian Occupation starting from 1947. But we all aware very well of the nature of the World Powers. Most of the countries believe that “the powerful win the game” and as a result of this wrong belief “the others prefer to be silent for their interests”. So, most of the World has tried to neglect and disregard the humanitarian problems in Occupied Jammu and Kashmir as we saw in Palestine, as we saw in Yemen and as we saw in Rakhine in the same manner.

As Dr. Ghulam Nabi Fai wrote:

“Kashmir is situated in the extreme north of the India Pakistan subcontinent and at the southern point of Central Asia. With an area of 86,000 square miles and a population currently estimated at around 23 million, it is surrounded by four countries: China, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India, with the narrow Wakhan strip (in Afghanistan) separating it from Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. In its middle is the Vale of Kashmir, famed for its scenic beauty. Compared to the existing 193 sovereign states in the world taken individually, Kashmir is larger than 98 and more populous than 123 member states of the United Nations.”

And as Dr. Fai more added:

“The cease-fire line between the forces of India and Pakistan has currently divided Kashmir into two parts. One is under Indian occupation: this comprises 63% of the whole territory; it has a population of around 13 million. The other with around 5.8 million people, includes Azad (free) Kashmir, which is under indirect Pakistani control, and the northern region

of Gilgit and Baltistan, which is directly administered by Pakistan. About 2 million Kashmiris are refugees in Pakistan: some 800,000 live in Britain and about 1.2 million are scattered around the world. The present arbitrary bifurcation of Kashmir has divided thousands of Kashmiri families.”

This means Jammu and Kashmir, a country which is larger than 98 and more populous than 123 member states of the United Nations, has been occupied and divided, citizens of this country either forced to leave their country or they subjugated to live under inhuman conditions by an occupation force, i.e. India.

We have been observing today, in our modern times, Kashmiris are being injured, killed, tortured, raped, and humiliated and being forced to live in the turbulence of the violence cycle.

Indian Forces have been using every weapon in their arsenal to destroy the spirit of Kashmiris for their freedom struggle for decades.

Especially by revoking the article of 370 and 35 A of the Indian Constitution, the Indian Government did a final attempt to end its Kashmir problem for itself and grab all so-called constitutional and political rights of the Kashmiri People in the Occupied Valley. A merciless crackdown on Kashmiris deepened, cutting mobile phones, landlines and internet lines, huge detention under public safety act, illegal detention of minor children, usage of pellet guns, sexual abuse of Kashmiri women, disturbing education in Kashmir, health care cut-off, violent crackdowns by security forces, restriction on public gatherings including Eid and Jummah prayers. Unfortunately, Kashmir is under oppressive siege and India is illegally occupying the territory. As we observe with deep concern, Jammu and Kashmir in general and Kashmir Valley in special, Indian occupation forces are committing huge and unacceptable human rights violations on daily basis. Incredibly, India is using the same manner to realize the wish of far-right Hindu nationalists, by demographic change, I mean, they want a Kashmir without Kashmiri Muslims as the Israeli Government tries to do in Occupied Palestine, a West Bank without Palestinian Muslims.

Today from the Occupied Jammu and Kashmir to the East of India, to Assam, from Gujarat to Uttar Pradesh, shortly, all India is becoming a very dangerous trap for the minorities living in its soil. And no one has the

right to say that this is internal affairs of India and no intervention is acceptable! Because the lives of millions and millions of innocent people cannot be an internal affair of any country. This is a humanitarian issue and its gravity deals with all humanity.

As members of the human being race, we should declare that human rights violations in the Occupied Jammu and Kashmir are not acceptable and the right of Self Determination of Kashmiri people must be respected and United Nations resolutions must be implemented as soon as possible.

It is a privilege for us, the members of Istanbul University, that we hold a two days webinar titled “Kashmir; Regional and International Dimensions”, on June 29-30 2020 with high-profile speakers to break out the silence around the World for the horrible conditions created in Indian Occupied Jammu and Kashmir, especially after 5th August 2019 by revoking the special status.

In this way, we hope, we went a step forward to show our solidarity with our oppressed Kashmiri brothers and sisters and the humanitarian responsibility we owe to them.

This conference book is the second step for the same sense of responsibility that we may reach to all people of the World who were not able to listen to or watch our Webinar. This, also, is a way of reaching more people who believe in humanitarian values.

We are grateful to all participants, one by one, who made our Webinar a successful event with their speeches, opinions, and views and broadened the borders of our perspective towards the Kashmir problem. Especially we would like to thank H. E. Sardar Masood Khan, President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, H. E. Shibli Faraz, the Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Pakistan, H. E. Ali Şahin, Member of Parliament and the Chairman of Turkey-Pakistan Parliamentary Friendship Group, H. E. Muhammed Syrus Sajjad Qazi, Ambassador of Pakistan to Ankara, H. E. Lord Nazir Ahmad Sahib Member of the British House of Lords, H. E. Bilal Khan Pasha, Consular General of Pakistan to Istanbul.

Our special thanks also to Prof. Dr. Mahmut Ak, Rector of Istanbul University, and Prof. Dr. Hayati Develi, Dean of the Faculty of Literature,

who supported us and made it possible for us to hold a webinar with high-level participation in these difficult days of pandemic Covid-19 we are all going through.

Last but not least, we are thankful to Dr. Ghulam Nabi Fai, Secretary-General of World Kashmir Awareness Forum, who was a great spiritual inspiration for us from the beginning days of the webinar till the preparation and publishing of this book.

Prof. Dr. Halil Toker
Istanbul University / TURKEY

PROTOCOL SPEECHES

President Azad Jammu and Kashmir

SARDAR MASOOD KHAN

Bismillah-ir-Rahman-ir-Raheem بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

Sardar Masood Khan recognized that Istanbul University organized a very timely conference on Regional and International Dimensions of the Kashmir Dispute.

He recalled his last visit to Istanbul University on April 30 last year. At that time Istanbul University had organized a conference on Mehmet Akif [Ersoy], national poet, and Allama Iqbal, Pakistan's national poet. He had the opportunity to sit with them in their beautiful office and He also visited an exhibition downstairs. So, He has very fond memories of his visit to Istanbul University.

President Khan recognized Mr. Ali Sahin as an Ambassador of Turkey and Pakistan. Furthermore, He mentioned Pakistan's Ambassador H.E. Syrus [Sajjad] Qazi who is doing a wonderful job in cementing and forging ties between our two countries.

President Khan professed Dr. Toker as a bridge between Pakistan and Turkey, moreover, he added that "The Istanbul University has this unique distinction of being the first foreign University to start classes in Urdu back in 1915."

He beckoned towards the intimate bond the two countries Pakistan and Turkey have when after the 2005 earthquake, Turkey promptly responded and helped to rebuild three of Azad Kashmir's cities and it has left a distinct imprint on the hearts and minds of the people of Azad Kashmir.

President Khan recalled the visit of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan who was the Prime Minister at that time in 2009, visited Muzaffarabad, the capital of Azad Jammu and Kashmir.

In his address to the Pakistani Parliament in 2017 and 2020, President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan had expressed strong solidarity with the

people of Jammu and Kashmir and advocated a diplomatic solution to give the right to self-determination to the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

President Khan was grateful to President Erdogan for raising the issue of Jammu and Kashmir at the high-level session of the United Nations General Assembly, in which once again he reiterated the diplomatic solution for the resolution of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute and he also criticized India for the steps taken by it on August 5 last year.

President Khan admired a song on Kashmir; the title of the song is “Kashmir is my name”. By launching this song, Turkey has touched Kashmiris' hearts. The song itself is touching, teary, and heart-wrenching.

President Khan illuminated the situation in Jammu and Kashmir in his speech. He added,

“The people of Jammu and Kashmir have been striving for their freedom and liberty for the past 200 years. First, against the tyrannical rule of the Maharaja of Kashmir and since 1947 against the despotic rule of India.”

President Khan's speech was the excruciating story of Kashmiris as, since 1947, 500,000 Kashmiris have been killed by Indian occupation forces. Thousands of people have been massacred and killed, thousands of women have been raped, young men and women, of all ages, have been blinded and people are illegally detained in concentration camps. Since 1989, 100,000 Kashmiris are having been killed by the occupation forces and the killings continue as we speak today.

He deliberated the Last year situation, on August 5, 2019, India invaded the occupied Jammu and Kashmir, reoccupied it, and is trying to change it into a colony. It has divided the occupied territory into two parts and has called them union territories which are now being ruled directly by New Delhi without the consent of the people of the occupied territory.

It [India] has gone a step further, and issued fake maps showing Azad Jammu and Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan, which are with Pakistan, as part of the Indian Territory.

On April 2 this year, India enforced these new rules that are called New Domicile Rules whereby the people of Jammu and Kashmir have been disenfranchised. They do not have their rights to permanent residents, to owning property, and the right to education and employment.

A couple of days ago, on June 25, in a very short period, they have given citizenship rights to 20,000 non-native Hindus from all over India and they are settling them in the occupied territory.

They are opening floodgates of such importation [and] immigration of Hindus from all over India and settling them in Kashmir to change the demographic composition of the occupied territory as it has happened in the West Bank Palestine.

India has also threatened Pakistan with war even by using nuclear weapons and it has also threatened to attack Azad Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan militarily.

There is also a rise in Islamophobia in India and anti-Muslimism. This also has a direct and indirect impact on the occupied territory of Jammu and Kashmir.

The clash between India and China at the Galwan Valley in the Ladakh territory has made the situation in the Jammu and Kashmir territory more turbulent.

China has objected to the steps India took on August 5 last year. China has especially objected to the declaration of Ladakh as a union territory by India.

Because of the situation in Ladakh, Kashmir has been further internationalized. China had helped Pakistan with the debate on Kashmir in the Security Council last year. China is a permanent member and with China's help, Pakistan was able to hold three informal sessions of the Security Council last year. All the sessions were on Kashmir.

There has also recently been a military alignment between Pakistan and China because India has threatened China and Pakistan and it has indicated its intention to attack both countries. So, there has been an indirect, implicit military alliance between Pakistan and China.

Well, because of the aggravating steps taken by India there is a serious risk of war here in this region. This war could escalate to the nuclear level.

If there is a nuclear war it could not only affect India, Pakistan, and South Asia but it could also affect 2.5 billion people around the world. There would be disease, death, and destruction all around the world. There would be massive refugee outflows to different parts of the world. There would be an economic recession. If a war breaks out here in South Asia between Pakistan and India or Pakistan, India, and China it would be more dangerous than Covid-19.

According to President Khan, a bigger game has started here in the Asia-Pacific region and on the line of actual control encircling China and United States would give rhetorical help to India but it would not help it militarily against China despite the statements given by US Secretary of State [Mike] Pompeo.

Both India and China would resort to diplomacy and try to defuse the tensions.

Last year in November President Khan attended an international conference on Kashmir. He was invited to address that conference and it was on Kashmir Turmoil and Emerging Threats to Peace and Role of the International Community. It was organized and hosted by the Institute of Strategic Thinking and the Lahore Centre for Peace Research. President Khan admired Turkish people the Turkish media particularly Anadolu Agency, TRT, television networks, social media, and political parties for cross-party consensus on Kashmir and also the Turkish civil society for keeping the issue of Jammu and Kashmir alive; and for continuously expressing their solidarity with Pakistan and the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

United Nations' Secretary-General Antonio Guterres recently appealed to the Indian government not to detain and kill Kashmiri children. And it would recall that in 2018 and 2019 the [UN] High Commissioner for Human Rights had released two reports on the harrowing human rights situation in the occupied Jammu and Kashmir. President Khan appreciated

these steps, but he maintained that it is not enough. The United Nations is not playing the role it ought to be playing to resolve the issue of Jammu and Kashmir and to stop massacres in the occupied territory.

President Khan and Kashmiris have full trust in the Turkish leadership and they appeal to the Turkish leadership, President Erdogan, and his associates to play a mediatory role because they can talk to Delhi, they can talk to Pakistan. President Khan was grateful to the Turkish leadership for clearly recognizing that Jammu and Kashmir is not a bilateral dispute and that it has three parties; Pakistan, India, and the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The people of Jammu and Kashmir have to determine their political future by the United Nations Security Council resolutions.

Turkey in the past has steered humanitarian diplomacy in Somalia and the Philippines and it has had success. President Khan encouraged the Turkish leadership and the Turkish civil society organizations to explore the possibility of humanitarian diplomacy in Kashmir and it should try to engage Pakistan, India, and the people of Jammu and Kashmir. It should not take India's "no" for an answer.

President Masood Ahmed Khan proposed that a Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement should be started against India because of its atrocities in the Indian occupied Jammu and Kashmir. As a first step, He has suggested that OIC [Organization of Islamic Cooperation] member countries should ban the import of non-halal meat and non-halal products from India.

He appealed to Turkey to help Kashmiris to establish a Kashmir Humanitarian Fund with the support of the Islamic Development Bank and the Islamic Solidarity Fund.

He urged to strengthen university to university relations, between the academic institutions of Pakistan and Turkey; and Turkey and Azad Kashmir public sector universities. This would enable them to create a political ecosystem for conflict resolution. And in this context, he did agree with Mr. Ali Sahin that conflicts that affect Muslim countries and Muslim populations should be resolved through the Muslim mechanism.

More importantly, they (Turkey & Pakistan) should cement and strengthen economic ties between Pakistan and Turkey and Turkey and Azad Jammu and Kashmir.

Now, we have two priorities, first, is to stop the import of Hindus from all over India into the Indian Occupied Jammu and Kashmir. Start a campaign against it as time is of the essence because they want to import about 2 million Hindus from all over India and change the demographic composition. Two to three years down the road it would be too late. Time is of the essence! This is priority number one. The second [priority] is to build international pressure on India to stop killings in Kashmir.

As Ambassador Qazi said, Kashmiri lives matter, hear the screams of SOS of the Kashmiris, save their bodies, save their souls.

President Khan was deeply touched by the concluding words of Mr. Ali Sahin and He repeated them. “Children of Srinagar are children of Ankara. Women of Kashmir Valley are the women of Anatolia. Tears of the Kashmiri mothers are the tears of Turkish mothers”.

Senator, Federal Minister for Information & Broadcasting
SHIBLI FARAZ

Minister Faraz expressed his appreciation for this initiative to highlight regional and international dimensions of the Kashmir issue. The unflinching support by Turkish brethren for the Kashmiri people is highly commendable. The Turkish people, government, intelligentsia, and media have also come to the fore in raising their voice against the unending and heartless Indian brutality against the Kashmiri people.

The Kashmir conflict is indeed very sensitive. This conflict can have far-reaching consequences both regionally and internationally, something the world can ill afford to overlook. Pakistan and India have already fought four wars stemming out of this conflict and Kashmir in its present incarnation have become even more fatal, bearing alarming consequences for the region as well as the world. The current Hindu supremacist regime has unleashed unprecedented repression on the Kashmiri people. Today's India under the RSS-BJP sway is driven by the toxic mix of an extremist ideology and hegemonic ambitions. The result is a growing threat to the safety and well-being of minorities in India; and peace and security in the region and beyond.

The Indian government in a highly undemocratic rather draconian style repealed the autonomous status of Kashmir at midnight of 5th August 2019. Further to avoid the protests, the fascist Modi put 9 million people under the harshest lock-down humanity had ever witnessed. Indian government shut down the internet and phones, abducted children from houses, and arbitrarily detained thousands of Kashmiris, including political leaders, activists, journalists, lawyers, and potential protesters. Hundreds remain in detention without charge or under house arrest to date.

The Indian government and media bluntly refuse to recognize the indigenous resistance in Kashmir. Instead, they relentlessly propagate, without any evidence, that Pakistan "infiltrates" terrorists in Kashmir across the LOC. It was a culmination of these unfounded allegations about

the Pulwama attack in 2019 that brought Pakistan and India to the brink of war. Prime Minister Imran Khan and the Government of Pakistan had been consistently appraising the world that the brutal Indian campaign will only nourish extreme resentment in the valley. The widespread indignation and ire among the Kashmiris in IOJ&K are reflective of the inescapable reality that India's brutal campaign of violence and repression is meeting its logical consequences. Attributing this indigenous Kashmiri resistance to any alleged "infiltration" is a travesty. India's typical allegations of "infiltration" ring hollow also because all these incidents have taken place deep inside the Valley, several miles behind the Indian military's extensive Infiltration grid, comprising several layers of security across the Line of Control (LoC).

Using the pretext of so-called "infiltration" and "launch pads", Indian forces are deliberately targeting unarmed Pakistani civilians, including women and children. In over 975 unprovoked Cease-Fire Violations by India since 1 January 2020, innocent civilians have lost their lives and a large number of them have been critically injured. This inhuman war tactic cannot be condemned enough.

Humanity would have hoped that the corona pandemic may have brought a moment of relief for the Kashmiris, but Indian brutalities see no end to it. India continues to pursue its expansionist designs under the cover of the corona pandemic. The recent promulgation of "Jammu and Kashmir Grant of Domicile Certificate (Procedure), 2020" holds testimony to the fact that Indian oppression continues unabated. This law allows any non-Kashmiri to avail a Kashmiri domicile that will in turn enable the purchase of land in the IO&JK. The domicile law aimed at changing the demographic structure of Kashmir and undermining the exercise by the Kashmiri people of their right to self-determination through free and impartial plebiscite as per the relevant UNSC Resolutions.

It is commendable that Kashmiri journalists continue to work with conviction and professionalism, despite the high handedness of Indian occupation forces acting with impunity under the draconian Public Safety Act (PSA), Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA), and Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA).

Global media watchdogs, Indian and international human rights groups, and civil society organizations have expressed deep concerns over unprecedented restrictions imposed on the media, the widespread intimidation of Kashmiri journalists, and the precarious state of their work environment.

The United Nations and the international community must take immediate action to stop India from changing the demography and distinct identity of the IoJ&K and hold India accountable for the persistent violations of international law.

Pakistan, under the leadership of Prime Minister, Imran Khan will continue highlighting the plight of Kashmiri people at all international fora till the realization of their inalienable right to self-determination by the relevant UNSC Resolutions.

While the international community is preoccupied with fighting the Covid-19 pandemic, India is busy intensifying its brutalization of the Kashmiri people. The fact that 13 Kashmiris were extra-judicially killed in a single day speaks volumes about the Indian Government's continuing crimes against humanity.

Minister Shibli concluded by saying that, "India must realize that neither can its brutalization break the will of the Kashmiri people nor can its anti-Pakistan propaganda divert attention from India's state-terrorism and egregious violations of human rights in IOJ&K. The martyrdom of each Kashmiri will further fortify the Kashmiris' resolve for freedom from Indian occupation. Kashmiris will never give up their inalienable right to self-determination as enshrined in the UNSC Resolutions and the leadership and people of Pakistan will never flinch in their commitment of full support for the Kashmiris towards that end."

The international community must take immediate steps to stop India from committing serious crimes against the Kashmiri people and hold it accountable under international law and relevant human rights Conventions.

**Member of Parliament of Turkey, Chairman of Turkey-Pakistan
Parliamentary Friendship Group**

ALI SAHIN

He presented heartful respects to Honorable senator, Federal minister Mr. Shibli Faraz, Honorable Excellency, Mr. Sardar Masood Khan, Respected Excellency Mr. Syrus Sajjad Qazi, and Distinguished participants,

Prof. Dr. Mahmut AK who is Rector of Istanbul University, Prof Dr. Hayati Develi Dean of Faculty of Letters, and Prof Dr. Halil Toker Head of Urdu Department of Istanbul University organized such an important video conference to raise the painful voice of the people of Kashmir.

Ali Sahin mentioned that when they were in high school, they had three main causes including Palestine, Kashmir, and Afghanistan. All these causes were their bleedings and open sores as Muslims. As Muslim youth, they grew up with these pains and sores.

Unfortunately, Kashmir was far away from the eyes of the modern and rich world. And there was no oil to fight for the sake of human rights, democracy, and freedom. That is why the modern and rich world closed their ears and eyes to the Indian oppression in Jammu and Kashmir.

Dear friends,

Immediately after independence and partition, India and Pakistan had overlapping claims on Kashmir. Pakistan and India went to war two more times in 1965 and 1999 over Kashmir. Jammu and Kashmir is one of the oldest conflicts that has remained on the agenda of the UN.

The founding father of Pakistan, Mohammed Ali Jinnah proposed in 1947 that all disputes be brought before the international community and settled in the UN. But this proposal was not reciprocated

The United Nations Security Council resolutions 47, 51, 80, 96, 98, 122, and 126 decided that the "final disposition of the State of Jammu and Kashmir will be made following the will of the people expressed through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under the auspices of the United Nations."

With those decisions, the UN Security Council took the position that the final resolution of the conflict rested with the governments of India and Pakistan and depended on their goodwill.

But despite Pakistan's positive and peaceful steps, this call was rejected by India many times.

In line with that position, Turkey is of the view that the Kashmir issue should be resolved through dialogue between India and Pakistan based on the relevant UN Security Council resolutions and in line with the aspirations of the people of Kashmir.

According to the UN Security Council resolutions, no unilateral steps should be taken to alter that situation.

However, India's decision of last August to revoke the special status of the Jammu & Kashmir through the Jammu and Kashmir Reorganization Act and following the Jammu Kashmir Reorganization Order of April 2020 further increased the tensions in the region.

Unfortunately, the continuing lockdown for more than 10 months affecting the lives of more than 8 million Kashmiris. Their freedoms are curtailed by frequent curfews and arrests of local politicians, community leaders, and activists. The risk of altering the demographics of the region further worsened their situation.

International organizations have been underlining the violations of human rights. In 2018 and 2019, the UN Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights released reports highlighting the human rights violations in Jammu and Kashmir.

The UN human rights chief Michelle Bachelet, repeatedly expressed her concerns for the situation in Kashmir and stressed the impacts of one-sided steps taken by the Government of India and emphasized that

Kashmiri people should be included in any decision-making process for the region that has an impact on their future.

Another issue that begs attention is the rising anti-Muslim rhetoric in India, which is interlinked with the ongoing plight of our Kashmiri brothers and sisters.

Muslims of India have even been accused of spreading COVID-19. This brazen example of hate-speech and discrimination by certain segments of Indian society and even by some government officials cannot be tolerated. Political responses to the COVID-19 outbreak that stigmatize, exclude, and make certain populations more vulnerable to violence are inexcusable.

Of course, this rhetoric is worsening the situation of Kashmiris as the most vulnerable Muslims in the region.

The international community cannot afford to ignore this issue, as any conflict between two nuclear-armed countries would have negative repercussions beyond the region.

The Jammu and Kashmir dispute is a core issue for the peace and stability of South Asia. We wish to see this issue is settled through peaceful means and meaningful dialogue between India and Pakistan, under relevant UN Security Council resolutions.

Most recently, the clashes between India and China has reminded the World how precarious the situation in the region is. The overwhelming majority of the problems that beset the region evolves around the unresolved border issues around Kashmir.

Turkey is a strong advocate of a fair, sustainable, and lasting diplomatic solution, which would be to the benefit of the Kashmiris first. But the resolution of this conflict is indispensable for durable peace and stability in South Asia and beyond.

Raising the voice of our Kashmiri brothers and sisters, President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in his historical speeches both in the UN General Assembly and Federal Parliament of Pakistan put forward a powerful and historical stand and solidarity with Jammu and Kashmir.

If India describes itself as the largest democracy in the world then it is our right to expect India to respects human rights in Jammu and Kashmir.

Ali Sahin said many times in his speeches.

“We have to create Muslim mechanisms to solve our Muslim neighbourhood problems. Problems of Muslim neighborhood must be solved by the children of the Muslim neighbourhood and by Muslim mechanisms.”

Foreign interventions to Muslim neighbourhoods, deepen their problems, turning the problems into catastrophes and poisoning relations among Muslims.

Another important point that he gave importance to is to internationalize the Kashmir Issue by putting it on the world agenda and keeping it alive there.

In end, he assured Kashmiri brothers and sisters that they must know that, “Children of Srinagar are the children of Ankara. Women of Kashmir Valley are the Women of Anatolia. Tears of the Kashmiri mothers are the tears of Turkish mothers”.

He hailed Kashmir as their contemporary Çanakkale and Dardanelles. Kashmiris are with them in Çanakkale in those days and they are with Kashmiris today, there in Kashmir.

Ambassador of Pakistan to Turkey
MUHAMMAD SYRUS SAJJAD QAZI

Ambassador extended his appreciations to the organizers of this conference who set out the most timely initiative. Dr. Halil Toker and Istanbul University made the conference a reality. The emphasis on the regional and international dimensions is most appropriate.

Ambassador highlighted the George Floyd Murder and its repercussions when on 25 May 2020 George Floyd, an unarmed African American man was killed in Minneapolis. For more than eight minutes, a police officer sat with his knee on Floyd's neck. Floyd lay prone on the road, struggling to breathe under the weight of the knee. "I can't breathe," he kept repeating. Onlookers filmed the distressing scene. Some of them were asking the police officer to let up a little as Floyd was clearly in distress and unable to breathe. An ambulance was called. Two other policemen restrained the rest of Floyd's prostrate form and another one stood next to them as they waited for the ambulance. When the ambulance arrived Floyd's limp form was loaded onto it and a short while later it was learned that he had died.

Floyd's death sparked a wave of anger and outrage. How could this happen in this day and age? The whole world, not just Minneapolis or America, asked themselves in a moment of deep introspection.

Would this have happened if the onlookers had not filmed Floyd's death throes and murder? Perhaps not. Would the issue of racism have been highlighted as tellingly if the grim evidence of its existence had not been caught on the camera? Perhaps not. Faced with overwhelming evidence of not just its existence but its murderous and seemingly unaccountable nature, people of conscience, decency, and humanity had no option but to condemn it and take to the streets to demand its eradication and accountability of those guilty of it.

Ambassador made a clear picture that if the untimely and tragic death of one man can cause such a swell of righteous anger, how about the death of tens of thousands? If one officer's knee on a defenceless man's neck can so arouse our indignation, what of the knee of an occupation army 700,000 strong on the collective neck of 10 million people? If one video of Floyd's ordeal can so incense us, what of thousands of videos of Kashmiris' unenviable existence under Indian repression?

The fact is that there was no excuse for the people of Minneapolis to remain silent in the face of evidence about what had happened to Floyd. Similarly, there is no excuse for people and governments of the world to remain silent in the face of evidence of what India is doing to the Kashmiris.

Just like Floyd, Kashmiris too cannot breathe. And just as we did for Floyd, we need to rise and demand justice for the Kashmiris. In Floyd's case, some people were documenting the abuse he was being subjected to. Not so for the Kashmiris. India has blocked the entry of human rights organisations into Kashmir. It does not allow journalists to visit the territory. It has also placed restrictions on the use of the internet, cell phones, social media, and virtual private networks. When access is allowed to the internet, the speed is deliberately slowed down and a whole universe of websites blocked. The videos we do get are those that have made past the multiple chokepoints put in place by India in making and transmitting them. In short, not only does India have its knees on the Kashmiris' neck, but it is also trying its best to ensure that Kashmiris cannot say, "We cannot breathe," and if they do manage to say this, there should be no one to record and report this.

And yet, we know that is happening in Kashmir. It is at present among the greatest forcible frauds being perpetrated on a people anywhere in the world. The scale is breathtaking, the audacity of the perpetrator of the fraud, India, unbelievable, and unfortunately the reaction of the international community disturbingly short of the outrage expected of decent people and law-abiding governments.

Perhaps the world needs more evidence. In the optics of such a case, the Ambassador touched on some of the most egregious aspects of Indian oppression in Kashmir.

In its report, *Tyranny of Lawless Law: Detention Without Charge or Trial under the J&K Public Safety Act*, Amnesty International tells us of how India is using laws not to protect the rights of the Kashmiris but to violate them. In another report, “DENIED”: Failures in accountability for human rights violations by security force personnel in Jammu and Kashmir; Amnesty International highlights the culture of impunity prevalent in Indian Occupied Jammu and Kashmir. The 2018 and 2019 reports of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), the most authoritative voice on human rights issues in the world, echo many of the findings of other human rights organisations.

The picture that emerges is deeply disturbing. Kashmiris’ right to life is routinely violated. There are frequent extra-judicial murders and custodial deaths, more than a hundred Kashmiri youth have been killed this year alone. Torture is rampant. Enforced and involuntary disappearances take place routinely. Collective punishments are the norm: numerous houses have been demolished in Kashmir in the last few months. The rights of Kashmiri women are violated with impunity. There are warrantless searches and intrusions of privacy. There are restrictions on the right to freedom of expression and opinion. Kashmiris can be imprisoned and punished for having VPNs on their cell phones. The right to freedom of assembly is denied. Peaceful gatherings are subjected to the firing of special pellet guns that have blinded hundreds of Kashmiris over the last five years or so. Indeed, Kashmir has the largest concentration of people who have lost eyesight in one or both eyes not on account of disease but through unnatural causes. And as if this were not enough, mass graves dot the landscape of Kashmir as documented in the reports of Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch as well as the OIC Independent Permanent Human Rights Commission (IPHRC), to name a few.

Then there is the constitutional fraud India perpetrated on the Kashmiris on 5 August 2019 when it removed the few guarantees in the Indian constitution that Kashmir had as occupied territory. As if

constitutional assault and use of an occupation army of 700,000+ soldiers weren't enough, Kashmiris now also face a demographic assault designed to make them a minority in their land. Twenty-five thousand domiciliary certificates were awarded to non-Kashmiris only last week.

This scale of human rights violations would be cause for deep outrage and condemnation in any setting. That the perpetrator of these crimes is the world's self-described largest democracy, India, should only add to our outrage.

The international dimension of the Kashmir dispute is that the international community must clearly demand from India to desist from its actions in Kashmir. India should ease the blockade imposed on the Kashmiris. It should halt its human rights violations and bring to book those responsible for it. It should undo its unilateral and illegal actions since 5 August 2019. And finally, it should grant the Kashmiris their right to self-determination that was promised to them by the relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions and by India's founding fathers themselves.

If we can rise for George Floyd, we can also rise for the Kashmiris. If Floyd's murderer can be put in the dock, the Kashmiris' oppressor can also be put there. It's not that we do not have any evidence of India's criminal behaviour in Kashmir.

Consul General of Pakistan to Istanbul
BILAL KHAN PASHA

Istanbul University especially its Faculty of Letters, convened this very important online International Conference. Consul General observed the proceedings of Day One and the hard work and efforts put in by the team of Faculty of Letters especially Honourable Professor Dr. Halil Toker. The distinguished Scholars and Researchers have participated in this event. For this Session.

Consul General enlisted this virtual interaction that will help us take stock of the deteriorating humanitarian and human rights situation in Indian Occupied Jammu and Kashmir (IOJ&K) and formulate a way forward.

The Kashmir dispute is the oldest unresolved international conflict in the world today. Several UN resolutions had promised the Right of Self Determination to the suppressed people of Kashmir. Regrettably, this right has not yet been realized because of unabated repression and state terrorism by India in the Indian Occupied Jammu and Kashmir (IOJ&K). For over seven decades, the human dignity of Kashmiris is being violated daily in IOJ&K.

This 72 years of illegal occupation of Indian Occupied Jammu and Kashmir (IOJ&K) is the saga of victimisation of the Kashmiri people. Around 900,000 occupation forces have converted the region into the largest prison in the world.

Post-5th August 2019, India has unleashed a new reign of terror in IOJ&K, locking the region down and abusing the human rights of innocent people especially women, children, and the elderly with impunity. Kashmiri people have been deprived of their rights to life, food, health, freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, freedom of religion and to top it all there has been a digital curfew with no access whatsoever to the outside world in Kashmir and vice versa.

India's illegal and unilateral actions of 5 August 2019 are primarily aimed at altering the disputed status of IOJ&K and bringing about demographic change to undermine the right to self-determination of Kashmiris. The latest steps in this direction are the Jammu and Kashmir Reorganization (Adaptation of State Law) Order 2020 and the Jammu and Kashmir Grant of Domicile Certificate (Procedure) Rule 2020.

The very recent grant of domicile certificates of Indian occupied Jammu & Kashmir (IOJ&K) by the Indian authorities to reportedly over 25,000 Indian nationals, is a vindication of Pakistan's consistent stance that the major intention behind the Indian Government's illegal and unilateral actions of 5 August 2019 was to change the demographic structure of IOJ&K and turn Kashmiris into a minority in their very land. This has long been part of the RSS-BJP's "Hindutva" agenda.

By changing the demographic structure of IOJ&K, the Indian Government intends to undermine the exercise by the Kashmiri people of their right to self-determination through a free and impartial plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nation as per the relevant UNSC Resolutions.

Pakistan has been consistently sensitizing OIC and the international community about the real Indian intention behind these actions.

Pakistan has repeatedly underlined that the measures to alter IOJ&K's demographic structure are illegal and in violation of the UNSC Resolutions and international law, in particular the 4th Geneva Convention and UNSC Resolution 122.

While General Consul was preparing his remarks for this Session today, He came across a letter written by Mirwaiz Umer Farooq, Chairman of the APHC, addressed to Pope Francis at Vatican City on August 23, 2016, and the contents of the letter seem to be like narrating a tragedy, a brutal cruel saga, which is happening even now without any break, any respite, rather the ferocity of violations are increasing with the passage of each day.

He quoted an excerpt from that letter. The author writes and he quotes, “Kashmir is akin to a tinder box at present, with extreme volatility in the political situation and without timely international intervention the consequences are bound to be ghastly. The Indian state is also making the citizens of India complicit in this brutality by obfuscating and denying them information. There is an embargo on information coming out from Kashmir. Social network sites like Facebook have been forced to remove vital information from their sites under pressure from Indian netizens. No international human rights organization is being allowed into Kashmir for fear of exposure. All attempts at dialogue fail because the Indian state is intransigent and insists Kashmir is its integral part – no matter if it has to kill all Kashmiris for that. They are not prepared to listen to Kashmiris. It has been an endless struggle and every time we confront a dead end.”

General Consul emphasized on words, DEAD END....

The recent wave of unprecedented Indian state-sponsored terrorism in IOJ&K and discriminatory steps against minorities, especially Muslims, in the wake of the Citizenship Amendment Act, have brought this DEAD END and a culmination of the Hindutva ideology espoused by the RSS-inspired Indian Government.

Through these reprehensible actions, along with continuing restrictions, excruciating military crackdowns now and then, extra-judicial killings, arbitrary detentions and incarcerations, and unabated grave human rights violations, India seek to further perpetuate its illegal occupation of IOJ&K. However, we all know by now that India's suppression tactics have not been able to break the will of the Kashmiri people in the past and it will not succeed in doing so in the future.

Indian Prime Minister Modi in his very recent address to the nation on completion of one year for his second term in office has described abrogation of Article 370 and Citizenship Amendment Act as a landmark achievement for his Govt. He says and General Consul quoted “The decision on Article 370 furthered the spirit of national unity and integration. It's an expression of India's compassion and spirit of inclusiveness.”

General Consul was appalled as to what was being described as a landmark achievement as immediately after that unconstitutional announcement, a curfew was imposed in the valley along with the suspension of all democratic exercise with thousands of political and civil society activists detained during the unprecedented protests that have followed in the months after, to-date.

The address of the Indian PM is a brazen attempt to deny the reality and further the majoritarian agenda, Hindutva, at a time when the government should be focusing on the great economic and health crisis which the Indian nation is engulfed in at present.

With this approach prevalent at the highest echelons in India, Bilal Khan Pasha was afraid Kashmir is headed for more conflict — both domestic and international — and anger. It is headed for more alienation. Never before has democracy in India looked so weak and as besieged as it is looking now.

It is highly reprehensible that while the world community is grappling with the COVID-19 pandemic, India remains busy intensifying its brutalization of the Kashmiri people. The inhuman restrictions imposed on them have exacerbated the coronavirus challenges, with access to medical and other supplies severely hampered. The RSS-inspired BJP government has refused to respond to the appeals of the UN Secretary-General and the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights to release political and other prisoners at risk in crowded jails. Senior Hurriyet leaders remain incarcerated, with Syed Ali Shah Geelani under house arrest for more than 10 years. India is seeking to cover up the reality of the popular and indigenous struggle of the Kashmiri people, by terming it as “terrorism” and also by blaming Pakistan, raising the familiar bogey of cross-LoC “infiltration.” This is a complete travesty that could not have been farther from the truth.

As part of this cover-up, India has further intensified its violations of the ceasefire along the Line of Control (LoC) and the Working Boundary (WB).

Since 1 January 2020, India has committed 1440 ceasefire violations in breach of the 2003 Ceasefire Understanding. India has deliberately targeted innocent civilians on the Pakistani side of the LoC, killing 13, and injuring 104, including women and children.

The situation is so tense at present that recently Foreign Minister of Pakistan made a statement and I quote, “There is a possibility that to divert world’s attention from its state-terrorism and unacceptable actions in IOJ&K, India may resort to “false flag” operation and undertake some other misadventure which could imperil regional peace and security.” Unquote

Given the grave situation, the UN, OIC and the World Community must step up their efforts to facilitate a lasting solution to the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. The oppressed people of IOJ&K, now more than ever, count on OIC and the Muslim Ummah.

The Government of Pakistan calls for the immediate THREE steps to bring normalcy in the Valley:

- First, India should rescind its unilateral and illegal actions since 5 August 2019;
- Second, halt its blatant human rights violations, ending of military lockdowns, release the Political leadership, and doing away with a digital curfew; AND
- Third, provide unhindered access to OIC, IPHRC, UN, human rights organizations, and international media to report on the situation in the occupied territory.

If we are to see economic prosperity and development, education and progress, peace and security in South Asia, it becomes imperative that the international community ought to take this burning dispute seriously and be proactive in appraising themselves of the ground reality in Kashmir and use their good offices to get this issue on the table for an imaginative solution.

Rector, Istanbul University

Prof. Dr. MAHMUT AK

In this International Conference, where the Regional and International Dimensions of the Kashmir Problem will be discussed. Professor was very pleased that many scientists and politicians from different parts of the world would deliver their speeches at this conference, which will be held online due to the Covid-19 pandemic that affects the world globally.

Unfortunately, the whole world is witnessing very tragic and inhumane things happening in Azad Kashmir almost every day. It is painful to see that Jammu and Kashmir, which are known by names such as the heart of Asia, the Pearl of India, and holds a unique position with their natural beauty receive media coverage this way. Due to the human rights violations in the region, the issue is no longer a domestic problem; it has become a humanitarian problem.

Over the next two days, distinguished participants will discuss the issue which is closely related to politics, international relations, and human rights from different perspectives by focusing on the historical, regional, and global dynamics in detail. Professor wholeheartedly congratulated his Faculty of Letters and the Symposium delegation for organizing such a comprehensive conference that brings together different disciplines. Professor firmly believes that discussions at the conference will make a significant contribution to the world of politics and science, who are closely interested in the subject.

Finally, Professor stated that “we hope the friendly and brotherly Governments of Pakistan and India will end the long-lasting suffering of our Kashmiri Brothers through negotiations and reach an agreement that will satisfy our Kashmiri Brothers as well.”

Saygıdeğer Sardar Masood Han, Azad Keşmir Başkanı,
Sayın Pakistan Bilgi ve İletişim Bakanı,
Sayın Pakistan Büyükelçisi,
Sayın Milletvekilim,
Değerli Bilim ve Siyaset İnsanları,
Sevgili katılımcılar,

Keşmir Sorununun Bölgesel ve Uluslararası Boyutlarının tartışılacığı Uluslararası Konferansa katılımlarınızdan dolayı hepинize teşekkür ederek sözlerime başlamak istiyorum. Dünyayı saran Covid-19 pandemisi nedeniyle online gerçekleştireceğimiz bu organizasyonda dünyanın pek çok bölgesinde çok sayıda bilim ve siyaset insanının tebliğ sunacak olması bizleri çok sevindirdi.

Ne yazık ki hemen her gün dünya kamuoyuna Azad Keşmir'de yaşanan elim ve insanlık dışı hadiseler yansımaktadır. Asya'nın kalbi, Hindistan Tacının İncisi gibi isimlerle anılan ve doğal güzellikleriyle eşine az rastlanan bir konumda bulunan Cammu ve Keşmir'in bu şekilde anılması acı vericidir. Bölgede yaşanan insan hakları ihlalleri, konunun bir ülkenin içişleri boyutunu aşarak bir insanlık sorunu haline gelmesine neden olmuştur.

Önümüzdeki iki gün süresince değerli katılımcılar siyaset, uluslararası ilişkiler ve insan hakları alanıyla yakından ilişkili olan konuyu; tarihi, bölgesel ve küresel dinamiklerini tartışarak farklı açılardan detaylı bir şekilde ele alacaklar. Bu şekilde farklı disiplinleri bir araya getiren geniş kapsamlı bir organizasyon düzenlendiği için Edebiyat Fakültemizi ve Sempozyum heyetini gönülden tebrik ediyorum. Konferansta yapılacak tartışmalar, konuya yakından ilgilenen siyaset ve bilim dünyasına önemli katkı sağlayacaktır.

Son olarak dost ve kardeş Pakistan ve Hindistan Hükümetlerinin görüşmeler yoluyla en kısa sürede Keşmirli Kardeşlerimizin yillardır çektileri acıları sona erdirecek ve onların da rıza gösterecekleri bir

anlaşmaya varacaklarını umut ettiğimizi ifade ederek katkıları dolayısıyla tüm katılımcılara teşekkür ediyor; hepinizi tekrar saygıyla selamlıyorum.

Dean of Faculty of Letters, Istanbul University

Prof. Dr. HAYATI DEVELI

With its fertile lands and magnificent geographical structure, Kashmir is tearful geography that has been invaded by different civilizations for centuries. In the period when the British exploited the Pakistan Subcontinent, Kashmir and the Muslim people were sold to a Hindu Raja by the British, and the process which would pose a problem between India and Pakistan also started. As a matter of fact, with the division of India and Pakistan in 1947, Kashmir with the majority of its people being Muslim, constituted the biggest disagreement between Pakistan and India, and 3 wars broke out between the two countries for Kashmir, and many times they came to the brink of war. Today, the extent of the oppression and torture faced by the Muslim Kashmir people is increasing day by day, and the world remains silent.

It is of significance that Urdu Language and Literature education in Turkey started in Istanbul University Faculty of Letters in 1915 for the first time. In line with this tradition and academic responsibility over a century, this conference has been organized today.

Istanbul University has organized many conferences and seminars on the Kashmir Problem before and tried to address the Kashmir Problem, which the world has ignored, from different aspects. In this international online conference organized by the Faculty of Letters under the title of “Regional and International Dimensions of the Kashmir Problem”, the Kashmir issue will be discussed by experts in the subject field today and tomorrow.

Professor hoped that the conference will contribute to air the rightful freedom struggle against unjust persecution and oppression faced by the Muslim Kashmir people.

He prays that winds of peace come as soon as possible to this tearful Islamic geography...

Kashmir's Double Lockdown and Global Response

GHULAM NABI FAI¹

Finding Solution to Kashmir Dispute: How and Why?

Location and Size:

Kashmir is situated in the extreme north of the India Pakistan subcontinent and at the southern point of Central Asia. With an area of 86,000 square miles and a population currently estimated at around 23 million, it is surrounded by four countries: China, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India, with the narrow Wakhan strip (in Afghanistan) separating it from Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. In its middle is the Vale of Kashmir, famed for its scenic beauty. Compared to the existing 193 sovereign states in the world taken individually, Kashmir is larger than 98 and more populous than 123 member states of the United Nations.

Present Status:

The cease-fire line between the forces of India and Pakistan has currently divided Kashmir into two parts. One is under Indian occupation: this comprises 63% of the whole territory; it has a population of around 13 million. The other with around 5.8 million people, includes Azad (free) Kashmir, which is under indirect Pakistani control, and the northern region of Gilgit and Baltistan, which is directly administered by Pakistan. About 2 million Kashmiris are refugees in Pakistan: some 800,000 live in Britain and about 1.2 million are scattered around the world. The present arbitrary bifurcation of Kashmir has divided thousands of Kashmiri families.

Introduction:

The idea that the dispute over the status of Jammu and Kashmir can be settled only per the will of the people, which can be ascertained through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite, was the common ground taken by both Pakistan, and India. It was supported without any

¹ Secretary General, World Kashmir Awareness Forum.

dissent by the United Nations Security Council and prominently championed by the United States, Britain, and other democratic states.

It became a matter of controversy only after India realized that she could not win the people's vote. Due to the cold war, she found a firm ally for her obstructionist position in the Soviet Union. With the end of the cold war, the original perspective should have been recovered.

Background:

When Britain liquidated her Indian empire, the question arose: to whom would power be transferred? This was settled by a process of election. The National Congress party won the overwhelming majority of votes in Hindu majority areas and the Muslim League party did the same in Muslim majority areas. Through a tripartite agreement concluded by Britain, the Congress, and the League, British India was partitioned between the successor states of India (Hindu majority areas) and Pakistan (Muslim majority areas). There was some doubt about two territories the Northwest Frontier Province and Sylhet as to whether they would join India or Pakistan. To resolve it, referendums were held in both and the people voted for incorporation into Pakistan.

The disposition of those territories not directly administrated by Britain, but ruled by feudal princes under British paramountcy, also had to be determined. These areas, which numbered more than 500 and ranged from tiny pockets of land to country size areas, were called states. The principle that followed logically from the partition of British India was that these princely states should merge unless they could remain independent, with India or Pakistan according to (a) whether they were contiguous to one or the other and (b) what their people wished.

The technical form that the merger took was the signing of an Instrument of Accession by the ruler. But the act was not and could not be, based on the arbitrary decision of one individual, for if it did not have popular approval, the people would revolt and an international conflict would arise. In fact, out of the more than 500 cases, there were disputes only in three. In two of these, Hyderabad and Junagarh, the ruler was Muslim while the majority was Hindu. When the ruler hesitated or refused

to sign the Instrument of Accession to India, contrary to the popular will, India felt justified in marching in her troops and annexing the territories. Her decision obtained international acquiescence.

Kashmir was the third case. The largest of all states and the only one bordering on four countries Pakistan, India, China, and Afghanistan it was the opposite of Hyderabad and Junagarh: the ruler was Hindu while the overwhelming majority of the people was Muslim. There were additional and unique circumstances: unlike all other states, Kashmir had witnessed an open revolt against the ruler in 1946. Ousted from Srinagar, his capital, on 23 October 1947, the ruler called upon India to send her army to quell the revolt. India set the condition that he sign the Instrument of Accession to India and, without waiting for his signature, sent her troops into the state on 27 October 1947.

India's Position:

The act was so incongruous with what had happened elsewhere where in all cases the people's wishes had prevailed that India knew it would provoke violent opposition from the people of the state as well as from Pakistan and outrage world opinion, India, therefore, felt compelled to declare that the accession executed by the ruler (the Maharaja) was "provisional" and subject to "a reference to the people." It pledged that after peace was restored, the question of accession would be submitted to the people's vote. "We have given this pledge," said Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, "not only to Kashmir, not only to Pakistan but to the whole world, we will not and cannot back out of it." On 8 November 1947, he proposed to the Prime Minister of Pakistan that: "The governments of India and Pakistan should make a joint request to the United Nations to undertake a plebiscite in Kashmir at the earliest possible date."

Kashmir Question at the United Nations:

Between October and December of 1947, the Azad Kashmir forces successfully resisted India's armed intervention and liberated one-third of the State. Realizing it could not quell the resistance, India brought the issue to the United Nations in January 1948. As the rebel forces had been

undoubtedly joined by volunteers from Pakistan, India charged Pakistan with having sent "armed raiders" into the State and urged that the United Nations call upon Pakistan to withdraw them. This was coupled with the assurance that, once the "raiders" were withdrawn, India would enable a plebiscite being held under impartial auspices to decide Kashmir's future status. In reply, Pakistan charged India with having maneuvered the Maharajah's accession through "fraud and violence" and with collusion with a "discredited" ruler in the repression of his people. Pakistan's counter-complaint was also coupled with the proposal of a plebiscite under the supervision and control of the United Nations to settle the dispute.

The Security Council discussed the question exhaustively from January to April 1948. It concluded that it would be impossible to determine responsibility for the fighting and futile to blame either side. Since both parties desired that the question of accession should be decided through an impartial plebiscite, the Security Council developed proposals based on the common ground between them. These were embodied in the resolution of 21 April 1948 envisaging a cease-fire, the withdrawal of all outside forces from the State, and a plebiscite under the control of an administrator who would be nominated by the Secretary-General. For negotiating the details of the plan, the Security Council appointed a five-member United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) [including the United States] which proceeded to the Subcontinent in July 1948.

Security Council Decisions:

There was much in these submissions that were controversial between India and Pakistan, but the proposal of a plebiscite was not. This is clear from the statement made on 28 January 1948 by the President of the Security Council. He said:

" ... the documents at our disposal show agreement between the parties on the three following points:

(1) The question as to whether the State of Jammu and Kashmir will accede to India or Pakistan shall be decided by a plebiscite;

(2) This plebiscite must be conducted under conditions that will ensure complete impartiality;

(3) The plebiscite will therefore be held under the auspices of the United Nations."

Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyanger, the Indian delegate to the United Nations spoke on January 15, 1948, at the Security Council, "When the Indian Independence Act came into force, Jammu and Kashmir, like other states, and became free to decide whether it would accede to the one or the other of the two dominions, or remain independent."

Sir Benegal Rama Rau, another Indian delegate to the United Nations said at the Security Council on March 1, 1951, "The people of Kashmir are not mere chattels to be disposed of according to a rigid formula; their future must be decided on their interest and in accordance with their own desires."

Mahatma Gandhi's prayer discourse of July 29, 1947, "The people of Kashmir should be asked whether they want to join Pakistan or India. Let them do as they want. The ruler is nothing. The people are everything. The ruler will be dead one of these days but the people will remain."

Pandit Jawaharlal Lal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India wrote to the Pakistani Prime Minister on November 3, 1947, "I wish to draw your attention to broadcast on Kashmir which I made last evening. Have stated our Government's policy and made it clear that we have no desire to impose our will on Kashmir but to leave the final decision to the people of Kashmir. I further stated that we have agreed on an impartial international agency like the United Nations, supervising any referendum."

Ambassador James William Barco of the United States emphasized the importance of the aspirations of the people of Kashmir on February 20, 1957, "The Security Council has considered the Kashmir problem on many occasions since 1947. Many members of the United Nations have served on the Council when this issue was before us. In every instance, and regardless of the membership of the Council, it has overwhelmingly

approved measures to bring about a free expression of the will of the Kashmiri people through an impartial plebiscite.”

Led by the United States and Britain, the Security Council adopted a resolution on 21 April 1948 which noted with satisfaction that both India and Pakistan desire that the question of accession should be decided through a democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite.

The United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) submitted proposals to the two governments. Formulated as resolutions, they constituted an international agreement upon being accepted in writing by both governments. Part III of the Commission's resolution of 13 August 1948, agreed to by both India and Pakistan, states: "The governments of India and Pakistan reaffirm their wish that the future status of the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall be determined by the will of the people and, to that end, upon acceptance of their truce agreement, both governments agree to enter into consultations with the Commission to determine fair and equitable conditions whereby such free expression will be assured."

The International Agreement:

The United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) worked out the concrete terms of settlement in close and continuous consultations with both sides. These were crystallized in two resolutions adopted on 13 August 1948 and 5 January 1949. As both governments formally signified their acceptance of the Commission's proposals, these constituted an international agreement as binding as a treaty. A cease-fire was immediately enforced. The Commission then started negotiations to draw up a plan for the withdrawal of Indian and Pakistani armies from the State in a manner and sequence that would not cause disadvantage to either side or imperil the freedom of the plebiscite. Meanwhile, a distinguished American, Admiral Chester Nimitz, was designated as Plebiscite Administrator.

Why the Plebiscite Was Not Held?

What prevented the plebiscite's holding was India's refusal to accept any proposals that called for her to withdraw the bulk of her forces from

Kashmir and thus conclude a truce leading to the induction of a Plebiscite Administrator. When the Commission reported this to the Security Council, Sir Owen Dixon, an eminent jurist from Australia, was appointed as United Nations Representative to negotiate the synchronized withdrawal of all Indian and Pakistani forces to prepare the stage for an impartial plebiscite under United Nations supervision. After an intense effort, he reported to the Security Council on 15 September 1950 that: "In the end, I became convinced that India's agreement would never be obtained to demilitarization in any form or to the provisions governing the period of the plebiscite of any such character, as would, in my opinion, permit the plebiscite being conducted in conditions sufficiently guarding against intimidation and other forms of influence and abuse by which the freedom and fairness of the plebiscite might be imperiled."

The same was the substance of the reports of Senator Frank Graham (United States) and Gunnar Jarring (Sweden) who succeeded Sir Owen Dixon as United Nations Representatives. Since the plebiscite could not be impartial unless both India and Pakistan withdrew their forces from Kashmir, a stalemate was ensured. This stalemate has now lasted for more than seventy years.

Position of Democratic Powers:

The United States, Britain, and France have traditionally been committed supporters of the plebiscite agreement as the only way to resolve this issue. They sponsored all of the Security Council resolutions which called for a plebiscite. Their commitment was indicated by a personal appeal made by America's President Harry Truman and Britain's Prime Minister Clement Atlee that differences over demilitarization be submitted to arbitration by the Plebiscite Administrator, a distinguished American war hero: Admiral Chester Nimitz. India rejected this appeal and, later on, objected to American acting as the Plebiscite Administrator. As mentioned earlier, American Senator Frank Graham visited the Subcontinent as the United Nations Representative to negotiate the

demilitarization of Kashmir before the plebiscite. India rejected his proposals as well.

United States Position:

The part played traditionally by the United States Government is apparent from:

- a). The appeal made by President Harry Truman that any contentious issues between India and Pakistan relating to the implementation of the agreement on Kashmir must be submitted to arbitration;
- b). The appointment of an eminent American, Admiral Chester Nimitz, as Plebiscite Administrator on Kashmir;
- c). The bipartisan expressions of support for the U.S. position from statesmen as different otherwise as Adlai Stevenson and John Foster Dulles; The American position was bipartisan and maintained equally by Republicans and Democrats.

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles stated on 5 February 1957 that: "We continue to believe that unless the parties can agree upon some other solution, the solution which was recommended by the Security Council should prevail, which is that there should be a plebiscite;

On 15 June 1962, the American representative to the United Nations, Adlai Stevenson, stated that: "... The best approach is to take for a point of departure the area of common ground which exists between the parties. I refer of course to the resolutions which were accepted by both parties and which in essence provide for demilitarization of the territory and a plebiscite whereby the population may freely decide the future status of Jammu and Kashmir. This is in full conformity with the principle of the self-determination of people which is enshrined in Article I of the Charter as one of the key purposes for which the United Nations exists";

d). The appeal personally made in 1962 by President John F. Kennedy to the President of Ireland to the effect that Ireland sponsor a resolution on Kashmir in the Security Council reaffirming the resolutions of the Commission;

e). The forceful advocacy by the U.S. Delegation of points regarding the demilitarization of Kashmir preparatory to the plebiscite at countless meetings of the Security Council from the years 1947-48 to 1962 and its sponsorship of twelve substantive resolutions of the Council to that effect;

f). The protracted negotiations conducted by another distinguished American, Mr. Frank Graham, from 1951 to 1958 in the effort to bring about the demilitarization of Kashmir, making possible the holding of a free and impartial plebiscite;

g). The clarification made by President George W. Bush on February 22, 2006, that Kashmir solution must be acceptable not only to India and Pakistan but also to the citizens of Kashmir;

h). The affirmation of President Obama on September 25, 2008, that "I will continue support of ongoing Indian Pakistani efforts to resolve Kashmir problem to address the political roots of the arms race between India and Pakistan;"

Again, on October 30, 2008, that "We should probably try to facilitate a better understanding between Pakistan and India and try to resolve the Kashmir crisis so that they can stay focused not on India, but the situation with those militants;"

Then again on November 8, 2010, President Obama said Kashmir was the long-standing dispute. "I have indicated to Prime Minister (of India) that we are happy to play any role the parties think is appropriate in reducing tensions. It is in the interest of the two countries, region and the US;"

i). The report published in Washington-based 'Atlantic Council' on April 24, 2014, "The nub of the India-Pakistan conflict is the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir. Its acrimony is felt in all international forums where the two nations meet. Kashmir remains a potential global flashpoint that could escalate into nuclear war very quickly."

j). The assertion of President Donald Trump that he'd be willing to play a mediating role in addressing the "very, very hot tinderbox" of Kashmir between India and Pakistan. "If it was necessary, I would do that.

If we could get India and Pakistan getting along, I would be honored to do that. That would be a tremendous achievement ... I think if they wanted me to, I would love to be the mediator or arbitrator.” October 17, 2016.

Position of Great Britain:

Similarly, in Britain, both Labor and Conservative governments consistently upheld the position that a plebiscite was the only way the dispute over Kashmir could be democratically and peacefully settled. When the dispute first arose, Clement Atlee launched a conciliatory effort and conveyed to the Pakistani Prime Minister the assurance of the Indian Prime Minister that India would allow Kashmir's status to be determined by the people's vote. Two years later, the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth informally proposed alternative arrangements for the demilitarization of Kashmir before the plebiscite. They suggested that a neutral peacekeeping force consisting either of contingents from the Commonwealth countries or composed of local troops from both sides under the control of the Plebiscite Administrator could be stationed to safeguard the state's security. India rejected all of these suggestions.

Kashmir and the World Leaders:

“All of us remain concerned that the issue of Jammu and Kashmir should be solved through peaceful negotiations and should be willing to lend all the strength we have to the resolution of this matter.” President Nelson Mandela at the NAM Summit – September 2, 1998

“Our Kashmiri brothers and sisters have suffered from inconveniences for decades and these sufferings have become graver due to unilateral steps taken in recent times. The Kashmir problem can be solved not by conflict or oppression, but based on justice and equity. Turkey is in favor of resolving the Kashmir issue by taking into consideration the expectations of our Kashmiri brothers, through dialogue based on UN resolutions. Such a solution (based on justice and fairness) will serve the interests of all parties concerned. Turkey will continue to stand by justice, peace, and dialogue in the resolution of the Kashmir issue

and Turkey will continue to raise its voice against the oppression.” President Recep Tayyip Erdogan., February 14, 2020.

“India and Pakistan should resolve Kashmir dispute in the interest of peace in South Asia and the rest of the world.” Russian President Vladimir Putin, December 3, 2004

“The question of the plebiscite is still valid in Jammu and Kashmir and can be invoked for a permanent solution of the issue, which is the bone of contention between Pakistan and India.” Margaret Thatcher, Former British Prime Minister – March 1996

“Pakistan and India should hold “proper, meaningful” dialogue aimed at resolving their dispute over Kashmir.” Tony Blair, British Prime Minister

“Kashmir is a thorny issue and unless India takes initiatives to resolve this key problem, peace in South Asia remains threatened” Japanese Deputy Prime Minister Tsutomu Hata – July 4, 1995

“Japan is ready to host an international conference involving India and Pakistan in an attempt to resolve their dispute over Kashmir.” Keizo Obuchi, Foreign Minister of Japan - June 2, 1998

“Turkey is the member of the OIC Kashmir Contact Group that was striving to find a solution based on international legitimacy.” Dr. Abdullah Gul, President of Republic of Turkey, December 2, 2007

“Peace and stability will not return to South Asia unless Pakistan and India sort out Kashmir conflict amicably.” James W. Wolfensohn, President, World Bank – February 2005

“There cannot be lasting stability in the region until and unless Kashmir dispute is resolved “peacefully and equitably as soon as possible”. It is the most pressing residual problem of the late 1940s.” Professor Stanley Wolpert, University of California, Los Angeles.

“Kashmir is a prison right now, but it is supported in India. I don’t think people know what is happening,” the linguist and MIT Professor Noam Chomsky, January 23, 2020.

Plebiscite Entirely Feasible:

India's obdurate stand has been effective in creating the impression among policymakers in America, Britain, and elsewhere that the idea of a plebiscite is unworkable. This, however, cannot be considered conclusive.

In the first place, the commonsense appeal and justice of the idea are undeniable. There is no way the dispute can be settled once and for all except in harmony with the people's will, and there is no way the people's will can be ascertained except through an impartial vote. Secondly, there are no insuperable obstacles to the setting up of a plebiscite administration in Kashmir under the aegis of the United Nations. The world organization has proved its ability, even in the most forbidding circumstances, to institute an electoral process under its supervision and control and with the help of a neutral peacekeeping force. A striking example of this is Namibia and East Timor which were peacefully brought to independence after seven decades of occupation and control by South Africa, and 28 years of control of Indonesia respectively. Thirdly, as Sir Owen Dixon, the United Nations Representative, envisaged seven decades ago, the plebiscite can be so regionalized that none of the different zones of the state will be forced to accept an outcome contrary to its wishes.

The idea of a referendum or plebiscite can be translated, without derogation, into the idea of elections to one or more constituent assemblies which will determine the future status of the state or its different zones. The sole condition is that the election should be completely free from undue pressure, rigging, or intimidation: it must be conducted under the control and supervision of the United Nations.

India's position, though untenable and unjust, appeared to gain some plausibility during the cold war. To demilitarize Kashmir, under those circumstances, was to expose it (and India as well) to unpredictable dangers this was the undertone of India's pleas. Since India was supported by the Soviet Union and Pakistan had allied itself with the United States the insinuation was that Kashmir would somehow become an American base and thus a detriment to India's professed nonalignment.

With the end of the cold war, this line of argument was no longer sustainable. In the post-cold war era, the demilitarization of Kashmir will not cause a power vacuum because a peacekeeping force under United Nations command will immediately replace Indian and Pakistani troops and remain there until Kashmir becomes a part of either India or Pakistan or chooses independence. The imponderable element was a fiction contributed by India that can no longer stand against reality.

Arrangements for Plebiscite:

It is clear from this historical narrative that there is nothing fuzzy about the modalities of holding the plebiscite. These were exhaustively worked out during the negotiations concluded by the United Nations about the implementation of its peace plan for Kashmir. The phased withdrawal of forces on both sides, the appointment of the Plebiscite Administrator by the United Nations Secretary-General, his induction into office, the institution of the electoral process under his authority, the exercise of powers deemed necessary by him all these are fully known to the parties. If a credible peace process is instituted, some t's will need to be crossed and some i's dotted, but given the will of the Security Council to secure that implementation, these can present no obstacles. It is not the inherent difficulties of a solution, but the lack of the will to implement a solution, that has caused the prolonged deadlock over the Kashmir dispute. The deadlock has meant indescribable agony for the people of Kashmir and incalculable loss for both India and Pakistan. If the new world order is not to be an order of unreason, injustice, and terror and thus permitted anarchy, that agony should be brought to an end and that loss repaired. The peace that has eluded the South Asian subcontinent, home to one-fifth of humanity, should be made secure.

I believe that the United Nations can, and should, lead the effort to achieve a fair and lasting settlement of the dispute fair to the people most immediately involved and fair to its commitments to democracy and human rights. By doing so, the United Nations can strengthen the principles of just world order. It will also earn the gratitude of generations in Kashmir, in Pakistan, and even in India itself.

The relevance of the Simla Agreement:

What is the relevance of the Simla Agreement as far as instituting a peace process between India and Pakistan, fully recognizing Kashmir's inherent right of self-determination, is concerned?

The pertinent facts about the Simla Agreement are:

-- It was concluded in the aftermath of the India-Pakistan war of 1971 over what is now Bangladesh. Pakistan had suffered a decisive military defeat and 93,000 Pakistani prisoners-of-war were in Indian captivity. The factor of duress is thus obvious.

-- Despite this circumstance, the Agreement nowhere precludes a settlement of the Kashmir dispute along the lines laid down by the United Nations with the consent of both India and Pakistan. Nor does it require that the United Nations be by-passed in the effort towards a settlement. On the contrary, the Simla Agreement expressly says that the relations between the two countries shall be governed by the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. One of the basic principles of the Charter (Article 33) is to seek a solution of any dispute by negotiation, inquiry, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means. The linked principle (Article 34) is that the Security Council may investigate any dispute and (Article 36) at any stage recommended appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment. The Agreement thus reinforces the obligations of both parties to achieve a settlement following the resolutions endorsed by the Security Council and, if their bilateral efforts fail, to turn to the United Nations for assistance.

Nothing would be more contrary to the United Nations Charter -- and, therefore, to the Simla Agreement itself -- than to bar recourse to the United Nations.

-- The Simla Agreement makes mention of "a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir" as one of the objectives of the two parties. (The obvious meaning that there is an issue to be finally settled is being resisted by India).

-- It provides that, pending the final settlement of any of the problems between the two countries, neither side shall unilaterally alter the situation. This is not a license for leaving problems unresolved. If anything, it implies a commitment to making efforts towards a final settlement.

-- It says that "in Jammu and Kashmir, the line of control resulting from the cease-fire of 17 December 1971 shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognized position of either side". To "respect" the line means not to cross it militarily; it does not convert the line to a legally accepted international frontier. This is clear from the words that the "respect" will be "without prejudice to the recognized position of either side".

Kashmir shall be decided by an impartial plebiscite has been recognized by the United Nations and, as it is identical with the position which India itself originally assumed at the world body, it is reflected in twelve substantive resolutions of the Security Council. A position safeguarded by the phrase "without prejudice to" can hardly be deemed to have been abandoned.

Simla Agreement Cannot Supersede the Plebiscite Agreement:

It is thus a misconception that the Simla Agreement has in any way superseded the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council accepted by both parties. Nor can it be supposed to have narrowed the gulf between them and, to that extent, simplified the task of evolving a settlement. Even if it has done so, its impact on the Kashmir situation would have been open to question. Nothing in international law confers on two parties the authority to make decisions or conclude agreements that adversely affect the rights of a third. The third party here is the people of Kashmir.

Stress on Simla Agreement: Why?

In ignorance or disregard of all these facts and their logical corollaries, the recommendation is being currently made by some governments friendly to both India and Pakistan (including- the U.S.) that

the two countries must resolve the Kashmir problem under the Simla Agreement of 1972.

Why the Simla Agreement is put in the forefront rather than the UN resolutions?

There can be several explanations. One is deference to India because of its superior might. If this motivates the current U.S. diplomatic stance, it is, to say the least, undignified and contrary to the enduring principles of U.S. policy towards all situations which involve inalienable human rights. Another reason can be the impression that the Simla Agreement, being of more recent origin than the UN Security Council resolutions, might be more effective in activating the process. This is wrong since, for 48 years, the Simla Agreement has signally failed to shake India out of its obdurate refusal to negotiate a settlement of the Kashmir problem.

If non-implementation were to render an agreement defunct, then the Simla Agreement is in no better state than the earlier, far more concrete and comprehensive agreement painstakingly worked out by the United Nations and concluded under its auspices in 1948-49. If the passage of time were allowed to extinguish solemn international agreements, then the Simla Agreement has already suffered the same fate as the UN Security Council resolutions. If agreements are to be revived, then why one and not the other?

It may also be that the Simla Agreement is being invoked because of a lack of knowledge about its actual terms and the circumstances in which it was signed. India is taking full advantage of this factor to spread the misinformation that the Simla Agreement sanctions the perpetuation of the status quo in Kashmir and absolves her from the responsibility of striving for a settlement of the dispute. By citing the Simla Agreement at any stage, or encouraging others to do so, India seeks to prevent those basic issues of the dispute being addressed that were fully taken into account by the United Nations. The agreement is pressed into service as a formula for evasion.

India's Refusal to Talk:

The refusal by India to sit down to the table with Pakistan or those who represent the Kashmiris indicate that India is not even close to addressing the realities of Kashmir and the will of the people. This must change. Peace in the region would benefit not only those who are directly impacted by this conflict but India as well, whose economy is seriously drained by the maintenance of such a massive number of troops in Kashmir, and the diversion it creates from other challenges it faces in raising the living standards of its population. Sounder minds must prevail. More rational methods of dealing with differences must be sought. Repeating the same mistakes while expecting different results has long ago been found to be the path of failure. Seventy-three years should demonstrate a need for a change in policy, a policy that accepts the need for coming together in a process that accepts the right of all people to determine their destiny.

The uncertainty over Kashmir will lead not only India and Pakistan to disaster but it will also destroy any possibility of bringing peace and stability to Afghanistan. Fortunately, any resolution of the Kashmir conflict will directly impact the stability of Afghanistan as many experts have started realizing that the key to peace in Afghanistan lies in Kashmir - the U.S. will never stabilize the former without peace in the latter. Suddenly, bringing India and Pakistan together seems to be very much in America's interest.

The Current Mass Uprising:

Kashmir could not remain untouched by the tide of freedom that rolled across the world in the late 1980s, sweeping away the Soviet military invasion of Afghanistan and Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, South Africa's 70-year-old rule over Namibia, and unpopular establishments in Eastern Europe. Inspired by it and also encouraged by the emergence from the limbo of the United Nations as a central peace-making agency, the people of Kashmir intensified their struggle against the unwanted and tyrannical Indian occupation. Their uprising entered into its current phase in July 1988. The scale of popular backing for it can be judged from the fact that

on many occasions since 1990, virtually the entire population of Srinagar came out on the streets in an unparalleled demonstration of protest against the oppressive status quo. The further fact that they presented petitions at the office of the United Nations Military Observers Group for India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) shows the essentially peaceful nature of the aims of the uprising and its trust in justice under international law. India has tried to portray the uprising as the work of terrorists or fanatics. Terrorists do not compose an entire population, including women and children; and fanatics do not look to the United Nations to achieve a pacific and rational settlement.

The Situation in Kashmir:

India's occupation of Kashmir has thus been left undisturbed by the international community, even though its validity has never been accepted. At no stage, however, have the people of Kashmir shown themselves to be reconciled to it. There have been several uprisings, notably in 1953 and 1964, and even the relatively calmer interludes have witnessed continuous peaceful protest met with unrelenting force. Kashmir's record of opposition to its annexation by the Indian Union, can by no standard be reckoned as less genuinely demonstrated than that of countries of Eastern Europe under the dominance of the Soviet Union. But while the popular revolt in the countries of Eastern Europe was observed and reported by the international media, that in Kashmir has remained largely hidden from the world's view. Some of the facts of the situation are:

1. India maintains a large and highly visible military presence in Kashmir; the troops stationed there exceed 800,000; including paramilitary forces, the Central Reserve Police, and the Border Security Force, all of whom are thugs in uniform and equipped with state-of-the-art torture machines.
2. 16 Indian secret service agencies are operating ubiquitously to spy on the 13 million citizens.
3. The number of those killed exceeds 100, 000 and the number of those maimed, tortured, illegally imprisoned, or condemned to starvation

by being robbed of their living by the Indian authorities runs into the tens of thousands.

4. It abrogated Article 370, Article 35 A and enacted “Domicile Law” and “Jammu & Kashmir Reorganization Order, 2020” to change the demography of the state. Such attempts are in open contravention of UN resolution #122 adopted on January 24, 1957; # 123 adopted on February 21, 1957, and # 126 adopted on December 2, 1957. These resolutions prohibit any unilateral action to change the disputed nature of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

It is to be noted that the United Nations Security Council Resolution # 122 “reaffirms the affirmation of its resolution 91 (1951) and declares that the convening of a constituent assembly as recommended by the General council of the ‘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 any action by the parties concerned in support of any such action by the assembly, would not constitute a disposition of the State in accordance with the above principle.”

5. Over the 73 years of occupation, India has so managed Kashmir's economy as to make it dependent on Indian subsidies and supplies of necessities like food; except in a southern pocket adjacent to India, not even a beginning has been made towards industrialization; the object of turning Kashmir into a deficit area is to impose a severe economic penalty on its release from Indian occupation.

The Point of Inescapable Principle:

The time for deceptions is gone. All that is needed is going back --- yes, going back --- to the point of agreement that historically existed beyond doubt between India and Pakistan and jointly resolving to retrieve it with such modifications as are necessitated by the passage of time. That point of agreement is the one India as well as Pakistan, each independently, brought to the United Nations Security Council when the Kashmir dispute was first internationalized. The Security Council itself took that point as the basis of the resolutions it later formulated. The point was one of

inescapable principle- -- that the future status of the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall be decided by the will of the people of the State as impartially ascertained in conditions free from coercion. The two elements of a peaceful settlement thus were, first, the demilitarization of the State (i.e. the withdrawal of the forces of both India and Pakistan) and a plebiscite supervised by the United Nations.

Now, what is urgently needed is an assertion by Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Prime Minister Imran Khan of the necessity of taking new measures to affect the settlement of the dispute within a reasonable time frame. To that end, India and Pakistan must together prepare a plan for the demilitarization of the State with safeguards for security worked out together. Confidence that a real peace process is being launched between India, Pakistan, and the Kashmiri leadership would be inspired by the ending of repressive measures within the Indian-Occupied area by both the federal and the state authorities. If sincerity is brought to the process in place of cheap trickery, the dawn of peace will glow as never before over the region of South Asia and beyond.

Back to the United Nations:

The people of Kashmir never lost hope either in the United Nations as the custodian of human rights, or in their demand to exercise the right of self-determination. The scale of the popular backing of the uprising in Kashmir can be judged from the fact, that on many occasions since 2018, virtually the entire population of Srinagar and major towns in the Valley came out on the streets in an unparalleled demonstration to protest the attempt by the Government of India to scrap the Article 35 A of the Indian constitution which gives the special rights and privileges to the state subject of Jammu and Kashmir. Article 35 A also bars foreigners to buy the land or to acquire immovable property, etc. in the State. The Joint Resistance Leadership and other legal, religious, and business fraternities believe that the abrogation of this constitutional provision is a conspiracy to change the demographic composition of the state.

The Role of the United Nations Secretary-General:

The United Nations has the opportunity to affect a positive resolution to the conflict and resulting humanitarian situation by promoting the conditions of the original mandate. It is only through international recognition and inclusive representations that a genuine and lasting peace can ensue. The risks of maintaining the status quo – for Kashmir, South Asia, and the world – are too great to ignore.

The Charter of the United Nations empowers the Secretary-General of the United Nations to bring any matter which may threaten the maintenance of internal peace and security to the attention of the Security Council. In consistence with the universally accepted principle that no situation should be allowed to escalate to a point of no return and that the United Nations should not remain passive in the face of human wrongs being committed on a vast scale, the people of Kashmir expect the Secretary-General will not hesitate to exercise his discretion and put the Kashmir issue on the active international agenda.

Should the Secretary-General feel that the factual data at his disposal does not justify the use of his power under Article 99 of the UN Charter, we respectfully propose that the Secretary-General urgently dispatch a special representative of high international standing to India and Pakistan who should visit both parts of Kashmir and report back to the Security Council the facts of the situation. The ‘United Nations High Commissioner on Human Rights’ has also recommended sending a fact-finding mission to Kashmir to assess the situation there. If India feels that it has nothing to hide, it should welcome such action.

Conclusion:

Despite the passage of decades, nothing has been irretrievably lost. The principle that the disposition of the territory in dispute must be as per the will of its people can still be implemented as truly as it would have been in 1950. It can be done better now because we are not as oblivious now as all sides seemed to be earlier of the unique heterogeneity of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Recognizing the existence of several different ethnicities, each with its history and its affiliations, and the right of each to determine its future without constraint not only from India or

Pakistan but also from one dominant region within the State on another, we are not likely to commit the fallacy of one-size-suits-all. The plan of action that would ensure for all components of the State as it existed on August 15, 1947, equal representation and equal freedom to decide whether to continue the status quo or to opt for a new dispensation is not difficult to work out. It can be done by a joint committee composed of the rightly qualified people from India and Pakistan who would consult Kashmiri representatives and also, as necessary, experts from the United Nations.

Maintaining the status quo is not conducive to a peaceful settlement of the conflict. Tensions on both sides continue to spiral upward and the introduction of nuclear weapons into the equation has raised the stakes considerably. For addressing the human rights violations in Kashmir and bringing India to the negotiating table, the international community lacks neither the carrot nor the stick. The stick is nothing but the reverse side of the coin that signifies the carrot. And India badly needs the carrot.

The people of Kashmir do not wish anybody to take a partisan side. Kashmiris are convinced, nevertheless, that impartial observers would support the Kashmir cause based on universal principles, democratic values, rule of law, and international justice. It is high time that all concerned parties -- India, Pakistan, and the Kashmiri leadership -- sit together and chalk out a strategy for the sake of peace and stability in the region of South Asia. Because ultimately, the negotiations, not violence, is the only way to resolve the Kashmir conflict, and that Kashmiris cannot be excluded from the negotiating table if a peace process is to be serious, meaningful, and result-oriented.

PAPERS

A Survey of Turkey, Several Countries and Int. Organizations on Kashmir Issue

Türkiye ve Diğer Bazı Ülkeler ile Uluslararası Kuruluşların Keşmir Sorununa Bakışı

EMRE AKTUNA¹

Bismillahirrahmanirrahim

Saygıdeğer katılımcılar ve değerli konuklar, hepинizi saygıyla selamlıyorum ve böyle bir organizasyon gerçekleştirdiği için İstanbul Üniversitesi'ne teşekkür etmek istiyorum.

Sözlerime Radha Kumar'in 'Paradise at War: A Political History of Kashmir' kitabından bir alıntı ile başlamak istiyorum:

Bir kez bir siyaset bilimci bana şöyle dedi: "Keşmir'i veya Keşmir meselesini tarihinden ve geçmişinden bahsetmeden tartışamazsun."

Ben de, bu nedenle Keşmir meselesi ile ilgili olarak Keşmir'in tarihi ve geçmişi ile ilgili diğer baskı gören veya ezilen toplumlarla kurulabilecek analogiler üzerinden giderek değerlendirme yapmak istiyorum.

Öncelikle, bugüne kadar katıldığım konferans, webinar, seminer, toplantı ve anma programı gibi organizasyonlarda ve faaliyetlerde herkes gerçekten çok başarılı bir şekilde Keşmir'i tarihiyle, geçmişiyle aktardı ve sorunları teşhis ederek ortaya koydu.

Ancak, hep aranması ve incelenmesi gerekenin teşhis değil tedavi önerileri olması gerektiğini düşündüm.

Hepimiz biliyoruz ki, bir sene kadar önce Hindistan Madde 370'i yürürlükten kaldırarak Keşmir'de gayri meşru ve yasa dışı bir işgal hareketi başlatmıştır. Yakın zaman içinde Pakistan tarafının Keşmir harmasını güncelleyerek Hindistan İşgal'i Altındaki Cammu ve Keşmir

¹ Bölgesel Kalkınma Uzmanı.

olarak adlandırması, en azından adının konması bile oldukça cesur bir harekettir.

70 yılı aşkın bir süredir adı konmayan, konsa bile çözüm üremeyen süreçlerin sonuçları da beklenildiği üzere çözümsüz kalmış, Keşmir'in evlatları gibi Keşmir ve Keşmir davası da sahipsiz kalmıştır.

Keşmir haritasının güncellenmesinin önemli olduğunu düşünüyorum, çünkü bu harita halesi üç farklı açıdan 3 sonuca ulaşmıştır. Pakistanlılar Keşmir konusunda Hindistan'a cevap verildiği için mutmain, Hindistanlılar bu harekete kızarken bir taraftan da Pakistan'ın kötü niyetini belli ettiğini düşünürken, Keşmir halkı da aslında reelde bir şey değişimse de bir hareketlenme olması ve bu konuda çaba gösterilmesi nedeniyle en azından kendilerini yalnız hissetmediklerini düşünmektedir diyebiliriz.

Ancak bu hamle bizi Keşmir'de çözüme ne kadar yaklaştıracaktır? Ya da daha açık bir şekilde sormak gerekirse "Son bir senedir çok katı şartlarda sıkıyönetimi yaşayan Keşmir halkına yararı ne olacaktır?" Keşmir sorunu nasıl sona erecektir? Biraz tedaviye yönelik gerektiği kanaatindeyim.

Yazının başında da dediğim gibi, analogi kurmanın bizi muhtemel bir sonuca yaklaştıracağını ve işimizi kolaylaştıracağını düşünebiliriz. Benzer geçmişleri, benzer tarihleri, benzer coğrafyaları ve benzer sorunları ele alarak ve girdileriyle çıktılarını karşılaştırarak süreç ve sonuçları incelemek muhakkak işe yarayacaktır.

Geçmişe dönüp baktığımızda, benim de gençlığımde büyüklerimizin dertlendiği, sorunlar olarak başındaki sayılar farklı da olsa "3K", "5K" veya "6K" sorunları olarak adlandırılan ve her zaman göz önünde olan çeşitli jeopolitik sorumlara yaklaşımı temel alabiliriz. Burada, "K"udüs ile "K"esmir, "K"asgar ile "K"ırim, "K"arabağ ile "K"ıbris arasında nasıl benzerlikler olduğu, nasıl farklılıklar bulunduğu incelenecaktır, ancak bunlar arasında analogi kurulması neyi sağlayacaktır?

1) Başta da söylediğim üzere, tarihsel okuma Keşmir'i anlayabilmek için bir zounluluktur.

2) Ülkelerin bu coğrafyalara ve bu yerlerdeki sorunlara yaklaşımları arasındaki benzerlikler bizim için önem taşımaktadır.

3) Coğrafyanın da bir tür laboratuvar gibi olduğunu varsayıarak, benzer şartlarda yapılan faaliyetler ve bunların çıktıları bizlere yol gösterebilir.

Örneğin, daha önce katıldığım toplantılarda katılımcılara “3K – Kudüs Keşmir ve Kıbrıs” hakkında çeşitli resim grupları gösterdim. Birinci grupta yan yana duran iki resim vardı. Gruptaki her iki resimde de taş atan gençler bulunmaktaydı. Katılımcılar kolaylıkla bir sonuca vardılar, hepsi de bu resimlerden birinin Filistin'e, diğerinin de Keşmir'e ait olduğunu hemfikirlerdi. Ancak hangisinin hangisi olduğu konusunda fikir yürütmek zorunda kaldılar. Benzer şekilde ikinci resim grubunda da iki resim bulunmaktaydı. Bu grupta da milisler yer almaktaydı ve katılımcılar bu resimlerden birinin Filistin'e, diğerinin de Kıbrıs'a ait olduğunu bildiler, ancak hangisinin Filistin'e hangisinin Kıbrıs'a ait olduğunu kolayca tahmin ettiler. Ancak hangisinin Filistin Kurtuluş Örgütü, hangisinin Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı olduğu konusunda fikir yürüttüler. Üçüncü resim grubunda ise yanyana iki resim bulunmaktaydı. Bombarla harap hale gelmiş sınıfların bulunduğu resimlerin birinin Gazze, diğerinin Keşmir olduğunu da zorlanmadan tahmin ettiler.

Öyle ki, nasıl Keşmir sorunu, tarihinden ve geçmişinden bağımsız tartışılamıyorsa, Keşmir'le ilişki kurulabilecek diğer sorunlu bölgelerde (yani 3K) yaşananlar dikkate alınmalı, süreçler boyunca yapılan doğru ve yanlış hamleler gözden geçirilerek, kısa vadeli değil uzun soluklu ve başarıya ulaşması muhtemel stratejiler planlanarak gerçekleştirilmelidir.

Örneğin, İngiltere halen bir süper güç iken ve henüz bu gücünü Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'ne bırakmadığı zamanlarda Kudüs'e baktığımız zaman 1838 yılında İngiltere Kudüs'te konsolosluk açıyor, 1846 yılında East Indian Company Keşmir'i satıyor, 1878 Kıbrıs Konvansiyonu ile de Kıbrıs İngiltere'ye kiralıyor.

Fazla detaya girmeden, Birinci Dünya Savaşı sonrası 1922'de Filistin İngiliz Mandası oluyor, hemen bir yıl sonra Lozan Antlaşması ile Kıbrıs'ın hakları İngiltere'ye veriliyor.

Özellikle İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrasında yaşanan gelişmeler dikkat çekicidir. Birleşmiş Milletler 1947 yılında Filistin'de iki devletli bir çözüm önermektedir, 1948 yılında da Keşmir için plebisit tavsiyesinde bulunmuştur. Aynı yıl Kıbrıs, Yunanistan ile birleşme talebini resmi olarak ilan etmiştir.

1956 yılını ise bir kayıplar yılı olarak görebiliriz, zira İngiltere, Fransa ve İsrail Mısır'a karşı savaş açar, Jammu ve Keşmir Anayasası aynı yıl yürürlüğe girer ve Jammu ve Keşmir Hindistan'ın bir parçası olduğunu kabul eder.

1960'lı yıllar ise hareketli yillardır. 1962 yılında Çin Çin-Aksay bölgesini kontrolü altına alır, 1963 yılında Kıbrıs'ta Rumlar Türklerle saldırrı ve 1964 yılında adaya Barış Gücü konuşlandırılır, 1965 yılında da Pakistan-Hindistan Savaşı gerçekleşerek ertesi yıl Plebisit Cephesi ve Keşmir Ulusal Özgürülük Cephesi kurulur.

1971 yılında Pakistan-Hindistan arasındaki savaş sonucunda Bangladeş kurulur, 1972 Simla Antlaşması ile Line of Control - LoC kontrol hattı ateşkes hattı haline gelir ve Keşmir Meselesinin ikili ilişkiler ile çözülmesi kararlaştırılır. 1973 yılında Yom Kippur Savaşında Mısır Sina Yarımadasını İsrail'den geri alır. 1974 yılında Türkiye Kıbrıs'a asker çıkartır ve 1975'te Kıbrıs Türk Devleti kurulurken, aynı yıl Indira Gandhi ve Şeyh Abdullah Madde 370 ve Keşmir'i Hindistan'ın bir parçası olarak giren Keşmir Mutabakatını imzalamıştır.

1980'li ve 1990'lı yıllar hep bir kargaşa içinde geçmiştir. 1987 yılında seçimlerin hileli olduğunu söyleyen Birleşik Müslümanlar Cephesi daha önce başlamış olan Keşmir Direnişi'ne hız vermiş, Filistin'de de İntifada hareketi başlamıştır. 1993 yılında Keşmir direnişi yükselişe geçmiş ve 26 sosyal ve siyasi topluluğun oluşturduğu Tüm Partiler Hürriyet Konferansı kurulmuş, 1994 İsrail Ürdün ile barış anlaşması yapmış, 1998 yılında Pakistan ve Hindistan nükleer denemeler yapmış ve ertesi yıl Kargil Savaşı gerçekleşmiştir.

2000'li yıllarda ise Leşker-e Tayyibe ve Ceyş-e Muhammed Srinagar ve Yeni Delhi saldırılarını üstlenmiş, 2003 yılında Pakistan ve Hindistan diplomatik ilişkileri yeniden sağlamış, 2004 yılında Kıbrıs

Avrupa Birliği'ne üye yapılmış, 2008 yılında Kıbrıs'ta Birleşmiş Milletler tarafından gerçekleştirilen referandum başarısız olmuş, aynı yıl Gazze Katliamı yaşanmış ve 2009 yılında gerçekleşen Mumbai Saldırılarını Leşker-e Tayyibe üstlenmiştir.

Günümüze baktığımızda süper güç Amerika Birleşik Devletleri 2017 yılında Kudüs'ü İsrail'in başkenti ilan etti ve 2018 yılında Büyükelçiliğini Kudüs'e taşıdı. Kıbrıs'ta ise müzakereler 2014 yılında adanın hidrokarbon kaynakları yüzünden sekteye ugradı ve Rum tarafı Türkiye'nin Akdeniz'deki araştırmalarını gerekçe göstererek görüşme masasını terk etti. Keşmir'de ise 2016 yılında Burhan Wani'nin öldürülmesiyle direniş büydü, aylarca sokağa çıkma yasağı uygulandı, 2018 yılında Keşmir Yasama Meclisi ilga edildi ve 2019 yılında Hindistanlı paramiliter konvoyuna bombalı araç saldırısında 40 kişi öldü, BJP seçimi kazandı, Hindistan askerleri Jammu ve Keşmir'e aktarıldı, Hindistan İçişleri Bakanı Amit Shah Madde 370'in kaldırıldığını ilan etti, Keşmirli liderler ev hapsinde tutulurken, gazeteciler tutuklanıyor, sokağa çıkma yasağı devam ediyor ve 4 kişiden fazla sayıda kişinin bir arada bulunmasını engelleyen Section 144 yürürlüğe girdi.

Arada olan biten her şey detaylı bir şekilde incelenebilirdi. Ancak şu an buna gerek yok. Çünkü Keşmir'de Hindistan, Yeniden Düzenleme Yasası ve İkamet Kuralları ile demografik yapıyı değiştirme çalışmalarına başladı bile. İnsan hakları ihlallerine yazık ki kimsenin umrunda değil ve Hindistan bunları görmezden gelerek yok yapıyor. Önümüzde ne yazık ki olumlu bir tablo yok.

Toparlamak gerekirse, Keşmir'de yaşananlar İsrail'in Filistin'de yaptıklarını benziyor. Kolonyal yerleşimciler ile nüfus yapısını değiştirme planları yapıyorlar. Ancak burada ufak farklılıklar bulunmakta, çünkü Keşmir'de bir sindirme politikası ve asimilasyon çabası da göze çarpıyor. İsrail Filistinli Arapları sahip oldukları topraklardan kovuyor, ancak bu durum Hindutva için yeterli değil. Çünkü Hindutva için Koshur yok, Keşmir yok, sadece Hindistanlılık kimliği var. İsrail ve Filistin ile Hindistan ve Keşmir arasındaki fark, Hindistan'ın, Keşmir kültürünü yok ederek Keşmir'in entegrasyonunu sağlayabilecek olmasıdır. Mevcut durumda zaten ekonomik açıdan bitirilen Keşmir ne yapabilir ki?

Keşmir'de tarım yapılamıyor, bilişim teknolojileri 2G internet bağlantısı ile ve elektrik kesintileriyle mümkün değil, ticaret sıkı yönetim nedeniyle bitme noktasında, turizm Hindistan askerlerinin pellet silahlarının gölgesinde ne kadar devam edebilir?

Cevaplanması gereken soru tam şimdi karşımıza çıkıyor. Peki ne yapmalı?

Bir süre önce Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti, cesur bir hamle ile Ladakh bölgесine hareket etti ve kimseden ciddi bir ses veya itiraz yükseltmedi. Aynı 1962 yılındaki Çin-Aksay hamlesinde olduğu gibi. Benzer şekilde 1973 yılında Mısır Yom Kippur savaşı sonrası Sina Yarımadasını geri aldı, ve 1974 yılında da Türkiye Kıbrıs Barış Harekatını gerçekleştirdi. Burada da görüyoruz ki sahada başarılı olunduğu zaman kazanımlar da artmaktadır.

Keşmir için ne yapabiliyoruz? Birleşmiş Milletler Güvenlik Konseyinden Keşmir ile ilgili kararlar olan Karar 38, Karar 39, Karar 51, Karar 80, Karar 91, Karar 98, Karar 112, Karar 123, Karar 126, Karar 209, Karar 211, Karar 214, Karar 215, Karar 303, Karar 307 ve dahası gibi yeni bir karar daha çıkışmasını bekliyoruz. Birleşik Arap Emirlikleri sahipliğinde gerçekleşen 6.Dışişleri Bakanları Konferansına Onur Konuğu olarak Hindistan Dışişleri Bakanı Sushma Swaraj'ı davet eden ve Madde 370'in kaldırılmasını durumun iyileşmesine yardımcı olabileceği söleyerek onay veren İslam İşbirliği Teşkilatından duruma müdahale olmasını bekliyoruz.

Bekliyoruz ve istiyoruz. Tüm naifliğimizle Hindistan'dan bu yaptıklarını geri almasını ve bir daha yapmamasını istiyoruz ve bekliyoruz. Ancak görünen o ki, istemek ve beklemekle olmuyor.

Kısa bir süre önce temmuz ayında Ermenistan-Azerbaycan sınırında çatışmalar çıkışının ardından, Türkiye ile Azerbaycan bir ortak tatbikat düzenledi, bu tatbikatın akabinde Ermenistan'ın geri adım attığını da, benzer şekilde Hindistan'ın Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'nin hamleleri karşısındaki tutumunu da gözlemledik. Bunlar bize gösteriyor ki, sahada cesur adımlar atıldığı ve Hindistan'a tek taraflı hareket etmesinin yaptırımları olacağının hissettirildiği takdirde Keşmir konusunda da

olumlu gelişmeler yaşanacağı aşikardır. Artık günümüz uluslararası ilişkilerinde organizasyonlardan bekleni içine girmek makul görünmüyör. Bunu en net şekilde Rusya'nın Kırım'da, Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'nin Galwan'da yaptıklarından da anlayabiliyoruz.

Tam burada iki örnek verilmesi gerekiyor.

1964 yılında Amerika Birleşik Devletleri Başkanı Johnson, Dönemin Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanı İnönü'ye; Türkiye'ye yardım olarak verilen askeri desteklerin Kıbrıs'ta kullanılamayacağını söyleyen bir mektup göndermiştir.

Benzer şekilde 1965 yılında Eyüp Han ve Zülfikar Ali Butto, Bağdat Paktı'ndan (CENTO) yardım istemiş, ancak Amerika Birleşik Devletleri Türkiye'nin NATO uçaklarını Pakistan'a vermesini engellemiştir. Türkiye yine de 5 milyon dolar tutarındaki yardımı Pakistan'a ulaştırmayı başarsa da savaş esnasında 24 savaş uçağının daha kuvvetli bir yardım olacağı aşikârdır.

Toparlamak gerekirse, sahada güçlü olmanın verdiği mesaj paha biçilemezdir, masaya da güçlü oturulmasını sağlar. Keşmir konusunda daha somut adımlar atarak, uluslararası organizasyonlardan çözüm önerileri beklemek yerine kendi göbek bağımımız kendimiz keserek daha cesur adımlar atmalıyız. Eğer cesur adımlar atılmaz ve biz de beklemeye devam edersek Keşmir yok olacak ve biz de buna seyirci kalırız.

Sözlerimi Keşmirli bir arkadaşımın anlattığı kısa bir hikaye ile bitirmek istiyorum.

Bir konferansta henüz davetli ve konuklar yerlerine oturmamışken, bir konuşmacı diğer bir konuşmacı olan Keşmirli arkadaşımın yanındaki boş sandalyeyi işaret ederek "Müsaitse oturabilir miyim?" diye soruyor. Keşmirli arkadaşım ise "İsterseniz önce oturun, daha sonra koltuğun müsait olup olmadığı ile ilgili bir münazara başlatabilirsiniz" diyor.

Özetle, Keşmir konusunda yapılmayan veya yapılamayanları değil, uluslararası organizasyonların etkisizliklerini değil, önce sahada çalışıp akabinde masaya oturup sonra da gerekirse yaptıklarımızı ve hamlelerimizi tartışmamız gerektiği kanaatindeyim. Bu vesileyle "Bir

kararı almadan önce 100 kere düşünmek gereklidir, ancak o karar alındığında arkasında durulmalıdır” ve “Doğru kararı almaya inanmıyorum. Ben bir karar alırım ve bu kararı doğru yaparım” cümlelerini söyleyen Muhammed Ali Cinnah’ı saygıyla selamlıyorum. Keşmir için artık beklemek değil, karar alıp harekete geçerek bu kararın arkasında durma vaktidir.

Teşekkür ederim.

Reflection of Desensitisation of Terror in Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK) Media

FAROOQ ADIL¹

Media is a very important instrument for freedom movements, it is a tool from which helps gain the support of the public opinion, and the people are made aware of the intentions of the occupying forces and they are mobilized for the struggle. However, for Kashmir, their experience has been completely different. India's mainstream media is naturally hostile to the movement and negatively reports its activities (Dr. Danish Nabi. 2014). While for occupied Kashmir, the Indian government has laid down certain laws that make it impossible for accurate information to reach the people (Saqib Riaz, Babar Hussain Shah & Shakil Ahmed). This means that the people of occupied Kashmir are living in a one-sided information storm. If a society becomes a victim of this one-sided propaganda, it results in a certain kind of indifference to public opinion, the effects of which are varied (Craig A. Anderson and Brad J. Bushman. 2018). The purpose of this brief research activity is to find out what kind of material is found in the newspapers of occupied Kashmir and what kind of impact this material has under the principles of sociology.

In the light of media, research, and analysis of occupied Kashmir

How are the Kashmir independence movement and related activities being reported in India? Much work has been done on this topic. Dr. Danish Nabi, through his analysis of mainstream Indian newspapers, has concluded that Indian newspapers have ignored this voice of dissent from occupied Kashmir. These newspapers take a hostile stance by calling the activities of the All Parties Hurriyat Conference activities under the influence of the resistance leadership that affect normal life (Dr. Danish Nabi. 2014). The report of the Committee for Kashmir Initiative has said that the Indian media considers the people of Kashmir as traitors and accuses them of wanting to join Pakistan instead of being loyal to their

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country. In his view, this practice is a natural consequence of misleading nationalism. Teresa Joseph said in her article that as the Indian government, the Indian press looks at Kashmir from a national security and defense point of view. In this way, the incidents that take place in occupied Kashmir, even the cases of human rights violations, fall victim to the same pattern (Joseph, T. 2000).

Much of the work that has been done in occupied Kashmir, India, and other parts of the world in connection with the ongoing independence movement in Kashmir has focused on the conduct of the Indian press. Thus, the press of occupied Kashmir is generally ignored in such surveys. However, a term paper from Oxford University examines the situation in occupied Kashmir through the occupied Kashmir Press in addition to the Indian press. In which the author said that the newspapers of occupied Kashmir have a lot of coverage of casualties due to militancy, desecration of Kashmiri women, and other human rights violations. But the press is also oppressed by the Indian and state governments. The governments keep pressuring them to withdraw their news reports or adopt a policy of their choice, which causes financial losses to the newspapers of occupied Kashmir (Wasim Khalid. 2016). The report also analyzes mainstream Indian newspapers and television but does not include an analysis of newspapers in occupied Kashmir.

There is a lot of research work available on the situation in occupied Kashmir and related (especially) on the conduct of Indian media but two aspects have been overlooked in this regard, firstly the contents of occupied Kashmir newspapers and secondly, the review of the effects of the material published in this section of media.

The purpose of research

To understand the nature of the content of newspapers in occupied Kashmir and its implications is the basis of this brief research review.

Methodology

For this research exercise, a tried and tested method of content analysis has been adopted for the review of newspaper content. For this

purpose, a popular Urdu newspaper of occupied Kashmir, Inqilab, was selected by lottery and the first seven days of June this year. It was decided to review only the front page content of the newspaper to avoid shortness of time and avoid length.

Content analysis results

In the days leading up to the analysis, the Corona epidemic had swept across the world and consequently much of occupied Kashmir and India as well. As a result, most of the newspaper's content was about the spread of the epidemic and its countermeasures.

After Corona, most of the content came from news related to independence activities in Kashmir, which accounted for 23% of the total content. The content of corona-related material was 51%, while the content of other materials was significantly lower than that of the categories. The content published in those days was divided into six categories, with Kashmir and India accounting for 11%, international events accounting for 5% and Pakistan-related news accounting for only 2%. See Table 1.

These results are noteworthy in the sense that if there is no (corona related) emergency in the region, it can be estimated that most of the newspaper material is related to the independence movement and its related activities, and even though the newspapers of occupied Kashmir are not free to publish the activities of the resistance movement freely due to the pressure of the government. What kind of material about the independence movement finds its place in the newspapers of occupied Kashmir can be divided into three categories:

- Militancy and related activities
- Line of Control situation
- Activities of pro-India political parties in occupied Kashmir

Most of the militant-related activities involved exchanges of fire between armed militants and Indian security forces, deaths or arrests of armed militants, their funeral prayer gatherings, and house-to-house searches in search of them with blockades of residential areas. The news of public protests against lockdown and Indian operations is the most reoccurring. Other news items in the same category include statements

from businessmen of the society in which they mention the economic and business losses caused as a result of such coercive measures i.e. lockdown against the freedom fighters and the and protests that come with it.

Other similar news includes the activities and statements of the rulers of New Delhi. They spoke in favor of changing the constitutional status of occupied Kashmir and made claims that they had improved law and order in occupied Kashmir and violence has decreased. A prime example of this was the statement of a Minister of India, Amit Shah, in which he claimed that with the repeal of Article 370 of the Constitution, the people of occupied Kashmir have come to understand that they need to keep their children away from violence (Conditions in Kashmir are fine. 2020).

The content of freedom fighters and their militant activities was found to be 63.2% of the total content.

Only one incident of clash and shelling between Pakistani and Indian forces on the Line of Control was reported during this period. While a statement of Amit Shah regarding the Line of Control was published prominently in which Pakistan was threatened with severe consequences for violating the Line of Control (Border violations intolerable. 2020). The total amount of this type of material was found to be 10.5 in local political activities

Change in the constitutional status of occupied Kashmir in August 2019. In addition to the news of the release of the leaders of the pro-India political parties in occupied Kashmir during the lockdown (detention ended after 10 months. 2020), these include the protests of these parties on local issues (Central Government seeks to make Jammu and Kashmir dependent in every way. 2020). The content of such activities was found to be 26.3%.

It is a proven fact that the newspapers and magazines in occupied Kashmir are not free to carry out their professional activities in an independent manner. They are not allowed to cover the activities related to the independence movement or even the activities of political parties working on a purely political platform for independence, especially the

activities of the All Parties Hurriyat Conference. In this regard, almost the entire population of occupied Kashmir, which wants to secede from India and join Pakistan, is a victim of one-sided propaganda in the media, but even in this environment of controlled content, there is a clear indication of the element of empathy for the freedom fighters engaged in the struggle for independence and detachment from India.

Soft corners for freedom fighters in newspaper content are evident in the newspapers of their media. The most prominent expression is the use of the term "right to die" for freedom fighters killed in armed clashes (Bloodshed in Nowshera Sector 2020). Although it is a softer term than martyr, it still has the aspect of respect. The notable notion of not allowing the general public to attend the funeral prayers of these freedom fighters or not handing over the bodies of the deceased to their families (Clash in Tral - 2020) can also be included in this category.

The two news items published in the newspaper on June 4, 2020, though not in any way related to independence but the overall mood of the two news of condemnation of India's aggressive actions. One of them is related to the details of the press conference of the multi-party alliance of traders and industrialists of occupied Kashmir which revealed that during the last three decades of the resistance movement in occupied Kashmir there was a lockdown for three thousand days, for this reason, the state's economy and businesses have been destroyed. These leaders told that during this period, the Indian government has provided trillions of rupees in aid packages to offset the damage caused by natural disasters in different parts of the country, provided relief packages of Rs. 80,000 crore and Rs. 20,000 crores respectively to offset the damage caused by the 1994 floods and the coronavirus but there was no need felt to repair the damage done to the economy and trade of occupied Kashmir. They also said that something shocking that the people of occupied Kashmir do not need the damage control for the floods and the coronavirus as well (Three thousand days lockdown in three decades. 2020).

Another important piece of news of this nature is the protest statement of the pro-India National Conference in which it was alleged that the central government of India is trying to make Jammu and Kashmir

dependent in every way. The report also said that the world is fighting the coronavirus while the New Delhi government is taking unconstitutional and undemocratic steps even at such a critical time and this is causing unrest and disturbance in every walk of life. (The Central Government seeks to make Jammu and Kashmir needy in every way. 2020)

This nature of the material associated with the freedom movement suggests that the newspapers there, although are incapable of reflecting the political aspirations of the occupied Kashmir despite this, the overall atmosphere in the region is not in India's favor, therefore, the overall content trend of the newspaper is also in line with this. Now the question arises if the content of the newspapers of society is of the above-mentioned nature then, what effect would that have on the society. This is the main purpose of this research.

Analysis

Two German American researchers have done important work on the effects of journalistic content. They believe that the effects of the messages disseminated by the media are not only for the purpose for which they are issued but that they automatically have an effect of their own.

The most dangerous aspect of which is that as a result, the centers of power lose the trust of the people (Kurt Lang & Gladys Engel Lang. 1966).

In the context of occupied Kashmir, gaining the trust of the people does not seem to be a priority for the government, if that were the case, the government would not shy away from helping the people of occupied Kashmir as they helped other parts of the country in the event of natural disasters and other occasions, but as it is clear from the contents of the newspapers of the time, the government has deliberately ignored the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

The problem of the people of occupied Kashmir is not only that they are not considered equal to the people of other parts of India, according to the report of the Committee for Kashmir Initiative, but they are also considered ungrateful and traitors who want to leave India's paradise and join Pakistan (Dr. Danish Nabi. 2014). Such accusations and derogatory

practices are reassuring to one circle and its followers, but their effect on the neutrals and the classes targeted by the accusations varies. Especially in the second class, stubbornness arises, and they think that if we have been labeled bad, then they will showcase that they have indeed become bad. According to Sociology's Theory of Labeling, it is a proven fact that when a class is targeted and labeled one way, it then either in stubbornness or retaliation; appears to act as they are labeled (Jon Gunnar Bernburg. 2009.). The fact is that contrary to Indian allegations, the people of occupied Kashmir have always reminded India of the fulfillment of the promises they made to the people of the region and the world through the UN platform. In such a situation, the feeling of helplessness becomes stronger amongst the people, and a state of reaction is created which further intensifies the already wounded emotions in the region of occupied Kashmir.

Regarding the performance and conduct of the media in occupied Kashmir, Indian author Tavleen Singh testifies that instead of giving news, they do more to hide and spread misinformation. The review also reveals the fact that only Indian views are featured in the region's newspapers and the overwhelming majority of the people of occupied Kashmir and the voices representing them are ignored (Tavleen Singh. 1995). As this review reveals the fact that the All Party Hurriyat Conference and its leadership are not given a place at all, but at the same time, the content of the violence is highlighted in a way that highlights the Indian point of view but does not correspond to the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the people in occupied Kashmir.

It is clear from the content analysis of the daily Inqilab that in addition to the coverage of the corona epidemic and the strategy for dealing with it, most of the newspaper's content is related to the news coverage of the militancy, including those killed in operations against alleged militants, their arrests, reports of raids, crackdowns on settlements and not handing over the bodies of slain militants to their heirs and not allowing anyone other than their families to attend their funerals. As the distribution of this type of content becomes the norm, the continuity of this type of message there has two effects. The first is to become accustomed to the

environment, and the second is to become accustomed to something that is socially undesirable, leading to a gradual decrease in the level of sensitivity to dislike. Eventually, there comes a time when there is nothing wrong with it in the eyes of the people and they do not see any abomination in adopting this practice (Craig A. Anderson & Bird J. Bushman. 2).

The uniqueness of the situation in occupied Kashmir is that it has deepened the roots of violence in a peaceful and mystical society by an effort to keep its people informed of the one-sided perspective on the news of violence for decades. No matter how many claims the Indian leadership makes to have restored peace and disassociate itself from the resistance movement, the reality is just but the opposite. One-sided and misleading propaganda will not only make peace in occupied Kashmir a dream but the continuation of this situation will also pose a threat to peace in the entire region.

Tehreek-e-Hurriyat Jammu Kashmir

GHULAM MUHAMMAD SAFI¹

In the name of Allah.

The Kashmir conflict is not a new issue. It has been pending on the agenda of the United Nations Security Council since 1948. At that time, an agreement took place between India and Pakistan, endorsed by the United Nations and supported by the world community, guaranteeing the right to self-determination to the people of Kashmir.

When the Kashmir dispute erupted in 1947-1948, the world powers, including the United States, United Kingdom, and France, championed the stand that the people of Jammu & Kashmir shall be given the right to self-determination to decide their future. The United States, United Kingdom, and France were the principal sponsors of resolution # 47, which was adopted by the Security Council on 21 April 1948, and which was based on that unchallenged principle. Until now, this assurance has not been honored.

The Kashmiri peoples' right to self-determination was upheld by the Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists, which says that the Kashmir's right to self-determination has not diminished with time. The ICJ report of 1995 says, "(a) the people of the state of Jammu and Kashmir acquired a right to self-determination at the time of the partition of India. (b) That right has neither been exercised nor abandoned and therefore remains capable of exercise. Both India and Pakistan should recognize and respond to the call for self-determination for the peoples of Jammu and Kashmir within its 1947 boundaries, inherent in the relevant United Nations resolutions. The United Nations should reactivate its role as a catalyst in this process."

When Antonio Guterres, the Secretary-General of the United Nations was asked on August 8, 2019, about the abrogation of Article 370

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and Article 35 A, he responded that the position of the United Nations was that the Kashmir dispute should be decided under the United Nations Charter and applicable United Nations Security Council resolutions.

That also means that both the International Commission of Jurists and the United Nations Secretary-General authenticates the demand of the people of Kashmir to have the plebiscite to decide the future of Jammu & Kashmir.

Therefore, it must be emphasized that the abrogation of 'Article 35A,' 'Reorganization Order' and 'Domicile rule' contravenes UN resolutions #122 and #126 adopted on January 24, 1957, and December 2, 1957, respectively. These resolutions prohibit any unilateral action targeted at changing the disputed nature of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

It is to be noted that the United Nations Security Council Resolution # 122 "reaffirms the affirmation of its resolution 91 (1951) and declares that the convening of a constituent assembly as recommended by the General council of the '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 any action by the parties concerned in support of any such action by the assembly, would not constitute a disposition of the State in accordance with the above principle."

The denial of the right of self-determination and denial to express freely on their political dispensation is the major cause of the tragedy of Kashmir.

It is beyond doubt that the longer the uncertainties continue and the longer the United Nations and world powers ignore Jammu & Kashmir, the more dangerous and intractable the crisis becomes. The crisis requires immediate diplomacy that recognizes the explosive situation on the ground in Jammu and Kashmir and takes immediate measures to avert it before it explodes.

Kashmir besides being a political problem is also a human problem and a human tragedy. Siachin, the highest battlefield is in Kashmir. The Ceasefire line, which was supposed to be erased, does not only divide our land but also divides our families. This line cannot be acceptable to the people of Kashmir as an international border. This line has added to the pain and misery of the people of Jammu & Kashmir.

For seventy-two years, the people of Kashmir have suffered senseless oppression at the hands of the occupying power, India. Thousands have been incarcerated; an untold number tortured and maimed.

Under Indian military occupation, a barbarous rule has been foisted on the people of Kashmir. India has launched a campaign of slaughter in the Indian occupied Kashmir to suppress the popular uprising for freedom and justice. Their current uprising is the culminating point of a non-violent resistance sustained over seven decades, in the face of endless persecution.

The United Nations High Commissioner on Human Rights (UNHCHR) has issued its “Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Kashmir.” The report contains graphic documentation of human rights violations being committed by the Indian military and paramilitary forces in Indian Occupied Kashmir. This is a significant step towards greater international recognition of the serious abuses committed against Kashmiris at the hands of the Indian army. This report takes the veil of secrecy off of India’s crimes against humanity. Perhaps now the global community can share the outrage felt by the people of Kashmir.

The 49-pages report cites specific incidents where the Indian Government violated the very principles of human decency and democratic freedom against the people of Kashmir. The report states that “In responding to demonstrations that started in July 2016, Indian security forces used excessive force that led to unlawful killings and a very high number of injuries. ... One of the most dangerous weapons used against protesters during the unrest in 2016 was the pellet-firing shotgun.”

The report details many instances where the use of draconian laws has given a sense of total impunity to the Indian army in Kashmir. It states

“The government of India has passed legislation under the Jammu and Kashmir Disturbed Areas Act of 1990 which gives extraordinary power to all ranks of the Indian military and paramilitary forces.” These laws, the report emphasizes, “have created structures that obstruct the normal course of law, impede accountability and jeopardize the right to remedy for victims of human rights violations.”

The report underscored that “Impunity for human rights violations and lack of access to justice are key human rights challenges in the state of Jammu and Kashmir.” And that “Impunity for enforced or involuntary disappearances in Kashmir continues as there has been little movement towards credibly investigating complaints including into alleged sites of mass graves in the Kashmir Valley and Jammu region.”

It is well documented that the bloody occupation has resulted in massive human rights violations, particularly targeting women and children. The sanctity of women has been violated, in a gruesome and unforgiving fashion. The UN report upholds that [In the 2013 report on her mission to India, the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences, said, “[W]omen living in militarized regions, such as Jammu and Kashmir and the north-eastern states, live in a constant state of siege and surveillance, whether in their homes or public. Information received through both written and oral testimonies highlighted the use of mass rape, allegedly by members of the State security forces, as well as acts of enforced disappearance, killings, and acts of torture and ill-treatment, which were used to intimidate and to counteract political opposition and insurgency.”]

Under a bizarre and illegal 'Jammu & Kashmir Reorganization Order, 2020' and 'Domicile rule', the citizens of India will now be able to settle in and compete for jobs in the disputed territory of Jammu & Kashmir. A Kashmir based human rights activist, Khurram Parvez, Coordinator, Jammu Kashmir Coalition of Civil Society (JKCCS) has highlighted that "By this order, outsiders are... going to be the claimants of jobs in Jammu and Kashmir, which already has a huge unemployment problem. This is an act against the interests of unemployed youth." JKCCS reported that observers warn that the new Domicile Law could

permanently alter the demography of the disputed region and “17.4 lakh people (1.74 million) can certainly acquire domicile rights, which constitute roughly 14% of J&K’s population of 1.23 crores in 2011.”

The aim of this revisionist and motivated rewriting of history is to alter the demographic character of the Muslim-majority territory at a time when the world’s attention is focused on the worst public health and economic crises of our times. These cynical attempts to seize the opportunity and take advantage of the prevailing global circumstances are reflective of the toxic and fascist mindset of the Hindutva regime in New Delhi.

The fascist government has deliberately chosen the timing: On the one hand, Kashmir is under the Internet blockade and military crackdown. On the other hand, world attention is sharply focused on battling the global scourge of the coronavirus.

Professor M. M. Ansari, former Kashmir interlocutor, appointed by Dr. Manmohan Singh, former Prime Minister of India wrote in ‘The Week’ on May 30, 2020, “Today, Kashmiris are treated with suspicion, penalized under draconian laws like the Public Safety Act (PSA) and Armed Forces Special Power Act (AFSPA) – the likes of which do not exist in major democracies.

Journalists who report on inhuman conditions seen during lockdown are put behind bars without justifiable reasons.” ... “Instead of diplomatic efforts, India is engaged in a prolonged proxy war with Pakistan and this fight is without the help and support of the people of Kashmir.

Public Safety Act enables the Indian army to detain civilians for up to one year without trial or due process for a wide variety of reasons. Under this act, an individual whose child has been murdered by the Indian army and speaks out publicly against India’s campaign of terror can be detained for up to one year without trial for endangering ‘public safety.’

“Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA) is a tool, which the government of India has excessively used, in recent times to curb dissent and opposing views. Under this law, individuals can be labeled and treated

as terrorists and booked for up to 7 years. The Law also allows for the National Investigation Agency (NIA) and similar investigating agencies to probe the cases.

The Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) empowers the armed forces to search homes without a warrant, arrest any civilians without a warrant, destroy entire villages and towns and shoot at unarmed civilians with intent to kill.

As we all know, for the last eleven months, human rights violations in Indian occupied Kashmir have plunged from dreadful to gruesome. Thousands have been detained in distant jails in India, hundreds of extrajudicial killings, countless disappearances, rape, torture, abductions, plunder, and ruthless suppression of free speech have become the order of the day.

None of 900,000 Indian military and paramilitary forces in Kashmir has been punished for their notorious human rights atrocities. Most cases are not even investigated.

As Arundhati Roy, one of the highly admired human rights activists of India says that the presence of 900,000 Indian military personnel has made Kashmir the most militarized zone in the world.

To combat India's disinformation campaign and to highlight the Kashmir dispute in its proper perspective, Mohammad Ashraf Sehrai, Chairman, Tehreek-e-Hurriyat, Jammu Kashmir has appealed to the global Kashmiri diaspora to unite under one slogan: End Occupation and demand the right to Self-determination.

He also appealed to the people of Jammu Kashmir:

1. Never compromise on the basic right of self-determination;
2. Tactics and methodologies may change but what cannot change and should not change is the ultimate objective: the right to self-determination as guaranteed under United Nations Security Council resolutions; and

3. Economic potential of an occupying power should not compel the champions of Human rights to turn a deaf ear to the cries and screams of the oppressed people.

Mr. Sehrai also urged the United Nations to remind India of the disputed nature of the occupied territory, and the need to fulfill the UN Security Council resolutions on the issue. The BJP rulers in New Delhi must be reminded that their actions are in direct conflict with the Geneva Conventions and international law. The world community and the people of conscience must impress upon India that in a democracy, legitimacy flows only from the freely given legitimate right to choose your destiny.

Mr. Sehrai questioned that it was hard to understand why, if India's case is as strong as they hold it is, the Government of India shows no anxiety to have its position vindicated at the United Nations or the International Court of Justice or through an impartial International Commission that could be appropriately set up. No party to the dispute can be the prosecutor, defendant, and judge at the same time.

In conclusion, we hope that the United Nations shall impress upon the Government of India to alleviate the miseries of the people of Jammu Kashmir by:

- i. Withdrawing its troops and dismantling their bunkers;
- ii. Repealing all draconian laws;
- iii. Lifting all restrictions on peaceful political dissent or protest;
- iv. Releasing all political prisoners without any further delay;
- v. Stopping vandalism as used to terrorize the people by the Indian army; and
- vi. Creating a conducive atmosphere to allow the people of Jammu Kashmir to exercise their right to self-determination.

Jammu and Kashmir after Domicile Law

GHULAM NABI MIR¹

Ghulam Nabi Mir thanked Professor Toker and the Istanbul University for organizing a timely and important webinar on Kashmir.

Ghulam Nabi Mir's discourse was on the impact of the repeal of Articles 370 and 35-A stripping the State of Jammu and Kashmir of its limited autonomy. Specifically, I wish to shed some light on the serious impact the so-called Domicile Rules on the lives of Kashmiris would have.

He reiterated for the powers that, "Kashmir issue is not a territorial issue or a conflict of claims and counterclaims between India and Pakistan. Far from that, it is the Raison d'etre of the 16 million Kashmiris- the very reason for our existence no matter we live in the world."

By staking out a spurious claim on Kashmir in 1947 India created Kashmir injected itself as an unsolicited party to the Kashmir conflict. Kashmiris don't want to be a part of an expansionist India. If India thinks otherwise, why not allow Kashmiris to exercise the right to self-determination openly and democratically in front of the world.

There can be no peace in the region as long as India continues its belligerent behavior and Kashmir gets no justice. Millions of people in the West have been chanting- "no justice, no peace" and Kashmiris are echoing the chant- No justice, no peace!

On Sunday, August 4, Kashmiris went to bed with a strange sense of doom. Something did not feel right for several days, but nobody knew exactly what it was! Then on Monday, August 5th morning Kashmir valley woke up to deafening silence and stillness of doom. An eerie silence all around, all except the thuds of boots of fierce Indian soldiers flooding neighborhoods with their guns. Nobody could walk out the door and nobody could call. Phone lines were snapped, the internet was shut down! It was like doomsday had arrived for each one of them! The only living

¹ President of World Kashmir Awareness Forum.

beings that moved around were the stray dogs and the Indian soldiers. They had the streets and alleys all to themselves!

13,000 children and adults were dragged out of their homes in the dark of night and taken to Indian prisons.

All the pretenses of internal autonomy under previous regimes had vanished into thin air. The time for the bait and switch policies to lure and trap Kashmir politicians for 7 decades was over. Now it was the brutal regime Narendra Modi, calling the shots. And he wanted it to do the Hindutava way.

Articles-370 and 35-A of the Indian Constitution were unilaterally abrogated and trashed. Indian laws can be extended to Kashmir without objection from any Kashmiri authority since the J&K Legislative Assembly had already been suspended and trashed by the Indian government. All of the pro-India politicians who had been used and abused by New-Delhi at will since 1947 were hauled away to prisons. Article 35-A which guaranteed the State Subjects exclusive rights, to government jobs, educational opportunities, and ownership of immovable property under centuries was repealed under the J&K Reorganization Act 2019.

In October 2019 the other shoe fell- India stripped J&K's status as a unified entity as the Princely State of Jammu and Kashmir. It was broken up into two 'Union Territories- Jammu and Kashmir, and Ladakh. Jammu and Kashmir would have a nominal legislator. That legislative façade would be essentially perfunctory and aimed at providing GOI a public cover.

Then on March 31, 2020, using the raging Covid-19 pandemic as a cover, the J&K Reorganization Order 2020 was issued Under this order a framework for the Domicile Rules was issued. To prevent any public protests against these draconian rules, any relaxation of the August 5, 2019 lockdown was abandoned under the Covid-19 pretext lockdown was extended throughout the occupied Kashmir. No rallies or public gatherings were allowed under the Domicile dragnet.

Public speech is silenced, no public assembly is permitted and no one can venture out. Ghulam Nabi suspected that Mr. Modi must have a wink and a nod from powers from the West. Gulf oil money in billions was already pumped into the slumping Indian economy by the autocratic rulers. Covid-19 cover lent Modi a much-needed cover too.

The settler-colonialism project in Kashmir is going full speed ahead.

The intent of the Domicile Law:

- To Establish Settler-Colonies of Indian Hindus in J&K;
- To Achieve Rapid Demographic shift by Flooding J/K with Hindu Settlers;
- Giving Permanent Residency (Giving Domicile Certificate) to Hindu Migrants to Jammu;
- Achieving Numerical Domination of Hindus for Future Elections to render J&K a Hindu Majority State, &/or Guarantee Election outcomes favorable to Hindus and India in case of a Plebiscite;
- Create a strategic buffer against China and Pakistan;
- Eventually fulfill the cherished dream of conquering Azad Kashmir, Gilgit, and Baltistan from Ladakh's vantage point;
- Establish strategic access to Central Asia and Xinjiang for trade and to counter Pakistan and China;
- Take away educational and job opportunities, particularly administrative, bureaucratic and white-collar positions from indigenous Kashmiri (Muslims) and offer them to Indians, Kashmiri Pandits who are awaiting after repatriation 30 years absence from Kashmir;
- Repatriate Kashmiri Pandits and their foreign-born children to the Valley at the expense of Muslim Kashmiri expatriates who will confiscate Muslim lands;

- Force Kashmir Muslims to leave the State, internally displace them, make them stateless, hold them in Nazi-style concentration camps or Soviet style gulags;
- Force Muslims into Reservations in remote hilly arid lands which are prone to draughts and periods of bad weather with a known history of periodic famines;
- Deny Kashmiri Muslims good-paying jobs to force them to do menial low wage jobs and labor for the returning Kashmiri Pandits and migrant Hindus from India;
- Selectively deny Indigenous Kashmiri Muslims Domicile certificates. Kashmiri ex-pats and their descendants living abroad, and refugees wishing to return home from Azad Kashmir and Pakistan will be denied entry into Kashmir and Domicile certificates;
- Force Kashmiri landowners to sell their land and become fiefs of Kashmiri Pandits just as they did during Dogra rulers; and
- Fulfill long-cherished Hindutva dream and advance the Akhand Bharat dream of establishing greater Bharat dream from Afghanistan to Bangladesh and beyond.

Laws being implemented under Domicile Rules:

1. Anyone who may have resided in J&K for 15 years, Or, has studied in J&K for 7 years, Or, has taken class 10 or class 12 exams in J&K is now eligible to get a government job in Kashmir. This will include military officers and members of the Indian bureaucracy. Thousands of such Indians, including their family members, have been guaranteed such opportunities.
2. Recruitment of 1,450 candidates for the government-run J&K Bank who qualified bypassed exams in 2018 was scrapped on 2/27/20. Under the new Domicile rule, 1,850 posts have now been advertised for those vacant bank positions. They will be given to Indians nationals, not Kashmiris.

3. Amid the Covid-19 pandemic and shortage of healthcare professionals, non-permanent Kashmiri staff was terminated to hire Indians nationals.
4. The long-established J&K Public Services Commission which oversaw the due process for higher-level jobs was abolished without cause.
5. Majority of high-level bureaucratic jobs are already given to Indians, sidelining Kashmir citizens over the last 10 years.
6. Immediate beneficiaries of the Domicile Rules are the thousands of Hindu and Sikh migrants of 1947 living around Jammu who has been offered Permanent Residency Certificates.
7. 150-year-old tradition of moving the state capital office of J&K to Srinagar in the summer season has been abandoned to dwarf it in its historic political, economic and social importance.
8. Under the Delimitation Law the Govt plans to redraw the electoral constituencies. The constituencies will now be gerrymandered based on area size, not population size. That will allow Jammu province to have more seats than the Kashmir Valley. Under this order, the Hindu nationalists will club together 24 empty seats reserved in the now-defunct Occupied J&K Legislative Assembly with the Jammu province to increase its numbers. They will also assign a few seats of Aksai Chin, which is part of China to the Jammu region. By this maneuvering, they hope to further decrease the numerical superiority of Kashmiri Valley. A Delimitation Commission created on 3/6/20 is working full speed collecting data to implement this scheme.
9. As the esteemed columnist and Executive Editor of Kashmir Times, Anuradha Bhasin wrote in her June 20 article in Aljazeera English: "Jammu is being turned into "a symbolic site of victory while keeping its people disempowered". Jammu's Dogra hearts are beginning to sink with an imminent sense of gloom. They are beginning to see themselves outnumbered and overwhelmed by

ultra-right-wing Hindu nationalists from Jammu and migrant flood from India whose first stop will be Jammu, not Kashmir Valley.

10. Ladakh has been disenfranchised and without any legislative voice. India wants to use Ladakh as a strategic geopolitical bulwark against China and Pakistan. That is why it was carved out from Jammu and Kashmir. BJP wants Ladakhis to remain absolutely in the dark about security and administrative matters. At least up until last month, BJP Indians were actively romanticizing the dreams of regaining the Aksai Chin plateau which they lost to China in the 1962 war. But, with the humiliating defeat in Galwan Valley, those dreams may have vanished. In both, Ladakh and Kargil majority of Muslims face an uncertain and dark future.

If the settler-colonialist project under the Domicile Rules is not stopped and reversed- either the Kashmiri Muslims will cease to exist with honor, or more wars and possibly a deliberate or inadvertent nuclear holocaust between three nuclear powers will bring the region to the brink of a disaster. India is not playing with fire in Kashmir. It is playing with a nuclear flashpoint in which it will be the main culprit.

Kashmiris seem to be getting closer to the point of national nonexistence when they will surmise that they have nothing more to lose. They will resist with full moral strength and all the tools justified under the UN Charter and International law.

Ghulam Nabi Mir uttered the role of the diaspora, must do all they can to expose Modi's Hindu supremacist agenda and ongoing genocide. He further alluded to the way forward through the followings engagements:

1. International condemnation of India;
2. Condemnation and prompt response from OIC, its member countries, and civil society;
3. Humanitarian and Media outlets must bear down on India;
4. UN, UNHRC must act to stop India and push it to back down and demolish its Hindutva project; and

5. UNSC must fulfill its obligation to implement its Resolutions on Jammu and Kashmir to conduct a fair and unfettered plebiscite.

Kashmir: The Target of Hindutva

Hindu Milliyetçiliğinin Hedefindeki Keşmir

HALİL TOKER¹

Keşmir ya da resmî adıyla Cammu ve Keşmir dün olduğu gibi bugün de dünyanın en acılı coğrafyalarından birisidir.

Hepimizin bildiği üzere Keşmir, Hindistan, Pakistan ve Çin arasındaki konumu, bölgeyi askerî açıdan kontrol altında tutabilecek yükseklikteki pozisyonu ve Pakistan ve Hindistan'a giden nehirlerin çıkış noktası olması hasebiyle jeopolitik bir öneme sahiptir. Yine bölgedeki uranyum yatakları dikkate değer miktardadır.

Keşmir güzelliği ise dillere destan bir bölgedir. Keşmir Hindistan Tacının İncisi, Güney Asya'nın İsviçre'si ve Babürlü Padişahı Cihangir'in de bir şiirinde söyleniği gibi Dünya Üzerindeki Cennet'tir.

Fakat hepimizin gördüğü gibi bir bölgenin cennet misali bir yer olması o bölgeye mutluluk ve huzur getirmemektedir.

Hatta doğal güzellikler ve doğal kaynaklar, yine hepimizin bildiği üzere, ekonomik, siyasi ve askerî açıdan zaafa düşmüş milletlere ve özellikle bir de bu kaynaklar Müslümanların ülkesindeyse, o Müslüman ülkeler yarar yerine zarar getirmektedir. Çünkü böyle zaaf hâlindeki ülkelerin kaynaklarına, refah ve zenginliklerini sömürü düzeni üzerine kurmuş Batılı devletler göz diktiler mi, o ülkenin ve halkın başına gelmedik kalmaz. Bazen o bölgenin mazlum halkını-kendi içlerinden çıkmış ve zamanında Batılı güçlerin desteğiyle iktidarı ele geçirmiş 'zalim' diktatörlerin zulmünden kurtarmak ya da nereden ortaya çıktıları ve kimler tarafından desteklendikleri her nedense 'bir türlü anlaşılamayan' teröristlerden bölgeyi ve tüm dünyayı korumak maksadıyla askeri 'haklı gerekçeler' yaratılarak müdahale yapılır. Fakat nedense o bölgede yaşayan yüz binlerce, bazen milyonlarca masum insan yerinden edilir, kadın, çocuk

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ayrımı yapılmadan binlerce insan öldürülürken, hatta insanlar açıktan ölüken, ‘kurtarıcıların’ gelişioyle içine düşülen kaos ortamında o ülkelerin tüm zenginlikleri ve gelirleri ‘malum kurtarıcıların kasalarına’ akmaya başlar. Maalesef bu artık hepimiz tarafından bilinen ve birçoğumuz tarafından kanıksanan dünya düzenidir.

Elbette Cammu ve Keşmir’de yüzyıllardır Keşmir halkına karşı uygulanan zulüm ve baskın tarihine göz attığımızda, bu baskın, aşağılama, köleleştirme ve yok etme politikalarının ne dün ne de bugün bölgenin konumu ve doğal kaynakları ile doğrudan bağlantısı bulunduğu görülmektedir. Sunu açıkça bilmemiz gerekiyor ki Keşmir’in 1846’da Amritsar Anlaşması ile İngilizler tarafından halkı ile birlikte Cammu Racası Gulab Singh’e satılmasından tutun da 1947’de İngiliz Hindistan Genel Valisi Mont Batten’ın bölgeyi Hindistan işgaline açmasına kadar, hatta Hindistan Hükümetlerinin Cammu ve Keşmir’de işlediği insanlık suçlarını görmezden gelen günümüzdeki söyle insan hakları savunucusu Batılı devletlerin, üç maymunu oynamalarının da geri planında, başta İngilizler olmak üzere tüm Batılıların ve onlarla aynı oranda belki de onlardan daha fazla Hindistan’daki Hindu ırkçılarının tüm genlerine işlemiş olan İslamofobi ya da İslâm ve Müslümandan nefret ve Müslüman olan her şeyi yok etme arzusudur. **[Itaouni-Bazian]** Burada sunu açıkça belirtmek isterim ki benim bahsedeceğlerim tüm Hindu dinini ve mensuplarını kapsamıyor, ben bunlardan birçok Hindu dini mensubunu tenzih ederim. Fakat Hinduizm takipçileri arasında şoven ırkçılık sınırlarını dahi zorlayan ve faşizmin en uç noktalarını kendilerine politik görüş edinmiş büyük bir kitle vardır ve bu kitlenin temsilcileri günümüzde Hindistan’da iktidardadır.

Keşmirli Müslümanlara karşı işlenen insanlık suçları bazıları için inanılması güç bir sav gibi gelse de Keşmir’deki zulüm tarihine ve özellikle 5 Ağustos’tan günümüze hâlâ İşgal Altındaki Cammu ve Keşmir’de devam eden, benzeri görülmemiş sıkıyönetim ve sokağa çıkma yasağına bakıldığından ve bu sıkıyönetim sırasında Hindistan güçlerinin uyguladığı insanlık dışı baskı ve şiddet göz önüne alındığında bunun bir sav değil yadsınamaz bir gerçek olduğu kolayca anlaşılabilir.

Bir düşünün; hangi ülke, ülkesinin ayrılmaz bir parçası olduğunu iddia ettiği 8 milyon nüfuslu bir bölgeyi elinde tutabilmek için bulundurduğu yaklaşık 800 bin kişilik ordusuna 40 ya da 50 bin kişilik özel eğitimli birliklerini daha ekler?

Hangi ülke, kendisine ait olduğunu iddia ettiği bir bölgede, o bölgenin ekonomisini tamamen çökererek, halkını açlığa mahkûm edeceği aşıkâr bir biçimde tam hasat zamanı, hemen hemen her evin kapısına bir ya da iki güvenlik görevlisi dikerek komşunun komşudan haberi olmayacağı şekilde sert bir sokağa çıkma yasağı uygular ve ürünlerin yanmasını sağlar?

Hangi ülke aylarca telefon ve internet gibi tüm haberleşme araçlarıyla iletişimini bloke eder, sağlık kurumlarına dahi ulaşımı sekteye uğratır?

Hangi ülke askerleri, Keşmirler üzerinde psikolojik korku ve baskı egemenliği kurmak için özellikler geceleri insanlar uykudayken evlere baskın yapar ve insanları şiddete maruz bırakır?

Hangi ülke 12 ilâ 15 yaşları arasındaki çocukları gece baskınlarında evlerinden döve döve alıp götürür ve birçok ailenin evlatlarının nerede olduğundan haberi olmaz?

Ve hangi ülkenin ordusu alıp götürdükleri çocukların nerede olduğundan habersiz ailelere çocukları hakkında bilgi vermek için onlardan rüşvet alır?

Hangi ülke insanlar üzerinde kullanılması yasak olan pelet yani saçma atan silahları acımasızca, özellikle gözleri hedef olarak kullanıp sonra evlere ve hastanelere baskın yaparak vücutlarında saçma kurşunu saplanmış yaralı insanları tutuklar?

Ve hangi ülke kendi vatandaşını iddia ettiği bir halkın yani Keşmirlilerin kadın ve kızlarını sistematik bir tecavüze maruz bırakır?

Ve hangi ülkenin emekli bir Albayı, televizyon programında Keşmirli kadınlara karşı toplu tecavüz çağrısında bulunur ve İktidar partisinin mensupları bu açıklamalara alkış tutar?

Hangi ülke kendinin vatandaşları, kendi üniversitelerinde ve okullarında okumak için gelmiş gençleri uyguladığı sıkıyönetim nedeniyle evlerine dönemeleri imkânsızken kaldıkları evlerden, yurtlardan çıkarır, onları şiddete maruz bırakır ve linç etme girişiminde bulunur?

İşte bunların tümüne cevap büyük harflerle “KENDİSİNİ DÜNYANIN EN BÜYÜK DEMOKRASİSİ OLARAK LANSE EDEN HİNDİSTAN” dır.

Aşırı sağcı Hindu partisi BJP (yani Hindistan Halk Partisi) yönetimindeki Hindistan 5 Ağustos’tan beri savaş zamanında dahi insanlık suçu olarak telakki edilebilecek bu suçları sürekli işlemektedir. Neacidir ki dünyanın büyük kısmı buna sessiz kalmaktadır.

Doğal olarak bunun temellerini Hindu dinin daha doğrusu Brahman dininin temellerinde aramak gereklidir. Çünkü bizim Hinduizm adı altında tek bir dinmiş gibi algıladığımız dinin birçok fraksiyonu vardır. Bu fraksiyonlar içinde de en üstteki kast Brahmanlar, tüm ayrıcalıkları elliinde tutan egemen gruptur.

Öncelikle hepimizin iyice bilmesi gereklidir ki ne Hindistan Bollywood filmlerinde ve Hint dizilerinde bizlere gösterildiği gibi şarkı, dans, müzik ile şenlenen bir hayatın bulunduğu ve kötü karakterlerin kas yapmış kahramanlar tarafından dövüldüğü ya da öldürüldüğü bir ülkedir ne de Hindu dini yoga, beden ve ruh uyumu, Nirvana, ruhani huzur, alabildiğince kişisel özgürlük gibi ifadelerle bize lanse edilen bir dindir.

Brahman dinin temelleri acımasız bir toplumsal sınıflandırmayı ve ayrımcılığı savunan Kast sistemine dayanmaktadır. Bu sisteme göre; en üstte din adamları sınıfı yani Brahmanlar, tanrı Brahma'nın başını oluşturan kesim vardır. Tanrıların gerçek temsilcileri ve tanrılarla insanların iletişimini sağlayan bu din adamları sınıfı mutlak gücü elinde bulundurmaktadır. Onların ardından tanrı Brahma'nın kollarını temsil eden savaşçılar, krallar ve devlet adamları yani Kşatriyalar gelir. Bunların görevi Brahman sınıfının çıkarlarını savunmaktadır. Onların altında Brahma'nın midesi ile temsil edilen tüccar ve bankerler yani Vaişyalar gelir. Bu sınıfın görevi alttaki hizmetli kesimle Brahman sınıfı arasından gelir ve hizmet akışının devamlılığını ve akışını temin etmektir. Onların

altında Brahma'nın ayakları ile temsil edilen Sudralar yani hizmetli kesimi vardır. Bir de bunların dışında Dalit ve Adivasi denilen ve insan olarak dahi kabul edilmeyen kast dışı insanlar bulunmaktadır. [Prasad 2009: 64-66].

Günümüzde Hindistan Hükümeti tarafından yasaklandığı söylense de bu kast sistemi özellikle kırsal alanda en acımasız şekilde devam etmektedir. Kastlar arasında evlilik yasaktır. Böyle evlilikleri yapan gençler kaçmadılar ise genelde yakılır. Her kast kendi kastına ait işi yapmakla yükümlüdür.

Özellikle sayıları iki yüz milyonu bulan Dalit ve Adivasiler, tamamen gayriinsani şartlar altında yaşamalarını sürdürmektedir. Bunların su içikleri çeşmeler ayrıdır, okullarda çocukların ayrı sınıflarda ya da sınıfın dışında oturarak ders dinler. Özellikle köy okullarında kast Hindularının çocuklarına tabak verilirken bunlara yapraklar üzerinde yemek verilir. Bu insanlar Hindu tapınaklarına sokulmazlar. Israr edip girerlerse şiddete maruz kalır ve bazen öldürülürler. En pis ve aşağılayıcı kabul edilen işleri bunlar yaparlar. Özellikle kırsal bölgelerde bunların kadınlarına ve kızlarına tecavüz edilir ve asılr soruşturması yapılmaz. [Dalitstan; Toker 2008: 14-15]

Kadın erkek eşitliği, kadın hakları savunucusu bir din propagandasıyla bu din Batılı çevrelerde şirin gösterilirken işin gerceği cinsiyet ayrimının en akla hayale gelmeyecek şekli Brahmanizm'de mevcuttur. Kocası ölen kadına yaşam hakkı tanımayan bir din sistemi nasıl olur da kadın hakları savunuculuğuna soyunur? Önce Müslüman yöneticilerin ve sonra İngilizlerin yoğun mücadeleleri neticesinde yasaklanan ve büyük ölçüde kontrol altına alınan Sati yani 'kadınların ölen kocaları ile birlikte ateşe atılarak yakılması geleneği' bu dine aittir. [Heaphy 2019: 1-7] Her ne kadar Müslümanların ve İngilizlerin çabaları sonucu Hindu dinine mensup dul kadınlar ateşe yakılmaktan kurtulmuş olsalar da günümüzde dahi ağır toplumsal baskı ve dışlanmayla karşı kırıya kalmaktadırlar. Örneğin dul kadınlar çuval kumaşı gibi kaba bir kumaştan yapılan beyaz renkli elbiseler dışında farklı renklerde ve iyi kumaştan elbise giyemezler. Çok zaman kendi evlerinden dahi atılarak dul kadın evlerine gitmek zorunda bırakılırlar. Düğünlere, eğlencelere,

yemeklere ve hatta aile toplantılarına dahi davet edilmeler. Yani İngilizler tarafından yanmaktan kurtulmuş da olsalar bu din mensubu dul kadınların toplumsal yaşamları sona erdirilmektedir. Sonra kadınların canını ve malını hiçe sayan bu dini siyasi emelleri için kullanan bir kısım insanlar çıkış İslâm dininin kadın haklarını çığnediği saçmalığından bahisle Batılı çevrelerde İslamofobiyi köรüklemeye çaba gösterirler.

Bir de unutulmaması gereken Hindu dini doğum yoluyla edinilen bir dindir. Yani bu din üzerine doğmamış bir insanın sonradan bu dine girip yüksek kastlara ulaşma imkânı yoktur. Bazlarının Hindistan'a gidip bazı özel dini kuruluşlarda eğitim alıp 'ruhani lider', 'yüce ruh', 'babu' ve 'yogi' gibi unvanlarla kendilerini bu dinin üst basamaklarına tırmanmış sanmaları sadece bir aldatmacadan ibarettir. Tüm bu unvanları Hindu dinin gerçek süreci içine girmeye çalışıklarında sona ermektedir.

Şimdi kendi içinde bu kadar insanlık dışı ayrımcılık unsurlarını içeren bir dinin başka din mensuplarına müsamaha göstermesi ne kadar beklenenebilir?

Hindu ırkçıları nazarında biz Müslümanlar, onların deyimiyle "Malîch" yani "çerçöp" ya da pisliğizdir. Hoş sadece biz değil Hristiyanlar da onlara göre "pisliktir" Hatta 20. Yüzyılın başlarında Hindu ırklığını yani Hindutva'yı bir doktrin hâline getirenlerin açıklamalarında Hz. İsa'ya dahi bir istisna tanınmamıştır. **[Jocobsen 2013: 389-393]**

Bugün Hindistan'da yönetimde olan BJP yani Hindistan Halk Partisi'nin emrinde Nazi SS ve Mussolini'ni Kara Gömlekler tugaylarından ilham alınarak organize olmuş silahlı Rashtria Swayamsevak Sangh-RSS (Ulusal Gönüllüler Birliği), Vishwa Hindu Parishad (Dünya Hindu Konseyi) ve Shiv Sena (İlah Şiva'nın Ordusu) gibi Hindutva doktrinine sıkı sıkıya sarılan örgütler vardır. **[Casolari 2000]** Bu şiddet yanlısı örgütler Hindistan'da Müslümanlar başta olmak üzere tüm azınlıklar üzerinde terör estirmektedir.

Bu örgütler işgalci yabancıların kalıntıları olduğunu düşündükleri Müslüman ve Hristiyanları kutsal anneleri Hindistan üzerinde yaşatmak istememektedirler ve ya dinini bırak ya Hindistan'ı terk et politikasını hızlı adımlarla uygulamaya devam etmektedirler.

Eğitimden tutun da iş dünyasına kadar bilinçli bir ayırmıcılığa tabi tutulan Müslümanlar, dünyanın en büyük inek eti ihracatçısı Hindistan'da kutsal ineği koruma evlerine toplanmış yüzlerce inek açıktan ve bakımsızlıktan ölüren inek öldürdü iftirasıyla polislerin gözü önünde linç edilmektedir.

Ne yazıkta ki bizler için akla hayale siğmaz, ütopik gelebilecek ve Hindistan gerçeğini Yoga felsefesi, ruhun yükseltilmesi, ahlaki değerlerin hiçe sayıldığı sınırsız kişisel özgürlük zanneden yada Bollywood filmlerinin ve Hint dizilerinin Hindistan'ın realitesi olduğu gibi bir ön kabullenmeye sahip bulunan bazı çevreler Hindistan'daki insanlık ayibi ve hatta insanlık suçu olan olayları duyunca bunları abartılı ve gerçek dışı ifadeler gibi değerlendirmektedir. Çünkü bu onların tahayyülerinde oluşturdukları Hindistan ve Hindu dini değildir. Binaenaleyh Hindistan'daki tüm insanlık dışı zulümlerine gözlerini, kulaklarını ve gönüllerini kapatan bazı çevreleri bir parça daldıkları rüyadan uyandırır ümidi ile Hindistan'ı yöneten Hindistan Halk Partisi (BJP) ve yönetim kadrosunun sadece birkaç ifadesini sıralayarak konuşmama son vermek istiyorum.

2002'de Guçerat Eyalet Başbakanı iken bir trende çıkan yangının Müslümanlar üzerine yıkılmasından sonra başlayan Müslüman katliamı sırasında ilk üç gün polisleri Hindu çetelerini engellememeleri emrini veren günümüz Hindistan Başbakanı Narendra Modi, durum kendisine Guçerat Katliamı ile ilgili soruyu "Müslümanlara bu tür olayların bir daha gerçekleşmeyeceği dersi verilmeli!" şeklinde yanıtlamıştır. Yine katliamdan kurtulanların toplandığı kamlara neden yardım edilmediği sorusunu ise "Sığınmacı kampları aslında çocuk üretme fabrikalarıdır. Nüfuslarını iki katına çıkarmaya çalışanlara bir ders verilmeli!" **[Dexter 2019]** diyerek nasıl korkunç bir zihniyete sahip bulunduğu açıkça ortaya koymuştur.

Günümüzde Uttar Pradeş Eyaleti Başbakanlığını yapan ve Narendra Modi'nin ardından Hindistan Halk Partisinin başına geçecek en kuvvetli adaylardan biri kabul edilen ve kendisi de bir Hindu din adamı olan Yogi Adityanath, seçim konuşmalarının birinde: "Müslümanlardan oy kullanma hakkını alacağız, onları ikinci sınıf vatandaş hâline getireceğiz!. Camileri

Hindu tapınaklarına çevireceğiz, minarelerden ezan yerine ‘Har Har Mahadeva’ (Şiva dertlerimden kurtar) sesleri yükselecek!” diye seçmenlerine söz vermiş, bununla da yetinmeyerek seçmenlerine “Müslüman kadınları mezarlarından çıkararak tecavüz edin!” **[The London Post 2017]** gibi duyduğunda insanın kanını dondurup bayağılıkta kışkırtıcı bir çağrıda bulunmuştur.

Tüm Hindistan Hindu Büyük Konseyi (All India Hindu Mahasabha) başkan yardımcısı Sadhvi Deva Thakur, bir kadı olmasına rağmen: “Hindular için bir tehdit teşkil eden nüfus artışlarını durdurmak için Müslümanların ve Hristiyanların sterilize edilmesi” **[India Today 2015/Asia News 2015]** yani kısırlaştırılmasını gerektiğini ifade etmiştir. Hoş bu yeni bir durum olmayıp geçen yıllarda devlet hastanelerine doğum için giden Müslüman kadınların haberleri olmadan ‘sterilize’ edildikleri yani kısırlaştırıldıkları haberleri basına yansımış, fakat bu haberler de birdenbire bıçakla kesilmiş gibi kısa bir sürede kesilmiştir.

Yine Hindistan Halk Partisi liderlerinden Rajeshwar Singh 2022 yılına kadar Hindistan’da ne bir Müslüman ne de bir Hristiyan kalacak diye gazetelere beyanatta bulunmuştur. **[Siasat]**

Hitleri ve Mussolini’yi kahraman kabul eden, Mahatma Gandhi’yi Pakistan’ın Babası ve hain diye aşağılayan ve Mahatma Gandhi’yi öldüren Nathuram Godse’yi milli kahraman ilân eden Hindutva savunucusu Hindistan Halk Partisi ile onun yan örgütleridir. İroniye bakın ki bu görüşteki Hindistan yönetiminin temsilcileri dünyanın birçok ülkesinde Mahatma Gandhi’yi kullanarak Keşmir’de yapılan zulümleri perdelemeye çalışmaktadır.

Hindistan Anayasasındaki 370 ve 35 A maddeleri ilga edilince Hindistan Halk Partisine mensup Haryana Başbakanı Manohar Lal: “Artık Keşmir’in Beyaz tenli kızlarını kolayca oğullarımıza alacağız!” **[The Hindu 2019]** diye gazetelere açıklama yapmış ve partililer Keşmirli kızlar bizim olacak diye bayram etmişlerdir.

Hindistan Hükümeti, işgali altındaki Cammu ve Keşmir’i üçe bölgerek birlik topraklarına katmış, Keşmir’in tüm özerkliğini kaldırılmış ve daha önce Hindistan vatandaşlarının taşınmaz mal alması yasağını

kaldırmakla kalmayıp Keşmir'de hizmet etmiş Hindistan asker, polis, özel kuvvet mensupları ve devlet görevlileri ve aile mensuplarına toprak dağıtma kararı almıştır. Bunun da anlamı kısa zamanda bölgeye on milyon civarında Hindu'nun yerleştirilmesidir ki bu Keşmir Müslümanlarını kendi öz vatanlarında azınlık durumuna düşürecektr. Yani Hindistan, İsrail'in Filistin'de uyguladığı işgal politikasının başka bir türevini Keşmir'de uygulamaya koymuştur.

Tüm bu olaylar ve ifadeleri gördükten sonra İşgal altındaki Keşmir'de bugün yapılanlara şaşırıyorum desem yalan olur. Tüm dünya kamuoyunun bu insanlık dışı girişimler karşısında sesini yükseltmesi insani bir yükümlülüktür. Fakat ne yazıktr ki çıkar hesapları her zaman olduğu gibi Keşmir konusundan da insani değerleri ezip geçmektedir.

Allah Taala tüm Keşmirli kardeşlerimize ve tüm dünyadaki mazlumlara yardım etmesini niyaz ederiz.

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Kashmir: Human and Political Dimensions

IMTIAZ KHAN¹

The struggle for Kashmir can be traced back to as early as 1931 when Abdul Qadeer gave a fiery speech at one of the famous shrines of Kashmir, opposing the Dogra rule which was imposed by British imperialistic forces on the region. Subsequently, when the trial began on July 13 of the same year, thousands of Kashmiris gathered at the courthouse in support of Abdul Qadeer. The mob which gathered there was peaceful and exhibited not a single streak of violence. But the police under the command of the Dogra regime fired live ammunition on the peaceful protesters and in the process 22 people from the protesters attained martyrdom. This day, every year is celebrated as martyr's day on both sides of the line of control until the year 2020, when the occupational government decided to exclude it from the list of state holidays. Notwithstanding this decision, the martyr's day was celebrated with a lot of zeal and utmost fervor throughout the world including Kashmir. Thus, the people brutally assassinated on July 13, 1931, were the first martyrs of the Kashmiri freedom movement.

In the year 1947, when the British government divided the Indian subcontinent into two states: India and Pakistan, the ground principle laid for this division was that the Muslim majority regions will be part of Pakistan, while Hindu majority areas will constitute the Indian state. There were three examples:

1. State of Junagadh, a Hindu majority area with a Muslim ruler.
2. State of Hyderabad, Hindu majority province with a Muslim ruler and
3. State of Jammu and Kashmir with 80% Muslim majority region ruled by Hindu maharaja.

Although the rulers of Junagadh and Hyderabad expressed their earnest desire to amalgamate with Pakistan, their pleas were not accepted

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as the wishes of the majority community were to be taken into consideration. Both these states ultimately had to accede to India.

Conversely, according to all the principles laid for the division of India, Jammu and Kashmir should have been part of Pakistan. However, in connivance with the British Empire Maharaja of Kashmir played a trick on the people, and due to their nefarious maneuverings, and the state was occupied by Indian forces. A Muslim majority district of Gurdaspur Punjab which was in the original maps of divided India (that were shown to Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan) was changed by Mr. Redcliffe, a point man responsible for the division of Indian subcontinent. It is presumed that this was done with the blessings of the viceroy Lord Mountbatten who enjoyed a personal relationship with Indian leader Jawahar Lal Nehru. The inclusion of Gurdaspur to the Indian state gave them a corridor to enter Kashmir.

Hari Singh, the Maharaja of Kashmir flew to Jammu where he arose flagrant communal passions as a result of which hundreds of thousands of innocent Muslims were brutally murdered by a wild Hindu mob while the rest who escaped the communal menace managed to flee to the newly created state of Pakistan. This was not a random incident, but a planned measure to change the Muslim majority character of the Jammu region. The Hindu Maharaja approached the Indian government and they sent their army to occupy Jammu and Kashmir by force. While this was going on, the Poonch regiment (Currently Azad Kashmir) had already liberated one-third of Jammu and Kashmir and declared independence in these areas.

India took the issue of Jammu and Kashmir to the United Nations where it was designated as a disputed territory about which the decision needs to be taken in future and the will of the people of the region has to be taken into consideration. The Indian Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru along with Kashmiri leader, Shiekh Abdullah addressed a massive gathering in the heart of Srinagar, (summer capital of Jammu and Kashmir) promising a plebiscite to people of Kashmir who will decide whether they want to accede to India or Pakistan or exist as an independent state.

It is very important to mention that from 1947 to mid of the decade of the 1950s, there was an immigration and customs office at Srinagar airport. Any non-state subject of Jammu and Kashmir traveling to the area had to get a temporary visa and customs clearance. The state had a chief executive called as Prime Minister and constitutional head named Sadar-e –Reyasat (President of the state). It had its flag, penal code, and Indian laws did not apply to the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

During the late 1950s and early sixties, there were innumerable parleys between Indian and Pakistani foreign ministers, in which the future of Kashmir was debated. However, it was apparent that India was dodging the issue and its sinister designs were coming to the fore. They dismissed the governments and dismissed chief executives at the drop of the hat. They held farce elections in the state and made sure that their handpicked men were included in the state legislature and people of their choice, who received patronage from the Indian government. These so-called local politicians were corrupted to the hilt and in the return, they ruled Kashmir with an iron hand and subdued any voice of dissent, and jailed and tortured any leader demanding the right of self-determination. Overall, the individuals who toed the Indian plan of action were left in charge and people who exhibited even semblance of dissent were eliminated.

In the early seventies, Jamaat –Islami, Kashmir especially one of its firebrand leader Syed Ali Shah Geelani served as a bulwark for Indian expansionism. He went from post to pillar to remind his commitment to the people of Kashmir and international organizations like the United Nations. This caused severe embarrassment to the Indian establishment and as a result, the only recourse for them was to put him in jail for prolonged periods and subjected him to severe physical and mental torture. This epitome of non-violence remains confined within the four walls of his house at the ripe age of 92. Similarly, another leader of the Kashmiri movement, Shabir Ahmed Shah, had to bear two decades of jail time at the hands of the Indian establishment. His jail term is compared to Nelson Mandela of South Africa and has been called a “prisoner of conscience” by international agencies.

Notwithstanding, the non-violent mode of resistance applied by leaders like Geelani and Shah, the Indian establishment made every attempt to crush their resistance by brute force. They continued to tighten the grip on Kashmir and made encroachments to article 370 which guaranteed that non-state subjects would not be entitled to buy the immovable property or apply for jobs in the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

In the late eighties and early nineties, young leadership in occupied Kashmir emerged who understood the urgency to reinvigorate the movement for the right to self-determination. The leadership represented by youth like Ashfaq Majeed, Mohammad Yaseen Malik, and many others emphasized the importance of launching the movement so that India is prevailed upon to come to the negotiating table and fulfill its international commitments. Indian government fortified the belief that it does understand or respect the movement of peaceful resistance and countered it with brutal force. They requisitioned additional forces and the direction was to crush the will of the people without giving any consideration to norms of human rights. The human rights abuses conducted by Indian occupation forces can fill volumes and they have been eloquently recorded by a human rights activist from Kashmir, Khurram Parvez. This 950-page document was released four years ago and Khurram deserves all the encomiums for his assiduous efforts to highlight flagrant human right violations of Indian occupation forces to light.

I intend to provide a snapshot of these violations to the reader of this document:

1. In the year of early 1990 Indian forces fired without any provocation upon a peaceful demonstration at Gawkadal Srinagar which led to the massacre of hundreds of people. The occupation forces descended to the lowest ebb of human decency and searched for the injured who were lying in the piles of bodies. If they found any individual who was still alive and shrieking with pain, they pumped live ammunition at point-blank range to make sure that nobody had a chance to live.

2. In May of 1990, Maulana Mohammad Farooq (Mirwaiz of Kashmir at that time) was martyred at his residence by agents of Indian intelligence agencies. As soon as the news spread people in huge numbers arrived and they took the body of the deceased Maulana and proceeded to Jamia Masjid where every Friday Maulana used to deliver Friday sermons. When the crowd had proceeded halfway, they were fired upon by occupation forces and about 300 people were martyred. The crowd ran from the shelter to shelter and many more people died in a stampede. There were piles of shoes left at the scene which depicted the kind of tragedy that had taken the place.
3. In the later months of 1990, soldiers intruded upon the marriage party traveling in the Anantnag district of South Kashmir. The occupation troops held the male folks at gunpoint and took the bride and her aunt forcibly into the fields where they were subjected to gang rape.
4. In the middle of 1990, the occupation forces belonging to the Rashtriya Rifles regiment entered the hamlet of dual village Kunan and Pushpora in Kashmir. The male population was taken at the gunpoint and collected some distance away from their homes. The women folk was subjected to gang rape for the whole night. A total of 80 women were sexually molested and the youngest was a 10-year-old girl while the oldest was eighty-five years of age. None of the perpetrators of this gruesome tragedy was made accountable and all of them went scot-free. A few years ago some of these women have been interviewed and many of them have developed severe medical problems and do not talk about the psychological stress they are undergoing. Five young lawyers have written a book “Don’t Forget Kunan Pushpora” in which they describe in detail the sordid incidents which these innocent women had to encounter.
5. In the year 2008, a young married woman along with her sister-in-law visited their orchard a small distance from their home (Shopian town) to pick up some fruit. On the way there was an army camp. Ladies were picked by the army personnel molested and thrown in

a nearby stream to make it appear as a drowning case. When the local population discovered the bodies, they raised a hue and cry and the town observed lockdown for two months. There was a sham inquiry that exonerated the culprits and the deaths were attributed to the drowning in the stream which was 3 feet deep. When the protests continued the husband of one of the deceased received death threats and he ultimately left the area along with his 3-year-old son and his whereabouts to date remain unknown.

6. In 2011, 11-year-old boy Tufail Mattoo during curfew was playing a board game outside his house. Indian soldiers passed by the lane connecting his house and caught hold of him. After beating the young boy to a pulp, one of the soldiers strangulated him by putting army boats on his throat. Tufail died on the spot leaving behind his wailing parents and siblings.
7. There are several reported cases between the year 2011 and 2014 when young boys were picked up and they fell victim to the trigger-happy occupation forces. In all of these cases, the forces denied their involvement, and no inquiry was ever launched.
8. In the year 2016, 22-year-old Burhan Wani who had joined the freedom movement was captured by the occupation forces and subsequently martyred. He was a bright student who aspired to become a doctor and loved to play cricket. A few years back, his innocent brother was tortured and killed by the army personnel. This incident drew Burhan to join the freedom struggle and via video clips, he appealed to the youth to join the freedom movement. Knowing his popularity with the common people of Kashmir, the Indian administration got unnerved and they imposed a dawn to dusk curfew to dissuade people to participate in his funeral. However, notwithstanding the harsh measures taken by Indian authorities, according to various press reports, there were 300,000 to 500,000 people who attended the funeral of this martyr. There were lots of people who had traversed long distances on foot to the utter dismay of the Indian government.

9. The martyrdom of Burhan Wani led to strong outrage and mass agitation was launched throughout Kashmir. The Indian authorities tried to repulse the movement with all the force at their disposal throwing all the norms of human rights values to the wind. Pellet guns were used and bullets were sprayed on innocent people. In one of the instances, during that time an 11-year-old girl named Insha, who was looking through the window received multiple bullets on her face, and as a consequence, her eyes were permanently damaged. This was not an isolated case and it has been reported that as many as 800 people fell victim to the pellet guns and the majority of them lost their vision. There was a severe shortage of ophthalmologists needed for the treatment of the victims. Kashmiri leadership appealed to international agencies like “Doctors without borders” for help but the Indian government firmly disallowed their entry. The occupation forces attacked hospitals and physically assaulted doctors and health care workers and in certain instances, even the patients were not spared.
10. On August 5th of 2019, the Indian government abrogated article 370 and 35A of the constitution which prohibited non-state subjects to buy a property or seek government jobs in the Indian occupied Kashmir. Additional 150,000 forces were airlifted to the region taking their number close to 900,000. Areas were barricaded and the internet connection was abolished. Schools and colleges were closed and the whole Kashmiri population was caged with no liaison with the outside world. About 10,000 to 15,000 Kashmiri youth have been picked up from their homes and lodged in different jails in India. It is reported that some of these youth are in their early teens. In the majority of cases, the parents do not have the resources to travel and they continue to remain oblivious about the welfare of their children. Altercations between the freedom fighters and occupation forces continue daily till the writing of this article. Every day, on average 8-9 Kashmiris are martyred and their bodies are not provided to their families. The mode of suppression which Indian forces have been using for the

last few years is that once they eliminate the freedom fighters, they raise the houses in the locality to the ground. In a recent incident in Nawakadal Srinagar, where Junaid Sehrai, son of a prominent political leader, Ashraf Sehrai was martyred, 15 houses were blasted after valuables like gold and cash were stolen. A similar operation was applied to several regions like one in Shopian where 9 people were martyred and 35 houses destroyed. In a very recent incident, a 65-year-old person along with his 3-year-old grandson was stopped and dragged out of the car and the person was shot at a point-blank range which was witnessed by the young child.

As mentioned, above the instances quoted here are the tip of the iceberg, a snapshot of what has been happening since 1990 in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. As stated earlier, in-depth documentation of the majority of these incidents has been published in Khurram Parvez's report. Overall, in these thirty years, 130000 to 140,000 people between the ages of 20 to 35 have been martyred. More than 15,000 women have been gang-raped. There are more than 10,000 missing people whose whereabouts are unknown. The fervent appeals by their families to the government of India and human rights organizations have fallen to deaf ears. Wives of some of these missing people are being mentioned as "half widows" because they are not aware of their spouses are living or have been killed. A few years ago, there were mass graves discovered in Kashmir. The person who found these mass graves is Dr. Angana Chaterjee, an American academician of Indian heritage. The scholar-activist deserves all the encomiums for launching a massive hunt based on some information and was helped by local lawyer and human right activist Parvez Imroze. When Indian authorities got wind of it, Dr. Chatterjee was stopped and deported to America. Dr. Chatterjee has unequivocally stated that what she has discovered is only the tip of the iceberg, according to her information many such mass graves exist throughout the region.

An important question which needs attention is that what it will take to bring India to negotiating table and make her stop the unabated human right abuses perpetrated on the innocent people of Kashmir. India has taken the position that Kashmir is a bilateral issue between India and Pakistan.

This is an outrageous stand as the fate of the people of Kashmir cannot be decided without their inclusion in the decision-making process. This has also been emphasized by the United Nations and other major powers of the world. India also expostulates that it does not want third party mediation on the issue of Jammu and Kashmir. The plea of the Indian government is that the problem can be resolved by mutual discussions between India and Pakistan. However, for the last 70 years, the negotiations between the two countries have been taking place and no tangible solution has been achieved. Since 2008, parleys between the two countries have come to a grinding halt as India accuses Pakistan of being involved in some bomb explosions which took place in some Indian cities. The fact these bomb blasts occur on the eve of the scheduled talks between the two countries raises many eyebrows. From the chain of events and miraculous coincidence of events, it is amply clear that India is dodging the issue and has no intention to resolve the problem which poses a severe risk to world peace.

Based on the protracted violent situation in Kashmir the world has to take cognizance before the two nuclear-powered nations reach the point of no return. A lot of hope of Kashmiris hinges on Pakistan, and the country has to quadruple its efforts to draw the attention of the superpowers and organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) towards the menacing problem which has reached catastrophic proportions. Just condemning the human rights violations or arranging the rallies in support of the cause will not cut the ice. Pakistan must receive full support from important countries like Turkey to evolve a strategy that can elucidate the path that can catapult to the resolution of the problem. This strategy should be evaluated periodically and the success and failures of the efforts measured.

The problem in the Kashmiri struggle for freedom is that the supporting countries have restricted it to certain dates of historical significance (like October 27 or February 5). These days should be celebrated with all the enthusiasm and fervor but for the rest of the year, they should not exhibit silence. The diplomats and politicians of all major political parties in Pakistan should huddle together and should have brainstorming sessions on the Kashmir issue. The time tested and

hackneyed modus operandi should be abandoned. National consensus on the Kashmir problem should be developed and important friendly countries like Turkey should be taken on board.

With an obstinate and uncompromising attitude of India, there are only two ways the goal of the right to self-determination can be achieved.

First is the full-fledged war between India and Pakistan which will lead to death and destruction not restricted to the subcontinent but according to one of the researchers published by an NGO from Holland can engulf one-third of the world population.

The second is to take punitive action and punish India economically unless they come with an open mind on the negotiating table. It is important to note that 65% of India's foreign reserves come from remittances from Gulf countries and all of them are members of OIC. About one-third of expatriates in UAE and Kuwait are from India who sends truckloads of money to India. Besides, there are huge and lucrative contracts offered to Indian companies. If it is unequivocally conveyed to India that depriving Kashmiris of their right of self-determination and inflicting severe human right abuses on the population can have appalling consequences, will force her to ponder seriously. The activity of OIC should not be restricted to introduce resolutions only but to take some practical measures which ameliorate the condition of Muslim Ummah suffering at the hands of imperialistic forces.

In the end, Dr. Imtiaz conveyed that time is of the essence as far as the Kashmir issue is concerned. We all know and it is all stated above that India abrogated article 370 and 35 A of the constitution. Non-Kashmiris are eligible to buy immovable property in Kashmir. In the last three weeks, they have issued domicile certificates to 35,000 Hindus from India. With the changed law, anybody who can show a 7-year residency in Kashmir can get this certificate. The tehsildars (magistrate) have been warned of grave consequences if they fail to issue these documents within 15 days of application.

Moreover, Dr. Imtiaz depicted today's story that the government of India is forcibly acquiring land to build 200,000 houses for the army

personnel and make them as domiciles of Kashmir. The sinister design of the Indian government is to change the demographic character of the region so that in the long-term if the plebiscite is held, the outcome will be in her favor.

The people of Kashmir are playing their part in the struggle by sacrificing their lives to get rid of the Indian occupation. They are waiting for the world powers, especially brotherly Muslim countries to play their role. As the Islamic saying goes that “whole Muslim Ummah is one body. If any part hurts all the body should feel the pain”. At present Kashmir is severely bruised, let us see when the other parts of the body respond to the pain.

Kashmir Issue: Regional and Global Dynamics

KHALID RAHMAN¹

Khalid Rehman made it clear about Kashmir is one of the oldest issues on the UN agenda. Although, India, Pakistan, and the Kashmiris are the key parties to the dispute, yet the territory of Kashmir is an UN-designated disputed international territory, and at stake is the plebiscite under the UN auspices for the right to self-determination of 14 million people living on that territory. As such it was never an internal issue of India and nor a bilateral issue between Pakistan and India. Consequently, the international status of the dispute should not be discussed just as a DIMENSION but something central and integral to this issue. Once we agree to this observation, it creates certain implications; key among these is that as a global citizen we all need to contribute, whatever little it could be for the Kashmiri people. Based on this premise He pointed out at least six important considerations, which highlight the need and the areas of contribution.

First and foremost, it is a human issue directly involving the future of around 14 million people; bigger than over 120 independent nations in today's world.

Second, gross Human Rights violations are taking place in Jammu and Kashmir, these cannot and should not be ignored.

Third, we need to remind ourselves that, based on international laws 'right to self-determination' is a basic right and thus an inevitable requirement of justice. Our aspirations and claims for justice create obligations on us to help Kashmiris in getting their fundamental right.

Fourth, the issue is on the UN agenda for more than seven decades and is a test of this global body which was created on the principle of multilateralism. It would be pertinent to recall here the resolution adopted by the apex body, on June 14, 2019. This resolution, recalling the spirit of

¹ Director General of Institute of Policy Studies, Pakistan

the establishment of the UN outlines the theme to commemorate the 75 years of UN establishment. It says, 'The Future We Want, the UN We Need: Reaffirming our Collective Commitment to Multilateralism.' So, addressing the Kashmir issue is a test of the Global body of its commitment to multilateralism.

The **Fifth** consideration is that if the Kashmir dispute is not addressed fairly and justly, the issue has the potential of leading to a war with nuclear implications which would certainly have extremely dangerous regional and global consequences.

Sixth, the dispute has a religious dimension as well. Muslims, all over the world share the same religion with the large majority of Kashmiri people; and finally, there is an additional consideration for Pakistan and Pakistanis, that it is an unfinished agenda related to the creation of their country.

In this backdrop, the question about the present situation in Kashmir may be seen in two ways: in the perspective of last around 11 months i.e., post-5 August 2019 when India reinvaded Kashmir and annexed it; or in the context of the last 75 years of UN existence.

Whichever way we look at it, it conveys three key messages: one, consistent denial on the part of India to fulfill its commitment to the Kashmiris & the world; two, consistency and continuity of the Kashmiri resistance movement against India occupation despite the extreme level of repression; and three, the Failure of the Global system to redress the injustices meted out to the Kashmiri people and to prevent India from its illegitimate moves including gross human rights violations in IOJ&K.

Throughout the last, over seven decades and now by its moves on and after 5 August (2019) India has challenged the international community by defying the global rule-based system. It has constitutionally annexed and divided the IOJ&K, arrested all its leaders, and is now engaged in settling armed Indian people in the occupied territory to change the composition of the population of the state.

What may happen now? Kashmiris have time and again proved that they are not going to compromise on their fundamental right of self-determination. It suggests that they will continue to resist the unjust Indian moves and they are not ready to be part of the Occupier India. On the other hand, the Indian government under Modi seems to have played its last gamble; it would like to continue to insist on its position and strategy of repression.

So, what can be done? This brings us to the question of global governance and its paradigm as well as the role of the international community. The response from the global community is the key.

One is encouraged to see a global response, much more to what it used to be during the last several years. Occasional statements by some of the top world leaders including the Chinese, Turkish, Malaysian as well as the Iranian leadership are extremely important in this regard. Some members in parliaments including British and EU parliaments, a few Congressmen, and a couple of others have raised their voices against Indian atrocities in IOJ&K. Informal sessions of the UN Security Council (UNSC) have also been held. Some other top leaders though were not straightforward, but their remarks do communicate a sense of urgency; UN Sec. General has also spoken time and again. Civil Society and HR organizations including the highest body UN Human Rights Council (UNHRC) and many even in India have articulated their concerns. While the Indian government has made every effort to hide the facts, many in the International Media are forthright in depicting what is happening on the ground.

All this is encouraging but is this enough? Not! A sustainable and just solution requires a lot more to be done by the international community in general and by all those who seek a better world. Those who are sincerely interested in a global governance system that is genuinely based on rule of law need to ramp up their efforts. While this is a long journey, there is an immediate need to put enough pressure on India to a) immediately lift restrictions on the movement of people; b) release all political prisoners; c) remove restrictions on communication and withdraw its security forces back to Barracks and then out of J&K; d) stop any moves

to change the demographic composition of the J&K population and ultimately work out modalities for Plebiscite under the UN auspices to the Kashmiri people.

For putting such pressure, well-coordinated, multidimensional, short, medium- and long-term strategies are concurrently needed in all areas including but not limited to political, economic, strategic, and media to name a few.

In this regard, it is necessary to realize that the role of the governments is important but at the end of the day, it is the public opinion that would compel them to take a position. There is an urgent need to educate and mobilize global public opinion. In this regard it has to be realized that Kashmiris have little opportunity to tell their stories; they are surrounded by 900,000 armed forces and living under a host of draconian laws; add to that are the information lockdown and extreme restrictions on the freedom of expression that the so-called 'largest democracy in the world' has imposed on them. Internet, after being remained closed for six months is operating only at 2G, which does not allow for any useful communication; there is a need to take up the job on their behalf.

Meanwhile, it has to be stressed that, in mobilizing the public opinion, the Focus should remain on the Right of Self Determination and the indigenous character of the resistance movement while promoting the cause of the Kashmiri people. The Role of Pakistan, being a party to the dispute and situated in the immediate neighborhood of the Kashmiris is extremely important. However, for an issue that is international both in its nature and its implications, every member of the international community is responsible to play its role. I would like to stress that an overemphasis on bilateralism and dialogue between Pakistan and India on the Kashmir issue by various governments and organizations is nothing but a way of avoiding and escaping from their human and international responsibilities.

Thus, to sum up, the Kashmir dispute stands as one of the most pressing issues in the international scenario. It is a test for all those who claim to be peace-loving and champions of human rights, be they individuals, communities, nations, or global institutions.

Who Can Stop India's Atrocities in Kashmir?

MERVE ŞEBNEM ORUÇ¹

Merve visited Azad Jammu and Kashmir, the Pakistan-controlled side of the disputed territory as a journalist last year with a Turkish delegation, and all the people he met with there were talking about the RSS, its history, and its ideology. He had heard about the RSS before, but according to him that it was his fault that he didn't pay enough attention. What he saw in Azad Jammu and Kashmir that from the people on the street to the prime minister and president of the former fighters, they were aware of the fact that the RSS is now more powerful than ever. And He shared their concerns.

The RSS, which is the acronym, Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, was established in 1925. It was an extremist right-wing, Hindu nationalist organization.

The RSS still stands today, and it is the world's largest voluntary organization; its political extension, the BJP party is the largest political party in the world. India's current Prime Minister Narendra Modi is a member of the BJP and the RSS.

The RSS ideology is based on racial purity, racial superiority of the Hindu race. The RSS political philosophy is based on the principles of "Hindutva" which means the supremacy of a religious-ethnic Hindu state and implementation of hardcore Hindu principles. The model state for the Hindutvas was Nazi Germany in the past and it has not changed.

Merve recalled that Mahatma Gandhi, who is a nationalist was assassinated by another nationalist, and extreme nationalist. Godse, his killer, was a member of the RSS. When he was arrested, he said that Gandhi was tolerant of Muslims.

As it is known, Kashmir has been caught up in a 73 year-long conflict. It is one of the world's longest ongoing conflicts since the painful

¹ Daily Sabah, Journalist and Broadcaster, Turkey.

division of Pakistan and India. This is related to India's policy based on the RSS ideology on a large scale, and the RSS is still standing.

On the other hand, the Kashmir crisis was one of the first for the U.N. It has been 72 years since the Kashmir dispute was first brought to debate in the U.N., but a solution has yet to be reached.

Today, there are 11 Security Council resolutions for a free and impartial plebiscite under which the Kashmiri people could decide their future. However, India doesn't just block the way but also uses violent methods to continue its illegal occupation in Kashmir. New Delhi alleges that the Kashmir issue is its internal matter and uses the argument of fighting terrorism while Kashmiris are fighting for the freedom that they deserve.

Since August 5 last year, when New Delhi suddenly revoked Article 370, along with 35A of the Indian constitution, which gave a special status to the Indian-occupied Jammu and Kashmir, the situation inside the disputed territory is way beyond alarming. These articles are critical for a plebiscite under the U.N.'s auspices. India has put Indian occupied Jammu and Kashmir under total lockdown, along with severe restrictions in the region after this. The deployment of around 200,000 additional troops, which makes the number of Indian occupation forces in Jammu and Kashmir 700,000, makes Jammu and Kashmir the most militarized zone and largest prison in the world today.

Since Pakistan and India are two nuclear powers, experts have already begun to calculate the effects of a possible war such as how many million people will die and how many billion people will suffer in the aftermath if they go to war. Pakistan is, therefore, trying to mobilize the international community and persistently using diplomacy; but as India gets bolder, the risks increase day by day.

Merve didn't want to be pessimistic, but he had to be honest. He doesn't believe the U.N. would do, could do anything regarding the Kashmir dispute. So, asking the UN to do something is not working. If the UN could do something, it would have done it already.

What can be done to change the situation in Kashmir, or to prevent worse, an all-out war between India and Pakistan.

The Kashmir crisis has attracted attention from numerous actors inside and outside of the affected region from time to time. But who can come forward to stop this?

China?

Yes, Jammu and Kashmir border this superpower. It is important to note that China sees India as a strong economic competitor. That's why in the context of China's large-scale "One Belt – One Road" infrastructure project, Pakistan serves as an important strategic partner. China also wants to balance the U.S. which supports India. So, China backs Pakistan, but also it has already a direct role in the conflict, it is already in the game. It looks for its interests. So, it cannot be neutral.

What about the US?

India says that Pakistan is also playing a negative role in Afghanistan, fostering terrorist activity and hosting groups like the Taliban in the so-called "Tribal Zone".

However, Pakistan has played an important role in peace talks between the US and the Taliban which can be crucial in restoring stability in Afghanistan. If Pakistan can exert more pressure on the Taliban to carry on the agreement with the United States as part of the Afghanistan peace process, will Washington, in return, help Pakistan handle the Kashmir crisis? But the U.S also has a direct role in the conflict. Since it is backing India against China in the region, it cannot be trusted.

So, who would be the best mediator?

Turkey has raised concerns about the escalations of tensions and stated its readiness to contribute to resolving the conflict all the time.

However, because of Turkey's historically close friendship with Pakistan, and since it is a Muslim country, Ankara, as is the case regarding Palestine, will be criticized for that it has more sympathy for the Muslim population. They will say that Turkey is not objective.

What about Iran?

Iran is another regional player with a stake in the Kashmir crisis.

Tehran is backing Pakistan but also it is pursuing its economic interests in large and far-reaching projects on a regional scale.

The transition of the Indo-Pakistani conflict into an open conflict would heavily complicate the multilateral and bilateral economic projects, in which Iran participates such as the North-South International Corridor or Indian-Iranian gas pipeline. Iran, having good relations with both Pakistan and India, would be motivated to negotiate for peace following its economic interests and might therefore serve as a good mediator for the conflict.

However, Iran is the greatest enemy of the U.S. And as a superpower and the ruling country of the World, would Washington let that happen?

It will not...

What about Russia? Moscow needs to protect its economic interests with all cooperative countries under the scope of the international projects such as BRICS, SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organization), “One Belt – One Way”, International North-South Transport Corridor, etc.

However, Russia’s Kashmir stance is influenced by neither India nor Pakistan, but by China. Unfortunately, Russia and China are not on the same side on this matter.

So, what has to be done?

Caught in the middle of power struggles, every country is looking for its benefits unless there is something that threatens all. What can threaten all other than the risk of a nuclear war? Pakistan says that it will never start a war and adds that it will not take a step back if India starts one.

Since nuclear war politics is based on deterrence, what is happening between Pakistan and India over Kashmir has become some kind of status-quo, something like a zero-sum game.

So, what if Pakistan does more than asking the world to stop India? What if it shows its muscles? Not to India, but the whole world. Please do not mistake me, I am just talking about putting maximum pressure on the international community to convince them to get into action by showing that Pakistan has the power and the determination to confront India instead of asking the world to do something. What if it reminds the world that it is a nuclear power, too? What if it emphasizes, stresses, underlines the possibility of a nuclear war more if India is not stopped. And what if it shows the world that it is very serious.

Mevre gave an example. After a decade of trying to make the world understand the possible threats which would eventually spill out from Syria, and after it happens, Turkey said enough is enough. The ISIS terror, the PKK terror, the chaos in Syria and Syrian dictator Bashar al-Assad regime's brutality affected Turkey more than any country while the Syrian refugees that Turkey hosts reached 4.5 million. Since the international community is blind and deaf, Turkey finally decided to run the show. He thanked the determination of Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Turkey launched three ground operations in Syria and ensured Turkey's safety and security. Now it is in Libya, in the East Mediterranean too, to protect its interests. Some may say that Pakistan is not as powerful as Turkey, its economy is more fragile, etc, etc. But Turkey also has done all while it has been threatened with economic sanctions, political isolation, even being kicked out of NATO. And Turkey does not have nuclear weapons. Merve suggestions were not meant that Pakistan does what Turkey did such as launching a ground operation in Syria. But showing the world that you are ready and that you will not wait anymore is the new way of diplomacy. This is compelling diplomacy. Getting to work on such a critical issue is the only way of showing the world that something has to be done in today's world. This is the only way of saying: "If you do not do what is necessary, then I will do."

If Pakistan acts like this, that will be a reminder, a message to the world. The globe will immediately give its attention to Kashmir, just like it did after Pakistan shot down two Indian fighter jets. The Kashmir issue will hit the headlines, and no one will be able to ignore it.

Merve was sorry for not being politically correct. But he maintained that we are living in an era of Trumps, the global institutions are collapsing, the multilateral relations are not working, and the U.N. is not effective. And we are seeking solutions.

Here in this world; unfortunately, you are not asking for it, you are taking it. He said it once again: “Pakistan has to show its muscles. Because no one will and can start saving the Kashmiris except Pakistan”.

Way Ahead to Settle Kashmir – Regional and International Dimensions

MUBEEN SHAH²

To settle Kashmir, there is a need to speak about the present reality of Kashmir.

KASHMIR'S PRESENT REALITY

There is and has been a strong movement for freedom by the people of Kashmir through the RIGHT TO SELF DETERMINATION which has been guaranteed by the United Nations through different resolutions on the matter beginning numbers 47 to numbers 122 passed starting from the year 1948 the most important ones, being a free and impartial plebiscite.

At present, three powerful outside forces are standing in the way of this freedom of the Kashmir citizens: India, Pakistan, and to a limited, yet growing sense, China.

Pakistan and China, we as Kashmiris are sure will decide to settle Kashmir as per the aspirations of the Kashmiri people, while India is putting all impediments to implement the plebiscite, they have agreed to in the United Nations

Although the various outside forces have their reasons for maintaining their hold on geographical areas of Kashmir, thus denying the freedom necessary for Kashmir's people, they must recognize that in the long run, this freedom will come about. Just look at the current and past events throughout history.

South Asia can be secured only if Kashmir is peaceful and tranquil. This was already told yesterday by Turkey's ruling Justice and Development (AK) Party lawmaker Ali Sahin also and I emphasize it more. That tranquility cannot be ensured through the barrel of the gun.

² Dr., Former Director of the Kashmir Chamber, Malaysia.

Peace in the region is possible only when the legitimate aspirations of the people concerned are acknowledged and honored by all the parties concerned. Kashmiris are not asking for the moon.

Like every other nation, we yearn for democracy, rule of law, human rights, and good governance. I take the opportunity here to thank Mr. Ali Sahin for his statement yesterday that “Children of Srinagar are the children of Ankara. Women of Kashmir valley are the women of Anatolia. Tears of the Kashmiri mothers are the tears of Turkish mothers.” And hope that this is the view of all countries who believe to work for the self-determination of Kashmir

Dr. Mubeen doesn’t want Kashmiris to be a bone of contention for the nuclear-armed countries. Rather he suggested that we will be an excellent bridge for all the peoples of the region regardless of their ideologies. After all, Kashmiris were on the ancient silk route hosting caravans from different places resulting in well being all around.

Dr. Mubeen held ourselves responsible for the abysmal poverty of the region because all scarce and precious resources of the region are dumped in the arms race. Kashmir has illiteracy, disease, and malnutrition because of arms race-only to subjugate them.

It is time that Leaf Grants ensue for Kashmiris denied rights, guaranteed by the UN charter, sanctified by relevant UNSC resolutions, international covenants regarding various rights— political, civil, economic, social, and cultural and 4th Geneva Conventions.

History of the last 73 years has proven that Kashmiris will not surrender their rights no matter what ploys are used to tame them. The urge for freedom is embedded in the DNA of all Kashmiris.

Kashmiris continue to suffer physically, economically, mentally, and are rendering enormous sacrifices to win our freedom.

The world has to understand that Kashmiris have got lockdowns of 3000 days in the last 30 years and the people of the world realise now what a lockdown is like by facing lockdowns during COVID 19.

What Dr. Mubeen Shah wants is as a Kashmiri right to self-determination who has suffered in various ways including the internment of 4 months in a cell in Agra jail after they removed the 370 and 35 A of their constitution and had been booked for Sedition on a Facebook post which was advising people of Kashmir to put a collective fight against ‘settler-colonialism’ of India after they started issuing Domicile certificates.

1. RIGHT TO SELF DETERMINATION

Guaranteed by the United Nations through different resolutions on the matter beginning numbers 47 to numbers 122 passed starting from the year 1948 the most important ones, being of a free and impartial plebiscite.

2. STOPPAGE OF DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE

India should stop any moves towards changing the demographic structure of Indian Administered Kashmir as they are illegal and in violation of international law, particularly the 4th Geneva Convention.

3. HALT HUMAN RIGHT VIOLATIONS

India should halt its human rights violations, stop indiscriminate use of force including the use of pellet guns, lift the unabated military siege and inhuman lockdown, repeal its draconian emergency laws, allow the exercise of fundamental freedoms, and release all illegal detainees;

4. RELEASE OF PRISONERS

The Indian govt needs to release all prisoners without any delay, particularly those who have been taken under preventive detention after 5th August 2019.

The whole of Kashmir has been aptly described in an article as a “Crisis Constitutionalism, Permanent Emergency and the Amnesias of International Law in Jammu and Kashmir”

Unfortunately, in India in the case of Kashmir, the courts have become an extension of the executive and this law of PSA has been used on everyone and everybody, where the highest Indian court has also failed us as the basic thing of individual liberty, has been compromised and in case of Kashmir even their directions.

Now after discussing these points Dr. Mubeen put forward the

REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL DIMENSIONS

He expects all nations devoted to justice, equity, democracy, and fair play to join their struggle for freedom. It would be a negation of their conscience and political ethos to barter away their rights at the altar of trade considerations to our oppressors.

Keeping above in view and the Principals involved in the above there are many grey areas as it is not an ideal world and there is a see the view of the regional countries first and then, in turn, the world.

We have to understand that in everything particularly in the case of Kashmir each regional country will think through its national interest first and then other things.

Out of the extended region of Asia and the Middle East besides Central Asia which Dr. Mubeen considered the regional area of theirs as they have been connected to this area for centuries which unfortunately got blocked after 1947 how many countries support them in their Endeavour?

He thinks a majority of them led by China, Pakistan, and Turkey openly support us while others have still not come out in the open.

The latest communiqué of the OIC has given hope that it will be a start of the settlement of Kashmir based on truth and Haq and if we go through the points particularly which have been decided will be known to everyone like

a) Rescind its unilateral and illegal actions, and allow the Kashmiri people to freely exercise their right to self-determination through an UN-supervised plebiscite; (**RIGHT TO SELF DETERMINATION**)

b) India halt its human rights violations, stop indiscriminate use of force including the use of pellet guns, lift the unabated military siege and inhuman lockdown, repeal its draconian emergency laws, allow the exercise of fundamental freedoms, and release all illegal detainees; (**HALT HUMAN RIGHT VIOLATION**) (**RELEASE OF PRISONERS**)

c) India stop any moves towards changing the demographic structure of IOJ&K, as they are illegal and in violation of international law, particularly the 4th Geneva Convention. (**STOPPAGE OF DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE**)

d) India provide unhindered access to the OIC, IPHRC and UN Fact-Finding Missions, OIC Secretary General's Special Envoy for Jammu and Kashmir, and international media to investigate into human rights violations in IOJ&K;

What needs to be done?

Keeping in view that the situation is dynamic all the time there is a need to do the following Breaking the status quo in favour of Kashmiris

India has broken the status quo which was there from 1947 on 5th August 2019 when they took away the 370 and 35-A articles of their constitution which were giving a nominal autonomy which had been diluted already except that Kashmiris still enjoyed a guarantee on ownership of land and domicile reservation for Kashmiris which now is removed completely by a change in laws which has given rise to the fear and certainly a possibility of demographic change which is a fact of life in Palestine and will become a fact in Kashmir soon.

So how to change all this in favour of Kashmiris.

Dr. Mubeen suggested the following:

1. Being a person who has been connected with the economy of Indian administered Kashmir, he advocated from the day, he became President Kashmir Chamber of Commerce & Industry in 2006. Indian Govt declare their side of Kashmir as a Free economic zone which converted into a demand for declaration for the whole of Jammu & Kashmir as a FREE ECONOMIC ZONE. As the President of the Joint Chamber of both sides of Kashmir (JKJCCI) in which besides the Kashmir chamber, they had the Jammu chamber as well as AJK chamber, he took the opportunity of the platform to advocate the Govt of Pakistan to declare WHOLE OF AJK A FREE ECONOMIC ZONE and not specific areas as Special Economic Zone as presently done.

With its natural connection with CPEC it will make a difference to the whole AJK and at the same time give hope of thinking out of the box as the solution to KASHMIR by advocating the declaration of the whole of J&K as a FREE ECONOMIC ZONE which will help the cause internationally as well and break the status quo. The Pakistan Govt through its friends and countries like Saudi Arabia, UAE, and the USA who have good relations with India can push India for declaring their side also with the same status. This model of mine is now further relevant by the action of the Chinese govt to safeguard the CPEC as everybody believes the recent incursions in Ladakh point to and the region, as well as the world, can not afford the risk of nuclear war not only between India and Pakistan but now between China and India. This will be a win-win situation for everyone particularly for the 65.46% of the human population living in China (31.35%, 1.42 billion), India (29.72% 1.35 billion) Pakistan (4.39% .20 billion).

Dr. Mubeen Shah has written papers on it on his blog Kashmir “THE ULTIMATE OASIS” as long back as 2015 <https://kashmirultimateoasis.wordpress.com/2017/01/08/kashmir-the-ultimateoasis/> and once CPEC becomes operative, He wrote a document on the same impact of CPEC to explain the above

concept <https://economykashmir.home.blog/2020/04/26/impact-of-china-pakistan-economic-corridor-on-kashmir/>

2. If the above is not possible then Pakistan has to declare the AZAD KASHMIR GOVT (AJK) INDEPENDENT IN ALL RESPECTS IN MUZAFFARABAD to fight the freedom war and to get it recognized like Palestine with the AJK govt representing the voice of the Kashmiri people
3. If Pakistan has reservations on the second option the third option is to declare a J&K govt in exile while having representation from the AJK govt along with people from the NRK community in a country that support Kashmir like Turkey or Malaysia.

All the above are important to take things forward and which need to be done urgently like

- Approaching organisations like INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE AND INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT AS SUGGESTED BY LORD NAZIR Yesterday It is important that Pakistan or regional countries who support us need to go to the ICJ for Kashmir regarding war crimes against Kashmiris which is a disputed area as well as explore the possibility of taking our issue of Public Safety Act PSA detentions and other human rights.

One of the worst lawless laws is the PSA under which Kashmiris are reeling and the application of this law on civil society activists which include lawyers, businessmen, doctors, teachers, etc is the reason Kashmiris are not able to even dissent and speak out against the laws they are applying.

- Implement and work for the decisions taken in the latest communique of the OIC as stated already time is of the essence and it needs to be emphasized that by a dedicated team and people focused on getting these implemented.
- KASHMIRI BDS movement against India

“Boycotts, Divestment and Sanctions” movement against India over its atrocities in Kashmir.

This is an important action for which we need to be planned, & execute as we know this is going to affect India's Economy and is now critical. Although the honourable President of AZAD KASHMIR MR Masood Khan has been suggesting it for a certain time for specific things I feel it has to be across the board and I am encouraged by seeing yesterday a news report where 250+ prominent South Africans call for sanctions to stop the annexation of Israel under the BDS movement of Palestine against Israel. Let us use our Kashmiris Diasporas to peacefully protest the corporates all over the world to stop trade, investment in India while the governments to impose sanctions and war crime cases against security officers who have done these war crimes in Kashmir so that they are made accountable.

NEED OF INTERNATIONAL ICONS IN ENTERTAINMENT / SPORTS FIELDS

There is also a need to have international icons in the entertainment/sports fields to communicate our true and justified narrative to the world just like a song has been recently created by Turgay Evren “Kashmir is my name”

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/13zAOylQYowWUx0V1cFyonO565epdHSCO/view?usp=drivesdk>

The Kashmir Problem from a Journalist's Perspective

Bir Gazeteci Gözüyle Keşmir Sorunu

RIZA YAŞAR¹

Çok Bilinmeyenli Bir Denklem: Keşmir

Bugün Keşmir sorununu anlayabilmek için çok bilinmeyenli bir denklemin bilinmeyenlerini anlamamız gerekiyor. Keşmir'i görmezden gelen ya da yanlış bir bakış açısıyla yaklaşan Empyreal ülkeleri, ABD kurucu aklı da diyebileceğimiz İngiliz siyasetini, uluslararası kamuoyunun reflekslerini, Pakistan ve Hindistan'ın tavırlarını anlayamadan, Filistin'de neler olduğunu bilmeden, Keşmir sorununu anlayamayız.

Bugünü Anlamak İçin Dünü Hatırlamak

Aslında hep var olan Keşmir'i, son zamanlarda sıkça duyar olduk. Güney Asya'da Pakistan ve Hindistan'ı karşı karşıya getiren söz konusu bölge, 'yılan hikâyesi'ne dönüşmüş durumda.

Ortadoğu'da ve Afrika'da yapıldığı gibi masa başlarında belirlenen sınırlardan Asya'nın da nasibini almasıyla patlamaya hazır bir bombanın fitili olarak değerlendirilebilir, Keşmir.

'Güneş batmayan ülke' benzetmesiyle sömürgeciliği açıkça ilke edinen İngiltere'nin bölgenin demografik ve coğrafi yapısını gözetmeksızın Hindistan-Pakistan sınırında bulunan Keşmir'i bağımsız yapıda bırakması, istikrarsızlık adına yapılmış en büyük şeytani hamle olarak söylenebilir.

Nüfusunun yüzde 90'ına yakını Müslüman olan Keşmir'in Pakistan'a mı yoksa Hindistan'a mı katılacağı kararı Keşmir halkına bırakıldı. Hâlbuki diğer bölgelerde halkın büyük çoğunluğu Müslüman olanlar Pakistan'a, Hindu olanlar ise Hindistan'a bırakılmıştı.

Özetle o dönemde, Keşmir halkı Müslüman olması nedeniyle doğal bir refleks göstererek Pakistan'a bağlanma kararı alsa da Keşmir Prensi

¹ On4 Tv, Journalist and Broadcaster.

Mahajara Hari Singh, bölgenin Hindistan'a bağlanmasıne karar verdi. Halkın Prens'e karşı isyanına Pakistan'dan destek verilmesiyle de bölge savaş alanına dönmüş ve Hindistan'ın asker göndermesiyle sonuçlanmıştır. Pakistan'ın, Hindistan'ın askeri adımlına karşı adım atmasıyla da bölge ikiye bölünmüş oldu. Pakistan ve Hindistan arasında yaşanan 4 savaştan üçü ise Keşmir nedeniyle meydana çıktı. 1962 yılında yaşanan Çin-Hindistan savaşı sonrasında da Çin sürece aktif olarak dâhil olması bölgeyi İngiltere'nin istediği gibi bilinmez bir yola sevk etti. Pakistan BMGK kararının uygulanması ve Keşmir'de referandum yapılmasını talep ederken, Hindistan ise halkın büyük çoğunluğunun Müslüman olması nedeniyle kararın Pakistan lehine çıkacağını düşünerek karşı çıktı.

Keşmir krizi, şuan iki nükleer güç olan Pakistan ve Hindistan'ın aynı masaya oturmasının önündeki en büyük engel durumunda. Her ne kadar iki ülke Şangay İşbirliği Örgütü üyesi olsa da ticari anlamda sıkı ilişkileri bulunmuyor. Siyasi ilişkilerinde ise Pakistan Hindistan'ı işgalci, Hindistan Pakistan'ı ise terör destekçisi olarak suçluyor. Çin ise mevcut konjonktürde hem kriz yaşanmasını istemiyor hem de Keşmir'i terk etmek...

Suların giderek ısnadığını ve Hindistan üzerinden ABD-İsrail tarafından çevrelendiğinin farkında olan Pekin yönetimi, çevrelemeyi azaltmanın yolunun Pakistan'a yakınlaşmaktan geçtiğini düşünüyor. Böyle bir çevrelemenin orta vadede ekonomik ve askeri anlamda ciddi bedelleri olacağının farkında olan Pekin yönetimi, Pakistan ile askeri ve ekonomik birçok anlaşma yapmış durumda.

Hindistan'ın Artan İsrail Ve Suudi Arabistan İlişkisi

Toprakları içerisinde yaşayan sadece Müslüman sayısının Pakistan nüfusundan fazla olmasının büyük bir güç olduğunun farkında olan Hindistan, Pakistan'a karşı, her türlü işbirliğine açık olduğunu attığı adımlarla gösteriyor.

Müslüman nüfusunun fazlalığı hem İsrail'in hem de Suudi Arabistan'ın istahını kabartmış durumda. İkili görüşmelerimde birçok

Hintli uzman, İsrail ve Suudi Arabistan ile hem askeri hem ekonomik hem de istihbari anlamda çok üst seviyede işbirliği yapıldığını açıkça ifade etti.

Suudi Arabistan'ın Pakistan'la da sıkı ilişkilerinin olduğu biliniyor. Azad Keşmir'in başkenti Muzafferabad'da Suudi Arabistan'ın yaptırdığı çok büyük bir okulun olması da tesadüf değil elbette. Çok sayıda medresenin olduğu Pakistan'da Suud rejiminin, tekfirci düşünceyi empoze edecek adımlara atması Pakistan'ı ileriki dönemde zor duruma düşürebileceğini düşünmekteyim. Vahhabi-Tekfirci düşüncenin beslendiği Suudi Arabistan'ın, Pakistan'la sıkı ilişkileri Pakistan'ın aleyhine dönerek, Hindistan'ın eline koz vereceğini öngörmektedir. Çünkü Suud destekli radikal düşüncelerin Pakistan'daki medreselerden çıkışması, ABD ve İsrail tarafından Çin'e karşı desteklenen Hindistan'ın "terörle mücadele ediyoruz" söylemine dayanak oluşturacaktır.

Nitekim radikal terörist grupların Pakistan'dan çıktığını ve Hindistan'daki Müslümanların hiçbir zaman terörize olmadığını savunan Hintliler, Cammu Keşmir'de de tekfirci terör ile mücadele ettiklerini iddia ediyor.

Asya'daki Filistin: Keşmir

Şunu da unutmamak gerekiyor ki 1948'den beri işgalin pençesinde yaşam mücadeleleri veren Filistin'in izdüşümü yaşanıyor Asya'da. Aynı Filistin'de olduğu gibi Keşmir'de de demografik yapı değiştiriliyor, Müslümanlara yönelik nefret saldırıları sıradanlaşıyor, keyfi tutuklamalar ve gözaltılar artıyor, dünya ise sadece izliyor!

Hindistan kontrolünde bulunan Cammu Keşmir, sık sık uygulanan sokağa çıkma yasağı ve kısıtlamalar nedeniyle açık cezaevine dönüşmüş durumda! Tıpkı Gazze gibi...

Kendi anayasasına bile aykırı olmasına karşın Cammu Keşmir'in özel statüsünü kaldırın Hindistan, bölgenin HindulAŞMASI için kapıları sonuna kadar açmış durumda. Tıpkı İsrail işgal rejiminin tüm Filistin'i Yahudileştirmeye çalışması gibi...

Toprağını Hint işgaline ve zulmüne karşı savunan gruplar ise terör yaftası yiyor. Tıpkı Filistin'i İsrail'e karşı savunan Hamas gibi...

Gençleri ‘terörize’ ederek varlığını kalıcı hale getirmeyi hesap eden Hint yönetimi, gece baskınlarıyla 12-13 yaşlarında çocukların gözaltına alıyor, günlerce işkence uygulayıp sonra serbest bırakıyor. Tıpkı İsrail’ın Beytullahim’de, Nablus’ta yaptığı gibi...

Hindistan kontrolünde bulunan Cammu Keşmir’de doğup, Azad Keşmir’e doğru akan nehirler ise Azad Keşmirli çiftçilerin korkulu rüyası olmuş durumda. Nehirler üzerinde kurulan barajlarla suyu kontrolüne alan Hint hükümeti, Azad Keşmirli çiftçilere ya hiç su vermiyor ya da baraj kapaklarını sonuna kadar açarak tarım arazilerini göle çeviriyor. Böylece bölgenin tek geçim kaynağı olan tarıma en büyük darbe vurulmuş oluyor. Tıpkı Batı Şeria’da zeytin ağaçlarının sökülmesi gibi...

Keşmir ile ilgili BM’nin 18 farklı kararına ve insan hakkı ihlallerinin belgelenmesine rağmen, demokrasi naraları atan o ülkeler, birtakım endişelerle Hindistan’a ses dahi yükseltmiyor. Tıpkı İsrail aleyhinde onlarca karar olmasına rağmen ses çıkartmadıkları gibi...

Soru şu: Bunlar tesadüf mü? Tabi ki hayır!

İsrail’le istihbarat, teknoloji ve ‘güvenlik’ alanında sıkı ilişkiler kurduğunu hiçbir zaman gizlemeyen Hindistan, bu işbirlik doğrultusunda Siyonist rejimle aynı politikalar yürütmesi gayet doğal değil mi?

Birçok ülkenin ordusunun toplam sayısından daha fazla Hindu askerin (800 bin) 8-9 milyonluk Cammu Keşmir’de bulunduğuunu bilmeyen var mıdır artık?

Ya Hindu askerlerin büyük çoğunluğunun İsailli askerler tarafından eğitildiğini duymayan? ...

Peki Keşmir konusu uluslararası kamuoyuna taşınana kadar barışçıl ve renkli kültürlerin yaşadığı bir ülke olarak tanınan Hindistan neden bu imajdan vazgeçti?

Aslında bu imajdan vazgeçmedi. Sadece ülkede artan Hindu milliyetçiliğini dizginlemek artık daha zor hale geldi. İsrail’deki Siyonist Yahudilerle aynı görüşleri paylaşan yaklaşık 600 milyon civarındaki Irkçı Hindu’nun sesine veren Modi hükümetinin iktidara gelmesiyle de zaten var olan şovenist eylemleri daha sık duyar olduk.

Krizin Kazananı ‘Emperyalizm’

İngilizlerin bilinçli olarak muğlak bıraktığı Keşmir bugün aşılması güç bir kriz olmuş durumda. Öyle bir kriz ki savaşlar çıkartıyor, işgaller yaratıyor, uzlaşıdan uzaklaştırıyor. Emperyalistler aracılığıyla, Keşmir bahane edilerek bölgenin iki büyük ülkesi kendisini bir anda silahlanma yarışının içinde bulabiliyor. Pastadan büyük payı ise silah üreticileri İsrail, ABD ve İngiltere alıyor.

Çözüme Yönelik Düşünceler

Açıkçası ben Keşmir sorununun kısa vadede çözüleceğine inanmıyorum. Çünkü yanı başımızda olan tüm Müslümanların kutsalı Kudüs, işgal edilmişken, kendini Müslüman addeden ülkelerin çoğu ya işgalcilerle işbirliği yapıyor ya da kınamaktan öteye gitmeyerek susuyor. Müslümanların kutsalları talan edilirken, Filistin’de masumların üzerine bomba yağarken susanların Keşmir sorununa ilgili olmasını beklemek büyük bir hayalperestlik olur.

Bu sebepten Keşmir'in Hint işgalinden kurtulması, Filistin'in İsrail işgalinden kurtulmasından geçiyor.

Kashmir Lockdown and Need for Radical International Solidarity

SALMAN KHAN¹

Salman Khan presented a short poem as a tribute to the resilience of Kashmiri people;

“Aey Kashmiri teri Kashmiririyaat ko salaam kartey hain
Hum tu un maoon bahnoo ko salaams kertay hay
Jin key dubatay taaley Palay Barhay, Meray Shahoothda Qazi
Hum tu un maoon bahnoo key uzmat or himaat to salam kartey
hay”

He started with South Africa revolutionary Greeting “Amandla, Awetu Power to People and People with Power”.

He pronounced that day as the red-letter day as they are crossing the Rubicon. He recognised Brotherly country, the nucleus of Islam and Ottoman Empire has taken the struggle of Kashmir to a new height and offer this beautiful platform of Istanbul University and place where the mother of all Revolution start, A city have legendary history and today conference will go into the history of Kashmir with a golden word. The Kashmir illegal occupation is very similar to Gazah Palestine occupation DUAL Naqba

He disagreed on continue to blame OIC or “Oh I See”, as they are a weak organization and toothless tiger.

The topic of the Virtual conference on Kashmir is timely and topical.

“Kashmir Lockdown and Need for Radical International Solidarity”
Why there is a need for the radicalization of the Kashmir struggle?

¹ Founder of KAshmir Global Movement, Chairman of South African Kashmir Action Group, South Africa.

After 73 failed strategies, ego, non-coherent and non-cohesive

The struggle has no leadership a collective and all-inclusive who leads from the front not from ivory towers and far from ground reality.

The struggle is too fragmented and too factionalized which paralyzes the movement, need for alignment, and re-structuring.

This factionalization and fragmentation paralyze the Kashmir struggle.

Our acceptance of the Indian's narrative of Bilateralism has and damages the furtherance of the cause.

Kashmir is not a territorial issue between Indian, Pakistan, or China, It is internationally recognized, Kashmir is the highest militarized region in the world, every 50 meters an armed soldier is controlling the movement of Kashmiris.

Dispute of the Kashmir which is three times the size of Belgium 86 000 sqm

There is no Freedom of expression, Freedom of movement, Freedom of association.

Rape has been used as a weapon in War.

Life in Indian-occupied Kashmir has never been normal since 1947, Kashmiris has been living under brute Indian military martial and curfew, perhaps a perpetual curfew since 1947. What world having a test of lockdown today this has been a norm for Kashmiris for the last 73 years, but my dear brother and sister let me remind you and the world that the lockdown you faces is a luxury lockdown, I say it as you can order Uber Eat, visit doctors, watch movies and TV, call your love ones, surf on the internet and spend time on social media, but our brother and sister in Kashmir face most humiliating and brute lockdown and an absolute lockdown, where you are not even allowed to peep outside the window as you fear a bullet shot on your head, newborn babies died due to malnutrition as a mother could not get baby milk formula, no doctor visit

even people of Kashmir were forced to bury their love ones in the yard or rooms in their home, there was no funeral allowed.

There are more than 13 000 Kashmiris youth had been arbitrary arrested and kept in unknown places, cordon off areas search in darkness of the night and sister and mother being molested and raped (undignified) fake encounters, over 97 houses have been grazed to the ground under the pretext of freedom fighter were handing in these houses.

No news of these silent genocide reaches the world as there had been a total internet and telecommunications shutdown since 5th August 2019.

Life has never been normal in Kashmir. There had been no freedom of civil liberties

No Freedom of Speech,

No Freedom of Expression,

No Freedom of Association for the last 73 years.

It is too much to ask, as all these rights are the bedrock of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, US Bill of Rights, EU convention of Human, political and civil rights, South African Bill of rights, African Union bill of rights. If these are the right of people of the world then why not these rights are curtailed for the people of Kashmir in Indian occupied Kashmir. The irony is the world and world leaders are keeping the eyes wide SHUT.

Salman Khan reminded the conference and rest of the world what is Universal declaration for Human Right is all about and when UDHR Adopted 10 December 1948, the following was the preamble of the UDHR

Some of the preambles of the UDHR are as follows;

I Right to Life

II Right to Freedom

III Right to Equality and Prohibition against Impermissible Discrimination

IV Right to Justice

V Right to Fair Trial

VI Right to Protection against Abuse of Power

VII Right to Protection against Torture

VIII Right to Protection of Honour and Reputation

IX Right to Asylum

X Rights of Minorities

XII Right to Freedom of Belief, Thought, and Speech

XIII Right to Freedom of Religion

XIV Right to Free Association

XVI Right to Protection of Property

XVII Status and Dignity of Workers

XXI Right to Education

XXII Right of Privacy

XXIII Right to Freedom of Movement and Residence

“India ratified and adopted on Dec 26, 1949, which came into force from Jan 26, 1950. Indian constitution has greatly influenced by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948”.

Pakistan was the original drafter of the UDHR and ratified on the same day when the UN passes a resolution.

If General Augusto Pinochet, Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu of Romania of the world can be put on firing drill line for only killing 60,000 so does the Modi of India to be put on firing squad maybe not once twice but for every loss of life, rape, molestation, abduction, torture, and harassment.

If Chile can have its plebiscites in 1988, why Kashmiris cannot have their promised plebiscites.

If the Omer Al-Bashir could be declared as War Criminal by UNSC then Modi fits the suit, if not why NOT.

If the Neo-liberalism sphere of Political economy is much mightier than the lives of our brother and sisters in Kashmiris,

If the Noble prize can be given to Mala Youszai, then Kashmiris sister too want to have Freedom to education, it is Noble prize is only for the victims of Muslim Taliban oppressor but not for BJP RSS Indian Modi goon.

If the George Floyd life was so precious so are my brother and sisters' lives are meaningless and not worthy of retribution, Oh my Lord what wrong with this blind official of the UN and the leaders of the world. How lives of innocent must be lost before we call it Genocide, Oh the Dichotomy of the UN and world continue,

Verse to follow in Urdu

Shorey Darya say Kha Raha to samander ka skoot

Kay jismay jeetna surf hay woo utnah hee Khamoosh hey

Salman Khan told that, “Every single member country of the UN is guilty of war crime indirectly and according to the UN Human right charter.”

Adoption of ATT arms trade treaty, General Assembly resolution 67/234A, adopted 2 April 2013 (A/CONF.217/2013/2).

Article 6 addresses explicitly prohibitions against arms transfers that would be contrary to international legal obligations, or where the State knows the arms would be used in the commission of genocide, crimes against humanity, and certain war crimes.

Under Article 7, export authorities will need to consider the potential that the arms or items:

- would contribute to, or undermine peace and security; and
- could be used to;
- commit or facilitate a serious violation of international humanitarian law or international human rights law;

ATT and UNPoA special reference to the vulnerability of women and children in conflicts.

Salman Khan later returned to the people of Kashmir on both sides of Kashmir and especially the diaspora around the world,

What it is that the Kashmiri liberation movement is so week and has not created any impact on the civilized people of the world? It is the time for honest and brute introspection into us on failures and our failures are the cause of Kashmiris' brother and sisters' suffering.

We need visionary leadership,

We need to be united

We need to play a less egoistic role

We need to be more inclusive

We need to have one slogan

The Kashmir freedom in our lifetime

We need to have a common vision “The right of self-determination” must be avail to Kashmiris through free and fair plebiscites

We need to follow one vision, one slogan, one flag, and one leader.

Salman Khan offered a Comparative study of Kashmir's struggle with Nelson Mandela's ANC South Africa struggle for liberation from white minorities and the Apartheid regime.

His question was very simple, if the few thousand of Black Africa from South Africa escape the brute Apartheid regime and went to Europe and the USA and manage to work under the prisoned Nelson Mandela leadership, they manage to galvanize tribal Africa under one umbrella of ANC if they manage to get international community mobilized and be at their side.

The question needs to be asked why over 3 million Kashmir Diasporas living in the EU, USA, and elsewhere failed to unite behind a

common cause, find common ground, and a common leader. Why there is no impact on Kashmir's struggle made internationally. It is wrong and always been wrong to blame Pakistan. Pakistan is a good brother and partner in solidarity for the last 73 years and has hugely sacrificed in the name of Kashmir solidarity.

The failure of the Kashmir struggle movement lies with Kashmiris own acts and disunity. This cannot and should not continue at any cost and the paradigm must change.

Salman Khan suggested strategy for Kashmiri liberation is based on ANC strategy of their struggle “Hit where the pain is”, it has had worked and it should work for Kashmir liberation.

SAKAG offers actionable strategies that are much aligned to Nelson Mandela ANC's struggle strategy against the white minorities and Apartheid? Which is as follows:

1. International Mass Mobilisation through building a strategic alliance;
2. International Litigations like War crimes and human rights violation cases;
3. Digital & Social Warfare, Twitter storms, Facebook thunders, and online e-newsletter;
4. BDS India, consumer, institutional and labour unions, proletarian alliance;
5. Kashmiri struggles with brand building, scarfs, flags and logos, graffiti, liberation songs.

Salman Khan offered his prayers that “May Allah SWT make it easy for the oppressed people of Kashmir and they see peace, tranquility, and Freedom in our lifetime, Ameen. Your brother in Sadness, struggle and solidarity Salman Khan.”

www.kashmirglobalmovement.com

Poem of Iqbal

Noorey Khuda hay Kufr key halat pay khundazan
Puhkoo sey yeh Chiraq bouhjayah na jayaegah
Fanooz ban kay heefazzat hawaa karey
Woo shama keya bouhjayah jeesayh Rooshan Kuhuda karey
Turkey Zindabad and Pakistan Zindabad
Kashmir freedom in our lifetime.

Post-Detternce era of India and Pakistan:

Reconcile and Economic Module of Japan¹, Economic and media Module of Israel², and persistence and Economic Module of East India Company³.

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Abstract:

The paper explores the Kashmir dispute from a prism of the post-nuclear deterrence era of India and Pakistan with three new dependent variables. The cold war in post-second World War antagonist's axis and allies is related to the conflict of third world countries, Pakistan and India. Based on the new relationships vis-à-vis differences, we named it the Lukewarm war between Indian and Pakistan. It's assumed that it is one step ahead of the cold war, however, nuclear deterrence will keep preventing the escalation of the war, in both cases, whether or not antagonists have parity, in other domain of competition i.e. world affairs, technology, military hardware, and soft power, etc. However, three other confounding variables are associated, when studying the cold war of first world countries, i.e. USA and USSR in the third world paradigm of India and Pakistan. Nuclear deterrence prevented Russia and the USA from World War II to 1984 until USSR ultimately

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collapsed. Pakistan and India have fought two low scale wars in the pre-nuclear era though causalities along LoC and killings of Kashmiris by Indian war machine would remain there. Therefore, in both cases, alternative modules to resolve the conflict demands more attention. Furthermore, it's also important to keep the quantum of the intensity of the friction and degree of hatred into consideration. This study added one more prong to existing understanding i.e. hybrid approach for the sustenance of right to self-determination guaranteed by UNCIP resolutions. The unconventional approaches are brought into focus. Three modules, analyzed from three different situations, while re-phrasing them in the study as, Reconcile and Economic Module of Japan¹, Re-emerge, Economic and media Module of Israel² and persistence and Economic Module of East India Company³.

Key Terms: Kashmir dispute, Hybrid approach, Deterrence, Parity, Corpus-separatum

Overview:

South Asian nuclear powers i.e. Pakistan and India's conflict over Kashmir had triggered a couple of **hot wars in the postcolonial era** from 1947 to 1971. It was **semi-war** from 1989 to 1999 followed by a ceasefire agreement of 2002 and now the **lukewarm war** from 1999 till date. Both Indian and Pakistani conventional strategic dynamics reshaped with conventional deterrence when New-Delhi tested its nuclear capability for the second time after 1974 in the name of **Pokhran-ii** followed by Islamabad in **Chagi-i and Chagi-ii** in 1998. Its immediate spillover was that BJP led government Prime Minister rushed to Lahore² in 1999 and

² Lahore is Capital of Punjab the largest Provence of Pakistan bordered with India. Indian Prime minister A.B.Vajpayee visited the Minar-e Pakistan in 1999 in post-atomic deterrence scenario and accepted the reality of Pakistan, the visit was symbolic

signed the nuclear test ban treaty called the Lahore deceleration of 21 Feb 1999 of which para-3 says, that “the nuclear dimension of the security environment of the two countries adds to their responsibility for the avoidance of the conflict between two countries.”³ Para-3 of Lahore declaration has a strong relationship with deterrence theory (Schelling 1966), which maintained that “nuclear weapons confer large-scale stability between nuclear-weapon states, as in over six decades, none have engaged in large direct warfare primarily due to nuclear weapons deterrence capabilities, but instead, are forced into pursuing political aims by military means in the form of comparatively smaller-scale acts of instability⁴ and minor conflicts.”⁵ In the same year, high altitude warfare was started at Kargil hills near LoC⁶ dividing Indian and Pakistani Kashmir. India launched Operation Vijay to diffuse the advancement of Kashmiri freedom fighters along NLI before the “nuclear conflict”⁷ war would have been escalated. President Bill Clinton intervened and Pakistan vacated the positions in Kargil which stamped the end of the conflict.

This study suggests an unconventional approach, if, war is not possible in the radiance of nuclear deterrence theory, India and Pakistan failed to resolve their deep-rooted disputes politically and diplomatically then what options are available to settle the dispute. An alternative mechanism needs to be considered. Alternative paradigms of conflict resolutions will be studied with the prime focus on the Kashmir conflict. The examples of Japan, Israel, and East India Company have been taken as an example to draw parallels between the alternative approaches adopted in three cases of conflict and the alternative options for the Kashmir quandary as a viable route that can lead towards an amicable resolution. These three cases will

in nature to symbolic tomb build on the same place where the resolution of Pakistan was adopted by Ali Mohammed Jinnah in 1938)

³ Daily-Dawn-Karachi, February 1999

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ The consequence of a breakdown of the nuclear deterrence strategy is so catastrophic for human civilization; it is reasonableness to employ the strategy only if the chance of breakdown is zero.⁴

⁶ Line of Control (LoC) it is defective border which divides Kashmir into Azad Jammu and Kashmir and the Indian occupied Kashmir IoK, Restricted Bus and Truck services had been started since 2008

⁷ BBC 1999, India and Pakistan; Troubled relations, India launched a full-scale offensive including Airforce against the rebellion backed by Pakistan at the end of same year Gen. Mushreff toppled the Nawaz Sheriff Government.

be renamed and re-phrased as (1) **Reconcile and Economic Module of Japan**, 2) **Re-emerge, Economic and media Module of Israel**, and 3) **Persistence and Economic Module of East India Company**. The modules will be carefully studied and ascertained as to what extent they are relevant to the Kashmir conflict and its resolution to the satisfaction of all the parties of the dispute. The study is qualitative in nature and Content Analysis has been taken as the method to carry out the research study.

Genesis:

The major difference and gap between aggressor and aggressed are observed in interpretations of the law, so is in Kashmir. Nuclear deterrence had maintained the parity between India and Pakistan as both are parties to dispute as per Security Council resolutions. The habitats of Kashmir are engaged for seven decades to free their nation from the clutches of Indian rule. Kashmiris are occupied, hence, the occupants have to face the wrath of the mightier one. Therefore, Kashmiris' resistance against India is legally justified⁸ against the established and powerful state who had seriously dented the Kashmiri people who are still paying the heavy cost in the quest for to right to self-determination. Pakistan is a legal party to dispute as per United Nations Security Council resolutions. To date, it is Pakistan's efforts that have kept conflict alive while supporting the right to self-determination politically, diplomatically, and morally.

In seven decades, three generations had been consumed while tossing against the stony silence of India to settle the dispute while implementing the United Nations resolutions which is just the solution of the dispute. However, after seven long decades, none of the approaches worked, India is maintaining the status quo with the deployment of more than 700,000⁹ troops to kill the resistance.

⁸ Resolution adopted by the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan on 13 of August 1948, *Document No Sl100, Para 75, Dated The 9th Nov.1948*, The UNICP unanimously adopted this resolution On 13-8-1948 Members of the commission, Argentina, Belgium, Columbia, Czechoslovakia, and the USA.

⁹ **Structure of Violence** ,The Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir ,*The International Peoples Tribunal and juristic in Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir* "IPTK" and Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons "APDP" Report, Sep

Besides, India had also created the political constituency internally like National Conference, PDP, and other small groups. Moreover, central parties of India like Congress and the BJP had also promoted in Kashmir to give a lease to Indian occupation. These pro-Indian parties give political cover to Indian policies to obliterate the resistance camp. Resistance camp demands the right to self-determination under United Nations¹⁰ auspicious while the mainstream maintains the position of maximum autonomy under the Indian role. Never insists but maintains the fine balance between the demand which is having public consumption and the relationship with New Delhi to stay in corridors of power.

United Nations Security Council resolutions (2), Wars between India and Pakistan¹¹(3), Bilateral agreements (4) Ceasefire agreements (5) engagements, overt and covert operations, Armed resistance (6) political arrangements (7), democratic process, Mass destruction and killing of Kashmir's by Indian forces (8) Bilateral settlement between India and Pro-Indian leadership in Kashmir. Arbitration, mediation, and facilitation are utterly abortive while the resistance of Kashmiri people against Indian occupation had entered the seventh decade while unresolved but at the heavy cost of human blood.

Literature Review

War is an instant but costly solution to the problem, however, it is also the test for rival states and statesmen.¹² The entire post-colonial era in Newborn Pakistan and India passed in wars to resolve the conflicts. Pakistan-India conflict over Kashmir has deep roots, linkages, and relationships in the division of sub-continent into Pakistan and India in 1947. India succeeded to dent Pakistan post-colonial era in 1971 resulted

2015, Geneva, Deployment of Army in Jammu and Kashmir p, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62,

¹⁰ *The United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan*, Resolution adopted at the meeting of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan on 5th Jan. 1949, (Document No's/1196. Para, 15, Dated 10th of an, 1949)

¹¹ There have been three wars between *India and Pakistan* 1947, 1965, 1971 and brief war of 'Kargil' in 1999 in after nuclear deterrence became public,

¹² The consequence of a breakdown of the nuclear deterrence strategy is so catastrophic for human civilization; it is reasonableness to employ the strategy only if the chance of a breakdown is zero. *Schelling, T. C. (1966), "2", the Diplomacy of Violence, New Haven: Yale University Press, pp.*

in the division of east-west Pakistan. However, the core dispute is still haunting not only the overall security of Pakistan and India but the entire region of the sub-continent as two nuclear neighboring are in a tussle. If wars had not yielded desired results then to think otherwise is imperative to resolve the problem while safeguarding the state interests and future war which carries various apprehensions.

Alternative approaches provide in-depth intellectual input which is the only instrument to provide food for thought to policymakers vis-à-vis is having tremendous potential to bring the stakeholders and the states out of the mess when the military solution fails to yield desired results. The nuclear dimension adds both complexity and deterrence to India and Pakistan's conflict over Kashmir. None can alter the geography unilaterally neither India can bring the military solution in force while targeting the freedom fighters nor can dictate her terms based on military might as India Army Chief Bipin Rawat accepted that none had won. Kenneth Waltz, argues in his work "Man, state and War" "how peace can be more readily achieved requires an understanding of the causes of the war"¹³ India is reluctant to accept the causes of the war while maintains statuesque based on the military might. Pakistan India conflict over Kashmir had deep roots in history but New-Delhi is adamant to impose her decisions of 1947 when she occupied the land and landed her troops at Srinagar in October 1947.¹⁴ India is having a conventional edge over Pakistan, however nuclear deterrence of Islamabad is a hard reality. Deterrence theory had made predictions on how state and statesman shall beehive and what shall be the role of nuclear nations when the distress boils very hot.¹⁵ Contrary to another side of the horrible picture that despite deterrence, the international system remains war-prone.¹⁶ "Single and Melvin"¹⁷ Cautions, however, this caution is more catastrophic when ultimate deterrence comes in to play

¹³ Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War: a Theoretical Analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 22, 68.

¹⁴ Muhammad Y. Saraf, *Kashmir Fight for Freedom* (Lahore: Ferozsons Ltd, 1977), 106, 223. Sikh regiment landed in Srinagar after Maharaja Hari Singh showed his acceptance against the majority will to seek the help from Indian militarily. p,106,223

¹⁵ Shelling C. Thomas, *The strategy of the conflict* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), *Arms and Influence* New Haven Yale University Press 1966

¹⁶ Shelling C. Thomas, *Arms, and Influence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966).

¹⁷ Small and singer (1979) ' Conflict in international system p.80

the state which cannot maintain the conventional edge has the compulsion to apply the unconventional approach. It is clear as ‘David J Singer’¹⁸ argues, that states always know the “capabilities and intentions of the other states so the state which fails to maintain the conventional edge if war is brooked can take this opportunity before the state falls to go unconventionally so this perception always prevails which supports the realism.¹⁹ (Thomas-Killman 1974) proposed five modules of conflict to deal with conflict when war is still a solution but costly for both sides, computing approach, Accommodating approach, Avoiding approach, collaborating and compromising.²⁰ Killman’s observation has much relevance in Pakistan-India context where avoiding approaches failed utterly to yield the desired results, though, this approach remained the state policy of India to maintain the status quo. India has had the upper hand in the region being the mega country having the conventional edge over her neighbors. Therefore, avoiding, collaborating, and compromising approach, however, nuclear deterrence of Islamabad can make the neighboring nuclear powers to rethink, that conflict management had not worked, so neither they succeeded to halt the freedom struggle of Kashmir, nor succeeded to erase the Kashmir Issue from the Security council radar, therefore, not simply for India to avoid the final settlement up to infinite time²¹ though, she manages the Kashmir Issue militarily. Alternative approaches will help all parties particularly the Kashmir that is bleeding profusely to frame short term, Medium-term, and long-term strategy in the post-cold war scenario, though other options are always open. They have been applied in past, however, in the post-nuclear era, the applied aspect is catastrophic and costliest in terms of human losses. The alternative approaches suggested can be building blocks to study its other dimensions.

¹⁸ David, Singer (1989) “*Policy and the correlates of the war*,” Studies of the war and Peace Norwegian University Press p, 51, 52,242,244,252,255.

¹⁹ Hans J Morgenthau, Book “*Politics among Nations*.” “The struggle for power and Peace New York(1948) He was first realist the Cars definition is utopian idealism p,10

²⁰ Killman Thomas, (1948) “*Hasten Chronicle*,” *Harvest newspapers portal*-USA, Hans J Morgenthau, Politics among Nations. The struggle for power and Peace New YorkHe was first realist the Cars definition is utopian idealism p,10

²¹ Muhammad, Khan, Dr., *HoD-IR, National Defence University*, Kashmir Issue has entered in to 7th decade while unresolved, Time factor has its reparations as it increases susceptibility of war, Conference presentation, 17,3,2016 Islamabad-Hotel

Instant Solution:

Utilizing hard power is an instant solution to win or lose and decide the fate of the dispute. Scholars aligned with the Realist²² school of thought is adamant, that it is only war, which changes geography, while all remaining modules just maintain the status quo. However, entry of nuclear weapons in the arena of deterrence, either, limited the scope of war or threatened the catastrophe multifold as compared to the conventional one. The intense tussle between the USA and USSR did not escalate up to a certain degree which is called the cold war though utilized soft power and nuclear diplomacy. Nuclear deterrence bridged the conventional parity between Pakistan and India in the interests of Pakistan because her conventional edge was favoring India but statuesque remained bottom line. Wars of the technologically advanced era are won by none, but, lost by everyone even the states having nuclear warheads in the stockpile. Relationships of hostile nuclear neighboring nations India and Pakistan are fragile and susceptible to trigger in a nuclear war because they have already fought three wars in the pre-nuclear deterrence period and one semi-warm in post deterrence. India and Pakistan are one step ahead of the cold war which we mentioned as Lukewarm war. During the Kargil, the forces of Pakistan and India were at eyeball to eyeball. If, War with nuclear weapons is loaded in the missile is a most horrible choice, then it is a compulsion to think innovatively upon time-consuming approaches and prevent the war, before it triggers, just in the interest of humanity.

Atomic Diplomacy

Atomic diplomacy has specialized characteristics when the nation has nuclear muscle at the brink of war or having a deep-rooted history of hostility which has a susceptibility to change in war. The utility of restraining increases multi folds when the nations are bordering on each other like Pakistan and India. Gar Alperovitz²³ argues that Japan become victim only because the USA wanted to impose a post-war bargaining position against the Soviet Union to put pressure on Japan for total surrender to prove American nuclear monopoly Soviet Union led by Stalin

²² Kenneth Waltz, "theory of International Politics" Reading (MA: Adisson.Walsay,1979) p,60,67,93,97

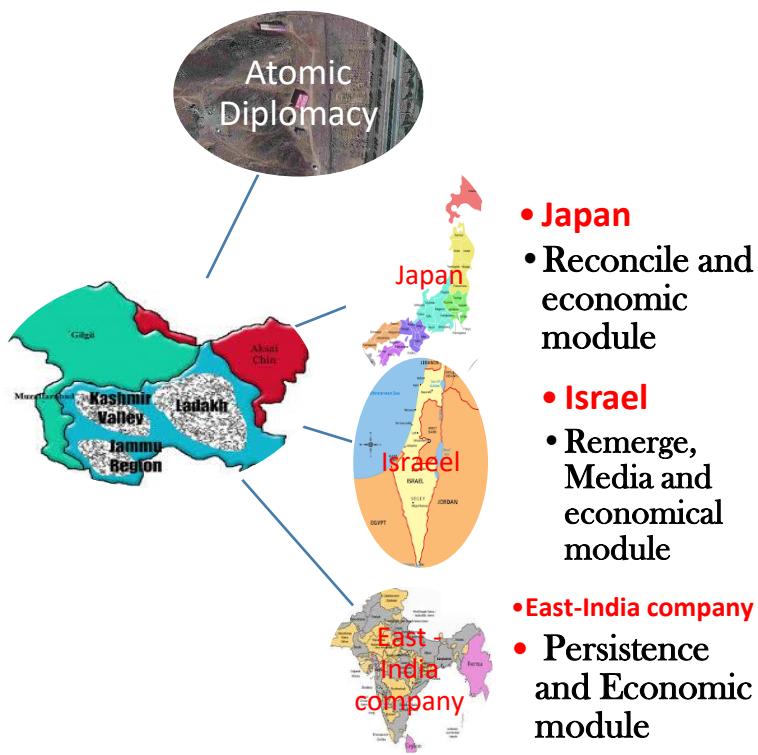
²³ Atomic Diplomacy,(1945-52)Office of the historian Bauru of the Public Affairs, United States Department of State

ended US monopoly in 1949, however, during the blockade of Berlin in 1948-1949 president, Truman loaded B29 bombers as atomic diplomacy. President Eisenhower applied war diplomacy against Korea in 1953 while deploying warheads which resulted from the cease-fire and ended the Korean War. Soviet also deployed the nuclear warheads in Cuba against the interests of the US. US failed to gain the results in the Vietnam war as Vietcong's was having nothing to lose. Pakistan shall exercise nuclear diplomacy while deploying nuclear warheads near the southern border to threaten the Interests of India. And, compel India to engage in meaningful parleys, if p-5 deems fit that conflict resolution is imperative than keeping the conflict boiling id neither in interests of India nor Pakistan.

Alternative modules:

Reconcile and Economic Module of Japan, 2) Re-emerge, Economic and media Module of Israel, and 3) Persistence and Economic Module of East India Company. Three potent conditions in pre-1947 were related to the Kashmir issue and their relationship with the settlement of the issue. In two among three, the degree of hatred is the same as Kashmiri people had against India because they were killed in cold blood while demanding the right to self-determination a right endorsed and ratified by the UN security council. It has been recently upheld by Jawahir-Lal Nehru University scholars in Delhi. The third line is purely economical. Japan faced wrath in world war second still entered an arrangement with the USA, though the USA was the main player to ponder in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Jew state was established in the heart of the Arab world the strategy applied by Jews to reach the level of the announcement of the Independent Jew state in 1947. The strategy applied by the East India Company was an entirely economical module that ruled in India for sentries while developing the web of business.

- (1) Reconcile and Economic Module of Japan
- (2) Re-emerge Economic, and media Module of Israel
- (3) Consistent and Economic Module of East India Company



1) Reconcile and Economic Module of Japan

It was not easy for “Hirohito” to decide to enter into negotiations with the USA in post world war-2, though, Japanese surrendered after post drum declaration when the American nuclear war machine pondered the nuclear bombs and killed more than 225000 in the shortest time of human history. The Japanese army was never ready to give up easily, as the same was the moral of the Japanese masses. The “little boy” and “fat boy” wiped out a major area of Hiroshima and Nagasaki besides radiation continued killings and the births which took place in the post-nuclear bomb were retarded which kept the scars of the Japanese alive. Gen. Douglas Macarthur²⁴ was commander of Allied forces while Great Britain, Russia, and China were also having an advisory role as part of

²⁴ Office of the historian, 1945, -1952 “Occupation and reconstruction of the Japan” <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/japan-reconstruction>

Advisory Council. Japan's quandary can be divided into three phases, 1) Punish and reforms of Japan2) Economical revival of Japan, 3) Completion of peace treaty and alliance. Japan Army was disbanded and the former military leadership was bared to hold any key position.

2) Re-emerge Economic, and media Module of Israel

Israel was claimed and recognized on the same day and date 14, 1948 by the head of Jewish Agency David Bin-Grunion backed by US President Henry Truman in post-Balfour deceleration of 1917 though President Roosevelt had promised Arabs that American will not impose any solution unilaterally and will consult Arabs before any final decision about Jew state. The colonial power Great Britain though rejected the creation of Jew state and the immigration of Jew refugees but ultimately toed the US line. Truman funded, admitted, and supported the entrance of 100,000 Jew settlers in Palestine. The United States moved one step ahead, while moving the resolution 181 at United Nations to create the United Nations trusteeship for Jew settlers Vis-à-vis to divide Palestine between the Jew and Muslim provinces not state against 181/A of Nov,29,1947 to divide Palestine into Muslim and Jew state while as Jerusalem was kept under the United Nations auspicious as corpus sparatum.²⁵

3) Consistent and Economic Module of “Honorable” East India Company

Sir Thomas Roe visited India in 1612 and entered into a commercial treaty with Mughal Emperor Jahangir, therefore, the company was permitted to establish its base in Surat-Mumbai in 1619. They soon occupied the positions left by the Portuguese in Mumbai, Goa, Chittagong Vis-à-vis, expanded the company to Madras (1639) and Calcutta (1690). The company was handling half of the world's trade dealing with dye, silk, Indigo, salt, tea, and opium. East India Company (1600-1708) was the world's most powerful corporation which ruled Indian Sub content as an imperial power, initially trading the spices, bonded slaves, tea, and then opium with India. The opium war was fought but lost by China in (1839-

²⁵ Special status, *legally and politically*, but not state, Regatta-Croatia, 1776-1918, Pordenone,1378-1514, Novi Pazr1878-192, Breko district of Bosnia Herzegovina

1842). It superseded its tentacles from 1708-1873)²⁶ This company fought another war for increasing trading rights for Europe generally called the Arrow war. The decisions were carried by 24 boards of Governors who were mega shareholders of the company. It assumed directly the power of India in 1757²⁷ after the battle of Plessey. The Government Act of 1958 led the British crown directly to the political control of the Indian sub-continent call the British Raj. EIC established its protection in the name of security, recruited locally but trained on the pattern of British with better weaponry which was smuggled from Britain, though, it was prohibited by Aurangzeb. East India employed 3000 soldiers in 1715, 26000 in 1763, and 6700 in 1776. Tippo Sultans' stand against colonial powers was lost resistance to a British company which ended in 1799 and opened all doors of power.

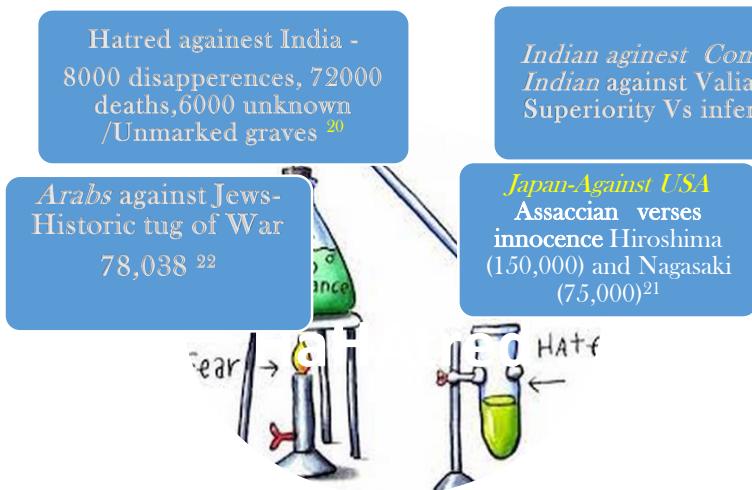
Relationship

The Degree of Hatred⁺⁺

Hatred makes the truth first causality; Hatred intensifies during the conflict, more the conflict, more the hatred, therefore, humanity bleeds profusely but it is the hatred which makes the hope of liberation from clutches of mayhem alive and lone living. In the entire three cases, the degree of hatred is the main impediment that precipitates the emotions which makes the statesman wild beast to obliterate his enemy. The weaker party gears up all resources to make the survive but the power prevails if the weaker fails to sustain. It is the hatred that is a minimum requirement to reemerge.

²⁶ Encyclopedia Britannica, *English Trading company-East India company*, <http://www.britannica.com/topic/East-India-Company>

²⁷ Ian St John, (2012) *The making of the Raj: "India under the East India company"*. Santa Barbara Publications Pvt.Ltd



Three potent conditions in pre-1947 were related to the Kashmir issue and their relationship with the settlement of the issue. Of three, the degree of hatred appears to be similar to the Kashmiri people had against India which is evidence that they were maimed by Indian state repression ²⁸ for seven decades while demanding the right to self-determination, duly ratified by UN Security Council. The case of Japan in the wake of the second world war also serves as a model for conflict resolution.

The third line is purely economical. Japan faced wrath²⁹ in the world war however still entered an arrangement with the USA, however, the USA was the main player to ponder in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Jew state was established in the heart of the Arab world³⁰ the strategy applied by Jews to reach the level of the announcement of an Independent Jew state in 1947 were having many intervening variables but the land purchased by the Israelis in the areas around the Baituleham played a vital role on the ground occupation. The strategy applied by the East India Company was an

²⁸ **Structure of Violence**, The Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir, *The International Peoples Tribunal and juristic in Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir* "IPTK" and Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons "APDP" Report, Sep 2015, Geneva, Deployment of Army in Jammu and Kashmir p,3.

²⁹ Total death toll in Japan <http://www.aasc.ucla.edu/cab/200708230009.html>

³⁰ Group of Baitulleham, Guardian, philistine Human Rights tribunal, The Jews Virtual Library, <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/History/casualtiestotal.html>

entirely economical module that ruled in India for sentries while developing the web of business.

	Kashmir	Israel	Japan	East India Company
Status of the Nation	Independent	Was not existing at all	Independent	A corporation
A colony or colonial rule	Under the Influence of Britain as was sold to Dogras	Colony of British	Sovereign Nation	An instrument of the British colony
Military Invasion	Invaded by India in 1947		Japanese surrenders the USA	No use of force
Conclusion	Invasion by Indian Army 27 Oct. 1945	The USA intervened Britain supported	Nuclear bombs made a total surrender of the Japanese Army	Economical Invasion

Interpretation of Data

Reconcile & Economic Module of Japan,

Reconcile with an assassin in total surrender form and focus on the economy while handing over the nation militarily to the enemy is a viable interplay of resilience and economy. Japan reconciled while plugged degree of hatred hence adopted developing economical module while being under the security of the US who destroyed them was bitter pill to swallow Developed despite and is now economic tiger they entered with an unconventional and most unpopular agreement with the USA which was not endorsed by a majority of Japanese, though, they were entirely crippled by nuclear war, Japanese army though surrendered but was entirely against, however, political leadership entered a truce with the USA.

Re-emerge, Economic & media Module of Israel

This module is based on an intelligent interplay of the economy followed by media. Jews were having no state and were entirely crippled after the holocaust so were scattered around the globe. They were having no home. Jews were controlling the entire economy of Germany before world war I and II were one of the causes that Adolf Hitler was convinced that Jews have the ultimate design to control Germany. They assembled in the USA and made their roads in the economy and invested in the Press. The majority of multi-national companies and mega-media houses are owned by Jews in the USA. Jews specialized in manure and manipulated their importance while invested in giving tremendous coverage of killings of Jews during the Holocaust. The press promoted the Jew cause as they have developed and deepened the sympathy transformed into total backing of the USA. The creation of Israel is a joint venture of the Economy and media. The strong economy of the Jews was the backbone of their objective, besides, they created a havoc of terrorism, in Palestine which was backed by the US, while as they purchased the land, which was evacuated by the refugees, who were living in the vicinity of Bethlehem, having no option to sell their land and leave.

Persistence & Economic Module of the East India Company.

This module is based on the interplay of economy and persistence without war. Thomas Roe begged Emperor Jahangir to have some business after presenting a valuable set of jewelry with an argument to break the monopoly of Portuguese started a very small business from Vishakhapatnam with only one item rice in 1612. English men and women developed relations with ministers of Mogal Emperor who were fascinated with the beauty of white color. East India worked with patience and persistence and resolved various frictions with the Mughal dynasty which could have winded up the East India company. The company won the confidence of the Mughals and was initially obedient, till they convinced Mughals, that company should be allowed to protect their ships from looting by pyrites, recruiting the Indian guards to minimize the burden on Mughal coast guards. They smuggled the latest weapons from Britain and trained the Indian recruits on Britain style while paying them a huge salary. The employment in the Company was considered prestigious in India in 1660. Britain consumed two generations of English people and stretched the company in entire India so entire major shipyards were under the

control of Britain. The main point to ponder is that the British played efficiently and waited for 155 years to come in direct power in 1757 hence East India Company became his highness, East India Company and ruled directly India for hundred years till world war second.

The alternative module in complexity and Hybrid approach

- 1) Hunting the available talent strictly on merit the people who have a close ideological association with the cause is an asset as Jews did and to install them in various institutions particularly in Mass media and classify them as per talent.
- 2) Proxy Candidates in Elections/Assembly/Parliament, and managing the headway in Assembly and manipulate them to resign when required. Kashmiris shall not leave a vacuum for BJP, Congress, PDP, or NC because people who live in the occupation have to run their daily affairs because of resistance stretching.
- 3) Active Participation in Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan, UK, and other states even up to municipality or ward level. Elections to make the voice coherent in AJK and the Parliament of Pakistan will keep the liaison concrete and smooth in power corridors.
- 4) Evolving the economic Institutions to generate funds with the support of Azad Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan. Israel module/Japan post-surrender
- 5) Concentrating on Diaspora, evolving short term, Medium, term, and Long-term Plans, Diaspora is a vital catalyst.
- 6) Exile literature needs to be generated to represent the trauma above the pity group interests.

Conclusion

The deterrence theory has a leaner relationship in the Pakistan-India context and the result is the same, so far, as compared to P-5 nations. Secondly, no example exists in Post-cold war also, that, nuclear nations did enter in a full-scale war against any other nuclear nation directly. However, social scientists and cutting-edge researchers and scholars cannot nullify, that susceptibility of war have other intervening variables, which vary case to case and under the given situation, therefore, dynamics simply changes from first world countries to third world nations. It needs special attention that the post-nuclear scenario has other dynamics due to its potential of destruction, however, to change the status quo and

geography is still a hot subject in a given situation without the war, therefore, other strategies shall be put in order simultaneously. Unbiased scholars are adamant that India had lost the war in Kashmir on the moral front due to overwhelming popular support, in totally and absolutely, because more the civilian killing, consolidate the hatred and more the families get involved more its canvass. The campaign of the resistance stretches and the same is transformed in the fifth generation, however, the Indian military might against civilian resistance is still rolling the roost. There is an example, that Japan won in the long run despite total surrender, however, it requires resilience and patience to come back again. Jew states don't even totally exist but they manipulated the knowledge economy and media to achieve the objective to remain relevant. If there was not even ground hold for Britishers in India. East India company as trade corporation and political route of wisdom. The interplay of patience and economy can achieve the target, even if, you don't belong to the soil. Under these conditions, Corpus-separatum is a possible conflict resolution mechanism for Kashmir's problem between what is being demanded and what is denied but resistance still demands an innovative strategy to minimize human cost. Kashmir's shall overcome the hysteria of myopic disorder and shall rethink upon other modules simultaneously beside keeping the Indigenous political struggle on cards as per legitimate UN resolutions intact through multidimensional resistance. These three-dimensional multi-prong strategies were named as a hybrid approach in this study. This study can be accumulated for future investigators of conflict in a given situation.

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Kashmir and Role of Muslim Nations

ZAFAR AHMED³¹

Zafar Ahmed acknowledged Istanbul University, Dr. Toker, Dr. Hayati, and Dr. Mahmut who arranged such a wonderful timely conference on the Kashmir dispute.

Zafar Ahmed delineated the picturesque view of Kashmir and urged the conference to feel what he about to tell them.

Imagine a young girl full of joy, happiness, hope, and love — a girl with aspirations and dreams.

Now imagine the same girl is kidnapped, held hostage, with no food or care, her whereabouts unknown. She is beaten, drugged, and sexually molested, over and over again. Furthermore, instead of letting her go, she is killed by crushing her head with a rock and her body thrown in the fields. Imagine if this happened to someone you know; how would you feel?

Now think when you demand justice your little girl, the local police, local politicians, and even local people turn against you. Instead, they stand with the culprits, demanding they be freed, the young girl gets no justice.

He made clear that a paragraph is not from a fiction story, nor is it a scene from a horror movie but a grim vicious pre-planned real-life tragedy of Asifa Bano. An eight-year-old Muslim girl, living in Jammu, who was kidnapped, drugged, beaten, and raped by a group of Hindus, an old 60-year-old government employee named Sanji Ram, a local police officer Surrender Verma, and two young men, one of who was caretaker of a local temple. She was raped in a local temple.

The local Hindu BJP government ministers and local Hindu people including lawyers, came out to protest in support of these monsters.

³¹ Chairman of Kashmir Campaign Global, UK.

For lack of a better word, Asifa's only crime was that she was born a Muslim. This, my friends, is not a one-off incident but an everyday grim reality faced by people of Indian Occupied Kashmir.

The 73-year-old international issue of Jammu & Kashmir, which affects over 22 million people across all the territories of Kashmir, is not just about giving human rights to its people, allowing them to decide their future. Nor is it just a territorial dispute where the occupier is colonizing the resources.

But it is a matter of survival for the Muslims of Kashmir who is being targeted and exterminated. The focus of this dispute has always been settler colonization, killing the local Muslim population and replacing them with a Hindu population. This is not done just by the current fascist BJP government but throughout history.

Right from the start of the Occupation in 1947, when over 250,000 Muslims were killed in Jammu by the Dogra and Indian forces, millions were displaced, changing the demography of Jammu forever from a Muslim majority state to a Muslim minority. Even recently in the 1990s, the pandits of Kashmir were given safe haven, a healthy economic package and migrated to India, whereas the Muslims of Jammu & Kashmir continue to be targeted and massacred by the Indian forces, 100s at a time, the GawKadal massacre and Bijbahara massacre cannot be forgotten. Kidnapping, imprisonment, torture, custodial killings, molestation, rape, gang-rape are everyday atrocities faced by our brothers and sisters. Let us not forget the incident of Kunan and Poshpora or the rape case of Asifa and Nilofer. Just last week, 4-year-old Nehaan was shot dead, an elderly mother of the slain mujahid has been arrested.

The recent introduction of NRC and Citizenship Act in India, enforcement of draconian laws such as Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFPSA), unilateral unconstitutional abrogation of Article 370, 35a, the introduction of Domicile and real estate laws in Kashmir, is not only in direct violation of the international laws and treaties, as well against the core foundation of Indian secularism and democracy, but they are an

explicit declaration of war on Muslims and provide legal backing to the illegal demographic and topographic changes.

The domicile rules will not only immediately allow over 1.5 million existing non-Kashmiris in Kashmir, to settle and take over the land and but the rules are designed to displace many existing Kashmiris from their homeland.

The agenda of RSS to exterminate and marginalize the minorities is not new, but it is picking up speed under the fascist BJP regime, and it does not just stop in India. The concept of "Akhand Bharat" not only includes areas of Pakistan, Burma, Bhutan, and Nepal. But stretches from straits of Malacca of Kerela to the Mediterranean, reaching Makkah, where according to the RSS ideologue and ex-MP Subramaniam Swamy, they want to convert the Kaaba into a Hindu temple.

To fulfill its fascist dream of "Akhand Bharat", it is building its resources using the resources of Muslim countries. The current defense budget of India is around 71 billion US dollars, a big chunk of which is used on occupational forces in Indian Occupied Kashmir. At the same time, trade with just GCC countries in 2017/2018 amounted to over 100 billion US dollars, well over the budget they need to keep this killing machine going.

While they are changing the demography, taking over the lands of Muslims in Kashmir, rendering Muslims of India stateless, providing fast-tracked citizenship to Hindus from other countries. The same people use Muslim lands such as the Middle East, Turkey, and Malaysia, to develop their people. In GCC alone, there are over 3.5 million Hindus, who just in 2017 sent over 37 billion USD in remittances back to India. RSS has set up businesses while actively organizing and promote their agendas. India has effective power brokered in the Gulf due to its expatriate population, displacing traditional Muslim political influence in the Gulf region.

India has created alliances with the United States and France, actively building and arming its Air Force and Navy to dominate the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea. It is aligning its strategic objectives with

Israel, France, Greece, and other countries, to reduce Turkish influence in the Mediterranean.

India is part of the naval quad, working in partnership at a strategic military level with Australia, Japan, and the United States. Together they jointly run a naval exercise called the Malabar.

These points which Zafar Ahmed raised vividly portray India's immediate objective: to squeeze strategic and power space from its main three competitors: Turkey, Pakistan, and China. It wants to gain demographic and military predominance in the GCC region while fulfilling its dream of implementing the RSS ideologies on the same lands.

These so-called bold moves of India in geopolitics, economics as well inside India. Such as alienating the Muslims, legalizing the demographic changes, violating international treaties, being voted as a temporary member of the Security Council, are not just due to the support from the western powers, which see India as a counter to the growing Chinese power. But due to disunity, hypocrisy, cowardness, and silence of other nations, especially the Muslim nations.

For the last 73 years, we have heard many speeches, seen reports, resolutions, statements of condemnation against human rights violations in IoJK, supporting our right to right of self-determination but unfortunately, that is all have only been that, just statements and speeches. It is time we wake up and ensure practical steps are taken to ensure a peaceful resolution of Kashmir.

The Grand Hindu Strategy, to create an extremist Hindu regime, cannot be allowed to progress and must be neutralized. It is a potent threat for Muslim countries in the Gulf, and Turkey, and will be used to destabilize and create further conflicts.

In these challenging times, the role and the responsibility of Muslim countries are immense, not only to safeguard the life and honour of their people but also to ensure the oppressed people are free and safe.

Especially Turkey has a critical role to play in this process, especially for the people of Kashmir, more now than in the past.

Turkish connections with the Kashmir region are deep. Our nations share many aspects of culture and traditions. The strength of our relations is embedded in our land of Kashmir. Galwan Valley and Dault Beg Oldi Road are named after Turkish noblemen. Many Turkish families have settled in Kashmir and have made Kashmir their home. With such strong ties throughout history, we the people of Kashmir do look towards Turkey for support.

To counter any such fascist movement that does not respect other races sees them as inferior and strategizes to eliminate and overtake them at any cost, we must be united.

This unity can be achieved, when we love and respect each other, appreciate each other's strengths, and help to overcome the shortcomings. We must build trust through initiatives that focus on education, development, cultural and tradition exchange programmes, increasing trade, and travel between the Muslim nations. For this, the Muslim nations such as Turkey and Pakistan must form strategic partners with the rest of the Muslim nations such as Malaysia and GCC countries.

The Muslim world must cooperate to meet economic needs, build trade relationships. Imagine how many of our nations would benefit from the amount of trade that Muslim nations are doing with India.

As president Sardar Masood Khan said we must build the BDS movement against such fascist nations, weakening their core strength. A tangible practical step that will have a positive impact on our struggle.

A clear, consistent policy must be implemented by Muslim nations, which ensures the Kashmir issue is core to any deal or talks with India. As Muslim nations, we have failed to implement a consistent policy on Kashmir across the board. After many efforts over the years, OIC officially and openly spoke about the illegal Indian Occupation and supported the United Nations resolution. A move that has been welcomed by all peace-loving people across the globe. We must now focus on ensuring such policies are followed by practical steps and supported by all Muslim countries.

At the government level, we must have dedicated political, and media divisions/cells that focus on Kashmir and its resolution, which will also help in shaping the policies for Kashmir in each country.

Special provisions must be made for the people of Indian occupied Kashmir in institutions, universities, organisations as well as businesses. It is important not to mix them with the Indian Quota, just because they carry an Indian Passport, which is their only option.

Residential provisions for people of Indian Occupied Kashmir to enter and reside, be able to work for the Kashmir cause.

The humanitarian crisis in Kashmir is going from bad to worse. Lockdowns, blockade on economic activities, education, and communication, have crippled Kashmir's economy. Kashmir is home to over 250,000 orphans, a Million of people with no income, people without shelter, widows without any support. Since lockdown started on 5th August 2019. Muslim countries must ensure humanitarian aid is sent, without any hindrance, to the people of Indian Occupied Kashmir.

It is crucial for Muslim nations not just to develop our people intellectually. Moreover, ensure we are united, and our people have the right skills to stand together and defend the liberties and rights of the enslaved people wherever and whenever needed. Restoring Freedom, Justice, and Peace to the troubled lands.

Zafar Ahmed cited the Hadith, "Believers are like one body in their mutual love and mercy. When one part of a body is in bad health, the rest of the entire body joins it in restlessness and lack of sleep and is busy with its treatment."

Leaders and masses alike of the Muslim nations have an obligation towards the wider ummah, especially the ones who are persecuted around the world. We have witnessed the destruction and genocide of many Muslim communities around the world.

Zafar Ahmed plead to each one of the panelists, please DON'T let this happen again in Kashmir. We must come together in stopping the Hindutva menace with sinister plans for Muslims of Kashmir. They want

to either force us to become Hindus or drive us from our land or kill us. The fascist movement will not just stop here. It will spread like wildfire.

Once again, He pleads to all of the panelists there to propagate this message to everyone they know so they can do their little bit in trying to avoid another genocide before it is too late.

Şeyh Muhammed Abdullah'ın Keşmir Tarihi Üzerindeki Etkileri

Impacts of Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah on Kashmir History

ZEKAI KARDAŞ¹

Keşmir sorunu hepimizin bildiği üzere Hindistan ve Pakistan'ın İngiliz boyunduruğundan kurtulup kendi bağımsızlıklarını edinme mücadelesi verdiği esnada dünya gündeminde yer buldu. Halkının ezici çoğunluğu Müslüman olan Keşmir'in Hindu Mahraca'ya şaibeli bir şekilde satılmasıyla Keşmir üzerinde oynanması planlanan ayak oyunlarına zemin hazırlamıştı.

Bu durum Hindistan ve Pakistan bölünürken en basit haliyle ifade edecek olursak “Müslüman olan Pakistan'da Hindu olan Hindistan'da kalır” şartını ihlal etmek için en kuvvetli argüman olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

Bugün Keşmir'in hakkını alması için örnek gösterilen referans karar malumunuz Birleşmiş Milletlerin aldığı plebisit kararıdır.² Bilindiği üzere Bu karar bugüne kadar çeşitli sebeplerle uygulanabilmiş değildir. Bugün Hindistan hükümetinin uyguladığı baskı ve yıldırma neticesinde sanki sistemli bir şekilde Keşmir'in Müslüman nüfusu hedef alınmış. Dünya gündemiyle yeterli yer bulması halinde olur da bir plebisit uygulandığında Keşmir halkın oyları bugüne kadar mücadeleşini verdikleri özgürlüklerini elde edecek sayıda olmayıabilir ne yazık ki.

Bugüne kadar Keşmir Filistin ile birlikte en uzun özgürlük mücadelesi verilen yerlerden birisi durumunda. Bu mücadelenin seyrine doğrudan etki eden Keşmir'de başbakanlık yapmış Şeyh Abdullah --anılan adıyla “Keşmir Aslanından” bahsetmek istiyorum. Bazen Hindistan

¹ Assoc. Prof. Dr., İstanbul University, Faculty of Letters, Urdu Language and Literatures Department.

² Birleşmiş Milletler (BM) Güvenlik Konseyi, Keşmir meselesinin çözümüne yönelik, (47) sayılı kararı almıştır. Bu kararda, Keşmir'in son durumunun BM gözetiminde yapılacak plebisit uygulaması ile belirlenmesi öngörülümüştür. Ancak birtakım politik aksaklıklar neticesinde bu karar hala uygulanabilmiş değildir.

hükümetinin çıkarlarına yarayacak şekilde hareket ederken bazen de en umulmadık zamanlarda bu çıkarlarla ters düşebilen neticesinde de kendisi zaman içerisinde Hindistan hükümeti tarafından hapse atılan bir şahsiyettir Şeyh Abdullah. Bu yüzdendir ki adı bazen hain bazen de kahraman olarak anılagelmiştir. Yalnız şurası su götürmez bir gerçektir ki Keşmir'in son 100 yıllık tarihinde özgürlük hareketi çerçevesinde önemli bir yere sahiptir.

Aslen Keşmirli olan Şeyh Abdullah 1905 doğumludur. Yüksekögreniminin bir kısmını Lahor'daki Islamia College da ve bir kısmını da Aligarh'daki Aligar Muslim University'de yapmıştır. Burada Aligarh Üniversitesinin önemini vurgulamak gereklidir. Burası Hindistan'da Sir Seyid Ahmet Han'ın başlattığı "Aligarh hareketi" neticesinde kurulmuş bir üniversitedir. En basit anlayımla Bu "Aligarh hareketi" İngiliz boyunduruğundan kurtulmak için Hint alt kıtasında yaşayan Müslümanların bilinçlendirilmesi ve etkin insanlar olarak topluma kazandırılmasını hedeflemiştir ve bunda başarıya ulaşmıştır.

Şeyh Abdullah da Aligarh'da okuduğu esnada tanıtıtiği şahıslar vesilesiyle özgürlükü ve yenilikçi fikirler edinmiştir. Bu yıllarda Keşmir'in çektiği sıkıntıların feodal yapıdan kaynaklandığını ve demokratik bir seçim döneminin oluşturulması gerektiğini düşünmeye başladı. Aligarh Üniversitesinden 1930 yılında mezun olmuştur.

1931 yılında Keşmir'in onde gelen Müslüman liderleri bir araya gelip Maharaca'nın feodal yönetiminden kurtulmak için birlik olmak amacıyla "All India Kashmir Committee" adında bir kurul oluşturulmuştur. Hatta bu kurula Ünlü şair Muhammed İkbal'de destek vermiştir. (Öyle ki bazı tarihçiler bu kurulun oluşmasına sebep olan şahsin Muhammed İkbal olduğunu bile söylelerler.) Burada Şeyh Abdullah dışa dönük ve mücadeleci yapısıyla toplumsal bir lider vasfinı kazanarak öne çıkmıştır.³

1932 yılına gelindiğinde ise Şeyh Abdullah All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference adında bir parti kurmuştur. Kendisi de bu partiye başkanlık etmiştir. Bu parti Keşmir'de kurulan ilk politik parti

³ Khan. Nyla Ali, (2018) Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah's Reflection on Kashmir, s:10 Palgrave McMillian Switzerland

hüviyetindedir. İroniktir ki bu partinin kuruluş amacı Keşmir'in Maharaca yönetiminden kurtulup İngiliz yönetimi altındaki Hindistan'a katılmaktır. Bu parti daha sonradan sadece Müslümanların değil Hindu ve Sihlerinde haklarını savunmak gayesiyle All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference adını almıştır. Bunda arkadaşı olan ve o dönemde Hindistan'ın başbakanı olan Hindu Jawahar Lal Nehru'nun etkisi büyütür. Şeyh Abdullah Nehru'nun dostluğuna o kadar itimat etmektedir ki Nehrunun etkisiyle yillardır Müslümanlara hizmet ettiği partisinin Müslüman kimliğini bir anda yok edebilmiştir⁴.

1946 yılında Şeyh Abdullah Maharaca'nın otokrat yönetimine karşı Gandhi'nin Hindistanı Terk et hareketinin benzeri Keşmir'i terket hareketi başlatmıştır. Bunun sonucunda 3 yıllık bir hapis cezasına çarptırılmış fakat 16 ay sonra salıverilmiştir.⁵

Bu dönemde Keşmir sorununun patlak verdiği en büyük merhalelerden biri de yaşanmak üzeredir. Ekim 1947'de Keşmir Müslüman Halkından gelen yardımları dikkate alarak Pakistan kabileleri Keşmir'e girdi ve Srinagar'a doğru ilerlemeye başladı. Bunun üzerine iddialara göre Maharaca Hindistan'dan yardım istedi ve bunun sonucunda da Keşmir'in Hindistan'a katıldığını ilan etti. Ve böylece Keşmir meselesi başlamış oldu.⁶ Bu gelişmeler esnasında Hindistan da taburlarıyla birlikte Keşmir'e girdi.

Keşmir'de bir savaş ortamı oluşunca Maharaca bölgede yerel kuvvetler oluşturdu ve bu kuvvetleri yönetmesi için Şeyh Abdullahı "Acil Durum Yönetimi" adlı bir askeri gücün başına getirdi. Bir buçuk yıl öncesine kadar kendine karşı eylemlerde bulunması sebebiyle hapse attıldığı Şeyh Abdullah'ı Nehru'ya ve Hindistan yönetimine yakınlığı sebebiyle bu görevde getirmeyi tercih etmişti. Şeyh Abdullah bu görevle bölgede yerel kuvvetlerin Hindistan askerlerine yardım edecek ve

⁴ Toker, Halil. (2017). Sebepleri ve Sonuçları ile Keşmir Meselesini Kavramak. s: İstanbul: Demavend.

⁵ Khan, a.g.e. s:12

⁶ Nuhoglu, Y. Hidayet (2003) Keşmir Meselesinde Anglo-Hindu İttifakı. Keşmir Dosyası s:92 İstanbul Tatav

dolayısıyla Pakistan'dan gelecek tehditlere karşı bölgeyi güvende tutmaya çalışacaktı.

1948 yılına gelindiğinde Maharaca Şeyh Abdullah'ı Keşmir Başbakanı olarak atadığını açıkladı.

İlk önce Keşmir'in Pakistan yerine Hindistan'a katılmasını savunurken daha sonradan Keşmir halkın kendi geleceğini tayin etmesi için plebisit yapılmasını savunduğundan Hindistan yönetimiyle arası açıldı. 1953 yılına gelindiğinde tutuklanarak cezaevine gönderilmiştir. 1958 yılında serbest bırakıldıysa da kısa bir süre sonra tarihte Keşmir Komplo Davası adıyla anılan ve Şeyh Abdullah ve arkadaşlarının vatana ihanet suçıyla yargılandığı bir dava sonucunda tekrar tutuklanmıştır. Bu davanın temel dayanağı ise Şeyh Abdullah'ın Hindistan gizli servisi raporlarına göre Pakistan ile gizli görüşmeler yaptığı saptanmıştır.⁷

1964 yılında Şeyh Abdullah bir kez daha serbest kaldıgında bu kez Nehru onun Pakistan ile köprü görevi görmesi için görevlendirdi. Şeyh Abdullah Pakistan başbakanı Eyüp han ile bir dizi görüşmelerde bulundu. Eyüp Han'ı Delhi'ye gelip Nehru ile görüşmeye ikna etti görüşme için tarih bile ayarlanmıştı ancak 27 Mayıs 1967'de Nehru ölünce bu görüşme gerçekleşmedi.

1965-1972 yılları arasında Keşmir'de şiddet olaylarına sebebiyet verdiği iddiasıyla tekrar hapse gönderilmiştir. Daha sonraları sağlığı bozulduğu gerekçesiyle kendisi siyasetten çekilmiş yerine oğlu Faruk Abdullah'ı siyaset sahnelerine devretmiştir. 1982 yılında da vefat etmiştir.⁸

Görüldüğü gibi davranışları neticesiyle bugün Keşmir sorununun bu hale gelmesinde en önemli aktörlerden biri konumundadır. Bugün Şeyh Abdullah gibi çok güçlü bir siyasi lider olarak başından beri Pakistan ve

⁷ Jagmohan, (2002) *My Frozen Turbulence in Kashmir*, s:101 Allied Publishers, Mumbai

⁸ Eryüksel, Ahmet (2003). Şeyh Muhammed Abdullah'ın Birleşmiş Milletler Güvenlik Konseyi'ne Mektubu ve Keşmir. Keşmir Dosyası s: İstanbul Tatav

Keşmir Halkının gerçek ihtiyacı doğrultusunda hareket etmiş olsaydı acaba bugün Keşmir hangi durumda olurdu?

DECLARATION SIGNED BY PARTICIPANTS OF THE CONFERENCE

A two-day International Kashmir Webinar was organized by the Department of Urdu, Istanbul University on June 29 – 30, 2020. The participants unanimously adopted the following declaration at the end of the conference:

1. That there must be an early, just, and durable resolution to the Jammu & Kashmir dispute following the United Nations Security Council resolutions.
2. The United Nations Security Council had enunciated that based on the agreement concluded between India and Pakistan, “the final disposition of the state of Jammu and Kashmir will be made as per the will of the people expressed through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under the auspices of the United Nations.”
3. The participants welcome the statement of Mr. Antonio Guterres, the Secretary-General that the position of the United Nations is to settle the Kashmir dispute according to the United Nations Charter and available Security Council resolutions.
4. They also welcome the reiteration of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan that “Turkey is in favor of resolving the Kashmir issue by taking into consideration the expectations of our Kashmiri brothers, through dialogue based on UN resolutions. Turkey will continue to stand by justice, peace, and dialogue in the resolution of the Kashmir issue and Turkey will continue to raise its voice against the oppression.”
5. They further welcome the report of the UN High Commissioner of Human Rights that India “fully respects the right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir as protected under international law.”
6. They condemn the Indian government's recent attempts at changing the demographic status by introducing the tendentious and politically motivated 'Jammu and Kashmir Grant of Domicile Certificate

(Procedure) Rules 2020.” It aims to alter the demographic character of the Muslim-majority territory at a time when the world's attention is focused on the worst public health and economic crises of our times because of Covid 19.

7. The participants condemn the serious crimes against humanity committed by the Indian military and paramilitary forces in Jammu & Kashmir. These crimes include genocide, massacres, extrajudicial killings, reprisal killings, arbitrary detention, torture, use of rape as a weapon of war, burning of houses, etc.

8. The participants condemned the efforts to muzzle the press and further expressed the need to restore the right to assemble and freedom of expression.

9. They demand that the Thematic Rapporteurs on Torture and Extrajudicial Killings and the Chairmen of the Working Group on Disappearances and Arbitrary Detention be allowed to visit Jammu & Kashmir to ascertain and report on gross and consistent violations of human rights there,

10. They demand the repeal of draconian laws, like, the Indian Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSAPA), Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA), Public Safety Act (PSA), etc.

11. They demand the release of all political prisoners languishing in jails, interrogation centers, and detained under emergency laws.

12. They call on the United Nations Secretary-General to appoint a special envoy on Kashmir and initiate a process of mediation to pave the way for the holding of a plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir as laid down by the UN Security Council resolutions.

13. They also call on the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) to renew to the Government of India its offer of sending its fact-finding and good offices missions to Jammu and Kashmir.

GUESTS AND PAPER PRESENTERS

GUESTS / KONUKLAR

H.E. Sardar Masood Khan, President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir /
Azad Cammu ve Keşmir Cumhurbaşkanı

H.E. Shibli Faraz, Senator, Federal Minister for Information and
Broadcasting, Pakistan / Senatör, Pakistan Federal Bilgi ve Yayın Bakanı

H.E. Ali Şahin, Member of Parliament, Chairman of Turkey-
Pakistan Parliamentary Friendship Group / Gaziantep Milletvekili,
Türkiye-Pakistan Parlamentolar Arası Dostluk Grubu Başkanı

H.E. Muhammad Syrus Sajjad Qazi, Ambassador of Pakistan /
Pakistan Büyükelçisi, Ankara

H.E. Lord Nazir Ahmed, Member of British House of Lords, UK /
Lordlar Kamarası Üyesi, Britanya

H.E. Bilal Khan Pasha, General Consulate of Pakistan / Pakistan
İstanbul Başkonsolosu

Dr. Ghulam Nabi Fai, Secretary General of World Kashmir
Awareness Forum, USA / Keşmir Farkındalık Forumu Genel Sekreteri,
Amerika

PAPER PRESENTERS / BİLDİRİ SAHİPLERİ

Atif Özbeý / Turkey, Kanal 5 Genel Yayın Koordinatörü

Emre Aktuna / Turkey, Bölgesel Kalkınma Uzmanı

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Farhan Mujahid Chak / Qatar, Qatar University /
Secretary-General of Kashmir Civitas

Dr. Farooq Adil / Pakistan, Former Consultant Media to the
President / Writer, Scholar

Ghulam Muhammad Safi / Azad Kashmir, All Parties Hurriyet Conference Leader

Dr. Ghulam Nabi Mir / USA, President of World Kashmir Awareness Forum

Prof. Dr. Halil Toker / Turkey, İstanbul Üniversitesi, Urdu Dili ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı Başkanı

Prof. Dr. Imtiaz Khan / USA, George Washington University

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Javid Sadiq / Pakistan, Resident Editor in Daily Nawa-e Waqt

Khalid Rahman / Pakistan, Director General of Institute of Policy Studies

Merve Şebnem Oruç / Turkey, Daily Sabah

Dr. Mubeen Shah / Malaysia, Former Director of the Kashmir Chamber of Commerce and Industry

Muhammad Tahir Tabassum / Pakistan, President/CEO INSPAD

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Muhammet Savaş Kafkasyalı / Turkey, Stratejik Düşünce Enstitüsü Başkanı

Dr. Raja Muhammad Sajjad Khan, Chief Editor Kashmir Today / Director Jammu Kashmir Liberation Cell

Rıza Yaşar/ Turkey, On4 TV

Salman Khan/South Africa, Founder of Kashmir Global Movement, Chairman of South African Kashmiri

Action Group, Founding President South African Kashmir Action Group

Prof. Dr. Waleed Rasool / Pakistan, International Islamic University, Director General at Institute of Multi-Track Dialogue, Development and Diplomatic Studies

Zafar Ahmed / UK, Chairman of Kashmir Campaign Global

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Zekai Kardaş / Turkey, İstanbul Üniversitesi, Urdu
Dili ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı Öğr. Üyesi

**DEPARTMENT OF URDU
ISTANBUL UNIVERSITY, 2020**