



Kashmir's Frozen Conflict: Way Forward for Pakistan, AJK, and Kashmiris under Indian Occupation

Umair Pervez Khan

PhD scholar at Selcuk University, Turkey,

Email: sardarumair99@gmail.com

IJKS: Vol. 3 - No. 1/2021

The IJKS

provides a forum for scientific exchange and public dissemination of up-to-date scientific knowledge on the Kashmir conflict, The IJKS is an independent, peer-reviewed, open-access journal.

The topics on which we concentrate—Kashmir conflict and violence—have always been central to various disciplines. Consequently, the journal encompasses contributions from a wide range of disciplines, including international affairs, political studies (geopolitics, political economy and other dynamics, diplomacy and public advocacy, law-based approaches, governance and economy (including micro and macroeconomics), self-determination and other solidarity rights public international law (including human rights and humanitarian laws and intergovernmental organizations), criminology, economics, education, ethnology, history, political science, psychology, social anthropology, sociology.

All articles are gathered in yearly volumes, identified by a QR Code in print volume with article-wise pagination. For more information, please visit www.prf.org

APA:Khan, Umair, Pervez. (2021). Kashmir's Frozen Conflict: Way Forward for Pakistan, AJK, and Kashmiris under Indian Occupation. International Journal of Kashmir Studies, 5, 55-79

Suggested
Citation:

Harvard: Umair Pervez, Khan, 2021. Kashmir's Frozen Conflict: Way Forward for Pakistan, AJK, and Kashmiris under Indian Occupation. International Journal of Kashmir Studies, 5, 55-79



Kashmir's Frozen Conflict: Way Forward for Pakistan, AJK, and Kashmiris under Indian Occupation

Umair Pervez Khan
Syed Mudassir Gardazi

Abstract

Kashmir conflict is one of the longest unresolved issues at the UN table. The post-August 5, 2019 situation in Indian Occupied Jammu & Kashmir (IOJK) has changed the dynamics of the conflict. India has already started implementing demographic changes in the areas under its occupation. It is safe to say that the Israeli settler-colonial model is being replicated by India. This has created a serious existential threat to the locals of IOJK. Since the revocation of Article 370, a prolonged lockdown has been imposed, which has become the longest ever lockdown in history—creating medical, socioeconomic, and other complications. Moreover, the response from the international community has not been enough to counter the threat to the entire edifice of human rights in IOJK. In this situation where the local voices are silenced by force and the international community is apparently not doing much, the role of the Azad Kashmir government and Pakistan has doubled. Understanding and emphasizing the dynamics and urgency of the roles played by Pakistan and AJK governments in such circumstances is the focal point of this research. This article analyses both the external systemic pressures and domestic factors

that shaped the response of Pakistan towards the Kashmir conflict historically and especially in the post-August 5 scenario using the paradigm of neoclassical realism. Employing descriptive and analytical research methods, this article discusses the factors determining the policy responses of the AJK government and social responses emerging out of the contemporary political climate of IOJK. Last but not the least, recommendations have been laid out for all the stakeholders involved in this frozen conflict.

Keywords: Kashmir Conflict, Pakistan, Azad Kashmir, Demographic Changes, IOJK

Introduction

Kashmir conflict is the longest lingering dispute on the UN agenda. It has remained the bone of contention between two Asian powers since their independence: India and Pakistan. The conflict has also been the progenitor of several issues in the global south, most importantly militancy. Both nuclear powers of the region have been competing with each other vis a vis the Kashmir conflict and even have resorted to the use of hard power at different times: three full-scale wars and a limited military conflict of Kargil 1999 increased the hostilities between the two rivals.

Historically, there have been many attempts to resolve the said conflict but all in vain. The chief diplomatic international organization, United Nations (UN), has even failed to resolve the dispute in the last seven decades. The bilateral approach has also been practiced for quite some time, but no comprehensive or decisive agreement was reached upon. Other approaches including third-party mediation and the famous four-point formula of President Musharraf also didn't bear any fruit. Recently, on August 5, 2019 move of the Indian state has further complicated the issue. Pakistan on the other hand has tried to use every diplomatic option to highlight the unlawful actions of India and has limited its response which is naturally seen by Kashmiris as insufficient.

This paper aims to discuss the contemporary behavior of the Pakistani state vis-a-vis the Kashmir conflict and analyzes the policy options for Pakistan and Sub-autonomous Azad Jammu & Kashmir (AJ&K) government through the lens of neo-classical realism. The methodology adopted for this study is qualitative in nature. Both primary and secondary data collection techniques have been used. The study is divided into two sections: first discusses the historical developments and factors that contributed to the deadlock in resolving the Kashmir conflict over seven decades; and, second half analyzes the post-August 5 situation and sheds light on the stalemate prevalent conveniently in the international community vis-a-vis the Kashmir dispute.

Theoretical Framework

The neo-classical realism model in international relations claims that the actions of a state in the international system can be defined by systemic variables, such as the distribution of power among states; cognitive variables, such as the perception and misperception of systemic pressures, other states goals, or threats; and domestic variables, such as state organizations, elites, and social actors within society, influencing the power and autonomy of action of the decision-makers in foreign policy.¹ Furthermore, its advocates complete the neorealist approach by suggesting that change in the international system directly influences the state's behavior vis-a-vis its foreign policy options. Scholars are of the point of view that domestic factors act as a channel that facilitates and help redirect pressures from the international system to shape units' foreign policy actions.²

Nevertheless, one of the neo-classical realists, Fareed Zakaria argues that international pressure remains the dominant factor in shaping the external policy of the state; so, a good foreign policy theory

¹ Gideon Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy," *World Politics* 51, no. 1 (October 1998).

² Randall L. Schweller, "Unanswered Threats: A Neoclassical Realist Theory of Under balancing," *International Security* 29, no. 2 (Fall 2004): 164.

should first inquire what effects international system has on states' behavior and foreign policy analysis should begin from studying the relative position of any particular state in the international system.³ The paradigm of Neo-classical realism has been used in this study for analysis of the factors that are influencing the choices of the policymakers sitting in Islamabad regarding the Kashmir conflict. The reason to choose said theoretical framework is that it will help the researcher to consider systemic, national, and other influences, specifying what aspects of the policy can be explained by which factors.⁴

Kashmir Conflict: A Historical Appraisal

The conflict of Kashmir dates back to the partition of the sub-continent. Kashmir was amongst one of many princely states in British India and had failed to accede to either Pakistan or India on the eve of partition. This led to the initiation of the conflict when the locals revolted against the Hindu ruler who was hesitating to accede to Pakistan as per the religious, economical, geographical, and social factors demanded. Soon after that, Indian forces landed in Srinagar at the request of the Maharaja, and hostility between newly formed dominions broke out. It continued till the UN intervened at the request of India in 1948.⁵ Pakistan accepted this intervention as the organization had been newly established to resolve the conflicts among states. A ceasefire agreement was signed, and long deliberations were held on the matter.

The then foreign minister of Pakistan, Sir Zafarullah Khan, along with his team, including the founding president of Azad Jammu & Kashmir Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, pleaded the Kashmir cause in the headquarters of the UN. India made its claim on the controversial Instrument of Accession (which was never produced at

³ Fareed Zakaria, *From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America's World Role* (United States: Princeton University Press, 1999): 198.

⁴ Zakaria, *From Wealth to Power*, 198.

⁵ Wahenguru Pal Singh Sidhu, Bushra Asif, and Cyrus Samii, "Chronology of the Kashmir Conflict," in *Kashmir New Voices, New Approaches* (Lahore: Vanguard Books (PVT) Ltd, 2009), 249-65.

UN in its original form⁶) while Pakistan built the case that the document was fake and the Maharaja had no right to decide the future of the people against the popular will; especially when his reign was overthrown by the locals in a successful revolt.⁷ The delegation was able to secure the right to self-determination for Kashmiris and landmark resolutions of April 21, 1948, and January 5, 1949, were passed accepting the right to choose of the Kashmiri people.

Initially, Pakistan succeeded in its diplomacy and was able to gain international support for the cause. This was because the international system was supporting the right to self-determination and the formation of new states was also being supported. Second World War was recently over and an organization like the UN was formed to support the liberal international order that was in its nascent phase. The Soviet Union and the U.S. were trying to make their allies in different regions and new states being decolonized were the most convenient options. Pakistan had a clear-cut inclination towards the west; contrary to India which was yet to take sides in international politics but was inclined towards the Soviets. Domestically, Pakistan was facing severe challenges due to immediate crises like that of refugees, financial issues, and weak infrastructure; but the policymakers were careful in designing the options for Kashmir. Furthermore, the leadership of AJK was taken into confidence regarding policy options. These factors advanced the efforts of the newly formed Pakistani state at the international diplomatic forum.

The failure of the UN in resolving the Kashmir conflict complicated the situation. Stakeholders tried to approach the conflict through different strategies including bilateral talks and even going for full-scale wars. However, the strategy of bilateral talks at different times proved futile. Even the wars of 1965 and 1971 didn't produce any

⁶ Arif Jamal, *Shadow War* (New York: Melville House, 2009), 56.

⁷ Jamal, *Shadow War*, 56.

solution to the Kashmir conflict. The amputation of Pakistan in the 1971 war led to the Simla Agreement of 1972 which altered the international personality of the Kashmir conflict as it provided India with an opportunity to project Kashmir as a bilateral issue.

Post-East Pakistan debacle, Pakistan suffered from severe shocks and the morale of the Pakistani nation was very low as 90,000 Pakistanis were held as prisoners of war in India. Though Kashmir's cause was echoed in international forums like the UN and Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC), it saw a stalemate for years to come.⁸ However, the Afghan-Soviet war encouraged non-state actors to wage Jihad in IOJK;⁹ it made things more complex regarding the conflict in question as militancy was introduced in the struggle of Kashmir. The valley saw violence for the following decade. Later, this militancy factor hurt the Kashmir cause and India got the international room to propagate that the indigenous nature of the freedom movement was state-sponsored terrorism by Pakistan. Around the end of the twentieth century, Pakistan went nuclear in response to the nuclear tests conducted by India in May 1998. This was solely on the pretext of the realist approach of balancing the power in the region. A year after, both atomic powers confronted each other in the highest battlefield of the world: Kargil. The limited-scale war rang the bell of nuclear conflict in the region and international powers intervened, and consequently, a nuclear confrontation was evaded.

Moreover, to India's luck twin tower attack happened which contributed to a shift of international opinion regarding militancy. Therefore, 9/11 extended an opportunity to India to link the Kashmiri freedom struggle and Global War on Terror (GWOT), at different forums, to attain maximum backing from altered global opinion. This active propaganda of India affected the Kashmir

⁸ Hasan-Askari Rizvi, "Islamabad's New Approach to Kashmir," in *Kashmir: New Voices, New Approaches*. (2009), 137-51.

⁹ Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, "The Kashmir Dispute: Key to South Asian Peace," *IPRI journal* 14, no. 1 (November/December 2014), 2.

conflict largely and its dynamics transformed to a greater extent. The war against terrorism exerted huge pressure on Pakistan and its approach to the conflict. In the post 9/11 scenario, it became difficult for Pakistan to support Kashmir's freedom struggle. The blurred distinction between just freedom fight and 'Islamic extremism/Fundamentalism' made the world more intolerant towards terrorism and militancy.¹⁰ It was not until 2016, with the martyrdom of Burhan Wani, that the indigenous color of the struggle was brought back to the world stage. The local young boy used social media accounts to project the legitimate freedom struggle of Kashmir in the international arena.¹¹ He was eliminated by the Indian occupying forces which refueled the freedom struggle. The Indian state is ruled by the right-wing Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP) further took repressive measures to curb the revolting voices. The pellet guns were used against the protestors and as many as 6,221 young people were either partially or completely blinded up till June 2018.¹² This particular year of turbulence left 160 civilians dead, which is believed to be the highest number in over a decade.¹³

Revocation of Article 370 and 35A

India has been torturing Kashmiris now for more than 7 decades, but the step taken in August 2019 is unprecedented in the long history of the Kashmir conflict. Indian parliament under the leadership of right-wing extremist RSS ideologue Narendra Modi withdrew the so-called autonomy given to the occupied region. Article 370, the constitutional link between the center and IOJK along with article 35A which had hitherto denied the outsiders permanent resident

¹⁰ Shaheen Akhtar, "War on Terrorism & Kashmir Issue," University of the Punjab (Accessed December, 2020), <http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/pols/Currentissue-pdf/SHAHEEN%20AKHTAR.pdf>

¹¹ Sabrina Gabel, Lillian Reichert, and Christian Reuter, "Discussing Conflict in Social Media: The Use of Twitter in the Jammu & Kashmir Conflict," *Media, War & Conflict* (December 2020), 1-26, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1750635220970997>.

¹² UN, *First-ever UN Human Rights Report on Kashmir Calls for International Inquiry into Multiple Violations*, (OHCHR, 2018), <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=23198%20>.

¹³ UN, *Update of the Situation of Human Rights in Indian-Administered Kashmir and Pakistan-Administered Kashmir from May 2018 to April 2019*, (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2019), https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Countries/IN/KashmirUpdateReport_

status in IOJK was revoked.¹⁴ This move was not only criticized by the pro-freedom leadership of Kashmir but also came as a betrayal to the pro-India Kashmiri leadership.¹⁵

The unilateral move was against the UN resolutions; so-called accession document as well as it violated India's own constitution.¹⁶ The abrogation of Article 35A, introduction of 'Reorganization Order' and 'Domicile rule' contravenes UN resolutions 122 and 126 adopted on January 24, 1957, and December 2, 1957, respectively.¹⁷ These resolutions prohibit any unilateral action targeted at changing the disputed nature of the State of Jammu & Kashmir either by India or Pakistan.¹⁸ Similarly, scrapping article 370 needed prior consent from the occupied state's assembly which was never sought.¹⁹ Secondly, Clause 7 of the Instrument of Accession signed by Maharaja Hari Singh declared that the state could not be compelled to accept any future constitution of India. The state was within its rights to draft its own constitution and decide for itself what additional powers should it extend to the central government²⁰ Article 370 was designed to protect those rights. Moreover, the Indian government's control over IOJK was limited to defense, foreign affairs, and communications, and Delhi could only use its power when the state government concerned with the central government.²¹ However, the Indian state took the illegal step using unprecedented and unwarranted hard power, increasing the number of troops to 900,000 and imposing a strict lockdown with a complete

¹⁴ Shaza Arif, "Kashmir Bleeds Again," *Modern Diplomacy*, last modified August 12, 2019, <https://modern diplomacy.eu/2019/08/10/kashmir-bleeds-again/>.

¹⁵ "Article 370: Former Chief Minister Says India Has Betrayed Kashmir," BBC News, last modified August 5, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-49231620>.

¹⁶ Kelly Buchanan, "FALQs: Article 370 and the Removal of Jammu and Kashmir's Special Status," Library of Congress Blogs, last modified October 3, 2019, <https://blogs.loc.gov/law/2019/10/falqs-article-370-and-the-removal-of-jammu-and-kashmir-special-status/>.

¹⁷ Halil Emre Aktuna Toker & Sheikh Waleed Rasool, *Kashmir: Regional and International Dimensions* (Islamabad: Institute of Multi-Track Dialogue, Development and Diplomatic Studies, 2020).

¹⁸ Toker & Rasool, *Kashmir: Regional and International Dimensions*.

¹⁹ Umair Pervez Khan, "Article 370: Resist to Exist!" *Daily Times*, November 13, 2019, <https://dailytimes.com.pk/499201/article-370-resist-to-exist/>.

²⁰ Khan, "Article 370: Resist to Exist!" *Daily Times*, November 13, 2019.

²¹ Ahmed Saeed Minhas, Bashir Ahmad, and Masrur Alam Khan, "Seizing Kashmir's Identity: Implications for Global Peace and Stability," *NDU Journal* 33 (2019): 63-82.

communications blackout.²² The internet service was shut down and the entire valley was turned into an open prison. Medical services were obstructed and even ambulances were attacked. The valley has seen a three-tiered curfew since the revocation of autonomy: the local population suffered first due to military curfew, the second was the winter-induced lockdown, and in March 2020 it was imposed once again by Delhi under the pretext of Coronavirus outbreak.

Since the withdrawal of the special status, illegal military actions accelerated in the region and killed 229 people, destroyed 48 structures by conducting 100 military operations in the year 2020.²³ The economy of the occupied region has suffered heavy losses and according to a report by Kashmir Chamber of Commerce, occupied Kashmir has suffered a total loss of (Indian) Rs. 31,200 Crores, from August 5 to May 2020.²⁴

Apart from the killings of innocent locals and damage to property, revocation of the said article has additional implications for Kashmiris. India has paved the way to malign the identity of IOJK firstly by dissolving the articles and then introducing new legislations and splitting the occupied state into two union territories (UTs).²⁵ BJP government, projecting Hindutva ideology, intends to change the demography of the Muslim majority state and convert it into a Hindu dominated region. The administration has already issued more than 25,000 domiciles to the non-natives in a stark violation of UN resolutions.²⁶ Imitating its partner, Israel, India is replicating the Israeli model in IOJK except adopting the inclusive

²² Moin Ul Haque, "The Forgotten Lockdown," *The News*, June 14, 2020, <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/672217-the-forgotten-lockdown>.

²³ "One Year of India's Clampdown in Occupied Kashmir — Here's Everything You Need to Know," *Dawn*, August 13, 2020, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1514652>.

²⁴ Umair Pervez Khan, "What is Kashmir Going through since August 5, 2019?," *Daily Times*, August 5, 2020, <https://dailytimes.com.pk/649509/what-is-kashmir-going-through-since-august-5-2019/>.

²⁵ "India Strips Kashmir of Special Status and Divides it in Two," *The Guardian*, October 31, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/oct/31/india-strips-kashmir-of-special-status-and-divides-it-in-two>.

²⁶ "Kashmir Muslims Fear Demographic Shift As Thousands Get Residency," *Al Jazeera*, last modified June 28, 2020, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/6/28/kashmir-muslims-fear-demographic-shift-as-thousands-get-residency>.

settler colonial model rather than the exclusive settler colonial model. Kashmir is another Palestine in the making.

Moreover, the fear of a bloody insurrection in IOJK has also mounted as the policy makers in Delhi are continuously trying to use hard power to suppress the anger in the local population. To divert the attention from the actual problem, hawks sitting in Delhi may also implicate Pakistan in the Kashmiri freedom struggle as they did in February 2019 by orchestrating the attack on their own troops in Pulwama,²⁷ which led to direct confrontation between two air forces. The possibility is high and India might plan a limited war if not full-scale war as the situation along the ceasefire line depicts. According to a report, in the year 2020, 3,003 ceasefire violations were recorded, resulting in 27 deaths and serious injuries to 250 civilians.²⁸

Repealing article 370 also has implications for the Indian state itself. The political clout of India has declined in IOJK as the pro-India politicians have made alliances against this decision.²⁹ The former chief minister of IOJK Farooq Abdullah has also made a fresh statement to include Pakistan in the dialogues calling it a major stakeholder in the Kashmir conflict.³⁰ This is a source of discontent in Delhi, which could be cashed in favor of the people of Kashmir at the international level.

Furthermore, the movie depicts the hegemonic design of the Indian state. It is trying to assert itself as the regional hegemon which has been opposed by Pakistan on one side and on the other China has taken serious note of these hegemonic designs of the Hindutva state.

²⁷ "Indian Conspiracy behind Pulwama Attack Exposes Arnab Goswami," *The Nation*, January 16, 2021, <https://nation.com.pk/16-Jan-2021/indian-conspiracy-behind-pulwama-attack-exposes-arnab-goswami>.

²⁸ Huaxia, "India Carries Out Over 3,000 Ceasefire Violations this Year: Pakistan," XinhuaNet, last modified December 21, 2020, http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/202012/21/c_139605429.htm#:~:text=In%202020%2C%20the%20Indian.

²⁹ A.G Noorani, "Kashmir's Future," *Dawn*, October 24, 2020, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1586748>.

³⁰ Noorani, "Kashmir's Future," *Dawn*, October 24, 2020.

The regional balance is being disturbed; so, China has given a strong message to India in the area of Ladakh by entering into the region and increasing its military presence. The Chinese acted offensively and serious skirmishes have also occurred between the Indian military and Chinese armed forces which led to the humiliation of the Indian forces.³¹ Consequently, this implies that this move of India has implications for the whole of the South Asian region and is also a test case for the UN.

Response of Pakistan

August 5, 2019 actions of New Delhi left Islamabad in shock. Pakistan, being a main stakeholder in the Kashmir conflict started to analyze its options against the aggressive move made by its geopolitical archrival. It immediately approached the UN and in the next month of September, Pakistani premier Imran Khan in a well-articulated detailed address to the UN General Assembly (UNGA) condemned the unilateral act of India. He, while addressing the world leaders, warned of a pogrom of Muslims in IOJK by fascist Modi.³² Pakistan started to lobby internationally to highlight the illegality of the move and the atrocities committed by India in IOJK. It immediately approached the US, China, Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC), and the UN;³³ although it didn't yield the expected results.

Furthermore, the national assembly of Pakistan passed a unanimous resolution condemning and rejecting the unilateral illegal move by India.³⁴ It also suspended bilateral trade including *Samjhota Express* and *Dosti Bus* and expelled Indian High Commissioner from Islamabad and didn't send its own High Commissioner to New

³¹ "India Now Says 20 Troops Killed in China Clash," BBC News, last modified June 16, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-53061476>.

³² "PM Imran Mince no Words at UN, Calls Out Modi Govt for the Oppression of Kashmiris," *Dawn*, September 27, 2019, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1507675>.

³³ Saral Sharma, "The Political Impact of India's Removal of Jammu & Kashmir's Special Status," *South Asian Voices*, last modified August 30, 2019, <https://southasianvoices.org/understanding-the-political-impact-of-indias-removal-of-jammu-kashmir-s-special-status/>.

³⁴ Minhas, Ahmad, and Khan, "Seizing Kashmir's Identity," 75.

Delhi.³⁵ Government of Pakistan also announced to celebrate Independence Day as Kashmir Solidarity Day and August 15 as black day.³⁶

Pakistani diplomats were continuously engaged in lobbying for the situation of IOJK, accumulating support for their stance in the international political arena. Pakistan also provided evidentiary dossiers to the UN about illegal activities of India which have been contrary to the UN Charter.³⁷ All these efforts are appreciable; however, the momentum which was gained at an international level right after the revocation of article 370 couldn't sustain for long. Once again, the global political environment favored India and global focus was diverted. The entire world affairs started to revolve around the Covid-19 pandemic and despite IOJK being in complete lockdown, the world hardly budged.

Moreover, India took maximum advantage of the situation and immediately tightened the lockdown in IOJK under the pretext of the Coronavirus. The Indian media, using its propaganda techniques along with state support, framed the situation in its favor. Indian state arranged a visit of right-wing European MPs to IOJK to give a message of normalcy to the international community.³⁸ India's fake media outlets around the world were activated to spread fake information regarding IOJK and against Pakistan. This phenomenon was exposed in a report published by EU Dis Info Lab last year.³⁹

³⁵ Minhas, Ahmad, and Khan, "Seizing Kashmir's Identity," 75.

³⁶ "Nation Celebrates Independence Day as Kashmir Solidarity Day," *The News*, August 14, 2019, <https://www.thenews.com.pk/latest/511817-nation-celebrates-independence-day>.

³⁷ "Pakistan Gives UN a Dossier on India, New Delhi Dubs it 'lies'," *Al Jazeera*, last modified November 25, 2020, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/11/25/pakistan-gives-un-a-dossier-on-india-new-delhi-dubs-it-lies>.

³⁸ "Outrage Over Right-Wing Euro-MPs' Kashmir Visit," *BBC News*, last modified October 30, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-50231022>.

³⁹ "Indian Chronicles: Deep Dive into a 15-Year Operation Targeting the EU and UN to Serve Indian Interests," *EU DisinfoLab*, last modified December 9, 2020, <https://www.disinfo.eu/publications/indian-chronicles-deep-dive-into-a-15-year-operation-targeting-the-eu-and-un-to-serve-indian-interests/>.

Nevertheless, right before the anniversary of the Indian illegal act of repealing autonomy of IOJK, Pakistan published a new political map of Pakistan including the whole state of Jammu & Kashmir in its area⁴⁰. In another move, the government of Pakistan renamed Kashmir Highway as Srinagar Highway in its capital city.⁴¹ These steps were responded with mixed opinions amongst political commentators. Some of them saw these as a matter of routine solidarity initiatives while others considered these unnecessary and to some extent damaging the Kashmir cause. Anyhow, these acts are of cosmetic nature and the state of Pakistan must go beyond these steps to formulate a consistent and coherent policy on Kashmir.

Response of the International Community

Kashmir conflict is an internationally recognized conflict between two nuclear rivals; so, the responsibility of the international community is manifold to resolve it. However, after seven decades the international community has failed to find a solution to this potential nuclear flashpoint. The dispute was taken to the UN as early as 1948 which has put efforts to resolve it but all in vain. Early delay tactics of India and later denial of the conflict have made it complicated for the UN to arrange a plebiscite as decided by its several resolutions. UN had been active for the first ten years of the conflict but lately, it had been reluctant to discuss the issue assertively. It has even been suggested that the failure of the UN to implement its resolutions on Kashmir lies in the mishandling of the conflict at the time of its origin. The organization considered it a political dispute rather than judging it on legal grounds in the context of the Instrument of Accession and other legalities.

Additionally, the internal decision-making process of the organization has restricted meaningful action. The major global powers have their role in the UN decision-making mechanism;

⁴⁰ "In a Landmark Move, PM Imran Unveils 'New Political Map' of Pakistan," *Dawn*, August 4, 2020, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1572590>.

⁴¹ "Pakistan Renames Kashmir Highway as Srinagar Highway," *The Nation*, August 3, 2020, <https://nation.com.pk/03-Aug-2020/pakistan-renames-kashmir-highway-as-srinagar-highway>.

hence, the P5 influences the ability of the UN to take any concrete actions. For instance, several resolutions against India have been vetoed by Russia in UNSC.⁴² The vested interests of P5 in different regions have also contributed to the stalemate in the Kashmir resolution.

Recently, UNSC held consultative meetings on the request of China but without issuing any official statement.⁴³ UNSC members showed deep concern over the use of force and communications blackout in IOJK.⁴⁴ UN has an obligation towards the unresolved dispute as it guaranteed the right to self-determination to Kashmiris. Even the US had supported the right to self-determination of the Kashmiris in the early phase of the conflict, but its policy has changed over time due to its strategic and economic interests in the South Asian region.⁴⁵ War on Terror influenced the way Washington looked at such freedom movements and it also asked Pakistan to change its Kashmir policy. Musharraf made an abrupt U-turn for the Kashmir cause which had implications for Kashmir as well as Pakistan itself. The US also intervened to manage the conflicts between India and Pakistan i.e., Kargil. Different presidents of the US have time and again offered their good office for mediation but didn't find the will to face the Indian ire.⁴⁶ Same was the case this time after the limited autonomy of IOJK was annulled. The US President Donald Trump offered to mediate⁴⁷ but didn't afford to lose a large Indian market and a potential competitor to China in the region; thus, the statement he made was merely lip service.

⁴² M. Feyyaz, "P-5 Members and UN Conflict Resolution Approaches," *South Asian Journal* 28 (April/May 2010).

⁴³ Anwar Iqbal, "UNSC Reviews Kashmir Situation as Protesters Condemn Indian Action," *Dawn*, August 6, 2020, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1572879>.

⁴⁴ Iqbal, "UNSC Reviews Kashmir Situation as Protesters Condemn Indian Action," *Dawn*, August 6, 2020.

⁴⁵ Ershad Mahmud, "Post-Cold War US Kashmir Policy," *Policy Perspectives* 2, no. 1 (April 2005).

⁴⁶ Mahmud, "Post-Cold War US Kashmir Policy."

⁴⁷ Kunwar K. Shahid, "The End of Article 370: How Pakistan Surrendered Kashmir," *The Diplomat*, last modified August 12, 2019, <https://thediplomat.com/2019/08/the-end-of-article-370-how-pakistan-surrendered-kashmir/>.

Similarly, the Kashmir conflict is the legacy of British colonialism, as the Kashmir dispute is often referred to as the unfinished agenda of the partition plan, the UK today bears responsibility towards its solution. The UK does support the right to choose of the Kashmiri people as a matter of principle but has been calling the Kashmir conflict a bilateral issue.⁴⁸ In the wake of August 5, 2019, it had acted cautiously towards calling India an aggressor; although, it did voice concerns about the human rights violations in IOJK.⁴⁹ Few of the UK lawmakers have been successful in initiating the debate on the Kashmir conflict in the UK parliament, which is a positive step towards recognition of the Kashmir conflict as an international dispute by the UK.⁵⁰ However, Pakistan along with the Kashmiri diaspora must do a lot more to swing public opinion of the UK in Kashmir's favor which will ultimately compel the British government to act.

China has backed Pakistan's stance at international forums with a careful approach. It criticized India over its hegemonic designs in the region and the illegal move made by it in August 2019. The rising global power lobbied for the hearing of UNSC on the matter twice. It also had reacted aggressively towards the Indian move of building road infrastructure in the disputed region of Ladakh and moved its troops there claiming the area under its control.⁵¹ China has cautiously supported Pakistan. Although, according to some reports (which have been negated by Pakistan) China asked Pakistan to recognize Gilgit Baltistan (GB), the starting point of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) on the Pakistani side, as a

⁴⁸ Rahul Roy Chaudhury, "The Kashmir Factor in UK-India Relations," IISS, last modified March 6, 2020,

<https://www.iiss.org/blogs/analysis/2020/03/sasia-the-kashmir-factor-in-uk-india-relations>.

⁴⁹ Chaudhury, "The Kashmir Factor in UK-India Relations."

⁵⁰ "UK Parliament Debate Made Clear Kashmir is Not India's 'Internal Issue': FM," *Dawn*, January 15, 2021,

<https://www.dawn.com/news/1601662/uk-parliament-debate-made-clear-kashmir-is-not-indias-internal-issue-fm>.

⁵¹ Jeffrey Gettleman and Steven Lee Myers, "China and India Brawl at 14,000 Feet Along the Border," *The New York Times*, May 30, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/30/world/asia/india-china-border.html>.

province. If done, this would harm the Kashmir cause internationally.

Muslim countries that supported the Kashmir cause historically included the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA), United Arab Emirates (UAE), Turkey, Malaysia, and Iran with other small states as well; however, in the recent scenario, the leading Arab nations KSA and UAE tilted towards India and awarded their highest national awards to Indian Prime Minister Modi for his role in improving bilateral trade.⁵² The approach of KSA and other Arab countries about the recent lockdown in Kashmir did affect the role of OIC as the organization didn't issue immediate strong criticism of the Indian move instead it hosted India in its meeting as a guest of honor earlier in 2019.⁵³ The changing relation of Muslim countries with India validates the realpolitik argument –after all the Arab Gulf countries trade 100 billion USD annually with India.⁵⁴ Turkish president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan and Malaysian premier Mahathir Muhammad raised their voice against the Indian unilateral move and its human rights violations in the 74th UNGA session.⁵⁵

Way Forward

a) Pakistan

Pakistan has always supported the right to self-determination of the Kashmiri people irrespective of the external and domestic factors influencing its ability to support Kashmiris. The recent global environment has been biased and not favoring Pakistan as in the contemporary realm of international relations, political economy is the key determinant of a state's ability to change the global opinion in its favor. On the other hand, the huge economic market, one of

⁵² Minhas, Ahmad, and Khan, "Seizing Kashmir's Identity," 75.

⁵³ Shahid, "The End of Article 370."

⁵⁴ Minhas, Ahmad, and Khan, "Seizing Kashmir's Identity," 75.

⁵⁵ Prashant Dhawan, "Countries That Raised the Kashmir Issue at the UN General Assembly 2019: Full Analysis," India Today, last modified October 4, 2019, <https://www.indiatoday.in/education-today/gk-current-affairs/story/countries-that-raised-the-kashmir-issue-at-the-un-general-assembly-2019-divd-1606255-2019-10-04>.

the largest arms importers of the world with a high defense budget, running fake media and propaganda outlets throughout the world is what makes India more favorable in the eyes of global powers. Similarly, the Chinese factor gives India an opportunity to sell itself to the west as a natural balancer vis a vis China's rising power. Thus, the US and western powers are pampering India as a potential regional competitor to China so that the Chinese global rise may be delayed, if not stopped.

Moreover, the political economy based on global and regional realignments are indicating the shift in the world order. Two blocks are predictable in the coming future as China, Russia along with Pakistan, Iran and Turkey can make a strategic block while the major western powers, the US and India with other Middle Eastern countries may form another. This may take time, but one can see it coming.

In this background, what Pakistan should do is that it must sustain the international personality of the Kashmir conflict and emphasize the solution according to the UN resolutions. It must not let the moral high ground of its narrative diminish in international diplomacy. To achieve this, it must be cautious in taking any internal or external step which might damage the Kashmir conflict internationally. The delicate matter like GB must be dealt with high intellect and utmost care as declaring GB as the fifth province will give a reason to India for legitimizing its illegal move of August 5, 2019. Additionally, India and the west must not be provided with a cause to link the indigenous Kashmiri struggle with state-sponsored terrorism. Any step in the wrong direction will hurt the Kashmir cause to an irreparable extent. Furthermore, the case of Kashmir must be presented on international platforms as a case for the right to self-determination and human rights violations.

Most importantly, Pakistan needs to develop economically as it is the key factor for determining the state's power in the global system. The CPEC project must be completed and new regional and national

initiatives of economic development must be taken. Secondly, relations with the other two neighbors, Afghanistan and Iran, must be revisited. It should remain relevant in the new Afghan regime and make efforts to rebuild the trust with Iran as it will bring stability in the region, ultimately benefitting Pakistan.

The change in public opinion of smaller states is also as important as of major powers; so, Pakistan must work on the less globally recognized countries as all the countries at the UN have one vote each. To attain the objective, engaging the Pakistani and Kashmiri diaspora is most important; as about 800,000 Kashmiris live in Britain and about 1.2 million are scattered around the world. The non-technical diaspora communities like students do have the intellectual potential to project the Kashmir cause internationally but they lack finances, thus not being able to mobilize the public opinion and policymakers of the host countries. If provided little assistance, they can make a huge difference in swinging the public opinion in different capitals.

The use of social media is even more significant than that of conventional media when it comes to countering propaganda or shaping narratives. Pakistan must focus on the social media sites to regulate them as well as to project the true situation of IOJK in the world. This will help counter the Indian false narrative as it has invested a large amount even to maintain fake media outlets being disclosed in recent EU Dis Info Lab findings.

International scholars and journalists must be engaged and produce extensive literature on the legal aspects of the Kashmir conflict. Lobbying for the UN to revisit the Kashmir question through the legal lenses must be started and for this, a proper plan for approaching lawmakers of different important countries must be devised. A platform like OIC must be used but other regional platforms like Shanghai Corporation Organization (SCO) could be a potential podium for exerting pressure on India as its composition does favor Pakistan at present.

Furthermore, Pakistan must use the frustration of the IOJK leadership at the international level as it has openly criticized India's recent acts. The acceptance for India in IOJK has reduced so, this is the time Pakistan must step in and take full advantage of the situation in favor of the Kashmiri people. Likewise, timely exposing the Indian choreographing of the terrorist incidents for implicating Pakistan is significant, so that international branding of India could be countered.

To conclude, the government of Pakistan along with all the stakeholders including military and Kashmiri leadership should make a multidimensional, coherent long-term as well as short-term strategy viz a viz Kashmir in all areas including but not limited to political, economic, strategic, and media to name a few. Furthermore, in present circumstances, Pakistan should have a retrospection of its policies on Kashmir at the parliamentary level and define the role of leadership of Kashmir in policy matters regarding the Kashmir conflict. Prime Minister Imran Khan has reiterated himself as an ambassador of Kashmir but let's Kashmiris be their ambassadors. Change your strategy and let Kashmiris speak for themselves. The relation between Pakistan and Kashmir is of trust. Strengthen this bond and back them diplomatically, politically, and ethically. Kashmiris are vocal and can articulate their case in the international arena. This will make the Indians task harder as the world will get to know a detached version of the events from the victims themselves.

The people who have the stakes, let them explain their miseries to the world. The words of others will not do much good as the tone and pain in the victim's voice would do. Send historians, scholars, students and more significantly the victims to international forums to shake the conscience of the world community. Let the world listen to the voices of the voiceless and know the original version of the story instead of seeing this matter as a question of India and Pakistan!

And last but not the least; despite all the odds, Pakistan must be ready militarily to retaliate against any offensive designs of India regarding the international boundary. The nuclear option is obviously the last resort but nuclear deterrence could be used to limit India's expansionist designs.

b) Government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir

In the wake of the uprising in 1947, a small strip of AJK along with GB was liberated by Dogra forces and the Indian army. Later, a revolutionary government was formed and with time it changed into a democratic government to run the affairs of the state, but it maintained its character as the 'basecamp' for the freedom struggle of Kashmir. No doubt, the fight for liberation stands chiefly on two factors: the sacrifice of the IOJK people and the structure of the sub-autonomous AJK government. Therefore, AJK must be given a greater role in the policy-making vis-a-vis Kashmir cause without disturbing its Sub-autonomous structure; rather it should be given more autonomy.

Recently, India has been acting aggressively and has severed IOJK in two union territories, merging them in Indian dominion has now shifted its claim over Kashmir from a "bilateral issue" to its internal matter of the state. This has posed a serious challenge for the role of the sub-autonomous government of AJK, which claims to itself as the basecamp of the freedom struggle.

In this scenario, the foremost obligation of the government of AJK, with its limited authority, is to make sure that the international persona of the conflict is not diluted. The most effective way of doing this is to synchronize the efforts of different diaspora groups throughout the world. Here comes the role of the diaspora community leaders and AJK leadership. They must devise a strategy to keep the IOJK leadership in the loop and provide a unified front for one-point agenda i.e. Right to self-determination. Until the

efforts of the groups will not be channelized, they will not be able to have the desired effect on the political hub of different countries.

Moreover, after the revocation of Article 370 and initiation of the Citizenship Amendment Act, the youth of IOJK in general and AJK, in particular, feel alienated. They need direction from the leadership of AJK; else they are falling prey to the Indian narrative. To counter this, a concrete plan from the government of AJK is required. The recent EU Dis Info Lab report has cited that the AJK youth has been projecting the Indian narrative at international forums. AJK government does not have the resources to fund the scholars indigenously, so it must prepare a database of scholars from AJK already studying in different universities abroad and take them on board so that they may counter the Indian propaganda internationally. This will help the AJK government to emphasize its own identity as well as will help the Kashmir conflict unimaginably in the long run as the students do have the intellectual potential but need direction and little backing. Similarly, it must warn the people of IOJK not to sell their land to foreigners. An extensive media campaign should be initiated which may expose the Indian designs of making Kashmir another Palestine. This is necessary to be done on a priority basis as the Hurriyat leadership is either in jail or under house arrest.

The freedom struggle has gone through different phases and is now completely transformed. In this critical juncture of history, no scholarship is present on either side of the CFL. Recently, the AJK government took the initiative of establishing an indigenous research think tank in AJK, Policy and Research Forum, which is trying to produce research regarding the Kashmir conflict, but such forums need more autonomy to produce better results. This is highly recommended that more think tanks and autonomous research institutes be developed in the region with the collaboration of universities. It will help to document and project research-based information to the international community.

Furthermore, it is the responsibility of the AJK government to engage with the people and authorities of GB on regular basis. Their genuine concerns must be heard and also, they be given voice in the policy-making circles of Pakistan: to help them get their constitutional rights but make sure that no arrangement is done out of the UN framework.

AJK government also holds the responsibility to train the youth in a manner that they can lead the nation in the coming future. Leadership is the prime factor in such movements so the youth must be given confidence in a way that they could carry the burden of leadership in the coming time. Likewise, framing the heroes of such long resistance movements is necessary. Unfortunately, we have been failing in projecting the heroes with few exceptions. The AJK government, having opportunities must devise a sound media strategy to project and frame the poster boys of the movement as was done in Burhan Wani's case.

The importance of seminars, conferences, demonstrations, and protests could not be undermined. AJK government is already doing such activities, but international seminars and conferences must be conducted in AJK on regular basis to make sure that our voice is not echoing. Similarly, universities must be directed to train the students to use the UN complaint mechanism in a proper way. This would help the record to be put straight and will be helpful for the documentation of original stories from IOJK internationally.

Art, poetry and music are free of any physical boundaries. It has been historically used by different nations to inspire the youth for ages. The erstwhile state of Jammu and Kashmir, across CFL, share a sense of strong common identity which must be preserved through these connecting ways. The government should engage creative artists and craft a policy to support the local, national and international sympathizers of the protect and project the very identity of the larger state of Jammu and Kashmir.

Lastly, since the abrogation of the special status of IOJK India is on its way to eroding the individual character of Kashmir, so the way forward for the AJK government is to emphasize and preserve the identity of whole Kashmir until the success of the continuing freedom struggle and to make sure that struggle continues hope must not die!

c) People of IOJK

The people of IOJK have become the symbol of resistance across the world. The resolve and commitment shown by them are exemplary. Since the inception of the conflict, they have sacrificed in every possible way. Total people killed by occupational Indian forces in IOJK count 95,723 from 1989 to December 2020⁵⁶. Other than killing the youth, the occupational forces have resorted to gang rapes, forceful disappearances, destroying infrastructure, making humans as shields, use of pellet guns to blind the protestors, and depending on excessive inhumane force to curb the voices⁵⁷. In recent times, the phenomenon of mass graves has shocked the world and according to a report 2373 unnamed graves have been discovered in only three districts of IOJK⁵⁸.

Moreover, the killing of prominent journalists, civil society activists and advocates is a day-to-day affair in IOJK. UN has shown its deep concern regarding the impunity for the occupational forces in IOJK as no military personnel has been charged for grave human rights crimes⁵⁹. Adding to this, the population of IOJK has been time and again betrayed by Indian leadership, local politicians and the international community. Nor the Indian state has fulfilled the promise of its founding father, Nehru, of holding free plebiscite nor the UN has been successful in delivering its commitment to

⁵⁶ "HR Violations (From Jan 1989 till 31 Dec 2020)," Kashmir Media Service, (Accessed January 18, 2021), <https://kmsnews.org/news/>.

⁵⁷ UN, "First-ever UN Human Rights Report."

⁵⁸ Angana P. Chatterji et al., *Buried Evidence-Unknown, Unmarked, and Mass Graves in Indian-administered Kashmir*, (Srinagar: International People's Tribunal on Human Rights and Justice in Indian-Administered Kashmir, 2009).

⁵⁹ UN, "First-ever UN Human Rights Report."

Kashmiris by giving them the right to choose. Still, the resolve of Kashmiris has proven to be unprecedented in the history of the modern freedom struggle.

The resistance movements across the globe go through an evolution process. The thing that remains constant is the relation between insurrectionary and the environment. Likewise, the international systemic pressure cum domestic environment has also influenced the way of resistance in IOJK. The generations of IOJK have witnessed three phases of conflict transformation. The first phase of the early years of conflict had the opportunities and hopes for the international community to play its part, especially the UN. Secondly, the wars between India and Pakistan resulted in the introduction of militancy in IOJK as guerilla warfare was the popular way of resistance in the 1980s across the globe. The youth started to join the militant organizations and resisted the occupation through an arms struggle, but it couldn't last long in an effective manner due to the launch of GWOT. The third and recent phase is a new phenomenon of street protests and the use of social media that had put India in an awkward situation in the eyes of the international community as well as has made it difficult for Delhi to control these massive protests and information flow. Nevertheless, due to record massive rallies in the years, 2008, 2010 and especially post-Burhan Wani martyrdom created international headlines exposing Indian atrocities.

Resultantly, the Indian state prior to revoking the autonomy of the area, deployed additional 200,000 soldiers, making the region one of the most militarized zones of the world, to curb the street protests. The strict and longest lockdown in the recent political history of the world was imposed for more than a year, making it possible, at least for the time being, that India had managed to keep low the intensity of the physical protests. However, despite strict lockdown measures and communication blackout, the youth of IOJK has somehow managed to uncover the Indian atrocities through the use of social media, publishing articles and pictures. Three journalists from IOJK

got Pulitzer Prize for covering the lockdown era in the occupied region along with another photojournalist, Massrat Zahra, winning international honor for “Courage in Photojournalism award”.⁶⁰

Furthermore, the people of IOJK are now facing an existential threat in their own land as New Domicile Law allows outsiders to settle in IOJK. Already 25,000 domiciles are awarded to the ‘strangers’ by Delhi and the communal balance in the region is being changed. The ongoing demographic changes will ultimately convert the valley of Kashmir into Palestine of South Asia. To counter this malicious design of India, the local population of IOJK especially the youth must take the lead. It must educate the elder populace not to sell their land and try to resist the colonization process by strong awareness campaign with other tactics as well including mass protests, boycotts of so-called elections and use of calculated hand force wherever possible.

As mentioned earlier, the relation between insurrectionary and environment is the constant factor, so the youth of the IOJK must act according to the available domestic and global environment. In the present time, as the global scenario is in the transition phase, so the people of IOJK must survive this difficult chapter of the freedom movement with no apparent “outside” help. To attain this, the youth must reject the traditional collaborators and rely on popular mass support. It must exploit the Indian unpopular recent moves and cash on to get maximum backing of the people. It will earn international attention.

Additionally, the UN complaint mechanism along with other international human rights organizations must be approached via social media and other platforms on regular basis to expose the Indian designs in the world. A strong connection with the diaspora scattered across the globe and with the people of AJK across CFL

⁶⁰ Masrat Zahra Wins IWMF's 'Courage in Photojournalism Award', (International Women Media Foundation, 2020), <https://www.iwmf.org/2020/06/masrat-zahra-wins-iwmfs-courage-in-photojournalism-award/>.

will surely help the cause. Consistency and persistence are the keys, as the history of international relations suggest in such kind of democratic movements. The crisis of leadership is also evident in near future. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the veteran resistance leadership to smoothly mentor and transfer the leadership to the next generation. The youth must also prove and transform their role from street fighters to leaders.

Immediate Recommendations

- It is necessary to reinstate the state subject rule in GB to mount pressure on India and must resolve the ambiguity in the constitutional status of GB as early as possible.
- Practically make a special committee/ desk on Kashmir in Foreign Office that should consist of academicians and competent politicians. Under its umbrella, every important foreign mission should have a sub desk to lobby for Kashmir. Take input from Kashmiris in it.
- Approach international human rights organizations and the UN for the immediate release of political prisoners and provisions of medical and health facilities to the people of IOJK.
- In the wake of the Covid-19 Pandemic, must request World Health Organization and UN to make sure that basic health facilities and enough food is present in IOJK as locals are falling prey to communal prejudice of the Indian state.
- Make a national committee comprising legal experts and lawmakers to devise a framework for giving AJK the leading role in the projection of the Kashmir conflict at the international level.
- Trust Kashmiris! Send scholars, politicians and historians from Kashmir to international capitals to plead their case.
- AJK government to form a “Kashmir Scholars Group”, contacting masters and Ph.D. Level students already studying in foreign universities and taking them on board to

devise a strategy to reach the public of the respective host countries. This can be more easily materialized within friendly countries. This will surely help to make strong connections with future policymakers of different states including IOJK and can shape the future of the Kashmir conflict.

- An international conference must be organized in Muzaffarabad, AJK, with participants from the Kashmiri diaspora community, IOJK leadership representatives, GB leadership and representatives from friendly countries like China and Turkey giving a clear message to the world community that the identity of the larger state of Jammu & Kashmir can't be eroded by any unilateral move. Secondly, this would reemphasize the basecamp identity of the AJK government.
- Make sure the civilian population is protected from the Indian bombing across CFL. For this purpose, the bunkers must be built and befitting response to Indian guns must be given, when and where necessary.

Conclusion

The freedom movement of Kashmir is passing through a critical juncture of its history. It has felt the influence of the national, regional and global political environment however the steadfastness of the Kashmiris has proven unprecedented. The recent illegal move of India has not only challenged the legitimacy of international organizations like the UN but has also put the region's security at stake. Now, it is the responsibility of the international community to step in and take note of the hegemonic design of the Hindutva state to ensure global peace. Already, the denial of India has been the main hurdle over the deadlock in resolving the conflict. Moreover, international cum domestic factors have historically influenced Pakistan's ability to back the just struggle of Kashmiris. The contemporary global environment is biased towards Pakistan so, it

must focus to strengthen itself and, in the meantime, shall continue to support the Kashmir movement politically, diplomatically, and ethically by drafting constant and coherent policy. The AJK government must be given a greater role in policymaking and it should take necessary measures to internationalize the Kashmir conflict along with the efforts of IOJK people and diaspora. As India is trying to remake Kashmir so, preserving the identity of the erstwhile state of Jammu & Kashmiris is the way forward. The people of IOJK have become a symbol of resistance in the whole world and they must continue to resist to exist!