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Kashmir – Time for world conscience to rise and deliver their promised and ordained right of self-determination

The Kashmiris just struggle for right of self-determination has entered a pivotal phase. The continuation of inhuman curfew for over a month, complete communication blackout in Indian occupied Kashmir and reports of acute shortage of food and medicines in wake of revoking of independent status by in articles 370 and 35 A of Indian Constitution by the fascist Modi regime are clear attempt of ethnic cleansing of the Kashmiri people.

Being the “oldest unresolved international conflict,” Kashmir dispute enters its decisive phase and poses a huge challenge to the maintenance of regional as well as global peace and security in addition to being a big question mark viz a viz the effectiveness, sincerity and efficacy of United Nations. The presence and tyranny unleashed by over 7 lac Indian troops has witnessed some of most crude human rights violations that has left more than 90,000 unarmed civilian Kashmiris dead, thousands injured with crude human rights violations targeting women and the young. The grave situation continues to cast dark shadows over the regional peace. Thousands have been held in the name of public order since the Indian Government in New Delhi stripped region of its autonomy. Use of pellet guns has left hundreds injured.

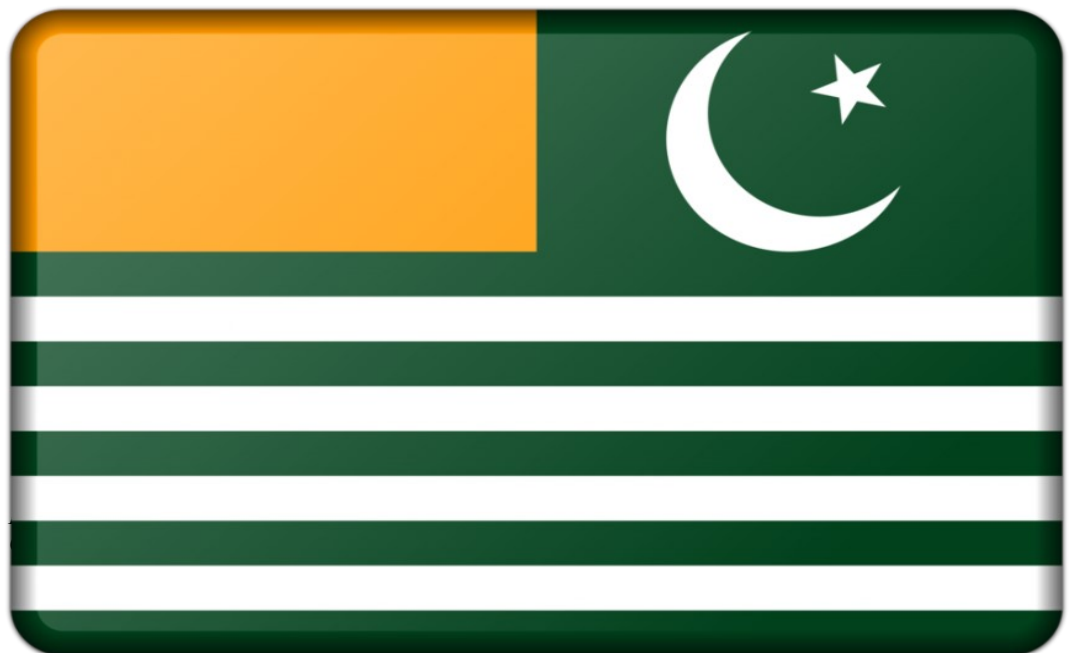
Elected representatives, human rights activists and independent analysts in numerous countries including UK, US, China, Turkey and Iran have raised alarm against oppression of people's genuine struggle for right of self-determination questioning the curfew and suspension of all civil liberties by the Modi regime in Indian held Kashmir. A source of continued conflict between the two nuclear equipped South Asian neighbors, the dispute is taking the world to verge of another nuclear conflict that can clearly engulf not only the region but have consequences to world at large. This special issue of PIPS Research Digest covers the Joint Resolution of the Parliament of Pakistan and absorbing articles on UN role on the issue, media's stance on recent revoking of status of Indian held Kashmir by the Indian Government as well as diplomatic efforts of Pakistan in this regard. It is indeed a test of international conscience of how the mankind across the globe contributes urgently in humanitarian efforts; its high time the world stands to deliver the Kashmiris' right of self-determination.

For any specific areas of importance that you want PIPS to send you research/briefing papers, please contact us at research@pips.gov.pk.

Happy Reading!

Muhammad Rashid Mafzool Zaka

Senior Director General (Research & Legislation)



Honourable Chairman Senate of Pakistan / President PIPS Board of Governors, Senator Muhammad Sadiq Sanjrani presiding working committee meeting of the National Parliamentarians' Conference on Kashmir - urgent need for humanitarian efforts, September 2019:



Friday, August 30, 2019: PIPS organized an in-house Seminar on Kashmir followed by a walk to Kashmir House, Islamabad to show solidarity with Kashmiris on their fundamental right of self-determination.



ANALYSIS

Kashmir Dispute at the United Nations Security Council

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Abstract

The constitutional and governance changes pursued by the Indian government in occupied Kashmir have created a crisis like situation threatening peace and stability at regional as well as global level. The deteriorating humanitarian situation in India occupied Kashmir has jolted entire Kashmiri/Muslim communities of the world, and has raised alarm bells among the defenders of human rights across the globe. The convening of UNSC meeting to discuss specifically Kashmir issue after 1965 has brought the role of UNSC again to lime light. This paper seeks to capture the fundamental changes brought about by the Indian government and its impact on various parties concerned. It specifically highlights the role of the Security Council which has been pushed from various segments to take on a leading role as per the mandate given to this key UN organ by the UN Charter. It also suggests way forward with regard to the role of UNSC keeping in view recent practice of the Council in working on its mandate to ensure international peace and security.

1. Introduction

Soon after taking over the reins of power for his second tenure, the Narendra Modi led Indian government unilaterally changed the status of internationally recognized disputed status of Jammu and Kashmir. On 5th August India dissolved the special status of Indian occupied Kashmir granted to the disputed territory under Articles 35A and 370. The same was accomplished through a Presidential decree, which went through both Houses of the Indian Parliament. Furthermore, the Government made some governance changes by splitting the whole area to two separate Union territories i.e. Ladakh and Jammu & Kashmir. The Indian government has declared both administrative units as Union territories. In the Indian governance system Union territories are different from states as Union territories are directly government by the central authority.

The constitutional and governance shifts have come about amid strict lockdown of the entire territory. The world's highly militarized zone has been flushed with deployment of fresh military brigades. All the political leadership including those earlier allied with India as well as the separatists has been arrested. Reports are emerging about the arrests of thousands of journalists, social activists and human rights defenders as well as ordinary citizens.

The situation arising out of the imposition of curfew and heavy deployment of military has further deteriorated with a near complete communications blackout. According to the UN experts "the blackout is a form of collective punishment of the people of Jammu and Kashmir,

without even a pretext of a precipitating offence.”¹ The experts have also expressed fears of gross human rights violation including concern over the reports of night raids resulting into arrest of young people and enforced disappearances.

The Indian move to alter the Constitution has been condemned within India where the opposition parties have termed the way the special status of Kashmir has been abolished as a direct assault on the Indian Constitution and its secular outlook.

On August 6, The International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) stated:

- ✓ “The Indian Government’s revocation of the autonomy and special status of Jammu and Kashmir violates the rights of representation and participation guaranteed to the people of Jammu and Kashmir under the Indian Constitution and in international law and is a blow to the rule of law and human rights in the state and in India ...
- ✓ The legality of the Indian Government’s measures to eviscerate Article 370 will certainly be tested before the Indian judiciary, which should look closely at the serious violations of proper legislative and Constitutional processes ...
- ✓ The procedure adopted to revoke the special status and autonomy of Jammu and Kashmir appears to be incompatible with judgments and observations of high courts and the Indian Supreme Court, who have clarified that the President of India would need the agreement of the government of Jammu and Kashmir to change its status. The amendments effectively render Article 370 inoperative in its entirety, without meeting the Constitutional requirements in spirit ...
- ✓ The revocation of special status of Jammu and Kashmir without agreement from the state government is contrary to the spirit of Article 370, which envisioned that the will of the people would be taken into account in decisions relating to state’s special status and autonomy ...
- ✓ The Indian Government rushed through the amendments at a time when Jammu and Kashmir was under the direct rule of the Central Government, and the state legislature was dissolved. As the government of Jammu and Kashmir is not empowered to discharge its functions, it has not been consulted, let alone agreed to the revocation ...
- ✓ The lack of consultation with the people of Kashmir is all the more troubling because the changes pushed by the Indian Government will materially affect Kashmir’s status as India’s only Muslim-majority state, including special rights for citizens of the state to own and hold land and seek education and employment.”²

2. From Secular to Hindu State

The move to scarp the special status of Indian occupied Kashmir has come about as a corollary to Narendra Modi’s election promises. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) had promised to revoke Article 370 of the Indian constitution during the election campaign of 2014. The promise was reiterated in the election manifesto of 2019. India under the Modi led government has been transitioning towards a strict Hindu country which was earlier portrayed as a secular country by its founding fathers like Mahatama Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. Modi has been using the

¹ UN News, “Kashmir communications shutdown a ‘collective punishment’ that must be reversed say UN experts,” 22 August 2019, <https://news.un.org/en/story/2019/08/1044741>.

² International Commission of Jurists, “India: ending autonomy of Jammu and Kashmir fans flames of existing human rights crisis,” August 6, 2019, <https://www.icj.org/india-ending-autonomy-of-jammu-and-kashmir-fans-flames-of-existing-human-rights-crisis/>.

religious identity in a culturally diverse country like India where more than 14 per cent of the population is Muslim.³

The path adopted by the Modi led government is leading the country towards a society highly divided on religious and ethnic foundations which will surely dent the national identity pronounced as a secular country accommodating multicultural and wide range of religious denominations. It will have disastrous consequences for the entire region which has become vulnerable to communal violence emerging from the India under the leadership of Modi. The move has also threatened neighboring countries which are inhabited with people of multiple cultures and religions.⁴

3. Status of Kashmir under the International Law

The Security Council resolutions recognize Kashmir as a disputed territory. They call for the peaceful resolution of disputed Kashmir region claimed by both Pakistan and India as a result of impartial plebiscite conducted under the international supervision. The unilateral Indian action of August 05 clearly defies the UN Security Council resolutions; 47 of 1948, 51 of 1948, 80 of 1950, 91 of 1951, 96 of 1951, 98 of 1952, 122 of 1957, 123 of 1957, 126 of 1957, and 307 of 1971. For example, the UNSC Resolution 122 of 1957, adopted at the 765th meeting by 10 votes to none with one abstention (USSR) states;

“... The final disposition of the State of Jammu and Kashmir will be made in accordance with the people expressed through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under the auspices of the United Nations...”

Furthermore, the Simla Agreement of 1972 between Pakistan and India states:

“Pending the final settlement of any of the problems between the two countries, neither side shall unilaterally alter the situation and both shall prevent the organization, assistance or encouragement of any acts detrimental to the maintenance of peaceful and harmonious relations... the representative of the two sides will meet to discuss further the modalities and arrangements for the establishment of durable peace and normalization of relations, including the questions of prisoners of war and civilian internees, a final settlement of Jammu & Kashmir and the resumption of diplomatic relations.”

4. The China factor

³ Ding Gang, “Can religious identity bring unity to India?” *Global Times*, August 21, 2019, <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1162214.shtml>.

⁴ Ibid.

The China has explicitly condemned the Indian move to change the constitutional status of Jammu and Kashmir. China has opposed the move because a part of the territory under discussion is claimed by China. Ladakh lies adjacent to the administrative boundary between India and China. The boundary is demarcated by a line known as the Line of Actual Control (LoAC). In a statement the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson stated:

“China is always opposed to India’s inclusion of the Chinese territory in the western sector of the China-India boundary in its administrative jurisdiction... Recently India has continued to undermine China’s territorial sovereignty by unilaterally changing its domestic law... such practice is unacceptable and will not come into force... India and Pakistan should refrain from taking actions that will unilaterally change the status quo and escalate tensions... [China calls on] both India and Pakistan to peacefully resolve the relevant disputes through dialogue and consultation and safeguard peace and stability in the region.”⁵

China played instrumental role in holding the United Nations Security Council meeting on Kashmir issue. The significance of the meeting emanated from the fact that it was discussed in UNSC after 1965. Even at the UNSC, China expressed serious concerns over the Indian actions and the consequent situation which is turning out to be even more dangerous threatening regional as well as global security.

China retains a unique position in the overall scenario. A permanent member of the Security Council, China shares borders with both Pakistan and India. Another common factor among the three countries is the possession of nuclear weapons capability. With its growing economic and political clout, China emergence as a global power has been seen critically in the western community. The increasing Indo-US strategic partnership is often seen as aimed at curtailing the Chinese influence in the region as well as at the global level.

5. Transforming Russian Federation

Dmitry Polyanskiy, First Deputy Permanent Representative of Russia to the UN tweeted on August 16:

“Russia continues to promote normalization of India Pakistan ties. We hope that existing divergences around Kashmir will be settled bilaterally by political and diplomatic means only on the basis of Simla Agreement of 1972 and Lahore Declaration of 1999, in accordance with UN Charter, relevant UN resolutions and bilateral agreements between India and Pakistan. We are

⁵ Ankit Panda, “China issues statement condemning Indian decision to bifurcate Kashmir: China sees its claims in Kashmir threatened by New Delhi’s move,” *The Diplomat* August 7, 2019, <https://thediplomat.com/2019/08/china-issues-statement-condemning-indian-decision-to-bifurcate-kashmir/>.

friends and good partners with both India and Pakistan and both peoples. We have no hidden agendas. So we will open-heartedly continue to engage with Islamabad and New Delhi in order to help both of them come to terms and have good neighborly relations.”⁶

The statement is a departure from traditional Russian policy on Kashmir. A glance at the UN resolutions reveals that the USSR at that time either voted against the resolution or abstained; its policy was tilted in India's favor. This time Russia has not only taken a stance balancing both Pakistan India, the reference to the UN Charter and resolutions depicts its acceptance of Kashmir as an international dispute, shredding Indian insistence of the issue being its internal matter or a bilateral conflict between India and Pakistan. Analysts see this shift as a corollary to the Russian relations with China. Russia has been a major Chinese partner in the Belt and Road initiative.

6. United States overtures

While the offers by the President Trump to mediate between India and Pakistan have attracted much media attention. The proposals have not yielded anything substantive so far. The traditional US policy towards South Asia has been of striking a balance between Pakistan and India in order to prevent the conflict between countries from leading to full-scale war. However, the aftermath of Indo-US strategic partnership, the US has grown closer towards India over the past more than a decade. On the other hand, US relations with Pakistan have been marked with mistrust. Recently, the Trump Administration “suspended” security assistance to Pakistan and reduced nonmilitary aid to significant level. At the same time US-India ties have been deepening. Nevertheless, this imbalance in US approach towards Pakistan and India is to some extent balanced with Pakistan's role in Afghanistan.

A recent report by the Congressional Research Service points towards lack of preparedness on the part of Trump Administration for the ongoing situation in South Asia. The author highlights the fears of some experts who see a passive US role in “this and other international crises [which] erodes American power and increases the risk of regional turbulence.” According to this report, published on August 16, “At present, the United States has no Assistant Secretary of State leading the Bureau of South and Central Asia, no Ambassador in Pakistan, and an Acting Ambassador at the United Nations.” At present the issues under deliberation in the US include:

⁶ Dmitry Polyanskiy (@Dpol_un), “Russia continues to promote normalization of India Pakistan ties,” Twitter, August 16, 2019, https://twitter.com/dpol_un.

impact on regional stability, the role of the US administration, dynamics in Afghanistan, future of India's democratic/constitutional norms and pluralist traditions, and human rights abuses.⁷

7. United Nations Security Council

Security Council is the only organ of the United Nations whose resolutions are binding upon the member states. Article 24 of the UN Charter states that *“In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf.”*

Over the decades, the Council has adopted various methods and means to play its mandated role of maintenance of international peace and security. The table below presents the highlights from Security Council practice during 2018.

HIGHLIGHTS FROM SECURITY COUNCIL PRACTICE 2018		
MEETINGS	Meetings of the Security Council are governed by Article 28 of the Charter of the United Nations, and rules 1-5 and 48 of its Provisional Rules of Procedure. Under its current practice, the Council convenes meetings, which are classified as either public or private. Council members also frequently meet in informal consultations of the whole (also known as consultations).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meetings and Consultations • High-level meetings • Representatives on the Council • Invitations under rule 39 of the Provisional Rules of Procedure • Informal consultations of the whole • Video tele-conferences • Informal interactive dialogues • Arria-Formula meetings
MISSIONS	Article 34 of the Charter of the United Nations provides that the Security Council may investigate any dispute or any situation which may lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute. Missions of Council members to the field have taken place since 1964.	In 2018, three Security Council missions were dispatched. From 12 to 15 January the Council sent a mission to Afghanistan, led by Kazakhstan; from 28 April to 2 May the Council sent a mission to Bangladesh and Myanmar, co-led by Kuwait, Peru and the United Kingdom; and from 5 to 7 October the Council sent a mission to the Democratic Republic of the Congo co-led by France, Equatorial Guinea, and the Plurinational State of Bolivia.
AGENDA	In accordance with rule 11 of the	In 2018, the Security Council

⁷ K. Alan Kronstadt, “Kashmir: background, recent developments, and US Policy,” *Congressional Research Service* August 16, 2019.

	<p>Provisional Rules of Procedure and presidential note S/2017/507, every January, the Council reviews the list of matters of which it is seized. Agenda items which have not been considered at a Council meeting in the preceding three years are deleted unless a Member State objects. In the latter case, an item will remain on the list for an additional year, and will be subject to the same procedure described above if not considered by the Council during that additional year.</p>	<p>considered a total of 49 agenda items. Out of the 49 agenda items, 28 addressed country-specific or regional situations and 21 thematic and other issues.</p>
DECISIONS AND VOTING	<p>According to Article 27 of the Charter of the United Nations, each Council member has one vote. An affirmative vote of nine members is required for decisions to be adopted on procedural and substantive matters, including in the latter case the concurrent votes of the permanent members. In addition to procedural decisions related to the adoption of the agenda, extension of invitations and adjournment of meetings, the Council adopts resolutions and issues presidential statements. Council decisions also take the form of notes and letters by the President of the Council.</p>	<p>In 2018, the Security Council adopted a total of 54 resolutions and issued 21 presidential statements. The Council also issued 8 notes, 34 letters by the President and 87 press statements.</p>
SUBSIDIARY BODIES		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UN Peacekeeping operations, political missions and Peace-building offices • Sanctions and other Committees and Working Groups • Individuals and entities on Security Council sanctions and restrictive measures lists
<p>Source: United Nations Security Council, https://unite.un.org/sites/unite.un.org/files/app-schighlights-2018/index.html#.</p>		

On August 16, 2019, the UN Security Council took up the Kashmir issue in a closed door meeting. It was called for by China, in the backdrop of Pakistan's request made on 13th August. Though a resolution could not come of the meeting, the convening of the meeting after break of several decades, i.e. after 1965, is in itself momentary. The reports of aggressive Indian diplomatic efforts to stop the meeting from taking place also strengthen the claim.

The subsequent report issued by the United Nations Security Council went with the main title as follows "UN Security Council discusses Kashmir, China urges India and Pakistan to ease tensions." The details were recorded with main heading as follows "The Security Council considered the volatile situation surrounding Kashmir on Friday, addressing the issue in a meeting focused solely on the dispute, within the UN body dedicated to resolving matters of international peace and security, for the first time since 1965."

A significant aspect of the UNSC meeting over Kashmir is the role of China. The lead role played by China points to the impending shifts in international power play. The transformation from unipolar to multipolar world seems to be happening at a rapid pace now. As the US has been losing its clout in the international security affairs especially in the aftermath of military disasters in Iraq and Afghanistan, China has been increasing its influence in the international politics as well the UNSC. China has increased its role in UN peacekeeping in past few years both in terms of finances and troops contribution.

8. Way Forward

The deteriorating humanitarian situation in Indian occupied Kashmir demands decisive action from international community. While the Indian claim of Kashmir being an internal matter of India has already been belied, it's time now to act decisively. While explicit UNSC resolutions already exist with regard to the resolution of Kashmir dispute. The following paragraphs explore some other ways and means, in light of recent UNSC practice, which may be explored to break the deadlock in occupied Kashmir:

- i. Invitations under Rule 39 of the Provisional Rules of Procedure:* In accordance with rule 39 of the Security Council Provisional Rules of Procedure, the Security Council can invite members of the UN Secretariat or other persons from regional intergovernmental organizations, international organizations or representatives from non-governmental organizations in order to supply it with information or to give other assistance in examining matters within its competence. In 2018, the Council invited 350 speakers under 39, of which 246 were men and 104 were women. Among these invitees, 226 were officials belonging to the UN System, 71 were officials representing regional intergovernmental organizations, 11 were invitees from international

organizations other than the UN, 42 invitees were representative of other entities such as non-governmental organizations.⁸

As of now millions of Kashmiris have lost their lives and suffered worst form of Indian brutalities since the establishment of UN as well as the Security Council, however, no Kashmiri has ever been given the opportunity to speak at the Council. Kashmiris should be given access to the Council under rule 39 of the Security Council Provisional Rules of Procedure. The deteriorating humanitarian situation in the India Occupied Kashmir demands urgent attention of those burdened with the responsibility to maintain international peace and security. UNSC should invite representatives from Kashmiri led organizations to appraise the Council about the ongoing situation.

- ii. **Missions:** The mandate to investigate any dispute or any situation which may lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, provided to the Security Council under Article 34 of the UN Charter can also be invoked to investigate the ongoing situation in the Indian occupied Kashmir. As is obvious from recent UNSC practice the Council can send missions led by any member countries or group of countries to investigate a dispute, the Council should constitute a mission which may be sent to investigate the ongoing situation in Kashmir which has been put under siege for more than five weeks.
- iii. **Peacekeeping Operations:** Peacekeeping operations rest on three basic principles: 1) consent of parties, 2) impartiality, and 3) non-use of force except in self-defence and defence of the mandate. The first principle requires further scrutiny. Because in the context of Kashmir issue, it may be difficult to take the consent of all parties especially India which is bent upon making forceful occupation/annexation of the territory. The consent of parties requires a commitment by the parties to a political process and their acceptance of a peacekeeping operation mandated to support that process. However, the Security Council can take enforcement action without the consent of the main parties to the conflict, if it believes that the conflict presents a threat to international peace and security. But such an operation is termed as “peace enforcement operation”. The Security Council can also take enforcement action for humanitarian or protection purposes, in a situation where there is no political process and where the consent of the major parties may not be achievable, but where civilians are suffering. Since 1990s the Security Council has authorized enforcement actions through the use of ad hoc coalitions of Member States or regional organizations.⁹ Peace operations in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Mali are some of the recent examples where the UNSC has authorized peace enforcement missions with the help of regional organizations.

⁸ United Nations Security Council, “Highlights of the Security Council Practice 2018.”

⁹ United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, *UN Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines*, (New York: United Nations, 2008).

OPINION

Kashmir Mayhem and Pakistan's Policy**Dr. Raja Qaiser Ahmed**Assistant Professor, School of Politics and International Relations
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The Kashmir conundrum became the flashpoint all again with the repealing of the Article 370 of the Indian constitution which was abrogated through a presidential order C.O.272 on August 5, 2019. There were three striking underpinnings in this development. First, the very presidential order C.O.272 was controversial amid its legality. Second, the statutory resolution passed by the Rajya Sabha ultimately leading to the abrogation of the article was even more questionable. Third, the Jammu and Kashmir Reorganization Bill 2019, which divided the occupied territory into JK and Ladakh, later without legislative assembly led to an uncharacteristic change in the nature of the state.¹

The process involved in issuing the presidential order was blatantly flawed, patently unconstitutional and grossly illegal. The same apprehensions about the order are substantiated by Indian legal experts who believe that the order has no leg to stand ergo there are marked chances that it will not withstand before the Indian Supreme Court (SC) if challenged.² The democratic authoritarianism exhibited by Modi led government befuddled everyone and was tantamount to an assault on the federalist dispensation of India. It also clearly violated the existing customary practices in Indian parliamentary history.

In the legal pretext, there has not been made any amendment to the Article 370 of the constitution of India. The amendment, in reality, has been made under the Article 367 of the Indian constitution which deals with the general interpretation of the Indian constitution. Article 370 (1) cannot be abrogated as it deals with the affiliation of IOK with India and, it also deals with the rest of the articles. India tried to bring changes in the Article 370 (1) (d) clause which specifies that the concurrence of the state government will be necessary to bring any change in the article. Article 370 limits the application of the Indian constitution on IOK. Whereas, the Article 370 (1) (d) says that it can be extended from time to time through a presidential order upon the concurrence of the state government. India through attempted chicanery brought change to the Article 367 by making governor as a de-facto authority. It is nothing short of a coup d'état under the Indian constitution. By making governor a de facto ruler, India made a

¹ The original text of the Presidential order promulgated on August 05, 2019 subsequently passed by Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha and is available at rajyasabha.nic.in

² Interview with Dr. Narendra Nagarwal, Assistant Professor of Law at New Delhi University, India.

governor's consent tantamount to obtaining consent from the entire occupied state is unprecedentedly illegal and unconstitutional.

The second important issue is the Article 373 (3) of the Indian constitution. It explicitly signifies that the only constituent assembly of IOK will have the powers to make the Article 370 inoperative. Now, there are two complex interpretations of this clause. First, since the constituent assembly of IOK has ceased to exist after 1957, so it is generally presumed that it has become a permanent feature of the Indian constitution. With the absence of the constituent assembly of IOK, Article 370 cannot be scrapped by any definition.³ There is a prevailing consensus in India and, even maintained by the Supreme Court of India that one cannot do an amendment indirectly which one cannot do directly.⁴ In a nutshell, changing an article's interpretation to change the contextual nuance of another article is intrinsically illegal and unconstitutional. The second important issue is the presidential rule in the state. The governor is the representative of the president and the former is being taken on board while taking a decision. It is like the central government taking permission from the central government to amend an article.⁵ It is also anomalous and bogus. The third very important aspect which made the legality and validity of the presidential order become more questionable is the arbitrariness and non-permanence of the presidential rule in JK. On an arbitrary basis, India has initiated a procedure which can alter the future of the entire state forever. It is equally dismal and unacceptable.

The presidential order further stated an amendment under the Article 367 of the Indian constitution that the constituent assembly may be construed as the legislative assembly of the state and the governor may please be construed as the government. It is again invalid with no firm grounds. So, there are obvious possibilities that it will be declared void by the Supreme Court in the light of its previous rulings.

India's claim over IOK was supported through the controversial Instrument of Accession that Maharaja Hari Singh had supposedly signed with India. If there was any accession, it was managed on the basis of Article 370. It means if the Article 370 has ceased to exist, the so-called Instrument of Accession has become illegal too. Now Indian position on Kashmir is of occupant force and it stands as illegal aggrandizement like Russian annexation of Crimea. Being occupant force the killing of a single Kashmiri will technically be considered genocide.⁶ As occupant force,

³ Kitan Tripathi, "Judicial History of Article 370: SC Rulings On Jammu & Kashmir Special Status", *Livelaw*, August 18, 2019.

⁴ Sampat Parkash vs State of J & K, ailabale at indiakanoon.org

⁵ Furqan Ameen, "Article 370: What are the Legal Questions", *The Telegraph*, August 06, 2019.

⁶ Barrister Aitzaz Ahsan's interview with ARY News on August 09, 2019.

India can't even change the demography legally albeit it might do practically to serve its nefarious agenda.

Pakistan's position has always remained consistent with the United Nations Resolutions on Kashmir. On the contrary, India had been giving primary importance to bilateral solution in the duress of Simla accord. The revocation of the article 370 again nullifies India's declared position given they have imposed a unilateral solution. The incumbent government of India is also aware of this political blunder but, the massive mandate with which they have controlled the reins of power serves as an impetus to act up to their promises made during the electoral campaign of BJP. The agony of the time is the myopic Hindu leadership in India exhibiting nothing but madness.

National Security Council of Pakistan took a number of rather decisive steps including downgrading ties and halting trade with India.⁷ The civilian and military leadership reaffirmed Pakistan's stance on Kashmir that the diplomatic, political and moral support to this cause would go unabated. Prime Minister Imran Khan categorically said that "India has been captured, as Germany had been captured by Nazis, by a fascist, racist Hindu supremacist ideology and leadership. This threatens nine million Kashmiris under siege in Indian Occupied Kashmir. India has been targeting minorities all over the country and presently Indian government has adopted the doctrine of hate and genocide."⁸ If we just consider the present state Indian government has already detained about 4m Indian Muslims in different camps and has also cancelled their citizenship. These facts and figures are alarming. Chief of the Army Staff (COAS) General Qamar Javed Bajwa assured the Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) President Sardar Masood Khan of Pakistan Army's full support to the Kashmir cause. The COAS gave the assurance during a meeting with the AJK president, who called on him in Rawalpindi on 16 Aug 2019. On Aug 6, 2019, a day after India revoked Article 370 and 35-A which deprived Kashmir of its special and autonomous status, the army chief had made it clear that Pakistan Army stands by the Kashmiris in their just struggle to the very end, adding that the army was prepared and ready to go to any extent to fulfill its obligations in this regard. COAS further stated that the Corps Commanders Conference fully supports the government's rejection of Indian actions regarding Kashmir.⁹ DG ISPR in joint press conference with Foreign Minister said that army is

⁷ "Pakistan to downgrade ties with India over Kashmir move", *Al Jazeera*, August 07, 2019.

⁸ Falah Gulzar, "Imran Khan calls Modi government 'fascist', 'supremacist'", *Gulf News*, August 18, 2019.

⁹ "COAS assures AJK president of army's full support amid heightened tensions", *Tribune*, August 16, 2019.

ready to defend any misadventure by India and Army will fight till last soldier and last bullet for Kashmir.¹⁰

The Prime Minister Imran Khan strongly denounced Ranjanth Singh's war mongering statement where he declared that New Delhi had stuck to its commitment of 'no first use' policy regarding nuclear weapons; the future policy would depend upon the situation.¹¹ This statement by India contradicts their national security doctrine.

Pakistan successfully highlighted Kashmir issue in UN Security Council's consultative meeting. It was an unprecedented development since it came after 50 years that Kashmir was discussed at the apex international forum. The prime minister repeatedly directed the world's attention to the lockdown imposed in parts of occupied Kashmir by the Indian government. In his speech to the nation the Prime Minister unequivocally supported the cause of Kashmir's freedom and categorically stated that Pakistan would remain firm on this even alone.¹²

Chinese Ambassador to Pakistan Yao Jing said that Jammu and Kashmir was internationally recognized disputed territory. He criticized Indian government for unilaterally revoking the special status of occupied Kashmir. He also stressed on the need for compliance with international laws and hoped that both Pakistan and India would "take a suitable decision for the betterment of the Kashmiri people". He said that being a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, China had special responsibilities in connection with restoration of peace and stability in the region. The ambassador also said that de-escalating tension between Pakistan and India would be beneficial for the entire region.¹³ The stance by Chinese government on the issue is very encouraging being permanent member of the United Nations Security Council.

Pakistan managed to highlight this issue which subsequently led to the internationalization of the dispute. India's ugly face of repression in Jammu and Kashmir along with gross human rights violations was branded to the rest of the world. President Trump's offer of mediatory role speaks volume of Pakistan's diplomatic success. India is attempting to masquerade and is trying to present this issue as India's internal matter where the reality stands otherwise. Prime Minister Modi in his meeting with Trump at G-7 summit told Trump that it was a bilateral issue.¹⁴ It vindicates the intrinsic dichotomy and disingenuous behavior of India at the global level.

¹⁰ "FM Qureshi, DG ISPR say Pakistan prepared to respond to Indian aggression", *The News*, August 17, 2019.

¹¹ "Talks only on PoK: Rajnath Singh stings Pakistan on Kashmir", *Hindustan Times*, August 18, 2019.

¹² Prime Minister Imran Khan's speech to nation on August 24, 2019.

¹³ "Kashmir internationally recognised disputed territory: Chinese envoy", *India Today*, August 08, 2019.

¹⁴ "India, Pakistan to keep discussing bilateral issues: Modi", *Khaleej Times*, August 27, 2019.

Pakistan's policy amidst this mayhem is multifarious and daring albeit the stringency of the situation warrants proactive diplomacy to imbibe the international community about the unfathomable implications in the aftermath of the revocation. A tireless work is needed to pursue the case of India as occupant vigorously on all international forums. The legal underpinnings of the revocation and humanitarian forecast amidst should be more focused. Kashmiri leadership and diaspora should be engaged to make the fiercest possible denouncement of this illegal step consequently changing the permanent status of Jammu and Kashmir. The legal dimension of the quagmire can't be altered through the political gimmicks of BJP. Kashmir is a recognized conflict owing to UN resolutions, not because of the constitution of India. As a point of fact, India is on the weakest legal and political standpoint of its occupied history of Jammu & Kashmir. Kashmir to India is a litmus test of her major power status. The stringency of the situation necessitates some radical steps as well which may include supporting government in exile, opening bureau of Kashmir's foreign affairs abroad and revisiting the existing status quo in AJK & GB otherwise all happy lucky go and repeatedly tried options on Kashmir may prove to be counterproductive and of no avail.

OPINION**The Role of Media in Kashmir Crises****Muhammad Rizwan Manzoor**

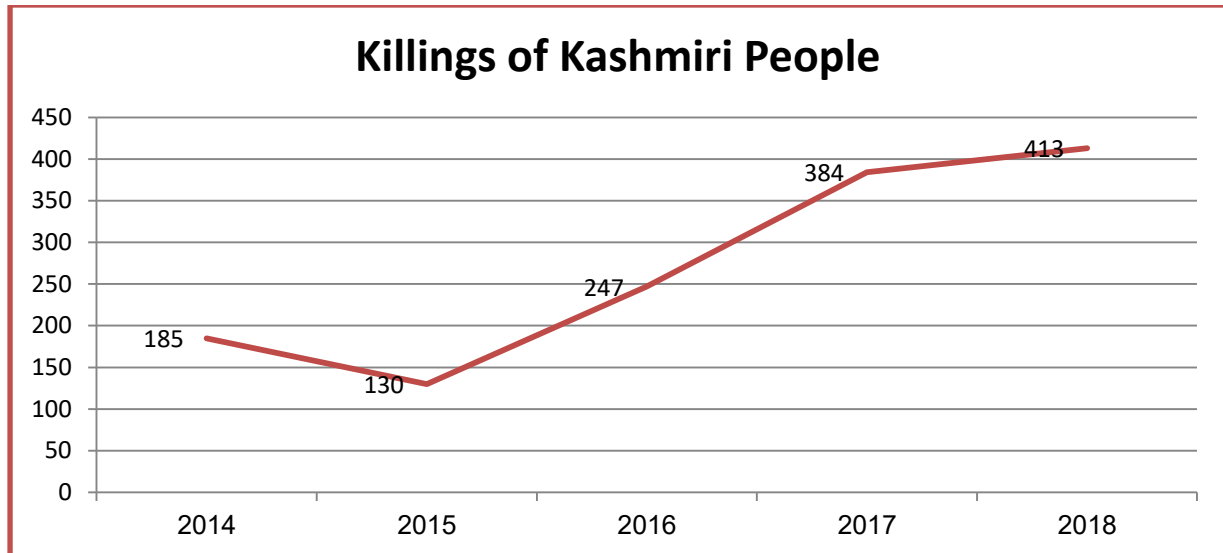
Research Officer, PIPS

Media has taken the place of opinion leader which molds the public opinion as projected through its own preview. Many a times, a person celebrated as freedom fighter hero by one media house (or media of one country) may be condemned as terrorist or anarchist by yet another media house (or media of the other country). Under such scenario, the international media is given a relatively credible position, as in dispute of two countries; there is huge bias in the reporting of media houses of each country.

In case of Kashmir, the issue remained always in the limelight of media of Pakistan and India. Both the countries kept putting their own narratives on the issue using different strategies. Critically evaluating, Pakistan's media lost some focus on Kashmir since late 90's. This is the era where Pervez Musharraf toppled the democratically elected government and there was major shift in diplomatic and regional policies of the country. Meanwhile US led NATO forces invaded Afghanistan in 2001. All these events switched the focus of Pakistan's state media from Kashmir to US-Afghan war. On the other hand, India kept focusing on Kashmir in terms of military deployment for suppressing freedom movement and meanwhile projecting Kashmir as land with complete peace and prosperity. Along with the news media, India also used its widely viewed film industry in misguiding over Kashmir issue where they demonized freedom movement by Kashmiri youth as Islamic terrorism, few of the propaganda movies in this regard include; Mission Kashmir (2000), Yahaan (2005), Fanaa (2006), Tahaan – A Boy with a Grenade (2008), Sikandar (2009), Valley of Saints (2012), Haider (2014) and Fitoor (2016). Unfortunately, by these tactics, India has largely managed to manipulate the genuine and indigenous freedom cause of Kashmiris to some extent.

However, since Narendra Modi assumed the charge of Indian government in 2014, the aggressive attempts of suppressing freedom movement of Kashmiri people were launched with more intensive military deployment, usage of pellet guns on innocent and unarmed Kashmiris, extra judicial killings of Kashmiri youth and usurpation of media freedom and political freedom of Kashmiri leadership. This new wave of atrocities to curb freedom movement in Kashmir touched new heights of violations of human rights. More than 1359 Kashmiris were killed by the

Indian forces during 2014-2018¹ (Modi Government's first term). The violence by the Indian forces increased enormously during this period which invited international media' intention again. The graph below shows that the number of killings of Kashmiris at the hands of Indian forces is continuously on rise.



Source: India Today

Thus, the aggravating human rights conditions at the hands of violent Indian forces again received a focus of regional and international media. The Pakistani state and private media houses highlighted the worsening human rights conditions and Indian violence in Kashmir widely and more importantly, the leading international media channels such as Aljazeera, Voice of America, Russia Today, The Independent, Press TV etc. raised questions on the growing violence of Indian forces and also reported the narrowing space for independent voices of political leadership of different parties of Indian occupied Kashmir.

On August 5, 2019, the special autonomy given to Jammun & Kashmir under Article 370 and Article 35A in Indian Constitution was revoked through presidential ordinance. With this aggressive move by the Modi government, to counter the retaliation, curfew was imposed for an indefinite period and the number of military deployments was hugely increased to quell any kind of resistance or protest if erupt from the Kashmiri people.

Abrogation of Article 370 and 35 A of the Indian Constitution, people from the rest of India will now have the right to acquire property in occupied Kashmir and settle there permanently.

¹ At least 413 killed in 2018 due to violence in Kashmir. India Today, November 28, 2018 (Accessed on August 8, 2019)

With this kind of migration of Hindu population to IoK, ethnic cleansing and demographic dilution of Muslim-majority Kashmir by the Modi government is on cards.

With this aggressive move by the Modi government, since August 05, 2019, an intensive curfew was imposed; internet and telephone lines were clamped down, thus, the people of Jammu and Kashmir lost all contact with the outside world and Jammu and Kashmir has turned to be like the largest jail of the world. This new wave of violence and extreme use of power to suppress people with severe violations of human rights raised concerns for the human rights activists, relevant international agencies, global media and the overall international world. The Pakistan foreign office continuously kept briefing the local and international media on the violent and forceful actions by Indian government. The role of international media remained very positive during the recent crises provoked by the violent Modi government on innocent Kashmiris. The media reported the ongoing situation of Jammu and Kashmir despite intense curfew, suspension of communication means and poor law and order conditions.

The Kashmiri diaspora living in Europe and North America resisted the recent aggression of Indian government strongly. Worldwide protests in front of Indian embassies and United Nations offices were staged by the Kashmiri community. The protest held in front of Indian High Commission in London by the Kashmiri people on August 15, 2019 was one of the largest in the history of UK organized by any international community which included thousands of people.² Due to huge number of protesters, it received high media coverage in international press. Again in September 03, 2019, the Kashmiri diaspora staged huge protest in front of Indian High Commission in London that was again covered by all leading international media channels. Even the Indian media reported that the protesters were thousands in number³ which demanded ending curfew in Jammu and Kashmir and giving Kashmiris their right of self-determination.

A glance over the media reporting on Kashmir issue after August 05, 2019, reveals that mainly the theme of human rights violations by the Indian forces remained the focus of attention. A number of international media channels interviewed the Kashmiri activists and broadcast their sentiments and demands to the world. During the month of August 2019, the BBC Urdu

² Thousands take to London streets to protest for Indian-occupied Kashmir. The News. August 16, 2019. (<https://www.thenews.com.pk/latest/512429-thousands-take-to-london-streets-to-protest-for-indian-occupied-kashmir>). Accessed date: September 11, 2019

³ Kashmir protests get ugly again in London, Indian High Commission targeted. The Times of India, September 04, 2019. (<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/uk/kashmir-protests-get-ugly-again-in-london-indian-high-commission-targeted/articleshow/70968542.cms>). Accessed date: September 09, 2019

reported Kashmir issue for 18 times whereas BBC English reported recent Kashmir crises for 8 times that included video reporting as well as print reporting.⁴

Similarly, Aljazeera TV broadly covered recent Kashmir crises and highlighted Indian atrocities against the fundamental human rights of Kashmiris. During the month of August 2019, Kashmir issue was reported 65 times that include video and print reporting⁵.

The Press TV, one of the renowned international media channel widely reported recent Kashmir crises. During the month of August 2019, this issue was reported 21 times by Press TV during international news reporting.⁶

⁴ Kashmir: Why India and Pakistan fight over it. British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), August 08, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/10537286>

Timelines of Human Rights Violations in Kashmir. British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), August 21, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/topics/cx1m7zg0wwzt/kashmir>

The Future of Kashmir, British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), August 28, 2019 http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/south_asia/03/kashmir_future/html/default.stm

Deadly gunbattle sparks clashes in Kashmir- BBC News, August 07, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nica1EKi2h8>

Kashmiris express anger at loss of special status - BBC News, August 07, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AwgkRh6BQA>

Pakistani PM: India committed strategic blunder - BBC News, August 14, 2019 (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aQqQVypuxMo>)

Kashmir in lockdown after autonomy scrapped - BBC News, August 18, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NM-5pipi2nc>

5 Kashmir unrest could lead Pakistan, India to 'accidental war' Aljazeera, August 15, 2019 (<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/08/kashmir-unrest-lead-pakistan-india-accidental-war-190910140000666.html>)

Kashmir's struggle did not start in 1947 and will not end today. Aljazeera, August 15, 2019. (<https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/kashmir-struggle-start-1947-today-190815093053238.html>)

'Electric shocks, beatings': Kashmiris allege abuse by India army, Aljazeera, August 19, 2019. (<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/08/shocks-beatings-kashmiris-allege-abuse-india-army-190910114145774.html>)

Kashmir under lockdown: All the latest updates, Aljazeera, August 20, 2019. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/08/india-revokes-kashmir-special-status-latest-updates-190806134011673.html>

Kashmir tensions: 'War is not a solution', Aljazeera, August 21, 2019. (<https://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/talktojazeera/2019/08/kashmir-tensions-war-solution-190820084706047.html>)

⁶ Kashmir remains tense despite partial easing of restrictions. Press TV. August 26, 2019. (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vm53AM95ICo>)

Pakistan's Khan warns Kashmir issue could lead to nuclear war. Press TV. August 26, 2019. (<https://www.presstv.com/Detail/2019/08/26/604560/Pakistan-Imran-Khan-Kashmir-nuclear-war>)

The renowned media channel of Eastern Europe, Russia Today based in Moscow, also gave extensive coverage to recent issues of Kashmir in their international news reporting. During the month of August 2019, the Kashmir issue was reported 16 times by Russia Today (RT).

Such wide coverage of Indian violent actions against human rights and attempts of usurpation of Kashmiri land appealed international community to look into crises and play its due role to solve the crises.

Recently, during the 42nd session of the United Nations' Human Rights Council (UNHRC), the UN rights chief, Michelle Bachelet said, "I am deeply concerned about the impact of recent actions by the government of India on the human rights of Kashmiris," Michelle Bachelet said, pointing to the "restrictions on internet communications and peaceful assembly, and the detention of local political leaders and activists".⁷ Similarly, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) has raised concerns over reports that India has blocked Muslims in Indian-occupied Kashmir from exercising their religious freedoms, a policy the pan-Islamic group said is an affront to Muslims around the world⁸. The take up of Kashmir issue on these international forums was not possible without the coverage of international news media. Therefore, the constructive reporting of Kashmir issue highlighting the violations of human rights and humiliation of humanity to establish the illegal occupation of Indians, is highly encouraging and appreciable. Pakistanis as a nation should keep lauding the cause of Kashmir that demands their right of self-determination which is very fundamental human right and promised by UNSC under its resolution in 1948, through our social media accounts that also make voice as consequent to international media channels.

A brief history of the Kashmir conflict. Press TV. August 09, 2019.
(<https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=2153310158044093>)

⁷ UN rights chief asks India to ease Kashmir curfew. Dawn. September 10, 2019.
(<https://www.dawn.com/news/1504513>). Accessed date: September 11, 2019

⁸ 'An affront to Muslims': OIC slams India's crackdown on Kashmir, Middle East Eye, August 14, 2019,
(<https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/india-condemned-violating-kashmiri-muslim-religious-rights>)

Resolution (7th August, 2019)

**Resolution of the Joint Session of the Parliament of Pakistan
on the Illegal Actions taken by the Indian Government regarding
Indian Occupied Jammu & Kashmir**

The Joint Session of the Parliament unanimously condemns the illegal, unilateral, reckless and coercive attempt by India to alter the disputed Status of Indian Occupied Kashmir as enshrined in the UNSC resolutions and other regressive measures to change its demographic structure (through repeal and revocation of Article 35(A) of the Indian Constitution) by the Indian Government and the recent surge in unprovoked firing and shelling on unarmed civilian population across the Line of Control and use of cluster bombs by Indian forces in Azad Jammu and Kashmir; deployment of additional troops and atrocities in Indian Occupied Jammu and Kashmir and other recent developments.

Stresses that Jammu & Kashmir is an internationally recognized dispute on the agenda of the United Nations Security Council and categorically states that these illegal Indian steps do not and cannot alter the disputed status of the Jammu and Kashmir;

Opposes Indian plans to alter the demographic composition of IOK, as well as take away protected, inherent and established rights of the people of Jammu Kashmir to citizenship, permanent residence, acquisition of property, employment and education as provided under the repealed Article 35(A) of the Indian Constitution, in contravention of the UN Security Council resolutions on the Jammu and Kashmir dispute, and the international humanitarian law;

States that forcible transfer of population and demographic changes in the occupied territory constitute war crimes, ethnic cleansing and genocide under the 4th Geneva Convention;

Stresses that irresponsible and aggressive actions by India pose a grave threat to peace, security and stability in South Asia;

Reaffirms and upholds the inalienable right to self-determination of the people of Jammu & Kashmir as enshrined in the UN Security Council resolutions and as protected by international law;

Underlines that there are three parties to the Jammu and Kashmir dispute - Pakistan, India and the people of Jammu and Kashmir - and that the people of the Jammu and Kashmir have yet to exercise

M. SAAD SANJANI
Chairman Senate

M. Agha Saeed
NA 78

Sh. Raza
NA 62
Jehanzeb Mirza
NA 230

NA 260
NA 222

NA-333
LAL CHAND

NA 336
NA 331

NA 197

Senator Mubashir
Khan
NA 255

NA 73

NA 333
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their free will through a plebiscite to determine their political future as mandated by the UN Security Council resolutions;

Recalls that the relevant UNSC resolutions clearly state that the final disposition of the Jammu & Kashmir dispute will be made in accordance with the will of the people expressed through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations;

Emphasizes that the enforcement and legitimacy of resolutions of the UNSC can never be diluted by unilateral actions;

Expresses grave concern over the massive clampdown in IOK through additional massive deployment of 180,000 troops in recent months in IOK, which is already the most militarized zone in the world;

Condemns the imposition of curfew in IOK, arrest of Kashmiri leaders and suspension of communication services including internet and mobiles; and demands immediate release of Kashmiri leaders subjected to torture and inhumane treatment;

Further condemns the intensified ceasefire violations by the Indian Army and use of banned cluster ammunition targeting innocent civilians including children along the LOC;

Forewarns the international community about any false flag operations to malign Pakistan in the context of "terrorism";

Asserts that the people and armed forces of Pakistan remain vigilant and prepared to respond firmly to any misadventure by India across the LOC/Working Boundary;

Condemns the gross and systematic violations of human rights by India in IOK, as independently and comprehensively documented in two separate reports issued by the OHCHR in June 2018 and July 2019; the report of the British All Party Parliamentary Group on Kashmir; and several reports of international human rights organizations;

Reaffirms Pakistan's political, diplomatic and moral support to the people of Indian occupied Jammu and Kashmir for the realization of their legitimate right to self-determination;

Declares that the people of Pakistan will always stand shoulder-to-shoulder with the people of Indian occupied Jammu & Kashmir in their valiant struggle against Indian oppression;

Demands that India stops brutalization of the people of IOK through killings, torture, arbitrary arrests, enforced disappearances, mass blinding by pellet guns, and use of rape as an instrument of war;

Demands that India lifts its information blockade and communications blackout in IOK, ends its prolonged curfew regime, stops its ruthless cordon and search operations, immediately releases the Kashmiri leadership and restores civil liberties and fundamental freedoms of the people of Jammu and Kashmir;

Demands that India honours its own commitment to the UN Security Council, Kashmiris and International Community.

Calls upon the UN Security Council to take cognizance of the killings and massacres in IOK that pose a serious threat to peace and security in the region;

Urges the UN Human Rights Council to constitute a Commission of Inquiry to investigate gross and consistent human rights violations in IOK being committed by the Indian occupation forces with impunity under the cover of the two draconian laws - the Armed Forces and Special Powers Act (AFSPA) and the Public Safety Act - as recommended by the two reports of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights;

Calls upon the Organization of the Islamic Cooperation to convene an extraordinary High Level Session immediately to take cognizance of India's illegal and unilateral actions in IOK, work with the United Nations for an end to repression in IOK and a lasting resolution of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute as per the UN Security Council resolutions and wishes of the Kashmiri people;

Urges the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) and world Parliaments to censure the Indian Parliament's role in violating UNSC resolutions and facilitation of unlawful actions in IOK;

Reiterates the strong conviction of Pakistan that the Jammu and Kashmir dispute would be resolved only through dialogue and diplomacy and in accordance with international law; and asks India to discard the highly perilous path of military coercion, war-mongering, state terrorism and brute force in the occupied territory;

Calls upon the International Community to warn India to refrain from undertaking any irresponsible, unilateral actions that may lead to a dangerous escalation that will have far reaching impact not only for South Asia but the entire world.



RESOLUTION NO. 422

"The Senate of Pakistan, meeting in the special session dedicated to Kashmir, strongly condemns the illegal annexation of Occupied Kashmir by India, led by Narendra Modi and the RSS gang he represents, with the aim to change the demography of Occupied Jammu and Kashmir as part of their fascist and racist agenda.

This annexation is an attempt to undermine the United Nations Charter, International Law and relevant UN Security Council resolutions which seek the inalienable right of self-determination for the people of Occupied Jammu and Kashmir. In pursuance of his fascist and racist agenda which is inspired by Nazi Germany, since this fascist mind set and practices are similar, the regime of Narendra Modi is committing another grave crime against humanity by turning occupied Kashmir into the world's biggest and most brutal concentration camp, with imposing curfew and it's complete lock down, closing of all communications, with thousands of innocent Kashmiris arrested, kidnapped, raped, maimed or martyred.

While welcoming the UN Security Council meeting on Kashmir and reaffirmation by the UN Secretary General of commitment to UNSC resolution on Kashmir, we would also like to express appreciation of the position taken by our friends like China, Turkey and Iran, whose Parliament has also passed a resolution in support of Kashmiri people. The Senate of Pakistan while expressing full solidarity and support to the valiant struggle of the Kashmiri people resisting repression and military might with their spirit, grit and determination, we urge the Government and all the relevant stakeholders to formulate a coherent national strategy and national stamina to sustain that strategy. We also express our appreciation to all other Parliamentarians, Civil Society, Intelligentsia, Media, Human Rights organizations, all over the world who support the just and heroic struggle of the oppressed people of Occupied Jammu and Kashmir."

Moved by Senator Syed Shibli Faraz, Leader of the House, on his own behalf and on behalf of the whole House

Unanimously passed by the Senate of Pakistan on Friday, the 30th August, 2019

Curfewed Night: Glimpses from Srinagar (Excerpt from Book by Basharat Peer)

Compiled by Azeema Ilyas
Young Parliamentary Officer, PIPS

"Srinagar is a medieval city dying in a modern war. It is empty streets, locked shops, angry soldiers and boys with stones. It is several thousand military bunkers, four golf courses, and three book-shops. It is wily politicians repeating their lies about war and peace to television cameras and small crowds gathered by the promise of an elusive job or a daily fee of a few hundred rupees. It is stopping at sidewalks and traffic lights when the convoys of rulers and their patrons in armored cars, secured by machine guns, rumble on broken roads. It is staring back or looking away, resigned. Srinagar is never winning and never being defeated.

Srinagar newspapers regularly carry obituaries of dead rebels with young, sombre faces along with elegies for the smiling, ageing men in expensive suits who guard the gates of privilege. Some print headlines announcing deaths in red. Some run a box on the front page giving the daily, updated statistics of the dead. Srinagar is being in a coffee shop, in an office, outside a college, crossing a bridge and feeling, touching, breathing history, politics, and war, in unmarked signs and landmarks. It is seeing a bridge, a clearing, a nondescript building and knowing that men fell here, that a boy was tortured there."

PIPS organized in-house Seminar on Defense Day, 6th September 2019 to pay homage to the great martyrs of motherland and to show solidarity with Kashmiri brethren in their struggle for fundamental right of self-determination





Monday, August 26, 2019: Senate Foreign Affairs Committee organizes policy seminar on Illegal Indian Annexation of Occupied Kashmir



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Integrity, professionalism, non-partisanship, accessibility and anticipation

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