

**ROLE OF PARLIAMENT ON  
KASHMIR ISSUE (1971-1999)**

---



**Supervised By:**

**Dr. Mahboob Hussain**  
**Associate Professor**

**Submitted By:**

**Imran Hussain**  
**M.Phil History**  
**Roll No: 18**  
**Session: 2015-2017**

---

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & PAKISTAN STUDIES**  
**UNIVERSITY OF THE PUNJAB**  
**LAHORE**



## **CERTIFICATE**

The Thesis entitled “Role of Parliament on Kashmir Issue (1971-1999)” has been written under my supervision. It fulfills all the requirements for the M.Phil Degree. I am satisfied with Research work. This research work is completed as per HEC and University of Punjab requirements.

---

Supervisor  
**Dr. Mahboob Hussain**  
Associate Professor,  
Department of History & Pakistan Studies

## **DECLARATION**

I Imran Hussain, M.Phil Scholar Roll No. 18, hereby declare that this thesis is a result of Individual research and I have not submitted this thesis to any other University for obtaining similar degree whatsoever.

Imran Hussain  
M.Phil  
Roll No. 18

## **DECLARATION**

I recommend that the thesis prepared under my supervision, entitled, "Role of Parliament on Kashmir Issue (1971-1999)" be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Philosophy in History.

**Dr. Mahboob Hussain**

Supervisor

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicated this work to my beloved Father Mr. Ghulam Nabi, who has given blood and flesh for growth of my life and made me this able I completing this research work.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

All praise to Allah Almighty who gave me the strength and ability to complete my research work. First of all, I wish to express my gratitude to my mentor and supervisor Dr. Mahboob Hussain, Associate Professor, whose kind guidance, cooperation and support at each and every stage of this project proved indispensable for the completion of this work no doubt, without his keen interest, able guidance, skilled advice and ever encouraging attitude, I could not have been able to complete my research work.

I would like to extend my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Muhammad Iqbal Chawla, Chairman History Department who always supported and encouraged me.

I am also thankful to my all respected teachers who taught me at M.Phil. level, especially, Dr. Faraz Anjum, Dr. Rukhsana Iftikhar, Mr. Ghazi Muhammad Abdullah, Dr. Numana Kiran, Dr. Maqbool Ahmad Awan, and Dr. Rubina Shoeeb whose kind help and ever support made me able to finish my work.

I would like to extend my gratitude to all the staff members of office and Library of the History's department specially Mr. Shaikh MuhammadAqeel, Malik Ijaz, Muhammad Liaqat, Miss Faiqa Bhatti and Muhammad Waris. I acknowledge that without their help it will be very difficult to gather the required material. I am especially thankful to my ex. Head Master Mr. Shaikh Muhammad Naeem Hanif and all my colleague teachers especially Muhammad Asif Saber and Imran Bajwa for encouraging me in all spheres of life. And because of their kind support and love I got able to finish this task. I am also thankful who disturb me during my study because their hurdles gave me more motivation and enthusiasm to me. I am grateful to my beloved parents and brother especially, my child Muhammad Marsad Irfan and Ayshifa Irafan whose education was disturbed during my study, whose assistance and love made me able to

complete my research work. I am also thankful to all honor able members of Punjab Provincial Assembly Library for their cooperation and hospitality Like Madam, Fakhra Parveen, Mr. Malik Ghulam Yaseem, Akber Ali Joia, Shah G and other staff of Punjab Provincial Assembly Lahore. I am also thankful to my friends especially Waseem Raza Bhatti, Shahid Mahmood, Sajjad Jut and Faisal Murad, who continually encourage me in the way of giving me suitable proposal to completion of my research work.

## TABLE OF CONTENT

### Page No.

### Introduction

### Chapter 1: Parliament and Kashmir Issue in Historical context (1947-1969)

First National Assembly of Pakistan (1947-1956).....

Second National Assembly of Pakistan (1956-1958).....

Third National Assembly of Pakistan (1962-1965).....

Fourth National Assembly of Pakistan (1965-1969).....

### Chapter 2: Parliament of Zulifqar Ali Bhutto and Kashmir Issue (1972-1977)

First Parliament of Bhutto:.....

Simla Accord: .....

Discussion on Simla Accord in National Assembly:.....

Standing Committee on Kashmir Affairs: .....

New Constitution of Pakistan .....

Citizenship Bill 1973 of Dual Nationality.....

First and Last Address of President Bhutto in interim Government.....

The New Government, The New Constitution.....

Call for Solidarity's Strick.....

Prime Minister Statement about future of Kashmir .....

Discussion on Foreign Policy in the Parliament .....

Lahore Islamic Summit .....

Property of Kashmir Administration Bill 1977.....

Kashmiri Refuges.....

White Paper on Kashmir.....

### Chapter 3: Parliament under Military Regime and Kashmir Issue (1984-1988)

: .....  
: .....  
: .....  
: .....  
: .....  
: .....  
: .....

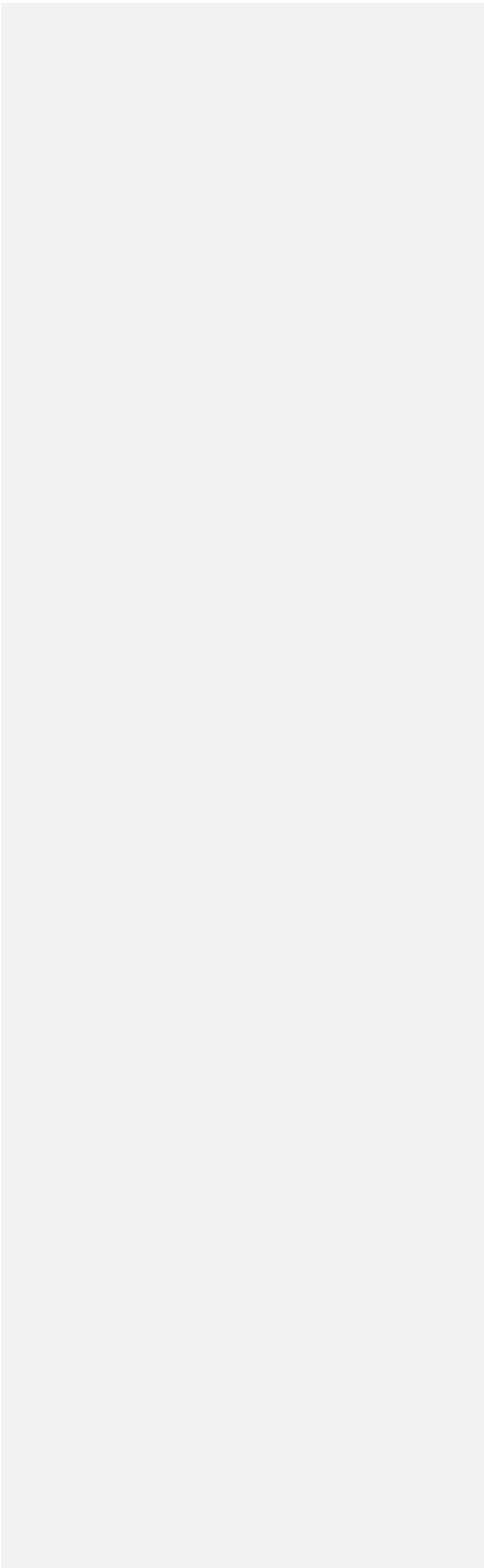
**Chapter 4: Parliaments of Benazir Bhutto Regime and Kashmir Issue**

.....  
.....  
.....

**Chapter 5: Parliaments of Nawaz Sharif Regime and Kashmir Issue**

: .....  
: .....  
: .....  
: .....  
: .....

**Conclusion:**



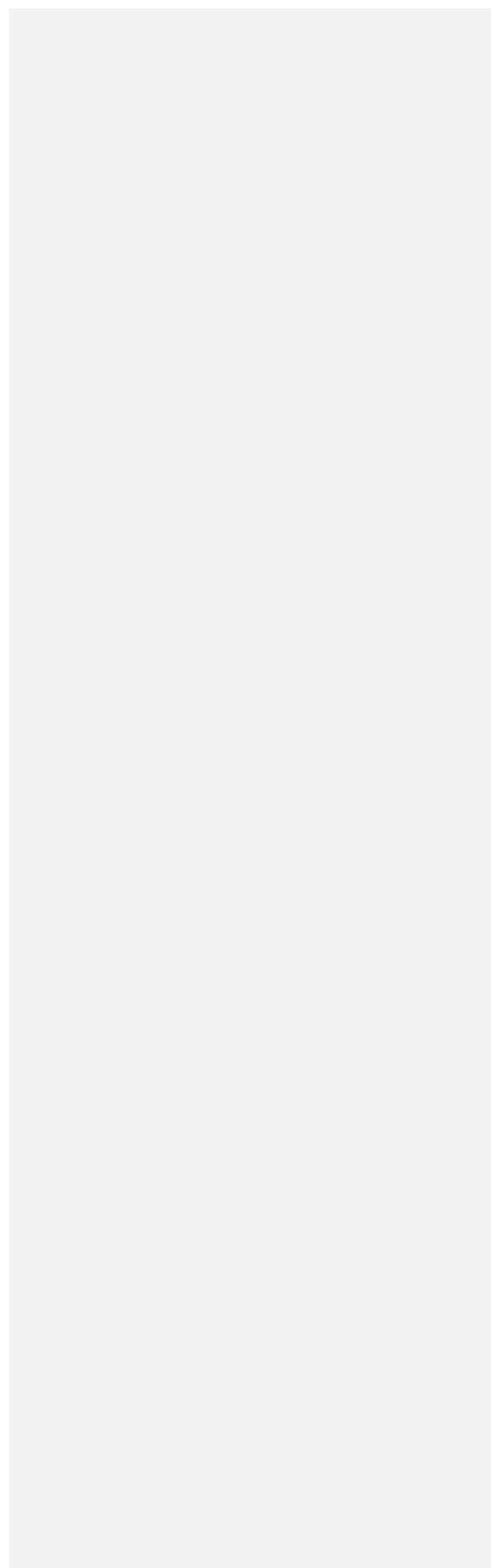
## **ABSTRACT**

The main aim of this research is to highlight the performance of parliament for the solution of Kashmir issue. The research will mark various tolls that parliamentarians used for highlighting different issues including Kashmir issue in the institution and how the parliament affected political system for the solution of Kashmir issue and what legislation was done for mobilized Kashmir issue and how parliament helped to make the Kashmir issue alive in the country and out of the country. It will analyse whether parliamentarians were sincere for the solution of Kashmir issue or they only used it as political card in the country. The parliament's methodology has been used to trace out different facts and to prove assumptions. The paper will enhance the understanding and interest in the studies of 'the Role of Parliament in solution of Kashmir issue.' It will evaluate the foreign policy in regards with Kashmir issue in the country. The main purpose of the research to highlight and enlive the Kashmir issue in the minds of peace loving community. The debates of National Assembly as well as the Senate, documents, the related articles and Newspapers have been consulted in bringing out the outcome of the research.

## **ABBERVATION**

AML	All India Muslim League
ANP	Awami National Party
BB	Benazir Bhutto
BBC	British Broad Casting
CFL	Cease Fire Line
CIA	Central Investigation Agency
CNN	Cable News Network
FM	Foreign Minister
ICFM	Islamic Conference of Foreign Minister
IHK	Indian Held Kashmir
IIW	Iran Iraq War
IJI	Islamic Jamhorilthad
INC	Indian National Congress
IOK	Indian Occupied Kashmir
JS	Joint Session
KA	Kashmir Affairs
KC	Kashmir Committee
KI	Kashmir Issue
LOC	Line of Control
MC	Muslim Conference
NA	National Assembly
NAD	National Assembly Debate
NAM	Non-Alliance Movement
OIC	Organisation of Islamic Conference
p	page
PD	Parliament Debate
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organisation
PM	Prime Minister
POK	Pakistan Occupied Kashmir

POW	Prisoner of War
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
PTV	Pakistan Television
SAARC	South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation
SC	Security Council
SD	Senate Debate
UN	United Nation
USA	United State of America
USSR	United Soviet Socialist of Russia
v	Volume
Z. A	Zulifqar Ali



## **Introduction**

This is institution based research in which a very important institution of Pakistan is analyzed in regard of role for solution of a core issue faced by Pakistan from its beginning. Generally, considered Parliament is an sovereign institution of any state for legislation, decision making and for solution of issue faced by the state.

In institutional research, evaluates its progress because it is set up for specific propose of nation. This evaluation of institution gives right decision about the progress that institution is going ahead toward the success. The nation has great concern for fruitful output from parliament, because the nation has borne a lot of expenditure on it. Therefore, parliament should take good and positive measure in regard of nation's aspirations.

In this study "Role of Parliament on Kashmir issue" is analyzed because Kashmir is not a land issue but it is an ideological, principle based issue between two countries, in which one is believed on two nation theory and second denies. It is an issue of acceptance and faith on humanity and human rights. Those human rights which are accepted and singed in UN charter under the witness of world nations.

Kashmir issue in perspective of human freedom is approached of positive and negative thinking about freedom and slavery of humanity. A freedom lover thinks about the freedom of every human of the world. The slavery of innocent people of Kashmir showed the slavery attitude of occupied leadership. This issue was realized us about the thinking approach of a nation. How much they believe in militancy or peace? Kashmir issue is the conceptual war between two nations in which India does not accept the division of India on the basis of minority right that is hegemonic superiority of Hindu mind. But humanity right teaches equality.

Challenges are very important in life history of a nation. Issues strengthen the ambition of nation to go ahead. If a nation has no challenge in her life it has no power to face a challenge. Issues empowered the nation against crisis time. Issues provide motivation to nation. Issues produce rule and regulation in the life of nation for better future. Issue keeps us to attach a nation with their ideological activities. Issues provide learning opportunity to a nation who has to face with challenges. Issues provide spiritual momentum into a nation.

### **Genesis of Kashmir Issue**

After the failure of Simla Conference in 1945, the disappointment condition was observing in the politics of British India and this situation was not looking to reach at success point. But British official including Viceroy Lord Wavell was very active and tried their best to keep India United. But Muslim League and Mr. Jinnah were big hurdles in their way. In the views of Jinnah there was single and peaceful solution of India was only to divide it into two states. Mr. Jinnah eagle eyes were keenly observing the future of India that in united India the Muslims became the slave of Hindus after British. Lord Wavell was complete failed to give practical shapes to his dreams. At least the British compelled on this point that final solution of India Political issue is to divide it. Now both the British and the Muslims League were on same bank but congress was on opposite side. The congress party was not ready on India division at any cost. The British were doing white and black to rejoice the Hindus and were completing all wishes that Indian National Congress dreamed.

In general election of 1945-46 the Muslims of India proved that they were fully with Muslims League and Mr. Jinnah instead of this all Political Parties and especially India National Congress who was trying its best to produce hurdles in the way of Muslims League. In this regard India National Congress set up collation with Alahrar,

Khaksar and Jamiat-ul-mai Hind to give tough time to Mr. Jinnah and his companion. But Mr. Jinnah was becoming more and more popular in the heart of Muslim of India as well as other minority Nations of India.

Now in Dr. Muhammad Iqbal ideology statement the word state was replaced with the popular word Pakistan. On the other hand the political enthusiasm was increasing day by day. In London the lord Italy was busy to finish this political restlessness of India political situation the arrival of Cabinet Mission in India was its practical shape. Both the Indian National Congress and Muslim League felt the massage of joy and sorrow by this mission but the Congress were feeling more disappointment from the Mission. Because the Congress men looking division of India after ten years. The British government announced that only party will include in the interim government who will accept the Cabinet Mission Plan. In London Conference of 1946 the British made agreed to the congress on the division of India on this point that<sup>1</sup>“The congress on present plan, it means Indian partition plan will act by this hope that at least it (Pakistan) reunify India again.”

According to Dr. Muhammad Iqbal Chawla Lord Wavell was very much desired to keep India United but he returned back home with these wishes in his mind. The royal family wanted to finish their British India Raj on the hand of royal family person. For this mission they selected Lord Louis Mountbatten. On 20 Febraury1947, the British Prime Minister declared that “the British Raj will finish till June 1948 from subcontinent.”<sup>2</sup>

The Congress who was not agree on the division of subcontinent at any cost but at least the British was succeeded to mold the mind of Congress leadership on some

---

<sup>1</sup>London Economist-17 May 1947

<sup>2</sup>Muhammad Hussain Choudhry, Pak Study 9<sup>th</sup> class, 2014: PTB Lahore, p-38

promises . After this, Indian National congress started conspiracies against Pakistan under the supervision of British Officials. In all these conspiracies Lord Mountbatten and other British machinery were ahead two steps than Hindus. The British assured secretly to the congress men that the division mission will be completed according to the Congress desire and in all the conditions the Congress wishes will be given preference. By the result of this action now the poisonous speeches were delivered by Congress leadership against the division was now stopped.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1947 plan of division was the key discipline of this great division. In this plan the methodology of division was set up and very soon all the political stakeholders accepted this plan. According to this plan the Muslims majority areas were included in Pakistan and Hindus majority areas will remain with Bharat and all the princely states will decide the future people according to the wishes of state's people.

The boundaries of Punjab and Bengal were alignment according to the basis of the Hindus or the Muslims Population area. So that a permanent settlement of population arranged to relevant and minimum population migrated. In this regard the viceroy appointed a British lawyer Sir Cyril Radcliffe as head on Punjab and Bengal boundary Commission. He had no geographical and geopolitical information of India, but even first time he was came to India and Radcliff spent his all energy to fulfill the British promise. When the mission of Punjab and Bengal boundary division was started under the supervision of Redcliff? It looked him impossible target. "He suggested to the government that UN services should get for this high task of boundary division. But Congress immediately rejected this proposal."<sup>3</sup> But when Indian British agent badly defeated in Kashmir by freedom lover they run towards the UN.

---

<sup>3</sup>"Viceroy's House", By Gurider Chadh; [UK, 3 March 2017. movies](#)

On 18 July 1947 the 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1947 plan of division was approved and according to this plan Pakistan came into being on 14 August 1947. When Pakistan came into being it faced many difficulties. The British created a lot of hurdles in the way of new created baby country, which were following as unfair division of Radcliffe, rehabilitation of refugees, administration problems, assets division, army division, river water dispute and princely state dispute. In the British India there were 635 princely states in all over subcontinent.<sup>4</sup> At the time of partition, about the future of these princely states was being thinking. In the Cabinet Mission Plan the rulers of these states were suggested that they participate in constitutional process for their best future and protection of interest. These rulers were also suggested that before taking any decision they should respect the wishes and religion links of their people. On 20 February 1947, the British announced to take over their control from princely states. After this announcement the princely states can decide whether they should join Pakistan or Bharat. But from Hyderabad Dakan, Jounagadh, Menavader and state of Jammu and Kashmir was not took immediately step for joining.

With the passage of time Pakistan over came on all problems faced by her instead of Jammu and Kashmir dispute. The wishes of unification of Pakistan in Bharat of Hindus and British were not completed. In all these princely states large number of states decided the decision of joining. Later on Bharat, the remaining princely states were occupied through army like Jounagadh, Mengrol, Manavdar, Hyderabad Dakan and Jammu and Kashmir. On 11 September 1948, when Quid-e-Azam was died and all the nation of Pakistan was fallen on woe of Jinnah's death? But other side on same day Bharat attacked on Hyderabad and occupied it. For the accession of Jammu and Kashmir the congress leadership was very active but the British official and their

---

<sup>4</sup>Muhammad Husain Chaudhry , Pakistan Study class 9<sup>th</sup> PTB Lahore, 2014, p-97

representatives were more active but two steps ahead from congress leadership. The government of Jammu and Kashmir officially requested to the government of Pakistan on 12 August 1947 that Jammu and Kashmir wanted to join with Pakistan. Pakistan first constitution National Assembly started its work on 10 August 1947 in Sind provincial assembly building at Karachi. In the first session of this Assembly a minority member Mr. Jugandhra Nath Mandal was elected the chairman of the house. It was the completion of that promise in which Quid said minority was given high status in Pakistan. From the creation of Pakistan the first constituent Assembly was busy in making Rule and Procedure of Assembly bossiness along with constitution.

Along with the creation of Pakistan the situation of Jammu and Kashmir was becoming clear gradually. The Raja of Jammu and Kashmir was playing double game for protecting his regime. Raja was in content with government of Pakistan as well as government of Bharat at a time and was busy in making promise with both the country against the will of their people. The daily processions in Kashmir against the Raja and Bharat and in favor of Pakistan was become the routine work in the valley. That was clear cut announcement of Kashmir people that people of Kashmir emotionally and religiously wanted to live with Pakistan. This action of people was not liked by Raja and Hindus leadership. The Hindus ministers and advisors of Raja were busy in convincing against the will of Kashmir people. On other side the Bharat official and their allies British were most active them Raja companions. Jawaharlal Nehru, who was belonged to Kashmiri Pandit family and wanted to get Kashmir emotionally at any cost, in this regard there were two points; one Kashmir was homeland of his forefathers second he wanted to keep chief fountain sources of water of Pakistan in hand. "Nehru cleared to Liaqat Ali Khan that he wanted Kashmir on any price."<sup>5</sup>The British Indian

---

<sup>5</sup>Sultan Mehmood Hali, Naering Zamna, Daily Naw-i-waqat, Lahore, 4 september2016

government was busy to fulfill their promises to set up a paralyzed Pakistan who bent in front of Bharat very soon for unification.

In the first constitution assembly of Pakistan Mr. Mushtaq Ahmed Gourmani, a minister without portfolio was given the charge of Kashmir Affairs and he was signatory person of cease-fire agreement of UN between India and Pakistan. Whenever he wanted to look after Kashmir affairs but not regularly and not according to its level of importance. The creator of Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah asked to Kashmir the verdict in favor of Pakistan due to its significance. On the other hand the Bharati government and their allies were kept eyes on every moment of situation and they were ready and waiting for a good opportunity. So that, they could assure the world a positive reason of their entrance in Kashmir. India given the application to the UN, in it they claimed, they entered into Kashmir on the request of Raja to protect the people of Kashmir and helped the Raja against the attack of Pakistan tribal men.

Tribal men; the word tribal men were used for propaganda to misguide the world community. Actually the people who were called to be tribal men, they were the ex-servicemen and retired army men of state of Punjab and Mirpur as well as British Indian army and Dogra Raja's Muslims soldiers. These very people individually started agitation against the Raja dictatorship. This agitation very soon became a movement, who started to fight with sword and stick with guns holder army of India. They were freedom lover, and wanted liberty from Raja's Rule. The civilians were on their back and morally supported them. The Indian and British very severely raised propaganda against these peaceful people and they were only sixty thousand people. While Sir Kenning governor of North West province told these people were only fifteen hundred in number. At the end of September the standstill agreement was started to run toward their end. The separation begins from words. Different blames and complaints were

raised from the new prime minister of Raja. For the solution these blames and charges, government of Pakistan sent to colonel A. S. B. Shah to Srinagar on 20 October 1947. He negotiated with new prime minister of Jammu and Kashmir but failed. According to Indian, on 13 September 1947 Mr. Patel received request of help from the government of Jammu and Kashmir that was forward to defense minister Sardar Baldev Singh for necessary action. "The governor general, M. A. Jinnah was kept ignorant of all details, though naturally he was aware of that was trouble of some sort brewing in Kashmir, and the Pakistan cabinet took no minute stance on this matter."<sup>6</sup> On 25 October 1947 the Indian Air Force had completed their operation preparation and now they were waiting the ok Sign. Indian Government started to land their regular troops at Srinagar air port on 27 October 1947 midnight with the help of British Royal air force. In this operation twelve regular army Battalion of Raja along with Sikh states of Punjab<sup>7</sup> armies were participating in attack against the innocent freedom lover and Indian wanted to Stop the moment of these freedom lover at any cost. This military operation was given the name Operation Stand Down. In September 1947 this operation Stand Down was given final shape. "Auchinleck's decision was considered in London by a cabinet committee on 13 October. It was accepted in principle; but Auchinleck was instructed to consult London and the British High Commissioner in New Delhi and Karachi before issuing the Stand Down Order."<sup>8</sup> On the other hand "the very senior Indian office, now commonwealth Relation office, Official, Sir. Archibald Carter was not entirely happy about the cabinet committee decision."<sup>9</sup> British created a story that the British citizen who were escaped in Kashmir and their lives were in danger and they needed rescue. Therefore British airplanes were landing on Srinagar air port. But

---

<sup>6</sup>Alastair Lamb, *Incomplete Partition*, 2017. OUP: Karachi, P-145

<sup>7</sup>Patiala, Kapurthala and Faridkot

<sup>8</sup>Alastair Lamb, *Incomplete Partition*, 2017. OUP: Karachi, P-249

<sup>9</sup>Alastair Lamb, *Incomplete Partition*, 2017. OUP: Karachi, P-249

the reality was absolutely against it. The British citizens were only few in number and they could rescue only in single flight to evacuate from valley. But regularly and daily basis Indian and British Planes landed on Srinagar airport and unloaded ammunition and utilities goods and on return few British citizen brought with who were presented to Media persons on New Delhi airport. Mr. Jinnah was very worried about Kashmir Situation. He was completely unaware of operation Stand Down. In the beginning, the first parliament leadership of Pakistan was not fully interested in Kashmir. But the success news of freedom fighters created craze in their mind. On other side the all leaders of Bharat was full busy to assistance to complete the operation to each other. Mr. Jinnah as a head of state ordered the Pakistan army Chief General Sir Douglas Gracy, who was completely in connection with Chief of Eastern Command sir Cloud Auchinleck, to help the freedom fighters in Kashmir and ceased the Indian attack in Kashmir. He “informed his superior, the governor general of Pakistan M.A Jinnah that the Pakistan army was ordered in to Kashmir in response to the Indian intervention, and then all British officers would be withdrawn at once from Pakistan Service.”<sup>10</sup> On which base of drama British were crying that their innocent citizen lives were in danger. According to the Governor General of North West province Sir Lord Kenning (Daily Dairy) there were only 156 British citizens who were rescue at a time in one rescue flight. On the name of Rescue British pilots were supplied the ammunition and utilities goods to Indian army. In this operation British Overseas Airways Corporation (BOAC) chartered plan, Royal Air Force Transport and Command Squadrons No.31 was directly participated in Operation Stand Down. The British intelligence was sharing the geographical and political information with Indian. There was heavy fight between Indian regular and trained Army Forces with scattered and

---

<sup>10</sup>Alastair Lamb, *Incomplete Partition*, 2017. OUP: Karachi, P-250

untrained tribal men, who were fighting for their freedom. Indian organized army did not get control over scattered and untrained tribal men. Now Indian was very much disappointed by their defeat and tribal men were continuously getting success and were moved forward. "They were reached on Srinagar Airport."<sup>11</sup> They have not organized Supervision and no any command system to guide them and even Parliament of Pakistan was fully unaware by Kashmir situation. The followers of Bhatia political theory now changed the strategy. They run for negation with Pakistan on Kashmir dispute instead of Operation Stand Down. For negotiation with Pakistan Mr. Nehru made excuse of illness and sent to Pakistan Governor General Bharat Mountbatten for negotiation with M.A. Jinnah on Kashmir dispute. Mountbatten had no power and responsibilities in Bharat's Cabinet. First November 1947 Lord Mountbatten was arrived at Lahore and negotiated Kashmir dispute solution with Mr. Jinnah and Liaqat Ali Khan. Lord Mountbatten gave the proposal that Azad Kashmir Army and their allies repel from area and still in place only Indian Army and their allies sheikh Abdullah in Kashmir. But Mr. Jinnah was insisted on this point that both tribal men and Indian Army left the Kashmir. Under the umbrella of world Super power Indian army was failed to stop the movement of tribal men therefore the British elements were most active for ceasefire. The cease fire request was presented by Lord Ismay to Mr. Jinnah not any Hindu leader. Indian allies' British mediator made the ground in India and Pakistan to solve the dispute by the help of UN plate form. In both the country the British well-wishers were immediately ready on this proposal. Indian sent application in UN for help of to stop the tribal men attack on Indian Territory by Pakistan side. By the help of UN there was set up cease fire agreement and cease fire line between two countries and now the responsibilities of dispute solution is on the

---

<sup>11</sup>National Assembly Debates, V 1, No. 3(17 February 1990); 165, Ghulam Hyder Wain

arms of UN. At this stage of negotiation, the freedom fighters were on victory position than Indian Army. They were getting success on every field of war and were going forward: the Indian Strategy of negotiation and UN intervention was in the favor of Indian. Indian wanted some clue and rest to break the emotion of tribal men. A successful man has no need of cease fire agreement. This was “the first conspiracy against the people of Kashmir that a cease fire agreement was signed with Indian. It was not late, Liaqat Ali Khan who committed this mistake.”<sup>12</sup> It was the biggest will of people of Kashmir to join with Pakistan because they had religion ,blood, economic and political relation with Pakistan. On 15 August 1947, Pakistan accepted stand Still agreement with state of Kashmir. Most interesting point of that time was as that the state of Jammu and Kashmir was requested to Pakistan for accession while on other hand Indian was requesting to Jammu and Kashmir for Joining. It was the wish of Raja of Jammu and Kashmir to keep state as free and sovereign state.

A Letter of request or instrument of accession that was sent to Indian Government by Raja Of Jammu and Kashmir, On which basis Bharat entered their Army in to valley. According to Stanly Wolpert<sup>13</sup> and Alastair Lamb that accession latter of reason Indian could not produce in front of any world forum even not copy of this letter. That latter on which basis Indian made innocent peoples their selves.

This research will provide a very thought provoking insight into the Parliament activities about Kashmir issue. It will be the first academic study about the Role of Parliament on Kashmir issue at M Phil and PhD level. Apart from Pakistan surveying Pakistan's Kashmir policy between 1947 to 1999 it will provide a very candid analysis

---

<sup>12</sup>N.A.D.V.3, No (4 December 1962); 348, Mr. Akhtaruddin

<sup>13</sup>Nehru: a Tryst with Destiny, OUP, New York. 1996, p-416-417

about other developments between 1947 to 1999, during seven different important Parliaments working in the House about the resolution of Kashmir issue at National and International level. Therefore, this research will be very valuable for general readers, students, Parliamentarians, Journalists and academic researchers working on Kashmir.

### **Statement of the Problem**

The story of hope (solution of Kashmir issue), in search of peace with the help of Parliamentary system.

#### **Research Questions:**

What kind of struggle has done by National Assembly and the Senate in this regard to raise the Kashmir issue on the floor of the Parliament?

What kinds of strategies were adopted by the government for the solution of Kashmir issue?

What kind of hurdles came in this way?

What was the behaviour and struggle of parliamentarians.?

How much parliamentarians were interested to resolved Kashmir problem.?

What was the relation between Pakistan and India on Kashmir dispute?

The hypothesis of the study is that to evaluate the effort of parliament in regard of Kashmir issue solution.

### **Hypothesis**

The main focus of study that what did the role of first Parliament of Pakistan 1947 to second Parliament of Nawaz Sharif till 1999 for the solution of Kashmir issues in Pakistan and International level. With this regard, the present study tried to answer the following questions reasons and motives behind the solution of Kashmir issue.

### **Review of Literature**

Before writing thesis on this topic, it is important to mention the relevant books for literature review. The role of parliament and Kashmir issue has been separately analyses in detail by scholars and experts. It is a dual-dimension topic, the Parliament and Kashmir issue. On separately basis, a lot of material is available in the shape of books, articles, researches, magazines, and journals on both the topics as well as on the Parliament and Kashmir issue. The main source for this research are the debates of National Assembly and debates of the Senate and reports of Kashmir Committees of twenty-six years duration and other helping material that is available in this regard. The review of literature would help us in finding out the new research gaps.

Alastair Lamb, *Incomplete Partition: The Genesis of Kashmir Dispute (1947-1948)*, this book deals the first two years initial history of Kashmir dispute with strong references, especially from the British India and Dogra dynasty document. Lamb portrayed the cause root and inner picture of dispute, the views of the Hindus leadership about Kashmir occupation and the assistance provide by the English. He described the role of Meditation in UNO on Kashmir Dispute between India and Pakistan.

Victoria Schofield, *Kashmir in Conflict; India, Pakistan and the Unending War*. This book deals the brief history of Kashmir from treaty of Amritsar to its final shape. India and Pakistan fought for the absorb of Kashmir but fail in their efforts. He also highlights another aspect of Kashmir in her book, the dispute between India and China on Kashmir. UN role on Kashmir dispute and Indo-Pak position in UN from 1948 to onward (1994) and threat of nuclear war in this regard. She says, it is not a dispute but a conflict of Kashmir.

Peter Lyon, *Conflict Between India and Pakistan; An Encyclopedia*. This book deals the history of Kashmir from Akbar to present time, cause of dispute between two countries. In his research, he focuses the role of SAARC, EU, UN for the solution of

Kashmir dispute and security situation of South Asia in regard of Kashmir. In this book, every related topic is described individually in details.

Shahid M. Amin, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: A Reappraisal*. In this book, the author writes the first fifty years of foreign policy of Pakistan and its failures and success with regard of Pakistan ideology. Impact of neighboring countries and super powers on Kashmir dispute.

P.R. Chari, Perwaiz Iqbal Cheema and Stephen Philip Cohen, *Perception, Political and Security in the South Asia*. In this research, the author describes crisis of south Asia between India and Pakistan. They used a term compound and complex crisis and impact of world major power and institutions on Kashmir crisis. From chapter 3 to 7 this deals the Kashmir dispute with the different aspect related to dispute and some suggestion for the solution of Kashmir crisis.

M. Ibrahim Khan, Sardar, *The Kashmir Saga: Lost Kashmiri History*, Sardar Ibrahim was self-participant in Kashmir freedom movement. He described self-experience and eye witness events about first war of Kashmir and role of local people in war. UNCIP representatives working on LOC and UNO function about Kashmir are focused by Sardar.

Alastair Lamb, *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy (1846-1990)*, this work deals the history, geography and geo-political position of Kashmir. Dogra dynasty history, Gelgatand Hunza relation with the Samarqand. British India alignment settlement with China on Kashmir. The Kashmir movement against the Dogra raj before partition and the scenario developed on the time of partition, UNO role on Kashmir dispute and struggle for its solution on humanitarian basis. Pak-Indo war on this Kashmir dispute and negotiation was described in this book.

Hussain Dr. Mahboob, *Institution-Building in Pakistan: A Study of Parliament (1971-1977)*. This research deals the first bicameral parliament of Pakistan. In which

researcher describes the rule and regulation about the business of a parliament. Main focus of work is on over all function and methodology of a parliament in a proper way. This is the key and first research which provide right way for this kind of institutional based research.

M. N. Kaul, Practice and Procedure of Parliament, most famous book whose references are used in the speeches of parliamentarians in to parliament. This book deals all kinds of tools that are used during the business of the house and their practice with the context of subcontinent customs and traditions. It deals the legislation, rule, bills, procedure of amendment, function of committees, question hours and so on other kind of tools that are used in the house.

PIPS, Handbook and Guide, it is tool kit for parliamentarian in which various activities of parliament are described. It is pack for legislation. It deals the procedure and practice of parliament in context of parliament of Pakistan.

#### **Significance of the study**

This research is basically intended to analyze the role of Parliament during 1971 to 1999 in regarding to solution of Kashmir issue. But this research will also make an earnest attempt to answer the question regarding the role of Parliament on Kashmir issue and careless of Parliamentarians. So, in this way, this research will be helpful to understand the working of Parliament members that who much they tried to raise and highlight the Kashmir issues on the floor of Parliament. It is sad to point out that the role of Pakistan Parliament member's role is artfulness. Their efforts were not according to the wishes and hopes of Pakistanis people.

In this work, another thing is highlighted that the modern sources, websites visional all over the world, are playing a sinister and anti-Pakistan role in distorting the historical facts regarding to Kashmir issue. The purpose of this research is to highlight

the role of Parliament members, either it is sufficient or insufficient in the regard of Kashmir issue.

The main object of this study is to check the inner picture of first parliament Mr. Bhutto 1971 to second Parliament of Nawaz Sharif 1999. How much they have worked for solution Kashmir issue in the Parliament by both wings of Parliament, National Assembly and the Senate of Pakistan.

### **Objectives**

1. To analysis the role of Parliament's members in perspective the solution of Kashmir issue.
2. Viewing the member of Parliament who much they were sincere in solving the Kashmir issue solution.
3. Exposing the effort of members of Parliament in the regards of raising Kashmir issue solution national and international level.
4. Try to understand the government policy of Kashmir issue.
5. Reporting who many times parliamentarians raised the Kashmir issue in the parliament.
6. By this research we evaluate the enthusiasm of our nation in regarding of Kashmir issue solution.
7. By this research we can measure the vision of our leadership that who much they were working for this most important issue faced by Pakistan.
8. By this research, it is my intention to raise this issue in the views of researchers.

### **Plane of work and Methodology:**

A huge material is there in the newspaper and official document; these sources will help out the research work. There are two approaches in the major sources.

1. Debates of Pakistan Parliament (National Assembly and the Senate).

2. National newspaper of that era.
3. Debates of Kashmir Committee

The contradictory points may help to set an objective approach in the research. All these sources & material are available in Punjab University library, Lahore, Punjab Provincial Assembly library and National Assembly Islamabad will be immense helpful in respect of conducting the research as it has valuable material in the form of secondary sources.

This research will be conducted while using different techniques, documents, analysis and contents. Library material was significant for the purpose of this work. Primary and secondary resources have been used. And the approach will be historical, descriptive analytical and comparative.

### **Chapterization:**

The present study consisted of five chapters.

#### **Chapter 1**

Parliament and Kashmir Issue in Historical Context (1947-1969). This chapter deals the effort of 1947 to 1969 regimes of Pakistan for the solution of Kashmir issue within the country and outside country. The chapter also highlights the struggle of parliamentarian for the solution of Kashmir issue conflict between Pakistan and India. This chapter also deals that what kind of struggle parliamentarian did in regard of Kashmir issue solution and over all analysis of foreign policy and circumstances related to solution of Kashmir issue.

#### **Chapter 2**

Parliament of Zulifqar Ali Bhutto from 1971-1977. This chapter deals the effort of Parliament for the solution of Kashmir issue within the country and outside country. The chapter also highlights the struggle of parliamentarian for the solution of Kashmir

issue dispute between Pakistan and India. This chapter also deals that what kind of efforts parliamentarian did in regard solution of Kashmir issue.

### **Chapter 3**

Parliament of Zia Military Regime from 1985-1988. This chapter deals the effort of Parliament of Zia regime for the solution of Kashmir issue within the country and outside country. The chapter also highlights the struggle of parliamentarian for the solution of Kashmir issue conflict between Pakistan and India. This chapter also deals that what kind of struggle parliamentarian did in regard of Kashmir issue solution.

### **Chapter 4**

Parliaments of Benazir Bhutto Regime, this chapter deals the effort of Parliament for the solution of Kashmir issue within the country and outside country. The chapter also highlights the struggle of parliamentarian for the solution of Kashmir issue dispute between Pakistan and India. This chapter also deal the constructive role of parliamentarians did in regard Kashmir issue solution.

### **Chapter 5**

Parliament of Nawaz Sharif Regime, this chapter deals the effort of Parliament for the solution of Kashmir issue within the country and outside country. The chapter also highlights the struggle of parliamentarian for the solution of Kashmir issue dispute between India and Pakistan. This chapter also deals that what kind efforts of parliamentarians did in regard of Kashmir issue solution.

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **PARLIAMENT AND KASHMIR ISSUE IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT (1947-1969)**

The main objective of this chapter is to analyze the work about the solution of Kashmir problem in first's four parliaments of Pakistan during 1947 to 1969. To study the role of parliament regarding struggles for the solution of Kashmir issue at national and international platforms. How much has it worked for Kashmir issue in the parliament? What kind of achievement have they got and in this regarding behavior of opposition? To study the constructive role this national Platform of Pakistan, that what kind of struggle it did for the solution of Kashmir issue at national and international level.

#### **The First Constituent National Assembly of Pakistan (1947-1956)**

The First Constituent National Assembly of Pakistan started its work on 10 August 1947. In the year 1947 the only four sessions was held. The occupation of Jammu and Kashmir had been started form 26 October 1947 with the illegal attack of Indian army. In this first assembly the Kashmir dispute was not discussed. This new created country and its new National Assembly was facing many sever challenges in which most serious was to make a new constitution for new created state. After the 26 October 1947 the Kashmir war was on its peak. During this war all the Indian government and its allies British were very active in the situation. But on Pakistan side there was on such warm momentum was observed. In 1948 the National Assembly was also busy in making rule and procedure of house business. In 1948 many sittings were held, in the house and rehabilitation of refuges, Indian act 1935 amendment bill and salary of the house member topics were discussed. On other side the Kashmir situation

was on its peak and both sides Indian and Pakistan with their mediators were trying their best to settle the situation. When Indian was failed to control tribal men then they ran toward the negotiation with the help of their allies British. Both side government officials were on negotiation to settle the dispute but the Kashmir situation was not discussed in the house at any stage. In the year 1949 the house focused its attention on the public and representatives' office disqualification Bill, Objective resolution, what kind of government system should be in the country. During this year India had filed her complaints in UN and both the countries showed their eagerness on plebiscite in Kashmir. Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad Gourmani was appointed minister in cabinet without portfolio and he was given the assignment of Kashmir Affairs. When in 1949, cease-fire agreement was took place with the help of UN between India and Pakistan, he was the signatory person from Pakistan side. He visited many countries of Muslims world and non-Muslim for getting favor on Kashmir dispute and high light the Indian illegal occupation of Kashmir. On the other side the minister for external affair and Commonwealth, Mr. Zafrullha khan also busy in USA and UN to convey the Pakistan point of view on Kashmir. On 6 January 1950, Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan moved a motion in the house about the interim report of the States negotiating committee. This was very hot issue of these days because the House wanted to know the function of committee which was doing negotiation with state join Pakistan as well as wanted to join Pakistan. This discussion broke the silence in the house about word Kashmir and first time word Kashmir was heard by Sardar Shoukat Hayat Khan. In context of states negotiation he explained, "in the case of Kashmir we do not accept what Hari Singh did in acceding to India and we demand that the people of Kashmir should given the right to vote and express their own whishes publically. So that, the world may know which side the

people of that state want to accede to Pakistan or India.”<sup>14</sup> If observed the circumstance of these days about Kashmir, Pakistan government and nation thought that Kashmir is not tension matter and they were in hope very soon Kashmir will be given to Pakistan according to the wishes of Kashmiris people. Kashmir was not given high priority in Pakistan foreign policy as well as in the National Assembly.

On 6 January 1950, first time in the National Assembly Mian Iftikhar-ud-din raised the question about Kashmir dispute on the floor in the house. He claimed in regard of Kashmir the claim of Pakistan raised about Kashmir is not satisfactory and hope full. “We still have some hope that Maharaja Hari Singh will change his mind and decide that Kashmir is to accede to Pakistan.”<sup>15</sup> The leadership of Pakistan was involved in a dilemma that Kashmir issue will be solved very soon and Kashmir will Join Pakistan and the partition of subcontinent will be completed with the solution of Kashmir dispute. Beyond the National Assembly the efforts were continuously carrying on about Kashmir. May be, in the view of leadership that there is no need of discussion on Kashmir issue in the house because they were doing very well for the solution of Kashmir. Albeit the cabinet member were performed their own assignment according to given target.

In 1950 when the Kashmir issue was very hot on the agenda of UN, Sir Owen Dixon, a well-known jurist of Australia, was appointed by Security Council as the UN representative on Kashmir. He holds a conference of the prime ministers of India and Pakistan, Nehru and Liaqat Ali Khan from 20 July to 24 July. He formulated three plans for placing the entire state of Jammu and Kashmir under one administration. On 16 October 1951 Liaqat Ali Khan was assassinated in Rawalpindi. Now the creator and

---

<sup>14</sup>National Assembly Debates, V. 6, No. 3(6 January 50); 24

<sup>15</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.6, No.3(6 January 1950); 28

most popular leaders of Pakistan, Mr. M. A. Jinnah and Liaqat Ali Khan was not with Pakistan but lot of problems were still with Pakistan in which most important was unseattle dispute of Kashmir.

In the National Assembly on 22 December 1952 Basic Principle Committee presented report for new constitution In all these recommendations, the recommendations No.44 was as “the representation of Kashmir and Junagadh in the house of the people and the house of units should be determined by the federal legislature by Law but not so as to affect the parity between the east and west Pakistan in either house.”<sup>16</sup>This was very pleasant gesture that Kashmir was given importance according to its level in the house so that the attachment of Kashmiri people was increased with Pakistan. The nation of Pakistan considered strongly, till the time of Kashmir final settlement the portion of subcontinent was uncompleted.

On 7 October 1953, the discussion on Basic Principle Committee took place in the house and considerations were moved in the house, the members of the house were not happy to these considerations because in Basic Principle Kashmir was not included the Muslim’s majority area Kashmir was the basic point of Muslim philosophy of partition and committee was not include the Kashmir in Basic Principle Committee’s report, which commend for the consideration of the house. Mr. Muhammad Ali explained that, “the house will doubtless note an important Omission in these proposed there is no mention anywhere of Kashmir.”<sup>17</sup>

In next day session on 13 October 1953 Mr. Mafizuddin Ahmad in the house thanked and praised Mr. Muhammad Ali to describe the importance of Kashmir and enlived Kashmir issue in front of the house because no one MLA raised Kashmir issue

---

<sup>16</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.12, No. 2(22 December 1951); 96

<sup>17</sup>National Assembly Debates, V. 15, No. 2 (7 October 1953); 16

on the floor of house. It was their duty to highlight the problem faced by Pakistan. In context of Kashmir dispute the west the Pakistan leaders was very much attached and interested than East Pakistan leaders.

In session No. 14 of 1953 the official report of Basic Principles Committee was presented in the constituent assembly of Pakistan. This session No. 14 and sitting No. 28 was the longest session of this constituent Assembly of Pakistan now till. In these sitting of session, the consideration, Postponed and provision about the clauses were taken through the Motion. The selected and amended paragraphs or article were added to the report for new constitution. In these consideration the paragraph No. 44 was about the Jammu and Kashmir State now the paragraph No. 44 was substituted with the demand of a MLA A.K Brohi as follow ‘‘the State of Jammu and Kashmir will be made in the constitution at the appropriate time and in accordance with the wishes of the people of that State,’’<sup>18</sup> by a Motion. The House discussed the importance of Kashmir, freedom of Kashmir, and government role about its solution. The House demanded to the UN as possible as solve the dispute because Pakistani Nation considered Kashmir is part and parcel of their heart. Many MLA like Sayed Khalil-ul-Rehman, Mr. Ahmad E.H. Jaffer, Mr. Nur Ahmed, Mr. Nurul Amin and Dr. Muhammad Hussain supported the amending Articles or paragraph No.44 which was presented on 7 October 1953, when this august House assembled to consider the report of the Basic Principle Committee. Mr. A. K. Brohi thanked the MLA who sported to his motion. On 24 October 1954, the Governor General of Pakistan dissolved the first National Assembly of Pakistan. He claimed and charged that the House had lost the trust of Nation. During this period the country was facing severe challenges but after the death of spiritual leaders the Assembly session was became the picnic trip for MLA and were showing

---

<sup>18</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.15, No. 23(15 November 1953); 689

they were very busy in making constitution for country but from 10 August 1947 to 20 October 1954 the House was fully failed to make constitution for country but Bharat had made its new constitution only in three and half years after partition. A Nation Assembly could not give constitution to homeland what kind of expectation you desired it about the solution of Kashmir. In this National Assembly no resolution, no Adjournment Motion, no Privilege Motion, no Motion, no Cal Attention Notice was raised in the House by any MLA for the solution of Kashmir. This first Nation Assembly was failed to solve Kashmir dispute.

### **The Second Constituent Assembly of Pakistan (1956-1958)**

The second constituent Assembly was setup under the Governor General's Order No, 12 of 1955, after nearly eight months of dissolution of the first Nation Assembly. The elected legislature members were collected on 7<sup>th</sup> July 1955 in National Assembly. The Electoral College for this Assembly was the provincial Assemblies. This parliament was successive in making first constitution for country that was consist of 234 Article 13 chapter and 6 portion and in this unicameral legislation system in which parliament consisting of president and National Assembly. "One Unit"<sup>19</sup> system solved the political un-equality between both wings of Pakistan. The first session of this National Assembly was held on Sunday 25 March 1956. In his first address of president, he did not say one word about the Kashmir issue. In this cabinet Kashmir affairs Ministry was working which had 1134000 rupees annul budget under the supervision of.....

Commented [MH1]: ?

When One Unit was set up in the country on this many members raised the question about the representation of the Kashmir in the House. On 26 March 1956 Mr. Mian Abdul Bari raised the question about Kashmir and SEATO in the House because

<sup>19</sup>Notification No.F.42-1/55-cons.3 Oct.1955.The Gazette of Pakistan

Pakistan had joined SEATO and CENTO in recently years and many parliamentarians were worried on these treaties. Their point of views was that if Pakistan has no war with any country then why Pakistan joined these treaties. Mian Abdul Bari wanted to know about the Kashmir question that was discussed in recently SEATO conference held in Karachi at 8 March 1956. SEATO and CENTO could not provide practical assistance in solving Kashmir but only lip service was equally carried on for Pakistan and SEATO and CENTO organization repeated the UN statement after interval of time. Mian Abdul Bari also criticized the dual character of UK and USA in regard of India and Pakistan relation. One side UK and USA was bound by treaty with Pakistan but on other hand UK and USA economic Aids and assistance was continuously flowing toward India and their official were given statements against Pakistan in India. Mr. Dulles "if ever Pakistan created any trouble with Bharat, America will not be on the side of Pakistan."<sup>20</sup> Therefore this was not holly treaty for Pakistan because there was big fault in foreign office. The discussion participant MLA demanded neutral foreign policy for country. First Adjournment Motion<sup>21</sup> on Kashmir was moved by khan Mohammad Jalaluddin Khan on 5 April 1956 on the statement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of Bharat. Next day the discussion was started in the House on Kashmir. Pakistan's leader's reaction was very strong on the statement of Nehru and they criticized and condemned the Nehru statement, that Kashmir is integral part of India. Pakistan leaders demanded plebiscite in Kashmir. Khan Mohammad Jalaluddin, Mr. Muhammad Abdul Khalequ, Mr Abdul Latif Biswas, Basanta Kuamar Das, Mr. Muhammad Ali, Rasa Raj Mandal, Mr.Farid Ahmed, MianJaffar Shah, Mr. Kamini

---

<sup>20</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.1, No. 2 (26 February 1956); 67, Mr. Zahiruddin

<sup>21</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.1, No. 8(6 April 1956); 497

Kumar Dutta, Mr. Akshay Kumar Das, Mr. Atau Rehman Khan, Mr. Hamidul Haq Choudhery Foreign Minister of Pakistan was participated in the discussion.

During the discussion on central Budget session on 13 February 1957, Mr. Khan Mohammad Jalaludin was explained that from previous nine years the efforts in regard of Kashmir dispute solution were in vain. "But now this government achieved 20% or 25% success in the case of Kashmir."<sup>22</sup> In 1957 the Kashmir Issue had gotten importance place in Pakistan Foreign policy. The Government focus was more increased in solution of Kashmir dispute. But on the other hand, the Indian leadership for their world image was continuously giving statement about peace and plebiscite in Kashmir. This policy was carried on by Indian till 1957. The Indian leadership promises in regard of plebiscite in Kashmir was changed in new shape. The top Indian leadership like Nehru, Patel and Baldev was again and again promised to international community that they are also in favor of plebiscitary process in Kashmir. From 1947 to 1957 they were succeeded to assure world community. They are sincere with their words and saying. But internally they were in search of turning point. First turning point they searched SEATO and CENTO treaty that was only lame excuse instead of all this India was also getting arms and ammunition from western countries.

On 16 January 1957 Kashmir was celebrated in Pakistan for solidarity with people of Kashmir and during in a procession some leaders violated section 144 law and order in Karachi city, on this violation district Magistrate Karachi took action against these leaders. In the house some member were in favor of action and some were opposed to this action and opposition were demanded to discuss this matter on the floor of parliament because in their views it was a case of national feeling. The treasury benches claimed, this case could not take as Adjournment Motion in the house. The

---

<sup>22</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.1, No. 4(13 February 1957); 284

treasury benches members turn the topic of speech on other subject but opposition member again started speech on Kashmir topic.

The Security Council resolution of 24 January 1957 was veto by USSR in friendship of India; it was the failure of Pakistan adopted foreign policy. India was enjoying friendship with USSR, USA as well as UK due to her good foreign policy. The veto by Russia was result of joining SEATO and CENTO pact of Pakistan. Before this, Russia was fully neutral in regard of Kashmir dispute. But now Jawaharlal Nehru and his companions in their speeches and press conference were openly saying Kashmir is integral part of India.

On 8 February 1958 two Motions<sup>23</sup> were moved in the house first by Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana that Government is failed to take adequate steps in rehabilitation of refugees of Kashmir that was not adopted for discussion in the House. Second Motion<sup>24</sup> was moved by Mr. Muhammad Abdul Khaleque to discuss the Kashmir Ministry Affairs role that was also not adopted in the house. From previous many years Pakistan's leadership was very much worried about two disputes Kashmir and Canal water. But Pakistan was succeeded in settle canal water dispute in 1960 in the shape of Indus Basin Treaty with India with the help of the World Bank, USA, Canada, and Australia but could not solve Kashmir dispute. "Malik Feroz Khan Noon Minister for external affairs visited to Security Council four times during the 1957 for the settlement of Kashmir Affair."<sup>25</sup> Prime Minister Shaheed Hussain Suhrawardi set up friendly Foreign policy and produced friendship environment for India Instead of traditional hate policy. But all this was in vain due to cold response of Indian behavior. Indian said, "do not disturb the good will be discussing Kashmir."<sup>26</sup>

---

<sup>23</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.2, No. 13(8 February 1958); 1008

<sup>24</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.2, No. 13(8 February 1958); 1024

<sup>25</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.3, No. 1(1 September 1958); 43

<sup>26</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.3, No. 5(20 November 1965); 327, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto

In this parliament as officially and unofficially in the House the word “Problems” was used instead of word dispute or issue for Kashmir crisis. This parliament was failed to solve the Kashmir dispute with India but the parliamentarians’ enlived the Kashmir issue in their speeches on the floor and with the passage of time MLA raised questions and short story of Kashmir in the house. But the most favorite topic for speech was pay-scale, allowance, in this National Assembly. Instead of all this, whole the national was hopeful that Kashmir issue will solve very soon by negotiation or with the help of mediator UN.

### **Third National Assembly of Pakistan (1962-65)**

The 1962 constitution created unicameral legislature system in the Country. The first election of National Assembly under the 1962 constitution were held in April of 1962. There 156 members were elected indirectly by the electoral college of 80000 basic democratic members, on individual basis because political parties were banned at that time. But after some time popular leaders created their groups in the house. The National Assembly first session was held on 8th June 1962 in Ayub hall Rawalpindi. In the first address of president Ayub Khan to the parliament he did not give importance to Kashmir and did not speak single word about Kashmir. At this time the government of Pakistan had solved the canal dispute with India in the shape of Indus Water Treaty with India. During the previous parliament of Pakistanis was worried about the canal water dispute and Kashmir problem. But this government solved the canal water dispute with India and now Kashmir dispute problem was remaining in their mind.

On 25 June 1962, Mr. Muhammad Ali (Minister of External Affairs) gave the statement about the Russian’s veto on Irish resolution over Kashmir.<sup>27</sup> The minister very briefly described the all circumstances of this veto action. An Irish citizen, Mr. Dr.

---

<sup>27</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.1, No.10(25 June 1962); 389

Graham tried to best to remove tension on Kashmir between two countries. In the house opposition members were insisting of this point the Anglo-American collation increased the problem of Pakistan on Kashmir issue. The most important incident in the UN was that UAR (United Arab Republic) absent from Pakistan favor. Pakistan nation was unhappy by rude attitude of Muslim Arab country.

In the House on 7 June 1962 the standing committee on Kashmir Affair was set up under the command of Mr. Ghulam Qadir Panhwar.

In October 1962 the Sino-Indian war was begun on Sino-India border. This incident of war gave more momentum to Kashmir dispute in the eyes of World and UN. The Indian deployed army on Pakistan borders and USA and UK were supplying on large scale arms to India. Both these countries USA and UK instructed to Pakistan to keep out from war. Actually this war was the Indian game show to getting sympathies and aid from western world against China. American was bound with SEATO and CENTO agreement but her blessing and kindness was more with India than Pakistan and India were enjoying this. This matter discussed in the Assembly. The opposition and treasury benches discussed SEATO and CENTO pact in the perspective of Kashmir dispute. They demanded that it is moral duty of SEATO and CENTO to solve the Kashmir issue. But “the American are playing role of a girl that has two boyfriends.”<sup>28</sup> During the Sino-India war USA, UK and UN give the lollypop to the government of Pakistan, after the war they will solve the Kashmir dispute. In this regard the special envoy of President John. F. Kennedy was very active as well as the ambassador of USA and UK in Pakistan.

They were feared that Pakistan should not involve in the war. They did not want to increase the problems of India at any cost. The war was ended in November and now

---

<sup>28</sup>National Assembly Debates, V. 3, No.7(28 November 1962); 190, Mr. Abdul Kaseem

they wanted to please Pakistan. In this regard the joint communiqué was issued on same date 29 November 1962 from Rawalpindi and New Delhi with the sign of Jawaharlal Nehru and Muhammad Ayub Khan respectively. But in the Parliament the statement was given on 1st December 1962 by Z. A. Bhutto (Minister for Industries and Natural Resources)<sup>29</sup> On 4 December 1962 the National Assembly discussed the joint communiqué on Kashmir in the House. An Adjournment Motion was moved in the House by Mr. Farid Ahmad on 9 March 1963, to discuss the Ministerial level talk on Kashmir in the house and this Motion was adopted for debate in the House. Because the President Kennedy and British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan pressurized the Jawaharlal Nehru to start negotiation both the countries in response both Country released joint communiqué on Kashmir this was the promise. This ministerial level talk on Kashmir had six rounds in six month between Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (Now Minister for External Affairs) and Sardar Sawarn Singh (Minister for Railway).

The members of the House were demanding, the House should take in confidence by government on this ministerial level talk because “government of India took the Lok Sabha in confidence on negotiation with Pakistan.”<sup>30</sup> In the ministerial level discussion a proposal about the partition of Kashmir was came into front for the solution of Kashmir dispute. In the National Assembly an Adjournment Motion by Mr. Abdul Aziz was moved in the House on 13 March 1963 about the partition of Kashmir but the Motion was rejected to debate in the House.

On 10 April 1963 Mr. Farid Ahmed raised a question about the outcome of Indo-Pak negotiation on Kashmir dispute because people wanted to know the result of negotiation which was in process. The minister for external affair Mr. Zulfiqar Ali

---

<sup>29</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.3, No.10(1 December 1962); 267

<sup>30</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.4, No. 2(9 March 1963); 111, Mr. Abdul Bari

Bhutto replied in the House that “there had been no progress -no substantial progress - on the Kashmir negotiation.”<sup>31</sup> He assured the House will take in confidence before any major decision about Kashmir.

On 25 May 1963, Syed Hussain Mansur moved an “Adjournment Motion No. 7”<sup>32</sup> about the failure of Indo-Pak Ministerial talk on Kashmir. The last round of Indo-Pak talk took place on 16 May 1963. During the previous statement in the House on 10 April 1963 minister for external Affairs had been explained the Failure of negotiation. This Motion had not signed of mover on it therefore it was not adopted for debate and ruled out.

When these negotiations were under process on its last stage, Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto reached chine and settled the boundary agreement on Kashmir with chine. According to this agreement, “Pakistan got 750 square miles area from china and Pakistan accepted Akasi as part of china.”<sup>33</sup> It was right or wrong but time was not proper and good for agreement. This was mistake from Pakistan foreign affairs experts because this agreement effected negative expression on Indo-Pak negotiation. Pakistan should wait at the last result of Indo-Pakistan negotiation. This agreement with chine western world was not bore. In this House the foreign policy of Pakistan was discussed on 17 July 1963.

On 16 March 1963 Mr. Qamarul Ahsan moved an Adjournment Motion in the House about the integration of Kashmir with India. Jammu and Kashmir State Assembly at Srinagar passed A Bill which makes Jammu and Kashmir an integral part of India. This bill and its pass was the clear violation of the Security Council’s resolution No, 122 dated 1957. In which clearly it was said that only and final solution

---

<sup>31</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.1, No. 25(10 April May 1963); 1554

<sup>32</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.2, No. 1(25 May 1963); 20

<sup>33</sup>Dawn Karachi, 9 January 2010, Sino-Pakistan Boundary

of Jammu Kashmir is plebiscite. Mr. Speaker promised that “we shall fix the date in consultation with the leading members of this House.”<sup>34</sup>

During budget session on 22 June 1964 an Adjournment Motion was moved by Ch. Fazal Elahi about the Military Assistance to India and motion was adopted for discussion in the House. In the official announcement by New Delhi that USA had agreed to provide military assistance to India on long term basis.

When in October 1962 Sino-India war was occupied then USA and UK repeatedly assured government of Pakistan this aid is an ad-hoc aid. But now a new five years plan for supply of military aid was going to testify between India and U. S. A. This further arms aid situation raised a horrible condition in the area. The story was not ended there “it is also reported that the defense Minister of India is now to undertake visit to the United Kingdom and USSR to negotiate further military assistance.”<sup>35</sup> The members participated in the discussion and described their point of views were as Mr. Abdul Hye Choudry, Mr. Mohammad Yousuf Khattak, Syed Abdus Sultan, Mr. Muhammad Qasim Malik, Mr. Qamarul Ahsan, Mr. Mashiur Rahman, Syed Asghar Shah, Mr. Asghar Shah, Mr. Badrul Haque Khan and Mr. Abdul Muntaqium Choudhury. At last the minister for external affairs Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto concluded the discussion with his deliberated speech. This long term military assistance to India fully affected the dispute of Kashmir. Mr. Bhutto quoted the recently said word of an official of USA government that “the global interests of United State in the Subcontinent were of a greater importance of them than the settlement of the Kashmir dispute.”<sup>36</sup> It means on global level there was no friendship but only interests’ are favorite.

---

<sup>34</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.1, No. 2(16 March 1964); 93

<sup>35</sup>National Assembly Debates, V. 2, No.19(22 September 1964); 1114 Ch. FazalElahi

<sup>36</sup>National Assembly Debate, V.2, No. 19(22 June 1964); 1474, Z.A. Bhutto

On 21 August 1964, in the House Foreign policy of country was discussed. In India the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru was died and new Prime Minister Shastri revived the foreign policy of India. In reaction Pakistan also strengthens her foreign policy. Therefore Foreign policy of Pakistan was discussed in the house the debate was inaugurated with the statement of Mr. Z. A. Bhutto. In all civilized nation, the foreign policy was consulted with opposition for better result. But “there have been absolutely no consultation between the members of opposition.”<sup>37</sup> For the better solution of problem, government should take reality based measurement. The reason of this foreign policy discussion was a common-wealth communiqué issued for the solution of Kashmir problem during the recent prime minister conference at London. This communiqué raised the temperature of India government as well as Indian nation.

On this Pakistani considered it as their victory. In India people started agitation against Common Wealth. Each of the participators of conference emphasized that Kashmir problem should solve with India by peacefully and immediately. The solution of Kashmir was the central point of this discussion, because in first era of Ayub Khan Kashmir had become the spirit of foreign policy of Pakistan. The MLAs participated in foreign policy discussion was as follow: Mr. Mohammad Yusuf Khattak, Mr. Abdul Bari, Syed Mohammad Habibul Haq, Mr. Ramizuddin Ahmad, Mr. Ghulam Sabir khan Rana, Mr. Farid Ahmad Col, NawabZada Abdul Ghafoor Khan, Syed Abdus Sultan and Mr. Nusrullah Khan.

---

<sup>37</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.3, No. 18(21 August 1964); 1211, Yusuf Khattak

On 21 January 1965 an Adjournment Motion<sup>38</sup> was moved in the House by Mufti Mahmood in regarding merge of occupied Kashmir in to India. The Motion was adopted and discussed in the house. This was the election year in Pakistan, during these days Kashmir issue was frequently discussed in the House by the government side. The government was claiming that they were doing their best efforts in solving Kashmir issue on other hand opposition were claiming that government were nothing doing for the solution of Kashmir affairs. The first parliament of General Mohammad Ayub Khan was failed to solve Kashmir's issue.

#### **Fourth National Assembly of Pakistan (1965-69)**

The election for the Second National Assembly under the 1962 constitution was held in March 1965. The first session was held on 12 June 1965, on the same day the President Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan addressed to National Assembly in this first address to Second era to the House. He described the achievements of his previous government and all challenges faced by country and relation of Pakistan with world East to West. But he did not speak a single word about Kashmir in his speech, the first address being considered as policy statement of a state head.

During this period Pakistan was achieving their development at high rate. There was heavy flow of sources in the country. In last regime of Ayub Khan the "Sino-Indo" war given momentum to the Kashmir dispute in UN and on the world level. On 13 July 1965 the "Foreign Policy" was discussed in the House. The discussion was started with long and briefly speech of Mr. Bhutto. Recently Rann of Kutch incident was took place between Indo-Pak army. Pakistan army occupied Indian control area in result many lives were lost by both sides. But very soon the Rann of Kutch agreement signed and troop withdrawal from Rann of Kutch nation was fear flight on this silent agreement.

---

<sup>38</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.1, No.7(21 January 1965); 300

This was the beginning of war of 1965 Indo-Pak. On the other side “the Prime minister of India, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastari has also come to admit that war with Pakistan it is not easy as people use to think.”<sup>39</sup> It is also part of history that President Muhammad Ayub Khan had offered to the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru for Joint defense agreement. But the lust of expansionism from Indian foreign policy was not decreased on any stage from the time of Partition. Now, it was the result of the Rann of Kutch or any strategically tactic that they changed the thinking of Indian. On other side a lot of economic and military aid from Western countries had made more proudly and superior in her lust. National Assembly members were disappointed on the behavior of SEATO and CENTO in regard of Pakistan in solution of problems. The foreign policy discussion was concluded by Mr. Z. A. Bhutto speech and he hoped that Pakistan followed the peaceful Policy for all neighboring countries for the solution of outstanding issue.

After the war of September 1965, assembly session was called up on 15 November 1965. This was the very important session of National Assembly. The emotion of nation was very high as victors in war. The Main cause of this war was Kashmir dispute. Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto moved a Motion<sup>40</sup> about the emergency situation created by armed aggression by Indian against Pakistan but the Motion was postponed due to the President Address. The President described all circumstances of this illegal, unjustified aggression against Pakistan. Instead India had solemnly entered into international agreement in UN to allow the people of Jammu and Kashmir to exercise their right of self-determination. But, “as evidence of Indian aggressive designs and her determination to destroy the freedom movement accumulated long-suffering

---

<sup>39</sup>National Assembly Debates, V. 1, No. 15(13 July 1965); 1341 Malik Allah Yar Khan.

<sup>40</sup>National Assembly Debates, V. 3, No.1(15 November 1965); 30

people of Jammu and Kashmir reached limit of their endurance.”<sup>41</sup> The president claimed “the objective we have fully achieved by the grace of God.”<sup>42</sup> In next sittings of National Assembly, the Resolutions, the Motions and Adjournment Motions were moved by different members of the House for the respectful homage to martyrs and brave Armed Forces. So that, to increase the determination of armed forces by the House and to present the solute of their bravery. Wherever the House recommended the dignity of their Armed forces the House criticized the behavior of Western world and UN in solution of Kashmir problems.

There was held a declaration between Pakistan and India with help of Russia an Indian pro state. Both countries promised they will settle the Kashmir problem according to UN passed Resolution. In this war India was on the lossier level and Pakistan was on dominant position. The settlement between two countries was said to be end but in declaration not an agreement. In agreement the problems have to be end but in declaration it was promised that problems will solve in future. “Article IX of this Tashkent Declaration indicted the machinery of consultation through which the two countries would seek to discuss outstanding and settle dispute.”<sup>43</sup>

On 14 March 1966 the discussion about foreign policy was started in the house, this was the second discussion of foreign policy after the Indo-Pak war and last discussion of this regime, now government wanted revive the policy under the shadow of war experience and debate on it in the House helped to reform the foreign policy. On other side all the leadership was shouted that Kashmir problems had closed and there was no need of negotiation on Kashmir question. On 31 March 1966 in New York the Prime minister Of India said "it is not now too late to talk of plebiscite.”<sup>44</sup> During the

---

<sup>41</sup>National Assembly Debates, V. 2, No.1(15 November 1965); 33

<sup>42</sup>National Assembly Debates, V. 2, No.1(15 November 1965); 34

<sup>43</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.1, No. 5(11 March 1966); 299, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto

<sup>44</sup>National Assembly Debates, V. 2, No. 23(25 June 1966); 1518

budget Session of 1967 Kashmir debate became the part of this discussion in the House. The first ministerial Indo-Pak meeting on Tashkent declaration was held on 10 March 1967 at Rawalpindi, but after that Indian fully denied talking on Kashmir issue on any level instead of central Point of Tashkent declaration was about the solution of Kashmir. If India denied talking about Kashmir then talk on any topic was useless to Pakistan according to principles of Pakistan.

Mr. Rana Ghulam Sabir Khan raised a starred Question in the House on 12 December 1967 about Russian concern for Kashmir. The Tashkent declaration was completed by the help of Russian, now their policy was changed toward Pakistan or they wanted to help India in difficult time of war. But Pakistani allies SEATO and CENTO were fully silent on this grave situation of war. Now Russian was in trust with Pakistan administration not only in foreign Affairs but in economic Affairs. The Russian also understood that Kashmir is bone of contention between India and Pakistan. During the visit of President of Pakistan, Russian committed they were stood with their promises for the Kashmir issue. When was demand of grants in respect of unexpected expenditure discussed, on 26 July 1968 in Budget session? Some members of National Assembly were criticized the rule of UN that "Pakistan contributed to Un capital Fund Rs 476000"<sup>45</sup> and every years paid in contribution but the UN failed to solve the Kashmir issue. "Pakistan has been raised 133 times violation on Kashmir issue in Security Council."<sup>46</sup> So many times the matter had been discussed in the Security Council many times but the result was negative. It looked as the UN had lost her integration in world and UN seem as playing story institution in the hand of Super power.

---

<sup>45</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.1, No. 39(26 June 1968); 3049

<sup>46</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.1, No. 42(29 June 1968); 3312, Shah Aziz-ur-Rehman

After the year of 1966 was Kashmir problem was gone under the economic, development and progress words. There were no Adjournment Motion, Resolution and Motion moved in the House about Kashmir. After the 1966 in the House the Foreign Policy was not discussed. Not even this, in the both regimes of field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan in the National Assembly Kashmir dispute was not discussed on the floor of the House. In the last two years of Second regime of Ayub Khan Dr. Aleem Al-Razee enlived the Kashmir issue in the House with questions and short debate in other discussion subject.

The voices from the House were raised at every sitting that Kashmir was put into cold storage and Kashmir was removed from the foreign policy of country. During both these regimes of Ayub Khan first time during Sino-India war the Kashmir issue got momentum UK and USA heads was on full struggle to keep out Pakistan from out of war. They were feared that Pakistan would not involve in war and would attack on Kashmir. UK and USA head promised with Pakistan they will solve the issue after the war. In Indo-Pak war of 1965 Pakistan trapped by the hand of USSR and easily vacated the occupied area of India on this promised that both countries will solve their dispute with peaceful negotiation. But as well as India felt easy and escaped her from crucial time. The India immediately changed her behavior and became the man of iron in regard of Kashmir. The first and second Parliaments of Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan was failed to solve Kashmir issue. On 25 March 1969 National Assembly was dissolved by imposing Martial Law in country by General Yahiya Khan.

During these four parliaments of Pakistan Kashmir issue was at beginning stage and creation of Pakistan was also fresh. Whole the nation emotion was also young in new state and they consider that Kashmir is their legal right and other it was the wish of people of Kashmir to join the Pakistan. The western peace loving people were also

in this favor that Kashmir dispute should solve with peace processes between two new states of world. Both the countries were also agreed on it not even this Indian leadership was repeated their commitment on all world form that the Kashmir should given plebiscite according to UN said processes. But practically they were not doing commitment and not with their words. From Pakistan side humble requests was equal carry on for the settlement of Kashmir dispute. From 1947 to 1960 Pakistani was very hopeful about Kashmir, that very soon Kashmir problem will be solve. On other side UN peace mission was trying their best for the solution of Kashmir dispute, but all was in vain. Sino-India war of 1962 and Indo-Pak war of 1965 gave the boost to Kashmir dispute in the world for its solution. The whole world was anxious for the solution of Kashmir dispute immediately, but this was only during the days of war. As some time passes, every one became slow and rigged and then forgets it. These four first parliaments of Pakistan also failed to solve the Kashmir issue.

## CHAPTER 2

### PARLIAMENTS OF ZULIFQAR ALI BHUTTO

The main objective of this chapter is to analyze the work about the solution of Kashmir problem in Mr. Bhutto's two parliaments during 1972 to 1977. To study the role of parliament regarding struggles for the solution of Kashmir issue at national and international platforms. How much has it worked for Kashmir issue in the parliament? What kind of achievement have they got regarding behavior of opposition? To study the constructive role this national Platform of Pakistan, that what kind of struggle it did for the solution of Kashmir issue at national and international level.

Commented [MH2]: same in ch:1

#### First Parliament of Bhutto

After the separation of East Pakistan from West Pakistan in 1971, the nation was in great sorrow. But the magical personality of Mr. Bhutto took over the country as civil martial law administrative and president of Pakistan. This assembly was the first whose members were directly elected on the basis of one man one vote and adult franchise. The president Bhutto gave new constitution and parliamentary government system to the country. There was bicameral legislation institution; National Assembly and the Senate. All the issues were debated in the parliament to produce conscience on national issue so that solution can also be derived for solution of these issues.

The parliament representatives showed how much his members were involved and interested in solving issues faced by the country. Actually, a member is representative of many people because the thinking of a member is same as that of the people who elected him.

This august house first session was held on 14 April 1972 under supervision of the president Z.A. Bhutto. In his first address to the National Assembly the president

Mr. Bhutto said “the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu & Kashmir has not been lost on them either by India or Pakistan it is their inherent right which no one can take away from them.”<sup>47</sup>This was the policy statement of government that was exercised by the president. The stand of government was the same as that of the previous government. In the first session on 15 April, the first resolution in the National Assembly was moved about enactment of interim constitution in the country.

On 21 April 1972, the martial law was lifted from the country. During the general elections Mr. Bhutto frequently claimed in public meeting about the freedom of Kashmir. “If you reflect in 1970 during the election anti-Indian stance and confrontation on Kashmir issue were constantly played up.”<sup>48</sup>Mr. Z.A. Bhutto was an experienced politician of Pakistan. He as federal minister in Sakindir Mirza cabinet and then as foreign minister of Pakistan served with General Ayub Khan for many years. He had good experience about Kashmir negotiations with Indian Railway minister Sardar Swarn Singh in 1962. Mr. Z.A. Bhutto and his cabinet started their work with great ambitions and enthusiasm. Approximately one year this government worked under the interim constitution.

### **Simla Accord**

Simla Accord is historical agreement between India and Pakistan. With the help of this agreement Pakistan and India settled their 1971's war dispute. Both the countries set up strategy in accordance with the solution of standing disputes. In this accord both countries promised that they would draw the solution of Kashmir by bilateral negotiations.

---

<sup>47</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.1, No.1(14 April 1972); 51

<sup>48</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.2, No.1(10 July 1972); 57, Mr. Sher Baz Khan Mazari

The clause II/d of this agreement accepted the Kashmir as disputed area between the two countries. In the clause 7 of this agreement, the last point pointed to “a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir and the resumption of diplomatic relation.”<sup>49</sup> It was promised by Mr. Bhutto to nation that the final approval would be got from National Assembly. Mr. Z.A. Bhutto declared I respect the decision of my people and I hope the National Assembly of Pakistan will approve the Simla Accord. This agreement was signed on 2 July 1972 but the motion for approval was presented in the National Assembly on 10 July 1972.

### **Discussion on Simla Accord in National Assembly**

In the National Assembly, there were two school of thought about this agreement. One was of the view that Pakistan would succeed and the other was of the view that Pakistan would fail in her achievement according to this agreement. At the time of this agreement there was no Senate in Pakistan, there was unicameral legislature system in Pakistan. This Simla agreement is so important in the history of Pakistan that even after 45 years this agreement is still debated in the parliament frequently by its members. The government and opposition tried to elaborate it with their own point of view in the National Assembly. Moulana Shah Ahmad Noorani claimed that “Pakistan has gone back on all those promises which we have been making since the last 25 years, during the time of the Quaid-e-Azam, regarding the Kashmir issue.”<sup>50</sup>The opposition stressed on this point that now Pakistan could not raise Kashmir issue in the UN. Maulvi Mufti Mahmood stated “we cannot take this issue (Kashmir) to the UN because the sub clause III of the clause 1 of the agreement says that the pre-requisite for reconciliation.”<sup>51</sup>But on the other side, the government members were praising the

---

<sup>49</sup>Simla Accord July 1972, [www.na.gov.pk](http://www.na.gov.pk)

<sup>50</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.2, No.1(10 July1972);48

<sup>51</sup>Ibid,55

Simla Agreement. Sardar Abdul Aleem told “Simla Agreement has made the Kashmir issue alive. It has been more highlighted in the world.”<sup>52</sup>Moulana Kausar Niazi (Minister for information) said “India has accepted first time in clause II that Kashmir is a disputed area.”<sup>53</sup>The government benches were very hopeful for the solution of Kashmir. They were thinking that Kashmir would be completely solved in future and the solution would come as unexpectedly as the Simla Accord. Simla agreement is a reality in the shape of a written document. We cannot turn our mind from its reality. Now every politician did its explanation with his own point of view. But there were some realities which came after the signing of Simla Agreement. The Simla Agreement emphasized the bilateral negotiation instead of UNO resolutions. Simla Agreement is, now, being used by every Indian politician as a reference to solve Kashmir dispute through bilateral and peaceful negotiations. India brought Kashmir dispute in UN not Pakistan. Why does, India want to expel herself Kashmir dispute from UNO platform? From 45 years, Pakistan has been listening that the Kashmir issue would be solved on the base of Simla Agreement. But the result is zero. Whenever Indian mode is pleasant they give the chance of table talk as photo session. This is only a show for the world community to reduce the pressure of world peace loving community. With the Simla Agreement Pakistan brought Kashmir issue from international to regional level. Moulve Mufti Muhammad said “I understand that after the ratification of the Simla Agreement, we shall not be able to take the issue to UN for in the clause 2 of the agreement, it is written that the two countries shall resolve their difference through mutual negotiations and peaceful means.”<sup>54</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup>Ibid,64

<sup>53</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.2, No.2 (12 July 1972);305

<sup>54</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.2, No.1(10 July 1972); 54

According to Simla Agreement now both the countries tried to solve all standing issues peacefully with bilaterally negotiations. Mr. Amir Zada Khan said “Miss Indra Gandhi stated in the first press conference that Pakistan must withdraw from the Kashmir dispute from the UNO. According to Simla conference, there is no need of UNO intervention.”<sup>55</sup>India has succeeded to assure the world community that Kashmir is a bilateral difference but not a dispute between two countries. Hence, both the countries would solve it step by step after the normalization of relations. But there is no need of UNO intervention or any mediation between the two neighboring countries.

The border line between Pakistan and India was set up as cease fire line by UNO in 1948 after the first war of Kashmir between India and Pakistan. But in Simla Agreement this cease fire line was changed into line of control. This exchange of words produced fear in the mind of the nation. That the line of control may be the final boarder line gradually in future. Moulana Shah Ahmad Norani asserted “we had set up this line, which is accepted as line of control instead of cease fire line. Tomorrow, we have to be forced to accept this line of control as permanent boarder.”<sup>56</sup>Instead the government’s statement was opposite to it, for the fear of the opposition Mr. Abdul Qaiyum Khan explained “We have never accepted the line of control as a permanent line and Kashmir issue is still alive. The position of Kashmir remains same in UNO as this was before Simla Agreement.”<sup>57</sup>There were two points of views on it, according to the Pakistani leaders, who were involved in doing this Agreement; the Simla Agreement did not oust the Kashmir issue from the UNO platform. Its status will continue as it was before Simla Agreement. The UN will have to go for the implementation of the resolution for a free and impartial plebiscite to decide the fate of Jammu and Kashmir. The Bhutto

---

<sup>55</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.1, No.2 (13 July 1972);420

<sup>56</sup>Parliament Debates, V.1, No.3 (19 December 1973);78

<sup>57</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.4, No.21(24 June 1974);898

government considered that the agreement kept the Kashmir issue alive in the world with new position. On the other side, the Indian government's view on it was that Kashmir issue had been accepted as a difference in agreement and both the countries would solve it bilaterally with negotiations and there was no need of UN intervention in this issue. All the said resolutions of Security Council have lost their value. In agreement, this was said that both the heads of state should meet and settle the outstanding differences. There in the agreement this was not mentioned when and where the heads should meet and solve the difference.

Pakistan thought that she had gotten success in Simla Agreement in the perspective of Indo-Pak war of 1971. Pakistan got their ninety thousand prisoners of war released from India and Pakistan got back her 5416.37 KM occupied territory from India. But in perspective of Kashmir they have achieved nothing but only lip service in this Simla Agreement. Roa Khursheed Ali Khan said "by using mutual understanding in context of negotiations Indians will not talk till the Day of Judgment."<sup>58</sup> Many leaders remarked that we were legally and morally bound to this Simla Agreement for Kashmir issue. But this morality and legality could not be imposed on India, who signed an agreement that Kashmir is disputed area. Instead of all this, she did not come on table talk and claimed again and again that there was no dispute over Kashmir. If India did not sign Simla Agreement, what would happen and what she would say about the Kashmir issue. Soon the government lost her temperament about Kashmir issue according to the wish of the people. Mr. Bhutto promised the people of Pakistan, that he included the desire of the people in shape of National Assembly before signing Simla Agreement. But they did not do as "the debate on Simla Agreement in the National

---

<sup>58</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.2, No1 (10 July 1972); 31

Assembly was held after the signing the agreement.”<sup>59</sup>This agreement had become an interesting test match between two countries which has no end. But both the teams were playing it with full strength and trying to win with any trick. So, both teams remained failed in their effort. This agreement reminds us, we had agreement like the British King “the king is live and the king is dead”. This agreement drowns and sinks daily in Indo-Pak relationship discussion and in the diplomatic activities of the two neighboring countries.

### **Standing committee on Kashmir Affairs**

On 18 August 1972, the standing committees were formed in the National Assembly. The committee No 11 was about Interior, Kashmir affairs, state and Frontier Regions. Its members were; (1) Mr. Amir Zada Khan. (2) Khan Irshad Ahmad Khan (3) Mian Muhammad Hassan Khan (4) Haji Mohammed Sadiq (5) Sahibzada Safiullah (6) Rao Khurshid Ali Khan (7) Major General Jamal Dar (8) Mr. Zulzaqar Bajwa. These people were appointed to solve the problems related to the standing committee. But Khan Irshad Ahmad Khan said “I was kept in standing committee about Kashmir affairs. What would I do there.”<sup>60</sup>The matter did not end here, another member Mr. Zulfaqar Bajwa also said “I am driven to the committee No. 11 and what I should do in Kashmir Affairs committee?”<sup>61</sup>If their intention was not to join the committee, why they were driven to these committees. If a man was not intentionally ready for a job, he must have not performed good job in committee. “Most of member did not want to work in un-productive committee.”<sup>62</sup>

---

<sup>59</sup>Parliament Debates, V. 1, No.3(19 December 1973);119, Prof. Ghaffor Ahmed

<sup>60</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.1, No.3(17 August 1973);92

<sup>61</sup>Ibid, 92

<sup>62</sup>Ibid,92

## **New Constitution of Pakistan**

The discussion about the new constitution Bill was started on 17 Feb 1973. All the members of National Assembly presented their proposal in the debate. On 10 April 1973, a Resolution about the signing of the constitution was deposited in the National Assembly by the members of constituent Assembly. As well as by a motion, the constitutional Bill was amended on the same date by the National Assembly. This constitution was approved on 12 April 1973 with the authorization of the president of Pakistan in the National Assembly of Pakistan. It was enforced on 14 August 1973 in the country. In this new constitution of 1973 of Pakistan, an article No. 257 was included in the constitution about Jammu and Kashmir. The Article No.257 said “When the people of state of Jammu and Kashmir decided to accede to Pakistan the relation between Pakistan and state shall be determined in accordance with the wishes of the people of the state.”<sup>63</sup>This was a great achievement by the government Malik Muhammad Akhtar shared his views as “So, we cannot say that the Government of Pakistan has nothing to do with Jammu and Kashmir. It has a limited relationship in order to carry out the responsibility under the Resolution of the UN.”<sup>64</sup>This article of constitution was given more respect in the heart of the people of occupied Kashmir. This was the importance that the people of Pakistan were showing to their brothers of the occupied Kashmir. Mr. Ghulam Nabi Choudhary said “we have promised to our Kashmir brothers in regards of right of self-determination. Now in the new constitution we have revised our promise.”<sup>65</sup>

---

<sup>63</sup>Pakistan constitution 1973, Part XII, Chapter 4, Article No, 257:Pakistan Press, Islamabad, 2010.

<sup>64</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.3 ,No.6 (30May1973);319

<sup>65</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.1, No.3 (5 September 1973); 97

### **Citizenship Bill 1973 of Dual Nationality**

On 7 June 1973, a citizenship Bill 1973 was moved to amend the Pakistan citizenship Act 1951 by Mr. Abdul Qayum Khan. By this amendment the people of both sides who were living in Britain got dual Nationality. They would become the citizen of Pakistan along with British citizenship right. Mr. J.A Rahim said “the people of Jammu & Kashmir are just good Pakistanis for us as anybody else in our regard.”<sup>66</sup>All the members of National Assembly were in favor of this amendment. This bill was belonged to Kashmiri Muslims. Moulana Glulam Ghous said “The Muslims of Kashmir are Pakistan citizen, if Kashmiri Muslims can get benefit, this is good news.”<sup>67</sup>The Pakistanis naturally feel pleasure to accommodate the Kashmiri people in every field of life. Mr. Abdul Qayum Khan explained it as “A provision exists in Article 51 and Article 106 of the new constitution 1973. Now this amending Bill seeks to confirm the citizenship of the state of Jammu & Kashmir, who are residing in Pakistan. They have right to become the citizen of Pakistan with retrospective effect. We have, therefore, to bring this amending Bill and We hope that the house will support it because this will enable the citizens of Jammu and Kashmir as citizens of Pakistan.”<sup>68</sup> Malik Mohammad Akhtar was not satisfied with the explanation of Mr. Abdul Qayum Khan. He wanted to describe more detail about the citizenship bill. He said “I want to explain it further, sir according to presidential order No. VI of 1969, a citizen shall be deemed to include a person who has migrated from any place of India to Pakistan with the intention of permanently residing therein and also a subject of the state of Jammu and Kashmir who has migrated to Pakistan with intention of residing therein until the relationship between Pakistan and the state is finally determined. We defined the word

---

<sup>66</sup>National Assembly Debates V.3, No. 11(6June1973); 744

<sup>67</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.3, No. 11(7 June1973); 744

<sup>68</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.3, No. 21(20 July 1973); 1627

citizen in interim constitution, article 290 that citizen means the citizen of Pakistan and again it was made clear under permanent constitution 1973 under article 260.”<sup>69</sup>This was appreciable job performed by PPP government. Before this, the people of Kashmir were considered as second-class citizens but now this thinking was removed from the minds of the Kashmiris. This act increased efficiency of Kashmiris’ struggle for the independence.

### **The First and last Address of President Bhutto in Interim Government**

On 9 July 1973, this was the last session of interim government, in this last session the president of Pakistan addressed the National Assembly. Mr. President said “I have come to address the National Assembly today on the question of a durable peace in the subcontinent without which no progress can be made towards our national objective.”<sup>70</sup> This address contained seven pages’ and during all this presidential address no word was uttered about Kashmir. The Presidential address is the policy statement of any government that she follows in the running government. The session on 12 August 1973 was the first session for new constitution, this was called special session. Mr. Z.A Bhutto was elected new prime minister of Pakistan. The first address of Z.A Bhutto as prime minister in National Assembly under the permanent constitution, was totally missing the mention of Kashmir. The first speech was being considered as the policy of the government.

### **The New government, The New constitution**

In the new constitution, the president was changed into the prime minister. This new constitution was toward the new reforms in the country. What kind of change will this Islamic socialism bring in the society? In this bicameral legislative system, the

---

<sup>69</sup>Ibid,1627

<sup>70</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.3, No.38(9 July 1973);2709

upper house(the Senate) also started its work. The Senate's (upper House) first session was held on 4 August 1973 in State Bank building Islamabad and in first speech in the Senate. Prime Minister Bhutto declared, "We have given Kashmir's a new constitutional status."<sup>71</sup>

### **Call for Solidarity's Strike**

It was the vital point of Pakistan foreign policy to "enliven the Kashmir issue in the minds of people at national and international level."<sup>72</sup> On several times the Government used some tactics in regard to revive the Kashmir issue. In the month of November, the Prime Minister Mr. Z.A Bhutto called for strike in both parts of Kashmir. The main purpose for this shut down was to create solidarity and unify the thinking of Kashmiri people and remind the Kashmiris that Pakistan's had not forgotten them. The purpose of this strike was to turn attention of world community on long standing issue of UNO. In the National Assembly, on 28 November 1973 Mr. Mahmood Azam Farooqi moved an Adjournment Motion in the house to discuss this important national matter in the house. In this regard, the prime minister claimed the successful result of this strike in both side of Kashmir. Kashmir strike that it would be treated as plebiscite that plebiscite which was promised by UNO. This Adjournment Motion was opposed by Mr. Aziz Ahmed. He objected that this matter came under foreign policy therefore it did not come under the purview of the discussion. Malik Mohammad Akhtar said "this Adjournment Motion is partly concerned with foreign affairs and partly may be out of that scope."<sup>73</sup> Mr. Muhammad Azam Farooqi said "let me advance my argument on this matter of

---

<sup>71</sup> Parliament Debates, V.1, No.1 (26August 1974); 34

<sup>72</sup> Jam Trik, Kashmir problem: challenge and response. Eds. No.7, Islamabad. Institute of Policy Study, N.D.P.65

<sup>73</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.6, No.4 (29 November1973); 247

foreign affairs. Kashmir affair is not to be considered the matter of foreign affairs that Kashmir affair falls under the jurisdiction of the ministry of Kashmir affair and Home and under the ministry of foreign affairs.”<sup>74</sup> Mr. Speaker withdraw it because time was over.

In February 1975, an agreement between miss Indra Gandhi and Sheikh Abdullah was settled about the future of occupied Kashmir which was really against the UNO resolutions. On this occasion, the Prime Minister Z.A Bhutto appealed to Kashmiris to observe a general strike as a token of protest and dis-approval of agreement. This step had multiple purposes in it the Government wanted to awake the international community on the agreement being committed between Indra Gandhi and sheikh Abdullah. That was violation of UNO’s passed resolutions. On 11 February 1975, an adjournment motion No. 47 was moved by Mr. Muhammad Afzal Randhwa about the statement made by Mian Tufail Muhammad, Amir Jamat-i-Islami Pakistan which was published in the newspaper Nawai-e-Waqat on 6 February 1975. In the said statement, Mian Tufail Muhammad had criticized the appeal of prime minister of Pakistan to observe a general Strike. This Adjournment Motion was transferred to the next day’s session for debate.

Mr. Aziz Ahmed said “I would like to express my shock at the irresponsible, extremely irresponsible, if not mischievous statement made by Maulana Tufail Muhammad.”<sup>75</sup>The all India radio broad casted the statement of Mian Tufail Muhammad in all its programs on February 8, 1975 with great prominence. This statement produced confusion in the minds of Kashmiris. What was the logic behind this statement positive or negative? Mr. Mian Tufail did not give his clarification in

---

<sup>74</sup>Ibid, 248

<sup>75</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.1, No. 16(12 February1975); 249

the House therefore the secret meaning of his statement did not come up. Mr. Aziz Ahmed said “the call for hartal (strike) is a protest against the fact that the proposed agreement between the Indra Gandhi and Shaik Abdullah.”<sup>76</sup>

Later on, 5 February has been observed as “Kashmir solidarity day” since 1990, during Benazir Bhutto regime. During this era Mian Nawaz Sharif was the chief minister of Punjab province. He began this day of observance as “Kashmir solidarity day” in Punjab Province. This idea was now given to Nawaz Sharif by AmirJammat-i-Islami Qazi Hussian Ahmed. When next year, Mian Nawaz Sharif got power then this government and their allies observed 5 February as solidarity day with Kashmir with full strength. During the Bhutto regime, the people who were opposed the concept of strike. On 31 March 1975, another Adjournment Motion was also moved by defense minister Mr. Aziz Ahmed about agreement between Miss Indra Gandhi and Sheik Abdullah about the future of Kashmir. That was accepted for discussion in the House.

### **Prime Minister Statement about Future of Kashmir**

On 11 December 1973, an Adjournment Motion about the prime minister’s statement on future of Kashmir was moved by Sahibzada Ahmed Raza khan Qasuri(ex. Law minister of government) he said “The recent public statement of the prime minister of Pakistan Mr. Z.A. Bhutto about the future of Kashmir has caused great concerns to the people of Pakistan in every nook and corner of the country.”<sup>77</sup> The opposition was always ready to criticize every point of governmental activities. It was positive or negative step but the opposition did not miss the chance to say this as wrong step for country. There, in the house, the debate about Adjournment Motion

---

<sup>76</sup>Ibid, 249

<sup>77</sup>National Assembly Debates, V. 6, No.12 (11 December 1973); 409

was started instead of prime minister's Statement that, it was really adjournment motion or not. Mr. Khurshid Hassan Meer raised objection and said "It is a supporting statement. It is drafted in such a manner that it violates the rule. The rule says that the adjournment motion should be specific and it should have a statement."<sup>78</sup> On next day in the House, the ruling debate about adjournment motion regarding prime minister's statement about the future of Kashmir was started. Many honorable members participated in the debate on the motion for the help. They gave in this regard elucidating the various points of views. The participants used the reference of different books about constitution of ruling that the statement can put as Adjournment Motion or not.

### **Discussion on foreign policy in Parliament**

On 17 December 1973, the joint sitting of parliament session was held for the discussion of foreign policy of Pakistan. The foreign policy is the main pillar of a government. A state followed some rules and objects to create relation with other states of world. In this regard, the formed policy was called foreign policy.

The Prime Minister Bhutto said "Our foreign policy would be free, we would not keep our country under influence of imperialist and neo-colonist countries and should not do as."<sup>79</sup> Pakistan in creating foreign policy should keep some objectives in mind. So, she could create good relation with other countries of the world. Pakistan wanted territorial sovereignty and security of her country. Ideological objectives and economic development like objectives have great importance in creating a foreign policy. Prof. Ghafoor Ahmed said "foreign policy is very important, a serious and sensitive matter."<sup>80</sup> The defense minister Mr. Aziz Ahmed

---

<sup>78</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.6, No.12 (11 December 1973);410

<sup>79</sup>Parliament Debates, V.1, No.3 (19 December 1973);73

<sup>80</sup>Ibid,119

said “I would like to say at the outset that we welcomed this debate since the debate was in this House on Simla Agreement but there had been no discussion on foreign policy of Pakistan.”<sup>81</sup>The foreign policy of this government had three folds in which the second was about to help obtain a just settlement of disputes with our neighbor India especially on Kashmir dispute. Mr. Aziz Ahmed said “everything would have to be decided, even Kashmir issue freely decided, in one summit meeting. They had to be a step by step approach if we were to succeed in normalizing our relation with India.”<sup>82</sup>

Kashmir is the focal point in Pakistan’s foreign policy. We made the friends who spurted us in Kashmir point of view; the people who did not supported us on Kashmir we put them in the list of foes. Our security and defense policy was prepared in reference of Kashmir dispute. The prime minister Bhutto on 5 Novembers 1973 at Muzaffarabad said in his speech Pakistan remains committed to the right of self-determination for the people of Jammu and Kashmir. We would never compromise on this principle.

Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan said “Both of us will go under and both of us will be destroyed and vanished in the history. I am sure Indians will have the wisdom to understand what Mr. Bhutto said Clearly in 1973 that, no nation can be subjugated, no nation can be conquered and least of all the Pakistan nation can never be conquered.”<sup>83</sup> Until the Kashmir dispute is solved according to our wish, the normalization of good relation is not possible. The foreign policy was running under this exercise. The government had promised that this policy will be carried on with India at the time of solution of Kashmir issue. The opposition leaders stressed on the

---

<sup>81</sup>Parliament Debates, V.1, No.1(17 December1973); 2

<sup>82</sup>Ibid, 8

<sup>83</sup>Parliament Debates, V.1, No.4(21 December 1973);160

point that India pressurized to settle Kashmir dispute according to UNO's passed resolution. If we understand the reality that Pakistan was not in this position, she talked in hard words with India. But it was government which tried to live the Kashmir issue in the world as possible as it can be done. Do not seek a solution of Kashmir through armed strength but keep on stressing India until you reach a settlement. We must try and cultivate patience like Chou-en-Lai.

Because, in past we had formulated all our policies on one basis and that was the basis of hatred of India and confrontation with India. That was the major motivation of our foreign policy and the second was the matter of Kashmir. The foreign policy followed by Bhutto government did not solve the Kashmir dispute between Pakistan and India. On 5 August 1973, an Adjournments Motion was moved by Khawaja Mohammad Safdar about the federal government failed to get Kashmir issue resolved on the basis of UNO resolution in the senate. That was opposed in the house.

### **Lahore Islamic Summit**

On 22-24 February 1974, the OIC "Organization of Islamic Conference" was held in Lahore. In this conference the presidents, prime ministers, monarchs and kings of 57 countries participated with great zeal. This was very great and important occasion for the whole Pakistani nation. The smiling faces of world leaders gave an effective message to that Muslims of globe are with Pakistan. This conference brought Pakistan from loneliness condition after separation of East Pakistan. This great conference was great a message for India that Pakistan was no single (alone) on this occasion of grief and sorrow. Pakistan had back bone strength in the shape of OIC. Pakistan used this organization to pressurize India to solve the Kashmir at different moments. The Platform verily helped the Pakistan to highlight the Kashmir

dispute at different times. On many occasions, the Muslim leaders openly expressed that Kashmir is not Pakistan's problem but it is problem of whole Islamic world. Chaudhry Zahoor Elahi depicted a moment as "in the Badeshi mosque when our imam said the prayer for Kashmir and Palestine. The tear ran down from Shah Faisal's eyes. All the Pakistanis will always remember his tears."<sup>84</sup>

On 25 March 1974, an Adjournment Motion by Muhammad Azam Farooqi moved about government failure to raise Kashmir issue before Lahore Islamic summit and discussed it in the National Assembly. By government side, law minister Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada said, "This matter cannot be discussed under the rules it is ruled out."<sup>85</sup>

### **Property of Kashmir Administration Bill 1977**

On 4 May 1977, The Jammu and Kashmir (Administration of property) Amendment Bill 1977 was moved by Mr. Mohammad Haneef Khan Federal Minister for Kashmir Affairs in the National Assembly of Pakistan. It said that the requirement of rule 91 of the Rule of procedure and conduct of Business of the National Assembly 1973 in regard to the Bill further to amend the Jammu and Kashmir (Administration of property), Ordinance, 1961 (The Jammu and Kashmir Administration of property) (Amendment) Bill 1977 be dispensed with This motion was adopted by the House and Motion was not opposed in the House. The property of Jammu and Kashmir was under the control of Government till 1955. There were many problems faced for its Administration. In 1955, Government of Pakistan took property under control. So, this income was expended with better objectives on welfare works. Mr. Muhammad Hanif Khan said "The income of this property will be utilized on useful works by this

---

<sup>84</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.2, No. 18 (27 March 1975); 305

<sup>85</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.2, No.1 (25 March 1974);28

Amendment. It would be used for the scholarship of students and rehabilitation of refugees of Jammu and Kashmir.”<sup>86</sup>

On 5 May 1977, bill was sent to the Senate in pursuance of Rule 109 of the Rule of procedure and conduct of Business in National Assembly, to inform that the Assembly has passed the Jammu and Kashmir (Administration of property) (Amendment) Bill 1977, on the 4<sup>th</sup> May. A copy of the Bill was transmitted here with this was in shape of motion moved in the Senate Mr. Chairman announced, Amendment made in the (Administration of property ordinance 1961 of the Jammu and Kashmir (Amendment) Bill 1977. After this, Bill was discussed in the senate. Both wings opposition benches and treasury benches appreciated this bill and supported it in National Assembly as well as in the Senate of Pakistan. This property took under control government in 1961 by an ordinance and this Bill completed its deficiency. Now Government appointed a Punjab senior Magistrate as an Administrator. The income of the Jammu and Kashmir properties was used in Prime Minister refile fund for Rehabilitation of Refugees. This was good job done by Government.

### **Kashmiri Refuges**

By the cruel act of Indian forces, a lot of people migrated from occupied Kashmir territory to Pakistan. These poor refugees did not have basic necessities of life. They were passing their life in miserable condition. This government took good steps for the rehabilitation of these refugees in Pakistan. In this regard, the Jammu and Kashmir refuges were given free Rashin and cash dole and grants were made for the purchase of sheep etc. Taccavi loans and business loans were also given to them. They were allotted evacuee house and agriculture land in rural areas. Residential colonies were constructed exclusively for Jammu and Kashmir refugees and they were allowed

---

<sup>86</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.4, No.3 (4 May 1977);83

to live their lives with peace. The Jammu and Kashmir refugees were being granted proprietary rights on the land temporarily allotted to them. Mr. Mahammad Hanif Khan said “Government had settled five thousand families and government is trying day and night for settlement of remaining families.”<sup>87</sup> In this regard not only federal Government but Choudhry Muhammad Aslam also said “Our provincial government is also trying for the settlement of refugees but all other efforts are not enough for this matter.”<sup>88</sup>

### **White Paper on Kashmir**

During the last days of second parliament of Mr. Bhutto, when his government was in big depression. The agitation of the opposition was on the peak against the rigging in election and civil dictatorship. Z. A. Bhutto’s administration released White Paper on Kashmir issue in 1977. It was very necessary to release the White Paper in the depression days. They could not publish the White Paper in previous six years. Mr. Bhutto administration should release it in the prosper days of their government, when Indian was listening all possible and impossible by the mouth of Z. A. Bhutto. Actually, this white paper was the answers of accession questions that was raised by M. C. Mahajan in his autobiography which was published in 1963. After the fourteen years the government of Pakistan remembered that they should give the answers of a senior Indian leader’s questions. When Bhutto parliament was in big depression. “Z. A. Bhutto regime in Pakistan, only token reference is made to this issue.”<sup>89</sup> Bhutto administration wanted to divert the attention of the people from the opposition protest but the government wanted to attain sympathy and kindness on the name of Kashmir. If it was

---

<sup>87</sup>Senate Debates, V.1, No.4 (5 May 1977); 114

<sup>88</sup>Ibid,114

<sup>89</sup>Lamb Alastair; Incomplete Partition, The Genesis of the Kashmir Dispute, 1947-1948, p. 122, OUP. Karachi, 2017

the sincere effort for the solution of Kashmir issue, it was very good job but the circumstances show the opposite result of the government effort in the depression days. Because “Z. A. Bhutto administration in 1977 was quite failed to exploit those implications for the accession questions set out in M. C. Mahajan’s autobiography which had been available to Pakistani diplomats since 1963.<sup>90</sup>

When this Government took over the Administration of country the country was in miserable and disappointed condition the country was separated into two countries Pakistan and Bangladesh. The ninety thousand army men were in the custody of India and India Occupied the 5416.37 Km Pakistan area. President Bhutto tried enough for country to drive it from this condition. This Simla Agreement Solved prisoners of war (POW) and occupied area problem but did not become fruitful for Kashmir dispute. The parliament took many good steps for Kashmir and Kashmiris but for the solution of Kashmir issue her effort did not prove fruitful. This question of Kashmir issue remained unanswerable in regard of Kashmir solution. The government was also chasing to get right answer for the solution of Kashmir issue. Mr. Z.A. Bhutto’s first and second Government failed to solve Kashmir issue subsequently. The martial Law was imposed in the country on 4 July 1977 on the basis of corruption rigging in Election, and civil dictatorship. And people in the shape of opposition, demanded Nezam-e-Mustafa in the country. Leaders verbally claimed so high but practically failed in completing their claims.

---

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, 221

## CHAPTER 3

### PARLIAMENT UNDER MILITARY REGIME OF ZIA

This chapter researched deals about the Zia military regime efforts that how much they worked for solution of Kashmir issue and what kinds of measurement they had taken during this regime for the solution of Kashmir issue. This parliament cabinet was consisting of the most experienced technocratic men of this time. During this period the military regime was the most favorite in the eyes of American. By this study to analyze the Pak-American relation in context of solution of Kashmir issue that how much they helped Pakistan for the solution of Kashmir. How much military democratic parliament succeeded to alive and raise Kashmir issue at the national and the international level

General Zia Al-Haq chief of Army staff of Pakistan declared Martial law in the country on 5 July 1977. Soon General Muhammad Zia-al-Haq became the sixth president of Pakistan along with chief commander of Pakistan Army. He imposed martial law on the charge of rigging in election in 1977, killing of innocent people, practice of illegal activities in country, opposition daily protest, poor condition of economy.

This military regime brought so called Islamic system in the country instead of Bhutto's Islamic socialism. He promised that Army will go back in baric soon after conducting the transparent election in the country within three months. During the initial period, coming in the power the government imposed Islamic Sharia Law in the country. Very soon of this government in the neighboring country Afghanistan, on 25 December 1979 the USSR entered their Army forces in Afghanistan in search of warm water.

### **Military Regime's Step Towards Democracy**

In 1984 Mr. Zia-ul-Haq held referendum in the country and being self-elected as president of Pakistan for next five years. After this referendum, the president arranged non-partisan election in 1985 in the country because there was very much western pressure on government for the restoration of democracy in the country. In these days, there was very much interaction between the western countries and the military government of Pakistan in context of aid for war against socialism. The president started democratic process with many parliamentary change in the country. Now, the election was held on non-partisan basis in the country and the parliament was given name as Majlis-e-Shoora in Pakistan. In the elected National Assembly, the old political champion of democracy was present under Martial Law umbrella. The religion elements were prominent in the Senate as well as in the National Assembly. All the religion parties head were the right hand of general Zia.

The first session of National Assembly in this military regime was held on 20 March 1985 under the chair of speaker Syed Fakhar Imam. Mr. Jamal Syed Mian was appointed Federal minister for Kashmir Affairs and Syed Qasim Shah was appointed state minister of Kashmir Affairs in this parliament. In joint sitting, on 23 March 1985 the president and chief Martial Law Administrative General Zia-ul-Haq addressed to the Majlis-e-Shoora. He described all facing issue of country and his started democratic process in the country. But in this first address he did not say single word about Kashmir. President said "The politicians are well-wishers of his party and leader search the way of success for his country. The politicians stay with situation and remain with it."<sup>91</sup>

---

<sup>91</sup> Parliament Debates, V.1, No.1(23 March 1985);22

The second Assembly of the Senate of Pakistan was started its work on 21 March 1985 with 84 members, including male and female under the chairmanship of Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan in the state Bank Building Islamabad. In the National Assembly the budget session was started. During the budget discussion Mr. Mian Muhammad Zaman Said “When Pakistan talks with India about Kashmir, India says attacker and dictator to Pakistan. Why we become so weaker. Today we have diverted from our moto, and before this all government attached with it low and high and they have taken big stand on it. Why we diverted it. We should take the nation trust in.”<sup>92</sup> The discussion on budget was carried on in the National Assembly of Pakistan but on Kashmir and Kashmiris relevant statements were coming from different members in the House.

### **Political Crisis in Azad Jammu and Kashmir**

On 15 June 1985 an Adjournment Motion No. 29 was moved in the National Assembly about the non-formation of government after election in Azad Jammu and Kashmir by Liaqat Baloch. He said “The political confrontation in Azad Kashmir is on its peak. The government of Pakistan has interfered instead was being neutral. It is a matter from which all political elements were worried about it.”<sup>93</sup> Syed Qasim Shah, Minister for Kashmir Affairs replied this motion is not according to Rule of National Assembly Rule No. 80 (F) procedure and conduct of Business. According to UN Resolution of 9 November 1948 the administration of Azad Jammu Kashmir is under control the local people of Azad Kashmir. Government of Pakistan cannot interference in the matter of Azad Kashmir because it was violation of UN resolution. On this situation, Mr. Rohail Asghar asked a short notice questions that what are the functions

---

<sup>92</sup> National Assembly Debates, V.1, No.4(23 May 1985);457

<sup>93</sup> National Assembly Debates, V.1, No.19(15 June 1985);2444

of Kashmir Affairs Ministry in Pakistan. There is a separate budget of Kashmir Affairs ministry. The government appointed two ministers for looking after the Kashmir Affairs, federal Minister for Kashmir affairs and state minister for Kashmir affairs both the worked under the selected rule and regulation. As Kashmir is important and Kashmir ministry was also very important in cabinet of government of Pakistan. According to the minister of Kashmir Affairs, the interference of Government of Pakistan is limited in Azad Jammu and Kashmir. The Government of Pakistan provides all financial support to the Azad Jammu and Kashmir. The government of Pakistan supports Kashmir cause in the UN as well as on the other international forum. The government of Pakistan provides only diplomatic support in the world. The Kashmir affairs ministry controls the management of state property that is situated in the Pakistan. If there is need to sale any property belongs to Jammu and Kashmir state property, then ministry finalize the rate of property with the collaboration government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir.

### **Improvement of Pak-Indian Relationship**

General Zia-ul-Haq was tried his best for the enhancement of the relations between India and Pakistan. After the accession of Afghanistan by Russia, president Zia-ul-Haq efforts was more rapidly seen in this regard. Obviously, the security condition was not favorable for the country instead Zia-ul-Haq struggles was equally continue for the normalization of relation between India and Pakistan. In response of a Starred question, the foreign minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan told the National Assembly that from July 1984 to till August 1985. There were ten meetings of high level held on different places in which president, Foreign minister and foreign secretary participated respectively. During the all era of president Zia-ul-Haq the government could not present their views strongly to Indian about Kashmir's dispute. Time by time

Pakistan leaders repeated their wishes that they wanted a peaceful solution of Kashmir under the spirit of Simla Agreement and United National resolution. On 10 October 1985 an Adjournment Motion No. 245 was moved in the National Assembly by Shaikh Rashid Ahmed that India deployed their Army forces on Pakistan border from Kashmir to Rajasthan. Mr. Zain Noorani said “About 10 to fifteen Adjournment Motion around about on Similar subject are moved in the House.”<sup>94</sup> It means, it was the major and hot topic on those days. The nation was felt threat of war on the borders. The foreign Affairs minister replied but “All the members of National Assembly were not satisfied by minister reply.”<sup>95</sup> The government did deny her position about Kashmir issue but did not present her views openly on the international forum on Kashmir dispute. The government was also in search of favorable time. On 12 October 1986 an Adjournment motion was moved in National Assembly by Mr. Hamza that India has intention to attack on Pakistan in the month of October. In this Scenario the peace talk was impossible, on the other side from January 1985 to July 1986 India was committed the violation of LOC 409 time.

On the other hand, India was also busy in over throwing the Sikh revolt from the country. The traditional behavior of India was on full swing about blaming and lame excuse that Pakistan was behind of this Sikh revolt. “There was no concrete evidence to suggest that military regime in Pakistan was responsible for promoting terrorism in India.”<sup>96</sup>In all these stances the normalization was impossible to restore in region but time by time both the countries were committed and repeated their statements for normalization between two countries verbally.

---

<sup>94</sup> National Assembly Debates, V.4, No.23(13 October 1985);3041

<sup>95</sup> Ibid,3056

<sup>96</sup>Irfan Waheed Usmani, Pakistan’s Kashmir Policy: Post-Cold War Scenario (1988-1999), P-102, M.Phil. Thesis.History Department, PU. Lahore, 2005

The prime minister of Pakistan Mr. Muhammad Khan Junejo made a comprehensive statement on the policy of the government. "Pakistan commitment for the process of establishing good neighboring and co-operative relations with India is stand still."<sup>97</sup> In April 1987 the joint sitting was held in which the foreign policy was debated. If overall analyzed the debate topic the most of debaters wanted good relation with India on the equality basis, but everyone stressed to solve Kashmir issue first because Kashmir issue the basic cause of confrontation between the two countries. If we solved Kashmir issue, then all dispute will finish automatically. But in 1987 again the threat of war on Indo-Pak boarder was, heard in the country when Indian deployed their army forces on Eastern boarder of Pakistan. On 5 February a privilege motion was moved in the Senate of Pakistan by MoulanaKauserNiazi about "the president's visit to India to watch a cricket match."<sup>98</sup> In those days a cricket match was played between Pakistan and India in Jai Pur. The president of Pakistan Mr. Zia without any intimation and protocol reached New Delhi. This was the unwilling juncture of both the heads of state on 21 February 1987. The eye witness Mr. Behramnam was quoted in the "India Today" an article. "Mr. Rajiv, you want to attack on Pakistan do it, but keeps it in the mind this world will forget Halaku Khan and Changez Khan and will remember only Zia-ul-Haq and Rajiv Gandhi, because this will not be a conventional war but a nuclear war. In this situation, Pakistan might be completely destroyed, but the Muslims will still be there in the world; but with the destruction of India, Hinduism will vanish from the face of this earth."<sup>99</sup>

This was the first hard statement from Pakistani head of the state. In this entire scenario, threat of war, blame game, friend's objective, proud, prejudice and claim were

---

<sup>97</sup> National Assembly Debates, V.1, No.20(25 January 198);1969

<sup>98</sup>Senate Debates, V.1, No.14(5 February 1987);1218

<sup>99</sup>Dawn News, 15 November 2015, Shaikh Aziz.

changed. How the process of normalization went forward between the two neighboring countries? No, normalization, no solution of dispute, only normalization brought change in mind for the solution of Kashmir every government of Pakistan was tired to normalize the relation with India. This kind of efforts were practiced by every government of Pakistan from the creation of Pakistan. The major stone that was placed in this way was the hegemonic and supremacy behavior of India. This government also claimed that after the normalization, we will go ahead step by step toward the solution of Kashmir issue. Unfortunately, after the seventy years we did not get the condition of normalization and did not cross the step by step limit for the solution of Kashmir issue. General Zia-ul-Haq told media personnel “cricket for peace is my mission, and I have come with that spirit.”<sup>100</sup>

### **Visit of Turkey’s President to the Parliament of Pakistan**

On 15 November 1985 the president of Turkey Mr. Kenan Evren visited the parliament of Pakistan and addressed the joint sitting of parliament of Pakistan. Pakistan and Turkey have great mutual relation to each other as Islamic brotherhood. Both the countries have historical cultural and traditional ties to each other. The Muslims of subcontinent always support Turkey interest on every platform. The Turks always support Pakistan cause and interest on every platform. On Kashmir issue the Turks always support Pakistan point of view very bravely and openly. The Turk’s stand on Kashmir was very clear and they also wanted the solution of Kashmir issue according the spirits of the UN admitted resolution from 1948 to present time.

Mr. Kenan Evren said “Our nation has always share his joys and sorrows, and felt endless respect, affection and trust towards each other. Pakistan may rest assured that Turkey will always support her in all fields and we are extremely happy that

---

<sup>100</sup>Dawn News, 15 November 2015, Shaikh Aziz.

Pakistan bears the same feelings for Turkey.”<sup>101</sup> The word of thanks was presented by Prime Minister Mr. Muhammad Khan Janjoo. He said “There is special place in our heart for Turks and it is part of our history.”<sup>102</sup>

### **Foreign Policy Debate’s 1985 in the Parliament**

On 24 December 1985 a Privilege Motion was moved by Haji Muhammad Saif Allah Khan for debate on foreign policy of the country and debate on foreign policy was started in the joint sitting of the parliament of Pakistan. The basic aim of our foreign policy was to promote the objectives of our nation policy. The foreign minister, Mr. Sahabzada Yaqub Khan told objectives of his country of foreign policy in three points.

1. “The maintained of our territorial integrity, political independence, and the economic well-being of our people.
2. The development of our economic political and social institution and practices in accordance with our Islamic aspiration.
3. Contributing through bilateral and multilateral diplomacy to strengthening the international peace and understanding in our region and in the world.”<sup>103</sup>

It was the intention of government to promote beneficial and cooperative relation with all the neighboring countries especially with India. Pakistan wanted peaceful solution of all the standing issues including Jammu and Kashmir dispute, in the spirit of Simla Agreement and under the signed charter of UN. Mr. Speaker announced, I had received eighty names of persons, who wanted to take part in the “Foreign policy Debate.”<sup>104</sup>

---

<sup>101</sup> Parliament Debates, V.2, No.1(15 November 1985); 7

<sup>102</sup> Ibid,10

<sup>103</sup> Ibid,9

<sup>104</sup> Parliament Debates, V.1, No.1(24 December 1985);7

During this military regime era, the members mood was showing that they were fed up by Kashmir issue. May be due to Afghan war this issue was gone under the other matters. Mr. Javed Hashmi said “When we talked about Kashmir not only outer but now the inner people did not want to like discuss on Kashmir.”<sup>105</sup> In extending, hand of friendship to India, we needed to make sure that we responded to the aspiration of the people of Pakistan. Let it not said at this stage that we have bartered away Kashmir. We had not, compromised on any of our other principle. Shaikh Rashid Ahmed said “I am sorry to saying this today alive Kashmir dispute, we have buried. Pakistan gives up the intention to raise Kashmir issue on any world forum.”<sup>106</sup> Mian Muhammad Zaman said “in all previous foreign policies Kashmir issue were remaining center of gravity. Whenever we talked about normalization relation with India first of all, we talked about solution of Kashmir issue. Why have we quieted on Kashmir’s issue? Have we changed our basic principles?”<sup>107</sup> In the Simla Agreement both India and Pakistan had promised in agreement, they solved the differences with peaceful process by bilateral negotiation. Many years had passed but in this regard no result appeared. Pakistan had gotten some benefits on spot by Simla Agreement but after that this agreement was only used for speeches and press briefings. Prof. Khurshid Ahmed said “After promised of the solution of Kashmir issue by bilateral pattern. We did not work it on bilateral basis and not on the international forum.”<sup>108</sup>

The most of debater’s point of view on the foreign policy in the joint sitting were that government had forgotten Kashmir’s issue. The government did not do any efforts for raising and highlighting Kashmir’s issue at the international level. The most debaters were insisting on this point that before starting trade with India, Pakistan

---

<sup>105</sup> Ibid,24

<sup>106</sup> Ibid,124

<sup>107</sup> Ibid,124

<sup>108</sup> Ibid,164

government should solve Kashmir dispute. The Tashkent Declaration, Shimla Agreement and Lahore Declaration only gave us time pass satisfaction but nothing practical solution about Kashmir issue and instead in all these treaties both countries have promised for the solution of Kashmir issue. The next like this practice will not bring fruitful result at time on Kashmir's issue final settlement. But there were some members who were satisfied with Pakistan foreign policy of government. They were very hopeful from the government activities about Kashmir issue. They were in the favor of trade as well as other agreement with India Chaudhry Amir Hussain said "I appreciate the president and foreign minister. Who admitted Kashmir issue as dispute in the home of Indian."<sup>109</sup> On 28 December 1985 the Foreign Minister gave government policy statement in the parliament as "Pakistan did not abandon, has not abandoned and will not abandon its principle position. The issue has been regularly raised at the UN and at the other international forum. Pakistan remains committed to finding a solution of the question of Jammu and Kashmir."<sup>110</sup> This joint sitting session was ended on 30 December 1985 with the president address in which he did not describe single word about Kashmir issue. But president announced to finish Martial law government from the country. The participants of debate were Javed Hashmi, Begum Salma Ahmed Mrs. Rafia Tariq, Mr. Abdul Hameed Jatoi, Mr. Fathe Muhammad Khan, Shaikh Rshid Ahmed, Mian Muhammad Zaman. Mr. Rahit Saeed Chatari, Mrs. DureShawrMazari, NawabZada Jahangir Shah, Prof. Khursheed, SahzadaMahudin, Raja ShahidZafer, Pir Muhammad Ashrif, Malik Nur Khan, Miss IshritAshrif, Chaudhry Nasar Khan, Sardar Khizir Hayat and Mir Balakh Sher Khan Mazari.

---

<sup>109</sup> Parliament Debates, V.1, No.4(27 December 1985);355

<sup>110</sup> Parliament Debates, V.1, No.5(28 December 1985);484

### **Property Right for farmers of Azad Kashmir**

On 4 March 1986 a Starred question was asked in the National Assembly that there was a proposal under discussion that government wanted to allot property right to the farmers of Kashmir land who are cultivating it last hundred years. If so, the terms and conditions under which the said lands will be allotted? The minister for Kashmir Affairs Syed Qasim Shah replied. The matter relating to Azad Jammu and Kashmir cannot be brought under discussion in the National Assembly under rule 80 (F) of the rule of procedure and conduct of Business, in the National Assembly, 1973. According to the UN resolution, 9 November 1948 the administration of the Jammu and Kashmir has been handed over to the local people and government of Pakistan cannot violate the UN resolution. The duty of Azad Jammu and Kashmir government to handle this kind of matters under the rules of the state. If it is the wishes of people of Azad Jammu and Kashmir's people Pakistan government has no objection.

### **Kashmir Issue and Pak-American Relation**

In the beginning days of Zia Military regime, Pak-USA relation was at the lowest point in the History of Pakistan. Both the countries were very far to each other but there was started a turning point in the life history of both countries. When the Russia entered their army Forces in the Afghanistan, Pakistan became the most favorite country for American. Very soon, the relation between two countries grew up on the highest-level of Pakistan's history. Pakistan did not want to raise Kashmir issue because more than Kashmir issue another big issue for Pakistan sovereignty was started on her western boarder in shape of occupation of Afghanistan by Russia. American also admitted every child wishes of Pakistan on every price in this era. Because the America was fighting the war, their own war with Russia by the help of Pakistan on land of

Pakistan. Abdul Hameed Jatoi said “American and Russia will fight their war on the land of Pakistan. Which will bring us toward destruction?”<sup>111</sup>

The opposition members stress on this point that government put the Kashmir issue in the cold House. But it was a very difficult time for Pakistan to handle the western boarder situation. Mr. “Rahat Saeed Chattari”<sup>112</sup> said “This time the Foreign policy is being run with very courageously bravely, wisely and cleverly.”<sup>113</sup>

During 1985 when Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi visited America and met with USA president Ronald Reagan. In press conference, the Mr. President raised two such points in his statement, which were made astonishing to the all people of press. Mr. President used “unilateral” and second one was “point of return”. It is right that in daily routine these words are used usually with their meaning. But in diplomatic language their meanings are different from daily routine. It has seen, who is talking and who for talking and what is reason and what is object behind it. The president’s word “unilateral” and “point of no return” mean we did not pressurize Pakistan on any price this time and you (Prime Minister) jointly solved the dispute with Mr. Zia. If you went forward to your limit, then you are self-responsible your lost. At this time American had not wanted to listen single word against Pakistan. But on Kashmir dispute between Pakistan and India their statements were only time pass statements. There were no practically efforts include in this era by USA. But if we glanced on Indian and Russian relationship on “every veto power used on Kashmir dispute resolution in UN was used by Russian.”<sup>114</sup>

<sup>111</sup> National Assembly Debates, V.2, No.1(24 December 1985);58

<sup>112</sup>Rahat Saeed Chattari, a prince of Chattari state of British Indian and after some time of partition he migrated to Pakistan and during the Zia military regime he served as ambassador of Pakistan in USA.

<sup>113</sup>Parliament Debates, V.2, No.1(24 December 1985);81

<sup>114</sup> Parliament Debates, V.3, No.4 (22 April 1987); 267, Mr. Nawaz Khan Marwat

Mj. General (Rtd.) Shirin Dil Khan Niazi said “Russian openly was on the side of India, so is the case of course, they do not So, even the American. We have not mention Kashmir on any of the UN resolution which he makes speeches as reference but never takes up the case of Kashmir in the UN forum for the last twenty years.”<sup>115</sup>The American tried to best to protect the Pakistan from every confrontation on any price from Eastern boarder because they had made to achieve their biggest victory by the land of Pakistan. In all these scenario Pakistan wanted to busy Indian by using every technique like, dialogues, SAARC, and by American pressure. On 22 April 1987 Prime Minister Mr. Muhammad Khan Janiju in his speech in joint sitting of Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) said “When president of Pakistan went to Delhi on 16 December 1985. The prime minister of India himself said, lets came we signed on no war pact agreement. The president replied we should do as; we have no objection on it.”<sup>116</sup>

This intention was also the continuous part of “dancing rope foreign policy” of Pakistan. That policy on which Pakistan running very wisely. The US endeavor to turn India into a bully in the region is disturbing the balance of power in South Asia. The US silence over the Indian barbarism in Kashmir gesture towards failure of SAARC theory. United Nation organization has not yet broken it silence to condemn or issue a statement for what is happening in Kashmir for many days. In the beginning of Pak-USA junction against Russia the American provided 3.5 billion Dollar for Economic and Military assistance to Pakistan as well as the president Regan and CIA were silent on Pak-nuclear program. But as soon as the Russian were returned to back and as they deep and deep in their disintegration the American attitude was changed.

---

<sup>115</sup>Senate Debates, V.1, No.11(29 January 1987);906

<sup>116</sup> Parliament Debates, V.3, No.3(21 April 1987); 369

On 8 March 1987 an adjournment motion was moved in the National assembly by Mr. Hamza about Alleged threat by USA to stop its aid to Pakistan unless it desists from its atomic energy program.

### **SAARC**

South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation was founded on 8 December 1985 in Dhaka. It was organized on the basis of geopolitical union of seven Nations of South Asia. In Pakistan its first conference was held on 29-31 December 1985 at Islamabad. After several years negotiations the regional and neighboring countries decided to form a regional cooperation association in which all these member countries solved their economic, cultural, and political issues and promoted free trade activates among the association members. "SAARC enhanced trade and commercial ties among members' state but it remained 'hostage' to fragilities between state's members Pakistan and India."<sup>117</sup>

This topic may be related or not to relate to my chapter's matter. But this topic was frequently debated in the parliament by Parliamentarians in the National Assembly and in the Senate. Whenever SAARC summit was held in the association member country and Pakistan participated in this Summit. The members frequently raised question that SAARC channel used for the solution of Kashmir issue. Some members views were as, before the trade agreement Pakistan should solve Kashmir issue. Dr. Shar Afghan Khan Niazi Said "If Pakistan point of view is strong on Kashmir issue then why Pakistan did not raise Kashmir's issue in SAARC."<sup>118</sup> In the Charter of SAARC all members head admitted, on this platform of SAARC all member countries did not raise dispute issue. Mr. Zain Noorani said "inaugural conference, an attempt

---

<sup>117</sup>The Express Tribune; Kamran Yousaf, 22 August 2016

<sup>118</sup> National Assembly Debates, V.1, No.13(9 February 1986);1090

was not to raise any of the issue which would prick or which would create an atmosphere of divergence of opinion among the seven nations. It would naturally be done at every possible opportunity whether it is in SAARC or whenever else it is permissible.”<sup>119</sup> Whatever the merits or demerits on either side of Kashmir dispute it had poisoned SAARC waters from the starting. The organization has done nothing to ease the tensions between India and Pakistan and emerges nowhere as an honest broker and none of the other members has the heft to bring either of the protagonists to the table and keep them there. No practical solution has been advanced and with the two principle players not in the same playbook never mind on the same page, SAARC is neutered talking shop a natural ending? Perhaps but at the very least a radical rethink is overdue.

As well as, whenever the temperature went to raise high between two big countries of SAARC. This forum provides opportunity for sitting together to escalate the temperature low.

### **Try to Change Demographic in IHK**

On 28 January 1988 an Adjournment Motion was moved in the Senate by Prof. Khurshid Ahmed about the Grant of citizenship right to Hindus residing in the Jammu and Kashmir since 1947. The Adjournment Motion was adopted for discussion in the upper House the senate. This was the very serious issue. By this process the Indian wanted to change the demographic position of Kashmir. This activity can bring big upset in the population change in the Indian held Kashmir by the Hindus population this can badly affect the plebiscite of Kashmir. Qazi Abdul Latif said “the population of Indian occupied Kashmir, Indian are trying to change in to minority.”<sup>120</sup> Prof.

---

<sup>119</sup> Ibid,1090

<sup>120</sup>Senate Debates, V.1, No.10 (28 January 1988);992

Khurshid Ahmed said “Kashmir is belonged to existence and sovereignty ideology and geo-strategic aspect of Pakistan.”<sup>121</sup> This was a plan strategy of Indian they courage wealthy Hindu to buy land in Kashmir (like Israel plan) and settled Hindu frequently in Kashmir. This can bring change into Kashmir politics and economics conditions. The Adjournment Motion mover wanted to raise this notorious act of Indian on the international level. They wanted to the government of Pakistan to protest on this act of Indian government. “Pakistan not allow bringing demographic change in Kashmir.”<sup>122</sup>The members requested the government to highlight this issue via T.V and radio in country and in the occupied Kashmir. So, that the people of occupied Kashmir became aware of this grant of citizenship right to the Hindus in held Kashmir.

### **Foreign policy Debate 1987 in the Parliament**

On 19 April 1987 joint sitting session was called up. This session was a special session in which foreign policy was discussed in the parliament. This was the second discussion on the foreign policy; the last time in December 1985 the foreign policy was discussed in the parliament. Now the international scenario was totally changed. The western borders of Pakistan condition were fully in the favor of Pakistan. The communism ship was drowning in the mountain of Afghanistan. On the eastern boarders the allied of Russian was starting to turn the mind side from Russia to USA. The Russian were packed up their bag and baggage for return. Now Pakistan has no needed of “tight rope dancing foreign policy for the country. In last foreign policy the center of discussion was Pak-USA and Pak-USSR relation in context of Afghanistan. The discussion inaugurated by the address of president’s Pakistan General Zia-ul-Haq. He said “the respectable search of solution (of Kashmir) is not far from access of both

---

<sup>121</sup>Ibid,990

<sup>122</sup>Ibid,991, JavedJabbar

countries Pakistan and India. For the solution of Kashmir principle and method are fixed in the Simla Accord as well as in UN Resolution. According to these principles by the solution of Kashmir all hurdles can be removed from the relation of both the countries.”<sup>123</sup>

On 20 April 1987 the discussion was started in the parliament of Pakistan. Mr. SahabzadaYaqub Ali Khan foreign minister was proudly claimed in the parliament the government run a successful foreign policy in the country. After the president address the foreign Minister in his address depicted that government wish to establish good relation with India without any confrontation and the government wanted a peaceful solution of Jammu and Kashmir under the spirit of Simla Accord and United Nation resolutions. During this discussion main topic of discussion was the post Afghan-Russian war and Kashmir in context of Pak-India relation. The twin super power system was collapsed and there remained single super power on the globe. The government of Pakistan and people fictitious washes were near to complete.

The government wanted to normalize the relation with India. It was great wishes of every Pakistani government. Prof. Khurshid Ahmed said “whenever the Kashmir issue, in the shape of complete freedom was not solved according to the resolution of United Nation. We cannot start friendship with India at that time.”<sup>124</sup>Sardar Khizir Hayat Khan shared by the government side that they are running a successful foreign policy in the country. He claimed “we cannot keep relation with India at that time, until Kashmir issue did not solve. I congratulate the Prime Minister and foreign minister. They did not forget Kashmir issue but whenever they got chance they highlight it.”<sup>125</sup>

---

<sup>123</sup> Parliament Debates, V.3, No.1(19 April 1987); 23

<sup>124</sup>Ibid,190

<sup>125</sup>Ibid,197

“Chaudhary Muhammad Sawar khan”<sup>126</sup> was not agreed with the foreign policy of Pakistan in regard of Indo-Pak relationship. He and like other people wanted to solve Kashmir issue first then other matter of normalization of relation with India. They understood all differences and disputes were due to Kashmir issue. If Kashmir dispute vanished from both the countries, life all the standing issue will be solved. The relation can never become pleasant between India and Pakistan, whenever Kashmir issue did not solve. The government was again and again claiming, government were trying to normalize the relation with India. This was the absolutely self-deceiving. Chaudhary Muhammad Sarwar Khan told “I understand if Kashmir dispute solved between India and Pakistan. There is no need of any agreement their friendship and mutual peace and integrity will be ratifying and broad.”<sup>127</sup> There was a big difference between the previous foreign policy debate of 1985 and this foreign policy debate of 1987.

Some days ago, when Afghan Russia war was in continuous stage. The views of foreign policy makers and parliamentarians about India was as “India is a long stem flower which needs support to remain decorated.”<sup>128</sup> But now the condition was absolutely different. During the Zia military regime Mr. Zia-ul-Haq as the president visited India most of time in the history of Pakistan as head of state. This was great strategy of government to remain India as “decorated stem of flower.” After the

---

<sup>126</sup>Chaudhry Muhammad Sarwar Khan (1919-2003); was a renowned and the longest serving Parliamentarian in the history of Pakistan. He was elected as Member of the National Assembly of Pakistan in 1985, 1988, 1990, 1993 and 1997 General Elections. Despite being a stalwart of Pakistan Muslim League, Mr Sarwar accompanied Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto for Simla Agreement in India in 1972 to ease the tensions between the two countries following the Indo-Pak war of 1971. Khan served in the Federal Council from 1982–1984. In 1997 he was appointed as chairman Parliamentary Special Committee on Kashmir by then Prime Minister of Pakistan Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. He led Kashmir Committee composed of 26 MNA's from May 1997 to October 1999. During Kargil War, as the Chairman of National Assembly Kashmir Committee, Khan addressed the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR) in Geneva and asked the world powers to give Kashmiris the right of self-determination according to UN resolutions.

<sup>127</sup>Parliament Debates, V.3, No.4(22 April 1987); 266

<sup>128</sup>Senate Debates, V.1, No.11 (19 January 1987); 908, Rahat Saeed Chattari.

disintegration of Russia, Pakistan did not need dancing rope foreign policy. Now Pakistan did not like India remain decorated stem of flower. Now Pakistan's president gave eye to eye replied to Indian on their any wrong action and activities.

### **Water issue & Kashmir**

The water issue was created due to Kashmir issue by British during partition of subcontinent. Water is very important for life. Because all sources based on the rivers comes from Kashmir area. After the creation of India and Pakistan, the first dispute between two the countries in first decade was on the division of water between both the countries. Kashmir dispute became stronger in the views of Pakistan soon after the creation of Pakistan when India stopped the irrigation water of Pakistan. Mr. Illahi Buksh Soomro said "the first physical damage that India did to us was to withhold the water of rivers that was flowing down to Pakistan"<sup>129</sup> The Pakistanis did not know the importance of Kashmir but after withhold water now they realized the importance of Kashmir. Mr. Muhammad Usman Ramz said "perhaps India was not very much interested in valleys, mountains and trees of Kashmir. The leadership of India knew, if we occupied the north-east part of Kashmir. Then they will occupy the chief fountain source of water. By the result of this strategy, they quickly operated and they occupied the north-east Kashmir."<sup>130</sup> For the survival of Pakistan, Pakistan needs frequently water for its irrigation purpose. It was near or far that both the countries fought war against each other over water, the world community arranged a treaty between two countries. "Indus Water Treaty" took place in 1960 in which water right of use was fixed for each other according to this treaty, the water of three lower rivers water was gave to India and the water of three upper rivers water was gave to Pakistan.

---

<sup>129</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.2, No.7(19 April 1985);502

<sup>130</sup> Ibid,505

But after one and half decade India started to construct the barrage on Jhelum and Chenab that was the violation of Indus Water Treaty. On 18 January 1988 three Adjournment Motions No. 297,305,554 were moved by Chaudhary Mumtaz Ahmed Tarar, Mr. Prof. Muhammad Ahmad, Muhammad Yaqub Khan on same topic in National Assembly about construction of SALAL Dam on river Chenab by India. By the construction of this dam the flowing water remains half. The quantity of water in Pakistani area river Chenab reduced eight thousand cusec feet from sixteen thousand cusec feet. The honorable member claimed, this practice was attempted by India to change Pakistani green field into barren area. The impact of this act will be shown destructive result on the economy of Pakistan.

On 19 April 1988 an Adjournment Motion No.18 was moved in the National Assembly about the construction of barrage in Jammu and Kashmir on river Jhelum by Syed Fakhar Imam, Chaudhary Mumtaz Ahmed Tarar, Sheikh Rashid Ahmed, Rana Nazir Ahmed, Mr. Shamim Haider and Syed Nusrat Ali Shah on the same topic. These entire motions mover belong to agriculture background and all understood the significance of water for the irrigation and crops. The construction of barrage on Jhelum river was the violation of Indus Water Treaty. It was the prejudice behavior of Indian government. Pakistan raised this issue in the Indus treaty commission but India denies to stop the construction. Syed Fakhar Imam said “tomorrow they may come with a third project, when they (India) will need more water to irrigate desert areas because we have already failed to look after and monitor those treaties, in my opinion which were forced upon us to continue and now their further interpretation whose means to take away water from Pakistan to India.”<sup>131</sup>

---

<sup>131</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.2, No.7(19 April 1985); 497

The house and its members, the country and citizen were very rightly feeling agitated that a neighbor which called itself a democracy, democracy means role of law, was ultimately violating the treaty which was not only signed between the two countries by itself but which was signed under the guarantee of an international body and which was being violated openly and forcefully. Chaudhary Muhammad Sarwar said “the nation should not eye washing on the water issue.”<sup>132</sup>For the protection of economy agriculture, water reservoir and environment. We must solve Kashmir issue because it is as important for Pakistan as oxygen important for a man’s life. Kashmir issue is the basic cause of water issue in Pakistan.

This parliament of Mr. Muhammad Khan Janjoo was dissolved by president of Pakistan Mr. Zia-ul-Haq on 29 May 1988 and announced new election into the country. But 17 August 1988 his airplane was crashed near Lodhran when Mr. Zia-ul-haq was came back from Bahawalpur with some other prominent generals of army and American ambassador was also died in this incident.

During this one parliament the international scenario was not in favor of Pakistan. On Western boarder the red bear of Russian army and on the Eastern boarder threat of war by India disturbed the government. The main focus of parliament was remained on these issues. The parliament could not perform solid performance like previous parliament of Z.A. Bhutto. In this era several times the president and high-level leader of Pakistan visited India but they could not admit Kashmir issue solution to their counter part of Indian leaders. But the parliamentarians lived Kashmir issue in the parliament through their speeches, debates, Adjournment Motion, question and discussions.

---

<sup>132</sup>Ibid,533

Syed Abbas Shah said “The solution of Kashmir should be according to UN charter. We have to live this issue and should make history for next generation so that they could bring to ahead.”<sup>133</sup> In this regard Kashmiri news, Kashmiri dramas and other programs was started to telecast on PTV and Kashmiri language was included in education as subject from matric level to University level across Pakistan.

---

<sup>133</sup>Senate Debates, V.4, No.4 (30 July 1987);459

## CHAPTER 4

### PARLIAMENTS OF BENAZIR BHUTTO REGIME

This chapter analyzed the Benazir Bhutto's 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> parliaments, in both these parliaments what kinds of struggles they have done for the solution of Kashmir Issue. What kind of methods they used to raise the Kashmir issue at the national and the international forum? how much opposition was cooperative and how much they were sincere with the government for solution of Kashmir issue. In this era how, much government to developed pressure on Indian for settlement of Kashmir issue.

#### **BENAZIR Bhutto's 1<sup>ST</sup> Parliament**

With the collapse of martial law, the government in Pakistan. The democratic process was started in the country by appointing care taker government because Zia's martial law government head was killed in an airplane crash on 18 August 1988. The general election was held in October 1988. By the result of this election Pakistan People's Party got majority in the country. The president of Pakistan Mr. GhulamIshaq Khan invited the chairperson of Pakistan People's Party chairperson Benazir Bhutto to form a government in the National Assembly. She held her office on 2 December 1988. The first session of Nation Assembly was called on 30 November 1988. Benazir Bhutto won the 195 seats in the election. She was the first Muslim woman amongthe Muslims countries who selected as prime minister of a Muslim country.

The Benazir government started her work in the country with great zeal and zest. After the 11 years of marital law government, this democratic parliament faced lots of issues. In all these challenging issues, one of major issues was Kashmir issue. In regard of Kashmir issue the government head was silent. Because the head of government Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in his first address in National Assembly.

She did not talk about Kashmir issue. It was against Pakistan foreign policy. Chaudhry Abdul Ghafoor said “the elected prime minister, in her first address in the National Assembly. She did not talk about Kashmir’s issue and about our relation with Islamic countries.”<sup>134</sup>In Pakistan the two major policies of Pakistan were established under the essence of Kashmir issue, foreign and defense policies. The opposition and some other stake holders were very surprised by Prime Minister address; in which she did not give importance to Kashmir issue.

In Upper house of parliament, the Senate, the period of Benazir government was started with the beginning of session No, 18 on 11 December 1988. The Upper House of the parliament was full with elements of martial law government but the National Assembly was changed with several democratic members in result of general election. It was the second assembly of legislation institution of the Senate, which started on 25 March 1985. On the first day an “Adjournment Motion No. 22 was moved by Pof. Khurshid Ahmad about the firing of police on the Muslims in occupied Jammu and Kashmir”<sup>135</sup>. At same day a motion was raised by Mr. Muhammad Tariq Choudhry about the discussion on Kashmir issue in the House. Because the innocent people of Kashmir were tortured by Indian forces in occupied Kashmir. Against this brutal action of Indian forces, Pakistani government should be protested on it because this was the violation of Liaquat- Nehru Pact and it was the violation of the UN charter. “Pakistanis never bore that their Muslims brothers were tortured. And this issue was discussed in the House so, that, some proposal collected by honorable members of the House.”<sup>136</sup>Alhaj Hamid Nawaz Khan said “for the time being, the conditions are such that we cannot reduce our expenditure. We need a strong, adequate and well-equip

---

<sup>134</sup>National Assembly Debate V.2, No.8 (13 December 1989); 245

<sup>135</sup>Senate Debate V.4, No. 1(11 Desember 1989); 61

<sup>136</sup>Senate Debate V.4, No. 1(11 Desember 1989); 6, Muhammad Tariq Chaudhry

modern army. This condition will continue so long as one problem is not settled; the Kashmir problem is not settled.”<sup>137</sup>

On 5 February 1989, the new year of the parliament session was inaugurated with the president’s address. On next day the discussion on president address was started in the National Assembly the opposition leader of the National Assembly Mr. Ghulam Haider Wainsaid in his first speech “By prejudicial Indian trap, let’s our government should be captured by Indian promises net.”<sup>138</sup> The opposition and the government also used Kashmir card during the election campaign. During the martial law regime, the Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto struggled for the restoration of democracy in the country. She also described the Kashmir issue as well as Siachen issue very emotionally in public gathering speeches. She was very hopeful for the future of Kashmir issue. When did she get the government in Pakistan? And when did she become the Prime Minister of Pakistan her attitude was so cold about Kashmir issue that no one could guess, she was talking about Kashmir’s issue in past day and today putting it in the cold storage. Maulana Fazal Rehman said “we only raised the issue as political stunt. And when our government comes then these issues became useless.”<sup>139</sup> This was the big mishap with Pakistan’s politics. The politician did many promises with public but as they came into government. They became so innocent as they did not do any promise any time with the people. They deleted all memory about promises. The public had also forgotten about the politician promises very soon. The Politicians and public memory are same in context of promises.

### **SAARC Conference of 1988**

<sup>137</sup>National Assembly Debate, V.2, No.1 4(20 December 1988); 84

<sup>138</sup>National Assembly Debate, V. 3, No. 2(6 February 1989); 200

<sup>139</sup>National Assembly Debate, V. 3, No. 4(8 February 1989); 366

The 4<sup>th</sup> SAARC conference was held on December 1988 in Islamabad. This was the very special conference, because there was democratic government in Pakistan. A government of people by people for people under the chairmanship of Benazir Bhutto. Under the shadows of the democratic government both the countries India and Pakistan were closed to each other and very hopeful for best future in context of resolving their dispute including Kashmir issue. Because Indian considered and many times repeated that Kashmir issue is buried under the election took place in Kashmir four times as plebiscite. The SAARC is a regional co-operative organization that was formed in 1985. It was a better effort by the peace-loving people in South Asia. It could not resolve the vital and main issue of the region but after some time it provided opportunity to the leaders of South East Asia to sit on a table to talk about the region and the poor people. It was decided by the main members of the group at the time of its formation, they did not talk about dispute issue on this forum. In the future it was right both countries did not use this forum for disputed issue in future. SAARC proved it that it was very beneficial forum that whenever the temperature of region went high the SAARC forum provided opportunity to sit together and negotiate on the issue. Both the House of the parliament members were observing the SAARC conference especially the role of the government and behavior of Indian leaders in it. Before the arrival of Indian Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi an Adjournment Motion by Akhwan Zada Behrawar Saeed was raised a motion in the Senate to discuss the issue in the House. The foreign minister, Mr. Sahib Zada Yaqoob Khan said “as regards the admission of Adjournment Motion in view of the strong feelings that have been expressed, I would be happy to recommend all admission of this Adjournment Motion and suitable date can be fixed for discussing on issue.”<sup>140</sup> Some incidents were observed very keenly in Islamabad during

---

<sup>140</sup>Senate Debate V.4, No. 1 (11 December 1988); 75

the SAARC conference days. All these incidents were raised in the National Assembly as well as in the Senate very frequently by members. The government removed the board of Kashmir House from Agha Khan road in Islamabad, before the arrival of prime minister of India and the weather casting segment of Muzaffarabad weather was not reported for three days from PTV news when Indian's Prime Minister was present in Islamabad.

An Adjournment Motion was raised on this matter in the Senate by Qazi Abdul Latif on 19 January 1989. All newspapers were given special place to this news. Every Pakistani was very astonished by this action of the government. This removal of board by Kashmir House shows the hegemonic pressure of Indian, along with policy and interest of the government of Pakistan. The government should highlight Kashmir issue but she was dug up Kashmir issue. The removal of board from Kashmir House was weakness, cowardness and it showed the withdrawal of Pakistan from their basic principles of Kashmir policy. This Adjournment Motion was opposed by Syed Iftikhar Hussain. At the end of the SAARC conference when Mr. Rajiv Gandhi faced media representatives and he replied the question of journalist about plebiscite in the Kashmir. He very innocently replied, there is no any issue in Kashmir because election had been taken place for four times. Instead of Prime Minister Muhtarma Benazir Bhutto was present on spot. She did not interrupt on Indian Prime Minister's statement, but she was smiling on it. "Indihar Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru were also Prime Minister of India but nobody dared to say that Kashmir issue had finished and there was no Kashmir issue."<sup>141</sup>

---

<sup>141</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.3, No. 2 (22 May 1990); 285, Chaudhry Amir Hussain

### **Foreign Policy Discussion in National Assembly**

On 20 February 1989, In the National Assembly the first debate on foreign Policy of Benazir Government was started with the prime minister statement that “I should being believe this honorable House Jammu Kashmir is a core issue between both the countries and we will do every possible effort to resolve this issue with justice and honor.”<sup>142</sup> On the both side, the government and opposition benches presented their views about the country’s foreign policy. The government benches members described the features of foreign policy and steps have been taken by government for the development of Kashmir issue. The opposition criticized the foreign policy and gave proposal and suggestions for the betterment of foreign policy. This discussion was carried on seven on working days sessions in the National Assembly. Mr. Abdul Khaliq khan said “in this honorable House all honorable members are committed on this point. That on every price, our foreign policy should be made according to our National interest. As such policy, which provides opportunity to set up good relation with neighboring countries of region.”<sup>143</sup>Some people have very much concern about the adopted foreign policy of the country. Because they thoughtbefore foreign AID the dictation in foreign policy came here first before AID arrived here.All the circumstances showed that, a government that was elected by democraticmethod and has full mandate of House. It was interesting that martial Law government foreign minister and finance minister were the most active in Benazir Bhutto cabinet. Mr. Abdul Khaliq Khan said “the favorite Foreign Minister of Zia ulHaq is our present Foreign Minister and these possibilities (fears) were given strength.”<sup>144</sup> It would be like to mention that a weak nation cannot settledtheir problems amicably. It is an example all

---

<sup>142</sup>National Assembly Debats, V.3, No. 11(20 February 1989); 1023

<sup>143</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.3, No.14 (23 February 1989); 1346

<sup>144</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.2, No.15 (26 February 1989); 458

over the world that a “strong nation always dictates.”<sup>145</sup> Sheikh Rasheed Ahmed, Muhammad Arif Awan, Srdar Ashiq Muhammad Mazri, Muolana Abdul Star Khan Niazi, Mr. Abdul Khaliq Khan, Ghulam Haider Wain, Chaudhry Asad Rahman, Mr. Fazal Haq, Nawab Zada Nasrullah Khan, Chaudhry Anwar al Haq, Begum Amira Ihsan, Mr. Manzor Ahmad, Major Aftab Ahmed Khan and Begum Abida Malik was participated in the on foreign policy discussion.

### **Foreign Policy Discussion in the Senate**

On 29 May 1989 the discussion on Pakistan foreign policy was started in the Senate of Pakistan. Foreign policy is the very important pillar in a government to creating relation with other countries of world; a country keeps some points in mind to form a foreign policy. The territorial sovereignty, security, ideological objectives, economic development and cultural enrichment are the main objectives of the Pakistan foreign policy. Pakistan’s foreign policy about Kashmir issue was the basic principle of guideline, in forming the security policy and creating relation with other countries. These principles must be kept in mind specially because it is the major dispute between Pakistan and India that have become reason of four wars between the two countries. The discussion was inaugurated with the statement of foreign minister, Sahbzada Yaqoob Khan, he said “India is not prepared mentally to accept our views.”<sup>146</sup> This discussion was in the context of SAARC conference that was held in Islamabad 29-31 December 1989.

SAARC is a good platform that provided the chance to sit together member countries. It was try of Indian leaderships that Pakistan embraced Indian police man right in the region then all is right. Pakistan will not embrace the Indian hegemony. All

---

<sup>145</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.2, No.20 (5 March 1989); 1968

<sup>146</sup>Senate Debates, V.2, No. 8 (22 May 1989); 539

the neighboring countries of India felt pressure by India in context of their security even they all accepted the hegemony of India instead of Pakistan. Shahid Khaqan Abbasi said, "India is a member of SAARC and has been attacked on two small countries and has coerced several countries to change the foreign Policy. Perhaps we are included it coerce."<sup>147</sup> India had violated the boundaries of Sri Lanka, Mal Deep, Nepal and Pakistan. Instead all these recounted the leadership of Pakistan tried best to please Indian leadership to enhance good relationship. Mr. Muhamad Ali Khan said "instead we went out of our way during the SAARC summit to please the Prime Minister of India whose government has miserably failed."<sup>148</sup> There should be a mutual understanding and cooperation with friends' countries as like KSA, China, and Iran in context of Foreign policy but our Foreign policy had legacy in this field as we gave the example of this mutual understanding and co-operation between India and Russia that was the best example of successful foreign policy.

There was no mutual understanding but there was co-operation between India and Pakistan government. Both countries' foreign policies were opposite to each other but both countries were trying best for friendship on best cost between each other. Mr. Asif Fasih Din Vardage told "the government which says friendship with India at any cost whereas the nation wants friendship with India without cost."<sup>149</sup> No cost mean Pakistan wants relation with every country on equality and peace basis without any prejudice, hegemony and police man role. Sahib Zada Yaqub Khan, Mr. Muhammad Tariq Chaudhry, Akhun Zada Behrawar Saeed, Asif Fasih Din Vardage, Prof. Khurshid Ahmad and Mr. Hassan A Sheikh participate in discussion.

---

<sup>147</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.3, No.13(18 June 1989); 2187

<sup>148</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.2, No. 8(22 May 1989); 544

<sup>149</sup>Senate Debates, V.2, No. 9(23 May 1989); 625

### **Budget Session and Budget Discussion**

On 6 June 1989 the open discussion on budget was started in the National Assembly of Pakistan. Actually, this was the financial session and this discussion should be on the financial crisis of the country. The members should give suggestion and proposal about the budget and financial issue faced by Pakistan. But the House picture was opposite to this discussion. All blames and claims were imposed to each other in regard of personal affairs by members. In this discussion, main and major topics were not budget but Kashmir issue. The most popular sentence that was spoken frequently in the both Houses by members that (Kashmir is verdict vain of Pakistan)" کشمیر پاکستان کی شہ رگ ہے" A member who cannot say any sentence about any topic but he can speak on Kashmir issue fluently and confidently in the House. Kashmir was the good topic to time pass subject in the House. Sheikh Rashid Ahmad said "Alack! that people talking were different before coming into government and people talking are different when they come in to government."<sup>150</sup> There was a big controversial statement of Pakistani politician. The irony was, they said something else and did something else in their practical life.

### **A Motion About Visit of Indian Prime Minister**

On 27 July 1989 a Motion by Prof. Khurshid Ahmad was moved in the Senate about Indian Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's visit to Pakistan. He said it was very important issue for country and nation. This issue should discuss in the House. The Indian Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi visited Pakistan during SAARC summit on 29 to 31 December 1988. Now, in July after six months he moved a motion to discuss the issue. Why he felt the need of this job after the six months of this visit. Whether it was so important to discuss or he came to know in his mind now. "Prof. Khurshid

---

<sup>150</sup>National Assembly Debate, V.3, No. 4(7 July 1989); 386

Ahmad<sup>151</sup> was the most active person in the upper House, who brilliantly presented the cruel face of India in regard of Kashmir issue in the Senate. He criticized the anti-national policies openly and heartedly.

The Indian was following the expansion theory and it was the part of her foreign policy. Therefore, they violated the several boundaries of neighboring countries in the region. The Hindu had set up her mind in the revival of Akhand Bharat. Kashmir issue is the result of expansion theory, all over in the world two countries India and Israel have adopted expansion theory. Therefore, both countries have buried the right of self-determination for the protection of this expansion theory. They increased power and ammunition in region and always disturbed the peace of region. The expansion theory had become the mind set of Hindus Mind. They never believed in two nation theory of partition in British India. The INC (Indian national Congress) was not agreed on any price to divide the India on religion basis. Therefore, the British and Congress set up a plan to create paralyze Pakistan. "The congress on present plan, it means Indian partition plan will act by this hope that at least it (Pakistan) reunify India again."<sup>152</sup> But it was not happened as, Congress thought in 1947. The brave and courageous Pakistanis

---

<sup>151</sup> Prof Khurshid Ahmad was born into an Urdu-speaking family in Delhi, British India, on 23 March 1932 and entered in the Anglo-Arabic College in Delhi. After the partition of India in 1947, the family moved to Pakistan and were settled in Lahore. He secured his graduation in BA in first-class honours in Economics 1952. He began reading the philosophical work of Abul'A'la Maududi and was a worker of his party, the Jamaat-e-Islami. In 1952, he took the Bar exam and entered in law program on Islamic law and jurisprudence. Ahmad did his MSc with Hons. in Economics after successfully defending his thesis that contained the fundamental work of Adam Smith on Invisible hand and the Capitalism in 1958. Ahmad enrolled at the University of Leicester and joined the faculty of economics and successfully defended his doctoral thesis for his PhD in Economics in 1967-68 and his thesis was on the Islamic economic jurisprudence principle. Prof Khurshid Ahmad is attached to Jamaat-e-Islami the Islamic party of Abu A la Maudu. Kurshid Ahmad see the creation of Pakistan as necked. He saw the brutality of Hindu in Delhi on August 1947. He passed some day in Lal Qila Delhi, he came to Pakistan by the train in which Hindu martyred all Muslims. He is belonging to Jamat-e-Islami party in the Senate of Pakistan.)

<sup>152</sup> London Economist-17 May 1947

converted this paralyzed land into a young, lively, recognized, mature country of a nation.

On 27 July 1989 a Motion was adopted and on 29 July 1989 the discussion on visit of Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's was started in the Senate. The government was very interested to do agreement with Indian government. But the opposition wanted to solve Kashmir issue first. If this issue was solved, then all issues would be solved automatically. The government wanted trade and CBM activities with India. "When you do agreement with a nation? you watched the qualities and dis-qualities of this nation. You will read the mythology of Hindu before doing agreement."<sup>153</sup>

If observed in past, Pakistan and India ran on opposite track instead both had several agreements. Pakistan followed Islamic Theory, but, India followed anti-Islamic theory. Pakistan talk about the right of minority but India violated the minority right. Pakistan talked peace and bilateral process but India followed the theory of expansion in the region. The Indian used term (POK) Pakistan Occupied Kashmir and other side Pakistan used the term (IOK) India Occupied Kashmir. These terms were used first time by Indian Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi during his visit to SAARC summit on 29-31 December 1988 at Islamabad. Therefore Mr. Rajiv Gandhi claimed Kashmir issue has finished. There is no need to talk on it do not waste the time. You talk about trade; you talk about culture. There held election in occupied Kashmir as the substitute of plebiscite in Kashmir, plebiscite had given to Kashmiris. The Prime Minister Benazir was kept silent on this occasion and was smiling. It produced many questions in the mind of journalist and nation's mind. On other side the picture of Kashmir was dangerous

---

<sup>153</sup>Senate Debates, V.3, NO. 11(29 July 1989); 835, Nawab Zada Jahangir Shah Jogaizi

“In the bazar of Sari Nagar, the people yelled, and wept on Kashmir issue there was nobody who could speak or stand in their well-wishing.”<sup>154</sup>

---

<sup>154</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.4, No.10(4 October1989); 1157, Choudhry Amir Hussain

### **New Year Joint Sitting Session**

According to tradition of parliament, the New Year session was started with the joint sitting of parliament and the address of president of Pakistan. The president Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan was given the policy statement of country in his address. "About the concern of Jammu and Kashmir issue, we cannot negotiate on it. We shall not withdraw on any price and on any condition from the right of self-determination of Kashmiri people. They used their right of absolute plebiscite."<sup>155</sup> On 6 December the discussion on president address was started in the National Assembly of Pakistan. This discussion was carried on next fifteen days session. (in this discussion following members were participated Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Khan Jatoi, Molvi Nimatallah, Moulana Abdul Star Khan Niazi, Miss Amira Ihsan, Raja Muhammad Afzal Khan, Mr. Muhammad Arif, Choudhry Amir Hussain, Major (Rtd.) Aftab Ahmad Khan, Haji Muhammad Javid Iqbal Cheema.

All the members described the importance of Kashmir issue for Pakistan. These were people of Kashmir who had lived the Kashmir issue with their blood in the Kashmir. They are needed only your moral support. The government should highlight Kashmir issue on the international forum. Government should take people in confidence on Kashmir issue. Molana Abdul Star Khan Niazi asserted "the president talked about Kashmir but did not present the program about the preparation of Jihad to Nation."<sup>156</sup> Mr. Muhammad Arif explained "do not do the politics on the name of Kashmir."<sup>157</sup>

---

<sup>155</sup>Parliament Debates, V.2, NO. 1 (2 December 1989); 14

<sup>156</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.5, No. 4(7 December 1989); 385

<sup>157</sup>National Assembly Debate, V.5, No. 12(3 December 1989); 826

### **Celebration of Kashmir Solidarity Week**

In Pakistan, government announced to celebrate the Kashmir solidarity week from 2 February 1990 to 9 February 1990 across Pakistan. This was the first time in Pakistan that a week was celebrated as Kashmir's solidarity week. All people participated very warmly and heartedly in the activities of Kashmir's solidarity week. They proved that we are united on Kashmir issue. On 5 February 1990 the opposition leader Mr. Ghulam Haider wain moved a motion for Fateha prayers for those Kashmiris who were martyred by firing of gun. For condolence of those freedom fighters who were struggling for their right of self-determination in occupied Kashmir. Moulana Abdul Star Khan Niazi prayed fatehakhawani.

### **Discussion on Kashmir issue**

Mr. Ghulam Haider wain moved a motion under Rule 262 of the rule of procedure and conduct of business in the National Assembly. The motion was adopted by House for discussion in the House this was first direct discussion on Kashmir. The discussion was started with the speech of Mr. Nawab Zada Nasrullah Khan. He described the previous history with famous incidents of Kashmir. He gave a proposal to set up a permanent "National Solidarity Council"<sup>158</sup> which was consisted of government and opposition members. It worked collectively for the cause of Kashmir issue. On a point of order Mr. Shujat Hussain said, we know they are not serious about Kashmir. On reply, Mr. Shair Afghan replied, sir what kind of device you have used for measurement, how much we are serious or not? Nawab Zada Nasrullah Khan said "the Kashmir issue was a central point of our foreign policy. We have considered the friendly countries that supported us on Kashmir. Who were not supported on Kashmir issue they

---

<sup>158</sup>National Assembly Debate, V.1, No.1 (5 February 1990); 59

were not in list of friendly countries.”<sup>159</sup>The following members participated in the discussion, NawabZadaNasrullah, JavedJabbar,SyedaAbida Hussain, Dr. SharAfghan, MoulanaAbdul Star Khan Niazi, Sardar Haji GulKhatib Khan, SyedMumtazAlamGillani, SardarChoudhary Muhammad Ashrif, SyedZafar Ali Shah, Ghulam Hayder Wain, MoulanaFazalRehman, Dr.AttiaAnyitalah, Qazi Hussain Ahmad, Wali Khan,Mr. AbdulGhaforChoudhari, Letf General (Rtd.) SaeedQaderJogaizi and SahibZadaYaqub Khan.

SyedaAbida Hussain defined as “the story of Kashmir is an endemic part of the story of the genesis of Pakistan. It is also a story of pain and morn.”<sup>160</sup>Kashmir poses a single biggest challenge for the foreign policy of government of Pakistan, bigger, perhaps, even than Afghanistan issue. Mr.JavedJabbar said “Kashmir is an issue of concept, a principle that is as fundamental to Pakistani as Pakistan itself.”<sup>161</sup>Moulana Abdul Star Khan Niazi said “we should expose the UNO and Security Council promises in front of world. They are watching our drama about Kashmir issue they are committed to solve Kashmir issue.Even they are recognized it as a dispute and promised us to solve bilaterally and peacefully.”<sup>162</sup>Mr. Nawab ZadaNasrullah Khan reminded a very important point to the House during the discussion on Kashmir issue that was a central point of our foreign policy but our foreign minister was not present in the House during discussion.On 10 February 1990 joint sitting of parliament was held in National Assembly building for discussion on Kashmir issue. The honorable speaker addressed the parliament session for showing full solidarity with Kashmir issue. This was a good example of discussion in which government and opposition participated warmly.

---

<sup>159</sup>Ibid,48

<sup>160</sup>Ibid,66

<sup>161</sup>Ibid,61

<sup>162</sup>National Assembly Debate, V.2, No. 1 (7 February 1990);94

A resolution was presented by (Foreign Minister) Sahib Zada Yaqub Khan in the Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) in joint Sitting for solidarity of Kashmir and this Resolution was adopted unanimously, and Resolution was as

1. To express solidarity with the people of Jammu and Kashmir in their struggle for self-determination.
2. To call upon India to desist from its ruthless attempts to suppress the demand of the people of the disputed State of Jammu and Kashmir for self-determination.
3. To demand a final settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute, through a fair and impartial plebiscite under UN auspices, in accordance with the resolutions of the Security Council and the U.N.C.I.P
4. Resolves that the Federal Government may intensify its efforts to approach the international community, especially the Islamic countries, by sending delegations including parliamentarians to selected countries to persuade them to exert pressure on the Indian Government to solve the Kashmir issue on the basis of UN resolutions and in the spirit of the Simla Agreement.
5. Proposes that a joint National Council comprising the representatives of the Government and the Opposition be created to support and pursue the cause of the people of Jammu and Kashmir at the international and national forums through all possible peaceful means.”<sup>163</sup>

The Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto stated “all those values and dignity of human life must not remain silent when blood stains pollute the beautiful valley of Kashmir.”<sup>164</sup>The ANP leader Mr. Khan Wali Khan also presented his views on Kashmir

---

<sup>163</sup>Parliament Debate, V.1, No.1(10 February 1990); 5

<sup>164</sup>Ibid,12

issue. They are always in the favor of Indian point of view about Kashmir. He said “Simla Accord is only accord that is passed by parliament. We are commented on it and we will follow it.”<sup>165</sup>The foreign minister sahib ZadaYaqub khan concluded the joint sitting session of parliament with his policy statement. “I made the position of Pakistan quite clear with regard of self-determination, with the security council resolution with regarding plebiscite that must be held under the influence of the UN, and also the repression that was being practiced, that was being used again the people of Kashmir.”<sup>166</sup>The resolution was passed unanimously by the parliament in joint sitting session.

### **Again, A Motion for Discussion on Kashmir issue**

On 22 May 1990, a Motion under Rule 220 was moved in National Assembly for discussion on Kashmir issue. There produced confusion in the House on this motion because speaker insisted on this point that the members had spoken already on this motion they cannot deliver their speech again. But members gave different point of views on it.Mr. Ghulam Haider Wain raised a point of order and said “I am mover of motion and for the close of debate on that motion I had given substantive motion and Put my proposed substantive motion for discussion.”<sup>167</sup> Although the decision had given on motion that discussion cannot be done on my motion.But mover insisted on this point that followed the agenda of Motion that was included and recognized. The discussion on Kashmir issue was started in the National Assembly and many MNAs described their views about Kashmir issue. Mr.Choudhry Amir Hussain remarked “Nobody is sincere on Kashmir.”<sup>168</sup>Sheikh Rashid Ahmad said “the government policy

---

<sup>165</sup>Ibid,41

<sup>166</sup>Ibid,69

<sup>167</sup>National Assembly Debate V.3, No. 2 (22 May 1990); 258

<sup>168</sup>Ibid,263

about Kashmir issue had failed”<sup>169</sup> both these MNA belong to opposition benches. “The opposition did not take to confidence in national council. In these conditions, the opposition decided that they did not accept the national council.”<sup>170</sup> Hafiz Hussain Ahmad a MNA from JAI criticized speeches of government in humor style. He shared “the debaters, also say the name of Kashmir with belittle mouth, like Cash-Mir, their meanings of object are that MirJafer also cash (ed Bengal) and we also wanted to cash (ed Kashmir).”<sup>171</sup>

At the end a condolence resolution by Khawaja Ahmad Tariq Raheem about the killing of MirWazMulvi Muhammad Farooq was presented in the House that was adopted. This house unanimously condemns the coward and distorted act of brutal killing of a religious and respected leader of Kashmir. The house also condoles with the widow and family of Shaheed MirWazMoulvi Muhmmad Farooq and also with the people of Kashmir.

### **Discussion on law and order Situation in country**

The discussion on law and order in the country in the National Assembly was conducted. In this discussion very, astonishing speeches weredelivered by speaker and they compared the Kashmir situation with the situation of Pakistan. Kashmir is an occupied area and Pakistan is a free and sovereign state of the world. The people of Pakistan have all kinds of human rights within the country, without any discrimination of creed, color, religion, and ethnic base. But the condition of the Kashmir is completely opposite it, where seven lac army is appointed to demolish the freedom right of innocent people. They have no human rights and they cannot practice their human rights. There

---

<sup>169</sup>Ibid,264

<sup>170</sup>National Assembly Debate, V.3, No. 2 (22 May 1990); 267, Nawab ZadaNasrullah khan

<sup>171</sup>National Assembly Debate, V3, No.2 (5 May 1990); 274

are restriction and hindrance in every corner of life. The Kashmiris are facing the brutal killing of the innocent children and women. In all this scenario, how they contrast the law and order situation of Kashmir with free country. Haj Ghulam Ahmad Bolor and Haji Gull Muhammad Khan were participated in the discussion.

### **Budget Discussion**

On 10 June 1990 the budget discussion was started in the National Assembly and a MNA should talk about the budget in discussion. They should give the suggestions and proposals about the financial crisis of country and their solution. In the National Assembly, it was the largest discussion in the house in the history of budget discussion in assembly. The MNAs should discuss the budget but they discussed the Kashmir issue in colorful and tasty manners. The opposition leader, Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Khan Jattoi started and ended his speech on Kashmir in the House. Both government side and opposition side gave opposite statements against each other. Government claimed that they had presented the Kashmir on the international level and it was a success of the government. The foreign minister Mr. Sahab Zada Yaquab Khan gave the statement in the National Assembly and said "let me assure the house that government has taken energetic measures to mobilize maximum political and diplomatic support for our stand on the Kashmir question."<sup>172</sup> On the other side the opposition was saying against it. They had nothing done for Kashmir. The Muslim countries did not want to talk on this subject. Whatsoever was playing in the parliament but some statements show the actual picture of situation. When Yasser Arafat visited Pakistan parliament. In his address he talked about every freedom movement of the world except Kashmir. The Iran continuously supported the Pakistan on Kashmir issue. But during this government he was also silent and angry with Pakistan. Why? In the

---

<sup>172</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.4, No.8(16 June 1990); 1935

every (public meeting) procession of PPP in Sindh, they shouted slogan of “Jaiy Sindh and Jaiy Bhutto” heard. They never shout slogan’s Pakistan live long. Because Kashmir issue belong to Pakistan and it was a Pakistani issue.

Mr. Abdul Khaliq khan said “every government whenever faces difficult situation. Then they started to talk of Kashmir. So that, they convert the attention of people to other side.”<sup>173</sup> The PPP first government was fully failed to highlight the issue and got international achievement in Kashmir issue. Within fifteen months they have divided 255 plots among one other, that was the major issue and interest for them, instead solution of Kashmir issue. This parliament was fail to solve the Kashmir issue.

ماہ میں 255 پلاٹ تقسیم کرنے والوں کو کشمیر سے کیا لینا دینا۔ 15

Benazir Bhutto’s administration was accused of corruption and was nepotism and dismissed by Ghulam Ishaq Khan 6 August 1990.

## **2<sup>nd</sup> Parliament of Benazir Bhutto**

In 1993 the first government of Nawaz Sharif was dissolved by president Ghulam Ishaq Khan. Because, dispute between government and institutions of the country was started in the country. The new election was held in the country. Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) won the election under the chairmanship Benazir Bhutto. The winning party was given invitation for set up government. The first session of the National Assembly was called up on 15 October 1993 in National Assembly building at Islamabad. In these days, the incident of Dargah Hazrat Bal was recently taking place in Sirinager a city of Indian occupied Kashmir, where Indian forces set to fire to the shrine.

In the second session of 17 October Moulana Fazal-u-Rehman raised a point of order on the incident in the House. This was oath taking and signing of roll of member’s

<sup>173</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.4, No.3(10 June 1990); 396

session. After the election of speakers and deputy-speakers, Mr. Ahsan Iqbal Choudhary was given congratulation to winning persons. He said “on this historical occasion we should not forget the Kashmiri brother and sisters. And Accept a resolution it unanimously for the solidarity of Kashmir.”<sup>174</sup>

On 19 October 1993 the Prime Minister Muhtarma Benazir Bhutto delivered her first speech in National Assembly. This was very deliberative speech. She included all issue faced by nation in her speech except Kashmir issue. Even, she did not say a single word for Kashmir. During this time Mr. Nawaz Sharif was as opposition leader in National assembly. As a facilitator the second speech was given by Mr. Nawaz Sharif in the National Assembly, he also described present election history and condition of voting process. He gave some proposals and suggestions to the government for best democratic nourishment in the country. But in this speech, there was also no signal word for Kashmir and Kashmiris. Both high figure leaders of the country did not give importance to this core issue in their first speech. On 4 December 1993 a Motion by Syed Iqbal Haider was moved under rule 225(b) of the rules of procedure and conduct of business in the National Assembly about violation of human right activities being committed by the Indian forces in occupied Kashmir. On 20 January 1994 Mr. Makhdum Muhammad Javaid Hashmi raised a Call Attention notice in National Assembly about a serious situation that “whenever, Kashmir issue and atomic energy issue discussed in the house. The leader of the House disappeared. Certainly, she was doing good work but she must present here in the House.”<sup>175</sup> On 16 February 1994 the discussion on political situation in the county was started with the speech of opposition

---

<sup>174</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.1, No. 2(17 October 1993); 31

<sup>175</sup>National Assembly Debate, V.1, No. 4(20 January 1994); 371

leader Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. He stated “Jammu and Kashmir are a part of our body and Kashmiri Muslims are part of Pakistani nation.”<sup>176</sup>

### **Prime Minister interview to BBC**

When an interview was given by prime minister to BBC than a painful situation was created for nation, this interview brought out the secret of past about an enemy country that never lost a chance to destabilize our integration of country. A country that had paid a main role in broken our country into two parts in 1971. Prime minister herself accepted the charge of blames. She helped the India when they were in great difficulties. The leaders of Pakistan were protecting the country who did not miss any chance to destabilize Pakistan. Our prime minister helped to save its integration. It was total withdrawn from basic principles of Pakistan. The leader of the House Benazir Bhutto said “yes, I standby my interview to BBC.”<sup>177</sup> When Rajiv Gandhi was the prime minister of India, India was facing big trouble. The Sikh of East Punjab revolt was on peak and they were near to be separated from India. If Pakistan did not help them. Where were they now but our assistance brought out from this bad situation. Mr. Shaikh Muhammad Tahir Rasheed, requested the speaker to arrange the interview film for watching in the National Assembly. It was very sensitive information that was shared with the worst enemy of our country. It is right on international level; countries share sensitive information with each other but there are some limits. Before this step country should analysis, the history of relation with the other states. Before sharing this information, you should keep in your mind the behavior of this country. But India violated the international laws and directly and openly interfered in the East Pakistan and helped rebels for revolt which converted Pakistan into two pieces. Pakistani leaders

<sup>176</sup>National Assembly Debate, V.2, No.1(16 February 1994); 21, Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif

<sup>177</sup>National Assembly Debate V.2, No.1(16 February 1994); 40, Benazir Bhutto

were helping the country who crossed the border of Pakistan in 1965 and did not give up last chance to disintegrate the Pakistan. The Indian did not accept Pakistan by heart from its creation to present day. Leaders were sharing sensitive information with country who occupied Kashmir and was practiced daily violation of human right in Indian held Kashmir. Our foreign policy was based in the world with blocking relation of India. Mr. Hamza said “I am surprising that what is the relation of Benazir Bhutto with Rajiv Gandhi, she has killed the whole interest of Pakistan and has chosen such line which are fully against to Pakistan interest.”<sup>178</sup>

The government members did not feel shame on this activity but they were, completely with the leaders of the House Mr. Raja Nader Pervaz khan said “she stands by the statement. She helped Rajiv Gandhi, his government to crush down the Sikh terrorist in India.”<sup>179</sup>

### **Visit of Iran’s Speaker to the Parliament**

On 11 April 1994 the speaker of the Majlis-e-Shoura-i-Islami, Islamic republic of Iran visited Pakistan and addressed National Assembly of Pakistan Mr. Ali Akbar Nouri said “we in doing so, will not miss any opportunity to support right of Kashmiri people. We support any plan based on justice and human virtues in a conciliatory atmosphere free from intimidation.”<sup>180</sup> It was the policy of Iran’s government who always stood with Kashmiri and Pakistan Kashmir policy. The government of Iran was in Socialism Block friend with India. But on Kashmir issue Iran’s has been stood straight forward. Iran wanted peaceful solution of Kashmir according to the UN resolution that was accepted and signed by Pakistan and India. Whenever Iran’s leader visited Pakistan their policy statement was straight forward in favor of Pakistan’s stand

---

<sup>178</sup>National Assembly Debate V.2, No.2(17 February 1994); 86

<sup>179</sup>Ibid,115

<sup>180</sup>National Assembly Debate V.2, No.4 (11 April 1994);450

on Kashmir issue. Not in Pakistan but on all international forums Iran's stand was in favor of Pakistan's favor. Muhtarma Benazir Bhutto visited Iran for negotiation on bilateral issue and well wishing. Iran's government on the Kashmir issue they assured to prime minister her full support on any forum.

### **Withdrawal of Resolution from the UNO**

But it was very astonishing moment when in 1993,1994 the Pakistan withdrew her resolution from UNO on Kashmir issue because the Iran and china was supporters of this resolution at the UN forum. It was surprised for both countries that very suddenly without any intimation to these countries Pakistan withdrew her resolution. Mian Abdul Wahid said "our resolution on human rights which was supported by world whether it was withdrawn or withhold."<sup>181</sup> The foreign minister Mr. Sardar Asif Ahmad given his views as that the government of Pakistan was withdrawn her resolution with advice of china and Iran like friendly countries. By the result of this action Baharat opened the door and allowed the inspection of occupied Kashmir which stopped the human rights excess and massive violation. In the National Assembly this resolution was became most popular topic for speech by the opposition benches. They did not go ahead to leave this topic time and again started debate on this topic.

### **A Sudden Joint Session of Parliament**

On 28<sup>th</sup> June 1994 a joint session of parliament was called up. This was very sudden session that many members were very surprised why this session was called in so hurry. In the joint session all the Senators were not participated because they have no intimation of this joint session. The Senators were very upset by the behavior of the government, the agenda of this session was not highlighted to participants. Chaudhry Muhammad Anwar Bhinder said "today morning 8 o'clock the agenda of session was

---

<sup>181</sup>National Assembly Debate, V.5, No. 6(24 June 1994);688

received the law minister was moved a motion in the house on Kashmir. All the allies and opposition members were insisting that the government should take in trust to the House before session. The following members participated in to discussion Mir. Zafarullah Jan, Muhammad AjmalKhatak, Hafiz Hussain Ahmad, Qazi Hussain Ahmad, Malik Abdul Hameed. MuhammadAchakzai.The chairman of Kashmir committee in his speech said “the strike for the solidarity was success-fullall over the country and occupied Kashmir.And all international visits of Kashmir Committee were successful and we had conveyed our point of views tothe world.”<sup>182</sup>The opposition leader was stressedon this there is no consensus between the two parties’ the government and the opposition on Kashmir issue.

### **ICFM Meeting**

The seventh extra ordinary session or ICFM (Islamic conference of foreign minister) was took place in Islamabad from 7 to 9 September 1994 at the initiative of Pakistan. Besides all other issues of the Muslims world, Pakistan was interested in coordinating the position of the Islamic countries on Kashmir issue before the 49 session of the UNO General Assembly.

It was a good effort by the government side to highlight Kashmir issue but it was only lip service because it has no practical result in it.

### **Seventh Islamic Summit of OIC**

The seventh Islamic Summit was held in Casablanca city of Morocco from 13 to 15 December 1994. The leaders of all the Islamic countries participated in this summit. This was very important occasion and many decisions were measured in this very summit. In this summit, the participantswelcomed the adoption of the Casablanca Declaration on Al-Quds AL Sharif, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Indian occupied Kashmir.

---

<sup>182</sup>Parliament’s Debate, V.3, No. 2 (28 June 1994);13

In this summit an important resolution was adopted a special and comprehensive resolution on Jammu and Kashmir issue. Mr. Dr. Shair Afghan proudly shared in the National Assembly. "I passed congratulation to prime minister and Nawab Zada Nasrullah Khan that OIC summit of Casablanca adopted a resolution on Kashmir issue. By the result India allowed to Mir Waiz to participate in the conference."<sup>183</sup> Mr. Chaudhry Muhammad Barjees Tahir raised a starred question in the National Assembly on 6 February 1994. How many times, Mr. Yasser Arafat, supported Pakistan's point of view on Kashmir issue. Sardar Asif Ahmad Ali replied that PLO as a member of OIC consistently extended support to our position on Kashmir issue. During his official visit to Pakistan in November 1994, PLO Foreign Minister Mr. Farooq Kaddoumi reiterated his support for a just settlement of Kashmir dispute in accordance with Simla Accord and relevant UN resolution but it was another thing when Mr. Yasser Arafat visited the Pakistan and addressed the joint session of parliament of Pakistan. He mentioned all freedom movements of the world except Kashmir. He did not speak single word for the support of Kashmir and Kashmiris in the parliament. Mr. Chaudhry Muhammad Sarwar Khan told "Hamid al Ghabid who is chairman of OIC, I said to him in the Saudi Arabia, if a hen cooked. We immediately run toward you. We called you in UNO and in Geneva for help but you did not come for help."<sup>184</sup> Prof N.D. Khan gave statement in the senate of Pakistan on 26 December 1995 that the first time in the OIC the declaration is being on Kashmir. Prof. Khushed Ahmed replied as I also participated in the OIC session on February 1974. There was also passed a declaration about Kashmir that was the first declaration in OIC about Kashmir.

### **Desecration of Charar-e-Sharif in Occupied Kashmir**

<sup>183</sup>National Assembly Debate, V.7, No. 14 (18 December 1994); 1272

<sup>184</sup>National Assembly Debate, V.9, No.3 (12 March 1996); 331

On 1<sup>st</sup> June 1995 the discussion was begun in the National Assembly of Pakistan on desecration of Charar-e-Sharif. Charar-e-Sharif is a shrine of Pir Noor-u-din Wali. along with the shrine there was a six hundred years old mosque. The Indian army set fire to this shrine and mosque. But two thousand houses were also caught fire in this incident by the result lots of casualties were happened. Mian Raza Rabani moved a Substantive Motion to discuss this desecration of the shrine and mosque of Charar-e-Sharif. The government wanted to start discussion on desecration of Charar-e-Sharif but the opposition wanted to debate on Karachi situation. In the last session the discussion on Karachi was carried on but the session was prorogued.

Mr. Syed Khurshid Shah stated “today the behavior of opposition on Charar-e-Sharif is very disappointed. All the nations saw the role of opposition that they dropped crocodile tear from eyes.”<sup>185</sup> But On 1<sup>st</sup> June the Charar-e-Sharif was debated and on 5 June 1995 the discussion on Karachi law and order situation was conducted in the National Assembly. Mr. Nawab Zada Ghazanfir Ali Gul said “in the perspective of opposition and the government both are behaving in a childish way.”<sup>186</sup> Both were demanding first debate on Karachi, “no”, first debate on Kashmir and opposition walked out from the House. On 6 June the half session was debated on Karachi and half session was debated on desecration of the shrine and mosque of Charar-e-Sharif by Indian forces. If a society had contradictory attitude such on core issue of state. What kind of result you expected from these people? The members cannot produce consensus on debate in the House on core issue. What kind of consciences they had on Kashmir issue? The National Assembly is the highest elected forum of nations. Through this, in

---

<sup>185</sup>National Assembly Debate, V.3, No.1(1 June 1995); 105

<sup>186</sup>National Assembly Debate, V.3, No.3(5 June 1995); 169

democratic way the public opinion is collected by this way and public opinion are mobilized for the settlement of issues.

On the Charar-e-Sharif incident the behavior of government and opposition was not same. Both wanted to score the No. the opposition demanded one-day debate in National Assembly and in Senate but the government benches wanted two days' debate on this incident and the government benches wanted to suspend the question hour but debate conducted on Charar-e-Sharif incident. The opposition was stood here on the point and did not miss the question hour. First of all, questions and answer then debate on this topic. The opposition was walked out from house on this very occasion and point. Technically under rule 285 question hour could suspended and the government could do this for important purpose.

### **Theory of Pakistan**

India is not a secular country but a fundamentalist state. She is not a big democracy but it is killer of democracy and humanity. They never lost any opportunity to disintegrate Pakistan. Mr. Nawaz Sharif shared "we bail out India by the perspective of east Punjab. It is our proud. Our leaders helped to protect the disintegration. If Pakistan faced disintegration the Rajiv Gandhi never help the Benazir."<sup>187</sup> The example of 1971 was still in the mind of the nation. The nation did not forget the blessing of Indian but the leader had forgotten this attitude of Indian. Yesterday enemy became friend today. Mian Muhammad Yasin Watto quoted; "Miss. Indra Gandhi said we had drowned the Theory of Pakistan's ideology in the Bay of Bengal. Now, today her daughter of law said that we as cultural basis, made Pakistani culture weak."<sup>188</sup>

### **Election in Occupied Kashmir**

<sup>187</sup>National Assembly Debate, V.3, No.3(5 June 1995); 183

<sup>188</sup>National Assembly Debate V.9, No.3(12 March 1996); 313

Mr. GoharAyub Khan moved a Resolution on 6 May 1996 in the National Assembly about the fraudulent election being held in the occupied Kashmir. This resolution was presented to the strengthen, encourage, and showing support and solidarity with the All Parties Hurat Conference because they would not be on strike tomorrow. On 7 May 1996 Mr. Mian Raza Rabani raised a Call Attention Notice<sup>189</sup> in the National Assembly of Pakistan for observing of three minutes' silence to show solidarity with the people of Kashmir. This Call Attention Notice, in reference of fraudulent election, being held in the occupied Kashmir. The people of Kashmir completely boycotted this election. The turnout of this election was only 2% of whole valley. That was the great negligence of seven Lac Indian Army Forces in occupied Kashmir. This election practicewas fraud which exercised in occupied Kashmir to release international pressure.

As well as on 23 May 1996, Mian Raza Rabani moved a resolution for the solidarity with Kashmiri people in the boycott of fraudulent polls in occupied Kashmir. This resolution was adopted by the House unanimously. The occupied Kashmir election was held under the umbrella of seven lac Indian gun man. It was the complete disgrace and humility for Indian. All this was telecasted by BBC, CNN and other electronic media on T.V. and newspaper published the reports on it. How the Bazar were empty by people? By which method the general people were pulling toward the election center.

On 19<sup>st</sup> September 1996, Mr. Rana Zahid Tussef asked the starred question No. 442 to foreign minister to explain the policy of Pakistan regarding the recently held election in occupied Kashmir. Foreign Minister Sardar Asif Ahmed Ali stated “that the exercise of holding farcical election in the occupied territory will not contribute to a

---

<sup>189</sup>National Assembly Debate, V.12, No.3(7 May 1996); 292

resolution problem.”<sup>190</sup>The Indian government was bound according the UN resolution to hold plebiscite not to take place election.

The Security Council resolutions No.47 (1948), 91(1951), and 122(1957) demanded. Plebiscite not election in the occupied Kashmir, holding such election under Indian constitution cannot be a substitute for the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir which explicitly recognized by the Security Council resolutions.

### **Kashmir issue and Security Council Agenda**

Kashmir is the oldest outstanding dispute on the plate form of Security Council. Which has great demand from Security Council and international community for its solution. This great institution solved many difficult disputes of the world by its affects and hardworking. On 19 August 1996 Mr. Ahsan Iqbal by a Call Attention Notice told the house about a serious matter. “That UN security council drops Kashmir issue from her Agenda.”<sup>191</sup>This was surprising news for nation about the serious matters related to nation’s core interests. The foreign affair office and the foreign affairs expert the government came to know after three days that Kashmir issue was excluded from the UN Agenda. Many members demanded it by an Adjournment Motion that issue was discussed in the house. But government wanted to discuss other matters in the House instead the excluding Kashmir from UN agenda. Freedom of Kashmir is central point of our foreign policy that was not achieved satisfactory success from UN. The main sessions in this regard in which to some extent and some other points were attached to discuses that depicted the scenario of this issue. The front man objectives were not matched with government policy. Mr. Muhammad Javid Hashmi said “billion rupees

---

<sup>190</sup>National Assembly Debate, V.11, No.11(1 September 1996); 1461

<sup>191</sup>National Assembly Debate, V.12, No.2(19 August 1996); 228

are spent on Kashmir issue but defeat is the fate of government.”<sup>192</sup>It was the rule of the NU if an issue is not discussed on U.N plate forum till 5 years, the issue is excluded from the agenda of UN. It was the duty of the government to discuss the issue in the UN but the government is providing only lips service. If they continuously revived the issue in the UN, the Kashmir issue do not drop out from the UN agenda. The government claimed that they had internationalized the Kashmir issue first time in the history of Pakistan, but, the result was that Kashmir issue was removal from UN Agenda. They forgot that “Kashmir is internationalized and a lived by the blood and sacrifices of Kashmiris peoples.”<sup>193</sup>On other side the picture of the House was shame full because “all the House is empty but they are talking about the Jihad in Kashmir.”<sup>194</sup>

On 5 September 1996 an Adjournment Motion on Kashmir issue was moved by Mr. Dost Muhammad Faizi and he said “I only want to know that the house is running from last 22 days during these days four Adjournment Motions and two Privilege Motions and many point of orders were moved in the house. I am presenting my name from first day on Kashmir issue. You told me, why you did not give me chance to talk on it.”<sup>195</sup>

---

<sup>192</sup>National Assembly Debate, V.7, No.15(5 September 1996) ;2110

<sup>193</sup>National Assembly Debate, V.7, No.15(5 September 1996); 2098, Muhammad Javid Hashmi

<sup>194</sup>Ibid,2146, Choudhry Akbar Ali Venis

<sup>195</sup>National Assembly Debate, V.2, No.15 (5 September 1996); 2095

## **Kashmir Committee**

The first Kashmir committee of Pakistan's parliamentary system was formatted in Benazir Bhutto's second parliament. Such a proposal was raised in her first government about "Muthada Kashmir Council" that was not succeeded due to assembly decisions. But during the second regime on 23 December 1993 a Kashmir committee was announced in the National Assembly which was consisting of 30 MNAs of National Assembly under the chairmanship of Nawab Zada Nasrullah Khan. This was the National Assembly Kashmir committee.

On February 1994 a motion by Prof. Khurshid Ahmad moved in the Senate, he wanted to turn the attention of the House towards 30 December 1993 adopted resolution for formatting of parliamentary Kashmir committee. But after one and half month Kashmir committee in the Senate was not set up by the government that was serious laps of the government. On 31 July 1994 Hafiz Hussain raised a point of order in the Senate that prime minister is going to Ireland, it is very necessary that before to take of her, the parliamentary Kashmir committee should have organized in the senate so that these people could go with them and describe the point of view.

Later on, in a joint session on 28 June 1994 it was decided to set up a parliamentary special Kashmir committee. It was consisted of 24 parliamentarians MNAs and Senators under the same chairman, "now the size of Kashmir Committee was large than that of first Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan's cabinet."<sup>196</sup> These committees were given constitutional power by both the Houses by a resolution. The status of chairman was equal to a federal minister. Those committees had special budget. The annual budget of Kashmir committee was approximately 11 crores and 35

---

<sup>196</sup>National Assembly Debate, V.11, No.4(8 May 1996); 359 Gohar Ayub Khan.

lacs. These committees worked under the foreign office. The major function of Kashmir Committee was to make progress continue in bringing all vital political parties on one platform in order to pursue Kashmir Cause. The main objective of this committee was to mobilize the Kashmir issue national and international level. The delegation of these committees visited world -wide and got favor for the solution of Kashmir issue and built morale pressure by international community on India to stop brutal violation of human rights in occupied Kashmir by its effect.

A lot of expenditure bore by nation in these committees. It was a surprising point that the Senator was also the part of special Kashmir committee but till 19 July 1994 no Senator leads the visiting delegation of Kashmir committee. On 17 May 1994 the government set up 20 standing committees in the House. These committees were formatted to resolve the issue faced by nation in the country. In all these committees, the committee No. 10 was about foreign affairs and Kashmir affairs. Now at a time, in this parliament three different committees were working for the cause of Kashmir issue Kashmir Committee, Special Kashmir Committee and Standing Committee for Kashmir affairs under the supervision of foreign office.

In both the Houses, National Assembly and in the Senate, the Kashmir committee was the most favorite topic for speech instead of Kashmir issue and Kashmiris. The opposition blames and criticize was faced only Kashmir committee and its chairman. On 27 June 1994 the chairman of Kashmir committee moved a Call Attention Notice about his personal explanation against the allegation raised by the opposition leader on Kashmir committee and its chairman. On 19 March 1996 the chairman of Kashmir committee was given his statement on Kashmir committee Mr. Nawab Zada Nasrullah Khan said "the House decided that role of Kashmir committee is right and wrong. If my role is wrong then I would not like to attach with this post for

one minutes.”<sup>197</sup> It was right Now, it was the duty of the opposition to prove the wrong jobs of this Kashmir committee. The government was also agreed to discuss the performance of Kashmir committee in the House. Mr. Syed Khurshid shah said “the government and the opposition sit together and settle the matter,”<sup>198</sup>The most favorite topic for opposition was Kashmir committee. In every speech daily, they delivered that Kashmir committee is failed to raise the Kashmir issue in this regard “the leader of the house invited the leader of opposition Mr. Nawaz Sharif to lead a delegation on Kashmir issue but he refused.”<sup>199</sup>This delegation was going to the UN Mr. Nawaz Sharif was not going to conquer the Kashmir impression on the entire world. The attitude of the leaders was shameful. Akbar Ali Venis said “my dear brother Nawaz Sharif you have lots of grief of Kashmir. Let’s became the Chairman of Kashmir committee. Hold the Kashmir issue in his hand and visited the other Countries and raised the Kashmir issue and tried his best for its solution.”<sup>200</sup>The taking about Kashmir issue was very serious and this was very woeful situation. The cabinet meeting was held daily. But there was no consensus on this issue. The contradictory statements were coming from the government inner side daily. They were not helping Kashmir issue but burying Kashmir issue. The chairman of Kashmir committee who explained that president announced, “we will have raised this issue in the UNO in coming session.”<sup>201</sup>But on other hand the foreign minister Sardar Asif Ahmad Ali khan said “there is no need to raise Kashmir issue in the UNO.”<sup>202</sup> Why this big contradiction was found between two high person of government Qazi Hussain Ahmad said “one side delegation is sending to foreign country in regarding of Kashmir issue. But their

<sup>197</sup>National Assembly Debate, V.9, No.8 (19 March 1996); 930

<sup>198</sup>Ibid, 933

<sup>199</sup>Senate Debate, V.7, No. 17(28 December 1994); 31, Jam Khusru Din.

<sup>200</sup>National Assembly Debate, V.4, No.11(16 June 1994); 1450, Akbar Ali Venis

<sup>201</sup>Senate Debate, V.8, No.1 (14 November 1995);94, Fazal Agha

<sup>202</sup>Ibid, 94, Fazal Agha

responsible people are doing propaganda against it that cause of our, under development is due to Kashmir issue.”<sup>203</sup>

On 23 November 1995, Justice (Rtd.) Dr. Javaid Iqbal said “the chairman of Kashmir committee wants that foreign minister and foreign Secretary to resign from their posts because there are differences between them. Whenever resolution moves on Kashmir issue in Geneva or UNO and later on this resolution was with-drawn. Obviously, this is only for home consumption actually they are not serious about it.”<sup>204</sup> Instead of all blames and claims were on its place but there was reality in this way. All set up committees presented their reports in the relevant answer-able house but the Kashmir committee did not present his report in the National Assembly till 13 August 1995 or in the Senate. Mr. Gohar Ayub Khan said “the Kashmir committee of the National Assembly and special Kashmir Committee. It was the duty to send the report in one month but they are using all privilege but report is not sent in the House.”<sup>205</sup> The Kashmir committee could not present his report within three years. This was most expensive committee of Pakistan that time. Mr. Sheikh Rashid Ahmad said “that two most important committees are involved in corruption”<sup>206</sup>

The opposition created more shout in the House when government provided a Land Cruiser to chairman of Kashmir committee. Not only, this but on 26 August 1996, Mr. Zulifqar Ahmad Hashmi also moved an Adjournment Motion on this Land Cruiser in the National Assembly. The matter was not stopped there but the opposition started debate on personal conduct of chairman Kashmir committee in the House. Now the government wanted to discuss Kashmir issue in the House and opposition also showed their intention in this regard. Mr. Khawaja Muhammad Asif said “this 217 members

---

<sup>203</sup>Senate Debate, V.8, No.3(16 November 1995); 99

<sup>204</sup>Senate Debate, V.8, No.8 (23 November 1995); 86

<sup>205</sup>Senate Debate, V.4, No.1(13 August 1995); 80

<sup>206</sup>National Assembly Debate, V.13, No.1(19 May 1996); 22, Mr. Sheikh Rashid Ahmad

House, which could not discuss the Kashmir issue for last 25 months which is issue of life and death for us.”<sup>207</sup>But there was a demand of opposition, that “Kashmir should be discussed but first report (Kashmir Committee) should be presented in the House”<sup>208</sup>

On 19 June 1996 Mian Abdul Waheed asked a Starred Question No.166 in the National Assembly, when did the report of Kashmir Committee will be presented in the National Assembly. On 27 August 1996 the chairman Kashmir committee Mr. Nawab Zada Nasrullah Khan presented the report of Kashmir committee in the National Assembly. The opposition was very eager to discuss the Kashmir committee in the National Assembly. Mr. GoharAyub Khan demanded that the report should be discussed in the joint session of parliament so that all members participated in this discussion. The talk about the Kashmir committee was not ended but another Adjournment Motion was admitted in the House. All member of the House were busy in describing the looting history of each other. Now, they have forgotten the Kashmir committee report discussion in the honorable House.

The Benazir Bhutto Parliament was dismissed on 04 November 1996 by their own party president Mr. Farooq Ahmad Khan Laghari on charge of corruption, nepotism, lawlessness and Prime Minister Brother Mir Murtaza Bhutto was killed. In both these periods the governments claims were very high about the solution of Kashmir issue but practically they were nothing to do that was they claimed in this regard. The government and her policies were not strong in regard of Kashmir issue solution because they had soft corner for Indian in her heart. Then obviously, Indian also had corner for Benazir Bhutto government. They should cash Indian soft attitude for the solution Kashmir issue. But she and her parliament failed to solve Kashmir issue.

---

<sup>207</sup>National Assembly Debate, V.9, No.8(19 March 1996); 940, Mr. Khawaja Muhammad Asif

<sup>208</sup> Ibid, 37, Lt. General (Rtd.) Malik Abdul Majeed

The opposition was not satisfied with the government policies and activities about the solution of Kashmir issue. Kashmir committee was the hot topic for debate instead of Kashmir and Kashmiris for the opposition. They were doing little bit but showing lots in front of the nation. They were failed in positive negotiation with India for the solution of Kashmir issue. The opposition blames were in positive and negative sense. If the government was not sincere, then the opposition was also ahead one step in solving Kashmir's issue. Both the attitudes were different during his own turn of the government but this attitude was suddenly changed when themselves come into power.

## CHAPTER 5

### PARLIAMENTS OF NAWAZ SHARIF REGIME

#### Mr. Nawaz Sharif First Parliament

This chapter deals the two parliament of Mr. Nawaz Sharif as prime minister of Pakistan work in regard of Kashmir issue. These parliaments how much worked for the solution of Kashmir issue. What kind of effort they have made for the solution of Kashmir? What kind of role they have played in raising and giving life to Kashmir issue on National and International level?

After the first regime of Mohterma Benazir Bhutto that was dissolved by president Ghulam Ishaq Khan by using rule 58-2/B constitution of Pakistan standing on allegation of corruption and nepotism. In next election, IJI<sup>209</sup> (Islami Jamhori Ittihad) set up a new government in the country under the prime-ministership of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. They started their work with great zeal to overcome the challenges of foreign affairs that was faced by country in those days, in all these challenging issues of foreign affairs Kashmir issue as the core and the oldest issue for this Parliament. The Parliamentarian of (IJI) were called the remaining elements of General Zia regime. During the election campaign IJI claimed in public gathering that when their Government will come, they will bring freedom for the Kashmiri people

---

<sup>209</sup>The Islami Jamhori Ittihad (IJI) was a right-wing conservative alliance formed in September 1988 to oppose the democratic socialist Pakistan People's Party in elections that year. The alliance comprised nine parties, of which the major components were the Pakistan Muslim League, National Peoples Party, Jamaat-e-Islami, with PML accounting for 80% of the IJI's electoral candidates. The Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) agency, under director Hamid Gul, had a major role in forming the centre-of-right political alliance. The head of the party was Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, but its most resourceful leader was Nawaz Sharif, a young industrialist whom Zia ul-Haq had appointed chief minister of Punjab. Sharif was vying for control of the Pakistan Muslim League. It won only fifty-three seats in the National Assembly, compared with ninety-two won by the PPP. In December 1988, he succeeded in forming an IJI administration in Punjab and became the province's chief minister. In the 1993 national elections, the IJI coalition no longer existed to bring together all the anti-PPP forces.

from the occupation of India according to the UN resolutions of self-determination. Now it was their duty to do something better and different from previous Government. So, that their base become stronger in the mind of common people and they fulfil the promise made during the election campaign.

This parliament started its work on 3<sup>rd</sup> November 1990. The election winner party leader Mr. Nawaz Sharif in his first speech in National Assembly said, “this will be the time, we will work together for the freedom struggle of Kashmiri Muslims.”<sup>210</sup> As well as, the leader of the opposition Benazir Bhutto, in her first address to this august house said “we wish for new administration to follow the peaceful solution of the Kashmir dispute and they will have the full support of the opposition benches because it is an issue which is close to the heart of the both.”<sup>211</sup>

On 8 November 1990, the president of Pakistan in his first address to joint sitting of Parliament (majlis-e-shora). The president Ghulam Ishaq Khan said ‘‘ we never want war, but Kashmir is the verdict vein of Pakistan and it is our National duty to help the moral and political support to the Kashmiri freedom fighters from which new Government will not change its mind.”<sup>212</sup> All three pillars of Government (president, prime minister and leader of the opposition) were very committed for the solution of Kashmir issue with peaceful manner according to UNO’s peaceful process. All these three were very hopeful for Kashmiri freedom fighters to attain their glory.

After the address of the president, in the discussion on president address was started in the National Assembly. It was the tradition of National Assembly that every member can present his name for discussion. The president of Pakistan open described his views and wishes about Kashmir with other crisis faced by nation. But “Kashmir

---

<sup>210</sup> National Assembly Debate, V.2, No.1(6 November 1990); 23

<sup>211</sup> Ibid, 32

<sup>212</sup> National Assembly Debates, V.1, No.1(8 November 1990); 16

does not demand only speeches. It does not only demand that we released statement for it...we are with it but only till speeches that is for the advertisement of company.”<sup>213</sup>

Mr. Liaqat Baloch stated “It is credit on our arm to provide moral support and raise the voice of freedom of Kashmir and opinion internationally for Kashmiri brothers.”<sup>214</sup> Mr. ItzazAhsin asserted that “you have promised the people in your election speeches that give us vote, we will solve the Kashmir issue within three months.”<sup>215</sup>

Mr. Mahmud Khan AchakZai said “Kashmir is belonging to people of Kashmir, it is their own wishes they want to join Pakistan, we welcome them. If it is their own wish they want to join other.”<sup>216</sup> Chaudhry Nazir Ahmed Virk said “the president reminds us about innocent people of Kashmir in his speech.”<sup>217</sup>

1<sup>ST</sup> January 1991 from treasury Benches the minister for Foreign Affairs Mr. SahabzadaYaqub Khan concluded the president address discussion in National Assembly. He presented the views of Government side and said “we will continue to raise this issue in the United Nation, OIC, and Non-Aligned Movement and will persist our efforts with humanitarian organisation all over the world to highlight the plight of the Kashmiri people who are the victims of brutal repression and we shell also echo the call for the restoration of their right of self-determination.”<sup>218</sup> During this discussion from the opposition side Mr. Itzaz Ihsan moved a Motion in the National Assembly. In the Motion, he said that honourable president did not say about the solution of Kashmir issue. But regret that no reference has made in the speech to the tangible and necessary step to be taken by the government of Pakistan in respect of the situation in held

---

<sup>213</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.4, NO.1(19 December1990); 283, Shaikh Rashid Ahmad

<sup>214</sup> Ibid, 42

<sup>215</sup> Ibid, 575

<sup>216</sup> National Assembly Debates V. 5, No. 3 (30 December 1990); 1035

<sup>217</sup> Ibid, 1129

<sup>218</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.4, NO.2 (1 January 1991); 1362

Kashmir.”<sup>219</sup> Due to some technical reasons the Motion could not get confidence in the House therefore the motion was rejected in the House.

### **Discussion on Gulf Situation**

On 4 February 1991 the Iraq occupied Kuwait. This situation affected the all countries of the world especially Muslim countries. Pakistan had deep relations with Arabic states second, millions of Pakistanis live in these states in regard of their jobs. On this occasion, prime minister gave five points of suggestion for the solution of issue in which point No. 5 was “the implementation of United Nation’s resolution should not only be limited on Kuwait issue but the approval resolution of United Nations on Kashmir and Palestine implemented with such a momentum.”<sup>220</sup> After the prime minister statement, the discussion on Gulf situation was started in the National Assembly. In this discussion, the role of United Nations was criticized in global perspective as an issue.

Mr. Muhammad Afzal Khan told “in the eyes of the people of the world, the Security Council has lost his dignity that was before, Today United Nation and Security Council has become the trade company of some countries of the world.”<sup>221</sup> “Why the security council has forgotten the resolution on Kashmir there is also cruelty operated on humanity.”<sup>222</sup> Mr. Makhadom Muhammad Javed Hashmi said” at these days all principles, rules and regulation are books stories in international community”.<sup>223</sup> Mr. Chaudhry Amir Hussain But “Kashmiri also want from United Nation that she decided our fate according to United Nation passed resolution.”<sup>224</sup> There was interesting

---

<sup>219</sup> Ibid, 1364

<sup>220</sup> National Assembly Debate, V.5, No.2(4 February 1991); 190

<sup>221</sup> Ibid, 216

<sup>222</sup> Ibid, 232, Mr. Hamza

<sup>223</sup> National Assembly Debate, V.5, No.5(4 February 1991); 427

<sup>224</sup> National Assembly Debate, V.5, No.7(4 February 1991); 585

controversy between treasury benches and opposition, the opposition point score on the situation that was arias in the country on Gulf. People were in the favour of Sadam Hussain but the Government was in the favour of United Nation camp. The opposition wanted to debate on Gulf crisis but Government wanted to debate on Indo-Pak relation with the context of Kashmir.

On 28 February, 1991 Mr. Mahmud Khan Achikzai was very fed up by government misbehaviour and described his anger in these words “sir in this Gulf debate, there is no anyone debater who did not participated in debate on Kashmir. We fed up by the name of Kashmir. But when a gentle man asked a right question about Kashmir, he did not receive the answer.”<sup>225</sup> This was out put when a few members did not get answer of his question in the House and they will be disappointed by government behaviour.

On 4 March, 1991, foreign minister SahabzadaYaqub Khan described the Government policy with these words “we have supported universal tent of the charter of the united nation, which also coincides with our national interest.”<sup>226</sup> The same day a substantive Motion on Gulf situation was moved by Mian Muhammad Yassin Watto and presented 3 demands in which No. 3rd was about the Kashmir “A plebiscite should be held in Jammu and Kashmir, in accordance with the relevant United Nation resolution.”<sup>227</sup>

### **The Senate of Pakistan**

In this new regime, the Senate of Pakistan session No.30 was an inauguration session of this new government that was held on 6 March1991, instead Senate is a

---

<sup>225</sup> National Assembly Debate, V.5, No.19(28 February 1991); 1569

<sup>226</sup> National Assembly Debate, V.5 No.21(4 March1991); 1513

<sup>227</sup>Ibid, 1522

continues institution in the parliamentary system of government. It continually and regularly run in parliamentary system. In this institution regularly change came into it after three years the half members change with new one by democratic method.

On 3 April 1991 Mr. Liaqat Baloch raised a point of order on an Adjournment Motion moved by him in the National Assembly about cruelty act of Indian in occupied Kashmir. He replied that your Adjournment Motion that was hit under rule 20C therefore this cannot debateable in the House. On 8 April 1991 Mr. Liaqat Baloch again moved Adjournment Motion that was selected for debate and requested that his motion was given two hours for debate. He got replied from Government side that our team went Indian Capital New Delhi. Which was coming back today, for wanted briefing from foreign minister is necessary, therefore it take latter on.”<sup>228</sup> Again on 9 April 1991 Mr. Liaqat Baloch raised point of order and requested that for my moved Adjournment Motion, announced the time, so that debate can be started in the National Assembly on Adjournment Motion. Mr. Mian Anwar Al Haq Ramay, Mr. Qaiser Ali Khan, Sardar Mansur Tamin and Molvi Muhammad Khan Shaerani also requested to speaker that this Adjournment Motion take up later on, they are not agreeing to take up this Adjournment Motion. But the Adjournment Motion was adopted under rule 262 for debate in the National assembly. The Adjournment Motion was about; setting Ablaze of villages, Burning alive of Muslims and gang rape by Indian troops in occupied Kashmir. In debate Mr. Liaqat Baloch, Mian Muhammad Zaman, Mr. Mian Abdul Waheed, Shaikh Rashid, Rao Mansib Ali Khan, Makhdom Muhamad Javid Hashmi, Moulana Abdulstar Niazi, Mr, Ghulam Dastghir Kahn, Mr. Choudhry Muhammad Sarwar Khan, Haji Muhammad Javed Iqbal Cheema, Mr. Javed Iqbal Abbasi and Mr.

---

<sup>228</sup>National Assembly Debate, V.5, No.34(8 April 1991);3033

Muhammad Ajmal Khan Khatak participated with open heartedly and described their views about topic.

From the government side Mr. Syed Fakhar Imam<sup>229</sup> Minister for Education winded up this with his statement, " And last but not least sir, I would like to urge the Government of India to enter into a substantive dialogue with the Government of Pakistan for final settlement on Jammu and Kashmir which is a disputed and recognized by the United Nation in accordance with the resolution of the United Nation to which as I said earlier India is signatory and ultimately there can be no other recourse for the people of Kashmir but to decide their own fate through the ballot, by vote."<sup>230</sup> On 11 April 1991 prof. Khurshid Ahmed Adjournment Motion No.5, 14 and 21 was approved for discussion in the Senate by chairman that was about "atrocities Being Committed by the Indian Security Forces in the Kashmir."<sup>231</sup>

In response of these Adjournment Motion Mr. Hamid Nasir Chattha<sup>232</sup> give brief and detailed statement about the Kashmir situation. He requested to press the Motion in the House "I hope after this brief statement the honourable members will not press this motion."<sup>233</sup>

### **American Congress study on Kashmir issue**

<sup>229</sup>Syed Fakhar Imam born 18 December 1942 and was the 11th Speaker of National Assembly of Pakistan. He was educated at Clifton College in England. His wife Syeda Abida Hussain was also minister in government of Nawaz Sharif and his daughter Syeda Sughra Imam is also a politician.

<sup>230</sup> National Assembly Debate, V.5, No.34(9 April 1991):3183

<sup>231</sup> Senate Debate, V.3, No.2(11 April 1991); 54

<sup>232</sup>Chaudhry Hamid Nasir Chattha is a politician from Wazirabad, Punjab, Pakistan. He was born on November 15, 1944 at Lahore. He was previously elected as an MNA in 1985, 1990, 1993, and 2002 from his constituency of Gujranwala. Hamid Nasir Chathais son of Ch Salah-ud-Din Chatha. Hamid Nasir Chattha attended Aitchison College in Lahore. He received his bachelor's and master's degree in political science from Government College Lahore in 1966 followed by Bar-at-Law from Lincoln's Inn, London. He was not able to complete his Bar at Law exam because of his father's death. Between 1981–1985 Hamid Nasir Chattha served as Provincial Minister of Punjab holding the portfolio of Health and Education. He then went on to serve as Speaker of the National Assembly from 1986–1988. He was the chairman of the special committee of Kashmir with the status of federal minister. Hamid Nasir won one of the biggest majorities in the Punjab in the 1985 party less elections. He is the most loyal, truthful and honest politician of Pakistan politician's history.

<sup>233</sup> Senate Debate, V.3, No.2(11 April 1991); 62

On 7 November Prof Khurshid Ahmed raised a question No. 143 in the Senate. Prof. Khurshid Ahmed; is it correct that a Research team of the American Congress has prepared a study on Kashmir issue in which it has been suggested that 1948 and 1949 resolutions of the UNO have lost all their meaning and relevance and if such a study has been produce? What efforts have been made by the Pakistan foreign office to clarify the position of Pakistan about USA Congress member?Mr. Muhammad Sidique Khan Kanjo state minister for foreign affairs.“The information is being collected from the Embassy of Pakistan in Washington. The reply would be placed at the table of the House soonest as possible.”<sup>234</sup>

### **Joint Sitting Address of President**

19 December 1991, a joint sitting of Pakistan parliament held in National Assembly Building. This was 3<sup>rd</sup> joint sitting session of Parliament. President of Pakistan Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan addressed to the joint sitting of parliament. The President described the achievement and issue faced by government including economic, law and order situation of country. The President described the relation with their neighbours and Kashmir dispute, he said “we shall carry out the fruitful discussion with the Indian on the peaceful solution of Kashmir dispute.”<sup>235</sup>First and the last statement by the minister for Kashmir and Northern Area, Mr, Sardar Mehtab Ahmed Khan gave in the National Assembly that “present government understand that Kashmir issue is their National issue, it is their moral, and constitutional responsibility to highlight this issue in all over the world.”<sup>236</sup>By gave this statement, he broke silence in the house and told I am also here. Because mostly he did not present in the House for

<sup>234</sup> Senate Debates, V.4, No.5(7 November 1991); 52

<sup>235</sup>Parliament Debates, V.3, No.1(19 December 1991); 23, Ghulam Ishaq Khan

<sup>236</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.1, No.6(13 February 1992); 638

the reply on Kashmir issue and talk on Kashmir as Kashmir affairs minister. On 16 February 1992, the discussion on president's address was started in the National Assembly of Pakistan. The discussion was started with the Benazir speech on Kashmir. She remarked "The president also spoke about Kashmir but he failed to mention that what kind of message the government wanted to give on this issue."<sup>237</sup>In response of Benazir Bhutto statement the reply statement from treasury benches was given by Mr. Sheikh Rashid Ahmad said" when Rajiv Gandhi said that Kashmir is his Atut-Aung, she was smiling on Rajiv statement."<sup>238</sup>all these recordings are present in PTV library.

Mr Hamaza also participated in discussion, and criticised the Benazir Bhutto statement in these words that "these people feel a lot of grief of Kashmir these days. They have forgotten the deed of their past. They are the cause of dissolving the country into two parts. Their armed wing AL Zulfiqur brought up in the Baharat and Afghanistan. Now they have again and again feel the pain of Kashmir in Nation Assembly."<sup>239</sup>This discussion on president address was carried on next seven sittings of National Assembly. Mr. MianUmer Hayat, Mr. Muhammad Ajmal Khan Khatik, Muhammad Irfan khan, Muhammad Afzal Khan, Syed Iftikhar Hussain participate in this discussion. Muhammad Afzal Khan said" I have listen the Prime Minister's statement then, I understood that positive change has taken place about Kashmir. Prime Minister said, we support the self- determination right of Kashmir even they want to live independent."<sup>240</sup>Different political parties' members given their views in the House debate according their party strategies. Chaudhary Nazir Ahmad Virk (JI) said "We should leave the traditionally timidness about the Kashmir."<sup>241</sup>Mr. Kanwar Noor

---

<sup>237</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.1, No.7(16 February 1992); 685, Benazir Bhutto

<sup>238</sup> Ibid, 701, Sheik Rashid

<sup>239</sup> Ibid, 715, Mr. Hamza

<sup>240</sup> National Assembly Debates, V.1, No.10 (19 February 1992); 1025

<sup>241</sup>Ibid, 1050

Jameel (MQM) said. “Our part policy is this, that Kashmiris should be given their right of self-determination according to their wishes.”<sup>242</sup> Mr. Rai Mansib Ali Khan (ML-N) said “present prime minister derived from the mouth of Indian prime minister and admitted that Kashmir issue is alive, present and this issue is solvable.”<sup>243</sup> Anees Ahmed Khan () said “for the freedom of Kashmir every member of National Assembly will give their life. But some elements are trying to use issue for their own political aims.”<sup>244</sup> Mr. Mir BzinBazinjo (ANP-B) said “whenever you will not reach new destination then you will not increase the political reconciliation. At that time, your Kashmir issue will not solve.”<sup>245</sup> Mr. Chudray Muhammad Barjees Tahir (ML-N) said “Mr. speaker, it is very strange story on Kashmir subject the (opposition) beloved Mr. Bhutto said that, we will fight war one thousand years and their daughter take out banner of Kashmir house to please the Indian prime minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi on visit of Pakistan during SAARC conference. They have different policies in government period and different policy in opposition period.”<sup>246</sup> Now all opposition and their allies shouted that government doing nothing on Kashmir in the House.

This discussion was of multiple subject on president’s address in National Assembly and Kashmir issue was raised during debate. All ministers replied and raised questions in the house, because Kashmir issue was related to foreign minister Mr. Sidiq Khan Kinjo who closed the debate with his statement. “We are trying that we go for head for implantation for un implemented resolution.”<sup>247</sup>

### **Kashmir Solidarity Day**

<sup>242</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.1, No.11 (22 February 1992); 1082

<sup>243</sup>National Assembly Debate, V.1, No.12(23 February 1992); 1114

<sup>244</sup> National Assembly Debate, V.1, No.13(24 February 1992); 1180

<sup>245</sup> National Assembly Debate, V.1, No.15(24 February 1992); 1384

<sup>246</sup> Ibid, 1399

<sup>247</sup>National Assembly Debate, V.1, No.16(27 February 1992); 1522

5 February is celebrated in Pakistan as Kashmir's Solidarity Day, and this tradition was started by this government with collaboration of their allies. In this regard Qazi Hussain and his party "Jammat-e-Islami"<sup>248</sup> was very active on the start of 5 February as Kashmir solidarity day in Pakistan. This was a very good initiative by government and this activity was appreciated all over the country by all stock holder. In the perspective of history Mr. Z. A. Bhutto also requested for this kind of regular practice in the country but all religious parties particularly Jammat-e-Islami opposed this request on that era. When Nawaz Sharif was chief minister of Punjab province they took initiative on the advice of Qazi Hussain Ahmed and celebrated Kashmir solidarity day in Punjab province level when Nawaz Sharif became the prime minister then this day was regularly celebrated as national day in the Pakistan. Now Jammat-e-Islami gave this proposal and was very pleased by government on celebrating Kashmir Day in the country. 5 February 1992 Kashmir solidarity day was celebrated across the country to express solidarity with Kashmiris and freedom fighters. On 6 February 1992, a resolution was moved in National Assembly by Choudhry Amir Hussain. This resolution was moved by unanimously both sides government and opposition to express solidarity with Kashmiris.

---

<sup>248</sup>Jamaat-e-Islami, is a socially conservative and Islamist political party based in Pakistan. Its objective is the transformation of Pakistan into an Islamic state, governed by Sharia law, through a gradual legal, and political process. It strongly opposes capitalism, communism, liberalism, socialism and secularism as well as economic practices such as offering bank interest. The party leader is called an *Ameer*. Although it does not have a large popular following, the party is quite influential and considered one of the major Islamic movements in Pakistan. Jamaat-e-Islami was founded in British India in 1941 by the Muslim theologian and socio-political philosopher, Abu Ala Maududi. Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan came under severe government repression in 1948, 1953, and 1963. But, during the early years of the regime of General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, it served as the "regime's ideological and political arm", with party members holding cabinet portfolios of information and broadcasting, production, and water, power and natural resources.

This resolution consists of 5 points:

- (1) To express solidarity with people of Jammu and Kashmir in their struggle for self-determination.
- (2) call upon India to desist from atrocities being perpetrated on the people of the Jammu and Kashmir in an effort to suppress their demand for self-determination
- (3) call upon the world community to exert pressure on India to bring an end the massive violation of human rights of the Kashmiri people in Indian occupied Kashmir.
- (4) Call for a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir dispute, through a fair and impartial plebiscite under UN auspices, in accordance with the resolution of united National. This would also accord with the spirit of the Simla Agreement.
- (5) call upon the government to take up with the United Nation Human Rights Commission and urgently the issue of the human right violations and atrocities ‘unleashed by the Indian in Kashmir and to have the earlier United Nation resolution implemented to hold free and fair plebiscite to determine the final accession of Kashmir to India or Pakistan.’<sup>249</sup>

On this resolution Mr. Mehmood Khan Achakzai<sup>250</sup> claimed this is resolution not according to Rule 130. He said ‘‘this is very important resolution about Kashmir but we have our own opinion about Kashmir.’’<sup>251</sup> He wanted the entire amendment in

---

<sup>249</sup> National Assembly Debate, V.1, No.1 (6 February 1992); 110

<sup>250</sup> Mahmood Khan Achakzai is a Pakistani politician who is chairman of Pashtunkhwa Milli Awami Party. Achakzai was born on 14 December 1948 to Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai. He received BSc degree in Engineering from University of Engineering and Technology, Peshawar in 1971. Achakzai is a Pashtun nationalist who was elected as the chairman of the Pashtunkhwa Milli Awami Party following the assassination of his father Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai in a bomb attack in Quetta in 1973. Achakzai was elected as a member of National Assembly of Pakistan in 1993, 2002, 2008 and 2013 from Quetta constituency. Reportedly, he had won his first election with the support of Pakistan Muslim League (N). Achakzai lost the National Assembly seat in Pakistani general election, 1997. In 2008, he formed an alliance with All Parties Democratic Movement and boycotted Pakistani general election, 2008 to deny the legitimacy of then President of Pakistan Pervez Musharraf. Although he boycotted the polls but he remained active in the politics.

<sup>251</sup> National Assembly Debate, V.1, No.1 (6 February 1992); 111

the Choudhry Amir Hussain's resolution. Mr. Mehmood Khan Achakzai demanded by speaker, he proposed a resolution moved by Chaudhry Amir Hussain regarding Kashmir be replaced by following:

- (1) To express solidarity with people of Jammu and Kashmir in their struggle for self-determination including the right of forming independent state.
- (2) call upon India and other suppressive forces to desist from atrocities being perpetrated on the people of Kashmir in an effort to suppress their demand for self-determination.
- (3) call upon the world community to exert pressure on India and all the forces of suppression to bring an end the massive violation of human right of the Kashmiri people.
- (4) Call for the resolution of the dispute, problem between Pakistan and India in accordance with Simla Agreement.

But the house opposed Achakzai's amendments clearly. Because these were not Pakistani word."<sup>252</sup>Mr. Ajmal Khan Khatak<sup>253</sup> also moved a motion for amendment in the support of the Mehmood Achakzai but the motion was also rejected in the National Assembly. Achakzai and Ajmal Khatak amendment resolution was not auspicious of people of Pakistan. Both the amendments were not according to ideology of Pakistan. On the resolution, Choudhry Nazir Virk, Maulvi Muhammad Sadique Shah, Syed Pervaz Ali Shah Jilani, Choudhry Muhammad Altaf Hussain, Mian Muhammad

<sup>252</sup> National Assembly Debate, V.1, No.1(6 February 1992); 112

<sup>253</sup> Mr. Ajmal Khattak born in AkoraKhattak on 15 September 1925, was a Pakistani politician, writer, Pashtun poet, KhudaiKhidmatgar, former President of Awami National Party and close friend of the late Khan Wali Khan. His early student life was marked by active protests against the British Raj, he was an active member of the Quit India Movement. It was the beginning of a political career that stretched over five decades during. He served as secretary general of the National Awami Party from 1969–1973. During a crackdown against the Party by the government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Ajmal Khattak fled into exile to Kabul. He returned in 1989 and was elected in 1990 to the National Assembly of Pakistan. He died in 7 February 2010.

Usman, Mulvi Muhammad Khan Sherani, members of National Assembly described their views about Kashmir issue with short history of Kashmir issue. From government side Minister for Kashmir Affairs and Northern Area Mr. Sardar Mehtab Ahmed Khan said “Kashmir issue always has been very important for Pakistan. And this resolution is very important on this time.”<sup>254</sup>This resolution provides moral strength to the Muslims of Kashmir who struggle for their freedom in occupied Kashmir. The National Assembly unanimously adopted the resolution of Choudhry Amir Hussain in the House.

### **Third Option Scheme for Kashmir Solution**

During the first prime ministership of Mr. Nawaz Sharif a conspiracy was came into the front about the solution of Kashmir issue. This was the third option scheme that was listen first time in the history of Kashmir issue. Before this every one talked about the plebiscite by right of self-determination in the Kashmir. It means that it was the choice of Kashmiris they decide, whether they want to join Pakistan or Indian. This third option means now they can decide to live without joining Pakistan or Indian. This third option was against the United Nations resolution which was passed in 1948, 1949, 1951 and 1957. This third option was introduced in both countries by news-papers first of all. But when prime minister Nawaz Shrif described about the third option on BBC TV interview that there is a third option about Kashmir that they can set up an independent state without join Pakistan or India. The opposition benches show their anger on this.

On 27 February 1992 Sardar Farooque Ahmed Khan Laghari the deputy opposition leader said “we are at loss to understand, where the government is and what is happening to Pakistan? The prime minister in an interview to the BBC TV Says that Kashmir have to right to independence. It is complete violation of Pakistan’s policies

---

<sup>254</sup>National Assembly Debate, V.1, No.1(6 February 1992); 136

over last four decades.”<sup>255</sup> There was contradiction between the statement of president and prime minister both have different point of views on the same core issue of country. This was the negligence of the government, that both the heads of state gave opposite statement on core issue of the country. That show there is gap between president and prime minister’s consensus over Kashmir issue. Mr. Laghari quoted president statement that, “president says ‘no’ we have no third option.”<sup>256</sup>The prime minister’s statement was strengthening by government benches side and Muhammad Afzal Khan said “we supported the Kashmir right of self-determination, even they should live independent.”<sup>257</sup> Obviously the Government benches voices supported the thinking of leader of the House. Therefore, many members during the debates deliver speeches in favour of prime minister. This policy of government was not in favour of nation because this third option came across the border in branded shape. Because they (Indian) gave the different kind of solution in different time for solution of issue. These were political tools for the time pass. The suggestions were produced the contradiction in point of views (disputed). They know Pakistan’s will not accept these suggestions. Therefore, these kinds of tools were Piece Teether to Pakistani politicians. The third option that was introduced for the solution of the Kashmir issue was absolutely opposite to the Pakistan stand and policy which was operated previous 40 years by foreign services department and security department. But suddenly this suggestion was introduced by prime minister in the country openly. In last joint sitting address, the president rejected this third option solution of Kashmir issue. On 22 December 1992, the opposition leader Muhtrama Benazir Bhutto said “Nawaz Sharif regime has failed to evolve a policy of national consensus on Kashmir by introducing the offer of the third option. Mr. Nawaz

---

<sup>255</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.1, No.16(27 February 1992); 1520

<sup>256</sup>Ibid, 1520

<sup>257</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.1, No.10(19 February 1992); 125

Sharif has not only abandoned Pakistan's traditional stand of adherence to the United Nation resolution by betrayed the liberation struggle of the Jammu and Kashmir."<sup>258</sup> Whole nation rejected this option not only Pakistan but people of Jammu and Kashmir because the real stock holder did not like this option they only wanted to join Pakistan. They are struggling for this purpose. If they adopted third Option, they considered there are question mark on their security they felt not safe. It is Indian history that no one neighbour is safe from her AkhandBaharat (greater India) thinking. Mr. Chaudhary Muhammad Altaf Hussain said "there is no third option, the original stand of Pakistan that Kashmir through free and fair plebiscite either should go to India or join Pakistan and that is the stand of Pakistan."<sup>259</sup>

### **Defence Budget Discussion**

In May 1992, the budget session was started in National Assembly, during general discussion on Budget many members gave suggestion to increase the defence budget because it was the requirement of their efficient army according to challenges faced by Pakistan army. Our country has faced an issue of Kashmir. The country has big threat from East border by our neighbour. Mr. Mian Zaman said "whenever Kashmir issue has not solved, we should not ignore our defence."<sup>260</sup>

18 August 1992 Mr. Liaqat Baloch raised an important point of order that was very chewable for all of us. It showed the interest of the Government and the opposition side, that how much all these people were attached with Kashmir issue, in every discussion they loudly uttered about the Kashmir in the House. Mr. Liaqat Baloch said "It is very strange and unfortunate that in last two years only one Adjournment Motion was moved

---

<sup>258</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.5, No.4(22 December1992); 470

<sup>259</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.1, No.12(23 February 1992); 1132

<sup>260</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.2, No.13(5 June 1992); 1760

on Kashmir issue and only 2-hour debate opportunity was given in the House. But yet We could not debate on Kashmir issue in the House and could not debate on foreign policy.”<sup>261</sup>

### **The chairman of the Kashmir Liberation Cell**

On 19 August 1992 two adjournment motions were moved by two persons Liaqat Baloch and Sardar Farooq Ahmed Khan Laghari on same issue. The issue was very critical. During the convention of Democratic Party in USA in which Pakistani ambassador, Syeda Abida Hussain was also invited and in this convention a former Air Marshal of Pakistan Air Force Mr. Ayaz Khan was also invited. During his speech Mr. Ayaz Khan spoke for plebiscite in Kashmir at which Pakistan ambassador Abida Hussain publicly rebuked the Air Marshal for expressing his views. Now Mr. Ayaz Khan was the chairman of the Kashmir Liberation Cell and it was his duty to highlight the Kashmir issue on the international forum. But it was very interesting for every one why ambassador rebuked the Mr. Ayaz Khan. Both members wanted to debate on this issue in the House because nation wanted to know how, and why this happened. The motion was not adopted to debate in the house.

### **Discussion on Foreign Policy in the Senate**

On 20 August 1992 the Discussion on Pakistan’s Foreign Policy was started with statement of Mr. Muhammad Siddique Khan Kanjo statement. The foreign minister described the all points of Pakistan foreign policy during his debate in the Senate of Pakistan briefly with detail. Indo-Pak relation in context of Kashmir issue and peaceful solution of outstanding issue with India. On 25 August 1992 in the Senate the general discussion on the foreign policy was carried on in this discussion many Senators participated. Syed Iqbal Haider said “in Simla Accord we accept that we shall

---

<sup>261</sup> National Assembly Debates, V.3 No.12(18 August 1992); 1251

not raise the Kashmir issue in international forum and we shall negotiate by bilateral process.”<sup>262</sup>

### **Visit of President of Iran to the Parliament of Pakistan**

Islamic republic of Iran is the neighbouring country of Pakistan. Irani nation has cultural and religious relations with Pakistan. Iran was the first county who recognised Pakistan on the time of partition of subcontinent. The Irani Government in the past always supported the stand of Kashmir issue on all forums of the world not verbally but practically. They always supported the Pakistan government Kashmir policy and her all leaders gave statement in the favour of Kashmiri right of self-determination. The president of the Islamic republic of Iran, Mr. Akber Hashmi Rafasanjani visited Pakistan in September 1992. He addressed the joint sitting of Pakistan parliament on 7 September 1992, he said “The Kashmir issue is your problem and it is also our problem, because it is an Islamic problem. You are directly involved in this issue because you are close to it due to geographical condition and therefore, every day you are entangled in this problem while we are situated at a longer distance. Still we feel the same way and spiritually, our feelings are just similar to your feelings in this matter.”<sup>263</sup> This shows that, at international level all nations favour the freedom of humanity and hate the slavery of human. Therefore, all civilized nations supported the self-determination of all nations of the world as well as Iran.

### **Discussion on Flood in National Assembly**

In October 1992, a horrible flood came into country. A lot of casualties and damages took place in the country. On this occasion, the flood situation discussed in the House ‘Pakistan Democratic Alliance’ (PDA) highlighted the flood damages took

---

<sup>262</sup> Senate Debates, V.3, No.8(25 August 1992); 80

<sup>263</sup> Parliament Debates, V.4, No.1 (7 August 1992); 6

place in the country. They claimed that Government failed to rescue the people of country. In this scenario, the House picture was consisted of contradiction because PDA wanted verbosely discussion on flood situation in the house but IJI members started speech on Kashmir issue in the house. Mr. Shaikh Rashid, Mr. Mian Muhammad Zaman, Mr. Raja Muhammad Zahir Khan talked on Kashmir. Muhtarma Benazir Bhutto commented as “People are drowning in the flood and they are scoring numbers on Kashmir issue.”<sup>264</sup>

Actually, Government benches hide their fault that came in the front of people during the flood situation. Because government was fully failed to rescue the people in the country.

### **Appeal for Observed Black day**

26 October 1992 another point of order raised by Mr. Liaqat Baloch in which he said “I want to move a new motion with your permission under rule 285. If you allow me that is on Kashmir issue.”<sup>265</sup>In the occupied Kashmir the chairman of “Kashmir Huriat Conference” appealed the nation of Pakistan and Kashmiris to observe black day on 27 October 1992, for the knock up Islamic world and global mind for this Mr. Liaqat Baloch wanted to fix this day for debate on Kashmir so this day became special for the freedom fighters of Kashmir. According to National Assembly rule and regulation under rule285, moved a “motion that was on base of rule 241.”<sup>266</sup> Mr. Liaqat Baloch presented a resolution in the House in same day for the expression of solidarity with Kashmiri people in their Heroic struggle for self-determination that was unanimously passed by the House.

### **Pakistan declared Terrorist State by USA**

<sup>264</sup> National Assembly Debates, V.4, No.3(9 September 1992); 230

<sup>265</sup> National Assembly Debates, V.4, No.17(26 September 1992); 1830

<sup>266</sup>National Assembly Debate, V.4, No.18 (27 September 1992); 1835

Mr. Liaqat Baloch on 12 January 1993 moved a call attention notice about the American threat to declare Pakistan a terrorist state in the world. It was the policy of American that they under estimate Pakistan by using different tactics in different times. Whenever America wants to solve any kind of her issue in subcontinent they use propaganda against Pakistan, second Indian lobby was very active in USA against Pakistan. They also use these kinds of tactics to fail the Kashmir freedom movement. Actually, Kashmir is not an internal issue of any state like Pakistan or India instead both countries have occupied some area in different measurement. It is an international issue that has been recognised by UN by its Resolution and both countries are signatory of this dispute for solution. The Kashmir issue is the live issue in the UN charter and security council platform, which is the oldest issue in shape of unsolved issue on UN charter. The Kashmiri people have based their struggle on UN security council resolution which remained as valid today as were 40 years ago because they upheld the fundamental UN principle of self-determination which has bore and pledge to Kashmiri people through a plebiscite. On this occasion, the minister of the state for foreign affairs Mr. Sadique Khan Kanjogave a statement under rule 287 regarding threat by USA to declare Pakistan a terrorist state. This was not first attempt by USA. This kind of blame she exercised in different times. It was the open policy of government of Pakistan to support the Kashmiri on moral, political and diplomatic bases in the world. Pakistan did not support the Kashmiri with arms and ammunition on any level. This was the indigenous movement by Kashmiri people. Dr. Muhammad Rehan said "we are with them as principally; we are with people of Kashmir for their right of self-determination."<sup>267</sup> It was Indian armed forces who brutally martyred unarmed civilian

---

<sup>267</sup> Senate Debates, V.2, No.11(17 May 1993); 65

Kashmiries. Mr. Sadique Khan Kanjo<sup>268</sup> stated “Pakistan will continue to provide moral and diplomatic support to the Kashmir cause and the Kashmiri people for their just cause of self-determination that has been pledging to through the security council resolution. Kashmiri people have also the right to defend themselves against state terrorism unleashed by Indian forces, brutal oppression and grave violation of human right. Pakistan has consistently opposed terrorism in any form and will not support terrorist activities which can trench a very just cause like the one being pursued by the brave people of Kashmir.”<sup>269</sup>

#### **Last adjournment motion of this House**

On 11 July 1993 Mr. Liaqat Baloch moved an adjournment motion in the National Assembly on disturbed situation in Kashmir. All members supported this motion for debate and Mr. Liaqat Baloch requested to honourable speaker that fixed two hours for debate in the National Assembly because this was very important issue for state security. “I welcome this discussion for two hours.”<sup>270</sup> Mr. Liaqat Baloch wanted to debate on it today or fixed time when next session took place. “House gave approval of it.”<sup>271</sup> Unfortunately, this session was the last session of this National

---

<sup>268</sup>Mohammad Siddiq Khan Kanju born in AlipurKanju village, KahroraPakka, Lodhran district in Punjab province, Pakistan, died in KahroraPakka in July 2001. He was a Pakistani politician and Minister of State for Foreign Affairs. Kanju had his early education from Sadiq Public School in Bahawalpur, graduation in English Literature from Government College, Lahore and obtained an LLB from Punjab University. In 1985, he became Member of the National Assembly and served as a Parliamentary Secretary for Agriculture. In 1988 and he was appointed as a caretaker Education Minister. In the general elections of 1990, Kanju was elected third time Member of National Assembly from Lodhran, and at the behest of his friend Hamid Raza Gilani, he joined the Nawaz Sharif cabinet as Minister of State for Foreign Affairs (1990–1993). In the General Elections of 1993, Kanju lost his National Assembly seat from Lodhran district but elected Member of National Assembly on Muslim League ticket 1996. Once again, he became part of Muhammad Nawaz Sharif's Cabinet, as Minister of State for Foreign Affairs. Siddiq Kanju with his group of members joined the new faction of Muslim League headed by Chaudhry Shujjat Hussain during martial law. Siddiq Kanju died at the age of 49 years and President Musharraf responded by saying it was a big loss.

<sup>269</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.5, No.17(12 January 1993); 1918

<sup>270</sup> National Assembly Debates, V.5, No. 17(11 July 1993); 1816, Mr. Sadiq Khan Kanjo

<sup>271</sup>Ibid, 1187, Siddiq Khan Kanjo

Assembly because the president Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan dissolved the National Assembly on 18 July 1993. Mr. Liaqat Baloch did not get chance to debate on it for 2 hours, which he wished in the house.

The first Govt. under the prime ministership of Mr. Nawaz Sharif worked 32 months and 15 days. They worked with great enthusiasm in the country. During the election campaign, they claimed if they got Government they would provide the freedom to the Kashmiri people. During the election, Kashmir card was played full pledge. The emotional people were clapping emotionally in the public gathering when they spoke about the freedom of Kashmir. During this parliament period, they were completely fail to raise Kashmir issue. The fact and figures of the National Assembly of Pakistan showed real fail picture.

During first tenure, the total starred questions were asked 3923 on the floor of House but only 10 starred questions were about the Kashmir and total Un-starred questions were asked 1245 in which only 1 un-starred question was about Kashmir and 99 Adjournment Motions were moved in the house and only 7 were on the Kashmir and 115 Privilege Motions were moved in the House but only 1 Privilege Motion was on Kashmir issue by opposition side. 63 Call Attention notice were raised in the house in which 4 time they were on the Kashmir issue. 370 points of order were raised in the house on different issues but only 4 points of orders were about the Kashmir issues. 26 resolutions were launched and passed in the house but only 2 Resolutions were passed on the Kashmir issue in the house. Instead all of these, 14 promised question, 3 questions under rule 251, 2 substantive motions launched in the House but none of one was on Kashmir issue.

During this period 13-times discussion arranged in the house on different important issues but Kashmir issue was not discussed single time in the National

Assembly. Even 2 times token walk out and 3 time walk out arranged by opposition but none of them walk out was on Kashmir issue. Then we all say Kashmir is core and hard issue for Pakistan. In the National Assembly, the most active person about the solution of Kashmir issue was Mr. Laiqat Baloch. Who asked most time starred question and moved Adjournment Motion and raised point orders and resolutions on the Kashmir issue in the National Assembly.

### **Mr. Nawaz Sharif Second Parliament**

This new Government started his work on 15 February 1997. In last eight years this was the fourth prime minister with fourth government after Zia martial law. In his first statement, the leader of the house described his views that this house has got full mandate in the 2<sup>nd</sup> time after, 1<sup>st</sup> mandate of Quaid Azam M.A. Jinnah and my government will work for challenges and issues faced by country with full force.

The government benches were very proud on their mandate in the house of National Assembly. Mr. Muhammad Nawaz Sharif in his first statement to National Assembly as the leader of the house hoped as that “India will close the cruelty and high handedness with Kashmiri people.”<sup>272</sup> He was very committed on this issue that mistake took place in the past was not repeated again. In foreign affairs there were gapes they promised, they will fill all these gapes with great efficiency. He was very hopeful that Pakistan’s neighbour Baharat will remove all standing issues with peacefully and bilateral negotiation. He said “as our cities, villages and the poor have problem as such as Baharat is also facing. It is my wish that we should spend our resources on prosperity and development of people and Baharat wishes will be certainly same.”<sup>273</sup> In past all Government heads officially hoped as same with his neighbour Baharat in positive

---

<sup>272</sup> National Assembly Debates, V.2, No.1(17 February 1997); 12

<sup>273</sup> Ibid, 12

manner. But all these hopes proved as lip service. The leader of the opposition was present in the House and she was also very excited and well-wisher for government in future. She also repeated the achievements of her government during 2<sup>nd</sup> tenure. She said “when we came into government, during Casablanca OIC conference, in the history of the Islamic world first time unanimously a resolution (on Kashmir) was accepted. According to this all Islamic world demanded that Kashmir issue should be solved according to UN Resolution.”<sup>274</sup> This was golden jubilee year of Pakistan creation and in March 1997 Islamic Summit Conference was held in Islamabad and nation wanted again great expectations from Muslim leaderships on Kashmir issue and hoped that Government worked with great enthusiasm for this purpose.

The change in the National Assembly brought change in the Senate of Pakistan. The election of chairman and deputy chairman took place in the Senate and Now Mr. Wasim Sajjad as chairman and Mr. Hamyun Khan Marri was elected as deputy chairman. On 27 February 1997, the Foreign Affairs Minister Mr. GoharAyub gave policy statement on all foreign affair issues faced by Government. He explained “we will continue to extend all moral, political and diplomatic support to the Kashmiri people in their just struggle.”<sup>275</sup> Government will go ahead under the umbrella of said policy to solve the issue. Because the Pakistan’s policy on the Jammu and Kashmir was based on principles and on Pakistan’s historic commitment to the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir promised to them under UN security council Resolution. These resolutions provided a legitimate right and legal framework to the dispute on international level. Both, India and Pakistan, as well as the international community pledged through these resolutions that the final disposition of

---

<sup>274</sup> Ibid, 21

<sup>275</sup> National Assembly Debates, V.4, No.1(27 February 1997); 62, Mr. GoharAyub Khan

Kashmir dispute would be made in accordance with the wishes of the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

### **Kashmir Committee**

As the tradition of previous government in the National Assembly a Kashmir Committee was set up in the house. This committee has a chairman and some members, whose rights were equal to a federal minister. The chairman and members should be the members of the parliament of Pakistan. The parliamentary Kashmir Committee was working under foreign ministry for the cause of Kashmir issue especially. The Kashmir Committee has its own independent budget and the expenditure. This committee members visited the worldwide countries and organisations meeting to raise and get support on the Kashmir issue. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> government of Mr. Nawaz Sharif Mr. Chaudhry Muhammad Sarwar Khan was appointed the chairman Kashmir Committee and this committee was consisted of 26 MNAs.

On 12 May 1997, a motion was moved in the National Assembly for constituting power to special committee on Kashmir by Syed Zafar Ali Shah. This motion was under rule 225(B) of the Rule of procedure and conduct of Business in the National Assembly 1992 a special committee on Kashmir comprising of the members, nominated in head by Chaudhry Muhammad Sarwar Khan M.N.A. be constituted with following term of references.

1. "To monitor violation of human rights and atrocities committed by the Indian forces in the occupied Jammu and Kashmir.
2. To mobilise world opinion in support of the cause of right of self-determination to the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

3. To solicit and provide political, moral and diplomatic support to the people of Jammu and Kashmir in their just struggle for their right of self-determination in accordance with UN resolution.

4. To consider and decide such other issues and matters relating to above which may be referred to it by the House for time to time.”<sup>276</sup>

The motion was adopted and committee was given power.

### **Gujral Doctrine for Peace**

I.K. Gujral Prime Minister of India who belong to PindiGhaib area near Rawalpindi Pakistan. During the partition, he migrated to India with his family. He was an economist and prime minister of India. He was a broad minded and liberal in his views. He believed on good neighbourly relations with Pakistan as trade counterpart. He tried his best, to set up a good environment relation with personal efforts between Pakistan and India to normalise the relation. He wanted to begin trade relations with both countries. And it was the part of the Gujral thinking that called Gujral doctrine. On 8 May 1997 Mian Raza Rabani raised a point of order on an interview of Mr. I.K. Gujral, who showed his wishes of confederation between east and west Punjab, Sindh and Rajasthan as such as before partition.

According to Mian Raza Rabani “Our foreign office did not give reasonable reply on it, because it was talk against the ideology and integrity of Pakistan. The foreign office should response hardly on it and oppose the statement.”<sup>277</sup> Pakistan government was very strong because government has full pledge mandate in the parliament they can do all decisions for the solution of crisis. The government benches and nation was very hopeful from government. “Several prime ministers have come to

---

<sup>276</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.5, No.5(12may1997); 558

<sup>277</sup>M. Amin, Shahid, Pakistan Foreign Policy: A Reappraisal, OUP, Karachi, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, 2011.

powers in India but none of them including Morar ji Desai and I.K Gujral who were more well-disposed towards Pakistan has shown any real flexibility on Kashmir. Words and rules in New Delhi on Kashmir remains the same.”<sup>278</sup> But in Indian side only there was doctrine, wishes and memories of old home, school, village and school friends. And solution demanded some give and take but Baharat was empty by this feature. According to Mr. Muhammad AkramZaki<sup>279</sup> “It is also fortunate that now we have strong and stable government in the country, but on the other side there seems to be a different trend, relatively weak and unstable stand on Kashmir issue.”<sup>280</sup> In this scenario only lips service was continuous. Which can impress only their western allies not Pakistan because they were facing such attitude since last 70 years.

### **Dialogue between India and Pakistan**

On 23 June 1997 Pakistan and India felt the need of dialogue on outstanding issue between the two countries. It was the result of international pressure or indigenous motivation. In the previous month USA ambassador met with All Party Hurriat Conference. In this meeting the APHC asked to USA ambassador to stop the human violation in the Indian Held Kashmir. The ice was melting and in last march both country head authorities decided to start multiple dialogue on the outstanding issue. The first phase of this dialogue was started from foreign secretary level and after this the dialogue extended to foreign minister level. “Both side sang the song of spring.”<sup>281</sup>In

<sup>278</sup>Senate Debates, V.6, No.5(8 May 1997); 85

<sup>279</sup>AkramZaki (27 October 1931 – 30 November 2017) was a Pakistani politician. He held the role of senior leader of the Pakistan Muslim League and chairman of the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs. Zaki also served as Pakistani ambassador to China, Nigeria, the Philippines and the United States and remained as secretary general and minister of state for foreign affairs during a long career with the Foreign Service that spanned throughout the reigns of Z.A. Bhutto and Gen. Zia-ul-Haq. Mr. Muhammad AkramZaki was elected as Member of the Senate of Pakistan from Federal Capital Islamabad for six years term (March 21, 1997 - March 20, 2002). Senator Zaki belongs to the Pakistan Muslim League, of which he has been an active member since his retirement from the foreign service of Pakistan in December 1993, concluding a distinguished diplomatic carrier spanning four decades (1954 - 1993).

<sup>280</sup> Senate Debates, V.6, No.9 (19 May 1997); 71

<sup>281</sup> Senate Debates, V.7, No.13 (23 June 1997); 56, Mushaheid Hussain Syed

this regard, the foreign secretaries of Pakistan Mr. Shamshad Ahmed and India Mr. Shri Salman Haider met in Islamabad from 19<sup>th</sup> to 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1997 and discussed the all issues between the two countries and showed their intention that this dialogue will continue with wide ranging and comprehensive style. The discussion, was held in a cordial and constructive atmosphere. The Indo-Pak foreign secretaries were agreed to follow issue for dialogue in meeting, peace and security including confidence building measurement, Jammu and Kashmir, Siachin, Wullarbarag, Sir Kirik, terrorism, economic and commercial corporation, promotion of friendly relation in various fields. The foreign minister declared “Jammu and Kashmir issue is including in agenda for the first time in Indo-Pak dialogue.”<sup>282</sup> This was the surprising statement by the foreign minister because it was the reality whenever Pakistan demanded for dialogue on Kashmir issue India rejected this proposal. The Indian leader repeated again and again that Kashmir was his Atut-tang and it is impossible to talk on it. At the end of meeting it was decided to continue the consideration of this method through diplomatic channel. They decided the next round of foreign secretaries’ level talk will take place in the New Delhi in September 1997.

But the leader of the opposition claimed it was her government when India was agreed on the negotiation on Kashmir. It was very interesting thing that when Indian were in Pakistan they talk about peace, good relations, memories, prosperities of poor people and trade. But as they cross the border their languages were totally changed. Mr. Salman Haider said “we are ready to talk on that part of Kashmir which is belonged to Pakistan but not ready on that part that belong to India.”<sup>283</sup> The Indians, on one side talk about peace and trade and on other side they violated human right violation in Kashmir.

---

<sup>282</sup> National Assembly Debates, V. 5, No.1 (23 June 1997); 1179

<sup>283</sup> National Assembly Debates, V. 6, No.11 (26 June 1997); 1129

This was not give the end of this conflict. The Indians are master like this kind of hypocrisy. The Indian air force and air fighter planes violated the Pakistan territory. Raja Zafar Al Haq “this is violation or they want to check our ability in defence. That we have missiles or air fighter plane to stop their air strikes.”<sup>284</sup>On 29 May 1997 Mr. Mian Raza Rabani raised a point of order in the Senate about the intrusion of Indian Air Force in Pakistan territory that was the violation of the Indo-Pak agreement and UN charter. This kind of activities destroyed the effort made by both side politicians to sustain peace in region and confidence building measures (CBMs) in both side mind. The foreign minister Mr. GoharAyub Khan gave the statement in the Senate. ‘we are aware this kind of intrusion and government has taken necessary precaution about it.’<sup>285</sup>

### **UN Military Observer on LOC**

In May 1997, news, about the UN military observer group was circled in the country newspaper. The UN military observer group was removing very soon from both side of LOC. This was very astonishing news for Pakistani people. Because this was very old the wish of Indian. They wanted UN to remove their representative from LOC. This Indicate there is no a dispute between two countries therefore, UN military observer representative removed from LOC. This was technical point in international politics. Some Indian were thought this is useless job on LOC. In mind of Pakistani people, it was the ideological point regarding to Kashmir issue under the spirit of UN resolution.

In the Senate, this issue was raised Mr. Khuda-e-Noor he said “in the eyes of USA it is un-necessary, the UN military observer on LOC.”<sup>286</sup> Actually this was the job of our foreign office responsible of UN affairs. They should keep eye on such as

---

<sup>284</sup> Senate Debates, V.6, No.17(29 May 1997); 96

<sup>285</sup> Ibid, 96

<sup>286</sup> Senate Debates, V.6, No.12(22 May 1997); 55

important matter related to Pakistan vital issue. USA impact the Indo-Pak relation several times actually inside, Indian lobby was active to raise this kind of issues. Pakistani ambassador and his team was appointed for this purpose in USA and they were responsible to watch such activities that were playing against Pakistan. Mr. Khuda-e-Noor said “where are our ambassadors in the world, they are intoxicated at night, but now they lost their mind at day time.”<sup>287</sup> On 25 February 1998 Mr. Chaudhry Naeem Hussain Chatha raised a call attention notice in the National Assembly about the “intermittent and unprovocative firing by Indian forces.” Mr. deputy speaker required the answer from, minister for defence. But there was no Defence Minister in the House to entertain the House on this issue.

On 2 March 1998, foreign minister Mr. Gohar Ayub Khan gave statement under Rule 287. He informed the House by the government policy on Jammu and Kashmir issue” For a just and fair settlement of Jammu and Kashmir dispute, we will continue to extend full moral, political, diplomatic and humanitarian support to our Kashmiri brothers in their struggle for their right of self-determination.”<sup>288</sup> At the beginning of the new business year of the House, the president addressed joint sitting of the parliament. After this address the discussion on president address started on 2<sup>nd</sup> March in National Assembly. On 12 March 1998 Mr. Abdul Latif Afridi said that “the basic issue of our defence is Kashmir. But there was no basic approach for the solution of Kashmir issue in the president address.”<sup>289</sup>

### **Nuclear Test in South Asia By India and Pakistan**

On 11 May 1998 India tested their Nuclear explosion at Pokhran in Rajasthan. This situation created a harm condition in the region. Pakistan’s proved her own nuclear

---

<sup>287</sup>Ibid,55

<sup>288</sup> National Assembly Debates, V.1, No.5(2 March 1998); 403

<sup>289</sup> National Assembly Debates, V.1, No.12(12 March 1998); 1275

test on 28 May at Chagai Baluchistan. Pakistan action was defensive but Indian action was aggressive during all this scenario. From 11 May 1998 to 28 May 1998 these days were very crucial for Pakistan and Pakistani parliament. No National Assembly session was called up to discuss the situation that was raised in the region. What kind of step government should take? That elaborate there is no country policy but only cabinet policy run in the country. Government should call the National Assembly session to take nation in confidence and debate on situation so that a better solution come to front. During these days, the senate session was on sitting. The foreign minister Mr. GoharAyub Khan gave the statement in the senate “due to these tests the equality of power in the subcontinent was destabilize.”<sup>290</sup>A very interesting thing was observed in the Senate that government want to prorogue the session but the opposition was to in full swing mood to debate the situation raised in the area. Even foreign minister statement was not present to complete in the House because the quorum was incomplete. The discussion started in the Senate on the nuclear test. Mr. Chaudhry Muhammad Anwar Bhinder said “the nuclear test by India is the crime against the humanity.”<sup>291</sup> In this session Mualana Abdul Star Khan Niazi, Haji Abdurahman, Mr. Jahinger Bader, Haji Javed Iqbal Abbassi, Mr. Aftab Ahmed Shaikh, Mr. Malik Abdul Rauf. Mr. Haji Dilawer Khan all members joint the situation with the Kashmir crisis.

All the western world’s attention was focused on south Asia. All the peace-loving leaders was very worried about the situation raised in the area because they understand Kashmir is the flash point between India and Pakistan. Mr. Kofi Anan, Mr. Nelson Mandela, Mr. Bill Clinton gave stress on both countries to solve the Kashmir issue with peaceful manner with dialogue under the spirit of Simla Agreement and UN

---

<sup>290</sup>Senate Debates, V.2, No.1(11 May 1998); 50

<sup>291</sup> Senate Debates, V.2, No.2(12 May 1998); 15

passed resolutions. They said now the condition of the area is absolutely changed than previous time. Mr. Ghulam Dastghir Khan quoted the statement of Assistant Foreign Minister of USA, Mr. StrobTalboot wrote in his article in Foreign Office Magazine that “after the May, the Kashmir issue became live again because the Pakistan security attached with international security.”<sup>292</sup>Mian Anwar AlhaqRamay said “that Pakistan Nuclear test gave the life to dead issue of Kashmir in the international community; Pakistan has used the nuclear test in right time.”<sup>293</sup>The nuclear test gave the boost to Kashmir issue in the world views now the Kashmir was again prominently inscribed on the international agenda. In the National Assembly the recitation of the Holy Quran before the start of every sitting, was routine and tradition of House to recite Holy Quran. Now the subject of the Holy Quran recitation verses had changed during recitation, and now the verses subject was about the motivation of Jihad in the House.

On 20 June Mr. Chaudhry Muhammad Sarwar Khan raised a point of order in the House, about the chairman Kashmir Committee instead, he was also the chairman of Kashmir committee. In response of Mr. Naveed Qamar talked about Kashmir committee activities, Mr. Choudhry Muhammad Sarwar invited him to compare between previous government Kashmir committee and this government Kashmir committee under my chairmanship the Kashmir committee did not spend single one rupees of nation and we did not purchase property like previous Kashmir committee.

### **Change of Foreign Minister from Cabinet**

On 25 August 1998 a soft word, strong mind, active and hard worker Federal Foreign Minister Mr. GoharAyub Khan was changed with new one federal Foreign

---

<sup>292</sup> National Assembly Debates, V.7, No.3(4 June 1999); 181

<sup>293</sup> National Assembly Debates, V.2, No.6(2 September 1998); 624

Minister Mr. Sartaj Aziz<sup>294</sup> in the cabinet. Mr. GoharAyub Khan was very active person in the parliament; he regularly gave statement about government policy in the House. He was the important figure of Nawaz Sharif cabinet. Now there was a federal minister for foreign affairs as well as a state minister for foreign affairs in the shape of Mr. Muhammad Sidiq Khan Kanjo in the government. Mr. Kanjo was the federal foreign minister in the last government of Mr. Nawaz Sharif. Mr. GoharAyub Khan's right word and strong commitment on national point of view was not liked by some power and he did not like other interference in national interest. Mr. GoharAyub Khan was an elected person and Mr. Sartaj Aziz was a selected person. Mr. GoharAyub Khan was the representative of people by democratic process but Sartaj Aziz was representative of bureaucracy. There was no flexibility in the mind of GoharAyub on national interest. His stand was state forward on national interest. Whenever government wanted to show some flexibility on any issue it was very difficult to mould Mr. GoharAyub. It was right or wrong but government felt hardship to entertain his friends. Therefore, they changed the federal foreign minister.

In his first statement Mr. Sartaj Aziz, federal minister in the Senate he said "The nuclear test gave boost to Kashmir issue in the world, now the Kashmir is again prominently inscribed on the international agenda."<sup>295</sup>In National Assembly, the initial

---

<sup>294</sup>Sartaj Aziz Born 7 February 1929 to north-western British India, as a student Aziz was an activist in the Pakistan Movement. Aziz went on to study economics at Punjab University and later studied public administration at Harvard Kennedy School. He served as a civil servant from 1952 to 1971 within Pakistan's federal government, also serving as the joint secretary in the planning commission between 1967 and 1971. In 1971, Aziz joined the Food and Agriculture Organization and served as its Director of Commodities, only to move to the International Fund for Agricultural Development where he served as the Assistant President, Policy and Planning between December 1977 to April 1984. Aziz returned to Pakistan in 1984 and served as a junior minister for Agriculture and Food Security until 1988 under the conservative Junejo administration. He is noted as the only cabinet member who opposed the decision of conducting nuclear tests in response to India, citing 'economic reasons'. During his tenure as the Finance Minister has was noted a strong proponent of economic liberalization. He remained with the university until 2013, when he joined the Nawaz Sharif's third administration as an advisor in-charge of country's foreign policy, in addition, he also served as the National Security Advisor between 2013 and 2015

<sup>295</sup>Senate Debates, V.5, No.4(25 August 1998); 13

statement stated by minister for foreign affairs Siddiq Kanjo “I am confident that the debate will be the instrumental in bringing forth positive and political recommendation best suited to the country’s national interest.”<sup>296</sup>

### **Discussion on Foreign Policy in National Assembly**

Discussion on the foreign policy started in the National Assembly on 31 August 1998 as well as in the Senate on 25 August 1998. In the National Assembly, this was the first discussion on the foreign policy during this period of Mr. Nawaz Sharif’s parliament. The government did not feel the need to discuss the national foreign policy in the House. The leader of the opposition in the Senate Mr.Raza Rabani said “Today perhaps the discussion on a foreign policy which is non-existent but the most important item need to discussed in the House.”<sup>297</sup>In National Assembly Mohtarma Benazir, Seyed Khurshid Shah, Mr.Hazar Khan Bajrani, Mr. Ghulam Ahmed Balor, Mr. Hamza, Mr. Ghulam Dastghir Khan, Mr.Shaikh Liaqat, Mian Anwar AlhaqRamay participated in the National Assembly discussion. the main focus of all these members were Indo-Pak relation and Kashmir in the debate.

In the senate Mian Raza Rabani, Mr, Pervez Rashid, Mr. Khuda-e-Noor, Mr. Habib Jalib Baloch, Syed Iqbal Haider, Maulana Sajid Mir took part in the debate there was also the main subject of discussion was Indo-Pak relations in context of Kashmir issue. Mr. Qaiser Shah said “PPP and Muslim League cannot resolve their matter with their neighbor’s country.”<sup>298</sup> During this discussion on foreign policy in the Senate of Pakistan Mr. Habib Jalib Baloch<sup>299</sup> gave a suggestion that government should give full

<sup>296</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.4, No.4(31 August 1998); 415

<sup>297</sup>Senate Debates, V.5, No.4(25 August 1998); 19

<sup>298</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.4, No.7(3 September1998); 745

<sup>299</sup>Habib Jalib Baloch was a Baloch nationalist politician who had served as a member of the Senate of Pakistan. In his student days, he served in a number of leadership positions of the Baloch Students Organization. He was shot dead by unknown assailants in Quetta on July 14, 2010. Following his assassination, protests were held in cities across Pakistan while a general strike was held

pledge independence to Azad Kashmir. This part of Kashmir got UN membership and then demand in UNO for freedom or plebiscite of Kashmir. Pakistan and other Islamic countries should back the Azad Kashmir. If you are really wanted to get right of self-determination of Kashmir, you should adopt this strategy. After joining UN Azad Kashmir struggle for the unification of Kashmir, it fights for Kashmir cause. This is right way to attain right of self-determination. This was an impressive way and an intellectual way. From all these strategies, the international community would understand our point of view. Other than “the problem of Kashmir is just speculation and manipulation.”<sup>300</sup> During discussion on Kargil situation on 30 June 1999 Mr. Halib Jalib Baloch described the Indian stand on the Kashmir is colonial. India has right of succession instead right of inclusion. In the international diplomacy position, the Pakistani views are weaker than India because the India better internationalise his views in the world but Pakistan has failed in this regard. Both are claimer for Kashmir, Pakistan, include Kashmir in Pakistan and India, don't exclude Kashmir from India. Both sides have expansion policies, the policy of colonialism, both sides have extremist thinking instead of human welfare. Both side were collecting arms and ammunition instead of build peace environment in the region. Indian were preparing themselves for war, because Kashmir is not problem but problem is in their mind.

### **UN Role during USA Attack on Iraq**

On 17 December 1998, an Adjournment Motion was moved in the Senate on USA attack on Iraq in this crisis the Muslim world was very depressed but the most important issue in this context was the UN behaviour. In all over world a lot of crisis are found. But on these crisis UN never took rapid action to resolve crisis. On the

---

across Baluchistan province for three days. He belonged to Pirkani tribe. He was the key member of BNP. Whose name was found in Hydra Abad conspiracy during Bhutto and Zia regime

<sup>300</sup>Senate Debates, V.5, No.4(25 august 1998); 50

agenda of UN most important and old issue is Kashmir issue on this platform. Kashmir is the flash point between two nuclear countries, Pakistan and India. Many resolutions have been passed by UN on this issue for solution. But it has failed to implement these resolutions on ground. In this debate USA attack on Iraq was minor subject but UN role in the world was main subject. Whenever USA wants, she passes the resolution by UN and run for attack. They never speak for another crisis of the world. It was the duty of UN to keep peace in the world or try to best and not to provide the reason of attack on poor nation of world. Choudhry Muhammad Anwar Bhinder said “there are many crises in the world on which UN has passed the resolution. There are many passed resolution on Kashmir issue. Pakistan says this, who will implement on these resolutions and when?”<sup>301</sup> Where, super power interests are present, the UN actively complete their wishes and super power get the ambition in the world that produce the question mark on the world peace. Choudhry Itzaz Ihsan said “in this world a new world regime is becoming that is involved diarchy it means the resolution of UN and security council about Kashmir there is no implementation on it.”<sup>302</sup> All members who participated in the debate criticised the UN role about the countries of the world. The UN behaviours about the different nations of the world were discriminate. There was great violation of human right in Kashmir. But the UN was silent on the Indian activities in held occupied Kashmir.

### **A Resolution on Condemning Indian Occupation**

On 26 January 1999, a resolution by syed Zafar Ali Shah about the condemning Indian Occupation of Jammu and Kashmir and urging UNO to vacate the occupation was moved in the National Assembly under rule 285 of the Rule of procedure in the

---

<sup>301</sup>Senate Debates, V.9, No.3(17 February 1998); 78-79

<sup>302</sup>Senate Debates, V.9, No.3(17 February 1999); 86

National Assembly. He said “the session of today, this honourable House condemned the illegal and cruel occupation of Kashmir and Kashmiri people.”<sup>303</sup>This resolution was in the response of 25 January that celebrated in India as a day of Democracy. The champion of democracy celebrated the democracy day in the country but in a part of country they carried on inhuman activities on innocent people of Kashmir. Whole the world was watching this drama from 1947 in subcontinent and was silent on brutal killing of innocent Kashmiri in valley. Syed Zafar Ali Shah was very thankful to MQM and ANP who did not oppose this resolution in the house. Because both of these two parties did not accept the condemnation against the India in the house. The resolution about Indian barbarianism was adopted unanimously in the National Assembly.

#### **Prime Minister Mr. Vajpayee Visit to Pakistan**

In the upper house of the Pakistan parliament, on 7 February 1999 conspiracy talking was started about the upcoming visit of Indian prime minister Mr. Vajpayee. After the atomic explosion, there was huge pressure on both countries to reduce the tension in the region and started the peace process. In this regard, there was not any country effort but both the government tried to change the present situation of tension. This was a little bit bitter taste, but the smell of this job was felt positively. “The junction of India and Pakistan is the result of internal thinking. Because both countries have decided to break the 50 years’ tension atmosphere.”<sup>304</sup>

21-22 February 1999 Indian prime minister Mr. Vajpayee visited Pakistan. He reached by bus at Lahore city and brought Bus diplomacy with him. He was the first Indian high level personality who visited the Minar-e-Pakistan. This was big break through by Indian prime minister and huge positive sign for peace loving and secular

<sup>303</sup>National Assembly Debates, V.5, No.20(26 January 1999); 1802

<sup>304</sup>Senate Debates, V.2, No.2(17 February 1999); 68

people of both side. This visit and bus Diplomacy became the reason of Lahore Declaration.

The opposition parties wanted, that prime minister should take the nation in the confidence what was settled between two leaders in negotiation at Lahore. The parliament should take in to confidence that was supremacy of the institution. Mr. Mian Raza Rabani said “prime minister did not think it fit to come to this upper house to take the nation in confidence through the Senate of the Pakistan which represent the federation of Pakistan.”<sup>305</sup> The members of all political parties described their views in the Senate about Pak-Indian relation in context of Kashmir. Mr. Muhammad AjamKhatk said, there is Pashtu quotation “if a mountain is so high than there is also a way to reach on the peak point of mountain.”<sup>306</sup> The leader of the House in the Senate claimed, in the Lahore Declaration again Simla Agreement described and it is not against the UNO resolution. Why India again and again shouted about the Simla Agreement, bilateral dialogue according to Simla Agreement. They never talked about UN, a bilateral dialogue under the umbrella of UN and to resolve the issue which exist between the two countries. They never talked as such by his mouth. Mr. ItzazIhsin explained that “Raja Sahib said that Lahore Declaration is also the exercise of Simla Agreement. When we talk about peace, you talk about Jihad, now where is your jihad?”<sup>307</sup> Both parties in the House assuring the Nation to use the highest platform of country that they had done like, Muslim League claimed that they admitted by Mr. Vajpayee that Kashmir is a separate issue than other outstanding issues and India discussed it separately. But PPP claimed that in 1993 during Common Wealth conference in Cyprus they agreed India that there were two issues first Indo-Pak

---

<sup>305</sup>Senate Debates, V.2, No.5 (23February 1999); 48

<sup>306</sup> Ibid, 51

<sup>307</sup> Ibid, 59

relations and second occupied Jammu and Kashmir dispute. Muslim League claimed that they had decided for CBM but PPP claimed this decision had taken in 1998. Both wanted to win to each other by speeches. “The both parties’ views as exchange of bus service, cricket matches, hockey matches, release of prisoner and trade opportunity was shown practically in Nawaz Sharif regime. Benazir was not behind them she gave the suggestion as there should be joint currency, bank and president. There should be open borders. Her step was ahead from Nawaz government.”<sup>308</sup>

### **International Mediation on Kashmir**

On international level forum, many Pakistan leaders humbly and politely requested the international community to help us to solve the Kashmir issue. This kind of request they had done on Muslim forum as well as western forum. Pakistani leaders requested for between two countries. They requested to UN, USA, UK, and whole western world. Syed Faseh Iqbal said “the European are doing a lot of for Bosnia but nothing is being done for Kashmir. The human rights violation is taking place same as Bosnia as Kashmir.”<sup>309</sup> But from last seven decades some time they gave a statement to please the Pakistan. But practically they never took interest in this matter.

### **Foreign Minister Resolution**

On 13 June 1999, a resolution was launched in Senate by foreign minister Mr. Sartaj Aziz on the “violation of the LOC in the Kashmir by Indian forces. This kind of practice was exercised by members in National Assembly but on this was done by foreign minister Sartaj Aziz about violation of the LOC in the Kashmir by Indian forces.” It was very interesting that foreign minister presented resolution in the both Houses, National Assembly and the Senate. It was the strange and informal thing of

<sup>308</sup>Nawi-e-Waqat Lahore, 9 March 1999 elaborated

<sup>309</sup> Senate Debates, V.2, No.12. (18 May 1993); 3

parliament, before this member presented the resolution in the house by his party. There was very special indeed that foreign minister was very active on this occasion instead of members. The signatory ink of the Lahore Declaration was not dried that a very dangerous situation was raised in the area. It will become cause of a big harm and damage in both sides. The war situation was developed on the LOC on Kargil sector. In the language of Indian, they were Pakistani intruders on other hand Pakistan claimed they are “Kashmiri Mujahideen.” When some men get control over Kargil mountain peaks on LOC along Indo-Pak boarder. Islamabad was saying that it had no control over the mujahidin who were indigenous Kashmiri freedom fighters. According to the agreement of LOC, Simla and Lahore Accord, India has been accusing Pakistan of bad faith and violation of international law. In the views of Pakistan, India is worst violation on international laws like UN Security Council resolution and withdrawal of Indian leadership like Jawahar Lal Nehru and Gopala SawamyAyyenger promised that was doing in UN forum. International pressure was mainly being exerted on Pakistan rather than on India. But “the foreign office, made themselves a target of ridicule by pretending that the world opinion with Pakistan like USA and G-8.”<sup>310</sup> Actually, inside it was a big operation in response of a big aggression on the Kargil mountain.

On 29 June 1999, during debate on a point of order’s Mr. Sartaj Aziz, foreign minister described the development on the line of control in the Senate of Pakistan, “I am not using deliberately the word war, because we are not yet in the state of war but we are on the threshold of war, we are under the threat of war.”<sup>311</sup> This was very childish statement by a senior. That there was no war, instead in war area the air force was being used with heavy armed and ammunition. This was not called war. In this occasion Mr.

---

<sup>310</sup> M. Amin Shahid, *Pakistan Foreign Policy; A Reappraisal*.P-27o, Oxford University Press; 2011

<sup>311</sup> Senate Debates, V.6, No.2(29 June 1999); 75

Tahir Mahmood Bazinjo said “More Kargil issues will be faced until you do not solve the Kashmir issues.”<sup>312</sup> On 30 June 1999 discussion of Kargil situation was started in the Senate of Pakistan. On this occasion Maulana Abdul Star Niazi, Mr. Rafique Ahmed Shaikh, Haji Javid Iqbal Abassi, Mr. Taj Haider, Mr. Raja Zafar Al haq, Mr. Chaudhry Anwar Bhinder, Mr. Muhammad Tahir Bazinjo, Mian Raza Rabani, participated in the debate and describe their views about situation.

### **Discussion on Kashmir Situation in National Assembly**

On 16 July 1999, the Discussion on Kashmir Situation was held in the National Assembly of Pakistan that was carried on four sitting session days in the House. This was the first and single one discussion on Kashmir in the Pakistan National Assembly. Kashmir is main cause of security in the region. In the first week of month May the war inertia was on the peak, when war atmosphere was raised in area. No session of National Assembly was called to debate the situation created in the region. The debate on the situation was started in the House on third week of July. What kind of impact government wants to show by this debate to people and army in the country. In the country government and army blame each other in context of Kargil situation. The government shows himself clean and neat in regard of Kargil. There was a cold war started between the army and government. That became the result of martial in the country after few months.

The first speech by ANP leader Mr. AsphendWali<sup>313</sup> Khan whose statement was traditional about the situation and India that Kargil like actions are not right,

---

<sup>312</sup>Ibid, 115

<sup>313</sup>Asfandiyar Wali Khan is a Pakistani politician, A democratic socialist, he is President of the Awami National Party in Pakistan. Asfandiyar Wali Khan was born in Charsadda in 19 February 1949, a small village outside of Peshawar, Pakistan. Asfandiyar Wali Khan completed his early education from Aitchison College, Lahore, High School from Islamia Collegiate School and his BA from Islamia College, Peshawar PakhtoonKhwa University of Peshawar. His father, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, was the party's first President. He is the grandson of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, better known as *Bacha Khan*;

negotiations are better way to solve all faced issues. Mr. Pir Aftab Shah Jilani, we have given a good gesture by Lahore Accord to the world but what kind of change came in us that we went to Kargil condition. This discussion was on Kashmir issue actually it was debate on pre-and post Kargil situation and Pak-Indo relations in context of Kashmir issue. Mr. Kanwar Khalid Younis read some stanzas of Shelley and said we are isolate by Kargil issue at the end of Kashmir issue. In the regards of solution of Kashmir issue in Pakistan there are two kinds of thinking present in the people of Pakistan. Religious people and secular people, both are present in National Assembly as well as in the Senate. Both the school of thoughts described their views on the floor. The religious people, thought that the only solution of Kashmir issue is Jihad. They want solution of Kashmir issue with religious doctrine. They are fearless by the disaster of war. Their speeches are full pledge with their views. They are inspired of religious history. They believed on blessing of Allah in Holy war. The secular people, educated in modern institution. They have modern western thinking. They wanted peaceful solution of Kashmir with bilateral negotiation with India. They understood that war is not the better way to solve the issue. The war destroys the nations and countries and nothing solution comes from it, again after this destruction the two parties have to sit on the table talk and to solve the issues.

The first parliament of Mr. Nawaz Sharif worked only two years seven months and fifteen days. The nationalist attitude and dominant religion elements of this parliament gave gesture that they are best figures who can solve the issues faced by country including Kashmir issue. This government started Kashmir Solidarity Day and

---

in undivided India and a follower of Mahatma Gandhi. Asfandyar is the present President of the Awami National Party and has served as Member of Provincial Assembly, Member of National Assembly, senator. Asfandyar Wali Khan got credit of provincial autonomy and the renaming of North West Frontier Province as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa with support of coalition partner PPP during 18th amendment 2010.

highlighted the Kashmir issue in the country but their efforts to alive the Kashmir issue on international level was very poor. For example, Pakistani ambassador in USA of this period did not want to listen signal word on Kashmir in a convocation in USA. In the National Assembly government and opposition members deliberately spoke on Kashmir issue whenever they faced difficulties on any other issue in the country that was debated in the House. It was politics on the name of Kashmir within the country. This parliament was also failed to solve the Kashmir issue. During the second tenure of Mr. Nawaz Sharif, the government party was very proud on his mandate that was got in election. This time government party had more strong hops and ambition to overcome issues faced by state. They started peace dialogue with India for resolving dispute between two countries. Mr. Ander KamarGujral whose intention for peace was appreciable but it was also proved a time pass technique. In this tenure, both countries relationship faced many ups and downs. Both countries test their nuclear weapons and became nuclear weapons capable country of world. This was more dangerous event for peace loving community of world, who understand that Kashmir is flash point between India and Pakistan. The world top leaders pressurised both countries to reduce tension in the region and both India and Pakistan started peace measurement for settlement of disputes. Indian prime minister, Mr. VajPai's visit and Lahore Declaration fragrance was fresh in the mind of people of both countries that the Kargal war was started on the LOC. This parliament was also failed to resolve Kashmir issue like previous parliament of Pakistan. Their proud of mandate could not give good news about Kashmir solution which they claimed in election campaign. The martial was imposed in the country on 27 October 1999 by General Pervez Musharraf and National Assembly was dissolved.

### **Conclusion**

“This is history and history cannot call name and cannot fire history.”<sup>314</sup>It is the duty of historians to bring the real fact in front of people. So that reality came on the front. History cannot mould or change, if it did with the help of force. The time, try to alive the history in the right way. The history of Kashmir is written in the both countries with their own point of views but on the world level the historians tried the best to bring out the reality on the front and many people had practiced on it and many people will practice in future.

There are two main stake holders in the country, people and government which are deeply attached to Kashmir issue. In this regard both thinking is analyzed for the solution of Kashmir issue. The people wanted its real solution by political method. But politician used it as a political stent to gain vote. Instead the foreign and security policy of Pakistan revolved around it. Therefore, it is very much necessary that Kashmir issue should solve on first preference. It is an aspire and dream of both side of Kashmiri to solve the Kashmir issue so that real peace kept in the region.

In the House whenever opposition wants to estimate the government, they started Kashmir issue debate in the National Assembly or in the Senate. But the opposition produce hard time to the government to use Kashmir as tactics. On the floor Kashmir is used as tool of diverting intention towards other side. Therefore, an honorable member does not find any topic for speech and he starts emotionally speech on Kashmir issue. Out of the parliament, in ordinary public gathering or in election campaign both sides opposition and treasury members become sympathy of Kashmir. Now, they delivered the emotional speech about mourn of Kashmiri to cash the people favor for vote and claimed they bring freedom for Kashmir. The simple and emotional people trapped in their magical words. Mr. Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto

---

<sup>314</sup> National Assembly Debate, V. 7 ,No. 12(7 December 1993); 156, Ejaz ulHaq

parliaments and their parties are usually following the same way, in opposition they shouted roll back Kashmir and in the government, nothing to do for Kashmir they are same and next their attitudes are different to previous time. Jamat-e-Islami attitude and point of view was continuously remained constant in the House from Zia-ul-haq to Nawaz Sharif last parliament. A political party of Pakistan Awami National Party does not want to talk on Kashmir topic. They understood a sin to talk on Kashmir issue in the parliament. During the parliament of Nawaz Sharif, ANP wants to amendment in the resolution of Choudhry Amir Hussain and ANP presented resolution about Kashmir that was totally against the ideology and basic principles of Pakistan about Kashmir. Kashmir is a human rights and political issue for the world community which has accepted by the UNO whose proof are resolutions that was passed by UNO in different times which are stand still without any result. Our governments were failed to motivate the world community for playing positive role in context of solution of Kashmir issue solution. Whenever Pakistan got chance to close relation super power they lost the opportunity to solve the Kashmir issue.

In Tashkent Declaration both the country India and Pakistan, Kashmir accepted as a dispute and promises to solve it but in Simla Accord this word dispute was changed with differences and now they promised both the heads meet and solve the differences but after seventy years both the heads are not got chance to solve the differences. In context of UNO role, the UNO only solved disputes between the nations or the countries. The UNO did not help to solve the differences between the nations or the countries. This was political mistake to accept the dispute as differences in Simla Accord.

In Simla Accord the word dispute was changed with differences in diplomatic language both has different meanings. The UN and its institution, Security Council

helps to solve the dispute between the countries of the world. But the UN did not interference in the differences of the country. By the result of this agreement Pakistan brought Kashmir dispute from international level to regional level. The disputes are claimed in UN but differences cannot claim in the UN.

Pakistan was created for the protection of identity of the Muslims of subcontinent to preserve their identity, as well as Kashmir is the part of Pakistan identity that was said in partition plan of 1947. Kashmir is tied to Pakistan national identity no one Pakistani compromise on this issue because identity is the name of nation life. A nation can compromise on bread, clothes and luxuries of life but cannot compromise on life and identity.

Baharat is not a secular country but a fundamentalist country. It is not a large democracy of the world but in reality, it is minority rights demolishing democracy state. It believes on genocide, brutal killing and violation of human rights of innocent people on the earth especially in regard of their minority people. It is the duty of Pakistan parliament to portray the real face of India in front of the world.

With the passage of time India gives an opportunity after some time of period for table talk as photo session. So that, the world community comes to know that both the nations are busy in negotiation to overcome the differences instead the circumstances are hot or cold, bitter or sweet. By this procedure they keep their good well image as secular and world large democracy and peace-loving country in front of the world community. Indo-Pak declarations are the good examples of this photo session that has no output in reality and meter needle is always on zero point and Pakistani parliament could not understand the mentality of Indian government.

Indian leadership on different times arranged election in occupied Kashmir for eye washing the world community. They portrayed elections as the substitutes of

plebiscite in Kashmir. But all these four elections are not substitute of right of self-determination because all these election processes were held under the shadow of guns and the turnout of election was shame full all over the valley of occupied Kashmir. These results were telecasted and observed by the world well known broad casting agencies. And they are carried on to make foolish to the world community.

Parliament is a combination of different ethnic groups, nation parties, nationalist parties, reginal parties, secular parties, and regional parties and everyone has different point of views about different national issue but for the solution of Kashmir issue their all point of views are same instead only one party. There are two points of views presented in the parliament of Pakistan for the solution of Kashmir issue, religion thinking and secular thinking. The religious people thinks that Jihad is the only right way of Kashmir issue solution. They have religion doctrine and are inspired by religion history. They believed in miracles and blessings of Allah in Holy war and fearless by the damages of the war. They consider that right solution of Kashmir is Jihad (Holy war) against the Hindus. The secular thinking people, they are educated in modern institutions. They have modern western knowledge. They have all kinds of luxuries in all walk of life. They want peaceful solution of Kashmir issue with bilateral negotiation in civilized manner. They understand war is not right way of Kashmir issue. The war destroys the nation and nothing solved by it but again after the destruction of the both side sit on table talk and solved the issue. India and Pakistan have four well skillful wars, on the name Kashmir, that given only destruction but solution of Kashmir is hung into table talk. It is the duty of parliament to select right way for the solution of Kashmir issue.

India did not lose any chance to destabilize Pakistan. For example, in 1971, India openly helped the revolt in East Pakistan and the major cause of this separation

was India. India got success to create Bangladesh by producing misunderstanding between two wings of Pakistan. On other hand, the politicians of Pakistan did not feel any shame for getting personal benefits. In this field they did not feel any hesitation to cooperate the enemy of the nation just for the sake of personal interests. Benazir Bhutto protected Rajiv's government from disintegration and she accepted it in the National Assembly and in an interview with BBC.

During the Zia regime USA attitude was very closed and cooperated with Pakistan and promised to help the solution of Kashmir but when USA was easy towards Afghanistan situation, now her attitude was full changed and she was looking towards India for good relation than Pakistan. Under the slogan of restoration of democracy, Benazir Bhutto was the favorite person in new Pakistan. Now India government, who did not agree to sign any agreement with general Zia-ul-Haq. This Rajiv's government was suddenly changed and agreed to sign every agreement with Pakistan in Benazir Bhutto except Kashmir.

In Simla Accord the seize line of fire was changed with line of control which has specimen meaning in diplomatic language. What was the intention behind this terminology "Line of Control". By this Indian admit the permanent position of Kashmir boarder in future. The Seize Line of Fire was recognized the position of both the parties by the UNO in 1948. Because both India and Pakistan claim for Kashmir. Now a political party has accepted it as line of control.

Debate on a topic drives the right solution of issue because in this way the debaters discussed the merits and demerits of issue that helped to set up decisions of solution, more debate more important issue, but less debate have less important issues for the nation. According to this research which is consisted of 27 years and seven parliaments of Pakistan, in which Kashmir only is debated two times in the House.

Many walkouts were observed in the House on the name of different wishes that was not attained. By the opposition side there was no single example of walkout in which they demanded that government did not taking interest in solution of Kashmir issue.

Zia government could not pay full attention toward Kashmir because their Western borders were not saving due to Russian intrusion in Afghanistan. India also exercised threat of war on Eastern borders to pressurized Pakistan till the fall of Russia and military regime remained India as beautiful stem flower. In this duration, government did not demand the question of Kashmir to India and international community was silent on Kashmir topic. Therefore this parliament failed to solve Kashmir issue. Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto tried for good relation with India, therefore their foreign policy has flexibility for India. Both Pakistan parliament had best tried for CBM's with India in 27 years, they did not build CBM's with India and this game of CBM's is playing after 70 years. They have good initiative but all were in vain due to Indian attitude and behavior, because Indian have no flexibility in their heart for Pakistan and all the disputes are stood still after seventy years of creation of Pakistan.

It is history of Pakistan's parliament that all major decisions of national interests were decided first but debated in the parliament after doing decision it. But in all civilized democratic states all national issues were debated first then taking decision on it, that is best example for sovereignty of parliament.

In regard of all disputes between India and Pakistan, Pakistan question for solution of disputes are innocent, flexible, elastic, requested, communicative, convictive and persuade but Indian answer is proud, hegemonic, inflexible, rigid and non-cooperative in regard of solving dispute with Pakistan and especially in regard of Kashmir dispute.

Pakistan is an agricultural country and its economy depends up on agriculture and its survival on the water of rivers which flow from Kashmir. Therefore, Pakistan Parliament's should pay special attention for the solution of Kashmir issue. So that in future Pakistan did not face any difficulties in shortage of water.

Defense and foreign policies are main pillars of a country. Pakistan set up her defense and foreign policies under the shadow of Kashmir dispute. Kashmir directly and indirectly depends on our country. The source we are spending on the defense activities. If both the countries solved the Kashmir issue all these sources of state spend on the development of the poor of the Indo-Pak. In this way, the needy and destitute people of both the countries may get a peace and solace for forever.

All major decision of national interests were not discussed in the parliament house but decision have been taken without public wishes but it is tradition of civilized nation first discussed matter in the parliament and then take decision on it but this kind of practice did not do in Pakistan.

## Bibliography

### National Assembly debates

National Assembly Debates, V. 1, No. 1-3(1972) special session

National Assembly Debates, V. 2, No. 1-4(1972) special session

National Assembly Debates, V. 1, No. 1-33(1972)

National Assembly Debates, V. 2, No. 1-53(1973)

National Assembly Debates, V. 3, No. 1-38(1973)

National Assembly Debates, V. 4, No. 1-10(1973)

National Assembly Debates, V. 5, No. 1-8(1973)

National Assembly Debates, V. 6, No. 1-14(1972)

Parliament Debates, V. 1, No. 1-4(1973)

National Assembly Debates, V. 7, No. 1-19(1973)

National Assembly Debates, V. 1, No. 1-21(1974)

Parliament Debates, V. 2, No. 1(1974)

National Assembly Debates, V. 2, No. 1-6(1974)

National Assembly Debates, V. 3, No. 1-19(1974)

National Assembly Debates, V. 4, No. 1-26(1974)

Parliament Debates, V. 3, No. 1-2(1974)

National Assembly Debates, V. 5, No. 1-13(1974)

National Assembly Debates, V. 6, No. 1-10(1974)

National Assembly Debates, V. 7, No. 1-4(1974)

National Assembly Debates, V. 1, No. 1-16(1975)

National Assembly Debates, V. 2, No. 17-20(1975)

National Assembly Debates, V. 3, No. 21-31(1975)

National Assembly Debates, V. 4, No. 1-19(1975)

National Assembly Debates, V. 5, No. 20-39(1975)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 6, No. 1-11(1975)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 7 No. 12-22(1975)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 8, No. 1-9(1975)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 1, No. 1-10(1976)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 2, No. 11-20(1976)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 3, No. 1-13(1976)  
Parliament Debates, V. 4, No. 1(1976)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 4, No. 1-10(1976)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 5, No. 11-25(1976)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 6, No. 1-6(1976)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 7, No. 1-17(1976)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 8, No. 1-5(1976)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 9, No. 1-17(1976)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 10, No. 18-25(1976)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 1, No. 1(1977)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 2, No. 1-3(1977)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 3, No. 1(1977)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 4, No. 1-9(1977)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 5, No. 1-5(1977)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 6, No. 6-18(1977)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 1, No. 1-4(1985)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 2, No. 1-20(1985)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 3, No. 1-10(1985)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 4, No. 1-43(1985)

Parliament Debates, V. 1, No. 1-6(1986)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 1, No. 1-27(1986)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 2, No. 1-29(1986)  
Parliament Debates, V. 2, No. 1-(1986)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 3, No. 1-11(1986)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 4, No. 1-29(1986)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 1, No. 1-22(1987)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 2, No. 1-11(1987)  
Parliament Debates, V. 3, No. 1-4(1987)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 3, No. 1-8(1987)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 4, No. 1-25(1987)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 5, No. 1-29(1987)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 1, No. 1-31(1988)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 2, No. 1-10(1988)  
Parliament Debates, V. 4, No. 1-4(1988)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 3, No. 1(1988)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 1, No. 1(1988)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 2, No. 1-15(1988)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 3, No. 1-20(1989)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 1, No. 1(1989)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 2, No. 1-7(1989)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 3, No. 1-21(1989)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 4, No. 1-19(1989)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 5, No. 1-19(1989)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 1, No. 1-4(1990)

Parliament Debates, V. 1, No. 1-2(1990)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 2, No. 1-7(1990)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 3, No. 1-9(1990)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 4, No. 1-16(1990)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 1, No. 1-2(1993)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 2, No. 1(1993)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 3, No. 1(1993)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 4, No. 1-2(1993)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 5, No. 1-4(1993)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 6, No. 1-8(1993)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 1, No. 1-14(1994)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 2, No. 1-2(1994)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 3, No. 1-16(1994)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 4, No. 1-17(1994)  
Parliament Debates, V. 1, No. 1(1994)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 5, No. 1-17(1994)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 6, No. 1-5(1994)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 7, No. 1-17(1994)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 8, No. 1(1994)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 1, No. 1-22(1995)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 2, No. 1-7(1995)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 3, No. 1-18(1995)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 4, No. 1-11(1995)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 5, No. 1-13(1995)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 6, No. 1-7(1995)

National Assembly Debates, V. 7, No. 1-15(1995)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 8, No. 1-3(1996)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 9, No. 1-8(1996)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 10, No. 1-13(1996)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 11, No. 1-2(1996)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 12, No. 1-15(1996)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 13, No. 1-17(1996)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 8, No. 1-10(1996)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 9, No. 1-2(1996)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 1, No. 1-2(1990)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 2, No. 1(1990)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 3, No. 1(1990)  
Parliament Debates, V. 2, No. 1(1990)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 4, No. 1-12(1990)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 5, No. 1-36(1991)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 6, No. 1-13(1991)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 7, No. 1-16(1991)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 8, No. 1-3(1991)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 9, No. 1-15(1991)  
Parliament Debates, V. 3, No. 1(1991)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 1, No. 1-21(1992)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 2, No. 1-25(1992)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 3, No. 1-24(1992)  
Parliament Debates, V. 4, No. 1(1992)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 4, No. 1-19(1992)

National Assembly Debates, V. 5, No. 1-18(1992)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 6, No. 1-10(1993)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 2, No. 1-6(1993)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 3, No. 1-17(1993)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 1, No. 1-2(1997)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 2, No. 1(1997)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 3, No. 1(1997)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 4, No. 1-11(1997)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 5, No. 1-17(1997)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 6, No. 1-15(1997)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 7, No. 1-12(1997)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 8, No. 1-9(1997)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 9, No. 1-20(1997)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 1, No. 1-14(1998)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 2, No. 1-6(1998)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 3, No. 1-15(1998)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 4, No. 1-31(1998)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 5, No. 1-22(1998)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 6, No. 1-10(1998)  
National Assembly Debates, V. 7, No. 1-36(1999)

**Senate Debates**

Senate Debates, V. 1, No. 1-16(1974)  
Senate Debates, V. 1, No. 1-12(1976)  
Senate Debates, V. 2, No. 13-24(1976)  
Senate Debates, V. 3, No. 25-36(1976)

Senate Debates, V. 4, No. 37-49(1976)  
Senate Debates, V. 5, No. 1-13(1976)  
Senate Debates, V. 6, No. 1-10(1976)  
Senate Debates, V. 7, No. 11-21(1976)  
Senate Debates, V. 8, No. 1-13(1976)  
Senate Debates, V. 9, No. 14-20(1976)  
Senate Debates, V. 10, No. 21-31(1976)  
Senate Debates, V. 1, No. 1-10(1977)  
Senate Debates, V. 1, No. 1(1985)  
Senate Debates, V. 2, No. 1(1985)  
Senate Debates, V. 4, No. 1-17(1985)  
Senate Debates, V. 1, No. 1-25(1986)  
Senate Debates, V. 2, No. 1-11(1986)  
Senate Debates, V. 3, No. 1-13(1986)  
Senate Debates, V. 1, No. 1-18(1987)  
Senate Debates, V. 2, No. 1-6(1987)  
Senate Debates, V. 3, No. 1-5(1987)  
Senate Debates, V. 4, No. 1-6(1987)  
Senate Debates, V. 5, No. 1-10(1987)  
Senate Debates, V. 1, No. 1-11(1988)  
Senate Debates, V. 2, No. 1-9(1988)  
Senate Debates, V. 3, No. 1-6(1988)  
Senate Debates, V. 4, No. 1-17(1988)  
Senate Debates, V. 6, No. 1(1988)  
Senate Debates, V. 1, No. 1(1989)

Senate Debates, V. 2, No. 1-12(1989)  
Senate Debates, V. 4, No. 1-10(1989)  
Senate Debates, V. 5, No. 1-12(1989)  
Senate Debates, V. 7, No. 1-17(1989)  
Senate Debates, V. 3, No. 8-12(1989)  
Senate Debates, V. 1, No. 1-6(1990)  
Senate Debates, V. 1, No. 1-4(1991)  
Senate Debates, V. 4, No. 11-13(1991)  
Senate Debates, V. 5, No. 1-4(1991)  
Senate Debates, V. 3, No. 1-2(1991)  
Senate Debates, V. 4, No. 1-13(1991)  
Senate Debates, V. 5, No. 1-8(1991)  
Senate Debates, V. 6, No. 1-13(1991)  
Senate Debates, V. 3, No. 1-9(1992)  
Senate Debates, V. 1, No. 1-9(1993)  
Senate Debates, V. 2, No. 10-12(1993)  
Senate Debates, V. 3, No. 1-6(1993)  
Senate Debates, V. 4, No. 1-6(1993)  
Senate Debates, V. 5, No. 1-4(1993)  
Senate Debates, V. 1, No. 1-4(1994)  
Senate Debates, V. 2, No. 1-4(1994)  
Senate Debates, V. 4, No. 1-11(1994)  
Senate Debates, V. 5, No. 1-14(1994)  
Senate Debates, V. 6, No. 1-8(1994)  
Senate Debates, V. 7, No. 1-20(1994)

Senate Debates, V. 5, No. 1-6(1995)  
Senate Debates, V. 6, No. 1-2(1995)  
Senate Debates, V. 8, No. 1-9(1995)  
Senate Debates, V. 9, No. 1-9(1995)  
Senate Debates, V. 1, No. 1-11(1996)  
Senate Debates, V. 2, No. 1-7(1996)  
Senate Debates, V. 3, No. 1-7(1996)  
Senate Debates, V. 4, No. 1-16(1996)  
Senate Debates, V. 5, No. 1-5(1996)  
Senate Debates, V. 6, No. 1-6(1996)  
Senate Debates, V. 8, No. 1-4(1996)  
Senate Debates, V. 9, No. 1-19(1996)  
Senate Debates, V. 1, No. 1-2(1997)  
Senate Debates, V. 2, No. 1(1997)  
Senate Debates, V. 3, No. 1(1997)  
Senate Debates, V. 4, No. 1(1997)  
Senate Debates, V. 5, No. 1-12(1997)  
Senate Debates, V. 6, No. 1-19(1997)  
Senate Debates, V. 8, No. 1-4(1997)  
Senate Debates, V. 2, No. 1-5(1998)  
Senate Debates, V. 4, No. 1(1998)  
Senate Debates, V. 5, No. 1-10(1998)  
Senate Debates, V. 6, No. 10-3(1998)  
Senate Debates, V. 7, No. 1-6(1998)  
Senate Debates, V. 8, No. 1-11(1998)

Senate Debates, V. 9, No. 1-4(1998)

Senate Debates, V. 1, No. 1-7(1998)

Senate Debates, V. 2, No. 1-12(1999)

Senate Debates, V. 3, No. 1-2(1999)

Senate Debates, V. 4, No. 1-15(1999)

Senate Debates, V. 5, No. 1-7(1999)

Senate Debates, V. 6, No. 1-5(1999)

Senate Debates, V. 8, No. 1-8(1999)

Senate Debates, V. 9, No. 1-3(1999)

Senate Debates, V. 10, No. 1-3(1999)

Senate Debates, V. 11, No. 1-3(1999)

### **Related Books:**

Ahmar, Moonis, *Foreign Policy Making Process: A Case Study of Pakistan*, Karachi: University of Karachi, 2009.

Amin, M. Shahid, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: A Reappraisal*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Aswini, Ray K. *Domestic Compulsions and Foreign Policy: Pakistan Indo-Soviets Relations*. New Delhi: Delhi Publications, 1975.

Ayub Khan, Mohammad. *Friends not Masters*, London: Oxford University Press, 1967.

- Aziz, Sartaj, *Between Dreams and Realities*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- B.R. Ambedkar, *Pakistan or Partition of India*, Thacker and Company Limited, 1945
- Bhutto, Zulfiqar Ali, *If I am Assassinated*, Dehli: Vikas Publishing House, 1974.
- Burke, S.M, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy, An Analysis Historical*, London: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- Burke, Shahid Javid, *Pakistan a Nation in the Making*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Cohen, Stephen Philip, *The Idea of Pakistan*, Brooking Institution Press; Washington, D.C. 2004.
- Hussain, Irfan, *Fatal Faultiness: Pakistan, Islam and the West*, New Delhi: Harper Collins publishers India, 2012.
- Hussain, Irfan. *Fatal Faultiness Pakistan, Islam and the West*.USA: Harper Collins Publications, 2012.
- Kasuri, Mahmud Khurshid. *Neither a Hawk Nor a Dove*.UK: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Khalid, Dr. Iram, *Pakistan Foreign Policy Evolution, Development and Strategies*, Lahore: Peace Publications, 2013.
- Khalid, Iram Dr. *Pakistan Foreign Policy Evolution, Development and Strategies*. Lahore: Peace Publications, 2013.
- Khan, Ayyub, *Friends not Masters*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1967.
- Lamb, Alistair, *Birth of a Tragedy Kashmir, 1947*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Lamb, Alistair, *Incomplete Partition; the Genesis of the Kashmir Dispute, (1947-1948)*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Lamb, Alistair, *Kashmir; A Disputed Legacy, 1946-1990*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Mahmud, Kasuri Khurshid. *Neither a Hawk Nor a Dove*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2015.

National Assembly of Pakistan, *Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business 1973*, Islamabad, Printing Corporation of Pakistan Press, 1988

Rais, Baksh Rasul. *The War Without Winners*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Sattar, Abdul, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy 1947-2005. A Concise History*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Sattar, Abdul. *Pakistan's Foreign Policy 1947-2009 (Second Edition)*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Senate of Pakistan, *Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business 1973*, Islamabad, Printing Corporation of Pakistan Press, 1988

Shahi, Agha. *Pakistan's Foreign Policy 1947-2009: A Concise History Second Edition*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Shaukat-u-llah, Ansari, *The Problem of India*, Commonwealth Publication; New Delhi, 1947

The Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1973, Islamabad, Printing Corporation of Pakistan Press, 2010.

#### **Journals and Magazines**

Asian Survey

Pakistan and Gulf Economist, 1982.

The Economic, November, 1979.

The Economist Pakistan, 5 January, 1980.

Kissinger's contemporary Archives, 15 May 1981.

Pakistan and Gulf Economist, April, 1985.

**Websites**

[www.na.gov.pk.com](http://www.na.gov.pk.com)

[www.senate.gov.com](http://www.senate.gov.com)

**اخبارات**

The Daily Muslim, Islamabad.

The Daily Pakistan Times. Lahore, Rawalpindi.

The Dawn News, Lahore.

The Nation, Lahore.

The News, Lahore.

روزنامہ، نوائے وقت، لاہور، راولپنڈی

روزنامہ، جنگ، راولپنڈی

روزنامہ، امروز، لاہور۔

## Appendices:

The data showed the real performance of National Assembly and the Senate regarding role of parliament for solution Kashmir issue.

### 1<sup>st</sup> Parliament of Nawaz Sharif and National Assembly

No	Item	Total	On Kashmir
1	Starred question	3923	10
2	Un starred question	1245	01
3	Adjournment motion	99	7
4	Privilege motion	115	01
5	Point of order	370	04
6	Resolution	26	2
7	Motion		
8	Walk out	3	Nil
9	Token walk out	2	Nil
10	Promised question	14	Nil
11	Question under Rule 251	03	Nil
12	Substantive motion	02	Nil
13	Discussion	13	Nil
14	Call attention notice	63	04
15	Pages	25969	

**1<sup>st</sup> Parliament of Nawaz Sharif and the Senate**

No	Items	Total	On Kashmir
1	Starred Question	952	1
2	Privilege Motion	60	Nil
3	Adjournment Motion	121	4
4	Motion	21	Nil
5	Resolution	20	Nil
6	Untarred Question	9	Nil
7	Promised Question	18	Nil

### 2<sup>nd</sup> Parliament of Nawaz Sharif and National Assembly

The data shows in the table of the National Assembly and the Senate is the real performance of both the houses regarding role of parliament on Kashmir issue.

No	Item	Total	On Kashmir
1	Starred question	3920	12
2	Un starred question	741	01
3	Resolution	34	02
4	Call attention notice	294	05
5	Point of order	301	05
6	Adjournment motion	39	01
7	Privilege motion	59	01
8	promised question	20	Nil
9	Short question	5	Nil
10	Substantive motion	Nil	Nil
11	Discussion	17	01
12	Token walk out	01	Nil
13	Walk out	08	Nil
14	Motion	99	01
15	Pages	21268	

**2<sup>nd</sup> Parliament of Nawaz Sharif and Senate**

No	Items	Total	On Kashmir
1	Starred Question	2384	Nil
2	Un starred Question	210	Nil
3	Point of order	258	11
4	Privilege motion	35	Nil
5	Adjournment motion	32	Nil
6	Resolution	20	3
7	Promised question	Nil	Nil
8	Motion	25	01
9	Call attention notice	7	Nil
10	Discussion	18	Nil