

# *Message of Peace*

**(Deliberations on Kashmir Issue)**

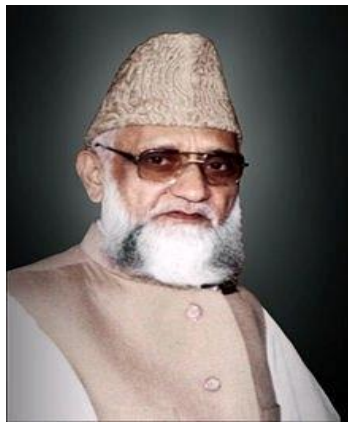
**TO**

*High Ranking*

**Retired Indian Army, Navy, Air Force,  
Civil Society Intellectuals – Delegation**

*Sponsored By*

**India Pakistan Soldiers Initiative for Peace (IPSIP)**



***BY***

***Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan***

***(Former President & Prime Minister Azad Jammu & Kashmir)***

**26 Feb 2001 - Islamabad**

## Preface

*It was indeed a great occasion that Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan, former President and Prime Minister Azad Jammu & Kashmir (C-Data included) deliberated & hosted conference of an highly respected delegation from India, comprising about a dozen retired high ranking defense officers including 4-Four Star Generals along with many other intellectuals like the most honored peacemaking lady Madam Nirmala Desh Panday, Chairperson Gandhian Ashram and Mr. OP Shah, Chair Strategic Study. The meeting was arranged through kind courtesy of India Pakistan Soldiers Initiative for Peace (IPSIP) under the chair of Mirza Aslam Baig, former Chief of Army Staff Pakistan.*

*Fortunately, I enjoy unique privilege of being former Military Secretary & Principal Staff Officer and later on as Secretary & Advisor with Sardar Sahib, since 1991 till to date. The verbatim transcription of the deliberations of the conference carry indeed a **great message of peace & religious harmony** of the Leader, Statesman, Religious Scholar who enjoys fatherly respect and love from the Kashmiris & Pakistanis all around the world whom he has served relentlessly throughout his political career.*

**Col. (R) Muhammad Farooq**

## *Verbatim Text of Deliberations*

**Brothers and sisters, ladies and gentlemen.** Let me first of all wholeheartedly welcome you to this place. Learning that this is a peace mission, it is further encouraging and heartening, as other avenues like wars and conflicts have been tried and they went futile, only costing the countries very heavily. So perhaps, peace is the only next possible way to resolve issues and set a good example for all times to come.

It has been very thoughtful of you to include me in this discussion. I have been a very controversial person and I didn't dislike it either. Somebody, who does something becomes controversial. When there is no work, no mistake and no controversy. Before proceeding to talk to you, let me also point out that perhaps you may not be suffering from time constraint. I learnt from General Baig former COAS Pak Army, that time was not sufficient for discussion. May be I get another opportunity to speak to you again or not, so I hope you will not suffer the time constraint in this sitting. And then I will not be irrelevant either. Therefore, I'll try to mention only the relevant things in as brief a way as possible.

Before doing that let me also, may be add to your information and knowledge about my commitment to peace. The impression about me is just the other way round. A friend, who met the American Ambassador Mr Oakley sometimes back told me, quoting Mr Oakley said, "As long as Sardar Qayyum and one or two others live in this country, there could be no peace". But when I met him, having heard that comment, I went to see him and after sometimes, in the same meeting he said, would you like to have meeting with the Indian Prime Minister in Bangladesh?" He was in Bangladesh, attending the SAARC Conference. I said, "Mr. Oakley, do you want me to get killed or what?" so my commitment to peace, it is essential to know whether I have a commitment to peace or not. One or two incidents I want to quote in this respect.

During the India-Pak conflict in 1947-48, which I was leading incidentally in Kashmir, if ever you lay hands on any records, you will find that the area under my command was perhaps a very large area and very strategically placed. Perhaps, we were the only people, under my command, running a camp for the Non-Muslims, who escaped from here and there, looking for shelter and refuge during the conflict. Nowhere else in the whole of this present territory, which we now call Azad Kashmir, there was any provision for looking after these people. They were either killed or burnt alive. That was happening throughout the whole of the Sub-Continent at that time, just as a routine. But we were the only people, where I maintained a camp and we only fought against those who were fighting. There is not a single incident reported **in fifteen months where somebody would dare raise a finger against anybody who had fought against civilians.** To the extent, that I did not permit any kidnappings, which were rampant at that

time. No girl, no boy, no old or young person was kidnapped. When I went a step further, it brought me under the religious decree from the religious people. I did not permit any conversions either. I refused to accept anybody who claimed to embrace Islam. I said you go back to India, and there if you want to embrace Islam, go and do it there, but not here under my command. So it is to say, that it is not here at this age that I have become the peacemaker or I believe in peace. I am reminded of the famous Persian saying:

“In old age, even a cruel wolf becomes a peacemaker or a sage”.

وَقَدْ كُنْتُ بَشَرًا مِّمَّنْ خَلِقَ الْإِنْسَانَ مِنْ عَلَقٍ وَإِنِّي كُنْتُ مِنَ الْغَافِلِينَ

So, it is not, as you see, that I have become a peacemaker all of a sudden. The initiative has been in my veins since I was a young man of 23 years. I had looked after Indian people like my own family members. It was not under those extremely trying conditions only that I treated them like my family members, but throughout varying conditions and different situations I had maintained the same tempo. I had made it punishable by death, anybody, who dared to kill or harm any one of those. This is how we began. Mentioned by Mrs. Tucker wife of General Tucker, in her writings)

Then of course, again, when General Zia-ul-Haq was alive, I had an opportunity to address Defense College of Pakistan, Quite a few years back, I said anybody who is thinking or believes in the **disintegration of India**, he should give up that idea, because it is not in our interest. It was utter surprise to them, of this idea coming from me, a person who has a bad name, as a hard-liner. I suggested to them that a syndicate should be formed to probe into this matter, as to what I say, is correct or not. A month later, I learnt from one of the senior defense officers, that they had come to agree with me on that point.

Thirdly, I have not supported covertly or overtly any of the **separatist moves**, whereas I could have easily done it. Whether it would have achieved anything or not, is beside the point, but I have not supported any separatist movement. So this is to tell you that my commitment to peace is of course inborn, inherent and as part of our religious faith that **we should co-exist**. We should live together and work for peace. Because three wars we have already fought with no gain except loss of life, property, honor and prestige. Everything we gain, loose through wars. We are at the threshold of a fourth one. I read something about the fourth round by Ravi Rakhe. I hope it doesn't come true. Because if ever it comes, then we all know the result. People who have any common sense, they know that it will be the end of everything. So wars are no answer. And then the two neighbors, as we are closest neighbors in many ways, not only contiguous geographically but in many other ways.

We must know for sure that nobody can claim victory over the other. If one is defeated in the battle, then of course as **Rabinder Nath Tagore** has said that, **“he will keep waving a staff in his heart**, if not in the hand”. So the battles don't come to an end

and we cannot afford at this juncture to go into an adventure of the kind. Therefore, peaceful means and ways are the answer.

**Brothers and sisters**, I want to be frank with you, without any reservation and without any inhibitions of the past, and forgetting of course, unpleasant memories of the past. Let them be buried and let us look to the future through the prism of prevalent situation and future wars. Some people differ in arguments about the partition, whether it was right or wrong; whether it should have taken place or not. Both in India and Pakistan we see people indulging in that, and half century has passed. But all told, we are locked up in a very belligerent position, with no positive signs of improvement. It has been a nerve breaking exercise, with everybody uncertain about his future, not knowing what was going to happen today or tomorrow. This uncertainty must be brought to an end and you brothers and sisters here, perhaps may be able to achieve much more for the peaceful process with whatever little support we can muster.

I will now come down to some sort of mathematical order, as to how I see it, and what can possibly be done. Before I go to that point, let me please also point out today, as we are, the **extremist and the subversive forces**; we must not undermine and underestimate their strength on the sub-continent, rather all over the world. Some are the result of the situation and some of our own making. The extremists and the subversive elements, and no grudging the point, they would certainly like to defeat all the peaceful process towards peace. Whether they can do it or not, depends on the skills of the leadership on both sides. Whether we can manage it, fight out the subversive and extremist forces. Subversion, I particularly mentioned, because it is a universal phenomenon today. As I said before, it is our own creation. India and Pakistan have been engaged in subverting each other utilizing all their mental and physical faculties and the resources, not realizing unfortunately that mental and physical faculties and the resources you spend to train, to indoctrinate, to educate, you can equip a subversive element. But a time comes when you cannot withdraw that element. It goes into his blood, his chemistry and he will be looking for accomplishing his feats anywhere in the world. This is exactly where we are. The subversive forces trained by the Indian and Pakistani official agencies are pretty strong. They are so strong that perhaps today, they have so far not demonstrated their skill, but if they start doing it, I think they will be capable of causing greater damage and harm to both the Governments and official setups. So this is what is about the subversive forces. And in the case of Kashmir when cease fire took place, as announced by the Indian Prime Minister, I sent some messages across, rather on both sides, that let us be more careful about the subversive and extremist forces, because they would be definitely trying to defeat this peace initiative. And I see the signs coming up on that level. So we have to be very careful and conscious about what need to be done. **Needs a separate talk.**

Then of course, the efforts made from time to time by individuals, by institutions and may be at government level also. But the efforts made so far have been futile for one

reason or the other. When Indian side took **some initiative**, we interpreted this here, as signs of weakness and defeat. And when this side took some initiative, it was equally interpreted as a sign of **weakness and defeat**, here. So we have been moving to and fro, between this and that exploitation and never producing any result whatsoever. Like for example, the great peace initiative taken by Prime Minister A. B. Vajpayee. I came under fire here in the country for supporting Mr. Vajpayee, as you must have read in the newspapers every-where. But I don't care about it, because what I say, I say out of conviction and out of faith, not out of any compulsion or expediency and strategy. Faith cannot be compromised. So it was a great initiative at Lahore, when Mr. Vajpayee visited the Pakistan Memorial. I am absolutely sure that no other Prime Minister would have dared to visit Pakistan Memorial. Mr. Vajpayee did it, and signed the visitors' book as well. But we all opposed it. I was at the forefront of the people who were opposing this move. I don't know about other people, but my reason was that it was initiated at a wrong time and placed in a wrong priority order. Just imagine, had there been a cease-fire in Kashmir and then the Indian Prime Minister would have visited Lahore, the scenario would have been hundred percent different. It would have been a different world altogether. But just because of wrong priorities, one of the best initiatives, indeed a very courageous and a very wise initiative, taken by the Indian Prime Minister, went astray without producing any worthwhile results. So, I was saying those efforts have been futile for one reason or the other.

**Another initiative** came at Casablanca, when two of the Kashmiri leaders of APHC were permitted to come to Casablanca. That did not succeed because of the default on this side. The default was that Madam Benazir, the Prime Minister at that time, I don't know whether she was flabbergasted or what went wrong, said, "this was like winning the world cup", giving wrong message to the Indian Government. Well, the Indians are of course, also made of the same stock as we are, so there is not much difference. They said to hell with world-cup and every thing and stopped permitting any further meetings. That went by default. Nobody realizes really, that if one makes a mistake, the other should refrain from repeating the same mistake. But then we are so keen in excelling each other in our mistakes, they all try to surpass each other with a passionate desire. If that initiative had continued, the situation would have been quite different. Incidentally, after Casablanca, I went to London. There the BBC people interviewed me and pointed out that "Madam Benazir has said that it is like winning the world-cup". I said, I don't agree with the Prime Minister of Pakistan. We were **thankful to the Indian Government** for allowing these people to come and this process should continue. But any way, the Prime Minister's saying was different and my explanation was perhaps not acceptable.

So this delegation could be a silver lining, if pursued with faith, conviction, diligence and hard labour. Because it is not an easy thing to do, in this hottest atmosphere

of people, thirsty of blood, here, there, everywhere. So may be if there is anything we could do about it, we will certainly like to do.

Now, Sir, as I said, coming to some mathematical order, which I mentioned particularly, because there are some political aspects also which have their own mathematics. And in the scientific mathematics, two and two always make four, never a fraction here or there. But in political mathematics, two and two make anything but four. That's why I refer to political mathematics, I have seen many instances like this throughout my life. Political mathematics is very strange. That is why, perhaps no professor of political science has or had ever been a politician. Not to my knowledge , anyway.

So, **can we really co-exist** as good neighbours? That is the basic question which addresses the peace process, if there has to be peace. Should there be peace or no peace? And if there is no peace, many of extremists do not die soon. But if they had died earlier, perhaps things would have been different. Should there be no peace, then what is going to happen? That is a very big question, particularly you brothers who belong to the armed forces, you know it much better. Incidentally, in Srinagar, perhaps the call for peace has been received very well. I don't know whether it has been properly reported or not, but it has been received very well all over. Your utterances also, I have never read much about it, but these days, whatever little I have, I have heard well.

Then of course, **how could we co-exist** against the interest of the countries by training intelligence people and sending them across for subversion. If they could be asked to stop these covert subversive activities and concentrate towards peace building efforts and try to shed their reliance on the official agencies and institutions, which are causing ideological harm for peaceful co-existence due to selfish interests of some vested elements. These vested elements are no doubt the same extremist forces, which I have mentioned earlier. However, if they cannot get rid of these agencies or institutions, then it would be advisable to set up some centrally harmonious institutions, which should work for peace with the same commitment. Notwithstanding anything adverse, they can ultimately replace or take over RAW, IB and ISI and all those agencies, which have the same intentions. Because, ultimately, during the course of the process these agencies and institutions have caused greater damage to the goodwill of both the countries. So the first and foremost thing that needs to be done, besides globalization and finding an effective and pragmatic way to the solution, from my point of view, is to **shun the idea of a military victory or defeat**. Because there is a general impression everywhere, both outside Pakistan and within the country, that two armed forces do not want peace for their own vested reasons. I am not sure whether it is true or not. We have tried to **contain** this impression by arguing against the point. Yet the impression continues to gain momentum that the two armies are not in favour of resolving their conflict, in their best interests, as they refuse to admit each other's superiority and consider it as a matter of victory or defeat. To remove this impression of victory and defeat, we must work in unison to dispel

the doubts from the mind of the people by educating them at the grass-root level. Finding out what steps could be taken to ensure that we have overcome this phenomenon of military victory and defeat. This is of course a mathematical thing, **we can't discuss it.**

This is one of those things. One, of course, would require **respecting each other's sovereignty, freedom and independence**. I am sorry to say that the impression is that we have not respected each other's sovereignty, independence and geographical entity. During a meeting in Moscow, quite sometimes back, a communist friend came up to me and said "why do you oppose the communist regime?" I said, "would you like to accept the geographical boundaries of Pakistan, according to the spirit of the original partition plan as envisaged by the British Government and UN Resolutions?" He was dumbstruck and had no reply. So respect for geographical boundaries of one country plays a vital role in respecting the sovereignty and independence of other country, which is always a great **imperative in forming a soft opinion**. Another important aspect in this regard is the religious aspect. So if we start respecting the independence, sovereign its and religious aspects, whether you are here or there, a Hindu or a Christian, then I would want to be accepted as a Muslim wherever I want to be. I was asked by the organizer to prepare mutton for me in the food. Since it was vegetarian meal for the delegation, I said no. I will not take meat in respect of this delegation. What is it? So you see respecting each others identities, I hope you would not mind my saying so.

Coming to **Dialogue**. Often many people have asked me, as to who should enter into dialogue? I said committed people. They asked me what do you mean by committed people? I said, I would like to talk to a committed Hindu or a committed Muslim but not to a person who is neither here nor there. There is absolutely no use talking to those who are non-committed, there are many people like that. So it is to respect commitment. I think human dignity demands that you respect your own commitments and respect commitments of others. So we start respecting territorial and other identities of each other.

Therefore, we come to **redressing irritants**. I try to find out what are the irritants. What is their strength and what can we do for the people who believe in peace to remove these irritants. And irritants are not one. Kashmir will be the main cause. But because of Kashmir, I personally see many other irritants, which have cropped up in the meantime. It is of our own making or which has been the making of the situation. So many irritants would have to be addressed or re-dressed. You want to move in peace. It is both long term and short term. Then of course it depends on atmosphere, which is conducive and cordial? It is good that you are here and we are discussing things. Sometimes back the atmosphere was not permitting meeting like this. So we have to create an atmosphere which is conducive and cordial. By creating such an atmosphere we will be able to resolve many issues without difficulty. I quote just a typical example. Out of ten years of Zia-ul-Haq's rule in Pakistan, we were at daggers drawn for 8 years. At the end of 8 years, when he declared the referendum, I gave up my opposition to him and we became



friends. Every time I met him he used to ask me, “Sardar Sahib, what for had we been fighting about? This is what happens when, you behave like enemies and seek to resolve a problem, it becomes difficult; and it becomes easier when you become friends.

When you become friends, the same solution become easier, and is presented in a different manner. So unless we **create a conducive and cordial atmosphere**, I am absolutely sure that no problem, neither trade nor politics nor morality nor Kashmir can be addressed satisfactorily, unless we create a conducive and cordial atmosphere and there is no reason why we should not; when we all know that we suffered so much on that account. The amount of money spent on subversion is perhaps not less than the money spent on defense and defense forces of both the countries. So what are the achievements ultimately, hatred, killing people, spilling blood. Have we not satisfied ourselves with the amount of blood spilled during the time of partition, we still go on doing. We should put an end to it. What kind of a nation are we on the Sub-Continent that we keep killing each other all the time till eternity. Let’s put an end to it and address it. Address our problems in the other ways.

Then of course, the extremism coupled with the lack of experience and **skill of leadership**, it generates adventurism and then ultimately you are all trapped into it. There is another aspect, the leadership. From my point of view an institution cannot produce leaders. The Leaders are produced by history or by time. But the leadership role can be substituted by collective efforts. Individual leadership, you can’t have another Gandhi, you will not have another Vajpayee or let me tell you this, whether you like it or not, but you will not have another Vajpayee. Though that role can be substituted, should be substituted, as is done in America and the West European countries and many other countries. You see, that they don’t have a leader of that great level in the world, but it is substituted by institutions, which look after the role of leadership. That is what needs to be done. Then of course in-spite of each others speeches, we have been doing all along, we should decide to extend a helping hand to each other. If some body is running into any weakness, needs help, we should be able to extend an helping hand. I think this Sub-Continent can be converted into heaven. Why not we do that? You have visited here. I take it to be an initiative like the one on cease-fire and needs serious and persistent efforts utilizing all mental and physical resources and faculties. Only then it will succeed; otherwise it will remain a pious wish and will not get anywhere. You can’t have another opportunity to stop bloodshed. But it has to be substituted and followed by serious efforts and properly initiated steps, one, two, three or perhaps four, or to know how you are going to do it. But this is what I think and this is my assessment. You may or may not agree with it, but the fact is that peace in this region hinges on relation of India and Pakistan. When any body talks outside, about peace in the region, I am sure, they understand what this means and there are certainly no mincing of words that this means peace between two neighbors and good relations between India and Pakistan. And the **relationship between India and Pakistan hinges on the resolution of the Kashmir**

**issue.** As I had said, if there was a ceasefire first and then the visit like Lahore, the things would have been hundred percent different, rather unimaginably different. So this, coupled together with Kashmir problem, might be good or both ways, because its resolution can open a vast field of co-operation and its non resolution can aggravate the current situation and it would continue doing that.

I now speak of Kashmir, where I think the whole thing revolves around. It is really a problem and it needs no explanation that it is a difficult problem, very complicated, very dangerous, as it is here in Kashmir that we were **so close to a nuclear threat.** Even if there was ground war, that would end up in to a nuclear exchange. Nobody should be in any doubt about it. So there is problem here; now how to resolve it? We have wasted about 50 years, almost half a century in trying to find out the **shape of the solution.** In a conflicting position like this, there will never be any agreement upon the shape of a solution. No matter what quality of intellect is involved. I said this to group, including Mr. Gujral who had come to see us. I was then the Prime Minister, so I said Mr Gujral, has the intellect in both the countries totally failed? They have not produced any result so far. Hundreds of intellectual exercises have been undertaken, but so far we have never found, that we moved an inch ahead. So we have wasted many years on trying to agree on the final shape. I remember, some 3-4 years back Harinder Baveja, News Reporter from India spoke to me on telephone and discussed what could happen. I said, Madam let me know what you exactly want to ask, She said, **Can't we make the Control Line** (we call it Cease-Fire Line - they call it Control Line), **permanent,** I said why not, we could do it, although it is laden with very serious complications, which have to be studied later on, but ask the Kashmiris first, and if they agree, then the matter ends there. But if you ask me personally, I cannot give a verdict on this. This is simply to tell you that a number of proposals have been growing up, you may call them options, proposals/suggestions. There are about fourteen of them. I calculated them to be twelve or fourteen, But that all has been academic discussion. None of them has been seriously pursued and we unfortunately again, may like it or not, look up to the US and some foreign assistance to come and guide us. I feel ashamed of myself really when I think of it as to why can't we help ourselves. There is no difference in them and us. Except that they do their homework and we don't do it, the way it should be done. Don't we have resources, manpower, intellect or wisdom for that matter? We do have at our disposal, but we lack hard work, coordinated efforts and an objective approach to all problems. That is why at this preliminary stage in this respect, we look for their assistance.

**Entrv:** Not audible. ( This was about Kashmir as the core issue with reference to providence and spirituality)

**Reply:** It is a very interesting question that you have asked and if I would have continued, perhaps I was to dwell on the same question. I was **suggesting a process.** I was not suggesting resolving the Kashmir Issue, but I was suggesting a process through which you become friends first and then ultimately you resolve the issue. This is exactly

what I was suggesting them. Spiritually, I am a firm believer in spirituality. I think the moral values, if they have any value, they cannot be sustained unless they are supported with spiritual values. So, there is no contradiction from that point of view which I have and I am clear on that point.

As I have already said that we wasted so much time, our energy and resources trying to find the final shape of the problem. Now, instead of doing that I feel, I am convinced, that there is a need to concentrate on this process, not the solution. As I mentioned, Zial-ul-Haq. You see, if the process was available and whatever your views are, either factual or preconceived, you may have to change them to bring them in line with the process. What that **process could be**, that I also would like to suggest. In the process of peace making, for example, you would be interested in peace I was interested in peace, and we go into a dialogue. The dialogue is the minimum requirement of the peace process. Therefore, from my point of view, **the dialogue** carries more weight and should be pursued at all levels. But the process should be revived, sooner the better, and in a cordial atmosphere.

**Entrv:** With the healthy exposition about your views on Kashmir, what in your view, should be the venue to hold the Dialogue?

**Reply:** If it is expedient to the Governments, it may be held at Muzaffarabad. But a dialogue, (Intra-Kashmir dialogue) from my point of view is absolutely essential. Unless the kashmiris are satisfied that something is happening about their future, the irritation would continue. A friend from India, a very responsible man, rang me from London and asked me, “What should be, from your point of view, the **bottom line for a dialogue?**” I said from my point of view the bottom line should be that, “the Indian side should not insist on “Attot Ang” as the political foundation, and in turn we should not insist on the “UN Resolutions” as the legal foundation, as Mr. Joseph Korbel, called it”. Then let open heartedly view the situation. Discuss the situation as it is presented on the table and then try to find out what we can do about it. But if it remains committed on the two sides with the stated positions, and no departure from them, then of course there is no meaning. We have already spent 20 years after the Simla Agreement and we could not produce a single meeting worth anything. So let us say that, from my point of view that could be the bottom line, and I came under lot of fire from my colleagues all over, that I was departing from the stated position of plebiscite and so on and so forth. But I said there is a problem, which should be resolved, if it has to be done strictly, that is the end of it.

With regards to the **participants in the dialogue**, I said I am not Prime Minister today, I am not holding any office but no dialogue can succeed without my being in it. So I said that we know exactly who are the people who match in this dialogue. If this is not acceptable then we can sit together and find out a procedure through which we can ensure whether we should participate or not. If we are honest about it, there are many ways to do it.

Then of course, gentlemen there is the India-Kashmir Dialogue, Kashmir-Pakistan Dialogue and so on so fourth. But one thing should be made sure that is free exchange of meaningful delegation and follow-up logical steps. You see, this dialogue should be able to address the problems one by one. Starting from minor things, we can go ahead to the serious ones. Then of course, the ceasefire initiative has been another one, I don't know what the intentions of the present Indian Government might be, but I have an optimism and, look at it from that point of view. I think it would be a commendable gesture/step. If the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen cease-fire had not been withdrawn, and if they were not pressurized so much to withdraw, I think, things would have improved faster than they had started, I was sure. Let me also inform you sir, that this question of ceasefire was discussed with me some twelve years back in London by some Hindu Friends, well connected here and there. There was no concept of a ceasefire at that time. But we started discussing. This was the beginning of the militancy in Kashmir and we discussed it. Where we got stuck up was the point when I said the Indian Government should take initiative because they have an organized force and on this side we can only make appeals to them. For, we cannot direct, or order them to do so? The Indian government can do it. One of the American delegates said, "what would be the response to your appeal to the Mujahideen or the militants". I said, I am sure, they just don't want to die for nothing, there is a purpose behind it and if that purpose is served by some other means, why should they not respond positively. Then he was very specific, he said what about Hizbul Mujahideen. That's what I wanted to mention. I said you don't judge Hizbul Mujahideen on the criteria of the Jamaat-e-Islami, here in Pakistan. These are the people who are engaged in a battle and they can see the meaning of fighting against a big power like India. It's not a joke and when some thing is seen coming off through peaceful means, why should they reject it? It came off in that way, **Mujahideen calling ceasefire** first and then of course, response was slow from the Indian side. It came in with an excuse although, but the **Indian Government called a ceasefire** now extended by three months. It has that very effect. Although the ceasefire, the army officers would know better that this mostly concerned the ceasefire line or the control line. The ceasefire on both sides. The militant activities continue inside and the reciprocal retaliation from the other side also continues. So it is not a total ceasefire as we expected. But anyway it is a very good step forward. I was asked many times by journalists and others that what would have been the next option. I said I couldn't imagine that the Indian Government has done a short term thing. They must have had something in their minds. Further plans also, to be followed one by one. So I am expecting that the other steps will also be taken.

**As far as militants** are concerned, the two things, which I have been saying in many other places, one is an apprehension, I have expressed ever since, was that the Movement, this Militant Movement in Kashmir has the potential of expansion. Which, is not being recognized or understood properly by the concerned people, may be here or even there. It has a great potential for expansion. An expansion will mean complete

anarchy. It will not leave us with any direction whatsoever. Today, it is not like that. If more time is allowed in-between, it might expand beyond proportion, beyond our expectations and even the Government of Pakistan with all its efforts may not be able to do anything positive at all. So this is an apprehension which I have been expressing all over, telling people that don't take it to a threat. Just try to apply your minds to what I am saying, is it true or not. If it is true, then let us sit down and find the way out; what to do? The Alfaran incident for example, till today, we have not been able to locate. Some say it was Indian Government who did it; some say it were the militants who did it. But no body certainly knows who is responsible for that act. It was a stray act, not commanded by any organization or any proper institution. So, similarly, the people who are uncontrollable, many amongst them criminals, can creep into the rank and file of the militants. Not only that, they want to fight with India, but also they have their own set up. Likewise, this Movement has the potential to expand, and we should do every possible thing in our power to see that it does not expand un-proportionally. Some tangible steps ought to be taken in order to convince the people of Kashmir, the indigenous people, and groups about the pros and cons of the core issue. If there was possibility of peaceful resolution of the problem, it's only they who can do something about it. So this was one of the serious apprehensions.

The other apprehension, which I heard was probably from the "Washington Post" Chief, who had a long discussion on this point. I agreed with him that this may be partly true. Because the atmosphere has been so charged and it has been so created through powerful propaganda machines that it looks to be like that. But, I think that the other side of the aspect is brighter. By resolving the Kashmir issue, we can address other irritants also, with this on the Sub-Continent. Not only this, we can sit together and create some institution, some arrangements to see that other irritants are also addressed. This was another apprehension, which I came across and I wanted to speak to you about it. The other thing about the militants which I want to say is that it is generally said from the Indian side that militants aren't responding positively to the ceasefire initiative, that is absolutely true.

The ceasefire we had in 1949, ceasefire we had in 1971, "Simla", so people have a bad experience about these ceasefires. People, who are engaged once, if they lay down arms and they are demobilized, then there is generally a likelihood that the Indian authorities may turn on and say that the problem is over. It was very unfortunate, but this as a matter of fact has been discussed time and again, over and over. So the militants can be asked to respond positively when some other steps are in line.

The Government of Pakistan has also ordered ceasefire, they have literally withdrawn the additional forces. Similarly, other steps, I don't say what's there, some very easy steps to take, some very difficult steps to take, but can go one by one from easier to difficult one. Once the line is clear, I am absolutely sure the indigenous groups operating on this side of Kashmir will certainly respond positively but the outside groups,

for example, as of today, may or may not. They don't need so much strength to defy everything. But if they go on mustering strength, they may pose a problem to Pakistan's security itself, not to speak of what happens in Kashmir and India. But they can pose a serious problem to Pakistan's security. But that will also depend on how the indigenous groups in Kashmir behave. They can certainly behave, I can't say anything about some madcap, but the sensible people who have any common sense, they would like to behave. You see, the Kashmiris, incidentally have not been militant people all these years. They have been pacifists all the time. For many years they have been pacifists. So it should not be difficult to show them the way to peace and they would respond.

These were some of the points I think I have taken pretty good time with you. If there are any questions that you want to answer, you are welcome. Thank you very much.

### **QUESTION - ANSWERS**

**Q. 1: General B.M Dhar:** When we will go back to Kashmir and tell the people that here is a friend of yours who is doing so much for you, Sir it has encouraged us. The Kashmiris as you know never been militants. As overnight you can't bring weapons to a place. 19<sup>th</sup> February's night was a night of, what you call the hell broke loose, and Kashmiris had to leave subsequently the killing place and what I would request that your message must go to the local press in Kashmir. It will have effect. It will help us in our job, working with the UNO people, from dawn till evening, for 35 years have gone off. Today we have Gandhians, with us who have taught us peace. We want your assistance and help, we want personalities and people like you, so that we can tell the Kashmiris, who can do something for them.

Sir, it is my appeal to stop present killings. We have killed almost a Lac of people. Eidgah, which I used to go on from one side to mosque, three fourth of it is a Qabristan today. We have no place now for Qabristan. Every day there are four, six or ten people killed, I am sure. I am going to convey your message to them that peace is a must and Kashmiris want peace. We want peace very badly. No house in Kashmir today is happy at night when they have their meals. Somebody is missing, and I can ask you question because you have yourself given such an **exposition of the problem that I am completely disarmed**. Your exposition of the problem, I am saying with an air of conviction, has given me the courage to talk, without any fear of apprehensions.

Thank you Sir, Thank you very much Sir.

**Answer:** I am ready to do anything, people wanted me to do, and I will do it. It's my firm commitment and of course my heart also bleeds from what is happening because I am committed from the beginning. The people in the meantime, they have no sense of what is happening. But I am committed and that's why my heart also aches and I feel frustrated, like you do. But that is up to anything we can do on our part and for this forum. They should be able to give some kind of support to the people who want to work for it. Luckily here in this country, my word, though critical, is heard positively also. So

you see, in this country, by the Grace of Allah Almighty, I don't care who says what against me, but there are positive forces and I would like to encourage them, whether they are in India, Pakistan or elsewhere. I have been telling the Americans, advising them, it is not my job, but sometimes I had to tell them that "you should concentrate on maintaining your positive stance. Once you make a departure, any country will be destroyed automatically". It is true everywhere not only in America, but in India and Pakistan also. We cannot live on the negative thinking, sooner or later; it will have to be changed to the positive side.

**Q. 2: Air Marshal.** Because the exposition in the line that you have taken in educating us about your views, it is very pragmatic and successful approach to the problem. You made two very significant suggestions, which, I think, we may ask you first and I would like to repeat that, "The Intra Kashmir Dialogue". We have seen that it is getting stopped every now and then. It doesn't seem to move forward. Obviously, if it is India or in Pakistan, it has certain roadblocks and invariably that is the reason that it doesn't progress further. Has any attempt been made to do it in a third place, not with their intervention, but the idea of isolation, going away from the influences which are likely to be detrimental to your agreements, your thinking, your approach for solving the problem. You know better, that is one of the options, which you must have considered and we would like to know your views. The second part you said in your concluding sentences is about the local militants of Kashmir that we all hope, we all pray they are the ones who should be deciding whether militancy carries on or stops. As and when the Prime Minister of India says ceasefire, he actually means ceasefire, not only on the LOC, it means ceasefire throughout the Valley. That means he is hoping and praying that the militancy reduces, which is also the pain and the problem. He gave us the impression that they would like to stop it. If they had an assurance, that it will not be termed as weakness. Now if the Indian Government has taken the initiative to say, that we want to practice ceasefire, even against the militants, obviously it is not a weakness. It is acceptance of the requirements and both sides are becoming wise. How can this message reach to them? If you show the positive response they will be, for the moment, obviously it will happen, but unless that happens, further movement is also not possible. I would like your views on these two issues.

**Answer:** Sir, as regards to this dialogue affair, I have repeatedly said to friends, who keep contacting me from inside and outside that if it causes any harm to Indian Government, they tell us this is the harm, likely to be caused by the intra-kashmir dialogue, then we will like to amend that. But I don't see any harm at all whatsoever, because India is not like Maldives, India is India. What harm can come to India by some Kashmiris. Stephen Solarz said it's not possible. Secondly, we have tried our best to hold it anywhere, we do not insist, in fact never insisted on Intra-Kashmir dialogue at any particular place, Let it be in Delhi, let it be in Islamabad, let it be in London, let it be in Washington. And the Washington people, we are grateful to them that twice or thrice, so

far, they have conducted and arranged a dialogue, but at a very low intellectual level, by the USIP(Institute of Peace). At the end of second or third exercise, I was still in the office, I was asked by them what to do next. I said you raise the level of participation. Then we listed some people from both sides, about me he said that you are holding an office. I said you don't invite me, through my office, but invite me as an individual, as one of a citizen of the world; so what harm could it make. He agreed. Then I said Carter or Thatcher to preside over the meeting in view of its seriousness, to make it more effective and this was also agreed. But incidentally, the Indian elections came up at that time and immediately the American elections started to take place, or one or the other and the whole things were shelved. Then the Brussels people held a very good exercise some time back, in which George Fernandes was also invited. But after that they didn't do anything. Then Mr. Tapan Bose had been very active and Mr. O.P.Shah visited us twice and he said, "Sardar Qayyum, no matter what the two Prime Ministers discuss inside the room, none of them will speak outside. But that is an unfortunate position, that the Prime Ministers walked down to the galleries to that extent. Many people tried it in Kathmandu, in London, in other places, we never insisted on that. It could be anywhere, where it suited the Indian Side. For us it has no impediment. But the Intra-Kashmir dialogue, may be my assessment might not be correct, but as it is, it may facilitate. They make things much easier to move ahead with the Kashmiris, Kashmir is committed to India, Kashmir is committed to Pakistan. It is committed to third option as they called it. So it is not very difficult to sit together, you see and bring them to a point, not embarrassing any party; I said, let it be victory for everybody. If that dialogue could be arranged and if the APHC people were allowed to come here, it would have paved the way forward, although there were difficulties, I know in the way and people try to capitalize unnecessarily and rather exploit the situation. But the Indian Government, I as a bigger brother, for example in the family, fore-go many things. I don't bother about minor things because of my position. Similarly the Indian Government should not really take these smaller things so seriously. They should allow things to be seen to blow off and they will be, proportionally, the ultimate beneficiaries more than anybody else will. As long as, for example, I am incidentally alive today, nobody knows when he is going to die, but I don't see anybody can speak so forcefully after me, over a peace process. People are committed to the galleries more than committed to the problem, itself. In the present situation, if I was consulted I would have said that APHC people should be allowed and a second meeting may take place in Delhi. They should go and talk to the India Government. Sometime, about three or four years back, when President Farooq Leghari went to Delhi in SAARC Conference I spoke on telephone to APHC people in Delhi that you are going to meet Pakistani President. I said when you are going to meet the Pakistani President, then of course; there is no sense, in not meeting the Prime Minister of India. You make a request whether he meets you or not. However, after a month or so they said that we are sorry, we should have accepted your advice. I said, very well, but you missed the opportunity, a



right thing at the right time. Prime Minister Madam Benazir made a statement at Sweden that the Kashmiris could go and talk to the Indian Government. I supported her that she had made a very good statement, why back out from it now? Try to stick to it, but for reasons, she couldn't do it. So the dialogue could be essential and we can make sure what is possible way. There is obviously no affair and of course you can't avoid it. I have been in contact with many pressmen; they have been asking me to attend this meeting. I said, no, it is a closed door meeting. Some friends have been invited, but press will of course get hold of us. So that will not really cause any harm to the purpose of this meeting. As far as this **dialogue** is concerned, I fully agree with you and what General Dhar said very rightly. He knows the psyche of the Kashmiri people more than anybody else does. If the indigenous groups were satisfied who else wouldn't be satisfied? I have not discussed with them. I have not had any discussion with the militants. I don't know who asked me but some responsible person, a foreign friend said, should the Indian Government in your opinion have a dialogue with the militants or not? I said absolutely not. Once you start doing this, there is not end to it and you will never come to an agreement. **Matter is political and it's not militant.** Talk to the political people. Then we have been trying to talk to the political people under the political umbrella. The outside militancy is not yet that strong to defy the local militants. They would be satisfied, I don't know, but I can approach this matter with them, if some other steps were contemplated simultaneously. The ceasefire should not be considered as an end in itself. But other steps, logical steps, may be minor steps as I said, such as demilitarizing a certain area on the line of control or the ceasefire line as we call it, will do not harm to Kashmir on both sides, with their identity cards and go and discuss. You can include Mr. Dhar also, one of them like me. Yes people with wisdom and sense who can really push their point of view and present it in a proper manner. So this is it. The Indian Government could be advised to consider further steps too. If it were done through this intra Kashmir dialogue, it will give credibility to the intra Kashmir dialogue also. And they would be helpful because nobody really wants to fight India. We differ with the Government and Government policies, not with the Government as a whole. Similarly, I differed with the Indian Government's policies, not with India. Generally I have avoided bracketing any government whether Pakistani or Indian. I have made difference between State and Government, although they are the same. State has its own compulsions, some good and some bad.

**Q 4:** Is it possible for this forum, Indo-Pakistan Soldiers Initiative for Peace to hold Intra Kashmir Conference General Naseer and General Jamshaid are there they can say, in consultations with both the governments, either in the two countries or borders, or some place. Is it possible for this forum to take the Initiative?

**Answer:** Why not, I say you are not going to dictate anything. You are only going to suggest. Which is in the interest of the governments. I have not consulted the Government of Pakistan to my views. I am sometimes persona-non-grata with them also,

because of my independent views, I don't get briefed from everybody and it would not be appropriate with the man of my experience. I should be able to guide the people.

**Entv: Madam Nirmala Desh Panday.** I will be behind them. General Naseer, General Wadia, General Malik, if they can together facilitate this kind of gathering in any place, which is mutually agreed. I will also suggest you can have in our Ashram in Delhi or in Swagram. Why not. That is the part of generalship. So I think we senior officers here are with the blessings. It is ok by you ok by the two Governments, we can facilitate because we have got the ability to manage this activity.

**Q 5:** Madam Nirmala Desh Panday said this kind of forum may be able to organize, anywhere, this is immaterial being anywhere? OP Shah said to me (Sardar Sahib) unless you come to Delhi, nothing is going to move. I said, we can't go to Delhi.

**Q 6:** No, we can carry the message to Delhi and in near future, any place to which both Governments agree, we will make arrangements for different people from both sides to meet.

**Answer:** The Governments must be kept informed.

**Q 7:** We can just facilitate and it can be done, honestly, anywhere; we were planning few years back in Tashkent, thing like this, but that didn't take off.

**Answer:** Why not in Delhi or Islamabad and what is the harm? Nobody will raise the question from both sides. Why go indirectly about it. Nobody will raise any question from this side.

**Q 8:** (Mrs. Zerr – wife of VC of Indian Army): I am from Kashmir and it used to be here very good relationship in between both of us, whether someone was Muslim girl or Hindu. We both have some problems. I have been telling the same things. Well, in Srinagar, people were well off, but if you go into the interior Kashmir, there is poverty and I think it is very important to tackle first poverty, then our economical problems. And we should try to share unnecessary enmity. That's not going to solve the problem. That's my request. We should come for all those things first.

**Answer:** Yes everything needs to be addressed, however, according to its priorities.

Word of Thanks

(From both sides)

## A BRIEF BIO-DATA

### SARDAR MUHAMMAD ABDUL QAYYUM KHAN

#### POLITICAL PROFILE

- Ø **1947-49** - Founder – leader of Kashmir Freedom Movement.  
Selected Member of First Plebiscite Committee of UNO on AJK, – This side of Ceasefire Line.
- Ø **1952** - Became Minister of AJK State.
- Ø **1945** - Charged with violation of Ceasefire Line, imprisoned for one and a half year.
- Ø **1956** - Elected President of Azad Jammu & Kashmir State by the General Council of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference then the Constitutional Authority empowered to elect State President.
- Ø **1962** - Elected Member of AJK Council through local bodies elections.
- Ø **1971** - Elected President AJK State on the basis of adult franchise for four years.
- Ø **1979** - Appointed Member Constituent Council World Muslim League (Rabita-al-Alam Al Islami) Makkah Mulkarramah, Saudi Arabia.
- Ø **1985** - Elected President of the State by the Assembly.
- Ø **1990** - Elected President of the State for the 4<sup>th</sup> time.
- Ø **1991** - Resigned office of President and was elected as Prime Minister by the State Assembly.
- Ø **1996** - Elected as Member and Leader of Opposition in AJK Assembly.
- Ø **2001** - Elected as Member AJK Assembly.
- Ø **2002** - Appointed as Chairman President of Pakistan's National Kashmir Committee Pakistan.
- Ø President All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference 14 times.
- Ø Currently Supreme Head of the Muslim Conference.

#### SPEECHES – LECTURES

- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington DC USA.
- Centre for Strategic and International Studies Washington.
- Harvard, George Washington and Buffalo Universities in USA.
- Cambridge and Oxford Universities in UK.
- Addressed the South Asian Delegation European Parliament in Brussels.
- Only Politician to address HRC – Geneva as Leader of Pakistan Delegation.
- Addressed Press Conferences in UNO HQs New York.
- Addressed Editorial Board BBC HQs London.
- Addressed Editorial Board Press Club Beirut Lebanon.
- Addressed Editorial Board of Leading British.
- Addressed Editorial Board of Leading Kuwaite paper.
- Addressed Editorial Board of UAE papers.
- Addressed Editorial Board of Egyptian papers.
- Addressed Editorial Board of Turkish papers.
- Addressed Editorial Boards of Leading USA Newspapers: Washington Post, New York Times, Wall Street Journal, Washington Times.
- Addressed National Press Club Washington DC twice in 1998.
- Together with a Kashmiri Delegation from both sides of Kashmir, met for the first time at the White House with the US National Security Advisors and Senior American Officials dealing with South Asia.

- Attended meetings of OIC Foreign Ministers Contact Groups on Kashmir and OIC Foreign Ministers Annual Coordination Meetings in UNO HQs New York. It was exclusively for him that Kashmir was given the observers status in the O.I.C.
- Attended International Kashmir Conference – Wiltor Park London.
- Visiting Speaker to (a) Pakistan Military Academy; (b) Command and Staff College, (c) Civil Services Academy, Lahore (d) National Institute of Public Administration Lahore, (e) War College of Pakistan Navy (f) National Defense College Islamabad, (g) Logistics Staff College Murree, (h) Army school of Infantry and Tactics, since 1974.
- Visits and lectures at different Defense Academies and Institutes at international levels.
- Delivered Briefings to the International Study Teams, War Colleges, Defense Attaches, Diplomatic Delegations, State Dignitaries, Royal War Course Team UK, Air Defense Team USA, China, Germany, etc. Indian Defense Delegation known as ‘Soldiers Initiative for Peace’ comprising eleven Generals including four 4-star Generals.
- On the invitation of International Institute for Foreign Affairs of India he participated in the Kashmir heart-to-heart-talk in New Delhi. Sponsored by Prof Bhim Singh – 2005 & 2007
- Briefed almost all NGOs engaged on Kashmir.

#### **DIGNATORIES AND FUNCTIONARIES**

Ø Met various International Dignitaries and Government Functionaries in official and private capacities:

- (a) King Hussain of Jordan.
- (b) King Faisal Shaheed of Saudi Arabia.
- (c) Syed Aminul Hussaini shaheed Grand Mufti of Palestine.
- (d) King Khalid Bin Abdul Aziz of Saudi Arabia.
- (e) Mr. Leo Shao Chi, a popular leader of China (President).
- (f) Col. Muammar Qaddafi of Libya.
- (g) Yasir Arafat of Palestine.
- (h) Mamoon Abdul Qayyum of Maldives.
- (i) Sulemain Demiral of Turkey.
- (j) Prince Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz of Saudi Arabi.
- (k) Habib Bourquiba of Morroco.
- (l) General Muhammad Bashir Umar of Nigeria.
- (m) Al Sheikh Jabar Al Sabah of Kuwait.
- (n) Col. Saleh of Yemen.
- (o) Robin Cooks Foreign Minister of UK.
- (p) Ms Robin Rafael of US.
- (q) Mr. Inderfurth of USA.
- (r) Prince Saud Al Faisal Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia.
- (s) Ali Akbar Wilayati, Foreign Minister of Iran.
- (t) Prince Karim Agha Khan, Ambassador-at-Large.
- (u) Tenku Abdur Rehman of Indonesia.
- (v) General Rezai, Commander Pasdaran, Iran.
- (w) Foreign Minister of Turkey.
- (x) Foreign Minister of Egypt.
- (y) Mahateer Mohammad President of Malaysia.



Some informal Comments By Sardar Sahib

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