

The
Kashmir Problem
Option for Settlement

Second Edition

August, 2016

Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan
Prime Minister
Azad Jammu & Kashmir



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FOREWORD

Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan is one of those stalwarts who are destined to become legendary in their lifetime. Among the leaders produced by Kashmir, Sardar Qayyum has a unique position. He raised an army and commanded it in the battlefield, liberated a sizeable area of his motherland from a well equipped, well supplied and professionally trained army which far outnumbered his hurriedly raised, ill equipped and self-financed local people, at the age of 22. This speaks of his courage of conviction and indomitable faith which fuelled his dynamism. After the cease-fire was imposed, Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan took to politics with the same objective of liberation of motherland. He is fighting on many fronts, explaining the Kashmir issue to world leaders, enthusing Kashmiri people on both sides of the cease-fire line, convincing the Pakistan government that Kashmiris are only to become a part and parcel of Pakistan. Kashmir Bane Ga Pakistan is his mission of life. Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan, in his speeches, delivered to officers of Pakistan's Armed Forces on several occasions, explained the rationale of this slogan which is not merely a slogan but a motto, a mission, a goal and an objective. Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan discusses almost sixteen different options including, of course, the so-called third option of Independent Kashmir and comes to the conclusion that regional stability and international peace can only be ensured if the Kashmiris exercise their right of self-determination which ultimately means accession of Kashmir to Pakistan.

Ashfaq Hashmi

Address

by

Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan

Prime Minister

Azad Jammu and Kashmir

at

Command & Staff College, Quetta.

8th March, 1987.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS
BY MAJ GEN REHMDIL BHATTI

Commandant, Command & Staff College, Quetta.

Gentlemen, we are greatly honoured to have with us, this morning the President Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan (He was the President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir in March 1987 when the speech was delivered. Since August 1991 he has been serving as Prime Minister of Azad Jammu and Kashmir). When you think of Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan and the subject on which he is going to talk this morning there is a lot of synonymity between the two. In fact, he is a living legend of this problem who has seen it right from its inception till today. Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan has been a man of crisis whether it be pre-partition days - at the time of partition or during our post-partition era. He has been the stabilizing factor. We are grateful to him for having found time out of his very very busy schedule to come and talk to us on a subject which is very close to our hearts. This morning Sardar Muhammad

Abdul Qayyum Khan will talk to us on the 'Kashmir Problem'.

Address

Mr. Commandant, General Bhatti, Chief Instructor, Brig Burki Sahib, Members of the Faculty and our allied brother members of the Faculty! I really don't know whether you have the tradition or not but I would like to begin this talk with recitation of the Holy Quran.

والعصره ان الانسان لفي خسره الا الذين آمنوا و عملوا الصالحات و
تواصوا بالحقه و تواصوا بالصبره

I am really grateful, rather indebted to the Command, staff and the people who invited me to the Staff College for this talk. I have incidentally, had opportunities to speak at many institutions within the country and outside but this is a unique experience both for me and perhaps for you also because my person has been very controversial because of my deep involvement in politics. Most of the time I spent in the opposition of various governments from time to time and therefore, I would like to say that it must have been a courageous step to invite me here for this talk. I could have straight away gone into the subject, but a few words I hope, you would not mind before I proceed to talk about the Kashmir issue. The Kashmir issue also, I believe, is perhaps for the first time being talked about and debated on this forum. Previously I have at least not heard of this issue having been brought on the rostrum here.

This institution is perhaps, rather surely, one of the very prestigious institutions of our country and we are

generally proud of it. I was asked to, or at least I was expected to come with a written speech. The script was required to be sent before hand or to be handed over to the staff after I had finished but unfortunately, inspite of my continuous efforts to write down a script myself, I have not been able to do so. I could only jot down a few points. The difficulty, in fact, is that I am not accustomed to reading out written scripts. I might have found it difficult to do so. Secondly, it is really very difficult for anyone to translate somebody else's feelings, thoughts and sentiments on a piece of paper. Perhaps on highly professional subjects you might be able to do that, but on a subject which involves history it might not be possible. Another drawback which a written speech has is the absence of aesthetic sense. Like a poet or a writer, speakers also sometimes get inspired by the environment and by the audience; and that part of it would have been missing if I had come with a written speech. So I had to forego that.

The other thing which I want to point out is the language problem. I know I am required to speak in English but I am not really very good at it. Also, I am not used to delivering long speeches in English. So lest you later on find faults with it; and it is not merely finding faults but something more than that. What really happens is, what I experienced myself, therefore, I am saying it, no matter how decent a subject and how good a speech is if a speaker misplaces a word or mispronounces a word, the whole thing loses the charm of it and really turns into some sort of confusion and is not properly understood. The people don't like it either. I

personally don't like to hear somebody speaking incorrect Urdu. He may be giving the correct meaning but I won't like his speech no matter what he is speaking on. So perhaps the same applied to me also. Therefore I hope you would not mind and take this as an advance warning. Let it be a literary AWACS if not a military one.

The other factor is perhaps the time. I will try to finish my speech before any tedium sets in and you get bored.

Because I have so much in common with a military subject therefore before going straight to the Kashmir issue, and even the Kashmir issue itself involves military aspects also, I have a few words to say to you all, gentlemen. Our Army, the Pakistan Army, as a whole, is an institution to be proud of by any country in the world; and it is again something unique, the way our Army has moved through various turbulent times, trials and ordeals. Particularly the top brass having been involved in politics from time to time and that too for a very long time; as I was saying it is unique that the Army as a whole has not been politicized or politically affected to that extent. This generally does not happen when an Army goes into long involvements in politics. Politics is a contagious disease if you may like to call it, which really does not leave any part of your body or mind out of its jurisdiction. It catches every place but this, by the grace of Almighty Allah, you have been able to accomplish perhaps because of your traditions and sense of duty or, let me say, being loyal to the command. Had it not

been so, I think starting from Field Marshals and full Generals we, today in this country, would have Majors and Lieutenant Colonels, even Captains, at the helm of affairs; and that would have destroyed the Army, the country and everything would have gone down with it. So, that is another matter of gratification that I must bring on record. It has been like the old Persian saying; most of you might be understanding some Persian; they say:

در میان ی باز
 قهر گونی
 دریا که
 دامن
 ت
 بهدم کن
 کرده
 بشیار
 ای
 باش

“ You put a man right into the middle of stormy waves and then ask him not to moisten his clothes and keep out of them”. That is something very difficult to accomplish. It is almost impossible. But our Army, by the grace of God, has done that and I wish to extend my profound congratulations to them for it.

There have been visible external influences also and many other elements that might have wanted, deliberately, to corrode and corrupt the army from inside, so that this element, the army, which is keeping the country together should be kept away from performing its main function. It is not merely defending the country. The army is keeping the country together. We are so badly torn apart from inside; sectarianism, the various religious sects, the political or subjective political thinking, the language problem, then the territorial and regional prejudices and so on and so forth; anything which would tear apart any country on the face of Earth. We have been facing that and there

again the Army has come to the rescue and it has saved the country not only from outside aggression but from inside also. East Pakistan, for that matter, I would not call it a military defeat. I have always said it, not today, but always that it was a political defeat but thrown on the shoulders of the Army. Anyway, that we have suffered.

We are doubting, sometimes, in public, whether or not our Army will have the moral support of its countrymen in the event of an emergency with India. Many people doubt this and there are many agencies which are all out to create an atmosphere conducive to a lack of moral support or absence of moral support to the Army. But again by the grace of God, the intrigues and conspiracies hatched for this purpose have totally failed, and we have found in the past two weeks that in an emergency the entire nation barring a few people who are available in any country, stand with the Army like a rock; and that is perhaps another element which might have convinced the Indian troops for a withdrawal. And I wish that this is taken due note of. Much will depend on the behaviour of our troops and our officers and they have to depend on some other factors which are equally important. One of them is the moral support of your countrymen. They should come to your aid, and to your support. They should in fact be prepared to fight shoulder to shoulder, side by side, with you. Then and only then can we really meet the external danger that has been looming large on our borders and that will continue to be there as long as we live.

Then of course is another aspect which is the training. I am glad to learn (I am more of a soldier than a politician myself) that we have kept up our traditions. But incidentally these traditions, most of them might be very good but they were founded by the British Government in order to suit its own peculiar designs and objectives. So, whenever there is a need to make a departure and pick up another convention we should not really hesitate. We should not be under any inferiority complex to take it up. For example, as I said in the beginning, recitation of The Holy Quran. Pakistan has been brought into existence in the name of Islam and for the sake of Islam and in fact by the Islamic forces. So, recitation from the Holy Quran should be a part of any Pakistani's business, no matter what business it is, being in the Army or running a factory or cultivating his land or something - whatever he is doing.

And then of course every profession, as you know, has three basic dimensions. It is the aptitude for the profession; and it is the labour that you put in; and it is the reward and remuneration that you derive out of it. But there is yet another dimension which should be added to the profession; and that is the dimension of faith. You see, intellect, gentlemen, we have had very intelligent people in this country. People who could come up in the field of intellect upto any level of any world forum. There were first rank people we have had but unfortunately they were lacking in conviction and that is why we, instead of progressing, have been scared for our life. We have been confronted with the very problem of existence, saving the

country, securing this country and stabilizing this country. That is mostly because of lack of conviction - faith in God Almighty, as you know, the Muslims definitely must believe in that, They know that in the Holy Scripture God Almighty says:

” و انتم الاعلون ان كنتم مومنين ”

“You will be the winner, you will be the victorious if you have the faith”. Now, this faith can be interpreted by Muslims in terms of Islam and Eeman and by the non-Muslims in their own way. They also have faith; and they can interpret it as faith in themselves, faith in the country, faith in the cause and so on and so forth. So in fact battles are decided not merely by the quantum of training and armaments and other things, numbers etc. but ultimately by faith, and you must have been reading through the books many a time, that battles are decided before they are actually fought. That is where faith comes into play and you know what is going to happen in a battle. This time we demonstrated faith in ourselves and we believe in this. For example in Azad Kashmir, I knew it just as we see each other today here and just as vividly as that, that if we were attacked in Azad Kashmir, no matter whether the uniformed troops were there or not there, but we the two million Kashmiris in Azad Kashmir and more than six million in occupied Kashmir were going to resist and we were going to fight, fight to the last and for every inch of the country. That must have been conveyed across also because these things don't remain hidden. That could be another element that caused the withdrawal of Indian troops. So it is faith, in fact the fourth

dimension which must have been added to your training; so that when you go out of here, you are not merely Muslim soldiers, you are not merely professionally sound but are supreme in your conviction also. And conviction added to the profession, if anybody would do it, he would appreciate what I am saying, I am not saying it out of books, and out of theories, but I have done it myself. I have gone through the mill myself. Therefore, I can say with all the conviction at my disposal, that this element added, further broadens and widens the scope of your profession. For example if you have faith together with other things, definitely you will develop an institution after some time. And we know that many a plan and many actions in the world were calculated not by professional mathematics but by institutions and institutional mathematics and those perhaps dealt final and deciding blows in the whole game. So, just in order to inculcate the element of faith in the people, there are many ways open. You can do it yourselves. For example, my friends, there is time for prayers. Every Muslim is essentially required to go five times to pray. So, if he did that, he would be adding that fourth dimension to his profession and also getting the help of Almighty Allah. We cannot try to become Americans or Russians, fighting with computers. We have to fight hand to hand. Like what one of the experts said that the battles are decided by infantry, ultimately by hand to hand fight. And then it will be faith again which will really help you; and five times of going for prayers and prayers not individually. The British government for their own reasons had impressed upon the people here, that religion is a person's individual affair behind the doors. Now for us as

Muslims after 40 years, we must appreciate that Islam is not an individual affair. It is a collective affair. Every Muslim is required to conform at least to some of the fundamentals. I am not expecting you to become highly Islamised the way we should really be, but the minimum at least cannot be ignored and cannot be lost sight of. Thereby we become not merely a Muslim Army but we become an Islamic Army. I am absolutely convinced that if we followed those footsteps no matter what power India might be accumulating they will not be able to fight us. Even today quantity-wise we are far behind we know, but quality-wise we are not as far behind as perhaps it could be in terms of plain Mathematics. In this context I would like to mention the Kashmir war of 1947-48 for 15 months that we fought. I am not very much aware of what was happening in other sectors but the sector that I was commanding , we tried strictly to adhere to the commandments of Islam. It is worth studying in detail. Some of you (if you have the research cells here, as you must be having) should go into that and see whether morality and faith do play any part in warfare or not. And if they do play, and if it is proved not 1500 years back but just 40 years, 35, 38 years back, then you will perhaps come to agree with me that this is what we should have really adopted ourselves.

I had experience particularly with Gorkhas, who are very good in mountain warfare as you all know. Some of their soldiers and officers were captured by my troops and I deliberately asked of them as to why did they not give a good account of themselves in that mountain warfare. Believe me, everyone of them (they were asked separately),

gave the same answer. They said, "We are fighting for money not for our own country."

That way we, untrained people without armaments, without any logistics, without any equipment, fought the enemy equipped with modern weaponry. I was telling the GOC last night here that in the contemporary history of liberation and freedom movements, no movement to my knowledge had given that account of itself which we gave for 15 months on that soil. And that was mostly because we were motivated, of course, for defending ourselves, defending our honour, our women folk, our children, our homes but at the same time we followed the tenets of Islam, and tried to conduct it accordingly. I still remember Mrs. Tucker, the famous American lady, General Tucker's wife, who was engaged in removing people from the affected areas to safe quarters from India to Pakistan and from Pakistan to India. In 1947-48, she came to visit me there in Bagh sector and brought along with her about 5 to 8 hundred of the captives, civilians and army personnel, and they walked from Mong Bajri; (it is a place known to most of you who have been to Azad Kashmir) to Kohala; and I asked that lady: "What do you feel about these people?". She said, "Is it not enough that they have walked from Mong Bajri to Kohala in this short time? Does it not prove the way they have been looked after". Then she said, "It has been an eye-opening experience for me". She said, "I have been from Calcutta down to other places and here in Pakistan but have never seen anywhere people being treated like this." And this we did only and only because of the commandments of

Islam. I knew what Islam commanded me to do in a case like this. The people go and shoot down the people who have laid down their arms. Women folk were shot down. On my right and left people were being treated like that but we looked after them. I allowed full scale military rations and two battalions' rations were diverted entirely to the camp of those people (refugees or captives as we call them) and I kept my own men, fighting men, starving or we managed locally for their food, but two battalions full-scale rations were given to those captives. And those captives when they left Pakistan and went upto Jammu, created chaos in Jammu and got released about sixty of our political prisoners who were held by the Dogra Government in Jammu itself. And even today when I go outside Pakistan and I come across some of those non-Muslims who were then looked after by us, some of them millionaires, multimillionaires, they would not like to sit before me on a sofa. When they sit before me they praise me. They still remember me and say, "How can we thank you for the way you treated us". This is how it pays ultimately to follow the morality and faith commanded by Islam in warfare.

Then, just in half a minute the religious concept of victory and defeat has been defined by Almighty Allah in the Holy Quran. I will just read out without going into the details, the few commandments which I just remembered on my way. I did not go to search through the Quran but I just read them out. One said: **وانتم الاعلون ان كنتم مومنين**
 and the other one is " **واعدوا لهم ما استطعتم من قوة**"

“You make (all possible) preparations”. Islam does not forbid training and piling of armaments. You do whatever you can but do not take God out of it. Do not rely entirely on that but rely on God. And then the Quran says:

”وكم من فئة قليلة غلبت فئة كثيرة باذن الله“

It is not that many a time in history you find that less number of people have succeeded against the bigger number of people by the permission of God. And then: ”سألنى في قلوب الذين كفروا الرعب“

That We sometimes inflict terror, fear in the hearts of your enemies and they are defeated. It is He who does that and not our armament or training but our conviction in Him. And then,

”ان تنصروا الله ينصركم“

“If you help God, God will surely help you”. And in this connection I quote just another incident and then we move on to the Kashmir issue. There is a famous historical event recorded in the history, undisputed, that when Persia was attacked by the Muslim Armies, the fire-worshipper king, (one of the most powerful kings of Persia) Yazdgerd or Yazgerd as they call him, sent an ambassador to China for seeking help from the Chinese king. Now the Chinese king put some questions to the ambassador. The first question was, “Do they fulfil their promise when they make one”? The ambassador said, “Yes”. Then he said, “What do they require before fighting”? He said, “They invite us to one of the three things. Either we accept their faith and if we accept we are equals in all respects or we pay jizya, they will defend us or we go to war with them”. You see the Muslims are not supposed to go to war straight-away because they have the power, like the Indian Government, they want to strike against us just because they have the power. Otherwise they know that we are not going to fight against

them; we have no cause to fight them. So that is not what the Muslims are supposed to do. And then the third question was, "How do they obey their leaders"? The answer was, "They are most obedient to their command". Then he said, "What is Halal and Haram with them"? The king also asked, "Do they change Halal from Haram and vice versa"? He was told, "No, they don't do that". Then the King said, "They will never perish as long as they adhere to this". That wise king look, what the questions he put and what answers! "What do they wear"? he asked, "What do they ride"? "The camels" he was told and they were defined. Then the final reply which the Chinese king sent to Yazdgerd was this, "I have no objection in despatching a contingent of troops whose one end be in Marve (in Persia) and the other in China, but these people as your ambassador has described, if they endeavor to remove a high mountain they would do it; if they had access to me they would remove me as well as long as they are as they have been described. So make peace with them; share the land with them and do not attack them unless they do it." That is the characteristic which unfortunately we have not mostly attended to and we have let it go presuming that because we are born Muslims so it is incumbent upon Almighty Allah to help us in any case, no matter what we do.

But my friends, gentlemen, let me make it clear and this is the historical fact we cannot deny it, that fighting on the basis of numbers, quantity and skill, the weapons, the fire power, I think we can be excelled by many countries not one, India particularly. But if we inculcate in ourselves any of these qualities, if we connect ourselves to the Holy

Prophet (PBUH) in any way, I don't say you rise up at 3-0' clock in the morning and say prayers and keep reciting the Quran the whole day and so on and so forth; I don't demand anything of that sort from you nor from anybody else but we must at least look into the minimum that is required; that will make all the difference. For example, many of you must be saying your prayers but as I said if they were offered collectively following an Imam, that will create added grace and that will move nature to come to your assistance and succor. Similarly, for example, normally I find that very good Muslims,(practising Muslims, I have seen) take pride in eating with their left hand. Now this eating with the left or the right hand is not the thing to determine finally what is going to happen but it is a thing which will invariably connect you to the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and I am reminded, and I would like to remind you, of what Syedna Hazrat Umar (RA) said when he conquered Palestine, and it was on a similar thing like this. When we sit down for a chat, I will be able to tell you. The incident is recorded in history like this: When the second Caliph of Islam, Hazrat Umar conquered Palestine, a big feast was hosted in his honour by the elite of the area. When the Caliph finished his meal, (in pursuance of the sacred tradition of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) those sitting next to the Caliph quietly pointed out to him that his act offended against the etiquettes of the hosts. The Caliph was annoyed at the conjecture and made an observation which not only goes down in the historical record but in fact makes history in itself.

”اتريدنى ان اترك سنة رسول الله لهؤلاء الحمقاء“

"Do you wish that I give up the sacred tradition of the Holy Prophet of God for (he pointed his fingers towards the assemblage and said) the sake of these idiots"?

So, this getting in contact with the Holy Prophet (PBUH) is a matter that will move nature or Almighty Allah to help us. We eat with the left hand because the foreign masters or the Europeans eat with their left hand because they don't know whether it is necessary to eat with the right but a time will come that like other acts and habits of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and what he enjoined us to do will be scientifically proved as correct. Many of the things have been scientifically proved today. You see what the Holy Prophet (PBUH) said was not unscientific. He was not merely telling you to do something or not to do something but it will be proved that this eating with the right hand and eating with the left hand makes a lot of difference. Similarly wearing your shoes from the right for example (it does not take you any trouble, you will see). You (by doing so) accept the superiority and supremacy of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and God Almighty and if you accept and submit yourself to that superiority, like (if) you submit to the superiority of your command, you become dearer to the command. If you keep defying the command, no matter how good professional soldiers you might be, you will never get near to the command. Similarly if we submit ourselves entirely to the supremacy and superiority of God and the Holy Prophet (PBUH) then perhaps there is no danger of anything even if we do not have AWACS and if we do not have a nuclear

device. We can still go along without these and perhaps do what is needed to be done.

Now, Sir, we move on to the Kashmir issue. I am really grateful to the institution that you have undertaken to have this issue talked about today. This should have been done long ago but like many other things which should have been done long ago and we have not done them, this is one of those things. But anyway it is never too late even today. Perhaps it is greatly needed today because in my humble opinion although there is complete dismay and disappointment over the Kashmir issue and the mathematically calculating people have written it off, be it in this country or be it elsewhere, nobody is interested, but, in my humble opinion, as I said, I see things moving in a direction where that will certainly get bottle-necked and unless the Kashmir issue is decided nothing will move forward. Everything will come to a standstill and the sub-continent will land itself into a very dangerous position from where it must get out; and if it must get out, it must settle the Kashmir dispute. That is where we are coming to. So it is good that you, officers who are already commanding various formations and who will in future perhaps be the next top brass of the Army, know something about the Kashmir issue from a man very much concerned. Now the invitation letter sent to me, said that you have "adequate knowledge" of the Kashmir issue. Please don't take it as any impeachment from me but in all humility my humble submission is that there is hardly any knowledge about the Kashmir issue with anybody. People talk about it just as an academic issue and

therefore, it requires some detailed study. I was telling some of my friends, that if I was consulted before hand I would have suggested to the Commandant to arrange not one but 3, 4, or 5 consecutive lectures so that I could brief you on almost all aspects of the Kashmir issue. It is a very sensitive and touchy issue. It has acquired international dimensions; it is a multi-dimensional issue. It involves the economy, it involves defence, it involves politics, geography and so on and so forth. It is a multidimensional issue; and it cannot be just (easily) understood. Then from what I read in the invitation letter, my views that I just now propounded are confirmed. The invitation letter said "What are the options available to Pakistan for its resolution and what measures should be adopted to settle it". The very question of "what options are available to Pakistan" is another point which really needs to be deliberated and dilated upon in detail. What role Pakistan has to play and is it Pakistan alone which has a role to play or there are any other people who have roles to play? So this question shows that according to the people here it is only Pakistan which has a role to play and therefore options and modalities need to be worked out but I personally think a little otherwise.

In a nutshell this issue, to begin with, is a story of denial of the right of self-determination. Then of course, it is comprised of a very brilliant and chivalrous fight also. Then it is repudiation, rather blatant repudiation, as I usually call it, of international agreements by India: and a story of our own failures, failings criminal failings- let me say.

You see, when I am required to talk about the Indian machinations against settlement of the Kashmir issue, professional honesty demands that I talk about our own failings also, and perhaps you might be more concerned with our own failings than the failings of the enemy. That is also needed to be recorded and registered and also lack of conviction and faith and foresight on our part. The Kashmir issue is comprised of that. And then of course in the lack of faith in the cause and the international intrigues. These few points which I have just mentioned, one can write a full thesis on each of them and only then it would be understood what I really mean. But there is no time for it anyway. Then of course the other point which we move on to is **WHAT THE ISSUE ACTUALLY IS**. That is what is to be understood and in my humble opinion there are very few people who understand what the issue actually is. They understand what the issue looks like, but not what the issue is in the hard-core of it. That is what needs to be understood. It is so, mostly because of the powerful Indian propaganda machine, Indian diplomatic pressure and India's capacity of duping the world opinion, and then of course our own position of falling back.

I remember in 1948 we had difficulty with some of the commanders, the regular commanders. They said, on the map they were marking, (we were having a meeting with Brigade commanders and somebody was marking) the way back and falling back positions. I said, "What are these"? They said, "In case the enemy takes this " I said, "Please delete this. We just don't want to know what a falling back

position is. We want to know what the forward positions are to go ahead. The falling back positions will not be included on our map". We have unfortunately demonstrated the same sense even in politics. We have been earmarking falling back positions even in politics and, therefore, we are where we are; and we look at the Kashmir issue from the Indian angle and not the Pakistani angle. That is what I dare say and I will be able to tell you in a few minutes, what it really means.

For example, when we are talking of what the issue actually is, we go back to the great divide itself. The movement which caused the division, which forced the division of the sub-continent against all odds. Against the then British Government, the Labour and their representative - Lord Mountbatten here, and the Indian leadership, of course, their leaders were not the leaders of today, like Rajiv Gandhi, but they were giants of leaders you see, people who could compare and match with any leader of the world. So it was against their machinations; the movement forced the divide and this issue emanated from there. Then, of course, if Lord Mountbatten and Mr. Radcliffe, had not conspired to give a narrow passage to the Indian Army to give it access to Kashmir, there would just have been no Kashmir issue at all. Kashmir would have automatically acceded to Pakistan in its natural course without anybody asking for it. By giving that passage into Kashmir and Jammu through Pathankot the conspiracy succeeded and the Indian Army moved into Kashmir.

Then of course, the Kashmir movement, mind you gentlemen, is not the movement for a separate nation, a separate country, asking for independence and freedom. It is an offshoot, it is a continuation, rather in its wake it carries the completion of the two nation theory. Now in Kashmir, for example, here (in Pakistan) the two- nation theory came to be known on the 23rd March, 1940, but in Kashmir we have been fighting for that basic right from 1931 - 11 years ahead of the people here in the country known as Pakistan. We have been demanding the same since 1931 as was being demanded from 1940 onwards here from Minar-e-Pakistan. So it is a continuation as I said, and completion of the two-nation theory. The two-nation theory is not complete unless the Kashmiris have been given the right to exercise their right of self-determination. Everybody on the sub-continent, millions and millions of people on both sides, in both the countries, have exercised their right of self-determination but the Kashmiris. Now this is something strange and unless that is done, the two-nation theory is not complete. You see that the Indian leadership, the Indian Government, the ruling leadership in India, has been very much concerned with doing down or doing away with the two-nation theory, to the extent that when we lost East Pakistan, as you all must be remembering, Indira Gandhi, the late Prime Minister of India, said, "Today I have sunk the two-nation theory in the Bay of Bengal." In another statement she said, "I want to live to see the day when this two-nation theory is completely done away with." Now that is the crux of the Indian politics and just for that matter, for that very particular reason, Kashmir is being held by force. The Kashmiris by their own

choice will accede to Pakistan, (everybody knows unmistakably, that they will accede to Pakistan) the two-nation theory will be complete; and the purpose contained in the famous Congress Resolution of 1947 will be defeated. (Many of you must have read it through or you will read it in future, that they accepted Pakistan conditionally, that they will move into liquidating Pakistan very soon in 20-25 years. There will be no Pakistan very soon in 20-25 years. There will be no Pakistan after 25 years) So that is what is really causing the Kashmir issue to remain unsettled so far.

Then we look at another aspect of the Kashmir issue which is equally very important and that is the importance of Kashmir itself for Pakistan. Now that is where we have again defaulted by trying to close our eyes. We think we are not being looked at by the enemy. Again we fall back and we don't know where we are going to. So what is the importance of Kashmir to Pakistan? That must also be fully realised and I am sorry to say, gentlemen, (I don't know about the individuals, they may be realising this individually in their hearts) but as far as I know at the national level, we have totally failed to realise the importance of Kashmir for Pakistan. Now as I said in the beginning, this is the completion of the two-nation theory, and Pakistan is not complete without completing the two-nation theory; and then of course the economic, geographical and defence boundaries of Pakistan are not complete. For example, you look at the economy itself. If Kashmir does not finally accede to Pakistan all rivers, for that matter, river Jhelum is also going to be diverted leaving you absolutely dry(in Punjab particularly).

And I don't know how much of wheat America can produce to feed us instead. So the geographic, economic and defence boundaries of Pakistan are not complete without Kashmir. And on top of it all, what the Quaid-e-Azam said is not taken into account (We go to place wreaths on the grave of the Quaid-e-Azam and everybody does it, but I really don't know whether we have tried to follow what Quaid-e-Azam told us to do). Even on the T.V. screen I see that the Quaid-e-Azam said this and the Quaid-e-Azam said that but I have never seen on the T.V. screen what Quaid-e-Azam said about Kashmir itself. That is perhaps being avoided. The nation is not being told what the Quaid-e-Azam said about Kashmir. The Quaid-e-Azam said, "Kashmir is the life-line or jugular vein of Pakistan and no self-respecting nation can afford to keep it under enemy sword." I have not added anything to them. Now when Quaid-e-Azam said this, it was not an emotional fit that he felt but it was a cold, mathematically calculated historical fact that he was narrating. It is an historical fact that Kashmir is the life-line of Pakistan and if Kashmir had come to Pakistan, India would not think of fighting a war with Pakistan. Many of our difficulties and troubles would have been over but this nation has unfortunately forgotten what the Quaid-e-Azam told us to do. If he had lived, he would not let this jugular vein remain under the enemy's sword for all these 40 years, but we as descendants or followers of the Quaid-e-Azam don't know how we can really escape this responsibility which devolves on us through these words.

There is yet another aspect, you see. I was confronted by late Prime Minister, Mr. Bhutto, in one of our top level meetings (we had only one meeting, we never met again on this point). We were discussing this point and one of the Ministers said (these were his words) "In any foreseeable future which means 10 to 15 years the Kashmir issue is not going to be settled". In the meantime he said he had found some youngmen in Azad Kashmir talking about a separate independent State (this will jeopardise, and it would of course if it succeeds) jeopardise the defence, the most sensitive defence area of Pakistan - Azad Kashmir. He suggested that Azad Kashmir be merged into Pakistan. "Later on we will see" he said. Then of course I would not take you to the details. You can look into it yourself. Then I said to Mr. Bhutto; "Sir, if you can get up and give a guarantee, if you can assure the 100 million people of Pakistan that after conceding on the cease-fire line (I call it the cease-fire line, the Government calls it - not Azad Kashmir Government but Pakistan Government calls it Control Line, it has never been a control line in fact) "as the final boundary between Pakistan and India; India will give up its aggressive designs against Pakistan, it will give up its expansionist policy in this hemisphere, then I said, "I, as Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan, representative of the people of Kashmir (you need not bother about it) will get up and say that I, Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan sacrifice the six million people, six million Muslims of Kashmir, for the sake of 100 million people here in Pakistan." I said, "You need not do that." But I said, "Sir, if by conceding on the cease-fire line you become more vulnerable, you come

under greater pressure from India and you have no way to meet it, then": I said, "For what heavenly purpose shall we concede on this." I said, "If you have your generals with you what would happen. I will show you what would happen in case we simply accept the proposition of accepting the cease-fire line as a final line. Then, India will ask for further changes. As the bigger country she must ask for some changes where they are vulnerable and we are holding a better position. And we will have to concede, ipso-facto, their request at the same time and once we do that". I said, "Islamabad can easily come under the long-range gun fire and they need not really fight with you. They just turn you out of Azad Kashmir and Islamabad by simple gun-fire - stray gun-fire here and there. "What on earth" I said "are we going to achieve by conceding like that." Mr. Bhutto who was reclining on his chair pushed it forward and sat back with his fist on the table and said. "No. No. This is his personal opinion. It has nothing to do either with me or my cabinet. As long as I live there would be no compromise on the Kashmir issue." These are some inherent difficulties that the issue is laden with and it must be realised how important it is for Pakistan. I, for example, being a Kashmiri should not have bothered about how it affects Pakistan adversely or in a better way . But I have no hesitation in telling you , you may interpret it the way you like but that has been a life-long code with me, that I look at the Kashmir issue and its liberation from the Pakistan standpoint and I want it to be liberated for the sake of this country, not merely for the sake of Kashmir itself, Now this is a very difficult proposition in the present days of fashionable politics where you have

independence, freedom , "istiqlal" and I don't know what not. Our good young boys, you see, by lengthening their hair and taking a sip of wine or a smoke of heroine say , "No, no, we want to become a free nation and an independent nation and so on and so forth." All that tall talk is non-sense, you see I don't believe in that. That is why I have been very clear in my mind about what we have to do and what we should not do and now in a few minutes I will be able to tell you what we are doing about that.

Now we look at the whole struggle, the Kashmir struggle as you call it. It has been spread out into a number of phases and each phase needs to be studied thoroughly by the students and scholars, you gentlemen here or even outside. I have been able to secure a few books. I don't know whether they would suffice; we will try to find some more books for you in which you can read about it. Really it is not one book which will give you a correct account of the whole thing. You might have to go through a number of books. It is like sand sifting for a particle of gold; it is something like that. Unfortunately we have not written down any correct account of the whole thing. So it is for example the struggle between 1931 and 1947. It is a political struggle which needs to be studied. Then we come to the second phase of the struggle between 1947 and 1949 , The cease-fire of 1st of JANUARY 1949, the war for 15 to 16 months. It is all so full of history in fact because that was the climax of what happened between 1931 and 1949 . So then you come to the cease-fire .This war that we fought between 1947 and 1949 in 15 or 16 months,(really for you it would be very

much interesting and help you formulate your ideas and convictions), to study the very nature of that struggle and only then you would understand; because very distorted versions have been printed about the struggle and no correct account has been given so far. You have the means, you have the time, and you have the responsibility in fact to study it in detail so that you will be able to resolve some controversies that might crop up.

Then we come to the cease-fire. Now this cease-fire is another chapter of our history which needs to be studied very thoroughly. Whether or not should we have accepted the cease-fire. That is another very big question you see and still remains to be resolved. Should we have really accepted it or not? And then of course how and who should have accepted the cease-fire? Was it the Government of Pakistan who should have made itself party to the cease-fire or were it the people, the Mujahideen, the representatives of the Mujahideen, who should have signed the agreement or should have been involved in it? I personally feel that the cease-fire came at a very inopportune time. When the battle was won like many other battles afterwards, the battle which we had won in the field was lost on the table unfortunately. And then of course the Pakistan Government by becoming a party to the cease-fire committed another blunder. I don't know, the most visionless thing that could have been done was the Pakistan Government becoming a party to an issue to which she was not really a party. The Pakistan Government was not instrumental in any manner whatsoever, in those hostilities

or Jihad or war of liberation. The Pakistan Government became a party much afterwards when we had conquered almost 50% or at least 1/3rd of the territory now under our control. Only then the Government of Pakistan had military troops moved to our support but by the 'Government of Pakistan' becoming a party, Pakistan as a country has become a hostage in the hands of the Indian Government. That is exactly what the Indian leadership, the sensible leadership in India, would have required us to do. Not to hold the Mujahideen or Sardar Qayyum responsible but to hold the Government of Pakistan responsible for whatever happens in Azad Kashmir or in Kashmir and that is what we have seen to happen in the later days. That is what has become one of the greatest impediments in the resumption of any movement of that kind. I might be able to explain to you or you might study it yourself.

Now the other phase. The other chapter of our history is the 1965 operation. This was another unique feature of our fallacious thinking, our ill-planned subjective action. The burden unfortunately was thrown on the Kashmiris. The Kashmiris who had no knowledge and no clue as to what was happening were ultimately held responsible for the defeat or for the failure of that operation. It was such an ill-conceived operation, I wrote an article, an appreciation of it, in 1965 after having gone through the whole cease-fire line and having been in it myself. I have not been able to bring that article with me but some time I will find it for you. It is a document of eight to ten pages and will give you some insight into what happened in 1965.

Now on the Tashkent Accord. This Accord was another mechanism or machination through which we slightly, not totally or wholly, but we slightly surrendered our victory.

And then we come to the 1971 operation and the Simla Accord. The less said about it, the better. Most of you must have been in it yourselves, and you know how it went off. If President Zia-ul-Haq had not made a categorical statement about it (Simla Accord) very recently in India in an interview to Amrita Bazaar Patrika, I would have talked in detail about it. I need not do it because he has very clearly said what the document implies and what it means. And in fact the weak people, you know, as they cling to straw, the weak people, some of our people, who are, as I said, convictionless did try to interpret it in favour of India and against ourselves. But as I have always said (I think that you must be having it in your library you could read it yourself) it does not obstruct Pakistan from doing anything about Kashmir that Pakistan cares to do.

Then of course I missed a point in the early part of my speech about another machination, like the Pathankot affair which was aimed at undoing Pakistan. Like nipping it while it was in the bud, on the very first day was to disperse mercilessly and ruthlessly the (Pakistani share of) troops and the armament throughout India right from Madras to Calcutta. I remember we had the body of the mortar, two - inch mortar, but I learnt that the ammunition was lying in

Calcutta, when we were supposed to send mortars in the field. Similarly no battalion was complete, no company was complete, no brigade was complete what to speak of a division or a corps. This was purposely done to allow India's military supremacy in Kashmir to go and capture militarily; which they did, but, of course, they did not do it entirely because of their military superiority but mostly because of our own stupid actions and ill-conceived actions and ill-planned actions and visionless actions. They derived advantage and they should have done it. Any enemy would derive advantage and they should have done it. Any enemy would derive advantage of whatever weaknesses you have and they did derive the advantage of capturing the airport in Srinagar which was 24 hours before in our range and we could have easily captured it; but we did not do it and so they took advantage of it.

This issue has another aspect which I may term as political aspect. In this there are various UN resolutions to which India was also committed. The last resolution passed about Kashmir was in 1957. But when we talk of these resolutions let me remind you of one thing in particular and which I had to remind the President of Pakistan also, unfortunately. He is expected to know more than myself but somehow sometimes one does not really keep in view the whole picture. There is a United Nations resolution in the beginning which says that Kashmiris should have the option either to accede to India or to Pakistan or to remain independent. Now generally when we refer to UN resolutions, we refer to this resolution. But then successive,

subsequent resolutions came to be passed by the UNCIP (the UN Commission for India and Pakistan) and by the Security Council, repeatedly on two or three occasions, which closed down the third option of an independent Kashmir and restricted the whole thing to only two options. This I am saying particularly because inadvertently, unmindful of the consequences we sometimes in our love for Kashmir are trying to overact a little about it, we go to the extent of saying "all right let them have independence," not realising the consequences. Therefore, I had incidentally to correct the worthy President also. I said when we refer to Kashmir we refer to the UNCIP resolutions and the Security Council resolution of the 6th January 1948, not the UN resolution which was discarded later on. Politically speaking we have in Kashmir two powerful movements, one is for accession of the State to Pakistan. The Muslim Conference which was the mouth-piece of the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir, and when I say mouthpiece, I don't say so because I belong to the Muslim Conference, but because history proves that it is the standard bearer of this objective. In all elections which were held to the State Assembly from 1934 to 1946, the Muslim Conference invariably secured more than 90% of the Muslim seats. Therefore, it was the Muslim Conference which was representative of all the Muslim community of the Jammu and Kashmir State. The Muslim Conference on 19th of July, 1947 passed a resolution calling for accession of the State to Pakistan in the midst of conspiracies and intrigues for the State to accede to India and there was an intrigue to tell the Muslims that they can remain independent. This was another time-gaining device

and nothing more than that and the Muslim Conference refused to accept it. So much so that the impression given to the Muslim Conference was that even the Quaid-e-Azam himself had wanted the State to remain independent. The young councillors, young members of the General Council of the Muslim Conference, they just refused to accept even if the Quaid-e-Azam had said it. They refused to accept and said they will accede to Pakistan ;and so this is a powerful movement today by the grace of Almighty Allah on both sides of the cease-fire line. We have the strongest movement today in Kashmir of accession to Pakistan, on both sides as you must be reading in newspapers(whatever trickles out from there). You see that the slogan of "Kashmir Bane Ga Pakistan" (Kashmir to be part of Pakistan) was raised by students in the University convocation that was addressed by the Indian President in Srinagar recently. The students kept on shouting the slogan of "Kashmir Bane Ga Pakistan" and did not allow the President to address the convocation. So, that is the power of the movement .

The other movement is of accession to India which is just fading out; and the people who were really very optimistic about it in the beginning are now learning what India means to the Muslim community as such and therefore they are getting disillusioned about it now. And then of course, not in the occupied Kashmir, but unfortunately on this side of the cease-fire line, we have some free lancers. They have no responsibility, no accountability and they are free to think as they like. Nobody is there to question them. They have come out with the slogan of "Kashmir to become

an Independent State". Now if you would ever like me to explain all these things to you in detail I would do it but I think we have just now gone through the whole thing. You must be getting tired of it.

These are the three movements in Jammu and Kashmir State but the movement of independence which is on this side of the cease-fire line does not in any way mean making Kashmir independent but, by all standards of thought, it means striking against Pakistan and making Pakistan vulnerable in Azad Kashmir. So if ever India chooses to attack Azad Kashmir, it just cannot do that unless there is a dissension, internal disturbance and subversion inside Azad Kashmir and that subversion, (ideological subversion) means this slogan of Independent Kashmir - Independent Kashmir is a subversive slogan; and we by the grace of God, without the help of the Government of Pakistan, (although it should have primarily be the responsibility of the Government of Pakistan also, but incidentally they did not care for it) we on our own, without moving the government machinery without bringing law into play have been able to curb this movement and defeat it and cut it to its own size. So it does not pose any danger any more in the defence area as such nor to our polity. Frustration also let me please say, my brothers, that frustration has also given rise, as it gives rise to many things here that you see around in Baluchistan and Sindh and Frontier Province and Punjab and elsewhere; frustration has also given rise to some of the new ideas but they have not been able to catch up with the imagination of the people.

People have not accepted them as yet. None of them is capable of even contesting a single seat of the Assembly or of local councils.

Then, Sir, now another aspect in which Bharat (India) has succeeded in convincing not only the people outside but people here, unfortunately, that this Kashmir dispute is not a fundamental dispute, as I have enlisted before, but it is a territorial dispute between Pakistan and India. And as you know if you accept that proposition, no country on earth, even you yourself, would be much interested in gaining a territory which does not lie within your reach at the moment. You can leave it out. So that is exactly what India has done so far and our attitude unfortunately has only been conciliatory and accepting what Bharat has said.

Now here I am reminded of a very pertinent thing. Some of the political parties tried to extend their tentacles to Azad Kashmir also. This was started in the times of Suhrawardy. Late Suhrawardy, and then the late Field Marshal who particularly sent for me and said, "why not form Muslim League there". I said, "Sir it has some draw-backs." He said, "what are the drawbacks?" You know the Field Marshal and Bhutto. They were not the people to listen to an objection from anybody. So he said, "what are the drawbacks, other people are also going to form parties there ?" I said, "that is not the only thing. There are some other things also". He said, "what are those"? He calmed down a little bit. So I said, "the other thing is that Pakistan

and India both of them have a claim to Kashmir and, "I said, "if you were a judge in the International Court of Justice or I was the Judge and the claim was placed before us, one would see that India is a bigger country and in physical occupation of the land having the same benefits and losses from Kashmir as against Pakistan" I said , "the verdict would go for India and not for you, but", I said, "there is yet another aspect where India cannot challenge Pakistan externally or internally, and that is that you say (Pakistan says), that it is the Kashmiris who want to accede to Pakistan, not that Pakistan wants them to accede to Pakistan but that Kashmiris themselves , and" I said, "nobody can challenge me why I want to accede to Pakistan: that is my own choice and that is what I should be granted and was granted by the United Nations.". I said, "that is where you have an edge over India and if you extend Pakistan's political parties into Azad Kashmir, you will lose that edge against India and then you will have to content yourself only with whatever you have. " He was very sharp, no doubt . He immediately rose up and said, "Yes, this is right and we are not going to form any Muslim League or any other party in Azad Kashmir because. the Kashmiris must fight this struggle, the battle of Pakistan". So our attitude in fact has not been that. Here at the government level or at the top level of politicians, I don't know really, we have very miserably failed. I need not condemn or criticize my brothers but our failings we must really know in detail. So, and it is incidentally just by sheer stroke of luck not by any physical calculation that we Kashmiris, particularly my school of thought , still hold the reigns in Kashmir. We still

hold a very vivid/vast majority with us and we are believers in accession of the State to Pakistan; and that is why perhaps we have accomplished something for which the historians really will give us lot of credit and that is that we have effectively stopped the Government of Pakistan from falling back. We have maintained the status quo.

I hope you remember that when late Mr. Bhutto visited Azad Kashmir, he proposed making Azad Kashmir a province of Pakistan and it was we, nobody else, that stopped Azad Kashmir from being converted into a province and then finally doing away with the Kashmir issue. The issue then continues to be there. We have helped the Government of Pakistan and obstructed their way from falling back and compromising mentally over Kashmir. Physical compromises like the control line are absolutely ineffective, meaningless. We don't accept it, but if you were to compromise your position mentally then perhaps nobody could take you out of that ditch. Then you are doomed to what ever you are doomed to. We have succeeded and we have successfully put the Government of Pakistan in that position; and you must have seen that a year ago in 1985 the statements made by the President of Pakistan and later on by the Prime Minister, were apologetic. They were mild and even those mild statements were explained to India as to why they were made. That is not the situation now. The situation today is that Pakistan's President and Prime Minister, have come out very clearly with the natural stand on Kashmir. There is a national stand, a stand by politicians, a stand of

the Government, the bureaucracy, and the bureaucracy is a "mathematical animal". You see they are devoid of emotions, devoid of sentiments, devoid of all those things. They move mathematically, two into two four. If you have a machine-gun and the enemy has four machine-guns then you surrender simply without fighting .That is the mathematical movement, you see but history has not been changed by mathematics. It has been changed by emotions, conviction and strength of character and so on and so forth, So we have succeeded, by the grace of God, to the extent that today when the President of Pakistan makes a statement on Kashmir, he is not apologetic . When the Prime Minister says something , he is not apologetic, Although I know, for your information, that the bureaucracy is still apologetic about it. When I make a statement about Kashmir, some of our bureaucrats, extend an explanation to the Indian side that, "Oh, Sardar Qayyum, he does not listen to us, he is an elderly politician, and so and so forth, and therefore we cannot help him and we cannot do anything to him." That perhaps when all issues of the world till eternity were decided only then the Kashmir issue would have ever come up for discussion. Fortunately, we have been able to raise it in priority and as I said earlier it is coming up to a very high priority.

And with India, my fiends, let me tell you, you go and give your thought to it and only then perhaps you will appreciate. If ever both the countries of this sub-continent India and Pakistan have to retain their sovereignty , freedom and independence , it is by becoming friends, normalizing

their relations, bettering their relations, not by this inimical attitude which exists today and that can only be done after three things have been done. One, if India is reconciled to the geographical boundaries (of Pakistan) and their sanctity, which India is not reconciled to no matter what they say, but we know the inner thing. They are not reconciled to the geographical boundaries of Pakistan. Number two, they extend, they mete out the same treatment to the Muslim population in India which they mete out to the non-Muslim population. That they are not doing. We know for sure, unmistakably, that ever since partition the Muslim community has been under fire, arson, murder, genocide of all kinds and uncalled for torture without any reason. They are the most peace-loving people who are living there, to the extent of being deprived of selecting their own man in the Lok Sabha in India. There are Muslim majority areas in India where a non Muslim is supposed to become their member, their representative. They cannot, they just cannot, dare have their own member. This big democracy which talks so high of democracy, human values, secularism has been (as far as we are concerned) the most parochial, the most prejudiced and the most condemnable thing on the face of earth, It has had no regard for democracy, no regard for human rights, as far as Muslims are concerned.

India must accept the Muslim population in India as part of India, as citizens of India, honorable citizens of India. And must stop this genocide if they want to make friends with Pakistan. No matter what the Government says, my friends, the Governments have their own ways of dealing

with the things, but no Pakistani nation can be so devoid of self-respect for themselves that they would make friends with India over the dead bodies of the Muslims who are being punished for the creation of Pakistan, for no fault of theirs. Their only fault is that they opted for Pakistan, they voted for Pakistan. It is the Musalman, it is the Muslim brother in India who made Pakistan possible. We people sitting here in Pakistan, really we did not contribute much for it, though we had our own contributions but it was he who is sitting there, and he is being butchered and massacred all the time without any reason, that must be stopped. And number three the Kashmiris must get their right of self-determination and opt for acceding to India or Pakistan. Unless that is done, perhaps the President of Pakistan (I really take my hat off to him) has taken a very lenient, very mild attitude, sometimes causing disrespect for himself and for the country. (I cannot take such an attitude myself). That attitude towards India I think he feels, has saved the country from a confrontation which might have taken place long ago. So that might be an achievement no doubt but I do not know how long that will continue.

And then we have another hazard in the political arena of the Subcontinent and that is the immature and untrained political leadership in India. Now the immature leadership can do anything that they like. India is far greater than the size of Rajiv Gandhi. That he has proved. He has not been able to come up. That is another hazard that we have to suffer, live with. So, the talk has been a little extended. I really did not want to go to that extent. Any way

that is what we have been able to secure so far. We have raised the Kashmir issue in its priority and we will continue to make efforts despite all odds. You might be thinking or believing that Sardar Qayyum and the Azad Kashmir Government are free to act. Why don't they act? This is a question which I am confronted with from time to time at various places but then I am constrained to give a total explanation of why really it is, because that exposes some of our inherent weaknesses which I do not want to expose. Despite those odds I personally am built up of that fibre, you see, I keep moving inspite of those odds. We have kept moving and, Inshallah, a time will come when we will have surmounted, overcome, all these odds and difficulties and we will have moved forward.

So in a nutshell if we were to give up the Kashmir issue it would be giving up Pakistan. It would be giving up your religion because as I wanted to say in the beginning that when you defend as an army you are not merrily defending your own mother-land, mind you. You have a much greater responsibility of defending Islam at the same time; because Pakistan and Islam have become synonymous, incidentally. Although, perhaps nobody here meant it, but this is what it has come to and by defending Pakistan you will be defending Islam and that is the greatest responsibility that any Muslim country has today on earth. And (if one was to give up the Kashmir issue) it will belie what Quaid-e-Azam said in very clear words and then it has other threatening consequences which I have referred to

very briefly in the beginning. Bharat will continue to lean against us as you say.

Then I may also point out (I must really) that it would be unjust if I did not express my gratitude to the American support but we must not be misled by any machinations, the Americans will never come and fight our battles physically. They might give us support. They might give us support both for strategic reasons for their own interests, and also because America has been condemned universally for not supporting its friends in the hour of need. So Americans will perhaps continue to support us but we have to fight our own battles. We cannot enjoy ourselves, enjoy the life. It would be very unfair very unjust. We have to fight ourselves. And that way a time may come when the Americans also take a little interest in helping us to resolve the Kashmir issue. I am intending to visit the States if it is ever possible and to speak to them myself . It has paid off very well (personal contact). I spoke to the British people, the MPs and some very highly placed people like the Chairman of the External Affairs Committee, and I really could see that it was working very well. I even saw the Labour leaders who are very openly and very clearly disposed towards India. They are almost an Indian lobby in the United Kingdom but from what I heard from their own mouths, what they said, they felt very much convinced .One of them said, "I see a lot of wisdom, Mr. President, in what you have said and we will try to do this and try to do that." So we are lobbying all over the world, for world opinion before going to the United Nations or before doing anything

else. I think the world should be put wise on this properly and they should be told about the seriousness of the situation. You know the people do not really like to know that somewhere there is a serious situation. They want all OK on all fronts. That is what they want, you see, but when they are told properly and they are convinced that the situation is a little serious then they might really like to give thought to it.

Now we come to options—the last leg of our talk. The invitation said, "what are the options available to Pakistan". Basically there are only two options, the military option and the political option. There is perhaps no third option. I could not conceive of a third one in any case. As for the military option, I never wanted the Pakistan Army to go and fight in Kashmir. There are a number of reasons for that. But of course the presence of the Pakistan Army should be felt by the enemy. It is not an easy job to walk over (Azad Kashmir). But the Army (our) should not be made to fight in Kashmir. It is the Kashmiris themselves who should be helped and obstacles removed from their way to fight in Kashmir and I am convinced myself but in support of my conviction, I quote the Indian Commander-in-Chief, perhaps, Karyappa, it is long ago. He said, "in case of war, Kashmir will turn into a grave-yard of the Indian Army." It is an ideal place, we have to fight them, we should choose to fight in Kashmir itself. Primarily by the people themselves and of course it will mean 12 million people stepping in. But to kill 12 million people is hell of a job and I think the sooner the Indians learn a lesson from Afghanistan, it will be better

for them and for us both. So talking of the military option, it has its own details like self-sufficiency of defence in Pakistan, wriggling out of the various agreements that the Government of Pakistan made over Kashmir and so on and so forth. But at the moment, I am personally concentrating more on the side of mobilizing, the ideological side in Kashmir on both sides of the cease-fire line, so that we have an ideologically mobilized people in Kashmir, so that they are capable of resisting any Indian military move. And number two is the political aspect of it. If you try to think back, you will see that ten years back, if somebody hijacked a plane or caused an explosion or attacked an enemy position, he would be universally accepted and hailed as a hero. But if today somebody hears of a hijack then everybody says, "this rascal should be killed." He has become a rascal instead of a hero. Now that is the attitude, the temperament of the world polity today. The world is scared of itself now, its existence now, and they cannot afford a big bang like one of the journalists, a foreign journalist told me, "Mr. President, (he said) no matter what your arguments, no matter whether you are in the right or wrong but it is only a bang which the world will attend to. So if you can have it, they will attend to you. If you can't they would not." But this time, I think, now, we are at a different juncture of time, and we should really concentrate on political pressure, moral pressure, and economic pressure to bring on India.

Now India really, because of internal strikes, and disturbances, immature leadership and many other

weaknesses, is already under great pressure. Now for example, when I talk of this, please don't mistake me for asking for dis-integration of India. I am as much interested in the unity of India as I am interested in the unity and integrity of this country itself. Now this is a very strange phenomenon. That is why I have not supported the Sikh movement, as you must have been reading through the papers. I have not supported (them) and I did not allow the Sikh leader, (the Foreign Minister of the government in exile) to enter Azad Kashmir territory, and I refused to see their President in England. He wanted to see me and I refused to see him. So there are many reasons behind it. Forget about that. But I am equally interested in integration and sovereignty of India and, therefore, I don't subscribe to the view of trying to shatter India from inside. That is going to be of no advantage to Pakistan whatsoever. So if we create political, moral and economic pressure on India. India is a big country under lot of economic pressures already, and this military build-up, if they mean it, is a very serious thing. If they don't mean it, if it is only a camouflage to explain for the reversal, for the withdrawal, that is different but if they mean it, this sharp rise in their defence budget is a very serious thing to take note of. So they cannot really offer a political, moral and economic confrontation with us. And there is a very big field as I said, every one of these items needs really a thesis to explain. It is not just easy that I can say in one word how this could be brought about but we are at the moment incidentally working on that. When I say we, I don't mean the Government of Pakistan, I mean myself and my party and the people around me. We are

working on that, and we have been able to do quite a bit. For example, I have been able to secure resolutions from the Rabita Al-Alam Al-Islami and the Motamar Al-Alam Al-Islami and other international organizations, Muslims and non-Muslims and freedom-loving people. This will surely work very well, I feel; and the time will come when of course India will be under so much of pressure and at the same time as I said ideological mobilization inside and on both sides of the cease-fire line; this will bring India under a very drastic pressure and a final pressure so that the Kashmir issue could be meaningfully talked about and resolved.

The atmosphere outside in general is quite conducive and people who were some time very friendly with India have seen, during the years, through the Indian designs and they have started to realize, for example, Egypt at one time was very friendly with India to the extent of being opposed to us. Not only friendly with India but to the extent to being opposed to us. May be some of our friends would say our Prime Minister Mr. Suhrwardy was responsible for that. Whatever it is and similarly in Saudi Arabia, for example, for quite some time the biography of Gandhi and Jawahar Lal Nehru were taught in schools as a part of curriculum. Things like that, but now gradually the people have started learning and we have also been contributing our bit towards it. So the atmosphere is becoming conducive provided we play our part with conviction, determination and skill. If we don't play our part, no matter, for example, I said the other day that if Benazir becomes very weak in Pakistan it might create another void.

You see it is not going to help anybody because there is nobody to take that place. So that is very unfortunate. So if we don't play our part with conviction, skill and determination, no matter what weaknesses are caused on the other side, they are not going to help us. So, we should be able to benefit from them and exploit them.

Then we come to the measures that should be adopted to settle the issue. I think in between the lines, I have said almost everything except counting it down as 1,2,3,4,5, the Army way of doing it.

QUESTION TIME

If you don't mind my sitting down respecting my age. (Having said this the President took the Chair).

Question:

One of the officers said, "I have a question, Sir. In the concluding phase of your speech, you talked about two options which are available to the Kashmiri people. One is the military option. The other is the political option. Now what I could make out was that you would prefer the political option over the military option. Keeping in view the recent aggressive designs of India, I would here refer to the comments of the Indian Foreign Minister in the Lok Sabha about three days back. He said categorically that Pakistan is in occupation of Kashmiri soil. Now with this view don't you think that it would be a bit fallacious to think that the

political option is the only option available to the Kashmiri people. A stage may come when a military option has to be combined with the political option. And I am precisely talking about the guerrilla warfare launched by the Kashmiri people themselves in Azad Kashmir and in the occupied Kashmir. Should we think that you are probably dismayed by the potential of guerrilla warfare by the people of Kashmir themselves or because keeping this thing in view that the mountainous terrain and the area of occupied Kashmir and Azad Kashmir is suitable and conducive for launching a guerrilla war? This is my first question. Now related with this, the second question. Sir, which is about the political option. Now in your figure, Sir, the Kashmiri people have found a balanced leadership. That is to say that you have found a balanced leadership. That is to say that you have been able to bridge the communication gap between the Pakistan Government and the Kashmiri people and you have been successful in maintaining that balance. Now in the next generation do you feel that such leadership would come up or it would not be possible, Sir" ?

Answer:

I am glad you asked this question. In a brief talk like this I think it is really difficult to explain all the various aspects which the situation is comprised of. But I hope you remember when I talked of a political option, I gave an explanation to that also because today in the present day world, the political option has to be accepted and sought even by a super-power like Russia. So we are moving alongwith the time, not ruling out a military option. But the

military option is the last resort. Number two is that, in case we resort to a military option just now, start making preparations for it. I explained to you gentlemen that, at the moment Pakistan is taken as hostage over the Kashmir issue. Any military preparations, for example I am capable of making any military preparations of any magnitude possible within the boundaries of Jammu and Kashmir State, but if I resort to it today, Pakistan would be attacked the next moment by India on that pretext. Now there have to be two things considered in this; one is that Pakistan is capable of defending itself when taken unawares and number two, the amount of time that you need for preparing for a military option in Kashmir; will you be given that time. So I personally think that I cannot take an uncalculated risk. The risk has to be calculated. I must know for sure what amount of reaction could the Government of Pakistan contain or provide a cushion for and I must be sure, because if I jeopardize Pakistan, for that matter, no movement of Kashmir whether military or political or civil could be at all launched there. So this has been inter-connected with each other.

Number two is talking about guerrilla operation. This has become almost a fashion in the world, talking of guerrilla operation. I don't know any historical event that has been achieved by any guerrilla operation by itself. Guerrilla operation, as far as I understand the military discipline or subject, guerrilla operation has to be combined with something else and has to lend support to achieve some objectives originally planned in the action as a whole. Now

this is exactly the fallacy which was committed by our Palestinian brothers, that they depended entirely on guerrilla warfare and guerrilla warfare did not produce any result at all. Some people in Kashmir are also talking of guerrilla warfare, and that guerrilla warfare I have always tried to play down and tell them not to resort to that sort of thing which will produce no results for us and have a serious backlash on Pakistan. That we cannot afford to do. For example the hijack, you remember, the Ganga hijack. That was exactly my argument at that time that we have hijacked an Indian plane to the destruction of Pakistan, and that we cannot afford to do. While planning for India, any fight with India, we must go into a calculated risk. For example we cannot plan a fight with India wherein the losses are 10 on our side and one on the Indian side. You lose the battle the first day. The planning has to be one to ten otherwise, one here and ten there. That is what I think I had talked in detail about the various possibilities.

Now the second point is very philosophical and hypothetical. As a matter of fact leadership is yet another very difficult subject to deal with, my friends. I have not known any institution in history which has produced leadership. Institutions have groomed leadership, the leadership has not been created, because it is not a technical thing like you make doctors, engineers, lawyers, professional men. It is nothing of that sort. History has produced leaders. For example, the Quaid-e-Azam. We never had a man after him like that. If we could do it, we could have produced 20 persons like that. Even Bhutto for

that matter. I told him on his face. I said, "We cannot replace you just now. There should have been 10 persons to replace you but we don't have even one." So I really cannot give you a mathematical answer to that, to my satisfaction. You see, that we have another leadership which is capable of taking all these things into account and carry on the campaign but we hope, we don't lose hope, we hope that whatever the political education we are imparting to our younger generation, I keep talking to them, I keep discussing with them, try to educate them, try to inform them about the various pit-falls that we have come across.

For example, for myself also, I may tell you, in the middle of 1948, when I was commanding a 6 battalion strength of revolutionary people, our morale was very high. I was sent to attend a meeting, a brigade commander's meeting in one of the headquarters in Azad Kashmir, Muzaffarabad. When I reached there, the Staff Col. walked into my room and said, "Sir, I am sorry to tell you that you should consider yourself to be under arrest." I said, "Under whose orders." He replied, "The GOC(who was to come in a few minutes) "has asked us to do that." Now as a young man of 24, none of you is perhaps 24, all are grown up people, as a young man of 24, having led the revolt successfully, you could imagine my sentiments, emotions and my high morale. I was not moved or affected for my person, that for no reason and without competent authority - although I was a GOC myself. As a matter of fact the GOC 12th Division had to take permission from me to go to Bagh Sector - so I was to be arrested by a person who had no authority over

me. But I was not affected by that. What affected me the most was that if this news trickles out of the Area Headquarters, perhaps there will be a revolt and a bloodshed of unprecedented nature and we will start fighting within ourselves. I would not be able to stop it; and the Indians will just walk into Azad Kashmir. Now, who gave me that inspiration? I sometimes ask myself that question. It was no training, no education, nothing of the kind for a youngman of 24, who gave me that inspration of being so worried about the national interest and not of my own interest? Instead I should have lashed back and said hell with you. Who are you to arrest me. I am going to arrest you all. I could have done that but I did not do that. This was to tell you that leadership really does not come by any institutional practices. It has to come if it had come and let us pray to God Almighty that we find leaders who can really tackle these problems, these delicate matters. The same thing happened with Mujib-ur-Rehman, the same thing happened with many other people who were talking of confederation and so on and so forth. Our own people who have been frustrated one way or the other are reacting and lashing back. I asked one of the leaders who talks too much about confederation. I said, "do you really mean confederation." He said, "No, no, I don't." I said, "Why are you doing it?" He said, "I am reacting." So this is what generally happens but God Almighty has saved me not only once but a number of times and if I was to give you the details of those incidents, you perhaps would not believe that things like that could really happen. We leave it at that.

Question.

An officer expressed apprehensions that there existed some ill feelings in Azad Kashmir against Pak Army personnel.

Answer.

This should not mean to apply to the general situation in Azad Kashmir. I am just going to tell you why. I come across students every day even here in Baluchistan, who come and tell me that our Professor so and so said, "You Kashmiris! you are a burden on Pakistan," and he goes propagating all around. I told the students, "If anybody tells you that you are a burden on Pakistan, you tell him that you are a burden on Pakistan. "This is the answer. The answer does not lie in your going and propagating all around about that Professor. The Professor does not represent Pakistan". He represents his own person and so even if as I told you the GOC 12 Division ordered my arrest and I did not care for it. I said I am as important as the GOC himself. I belong to this country. So unfortunately these solitary incidents may sometimes lead to bigger involvements. Otherwise I know the people of Azad Kashmir much more than they know themselves. I have literally walked from one end of Azad Kashmir to the other end. Not once, many times. I have walked the hills, I have walked the plains and the forest areas. No political living man today has undertaken 50% of that walk which I have done. So I know the temperament of the people. I know the people directly, and I have not so far

heard of anything like what my brother officer has said. May be somewhere somebody might have done that. On the other hand I know the people. For example, in 1965 and 1971, there was need to support the Army. The amount of support which the Army got from the local people in Azad Kashmir has not been known even in Pakistan itself. So, if somebody has been an idiot to make a remark like that, asking somebody you are an Azad Kashmiri, that man must be doing it on purpose. He must be a hired agent of the enemy trying to spread that sort of hatred amongst the people. Otherwise in Azad Kashmir I personally have not come across anything like that. Somewhere some officer might have misbehaved. For example, last time when I was the President, misbehaviour of some officer was reported I told the people with whom he had misbehaved, "go get hold of the man."

They went and got hold of the man and the man was punished and the matter was over. We are living in a human society; and that of course so free that nowhere in the world perhaps is there freedom like this. We are free as we call it in Urdu " " as we say. So we have no limits and these things will happen and we the senior people, both in the Army and civil should realise this. For example in the forward areas, F.D.L areas, we have the medical units of the Pakistan Army. I know the amount of service which those medical units are rendering to the people of Azad Kashmir, is not rendered anywhere in Pakistan, and how can they be ungrateful. But sometimes some incidents take place, or some officer has misbehaved. He is a human

being. He is liable to misbehave. some Azad Kashmir person might have been smuggled from across. He might have been paid to spread that sort of news. So we take care of that.

Question.

My question is about guerrilla warfare..... For example, the Kashmir Liberation Front..... If they are guided properly and supported and later on they can be channelised towards the right direction don't you think they will be helpful in liberating occupied Kashmir?

Answer.

Thank you very much for this question. I had deliberately avoided discussing various people and organizations by name. That perhaps to me was not the subject matter also. Now that an organization has been mentioned, let me tell you my friends, in absolutely unambiguous terms, that any movement which tends to distract or deviate from the accession of the State to Pakistan is by no means, no conceivable means, leading towards the liberation. It is leading towards jeopardizing the defence area of Pakistan which is known as Azad Kashmir. The very objectives of that movement which has been referred to, to my mind, have never been clear, they have been confused. Some people in Pakistan have chosen to help them, believing perhaps that, this way we can liberate Kashmir. But this movement, if it was really a movement

worth it, it should have had some response in the occupied area. That is where you need a movement of independence or what ever it is. Not here in Azad Kashmir. In Azad Kashmir independence means accession to Pakistan. I spoke to some of those involved myself I said, "Look here, launching a movement for freedom and independence in Kashmir is one thing and launching a movement based on hatred for Pakistan is another thing. When you look into the slogans raised by these boys, you will see that they simultaneously condemn, in the same language, condemn the Pakistan Army, they condemn Pakistan itself. They don't believe in the Islamic tenets and the Islamic concept of the Kashmir movement and they are the people about whom I cannot really, by any means, say any word of satisfaction, and if you were to help them..... Now supposing, let us put it in another way. If such a movement of hit and run was going to succeed - I am in a position to launch it a hundred times and a thousand times stronger movement sitting here, right here I can launch it. But that sort of movement is not going to succeed, but on the other hand it is going to jeopardize Pakistan, put Pakistan in a very difficult position and create hatred amongst the Kashmiris for Pakistan. If you do that you have had it. Now when you look into the slogans raised by them, you see that they use the same terminology, the same vocabulary, the same slogans as were used in East Pakistan. They spread hatred on the basis of two separate nations - a nation in Kashmir and a nation in Pakistan. I believe in one nation living in Pakistan and the same nation living in Kashmir. No two nations. So I have not agreed to contribute anything towards those people. If you go into

further details, you will see, for example when Maqbool Butt was hanged in India, none of us was responsible for his execution in Delhi. In fact on the other hand President Zia, not the Government of Pakistan nor myself - I was not President then, none of us was responsible for his execution in Delhi. In fact on the other hand President Zia himself, through the Foreign Office, had been trying to exchange Maqbool Butt for somebody else, you see, who was arrested and who was here from the Indian side. They were trying in their own way. They did not succeed. But when these boys who were claiming themselves to be from the KLF (Kashmir Liberation Front) and what not, when they launched a demonstration in Muzaffarabad in support of this man who was executed, they were joined by all parties regardless of their political creed in a huge demonstration. In that demonstration they did not bother about Maqbool Butt who was hanged. They started shouting slogans against Pakistan, they pulled down the Pakistani flag from one of the houses and burnt it on the road-side; they pulled down one of the pictures of the Quaid-e-Azam and trampled it under their feet.

Now this is what they wanted to do. For Kashmir, as I said, guerrilla warfare alone means absolutely nothing. It means only getting the patriots killed and after some time you will not have those enthusiastic patriots in Kashmir, who will come to your aid, come to your help. You will have to call on people. So I have always opposed an action like this. That is why we have concentrated more on ideological mobilization, political mobilization, building up a movement

of resistance. And resistance to the Indian Army does not mean an ordinary thing. It involves, it includes almost all aspects of an armed struggle short of declaring war against India.

Question.

“To highlight the importance of the Kashmir problem at the international level, what measures have you taken or what plans do we have so that we can project this thing at international level ?”

Answer.

Now the projection of the Kashmir issue at the international level is a very important aspect; and incidentally it was I again, my government in the 70s, the only government which was capable of projecting it abroad. Again this time it is we who have started moving into the international field against many odds at home. I don't want to elaborate those odds but if I were to tell you, you would only say that we are crazy people, that we don't have that normal common-sense. Otherwise, we should not have done it. In spite of all these odds, we are projecting it through literature, through meetings, through delegations, through organizing people outside and of course conferences and seminars and things like that, by contacting the international organizations here and there, contacting the diplomatic community of the world at large where ever you find them conducive to our point of view. Like that we are doing it.

Question.

Sir, you have experience in the field of politics and you have fought as a liberator and commanded a sizable force in Azad Kashmir. I know that you have not ruled Azad Kashmir for the entire duration, but I would ask you as a Kashmiri leader having that much of repute, international as well as inside the country, about the Government of Azad Kashmir. That to me was established to work as a base camp for the liberation of the rest of Kashmir. How far has it been able to achieve its basic aim? Secondly with elderly people like you fading out, the memory of Kashmir will not be revived after sometime and we are bound to forget. Literature on fighters of Kashmir and the people who without weapons and without logistic support have fought so well against the Indian army is not available as an official record. What would you like to do about this aspect as the President of Azad Kashmir having at your disposal the intelligentsia in Azad Kashmir?

Answer.

As far as the first part of question is concerned, there is no doubt that the elderly lot who are in the line, are fading away. But we will be able to put on record their experiences and their knowledge. And for the other part that the Government of Azad Kashmir was no doubt established as a base camp. That is why it has a President, it has a Prime Minister, it has a Supreme Court, it has a High Court, it has an Islamic Ideology Council and so on and so forth, it has a flag. But unfortunately as I explained to you in my speech we have been taken a back by the circumstances

and to be content only with maintaining the status quo for some time. This maintaining the status quo or as you were, the Army must know, against pressures like that is not an easy thing to accomplish. Against pressure from India, against pressure from Indian allies, against our own weaknesses at home, we have been able to maintain the status quo so far. We are trying our best to convert the character of Azad Kashmir from looking after the local affairs to making it a base camp, a proper base camp, for the Kashmir movement; and I think we have moved quite forward during the past year and a half.

Question

If the Pakistan Government decides to sign a 'No War Agreement' or a friendship treaty with India, how do you foresee the Kashmir problem and what will be your reaction to that?

Answer.

Primarily, I am by nature, optimistic and I don't suppose things which are not going to happen. But if at all it happens, I think, it is not going to affect Kashmir at all. We will not let it affect Kashmir by the grace of God, we will go on, on the Kashmir side.

Question.

What is the number or the magnitude of people supporting your cause while staying in occupied Kashmir? What at all could we expect from them and how?

Answer.

Yes. That is another very ticklish question. Now in Kashmir at the moment, I think the people of occupied Kashmir, they are more impatient and more enthusiastic about liberating themselves and joining Pakistan. I mean it, this is not gossip. This is based on absolute, hard and fast facts of life and data of information from direct and indirect sources and the people that we come across from time to time. The ticklish portion of your question is what we expect of them. There are two schools of thought over this. One school of thought, who wants to go to heaven without doing anything, believes that it is the Kashmiris themselves in the occupied Kashmir who should work hard, liberate themselves from India and then send for us to hand it over to us on a plate, as a goodwill gesture. Now they are not very few of them. I must tell you, there are many of them in this country who would not like to do anything themselves for Kashmir, and many of them have been asking me the same question. I, on the other hand, have been telling those Kashmiris on that side that they must not overstep the realities of life in their enthusiasm and zeal to liberate themselves. There are some people here who are trying to work them up, but I have been trying to ask them to soft-pedal the matter. And also I have told them what I am expecting of them. The other day a journalist from occupied

Kashmir, who belongs to the Congress Congress (I) school of thought in Kashmir, came here and wanted to interview me for his paper. The man who introduced him to me said, "Sir, I hope you will not be annoyed with him. He does not belong to our school of thought". I said, "No, no," I could understand what he meant but I was coming to the other point which I would tell you. I said "what school of thought does he belong to. I should know. I would not mind." He said, "he belongs to the Congress school of thought , the Congress (I) school of thought." I said, "in fact you want to say that he belongs to India and not to Pakistan." He said, "Yes." I said, "My boy it does not matter because we have internationally accepted the right of Kashmiris to accede either to India or to Pakistan . So it is nothing to be annoyed about". Then that journalist said, " then what do you want of us in Kashmir." "Exactly what you said," I said, "what I want of you is to retain your identity and entity as such, nothing beyond that." He burst into laughter and said, "well, my purpose is served by that." I said, "if it is served by that let it be served but do you have any objection to it." He said, "No, no. We don't have any objection." So we at the moment want the Kashmiris, the Kashmiri Muslims particularly, to retain their identity as Muslims. India is fighting us on all fronts it is not only on the battle front or the military front but on all fronts. Now, for example, India over a long period of 40 years has been trying their utmost, they have brought in all their moral, political and economic pressure to bear, in order to convert the Muslim majority into minority; change the complexion of the population in Kashmir.

Number two, they have tried to, if not convert Muslims to Hinduism, at least to neutralize them, through the educational system. Now the immediate challenge of the Kashmiris is not accession to Pakistan or to India or independence. Their immediate challenge is to retain their identity, maintain their identity as such, and this is what we in 1965, on this sector, that was our working for and I am glad that the situation which prevails, is very disappointing has changed. We thought that in another 10 years to come the whole of the younger lot of the Muslim population will be totally neutralised and it will make no difference to them whether they are Hindus or Muslims. The Indian Government has engineered in a way that it was made possible for Muslim girls to marry non-muslim boys and so on so forth, under economic pressure and under other pressures now, after 20 years, suddenly the tables have been turned. We have no explanation for it. Nobody would tell you, nobody should say that he has been responsible for it - but the youngsters that I have met outside Pakistan and who come to Pakistan, girls and boys, believe me, they are dedicated Muslim. They have realised the Indian machination so much that even we have not realised. They are very sharply reacting to it. That is a very great redeeming feature. May be incidentally, when you talk, you move into some other fields also. May be it is a part of the total global aspect. For example, there is revival of Christianity and Islam in Russia; and when people said that Russia has moved into Afghanistan because of hot waters, you might still be believing that, but I never believed it. I thought Russia had landed itself into another very great

difficulty, far greater than the absence of hot waters, and that was the revival of religion. The Pope has done a very good job in that; and simultaneously there is the revival of Islam in Russia. The Chinese who were also opposed to any religion have also been instrumental in this revival(in Russia) because they started in China itself. We have been sending thousands and thousands of copies of the Quran in Arabic into China and that might have had spill over effect in Russia. So there is a revival of religion almost all over the world. You find and see in America, in the United Kingdom every where people searching after something to give them contentment, that was missing. Many people converted themselves to Hinduism and to Islam. That way perhaps, the people in Kashmir have also come to realise and combat and counter what the Indians have been doing over the years, through the cultural and educational and moral invasions. You see the wine shops in Kashmir are so frequent; you find (them) at every two steps. Every third shop perhaps would be a wine shop. This was deliberately done and some of it was smuggled across to, if you don't mind, to some of our people also. It kept on being smuggled. That was to demoralize and morally corrupt the people; and at one time some of the Indian leaders had the audacity to tell our people that you talk of your Army? Which Army? The Army which we are supplying so much of wine every day. So they have done these things on purpose through a planned program but incidentally as I said this is having a lashback.

Address

by

Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan

Prime Minister

Azad Jammu and Kashmir

at

Command & Staff College, Quetta.

6th April, 1988.

اعوذ بالله من الشيطان الرجيم
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

افحسبتم انما خلقناكم عبثا و انكم اليينا لا ترجعون °
فتعالى الله الملك الحق لا اله الا هو رب العرش الكريم ° و من
يدع مع الله الها آخر لا برهان له به فانما حسابه عند ربه °
انه لا يفلح الكفرون ° و قل رب اغفر و ارحم و انت
خير الراحمين °

Well, just as you don't seem to be parting with your convention of not beginning this session with recitation from the Holy Quran, I am reminded of perhaps what is said by Ghalib that "when they don't change their attitude why should we change our behaviour". So I have recited from the Holy Quran before we start.

Major General Rehmdil Bhatti, The Commandant, Brig Burki Sahib, the Chief Instructor, (and if I am not misinformed I would like to congratulate him for having been approved for promotion) members of the directing staff and participant members of the course.

I have this time succeeded in bringing a written statement or speech instead of speaking to you extempore. This was primarily motivated by your convention here that people should have written texts and secondly because of the labour, the cumbersome exercise that we had on the tape for transcribing what I had spoken here during my last

address. That took us about six months to transcribe, compare, check and have it reproduced. So I thought it was better that I should have the main body of it in a written text before hand. I am also sorry to say that the speech would perhaps be lacking in one of the aspects of its beauty i.e. the throat, I am incidentally having a sore throat since yesterday and I may not be able to do it as well but all the same I have tried in my written text to bring in as much as was possible for a short lecture like this and every time I read it I have to add something to it. Even this morning at about 9 O'clock I added something to it and from about 11 pages originally it has swelled upto 24. So the issue is such really that one cannot place a limit on it. So we now get on to this.

It is my proud privilege to avail this opportunity of addressing the officers of the country's armed forces. This College is in fact the very pride of our country which trains and produces the future commanders who form the backbone of our Army, and it is they who ultimately deliver the goods at the national level.

Mr. Commandant, you have done me the honour of inviting me for addressing this College for a second time on the same subject; the Kashmir issue. While I feel proudly grateful for the same, I am at the same time constrained to be conscious of the latent need for this repetition. Presuming that this class must have gone through my last address I still feel that either my last talk remained wanting and inconclusive or it fell short of satisfying your quest into

the subject. Well both could be equally true as the subject matter has attained such dimensions that a full comprehension is not possible in any one sitting , howsoever lengthy it might be.

As I had mentioned in my previous address, a detailed study of the issue needs a number of lectures and a number of reference books to study. However, for your convenience I have tried, this time, to reduce my views and ideas on paper but had to skip many a detail as well as many historical events believing that you might have already found it convenient to study them yourselves. The object of this address is, as you would appreciate is to apprise you more of the prevailing situation, options and measures to achieve them. I must also admit that compared to the global dimensions of this issue this paper would serve only as a reference note.

Before proceeding with the actual subject matter, one may like to address himself a very basic question. "What exactly is the object or purpose of the study of the Kashmir issue?" Is it to enjoy the charm of its historical record; is it simply to update and enrich our own academic knowledge about it; is it a drowning man's last hope ; is it to revive our memory of a forgotten lesson; is it that we only wish to fathom out some plausible excuse to justify our attitude of reconciliation and compromise; is it that we are becoming conscious of a loss that we now wish to retrieve or repair; is it that we after all feel the prick of conscience over a national guilt; is it that we wish to fulfil our sacred and

historical obligation towards posterity and wish to save ourselves the ignoble slur and condemnation for leaving behind a bad debt and a shameful legacy or is it that having deliberately closed our eyes to the impending danger we are now confronted face to face with it and there is no escape. The purpose however must be very clear. Only then will it be of any avail to devote our time, energy and attention to it. Inasmuch as I am concerned I am just not interested in any thing short of fulfilment of our national obligation and it is entirely in that perspective that I am drawing upon your precious time.

In my considered opinion, gentlemen, without mincing matters and without an iota of doubt, rather to the extent of being a part of faith, the Kashmir issue is a question of life and death for the Pakistani nation and Pakistan itself. The fact that Pakistan has so far survived while this issue still remains unresolved is only a weak man's excuse; it is rather duping ourselves; it is like a person living without limbs, it is not living the full life. Therefore, there should be no mistaking the point that we must make up our minds whether or not we wish to retain our freedom, independence, sovereignty and above all our identity as an ideological State and wish to live a full life. If we do not compromise these principles then there is no illusion or disillusion about any questions and problems that have befallen or overtaken us, Kashmir being the uppermost. We must demonstrate our commitment, if we have one, leaving no room for any one for any misgiving or doubt. The confusion gets only worst confounded by lack of commitment and confusion of purpose and objectivity. The

Kashmir issue is a very typical example. At the national level we have rather become sceptical and suspicious over this problem; and the passage of time with its inalienable characteristics has only added to it. Time has come or to be mild it is fast approaching when we must shun the slumber of self-deceit and rise to the situation and their unambiguous demands. Thus it is with this object in mind that I wish to draw your attention.

A thorough and scientific study of the issue invariably entails knowledge about the historical, geographical, cultural, political, economic and defence aspects of the territory called Jammu and Kashmir State, vis-a-vis both the countries that have come to be known as Pakistan and India. However, I will endeavour only to sketch out some of the aspects, leaving the rest to be studied in detail by yourselves both as a necessity and an obligation. When I use the word 'scientific', I am conscious of the fact that in the present age everything is inclined to become science by itself. Be it war or peace, religion or politics, all have become science in themselves. Right from the manufacture of arms to their use, the strategy and every other matter is studied scientifically but let us not be obsessed with that idea. The Afghan war is a typical example in reference. The most crude and untrained people, the Afghans are fighting, fighting successfully of course, against the most advanced scientific forces which are also far superior in all respects. I am sure the Russians despite their perfection in defence sciences must be confronted with many unexpected shortcomings and weaknesses and

this process has no limit. Never will the human mind attain final perfection against this God-made machine. The man behind the gun is a universal truth. Moreover what one military expert has said I don't in fact remember who he was, whether Montgomery or Liddle Hart or somebody else long ago, seems to be coming true that "the battle would be ultimately decided on the ground by the ground forces, the infantry".

As far the State's relevance and its importance for Pakistan is concerned suffice it to know what the founder of Pakistan, Quaid-e- Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah (God bless his soul) recorded about Kashmir. I am sorry to say that some of his works which are open to interpretation have drawn greater attention than what he said in unambiguous and unequivocal terms about Kashmir. In order to firm up our faith and to determine the cause of action it needs to be reiterated and reminded time and again. The Quaid said "Kashmir by virtue of defence and politics constitutes the jugular vein of Pakistan, and no self-respecting nation can afford to let it stay beneath the sword of the enemy for long". A nation that claims to respect his word like a gospel needs no further guidance on the point but we have unfortunately behaved like those whom the Quran describes, believing in one part of the Book while disbelieving in the other :

افتو منون ببعض الكتاب و تكفرون
ببعض

"Do you believe in a part of the Book and disbelieve in a part thereof

That was the philosophical or theoretical but surely very precise objective definition of the subject. The practical aspect or aspects of the issue is spread out over a very wide canvas. What exactly is the issue; how did it become an issue after all; who are the main parties to it; what role has each one played; what dimensions has it acquired ever since; what changes has it undergone if at all; how does it affect the situation in the region; is it at all soluble; what precisely is the solution and how could that be worked out? I think these are the main questions that need to be addressed. Details however are not possible here. For the present we have to be contented only with direct or indirect references to as many of them as is absolutely essential.

More than looking back in the past it would be expedient to look at the present shape of the problem first then the promise, if any, that is held out by the future. The past is too evident to need elucidation, yet a few words would be befitting to put the record straight so that there are no illusions. It may even be helpful.

Unfortunately quite a few people carry the impression that Pakistan has abdicated from a stand based on principles and fully supported by the international community. If this were accepted to be correct, in my opinion, this has been a diplomatic defeat far more devastating than military reverses. If we look at the examples of Japan and Germany in the wake of the Second World War, we would agree that diplomatic capitulation

does not necessarily follow a military defeat. We seem to have given up too much too soon.

With the passage of time the issue has been pressed into, if not oblivion, at least to the lowest priority. To some, it is a matter of history and a dead issue. Around 1984 to make even an indirect mention of the issue at the State level was only with a choking voice. Atop, it has to be followed by repeated explanations and apologies. In brief we have been constantly falling back and reconciling to every new situation. This has been the picture at home. With such a position at home one could easily assess the position abroad. Some one has very rightly said, "قیاس کن ز گلستان من بہار مرا"

"if this is the state of the garden, you can easily assess my spring from it". Not only outsiders but even our own people abroad are either blank or feel shy of making any reference to it. It appears as if it has been scrapped from their memory. At the most it is treated as a territorial dispute between the two countries. Pakistan and India and no more. In this case one can easily see in it the inherent weakness on our side but this is not only an artificial and totally distorted version of the issue, it is absolutely contrary to the basic facts. It is strange how such a self-contradictory situation has come to prevail as a real situation.

Why after all have we succumbed to such an untenable and unrealistic position? One might fathom out almost every single cause that leads to this disastrous quandry. One can say that there was the ever-increasing

Indian pressure, their military build up, their international support and what not but one cannot reasonably explain our own position, except of course for one that we failed to produce leadership equal to the task. Bureaucracy left to itself could hardly manage the day to day administration and face its every growing challenge. Thus here we are; no where; in sheer wilderness; groping in the dark. However there is no cause for despondency. What Allama Iqbal said long ago holds equally true even today.

”ذرائع ہوتے ہی بڑی زرخیز ہے ساق“

(Given a little moisture to this soil, It is very fertile)

Then what is the real shape of the issue? Whatever else it might be but it is surely not a territorial dispute between the two countries as propounded by the Indian propaganda machine and also as believed by some defeatists here at home. This impression has found its way equally into almost all the countries abroad. When told of the real situation they simply look surprised and for them it is hard to believe. All the same an unquestionable record of historical events would bear out the fact, also oft-repeated by the President of Pakistan, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, that “it is a question of the same right of self determination that was granted to millions on the sub-continent but the Kashmiris”. It is a question of slavery and freedom; it is a question of forcible military occupation of Kashmir by India; it is the result of the heinous conspiracy hatched against Pakistan by the Hindu leadership in collusion with Lord Mountbatten and Radcliffe or else the

State would have automatically acceded to Pakistan and there would have been no such issue at all. It is also a story of the chivalrous fight by Kashmiris, uncommon to the history of wars of liberation, it is a story of brazen-faced repudiation of international pledges by India; it is a story of our own miserable lapses and failures; it is a story of lack of conviction and commitment on our part; it is a story of the ignominious gamble of the big powers and it is the story of lack of moral courage on the part of our friends and freedom loving people in having their commitments honoured by India.

In a nutshell Kashmir, as you know, is the tragic story of Hindu occupation of a Muslim State. It is the story of massacre, pillage, plunder, torture, abduction of thousands of Muslim women and children. It is the shameful story of broken pledges and blatant repudiations on international commitments by a nation which claims to be the largest democracy in the world. Alongside, Kashmir's forcible Hindu occupation is also the story of our own blunders and miscalculations on the battle fronts, miserable failure on the negotiating table and ignorance of our own strength and weakness. The symptoms of the malady are now emerging in various problems, like the Salal Dam, the Wullar Barrage, the Siachen Glacier and so on, threatening the very existence of Pakistan. For all intents and purposes Kashmir forms an integral part of the Hindu expansionist hegemonic and aggressive plan drawn up by their wise elders, leaders, thinkers and philosophers. That is exactly why I have always

said that the Indian Government cannot be taken for their word when they talk to us of friendship, amity and normalization etc. They have never given any account of their sincerity.

Amongst their thinkers they have had people who surpass hundreds of Machiavellis. Like what the famous mystic poet Rumi said "Even the devil would feel shy of them." They have devoted themselves to the realization of their dream empire extending from the Oxus to Indonesia and even Japan. If some one cared to read through the basic statements made by founder members of Congress and their polity in general, only then one would know the hard core of their thought. However, there is no dearth of a counter thinking in India. Like what some people misled by enemy propaganda here in Pakistan through saying that Kashmir is the issue for West Pakistan and Punjab only, the same way there is the evident conflict of thinking in India also today. There are many a responsible people who know for sure that the Kashmir problem is the problem of the Nehru family alone and that the whole sub-continent is placed at the volcano top just for their whims. In order to understand the typical characteristic of the ruling Brahmin family of the North it is important to know that they have been commanded by their sacred book "Geeta" about dealing with enemies. It embodies a notoriously famous saying; "if you want to destroy your enemy, befriend him first, then embrace him; then stab him in the back". Finally it is the military build up that we ought to study but it is equally

important to study the very basic cult and the state-craft philosophy of the handful of ruling Brahmins.

However, for the purposes of a solution while it demands a study of the enemy, more so it ought to entail a dispassionate and objective analysis of our own acts of omission and commission both by the Government of Pakistan and the people of the State. The attitude of our friends and allies abroad also needs to be studied pragmatically.

If we look at it as an issue involving some territorial adjustments, our attitude, approach and modalities would be of one kind but if we look at it as it really is and what it really meant to Pakistan, in the ultimate analysis then our entire behaviour would be totally different. Just as we must know for sure that the Kashmir issue is in no way a territorial dispute, rather this terminology has been contrived by the other, the same way we must know for sure that the Kashmir issue is in no way a territorial dispute. Rather this terminology has been contrived by the crafty Indian strategists to suit their designs on one hand as also to beguile the gullible world opinion on the other. The same way we must know that the crafty Indian strategists to suit their designs on one hand as also to beguile the gullible world opinion on the Kashmir issue is not merely a question of independence or freedom of almost ten million people or 84 thousand sq. miles of area. Far more important, it is essentially a question of completion of territories of Pakistan both in respect of its geographical as well as ideological

boundaries; and in that sense it is a part of the two-nation theory and the movement of Pakistan itself. Only an understanding of this aspect can reasonably explain the Indian conduct. If it was not for this typical characteristic of the issue, India would have never staked so high on it nor would both the countries deploy so much of their resources on defence.

Speaking of territorial or geographical boundaries can be easily understood by any average student, but to appreciate the phrase "ideological boundaries" needs some pain-taking. It is not because of the present contention over it but Kashmir has been the focal point for many Muslim thinkers in the past. It started with Ameer-e-Kabeer Shah-e-Hamdan who caused the renaissance of Islam in Kashmir for the first time, some seven centuries ago. Then there is the famous movement of Jihad by Syed Ahmed and Ismail Shaheed who were also planning to use the soil of Kashmir as the base camp of their movement also aimed at revival of Islam. Allama Iqbal, the poet philosopher, also the son of the soil, has also unfolded the same secret when he says:

ہمالہ کے چشمے
خیز رہے ہیں
دریا کے کنارے
کب تک
خیز رہے

"When after all would the Himalayan fountains gush out; Khizer, The Mercury, has been pondering over it ever since at the bank of lake Wuller." This reference to the gushing out of Himalayan fountains and the pondering of the Mercury on the bank of Wullar is undoubtedly directed

towards the most powerful potential of revival of Islam in and through Kashmir. It is not merely the facial beauty of the land and its inhabitants that have drawn in the enemies but more than that it is that latent potential of Islam that has caused this subjugation lest the potential emerges and makes its lasting impressions on and alters the very course of history.

It is in fact this typical role of Kashmir that has been lacerating the heart of our neighbour leaders ever since. They also knew well that the State could play this typical role only when it becomes part of Pakistan. Therefore they were keen to make all possible efforts to stop such a union.

Somehow or the other the Kashmiri Muslims became conscious of this fact in time. In order to forestall or thwart the enemy designs the Muslims of Kashmir entrusted themselves to the overall leadership of Quaid-i-Azam through of course, the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, then the only mouth-piece of the Muslim majority in the State as against the National Conference which claimed its base on the one-nation theory and sought its cues from the Indian National Congress.

The Muslim Conference which represented the Muslims overwhelmingly, both inside the State legislature and outside, took to a pre-emptive strike by passing, in Srinagar, the famous Resolution of Accession of the State to Pakistan on 19th July 1947, just a little short of one month before the advent of Pakistan. It was under the banner of

this party and its mandate of accession that the fifteen month Jihad was waged resulting in the liberation of the present territories called Azad Jammu and Kashmir and Northern Areas. Unfortunately, we were politically outmaneuvered by India and thus lost on the conference table what we had gained in the battle-field. The basic blunder in this respect was to take a decision in isolation of the so-far victorious Mujahideen whose onslaught the Indians failed to contain and were compelled to take refuge in the United Nations. To be more exact that was the trap laid by the enemy. The Government of Pakistan thereby owned the responsibility of triggering the trouble in Kashmir thus justifying the totally false Indian allegations on the one hand and committing itself unnecessarily to the final settlement of the issue on the other. This resulted only in turning Pakistan into a total hostage in the enemy's hands, a position that was the sole object of the enemy and has continued ever since. Whatever our actions later on, instead of securing a wriggle-out for us, like in a marshy ground, further contributed towards that end only enhanced the involvement. Thus this became the greatest impediment instead.

The ground being the same it has been the arena for strange interaction by both the parties, we on this side and India on the other. In the practical field it started with the perfidious Radcliffe Award, which in fact constituted the root cause of the entire issue. Then there is the Stand Still Agreement followed by very ominous efforts by Louis Mountbatten, Gandhi and Nehru to trap the Maharaja into

accession, preparatory to the impending accession with India. The fanatic Hindu Government of the State reacted sharply to the situation and in order to seal the border with Pakistan deploying its troops covering all strategic positions and entry points along the Pakistan border. This is the juncture where the Mujahideen of the State, as if with divine guidance, launched their Jihad that lasted, for fifteen months which, if delayed, would have finally sealed the fate of the newly created State of Pakistan.

One can surely satisfy oneself with some plausible answers to our drastic failings but they were there and but for them we could have squarely thwarted the Indian designs to capture the State by military force. Each sector or theatre of this Jihad of liberation has a peculiar story of its own to tell. Armless, untrained, ill-maintained and totally resourceless and guideless Mujahideen on the one hand, and the most trained, well equipped, properly organized and well-maintained State troops and the Indian army on the other. Besides these glaring disparities and disadvantages the Mujahideen were given to a number of other short-falls and weaknesses at home. To our further disadvantage, combination of regulars and irregular Mujahideen at a later stage confused the very basic nature of the struggle. It neither retained its original character of unconventional Jihad by the local people nor did it become a regular conventional warfare. The difference was not limited to tactics and modalities but it weighed heavily on the very objective also. Then there are some other very serious happenings which still need an answer. The most

unexpected failure of the Poonch Operation in 1948 is a very typical instance, for that matter. Then how were the Mujahideen, at least in the Sector that I commanded, manipulated into restraint and inaction is yet another surpassingly strange story. Why a capture of the vast plateau stretching from the other side of the mountain range confronting us between Uri and Poonch upto Gulmarg was deliberately avoided clearly in wait for the cease-fire, is surely another very interesting study. Atop, why was the Srinagar airport not captured in time although we had sufficient time, notice and the means? Was it all accidental and beyond one's control or could other reasons be attributed to it. The fateful short cease-fire in Poonch which changed the entire complexion of the war theatre may yet have its own very meaningful story to tell.

Then we come to the famous cease-fire on 1st January 1949, which apparently sealed the very fate of the issue. There is a host of questions that one has yet to find answers to. Why did the Government of Pakistan avoid the Mujahideen; how did they fail to realize the enemy trap behind such a direct deal was it opportune to accept it so hurriedly; could we not wait for another two months to be in a more advantageous position; why after all were we in such a great hurry to demobilize the Mujahideen and change the entire complexion of the Movement of liberation, a fundamental shift from the most advantageous, unconventional to the most disabling conventional character of the movement; while India immediately resorted to rebuilding its positions. Why on earth did we embark upon

destroying every possible fabric of a revival of the movement and why did we take upon ourselves the responsibility to sincerely ensure the sanctity of the cease-fire line, and all quiet on the soil of Azad Kashmir. Why did we convert Azad Kashmir, the base camp of the Liberation Movement, into a totally dead mass of land; why did we fail to keep to the direction, rather why after all did we manipulate dissensions, confusion, aimlessness and scare? These and many other similar questions that stem from the fateful cease-fire have yet to be answered. We have not only lost but we have abandoned contact with our friends and allies abroad over this issue. It is we who have convinced the world that it is a dead issue; and again it is we who have lost further. India who kept learning against us all the time could find no situation more conducive to its designs than this. They took it upon themselves to explain to the world the very basic fallacy of our claim and thereby strengthened the world opinion against us. They utilized this stance to its maximum through all possible means at their command. This is how they kept pushing us around to the extent that we became apologetic. This further encouraged India so much that they officially demanded a time table for taking over Azad Kashmir as well, as you might be knowing.

Then of course there are some very sure opportunities lost or missed. At times we were complacent, sometimes we were magnanimous, unpreparedness in any case has become a part of our national trait. We sometimes wish to console ourselves by false pretexts. About the 1965 operation we say, "well we have done our best . Kashmir did

not respond. The entire country was staked, what else could we really do"? This is simply make-believe and as we in the mountains say, "it is hiding the sun before a finger". Then came the Tashkent Declaration and finally the Simla Accord. This damned document I am sorry to say, as we say is sticking in our throat like a lizard. We can neither swallow it nor spit it out. This document that was forced upon us has become so sacrosanct that we seem to be more loyal than the document itself. That is exactly where we are today. Although the paper was drafted and signed in very unwholesome conditions of humiliation, defeat and coercion, yet as the President has very rightly said time and again it bears nothing whatsoever in it to stop us from the realization of our national objectives. But unfortunately we have not only accepted the defeat physically but we seem to have taken it so much to heart.

If we do not wish them to do everything for us the role of the UN and the Security Council both gave a very clear and just verdict over Kashmir. They are still seized of the issue. They have not withdrawn their decision granting the right of self-determination to Kashmir; and this is all that they can do. Unless of course we blame them for our own disabilities they do not have a greater role to play. Whenever we find ourselves in that position we can still invoke their indulgence.

However, coming to options, some proposals have been made from time to time about solutions and alternatives to the promised plebiscite. They are precisely -

they are not in chronological order. I just mention as they come to mind as under :

- a. Partial plebiscite, meaning thereby community wise plebiscite. This was one of the alternative proposals.
- b. There was a proposal of division on the Chenab line .
- c. There was a proposal of arbitration and the late Shah of Iran was supposed to conduct that arbitration.
- d. There was a proposal of Condominium which was presented to the Pakistan Government by Sh. Muhammad Abdullah during his visit.
- e. There is a proposal of Independent Kashmir which is spoken of at public level but in fact it is not mentioned on record.
- f. There was a proposal around the middle of 1948, I remember, of a UN Trusteeship for a decade and then plebiscite.
- g. Exchange for Hyderabad and Junagadh.
- h. Finality of the present cease-fire line.

These have been some of the alternative proposals or options as you may like to call them. All these proposals fall within the category of political options. Of these almost all glittered for a while and disappeared into oblivion. Each one has a background and a cause for sponsorship and its failure. But at the moment we are left with only one and confronted with the possibility of the last one i.e. finality of the present cease-fire line. Whether or not we can accept it, also needs a thorough study. In my considered opinion it is a plain and simple suicide. Besides all else what makes it simply unthinkable is the firm and unalterable Indian attitude, their plan and design to weaken and finally undo Pakistan. They have never compromised their position over this aspect. In fact it is the Indian attitude alone that has so far frustrated and obstructed the resolution of this issue at all levels. As long as liquidation of Pakistan remains the corner stone of their regional and global aspirations, it would be simply absurd to accept anything else to befool ourselves over anything short of retaining our freedom liberty, sovereignty and ideological identity . In my last address and in one of my books I have spoken at length about the danger latent in the proposal. In a high level meeting with Mr. Bhutto, while he was still the Chief Martial Law Administrator this particular aspect had been discussed at length. Whatever our position but India would never finally accept the finality of the cease-fire line even if we sometimes gave way God forbid. They only wish Pakistan and the Kashmiris to step back from their lofty claim. Finality of the cease-fire line, in one sentence makes us more vulnerable than we are at present militarily, politically as well as

economically and simultaneously it puts India into a greater advantageous position. Therefore, this proposal should not be admitted even for the purpose of discussion let alone its working out.

I am reminded of Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan over a similar proposal when we were trying to form the MRD. There were proposals from various parties and there was a proposal referring to which Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan emphatically said, "I am not prepared to touch it even with my tongue"..... Status-quo is even far better than such finality. Even though it has kept us under great pressure, yet it has at the same time kept a heavy sword hanging over the Indian neck also. Thus unless of course we are, God forbid, prepared to compromise our own existence there is just no question of this kind of defeatism and retreat. I know that the easy going pattern of our life has amply deprived us of the initiative at all levels and even conviction to a great extent and there is no dearth of pacifists and defeatists among our effective elites; yet there is no escaping the hard facts of life however unpalatable they may appear to be on the face of it.

Let me please say that having been freed from foreign domination we have succumbed to the slavery of circumstances. Before embarking upon one of the two options, political or military, we must make up our mind to shun that yoke of slavery and revive our determination to fight the circumstances, force our way through and alter the course of events and history, for that matter, if it comes to it.

The Kashmir problem just cannot be solved by economical and mathematical calculations. That is the corner-stone of the entire exercise; it would be just futile. The way we are mentally and physically compromised and reconciled to every falling back position both politically and militarily, though less militarily, we cannot cause the situation to change. We have had enough resort to conventional means and methods. We have already had too much of conventionalism. In fact we have been lured out and drawn into that field by the crafty Indian leadership, because it is only in that field that they will always wield unsurpassed superiority, for all times to come. Whereas the reverse of it is equally true the unconventional field will unmistakably yield far better results for us for all times to come. A conventionalist will depend entirely on availability and quality. A conventionalist is the slave of calculations and circumstances, whereas the non-conventionalist is just the reverse of it. He creates circumstances and rides over them. That is exactly the philosophy propounded by the Quran when it says :

كم من فئة قليلة غلبت فئة كثيرة باذن الله

(Is it not that many a time a smaller group has defeated the bigger group with the consent of Almighty Allah)". It is not a mere abstract concept. The historical record bears irrefutable testimony to that. Not very far away into the forgotten past, right now we see it practised in Afghanistan just next door. It was good luck that the Afghans did not have any extraordinary experts and strategists to advise them. They sought and depended on the advice of nature, followed it with faith and reduced it into practice; and there they are. In their action there is a great lesson to learn.

Palestine, Kashmir and Afghanistan have so much in common to offer, for both failure and success.

The basic fact that we must never lose sight of is our ideological identity. The basic cause of the failures, be it in Kashmir or Palestine has been the compromise of identity which the brave and dedicated Afghans simply refused to do. Our failings today, let me please say, also stem from the same cause. Whether we admit it or not we have shown very little commitment to our real identity. That has landed us where we are, "a caravan that has lost its direction and bearing". There is however, yet time for us to retrace our steps and take the pragmatic route.

Coming to measures and modalities, the Kashmir issue must first be revived at home. We must educate ourselves properly over this forgotten lesson. By the force of our conviction and strength of our action we must be able to convince our friends and foes alike as to what exactly we want and how much we are prepared to stake for it. That we have not done. we have shown our deep and sincere concern about Palestine, Afghanistan and even Kampuchea but have we ever been serious about this question of our own life and death. It is too evident to need an answer. What an irony that even India has been convinced that we have given up the issue. We almost accepted what Nehru said, "The Kashmir issue lies petrified". The basic need therefore is to firm up our own conviction. Once we do this then like they say "where there is a will, there is a way". Not some but many of the measures would become only too

apparent to need elucidation. The Holy Prophet (PBUH) has also said, "There is remedy for every ailment"

لكل داء دواء

When we come to this position, one can easily see that I have a totally different notion about options and measures. To me, in unambiguous terms, a solution means accession of the State to Pakistan. Options we do not have many. It is a political option combined with the popular and active support of the people on both sides of the cease-fire line. For obvious and some equally strong but less visible reasons I have never supported the idea of invading of Kashmir by regular troops. The regulars, in my opinion, should form only the second line and stay firm in defence where they are. How could that be worked out does not need any modern Plato. We are by the grace of God already on it and I am sure we will be able to catch up with the requirements. Politics and military strength cannot be separated but a military option might to some extent, include politics; a political option cannot rule out the presence and use of armed forces. Therefore, our main stress has to be on the political option.

Although at the moment we are threatened with the very survival of our own existence by the Indian forces and their day-to-day increasing military build up; yet who knows that the same could lead to turning the very tables. The Indian leadership both in its frenzy and the growing sense of internal weaknesses is trying in desperation to hit right and left believing that this attitude might intimidate and coerce

the situation into normalcy and the establishment of their hegemony. But there are very evident signs of the very opposite results also. So it is a very fluid situation at the moment warranting a full scale preparation at our level in all possible respects. There should be no room for complacency. Like on the Siachin glacier we must draw a final line in this respect also.

However, it is a pleasure and a source of satisfaction that despite a lapse of 40 years we remember Kashmir and feel concerned about it, which reflects our perception of Kashmir's vital importance to our national interest. Despite the fact that most of the State is under the hegemonic domination of a growing mini-super power deeply entrenched there, our hopes have kept alive. Insha-Allah sooner or later not only the law of attrition will work but the Quranic law of "survival of the beneficial" خير الناس من ينفع الناس will also come in to bear upon the situation. Tyranny and suppression will meet its doom and this land of flowers and beauty will be liberated from the yoke of subjugation. The beauty of Kashmir that has been described by poets and writers as "Heaven on Earth" will surely be redeemed and liberated.

The example set by the prudent, self-respecting and valiant Afghans must provide that divine inspiration to everybody struggling for a just and noble cause sacrificing with faith and conviction. Kashmir could be no exception particularly when we know that the ratio of power is not as bad.

Yet another redeeming feature is the indomitable will of the people. The Muslim majority in Kashmir has been fighting all sorts of Indian machinations aimed at curbing or even destroying the will of these people ever since but there are no signs yet of any fatigue or compromise. There have been periods of lull and slump no doubt but a tiny gust of wind has always rekindled the smouldering fire and set it ablaze. The situation that has come to prevail there in the Indian held Kashmir particularly within the last three years, synchronized with the demise of Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, thus creating a void, is very clearly reminiscent of what lies ahead. Part of the political opinion that, for some time past, subscribed to accession with India has suffered irreparable frustration itself. Not even worth the name in numbers it is almost non-existent qualitatively. Never before have those people supported accession with Pakistan so vigorously, zealously and with that numerical superiority. That is perhaps why the Indian rulers, besides their half a century's efforts to neutralize and convert the Islamic instinct of the Muslims are not passionately working to convert that numerical superiority of Muslims into a minority but as long as the oppressed people refuse to submit and surrender, one can be sure of a final victory.

It is extremely encouraging to see that the passage of time instead of healing the wound, as the Indian leadership expected, has further aggravated it. Hatred for the forcibly occupying forces of India has been on the increase ever since; and as long as the hearts of the people in the Indian held Kashmir remain imbued with hatred for the

usurper India, and love for Pakistan. It is only a question of time. Why has this come to pass and whether the balance could be reversed or in the worst equalized is yet another aspect for study. Causes are many and of these some are casual as some are of permanent nature to which there is no remedy but one thing is sure that this balance will continue to be as it is. It would rather keep tilting in our favour and not against us. It is a unique feature that those people under Indian subjugation, are interested not merely in their own freedom but to them the very word freedom means accession to Pakistan.

At the moment we can keep the fire alive by doing our bit properly. The fact still remains that the main source of strength and inspiration inside Kashmir lies invariably in the stability of Pakistan and a strong Azad Jammu and Kashmir, compatible with its position of a base camp.

To sum it up, we have to start at home. There should be no room for doubt or compromise. Full-scale activity ought to be geared up with both the short term and long term objectives in view. We should develop our skill to take advantage of and seize any opportunity that the circumstances keep affording us from time to time. There must be a clear picture of what we wish and how we want to achieve it. Azad Kashmir for that matter should be handled more carefully and objectively. We must make India feel our presence and bring in our all to bear upon the situation and thwart the Indian designs in and about the Indian held Kashmir. We should be able to cash the mounting unrest

particularly amongst the youth inside Indian held Kashmir and try to stifle India's stay in Kashmir by making it difficult every day. It should be made prohibitively costly for them. As a measure of political and moral pressure we make use of the service of our brothers, friends and other freedom-loving people abroad while efforts should be made simultaneously to neutralize the international opposition and obstruction. The object should be rather to create a favourable opinion abroad of which the chances, as I assess, are becoming brighter with the passage of time. The spell of the Indian hoax of democracy and secularism is being badly exposed and broken. We only have to fill the void. Ideological indoctrination of the State people on both sides of the cease fire line is yet another basic essential. We must not lose sight of the fact that in the meantime we are confronted with a much worse situation; a threat to the very territory of Azad Jammu and Kashmir that constitutes perhaps the major defence line of the country. Therefore, our immediate attention needs to be focussed on that also. For that purpose the surest answer is the peoples movement of resistance that I have been discussing all along. It should be built up not only in Azad Jammu and Kashmir but on both sides of the cease-fire line. The same, if handled properly could lead to realization of our national objective also. These and some other logical subsequent actions will go a long way in creating the atmosphere leading invariably to a final settlement of the issue in accordance with the aspirations of the nation as a whole and the State people in particular as guaranteed by the U.N. and the Security Council.

Last but not the least there is yet another equally interesting redeeming feature. At the moment it may only appear to be a far fetched idea and too remote to grasp yet I am convinced that it is true beyond any doubt. Just as they say "impending events cast their shadows ahead" and the same has been said in a more scientific way of course, by Allama Iqbal, "the event that is still veiled in the skies casts its shadow in the mirror of my comprehension."

"حادثہ" وہ جو ابھی پردہ افلاک میں ہے
 عکس اس کا میرے آئینہ ادراک میں ہے

Even otherwise if one takes a dispassionate but deep look into the global aspirations of the Indian ruling junta, one must agree that they will either succeed or fail. There is no third option. Similarly if we again take a deeper peep into their socio-political structure, it is no surprise to learn that they are a society with artificial unity but basically incoherent and by nature inclined towards fragmentation. Atop, their persistent and unjustified persecution of that great minority the Muslims, then the Sikh movement, Tamil Nadu and many other socio-political movements coupled with the growing rate of conversion to Islam, of the very sizeable minority of untouchables particularly in the South are clear indications of what is to come. In the circumstances whatever else may happen but one thing is emerging as imminent and sure. There will be another Pakistan created on the Indian soil. If for nothing else, mere persecution of Muslims alone is bound to lead to that conclusion. Nothing on earth can stop it, and it may not be long before it takes its final shape. The Indian leadership

should have learnt a lesson from Russia who while faced with a similar situation of revival of religion is now forced to change its aggressive designs entirely and switch over to appeasement and conciliation but who knows what lies in store of the world. If the Sikh movement succeeds there is just no earthly reason to deny this big minority the Muslims, a separate homeland. In fact if and when it starts it will perhaps become the most powerful and irresistible movement. It is quite possible that the Indian leadership in its agony and frenzy against Islam and its ardent desire to break up one single Pakistan may instead cause the very creation of three Pakistans on the subcontinent. One here, the other in Bangla Desh and the third right in the heart of India. While all this will depend on the will of God Almighty and a natural chain of action and reaction, a good deal, at least in the shape of time factor, has so much to do with how efficiently and skillfully we here in Pakistan play our role and discharge our responsibilities towards that sacred end.

Similarly let me please spell out the truth that to defend our physical as well as ideological frontiers is the joint responsibility of the army, the civil institutions, the politicians and the general public alike. Similarly there is no denying the fact that neither of these frontiers are complete or secure without the accession to Pakistan of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

It therefore follows as a natural corollary that the image of the politicians, the army and other civil institutions, in the eyes of the nation, will be determined for ever and

directly in relation to their performance on the Kashmir front. The Kashmir issue in fact is the touchstone for the common man to judge the success or failure of all national institutions; and we will be well advised never to lose sight of this fundamental and incontrovertible national truth.

We must not be misled by the present stance of our national indifference caused by artificial and purely momentary internecine turbulence. The nation can return to sobriety and normalcy any time. It will be then that we will be confronted with the success or failure of our performance but it may be too late. So let us make up our minds right now and instead of being driven and tossed aside by the tide let us ride it like courageous and brave men of history.

For the matter of that we have invariably to go back to the oft-repeated Quranic version or injunction as the unchallengeable and irrefutable universal truth

وانتم الاعلون ان كنتم مؤمنين

"You will be the victorious if you are firm in your faith". Like the events that depend entirely on the quantum and application of intellect, intellect itself, in order to produce that desired result is also entirely obliged to faith for any achievement whatsoever. It is faith, in fact, that determines the objectives; it is faith that determines the course of action; it is faith which determines the timing, the quantum and appropriate application of intellect. In a nutshell intellect without faith is nothing. We must have faith in God and His will with all its implications. We must have faith that the saving clause and sure path to safety lies only

in faithful submission to what the Holy Prophet (PBUH) enjoined us both as imperatives and negatives. We must have faith in ourselves; we must have faith in the righteousness of our cause and above all we must have faith in the Divine will to the exclusion of everything else for all victories and defeats. This should be demonstrated not through an obscure or abstract feeling lying somewhere in a corner of our hearts but should be manifested by our actions, behavior and attitude. This will transform our entire character from a mere Muslim State and Army to a real Islamic State and Islamic Army which is destined to achieve nothing short of victory no matter how ill or well equipped or maintained it be.

و آخر دعوانا ان الحمد لله رب العالمين

May Almighty Allah help and guide us.

QUESTIONS/ANSWERS.

Question

Sir, one thing, your having a high rank in Kashmir and being the President for the third tenure what are the measures you have taken in the past particularly after coming into power to create re-awakening in the world

opinion as well as in your own Kashmiri community? I feel that merely writing slogans on walls will serve no purpose unless reawakening of the people is done and concerted measures are taken. Your Kashmiri people are not educated on the subject properly. The Kashmiri community living in Pakistan is not interested in Kashmir affairs because now they have got properties in Pakistan and are settled there. Your people living abroad in Europe etc. can generate a new way and new front in the world opinion. If you set up some industry in Kashmir and produce certain items and on them it is written "Made in Kashmir" and export them that can generate a new way and a new deal.

Answer

In fact you should have delivered a speech here, instead of asking a question. We missed you. (Loud laughter by the audience). Well it is an interesting question really. I think I have sufficiently answered this question during my last address as well as this address but there are quite a number of things which will be understood only when one undertakes a detailed study of the situation. For example when my friend asked me now that I have been the President, that it is the third tenure that I am the President and what measures have I really taken to do this and to do that. He is perhaps not quite aware of the total socio-political structure you see that we are faced with, we are living with. Therefore, if anything at all has been done only time will prove without recounting it here 1,2,3. I can say that whatever was possible within our means, whatever I could

have done, I spared no efforts and I dedicated my entire energy, my time and attention towards this issue. And I am sure that the results are not very visible straight away but a time is coming when people will know that a lot has been done. For example I had said in my last address, you see, that we have been unfortunately, confronted with two situations. I said unfortunately because one of the situations is our confrontation with the problem at home while the other is with the enemy. The enemy has progressed in their machination, their propaganda and what all steps they have been taking from time to time. This is one and I don't say this is unfortunate; this should have come in the wake of the exercise. The unfortunate aspect is that we are confronted with yet something more than that. That is devouring our attention and energies at home and that is to stop us from falling back and a final compromise in our position over the Kashmir issue. Many of you perhaps would not be knowing what labour , what efforts and what sacrifices have to be rendered in order to stop a final decision on the present cease-fire line; and what amount of internal quarrel within the four walls has been going on and how many times. I have been arrested for that matter and how is it that we really stopped this falling back which would have finally sealed the national position on Kashmir. So our energies have been divided and by the grace of God we have gradually moved ahead. I think we are in a much better position today both at home and abroad. People abroad are today amenable to listen to what we say. Sometimes in the past I could not talk to your new class here. Last time, I went to England, for example, and I met a Labour leader. To

begin with he was reluctant to really let me see him but some people intervened , some friends you see, local constituents, and I found some time with him. The moment we just sat down he said, "Mr. so and so, what is it that you want to say. I said, "I want to talk to you on Kashmir and he without hearing me simply said, "Do you want us to go and tell India that they should hand over Kashmir to you on a plate." People were so averse to it you see. He would not listen. Then it took me a little time and after a few minutes we really got into communication with each other in the same grid and he understood my point of view. He rather promised that he would speak to Indian leaders about it. He is the friend of the Indian leadership. He said whenever he met them, he will discuss and do this and do that. I am telling you this, you see, that the people have been averse to listen to anything whether they were Britishers, whether they were Americans, whether they were Saudis, this or that, whosoever they were. People were not prepared even to listen to us. The Muslim countries thought that they should listen to us only as Muslim brothers and I told late King Faisal, "Please don't attend to us as a brother. You just find out whether we have a cause or not, if we have a genuine cause then help us. If we don't have a genuine cause, we don't want your help as Muslim brothers." So by now, by the grace of God, we have established contacts with almost as many countries as possible and that also, for your personal information, and it is not really good to put on record that also against the will of some very strong people in the country. Now, how strong you think, is the President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir or any Kashmiri leader for that matter,

that he should go and fight the Indian might and also the people at home and people strong and well entrenched. This is a very difficult proposition. Now you are talking of educating the community here. We have actually been concentrating on educating the Kashmiri community on both sides of the cease-fire line as well as those residing in Pakistan.

Now the Kashmiri community in Pakistan, a part of it, had been disappointed like many of the people in Pakistan itself. They had been disappointed over the Kashmir issue. They say simply that the Kashmir issue is not soluble or not resolvable by any means except by invading Kashmir, and Kashmir, we cannot invade. Therefore, the Kashmir issue is gone. This is their contention. So they are disappointed. There are other people like me, and I am one of those who feel that no, does not matter, we may not invade Kashmir with the Army. There are about ten million Kashmiris. What are they meant for? Why cannot they get up and fight their own battle? So there are people on both sides whom we have educated. We have educated our youth, we are educating them; we have educated our youth positively but we are also trying to put a stop or to discourage the anti-movements also. There are other currents and anti-currents also, cross currents, we are dealing with and we have been alive to all this and I am absolutely confident. I am contented, I am satisfied that whatever was possible within human means and what ever the human mind could conceive in the present

circumstances, we have been sufficiently doing that by the grace if God.

Question.

Sir, you pointed out that the right kind of solution of the Kashmir problem is going to be unconventional (the means). So my question is two-fold; one is: that whether the policy makers of the Pakistan Government agree with this point of yours and secondly this kind of solution will require most active support from the population of held Kashmir. So what are the steps that are you taking to prepare them to assist us in that kind of opinion?

Answer.

You have rightly asked whether the Government of Pakistan would agree or not. You see, I cannot straight away tell whether they will agree or not but whenever in this country somebody takes upon himself the responsibility of resolving the Kashmir issue, he will invariably agree with me. But as long as that is not done, it is difficult to assess, who will agree or who will disagree and what difference would it make at all if somebody agrees and somebody disagrees if he was not prepared to take on that responsibility. So as I was saying whosoever it be, be it the Kashmiris, the Army, the politicians, some other civil institutions when they decide in their mind that they have to resolve this issue, they must invariably revert and resort to the unconventional means and not the conventional ones.

see, it is too philosophical and hypothetical. To presume that somebody will collect everybody for all times for all purposes, this is never done. We, and I explained briefly in my address that the mistake was made. We made it collectively, we did it collectively. We did make them fight and we made them fight in circumstances where no Palestinians, no Afghans no Kampoochains and nobody to my knowledge has fought so far. We were the people who snatched and captured armaments from the Indian troops, far better equipped, better trained and better maintained: We captured armaments from them, fought them back with their armaments and captured thirty two thousand square miles of area. That is something unique in the history of wars of liberation but a time came when, as I said, we lost on the conference table what we had gained in the battle field. You may in turn say why did we lose. So if we keep on asking this question, we might go to the creation of Adam himself. Why was he at all created? So this is what has happened and it is for us now not to repeat what has happened there; and the leadership, why it failed and why did it not fail, with human beings, there are failures or successes and we have to go on in this world like this and there is no cause for despondency. You see, that because we have not done this at one time, so we cannot do it another time. I am still sure that whenever it comes to action, if we keep living till that day, I hope we do and I wish we do. I want to see the day when it is finally decided. Surely, if not everybody, most of the Kashmiris, the overwhelming majority of Kashmiris will come under one banner and they will go back and fight their battle Insha-

Conventionally India will continue to be far superior and unsurpassed to anything that we build up here. But in the unconventional field we are far better than anything that they can do on their side. Number two is that when I was referring to this, I was saying (and I had said in it in quite clear words) that this would invariably entail the entire population on both sides of the cease-fire line. Primarily the Kashmiris themselves, it is they who have to do it but on both sides not from one side. That is another ticklish point and a delicate point to study; the conduct of the people on this side and the conduct of the people on the other side and how could that be coordinated. So that is how it has to be done by unconventional means.

Question.

Sir, I am asking this question as a pure Kashmiri here because I belong to Kashmir (The President pointed out to him that he is asking questions not as a Kashmiri but as a Kashmiri soldier). I am asking this question as a Kashmiri soldier. Sir, it is said that "God helps those who help themselves". Sir, my question is why Kashmiris cannot be motivated and collected to fight like the Palestinians, the Afghans and the Kampoochians? Sir, why cannot our Kashmiri leaders gather under one flag and sacrifice everything for the nation and the motherland?

Answer.

This is a very interesting question to ask but to answer, you see, it is not that much interesting because, you

Allah. There is no doubting the fact but why it has not been done in the past, let us not bother much about that.

Question.

Sir, these days we are hearing the slogans of "Kashmir Banaiga Pakistan". My question is in two parts. Part I: What are the political implications of this slogan and Part II is: Does it include Azad Kashmir only or the Indian, held Kashmir also and number III is: If we are serious about this thing, what practical steps have we taken so far?

Answer.

I hear some people say that it is no use writing slogans on walls and slogans do not really matter much. This has been said about this positive slogan, which embodies the total aspiration and historical sacrifices of the Kashmiri nation. But when counter slogans anti to this, have been written on the walls, people are allured by them and they say well, Azad Kashmir, these wonderful, these beautiful slogans, they have been written. I really don't know what exactly do we mean. We don't try to comprehend. Now the movement in Kashmir has never, to my knowledge, been the movement of independence or freedom or liberation. It has been a movement of accession of the State of Pakistan. It was this spirit of the movement for which the people scarificed their lives in thousands, and hundreds of thousands of people have laid down their lives. Now that movement has been reduced to a slogan at a time

when the whole country has been overtaken by slogan mongering. You would see slogans everywhere and it is the thing that people attend to. Unfortunately this is the stance that we have taken in this country. So the movement had to be brought into a slogan so that this was easily understandable and one could easily say and understand what it means and this we did in 1970. This was reduced to a slogan; the movement of accession was reduced to a slogan in 1970 for this very particular purpose and it has now caught up with the imagination of the people; and inside Kashmir it is shouted with greater zeal and fervor than it is shouted here. That is one. The second is that in 1970, when I became the President, I inducted this slogan for all educational institutions and other semi official institutions and you know there are some institutions for example, the Police. The purpose behind it was to educate people right from the very beginning, the children who could be misled. Today our younger generation is misled more, not by philosophies that they understand, but by slogans, just by slogans. Some times the East Pakistani people were misled only by slogans not that they ever understood the implications of those slogans and today they are faced with them. So instead of our allowing our nation and our younger generation to be misled by slogans which are totally misleading, devastating, objectless, aimless or cutting against the very root of the interests of this country, we have redevise, we have reduced the whole movement into a slogan and put it into the mouth of everybody in Kashmir and Azad Kashmir.

In 1984, someone of you might have had the opportunity to travel through Azad Kashmir. You must have noticed that the colleges, schools, the walls along the road, everywhere you would find "Independent Kashmir" and "Out of Azad Kashmir" and "You Aggressors" and "You Usurpers" and you so and so, referring to the Army and to other people. The same Azad Kashmir, when you go now, you would see the difference. I don't remember anybody having come to me then with any objection, as to the why of these slogans in Azad Kashmir and they had definite connotation. They were giving the impression that the people of Azad Kashmir have turned against Pakistan leaving aside that Kashmir has to be liberated and then to accede to Pakistan that may come at a later stage; but immediately we were confronted with the situation of relationship between the people of Azad Kashmir and Pakistan itself. So the impression generally conveyed was that the people of Azad Kashmir have turned against Pakistan and this was being repeatedly radioed and broadcast from Srinagar and other Indian Radio Stations. At the same time another small point which might attract your attention, is that this slogan "Independent Kashmir" which is against Pakistan, was raised at times when there was a movement of Indian troops on the cease-fire line. Some people inside Azad Kashmir became active in writing those slogans on walls and every where, to give the impression to the Indian troops perhaps or their agents, that every body in Azad Kashmir has taken to that stance of independent Kashmir and against Pakistan.

So we had to counter that. That had to be countered, that must be countered politically and we have successfully done it. And I may just, I hope the Commandant is not in a hurry about the time, you can squeeze my visits to the library for these questions, because for me they are more important than my visit elsewhere. Sometime back before I became the President this time, a students organization which believed in independent Kashmir held a convention in Muzaffarabad and invited me as chief guest. I tried my best not to attend, arguing with them that I am opposed to their concept so why should I really become the chief guest but they insisted. I don't know what was behind it.

A student from Punjab University, a student of M.A. or some higher class, he was also a guest speaker in that meeting/gathering. He said in his address (Meraj Muhammad Khan was also one of the chief guests there, so he was also present). that "when I came here and went through Muzaffarabad, I found the slogan "Kashmir Banega Pakistan" written on the walls and I had to bow my head in shame. The people of the world want to become independent, they want to become free but the people here in Muzaffarabad and Azad Kashmir, want to become slaves of Pakistan "I have been ashamed of it", he said. When it came to my speech, addressing that student I said "Gentleman, it is not a matter of shame for you, it is a matter of shame for me and for people like me who on this soil have fought for Islam, have fought for Pakistan, have liberated this country in the name of Islam and Pakistan and

are still living when you a ruffian from somewhere come and tell us that we are becoming slaves of Pakistan and I am listening to you. It is a matter of shame for me, I should not have listened to you." Then I used the Punjabi which he understood properly and I said, " Your teachers have not taught you your national geography and history, otherwise you would not have said this" and he ran away.

So I am telling you that this slogan, this should not be taken lightly. This is what the Pakistani patriots in East Pakistan did. They said, all right, these boys, these youngsters, these school going chaps, what can they do. There is this slogan, there is that slogan. And this is what I hear today right in Sindh, Hyderabad, Karachi and Punjab and other places in Pakistan including Azad Kashmir. When I ask the parents of these boys, they say, these small boys, small children let them say anything they like and it was these small children who broke away East Pakistan and made it Bangla Desh, you see, which was created at the cost of a very huge movement and sacrifice. So it is not to be taken so lightly as that. Then; of course, as my brother from this side said that this slogan, I have explained some political or say many political implications of this slogan that it also has; now some people argue when outside Pakistan, that when Kashmiris come here and say that we want to accede to Pakistan, the world is not bothered, they do not care, they say it is Pakistan's baby, let Pakistan go and have it. What they understand outside is that Kashmir wants to become free and independent. Now this is an argument which has been advanced on many occasions in many

countries and I have had long discussions with the people. Our people become apologetic because they lack faith and conviction about themselves and nothing else. They have no knowledge of the issue, no appropriate knowledge and they lack in conviction and faith about themselves.

Therefore, they said, "Yes, well we are apologetic, we apologize that Kashmir should become independent." When they come home here, they say, no, they should accede to Pakistan and there is the contradiction everywhere. So whenever I tried to explain the issue. I was put the same question. One of the senior reporters of the newspaper "Guardian", asked the same question when I held a press conference in London. He said, "We are not interested in whether you become slaves to Pakistan or slaves to India. Is there anything else, Mr. President that you have to say." Then it took me some time to explain to him that point and he was so interested that he kept sitting with me for one hour after the Press Conference was over and next day there was a full story on the front page of "Guardian". So the question, gentlemen, is that we do not have to be apologetic about our national objectives. I asked that reporter of the "Guardian", I said, "Do you have any objection." I said, "that I want to accede to Pakistan. What is the objection that you have to raise", and so many questions I entertained not once but on many occasions. So the world must be made to understand that it is not a question of freedom of Kashmiris, it is a question of their right of self determination granted to them by the United Nations and the Security Council and the resolutions of the Security Council

say that they will be given the right to decide whether they like to accede to India or to accede to Pakistan. There is no departure from this. Once we make this departure, we have lost the case in the United Nations and the matter is over. Therefore, as long as the United Nations remains seized of the issue, we have to stick to that and that also invariably is the real solution of the issue.

If we can make Kashmir independent and let it stay for a single day, even then that would be worthwhile but that is not possible. For it to become independent, the process in the meantime which it entails, is something horrifying. If you look at it from the economic, political and defence aspects, it is simply horrifying to talk about that. Therefore, this slogan "Kashmir Banaiga Pakistan". Now the third aspect was, my brother from this side asked what is the impact of the slogan in India-held Kashmir? That I have said in my address already and you must be reading in the papers that today it is a very great redeeming feature that the youth who should have been neutralized by now after 40 years, but all efforts of the Indian government for demoralizing and corrupting the Muslim youth in Kashmir, have not really made them surrender their will and it is they who today are full of fervor and zeal in raising this slogan of "Kashmir Banaiga Pakistan". You must also be reading in newspapers that by writing this slogan on the walls they shouted in the auditorium also last year when the Indian President went for some convocation. The students got up and shouted slogans of "Kashmir Banega Pakistan" and he had to leave the auditorium, you see, and go without

performing the function. So this has caught up with the imagination of the youth inside occupied Kashmir also. So this would, I think be sufficient for an answer.

Question.

Sir, may I say that you as the President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir have been able to put the Kashmir issue correctly at international forums and at national level. I want to ask you the role that you have played for the Liberation of Kashmir as leader and Mujahid of Kashmir? You will agree, Sir, that Kashmir will only be liberated through public support and by the awakening of the Kashmiris particularly across the border i.e. the Indian held Kashmir. As President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir will you be able to do that job i.e. awakening the people and gaining support in India-held Kashmir and will you be able to get that part liberated.

Answer.

For me to revert to my age of 23 is rather impossible. I have to go on as I am, and I request you all to read through some of those articles and the small booklets which I have provided to the College. I have been discussing these matters in more details with the Defence College Teams and War Course Teams from time to time and many others and a lot of answers to these questions have been given there. I tell you that I still do not feel shy of reverting to the actual battlefield if it comes to that, but at

the moment we are seized of a very helpful political situation. You see, it is helpful in the sense that changes are taking place all over within India - our major enemy - within India and around India and at the global level, the change in the Russian attitude, the American approach to the problem and the whole thing has been changing and I feel that if we keep on pressing hard on the moral, political and economic fronts we will bring India to its knees and bring India to agree to holding a plebiscite in Kashmir and if, of course, it refuses to do that, the situation by itself would have aggravated into a position where you cannot hold it back. This is one aspect, and the other aspect is that if you put pressure and keep on exerting the pressure which we do, of course, very steadily and it gains its momentum, the Indian Government will be forced into two positions: either to accept a political solution, or to attack Azad Kashmir and go to war with us. There will be no third position and we by that time, by the grace of God, will also be ready for both the positions. That is what we are working for and working on of course. You see, it is like a chess game. The whole thing is spread before you and you know what the other fellow is going to do. It is a question of competence and skill, political skill and competence with which you have to handle the situation.

Address
by
Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan
Prime Minister
Azad Jammu and Kashmir
at
Command & Staff College, Quetta.

11th April, 1989.

اعوذ بالله من الشيطان الرجيم
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

رب اشرح لي صدري و يسر لي امري
واحلل عقدة من لساني يفقهوا قولي

Mr. Commandant, Major General Burki, Deputy Commandant, Staff Members of the College, members of the faculty, our allied members of the faculty, gentlemen, Brothers and friends!

I am really grateful to the Commandant and the staff for affording me the opportunity to address this august institution for the third time; and I am also grateful particularly, for the kind words spoken by the Commandant about my person. I have been called upon to speak on the same subject for the third time in the same institution, of course, the audience being different. It puts me in some difficulty naturally, as I cannot recall the thing afresh after a good two years, all over again, and every time I spoke in the last two years. I thought the talk was conclusive and there was not much left to be delivered later on. However, the issue being a multi-dimensional one, there still remains a lot

to be studied in detail. I tried to write a speech myself. I did succeed in doing it the last time, the main portion or main body of the speech, but I still could not do it properly. This time I thought of jotting down a few points which I can deliberate and discuss with you. I am still not really quite sure whether this will satisfy the need of thoroughly studying the issue but any way I will do my best to do justice to it and try to be as brief as possible. I am also expecting that the two previous talks that I had here will have been gone through by most of you or at least some of you. Besides that, I have had the opportunity to discuss Kashmir continuously for the last three years with the National Defence College teams and with the War Course and some other army personnel which were later on transcribed. I asked for some of the copies to be sent to this institution also, so that you could go through them and see through the details also. I hope you would have done that. In any case this exercise of speaking to the bureaucracy and particularly the army bureaucracy, from my point of view, is very rewarding and very helpful. The bureaucracy in Pakistan like in all other countries, of course, has played an important role in understanding various issues and problems and resolving them.

As you know, (perhaps all of you) that it is one of those issues which confronts the country since the very beginning; and it is perhaps one of the top most problems that stare us in the face and that will have to be resolved. As I have said previously the Kashmir issue is not merely a political issue or a cultural issue or as the Commandant has

very rightly put it, not an issue of territorial adjustments, but it is something far more than that. Therefore it really needs to be studied in all its details and all aspects which possibly are available. As I have said the detailed appraisal and in-depth study of the issue is not only a national requirement but it is very interesting at the same time. When you will go through the whole exercise you will perhaps like to agree with me that it is one of the most intricate aspects of world politics and even the national politics. The other reason why I lay emphasis on addressing the Army personnel is that almost everything in this country, whether it is politics, whether it is morality, whether it is economy, whether it is administration, whatever it is, has of late become defence-oriented.

That is something which I, at least, have a very clear vision of. It will remain so as long as the Indian sword continues to hang over our necks. We will have to plan everything in this country from the defence point of view; otherwise the contradiction between the civilian way of thought and purely civilizing the State and looking at it from the defence point of view will run the country into a very dangerous position. So, that is how, at least, I look at it; and it has been quite rewarding in the sense that I am sure the various talks which I have had with the Army personnel, both in Muzaffarabad and other places and here have really produced, if not very positive results, they have certainly allayed many of the apprehensions and misgivings which the past had created; the past actions, the past exercises, and the inferences drawn from those exercises that created

many doubts and misgivings in the past. So this is, in that sense, quite rewarding and it is a distinction for me as a matter of fact that I am the only person from AJK who has had the opportunity of addressing this institution and that also over an issue which is all important for the country as also for the region.

Now with this brief prelude I will go on to the subject matter and let us see how we deal with it. I am required to speak to you on the issue itself as such, and then the options to resolve it and the measures that could or ought to be adopted. In order to understand this issue. I think, in my humble opinion, one has to determine one's own position first vis-a-vis the issue; because the understanding will also vary from person to person and position to position. For that matter I would like to say, it will vary from commitment to commitment. For example the struggling Kashmiris under the yoke of Indian slavery will look at it one way, the people in Azad Kashmir who have liberated themselves through a very long struggle, have certainly a different view of the whole issue. The people in Pakistan certainly will look at it differently and the people who are outside Pakistan must have a very different view of the whole problem. Therefore, for the struggling Kashmiris inside occupied Kashmir it is a question of life and death, it is a question of slavery and freedom; for the people of Azad Kashmir including myself, it is a question of completion of our struggle that we started in 1947; for the people in Pakistan it is slightly more than that. It becomes a sort of multi-dimensional problem including defence, economy, culture and above all the very security,

safety and independence of the country itself; and for others it might be only an academic study on its merit or convenience. So that is why I said that first we must determine our own position. For example I know my position vis-a-vis the Kashmir issue, and I can understand that aspect of it, in that perspective. Then of course briefly speaking in its sum-total and in a broader sense it is an internationally admitted question of the right of self-determination. Let us start with that; because that is an internationally accepted position over the Kashmir issue.

Now to be more precise. For an understanding of the issue at least four of its aspects need to be studied thoroughly: and like the diagnosis of a disease where sometimes doctors have to trace the history not only of the disease but of the man himself they go back to his ancestors. Similarly we will have to trace the history of this issue also which I am not going to trace here but that is something which definitely is very relevant and the Kashmir issue will not be understood without it. When I say that, what I really mean is that in order to understand the Kashmir issue one has got to understand the Indian position over the issue because the issue in fact has emanated from the Indian attitude. It is not for our fault or for the fault of anybody else for that matter, that this issue has come to light but it is because and only because of the Indian attitude. The Indian attitude not only in Kashmir but the total Indian attitude in its totality about their own position, about the position of Pakistan and many other things which I will briefly refer to here and there. So this is also very essential

for anyone of you who is really deeply or keenly interested in finding the truth of the problem.

Now those four aspects that I was saying need to be studied :

Point one is how the issue was created and who created it ? Now in this respect we have to refer back briefly to the treacherous conspiracy between Nehru and Lord Mountbatten and the perfidious Radcliffe award at the time of partition with of course other indoor and outdoor exercises which were at that time carried out; and that will at the same time explain the purpose of the conspiracy also, and the absolute purpose in one word was to undo Pakistan. That has been the purpose of creating the whole issue of Kashmir.

The second aspect which needs to be studied is the Indian attitude and its intransigence. It is an extremely interesting historical record and an expose of international black-mailing, hatred for Islam and the darker side of many known people and recognised people who are acclaimed clean otherwise in their conduct and political countenance, Indian demands also need to be studied at length. For example one of the demands which they have always put forward without feeling shy about it; they said that Pakistan -- the people of Pakistan --- must renounce Mohammad Ali Jinnah's two- nation theory; that must be renounced. That has been their demand; and that also needs to be studied, and therefore, for an objective appraisal of the issue, it is

inevitable to study and have a deep insight into the Indian design and objectives as also the cunning with which they have camouflaged their venomously evil motives in a crane like hypocritic manner, and the way they have been able to disguise and camouflage their very poisonous and very dangerous attitude in this respect. It is something very strange, they have sometimes made the people around the world believe in the innocence of their approach, as well as the genuineness of their approach and almost the piety of their approach. They say, it is plain: because Nehru belonged to Kashmir, he migrated from Kashmir, therefore, he is entitled to have Kashmir and things like that. They say it was Pakistan who was the aggressor, it was Pakistan who started the war of liberation. They don't even make a reference to the people of Kashmir, who had themselves struggled and who had liberated 32,000 sq. miles of area. They do not acknowledge or admit the fact that the people of Kashmir made any contribution. India had on the other hand been successful in throwing all the burden of the Kashmir issue on Pakistan; and that Pakistan had been unfair and unjust in creating a situation in the region which called for Indian intervention and so on and so forth. This also needs to be studied because when we will come to discuss other aspects, this will become relevant, and unless we have studied it, perhaps we may not be able to catch up with the measures and options and other aspects.

Then the third aspect which needs to be studied is the claim of Pakistan itself over Kashmir and the efforts that have been put in, in the past. Now this claim as I have just

now referred to is also to be understood. Do we really have a claim ? Speaking from Pakistan's point of view, has Pakistan really a claim on Kashmir and how justified is that claim compared to the Indian claim over it? How much of Pakistan depends on Kashmir for its future, for its existence and survival ? Then of course the efforts that have been put in, in the past and the results produced by those efforts also need to be studied with a point of view to find out if we have committed the right thing or the wrong thing and where did all acts of omission and commission with regard to those efforts and of course the results which were produced lead us. Sometimes they only produced disappointment and despondency and that of course leading to something else; that also is an aspect which needs to be studied thoroughly.

The fourth aspect is the question of the right of self-determination for Kashmiris and why the Kashmiris alone are asking for it in this region and the struggle which the people of Kashmir must have made in the past and which they continue to make, also needs to be studied because this refers to a very basic question which is asked, from time to time here and there. Wherever I go, I meet people who say why don't the Kashmiris go and fight like the Afghans, like the people in Vietnam had done and in some other places where they are doing it. So this will give us an insight into this question and the answer to that question also.

Well, with this in mind we can now proceed to discern some of the options that are available. I am sure you will be under the impression that I have not explained the

Kashmir issue but as I said, to explain the issue we have to go back a lot to the historical events and this, one limited sitting is not really enough for that purpose. Therefore, I am just skipping and casually mentioning things here and there and expecting that you may already have some background knowledge of the issue. So when we talk of the options to resolve the issue, then for the period of time which has elapsed in between the earlier options; instead of straight away going into that part of the option, I have in mind another option which might be lurking behind the minds of many people but they don't say so. This is ; can we really forego and forget about it and be contented with what we have? That is also an option and in one of my last talks I have referred to a similar discussion which was held by late Prime Minister Bhutto, when he was the Chief Martial Law Administrator and the President. He had called a meeting of the senior echelons of his government and the senior leadership of AJK and this subject was very clearly and in unambiguous terms broached in the meeting which was initiated by Mr. Bhutto himself. Of course, indirectly through one of the ministers sitting on his right who categorically spelt out this option without any reservation. Then we had a long drawn discussion on that point and it is referred to here and there in my writings that can be looked into.

My point is that, without going into the details of this position, I would only spell out the sort of conclusion which I have drawn from time to time through this exercise. I would say that even if you wanted to do that, even if somebody at the helm of affairs decided to forego and forget about this,

you just cannot do it. Even if you wanted to do it you cannot. The reason is very simple; India will not remain contented with what she would get out of it. That was exactly the question which I posed to the late Prime Minister; I said, "if we agree to decide finally on the cease-fire line then Mr. President! (he was then the President) can you get up and to the satisfaction of the people in Pakistan declare that now India has given up its aggressive designs against Pakistan and she is contented with what she has?" I said, "if you can do that I, on behalf of the Kashmiris, will get up and say that as a representative of the people of Kashmir. I have sacrificed some six to eight million Kashmiri Muslims for Pakistan", but I said, "If the position becomes more vulnerable and we run into a greater risk and a greater danger than what we are in at the moment (I can explain to you on a map if you have a cease-fire line map how we will run into great danger) and this will, inter alia give India an edge over us and put her in a much better position than they are now." Then I said, "how can you go into an exercise like that." So it was a long talk of two or three hours and ultimately Mr. Bhutto who was reclining on his chair pulled it up and put his fist on the table and said, "As long as I live, there would be no compromise on Kashmir."

I was saying that it was not for the first time that I am mentioning the fact that we cannot forego Kashmir and forget about it. This has been thoroughly discussed at all levels. The defeatist and the pessimist mentality of which there is no dearth in Pakistan, have all along been suggesting, here and there, through various gestures that we

should forget about it and rather consolidate what we have but whether India will allow you to do that. That is the main point, and I am absolutely confident that India will not allow you to do that. That aspect needs to be thoroughly studied. Why will India not let you be contented with what you have? Because of the simple fact that India is not interested in the territory of Kashmir as an end but only as a means to an end. The end is undoing Pakistan. By retaining Kashmir she would put herself in a much better position from where she (India) can take any action against us, and then we will have nothing to say. Once having foregone the Kashmir issue, we will never be able to revive it. That is the position really to be understood whether we have that option available to us or not?

This will also interalia, help us firm up our minds. This dilly dallying and wavering attitude that we have seen, you see, stems from our thought being diverted to various options which intellectually we feel should be available but this option, in my humble opinion, is not available to us. I am absolutely prepared to discuss with anybody on the face of earth. I have discussed it with foreign diplomats, people who are very much pro-India, who have been anti-Pakistan. I have discussed this proposition with them at length and everybody that I came across ultimately admitted that this option was not available to Pakistan no matter what you do. Even if you made a concession on this, the other immediate next concession which India will want is: they will ask you to be more benevolent and vacate Azad Kashmir also and hand it over to them and even if they are to be contented

with that, it would be worthwhile to consider it but as I said they will not be contented even with that much. They want to go beyond that. It is the two-nation theory of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, as they put it, which they want to be repudiated and which they want to eliminate. Therefore, I am discussing this purely with the idea that we must not be duping ourselves by moving here and there, wavering and oscillating from one point to the other point that this could be done and that could not be done. In fact nothing could be done because the enemy who is stronger is adamant, also intransigent and has refused to accept any reason whatsoever. They have refused to go through history. If you go through the history of the United Nations and the Security Council deliberating the Kashmir issue, you will see how the Indian Government really could manage a somersault on every point. There was a time when the Indians suggested a partial plebiscite in Kashmir. I hope you follow my point. When they said partial plebiscite, it meant territorial plebiscite—meaning ultimately that the Hindu majority areas should accede to India and the Muslim majority areas to Pakistan. That was the ultimate implication of suggesting a territorial plebiscite.

One of our Prime Ministers at the time (a late Prime Minister), readily agreed with this. When he sent his note of agreement to the Indian Prime Minister he turned around and said that because Pakistan has gone into an alliance with America and with so and so, therefore, that proposition does not hold good and we need not go back to that. So every concession that Pakistan has tried to give to India,

India has blatantly refused to accept it and they have moved on from one to the other position.

In fact, I think, they have been trying to confuse the opinion here, they have been trying to create fear in the hearts of the people here and they have been pressing all the time against us. So this option as I said is only a trap to dupe ourselves into that quagmire and it will leave us no other option except to have the issue resolved in favour of India. In other words it means that in this case the option is that like Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Maldives and now Nepal we should also submit to India or resist and if need be fight back. Of course, there would be questions to ask: like, whether we really have the capacity of resisting and fighting back. That is the question which has to be answered separately: but that is the only option left with you. There is no question of making a surrender and I don't have to answer that question whether we should accept Indian hegemony over everything and accept their defence protection for Pakistan and accept to be the satellite of India and make Pakistan a market available for Indian goods and of course do away with the two-nation theory and do away with all our religious identity as such. These are the implications which are contained in this option of making a surrender or making that concession _____ to be more benevolent to India on this point. Therefore, I am absolutely convinced, if anybody else is convinced I don't know, that this option has never been available to us and it will never be available to us in future.

The other option in this aspect is the military option which has also been discussed at length, particularly in the Army circles. It must have been discussed. We, outside the Army, have also been discussing this aspect and I personally have all along felt that this is not an option that really we can take up. We cannot even think of attacking India in Kashmir or elsewhere unless we are prepared for an all-out war, whatever the consequences. That is again a question to be answered later on; but to initiate a war with India would be something very dangerous and I don't know if anybody in this country can take the responsibility of doing it. Therefore I have always ruled out the military option.

The third option is a political one. That is where I personally have concentrated all along, particularly in the last 3 or 4 years, since I have been elected as President (Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan was the President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir when this lecture was delivered). We have been concentrating on the political option and it has not been futile altogether. It has had its impact in fact. You see the uprising in occupied Kashmir. It is for the first time that the Indian Government has not been able to control the uprising totally as they did in the past. It has been aggravating. The situation has been aggravating day by day, and it has been on the increase. The result is that the people in Pakistan, the people elsewhere, even some very responsible people in India are of the opinion that Kashmiris should get their right of self-determination. Many Indian leaders who don't see eye to eye with the Congress perhaps on this issue also, have been of the opinion that the

Kashmiris must get the right of self-determination. If everybody on the sub-continent got this right of self-determination why were the Kashmiris alone singled out not to get it. So, I think many of the friendly countries outside Pakistan will also be prepared to stand by us for a political solution; and the political solutions today are becoming a fashion also. After Afghanistan and after Namibia and many other places where the United Nations have been able to assert for the first time, after a long spell of time they are becoming a fashion. People are scared of military solutions everywhere in the world. Therefore a political solution, India might be able to resist a military or semi-military activity but it will not be possible for her to resist political activity if it went upto that magnitude. Now, how to work it out, what are the implications, what are the requirements of working out a political option. That, of course, is a subject which again has to be studied separately and thoroughly. I personally have my plans for it, many others may have theirs. There are many political organizations both inside occupied Kashmir and here who are working for it. I myself, my government, and my party, with a missionary zeal, have almost dedicated ourselves to that cause and it is not without any reward what we have been doing.

Then yet another option is a movement of resistance inside the occupied territory. I hope you read through the papers attributed to me in the past. You will see that for the last three years, at least, I have been discussing and talking of the movement of resistance on both sides of the cease-fire line. On that side as well as on this side. Here

in a different shape and there of course in a different shape. I started discussing this movement slightly before the Palestinian Intifada was formed, a movement of resistance. I personally could see that the future of political movement lies not in taking up arms but in political resistance. The amount of reaction which has been created by the Palestine movement of resistance in a short while had not been created by the armed struggle of the Palestinians in the past 50 years. So, what I was really trying to explain for the last three years, to the people, that we must build a movement of resistance. In Kashmir it will serve at least two purposes if not more; one of them is that it will provide an absolutely certain and sharp deterrent for India's aggressive designs against Pakistan through Kashmir. This way India would be sure that the people in occupied Kashmir will also rise up in case she decides to attack Azad Kashmir. The people will join on both sides to fight their Army. In this case I am absolutely sure, without an iota of doubt, that no amount of Indian Army can over-run Kashmir, no matter what equipment they have, what training they have and what numbers they have. The 12 million people belonging to those mountainous militant tribes, fighters by birth, cannot be over run by the Indian Army of which we have had quite an experience in the past on many occasions.

So, this movement of resistance would provide a very effective deterrent also. Also it will make the Indian stay or occupation in the occupied territory impossible or at least very costly, very difficult; and I see that cost-wise a movement of resistance would be taken more serious note

of in India than it would be perhaps through the armed struggle by killing on both sides. That is a typical temperament and attitude of the Indian leadership. So, the movement of resistance on this side, has to be of a different nature. Its nature on this side is that the people in Azad Kashmir should not be vulnerable to the Indian machinations of division in ideology, the ideological approach and in their integrity and solidarity with Pakistan. That means, in Azad Kashmir we must have a movement of Pakistan as I call it. "Kashmir Banega Pakistan" or the movement of accession with Pakistan . That movement must be kept alive, strong and powerful in Azad Kashmir; and also the people of Azad Kashmir should be made to believe that in the event of an aggression from India across the cease-fire line it will be they who will resist and fight every inch of the ground and every person, man, woman, child, old and young, everybody will have to fight. That is the kind of ideological movement or resistance which we have been trying for the last three years to build; and I am absolutely confident by the grace of Almighty Allah, that we have not failed in our mission in Azad Kashmir.

If you were to take into account the vulnerabilities that we have run into in Azad Kashmir on the ideological front you would be surprised to see what danger we have really fought out successfully and have come out of. Today in Azad Kashmir we are not faced with that internal danger because as I have been saying before, for India to attack in Azad Kashmir, she would invariably need to have peace in the territory that she is occupying there. Not only peace but

support - moral support of the people of Kashmir for their Army and Army actions. Besides, they will need ideological dissention in Azad Kashmir, to the extent they had created in Bangla Desh, to take advantage of and then move into Azad Kashmir. And of course the international position being conducive or otherwise. You see, that apart, but these are the conditions which would facilitate their military movement in Azad Kashmir. So, that door has got to be closed totally and it is my privilege; I am grateful to Almighty Allah who gave us strength to fight it out all alone, and against very heavy odds. I really cannot go on to explain all those odds to you but one thing which I would not like to hide from my brothers and friends is that 3 or 4 months back when I was going to Saudi Arabia to attend the meeting of the Rabita-Alma-Al-Islami I received a letter from one of our Ministries saying that. "Now while you are going out of Pakistan we will ask you not to make any statement on Kashmir." Can you imagine that the President of Azad Kashmir, and Sardar Qayyum - of all the people: _____ who initiated the war of liberation and who continues to fight it out _____ is being told by somebody! I don't know what to term him; it does not really deserve to be said in those terms but that man sitting in Islamabad writes to me that I should not make any statement on Kashmir! Now from that you can imagine the odds that we face at home; and as I have said before the dissenting movement - the movement belonging to the secessionist school of thought _____ the totally mundane and secular school of thought _____ those movements at times had been encouraged. Even the anti-Pakistan movement had at times been encouraged from this

side. If it is encouraged from that side that is understandable but they were encouraged from this side. Now against these odds without any support, without any guidance, without any help we on our own have been fighting in Azad Kashmir against those movements and even across. Today it will certainly be in your notice, you must have read through papers that the movement of "Kashmir Banega Pakistan" is the most powerful movement across the cease-fire line on that side. This is what we have in the meantime tried to do with regard to Kashmir over these options the two of which are available to us. The political option and the movement of resistance. In fact they combine into one but they can be dealt with separately in order to understand the nature of the thing.

We now come to another very ticklish aspect of the issue. That is the measures to be adopted. The first measure to begin with, the first thing, that we are required to do in this respect is that we must once for all and effectively remove all inconsistencies of our thought; the thought which has been wavering, which has been inconsistent from my point of view. There should be complete unanimity of thought over this problem. In fact it does not exist. The unanimity of views does exist in the country but it has not been welded or forged into a channel where it could be said that there is total unanimity between the Government and the nation, whosoever the government belonging to whatsoever party the Kashmir issue is such where there are just no two ways out. That is the only way and we must remove that inconsistency completely, forge unity and leave

nobody, friends or foes, in doubt. Nobody should be left in doubt about our intentions and our determination. That we have not done in the past. In fact we have been vulnerable. We have been open to all sorts of things, all sorts of thought, all sorts of suggestions which came from time to time to resolve the issue. We jump to every suggestion and try to discuss it. This in return strengthens the Indian point of view also. That was to our disadvantage and went entirely to their (Indian) advantage, because they stuck to their position and we have been changing our position. Changing our position from time to time, and, unsuccessfully of course, leads us to complete despondency, disappointment and disarray ultimately.

Then we must also demonstrate our faith in the cause. You see the element of faith, something I will refer to later on also in one of the other aspects, but we have shown lack of faith also in ourselves and in the cause of Kashmir. That lack of faith we must also get rid of and demonstrate our unflinching faith in the cause. Some people unfortunately, because of this lack of faith, have, as I have felt as I inferred from various conversations, thought it only to be a quixotic idea and that is all. Nothing beyond that. So we must really firm up our mind and faith and believe in it to be a practical thing attainable, of course with certain amount of sacrifices, some amount of risks to be taken duly considered and the timing and so and so forth many things. The Kashmir issue is not an ordinary issue to be resolved. In fact on Kashmir the very future of at least the region if not anything else, depends and that perhaps I might

be able to explain to you in a few words. That is one measure that has to be adopted and if that was not then all other measures would absolutely be an exercise in futility and will not lead us anywhere whatsoever.

The second measure is that we must make it absolutely clear to everybody, to ourselves, to India, to everybody - friends or foes, that the forcible occupation of Kashmir by India is not acceptable to us in any case whatsoever; and it has been unlawful and immoral and we will never be reconciled to it. That also we must make very clear. As I perhaps mentioned last time here, an American friend who came to me in Muzaffarabad said, "Sardar Qayyum! what have you done in this first year". I had only been in office for one year then ——— "that the Kashmir issue seems to have started moving. What have you done". I said, "I have really, practically done nothing. The only thing I have done is that I have shown determination and conviction over it. I have demonstrated faith in it and everybody, friend or foe, everybody knows what I stand for. That is why the thing has started moving". If they (the Indians) are not moving it is simply because we have not shown that determination of refusal to accept Indian occupation of the territory; and of course, then, in the same aspect we should not be apologetic about it. Unfortunately we have at times been apologetic. Even we have been withdrawn. We have been receding and then India, we put her in a position where she took advantage of every inch of our fall-back and that had been to our great disadvantage.

So one of the demonstrations of our defeatist attitude was demonstrated during the SAARC Conference here in Islamabad. Please don't misunderstand my point. I am not in particular referring to a particular party or a particular set up in the Government but this is what happened on the ground. It has been reported all over the world, except of course in our own official news media. It has been reported by American radio, by British radio, by Australian by German and many international agencies too have reported this. The New York Times has written a full scale article. They published my interview about it on half a page. This is on record but we demonstrated quite, I mean painful lack of will and we reduced ourselves to a position which nobody really should have done. I don't want to go into those details, you must have read in newspapers yourselves but that is what you see, put you off the rail in Pakistan. Then incidentally, it was an incident I should say, it was not planned before hand, we never knew that things would go to that extent but incidentally we came out with it, staged a demonstration. The demonstration was so docile, so peaceful, so disciplined, and so cultured you can say. Demonstrations generally are not cultured (tamed), but it was so cultured a demonstration that I have not in my whole life had to put up a demonstration like that before. We did not want to put the new government into any difficulty, otherwise we could have resorted to anything. We would have made it impossible for Rajiv Gandhi to enter the territory of Pakistan. The Kashmir issue is at the peak. This nation is very emotional and sensitive about the Kashmir issue and we could have put the whole of Islamabad and

Rawalpindi on flames; and people would have been shot dead and tear-gassed and what not; and SAARC would have gone down with it but that we avoided meticulously. We scrupulously avoided it when they (The Administration of Islamabad) said, "you don't demonstrate in Islamabad," we said, "yes, we will not". They said, "you stand there", we said, "All right we will stand there" ; "stand for one hour", "don't interfere with the route where the cavalcade is supposed to pass". We said, "We will not do it". They said, "You move out to this direction". We moved out to that direction. We accepted every instruction which the administration really thought was necessary at that time. We humiliated ourselves but we put on record our protest on what was happening during the SAARC and that of course did not go unrewarded. It yielded results. The result was that after some time, after a few days, the Government had to change its stance and had to come out with the usually acknowledged and admitted position on Kashmir. So that is what I was trying to say. When we talk of measures, we cannot be between measures and no measures. We are obliged to adopt certain measures but they must be categorical not confusing and duping ourselves or duping anybody else. We cannot dupe anybody else as a matter of fact. People know more about us than we know ourselves. They know our capability, they know our plans. So it is not trying to befool somebody else, it is befooling ourselves if we did that. That was the second measure I was suggesting.

The third measure is that we must effectively counter Indian propaganda at least in three aspects which

they have carried out in the past. It is what has been referred to by the Commandant himself. It is that Kashmir is a territorial dispute between India and Pakistan. That has been a very distracting propaganda by India which actually distracted the world opinion and even opinion at home. Some people still think it is a territorial dispute - a matter of territorial adjustment between India and Pakistan which it is not. In absolutely no way can it be taken to be a question of territorial adjustment. Or else it would be catering to the advantage of India. The people sitting outside Pakistan, if they come to know that it is a question of territorial adjustment, don't care what chunk of land goes to Pakistan and what goes to India. They are not interested, Therefore, many people have become disinterested because of belief in this piece of propaganda by India conducted so vehemently with all the force at their command all over the world, inside and outside the country. This has to be effectively countered from our side. We on our side have no doubt put in other great many efforts in the past and the Government of Pakistan has done it before the Simla Accord, but in fact we have not done anything in this respect. Even during those efforts we have not done anything to counter this propaganda. On the other hand we kept on falling into their trap. When they suggested some territorial adjustments we accepted that suggestion, meaning thereby that we were also believing it to be a question of territorial adjustment, which really it was not. So this has to be countered both at home and abroad. The second point, we have to counter the Indian propaganda above the farcical elections to the legislative assembly. The

Indian government has been all the time suggesting and pressing the point that these should be accepted by us and everybody as an alternative to plebiscite. The elections whether they were farcical or whether they were genuine is besides the point, but no Assembly can be the replacement or an alternative to a plebiscite. So this piece of propaganda has also to be countered.

Now the fourth measure which I have been dealing with. As a matter of fact all these things I have personally been dealing with, therefore, I could pin them down on principle without going into details. Although this forms a part of the third one but it has to be dealt with separately. That is, we should not be reconciled to the fraudulent accession, instrument of accession, signed by Maharaja Hari Singh at that time, and then said to have been ratified by the Assembly. We should never be reconciled to it. It has not been accepted even by the Security Council. The Security Council in its Resolution in 1957 rejected the Indian plea that elections to the legislative Assembly in Srinagar were an alternative to the plebiscite. They have rejected it and we must also stand by that rejection and should never be reconciled to it.

The fifth one is that we should counter all Indian measures to subvert the ideological base in Kashmir. That is another extremely important point. It is only by subverting the ideological base that they can achieve what they wish. They have had a successful experiment in Bangla Desh. They subverted the ideological base of that land and that

lead to secession. So they have been very scientifically following this course where they would want to subvert and change the demographic position in Kashmir. That is very important. Kashmir has been predominantly a Muslim majority area, and the movement of accession of the State to Pakistan and the movement of liberation or freedom is based absolutely on the two-nation theory. As I have been saying the Kashmir issue is a continuation of that movement of Pakistan and the two nation theory. Now India, in order to eliminate that element, has been on to subvert, one, the ideological base and second the demographic position also. They have been trying to bring in more non-Muslims to be settled in Kashmir, so as to reduce the Muslim majority to a minority. They have certainly brought down the proportion, not very much, but of course it has been brought down by this addition and influx of people coming from outside. So this demographic complexion has also to be guarded against and we unfortunately have done very little from our side in this respect.

India, you must have seen through papers, has been so watchful, so vigilant, so active that for a minor thing which happens on this side of the cease-fire line, whether in the Northern areas of Azad Kashmir they immediately start raising a hue and cry and start saying that it is disputed territory and the territory which belongs to them and this should not have been done and that should not have been done but we on our side, we see a sea of blood flowing into Kashmir and we are not concerned. We don't do anything. Of course in Azad Kashmir, whatever our capacity, for

example in order to stop this Indian demographic complexion, we have been still maintaining the position that no outsider, although there is no outsider. In fact, we are as good a part of Pakistan as any other area is and perhaps better than many of the areas that we have. In order to counter their move, we are still maintaining a law in Azad Kashmir which prohibits the purchase of land or citizenship rights being granted to anybody outside Azad Kashmir. This has worked as a very effective law. As a matter of fact the people on the other side have also resisted law making for providing facilities to the outsiders in Kashmir to purchase land and get settled there permanently. So this has worked very well and there is a lot of commotion going on over the point. Sheikh Abdullah when he was alive, was also confronted with this proposition by the Indian Government and when he died his son was also confronted and then the pressure mounted so much that they have not been able to agree to this so far. So that leaves the matter undecided and the sense of insecurity has continued to prevail in the occupied territory not allowing free access to the non-Muslims from India to come and settle in Kashmir. Other measures that should also have been taken by the Government of Pakistan have not been taken.

Then we must also concentrate at all levels to thwart Indian designs to perpetuate their forcible occupation of the territory. In that respect, particularly we must be very careful and watchful about their efforts directed at diluting the Islamic identity of the people. I have personally been telling many friends, who come across from that side here asking

me what to do. The only thing I tell them is not to bother about the political positions. A time is coming, you will see, when politics will play its role and nobody could stop it but, in the meantime, I say to them "If you safeguard, and defend your Islamic identity that is good enough for the people of occupied Kashmir in the present circumstances. That way many things would have automatically been done." The late President (God bless his soul) I had an opportunity to discuss this aspect with him on a number of occasions. In the last meeting with him prior to the tragic accident of the 17th of August (I met him 5 days before the crash) we had discussed this aspect of helping the Kashmiris to maintain their Islamic identity.

The eighth measure is that the inherent geographic, strategic and otherwise position of Azad Kashmir must also be thoroughly studied. As I have been saying time again that Azad Kashmir is not an administrative unit of Pakistan, it is basically a defence proposition of Pakistan. You the people of the defence forces must be able to appreciate it more than anybody else. That must never be lost sight of. Dealing with Azad Kashmir should really be based on that understanding and nothing else. If it were not so then perhaps we will run into many difficulties _____ both seen and unseen, expected and unexpected. Thus we should strengthen Azad Kashmir _____ Azad Kashmir should be strengthened both in its polity as well as its Islamic identity, administration and everything else coming afterwards. For that matter basically the leadership of Azad Kashmir should be helped and strengthened.

I have been emphasizing this point ever since the late Field Marshal Ayub Khan but unfortunately few people understood what it meant and on one occasion addressing Mr. Bhutto. I said "It is very strange that there is unanimity of views between India and Pakistan in Kashmir or at least over one aspect", He said, "what is that?" I said, "That is destroying the leadership on both sides." People have been in exercise on both sides to discourage the leadership _____ the Kashmiri leadership. Now for India it is advantageous but for us here it would be a greater disadvantage. If it ever comes to it that we are left with no proper leadership in Azad Kashmir then we have had it. Then it will not be possible to control Azad Kashmir through the presence of the Army or through administrative measures or through legal measures. That will not be possible but unfortunately we have been doing the same exercise here in Pakistan. It was for the first time, after Quaid-e-Azam let us say; (the Quaid-e-Azam was the first) and perhaps General Zia ul Haq was the last to have appreciated this aspect. When the Quaid-e-Azam said to the people "You Kashmiris are lucky to have Ch. Ghulam Abbas as your leader" he acknowledged and recognised the presence of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference as the sole representative of the Kashmiri people. He was clear as to what was meant by it. After him it was Gen. Zia ul Haq who appreciated this position and it was in this very context that in 1987 when he went to Azad Kashmir on a 5 day tour _____ during the course of his visit he called me his "Murshad" and not only that but he went a

step beyond, and said, "if ever I joined a political party I will join the Muslim Conference ." As you know he was not in favour of political parties. He did not believe it by faith, not by any stratagem or not by any convenience or expediency but he believed in it as a matter of fact that there are no political parties in Islam. I personally differed with him all the time but he said that if ever he had to join a party he will join the Muslim Conference. This explains his first attempt at calling me "Murshad". People here thought perhaps he was so impressed by me and my conduct and so on and so forth and I don't know what not. They attached many different interpretations to it but I personally could see that he was going back to the position taken by the Quaid-e-Azam, that the leadership in Kashmir, the Pakistani-minded leadership in Kashmir, needs to be developed and built up and the message that President Zia ul Haq wanted to convey through utterances like this was properly conveyed across the cease-fire line. It was grossly misunderstood here. People interpreted it as a personal relationship between the President and myself, but it had a much wider and deeper political connotation which had been conveyed across the cease-fire line. People picked up the idea immediately and started working for it. So building up of leadership in Azad Kashmir is one of the most important political measure and mind you gentlemen! I am not in anyway directly or indirectly attributing it to myself but I must put it on record that the leadership does not mean power monger leadership. Leadership does not mean casual and upstart leadership by conviction, by faith; and rather conviction and faith par excellence. People must accept the authority of

that leadership. If the leadership calls the people to lay down their lives, they should be happy to lay down their lives, and to respond to any other call for that matter. That is the kind of leadership that we need, and I am sorry to tell you that there is no institution which can produce leadership. Institutions have produced everything in the world but leadership. In Azad Kashmir that leadership should be built up, strengthened, and made as powerful as possible. That alone might itself convey the proper message across the cease-fire line. For that exercise I don't know what is going to happen next but this is what I strongly feel.

Then there is another measure, we must refuse to accept the interpretation of the Simla Agreement by India. We have somehow or the other been susceptible to the interpretation made by India about it. The Simla Agreement is a written document. It has nothing vague or abstract. It is available. We should read it through ourselves and we know as much of the English language as is contained in that agreement. Of course it is a diplomatic document; it is open to interpretations; but certainly if India can interpret it to its own advantage why cannot we interpret it to our advantage. We can do the same; and in fact if you look through the wordings you will see that the words are more favourable to our interpretation than to the Indian interpretation. India, by dint of its force, its weight or propaganda, has been able to impress upon the people, even ourselves here, that perhaps their interpretation was the correct one which it is not. So we must try to put our own interpretation, which it really is. Late President General Zia-

ul-Haq had done the same. He had very clearly, in unequivocal terms, announced on many occasions that the Simla Agreement does not impede referring the case back to the United Nations or the Security Council. So that is yet another measure.

This attitude on the Simla Accord has been unilateral. Should I tell you, perhaps I may add to your information or it may be a little surprise to you, to know that in violation of the Simla Agreement India had set up at least six television boosters along the cease-fire line. One of them in Nikiyal is right on the cease-fire line overlooking the territory of Azad Kashmir. This was after the Simla Agreement. Six boosters besides two television stations, of which one perhaps was installed earlier and one later but six boosters! We are such benevolent people, such pious people, that we have been safeguarding the underlying interpretations of the agreement rather behind the door conversations somewhere in Simla. We have been protecting it as a sacrosanct thing and not touching it. We have not been able to set up one single booster in Azad Kashmir to cater for the people in the valley and mind you, anybody who comes from the valley (Srinagar) one thing he demands of us is that we project our television programmes across. Many of them have seriously suggested that if we (in Pakistan) cannot afford it financially they are prepared to make donations for this so that we should set up a booster, and we are such honest people on the face of earth (we are dishonest in all other respects but here we have been very honest) that we must not violate the Indian spirit of the

Simla Agreement. This spirit I don't know, where it emanates from, not from the words contained in the Agreement itself but somewhere else. I don't know from where else they came. So this has been a sort of unilateral exercise that we have carried out over the Simla Agreement. This 'sanctity' which we have accorded to the Simla Agreement must really be done away with as soon as possible. We should interpret it as a diplomatic document, the way India is doing and then get down to do our job.

Then the tenth measure is that above all we must realise that a strong and stable Pakistan is the answer. We wish all movements designed to weaken Pakistan to fail, but in any case we cannot close our eyes to their presence, but a stable Pakistan will provide the necessary inspiration to the people across. We may not send them weapons. We may not send them money, we may not send them literature because, you see, we don't have to educate the people of Kashmir. The very presence of the Indians _____ the Indian Army deployed in Kashmir _____ is of different nature than elsewhere in India. It has been especially selected particularly for its enmity and hatred towards Islam and the Muslims. The presence of that force of the Army by itself provides the great education. It compromises the absence of weapons and literature and money and everything simply because they've put the honour, property and life of everybody at stake. Therefore, we don't have to go to that extent. All we have to do is to make Pakistan as strong and stable as possible. It is a very wide ranging discussion, you see, as to how to make it stable and how to

counter and combat the destabilizing factors in the country. One thing is clear and that is that our defence forces should be strengthened and made invincible.

Now we have become, unfortunately like many other things under the weight of propaganda, apologetic not only on other issues but on this issue also. This is a very sad thing _____ unfair really. It is more than unfair that we become apologetic about our defence forces. We should be proud of our defence forces. Our defence forces have been pitted against 1 to 10 and even more. In that small ratio for forty years against a most detestable enemy. They have maintained their position. What more do we expect out of one man fighting against ten and that too successfully. If that had been the position elsewhere people would have worshipped their defence forces; but the propaganda engineered by Indian agencies is (unfortunately) so effective in this country that the government becomes apologetic, the people become apologetic. I don't know why! In my humble opinion the defence forces have to be strengthened in all possible ways. That is the only way that you can parry a possible threat from the Indian side and mind you that is the trump card which is being held by India. I say trump card because the whole of the Indian Army will physically move in some day but if they are today convinced that they are not going to move in or the Pakistan Army is strong enough to defend against the move, then most of the subversion dies down automatically. I would remind you in this context of the Nuclear Non-Strike Agreement which was never properly signed later but it came into being when the late Shaheed

President Zia ul Haq visited Delhi. The very announcement that this was discussed and agreed, although the agreement was never signed, but with the very pronouncement or announcement of this agreement, subversion in Sind had particularly suddenly fallen down to the ground. I heard myself, with my own ears _ face to face, sitting with the people who were supporting subversion ____ condemning and bitterly abusing, right and left, Rajiv Gandhi for having put these people in a very awkward position. So let us not make a mistake in this. We must fully understand that it is only the hope of an Indian physical intervention which is keeping the subversion alive. So that is a trump card which India is holding and that is the trump card that we are holding. If we have strong defence forces then we are not to worry whatsoever about any amount of subversion. The subversion will kill itself. A time will come when it will automatically kill itself but of course they are encouraged by everyday talk, the people talk.

Yesterday you must also have read it that a very responsible fellow on the defence of India made a statement that the Political Department in the ISI was closed down on the request or suggestion of Rajiv Gandhi. What does Rajiv Gandhi have to do with the ISI and Pakistan. I know personally and you know as well: Many of you must be knowing that India has been awfully worried rather scared of the skill and prowess of the ISI in the past few years. They have been taken by surprise in many things (whether it is true or not I don't know). If they wind up the Political Department in the ISI (I really don't know much about that. There were people

dealing with politics but I don't think there was such a department set up within the ISI _____ not to my knowledge). Similarly there is a great deal of talk everyday that they (Pakistan) are reducing defence forces and (would) cut down this and cut down that. That unfortunately is telling very heavily on the national morale and it might provide encouragement to the Indian side also. So I was saying that we must build up our defence forces. They are protecting not only our ideological borders, although it is not their job, but incidentally because they were the only people left in the field who are protecting not only our geographical boundaries but ideological boundaries have also been protected by them. Therefore, there is just no alternative. We cannot do without it. If you want to retain Pakistan we have to strengthen our defences and strengthen them not on casual basis but as I will refer to it in the coming few words, on a permanent footing as the situation demands.

Then, of course, there is another measure to be resorted to. It is to exploit the vulnerabilities inherent in India itself. India is perhaps the most vulnerable. Much more than any other country internationally, it has never been over the history together and even today it is remaining together by sheer dint of its own weight. Not that somebody is keeping it, somebody is not destroying it. It is just running on its own weight. Perhaps Americans wanted it do so. So we can also exploit many vulnerabilities; the Sikh movement, the Naxalite and many other movements - in the South the North, the East and the West - everywhere India has been under fire. There is yet another very potential vulnerability

India is faced with and that is the presence of the biggest minority of the Muslims. If we can - 10 crores of us, _____ carve out a land for ourselves, why cannot 18 crores of Muslims in India carve out another Pakistan for themselves? So there are many vulnerabilities which we can really exploit to our advantage and to their disadvantage but there is a word of caution which I have always spelt out and that is; the purpose should not be to disintegrate India but to keep it away from the boundaries of Pakistan. That is what should be the purpose because if we try to disintegrate India, which she is doing herself - I mean even if we don't do it she herself is committing it that will not be to our advantage. That is my humble opinion. It may not be to our advantage either.

Then we should also make it clear to India that there could be no friendship or even normalization (of relations) unless the Indian leadership accepts three fundamental principles. One of them is the division of India on the basis of the two-nation theory, that must be accepted by them. Unless they accept it no amount of friendship, no amount of modalities and measures that we may adopt to normalize relations and to make friends with them will work. Therefore they must accept the division of India on the basis of the two-nation theory. The second one is: they must stop persecuting the innocent Muslims in India and the Indian Muslims must be granted the same _____ equal civic rights as non - Muslims enjoy in India. They have never been granted that right and this talk of democracy and

secularism is a hoax. When they come over for Hajj.... one is really half breathed to hear what happens to them. And then of course the resolution of the Kashmir issue according to the Security Council Resolutions is the third equally important principle. These are the three fundamental principles which must be accepted by India. Only then can we start making friends with them and court friendship.

There is another point which I have touched earlier and that was to further strengthen the defence forces to make them compatible with the threat perception. Now India has been wanting of us to have defence forces of the size of a country as large as India but I think it is a universal truth that you have to have defence forces according to the size of the threats that are posed to you, not your own size. That size of the threat has also to be studied. What kind of threat it is? Whether it is ideological, whether purely territorial, whether purely for the fun of it or what is it. There is a chain of events which will go to prove what really is and how serious the threat is. Therefore we must have forces compatible with that and you will appreciate that this is what I had left out (the mention of it). We must also realise that this does not mean alone to increase the numbers and the equipment and the training and the quality. This will not suffice, by no mundane means can we succeed not to speak of exceed nor can we even equal the Indian military power. We cannot do that. By no secular means. We will have to bring in other very serious but effective elements. That is the element of faith which will outdo or undo the total enemy

machinations and will make sure that we achieve our objectives.

One of the great services rendered by the late President, (you might be knowing more than myself surely) is that the President tried to make the defence forces an institution instead of department of the Government. There is tremendous difference between a department and an institution. In most of the countries like America, let us say the defence forces have become an institution, self-sufficient and even autonomous. It may not be autonomous as yet but it has to be a self-sufficient institution and has to be kept out of the pale or impact of political ups and downs in the country. It must remain firm. No amount of political change should be able to effect the quality and the capability of the defence forces or its being an institution. That is one of the great services which the late President (God bless him) has rendered to this country. Otherwise had it been a department, I think by now, it would have been done away with. Very little of it would have been left. So it is an institution and it should continue to be an institution.

The second thing which he did, out of many services rendered to this country - innumerable services which will go down in history, is that he was able to rid this country of the inferiority complex which we had inherited on the point of religion. The people, I remember before General Zia-ul-Haq, were apologetic. They would like to say their prayers indoors lest they were seen by somebody. I myself for example was in various high level meetings. When the time of prayers

came and we would, (some of us, only hardly one or two out of the whole meeting, perhaps were the praying Muslims), would stealthily look at each other and then just leave the meeting and say our prayers somewhere. So people were shy of saying their prayers. They were apologetic. In fact they suffered an inferiority complex. Now this man who was just like anyone of you soldiers (he was in the same Khaki uniform but of course the metal was different). No doubt this one man alone got this country out of that inferiority complex, not only here inside the country, but even outside the country. He established his own identity as a Pakistani, wearing his own Pakistani dress. Our people, so complex-ridden people (mentally not free as yet if not slaves but not free too) take pride in wearing the European dress but it was he, as President, who wore his national dress and established his identity all over the world to the extent of being so courageous and faithful as to suggest putting a piece of Ka'aba cloth on one of the walls of the United Nations headquarters! That is something which must be duly appreciated and retained.

I think the present government, perhaps, will not have the opportunity to help you retaining that but that you will have to do yourself because that is the advantage and the edge that you have over your enemies. If you were faithful, loyal to God Almighty and the Holy Prophet(PBUH)..... I am reminded of a small incident which you might be interested to know. This was narrated to me by a retired military officer. He said he was on a course in Cairo alongwith other officers of his cadre and there

incidentally was an American officer also who had embraced Islam recently or in the past somewhere. He was also there in the training staff. At the end of the course they were invited to a function or meal or something by President Anwar-al-Sadaat. Under the protocol the Secretary to the President sent them an invitation but the President was good enough to decide to speak to this American officer personally believing perhaps that he was a fresh Muslim and it would give him encouragement. He spoke to him on telephone personally requesting him to join the evenings session. I was surprised to hear from this Army officer, what he said to the President when he was invited by the President, He said, "Mr. President, Excellency I will find out whether such an invitation was accepted by the Holy Prophet (PBUH) or not, and if it was accepted by him (the Holy Prophet) I will accept it otherwise I am sorry" and he put the receiver back. This officer says, I said, "what insolence you have shown to the President, he was kind enough to speak to you personally, why did you do that?" He said, "Look here Mr. so and so, I know your difficulty. You are Muslims by chance and I am a Muslim by choice and want to please Almighty Allah and the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and nobody else on the face of earth". So this is the difference ! To be a Muslim by chance and to be a Muslim by choice! You see, we must really get rid of it now. It is high time now that we should become Muslims by choice and we should learn Islam. I was going to suggest on this point and it will be very helpful, the Commandant may kindly and the staff may kindly consider my suggestion to include in your course a thorough study of the life of the Holy

Prophet (PBUH) and his companions. I know there is an argument that this will perhaps involve you in factional controversies, but I am absolutely confident that the great part of Islam is non-controversial. We unfortunately, without sufficient knowledge believe that everything in Islam is controversial.

Everything in Islam is not controversial. Many of the controversies are not controversies. They are diversifications. So there is no controversy as such and if there is some controversy it can be left out and the unanimous part of Islam and the conduct of the Holy Prophet(PBUH) Unless you know, no matter how much of the Quran you read, no matter how much of the Quran you study, you read the commentaries, you read the meanings and read everything it will lead you nowhere. The more you know about the Holy Prophet (PBUH) the more you know about Islam and the less you know about the Holy Prophet (PBUH) in his actions, in his work and deeds and all of the omissions and commission in Islam. So I would suggest that subject on the life of Holy Prophet (PBUH) be introduced and studied thoroughly. That way it will perhaps become a real Islamic Army. We are a Muslim Army today just as we are a Muslim country but we have to become an Islamic country and an Islamic Army; and that of course would change the entire complexion of the Army. Then the very meagre numbers and limited resources of equipment and training and other facilities would be mitigated by your faith in Islam.

Another measure to be adopted it is to strengthen the movement of resistance on both sides of the cease-fire line which I have referred to already. The symbol of resistance as I said is the present Palestinian movement but the difficulty is how to make our own people understand. I remember a very pertinent incident in this respect. In the course of discussion on Kashmir with a senior man in the hierarchy of the Government I said to him that we should help build up the movement of resistance in the occupied territory of Kashmir. The man was so upset that he got up from his seat and in utter despair said, "Resistance, resistance, what resistance; how can we do it!" I said, "My friend, sit down. Don't be worried. There is nothing serious that I was going to tell you. It is a resistance on ideological basis. I am not asking you to send, to smuggle across weapons and money and other things but I am suggesting that there is an ideological resistance, you see, which we can help. We can help them a lot on this". I could not really convince him. I personally feel that this movement of resistance has got to be supported. We must lend some support to it from both sides of the cease-fire line.

Then as I have said already it is the Islamic identity you must build up and strengthen because it will lend a lot of courage and inspiration to the people across the cease-fire line. Then it has to be an all-out national effort. It cannot be left to one part of the country. It has to be taken up at the national level — all sections of the nation. They must be educated, they must be told and they must be trained. By 'trained' I don't mean military training; they should be trained

to combat and counter the Indian move, the propaganda and many other things. Then should be ready with that. They should be equipped with knowledge and information so that it is an all-out effort at the national level. Now in the end, to summarize the whole thing: these are the sixteen measures which I have suggested here with some detail, of course, not the entire details but some details.

Let me please say that the Kashmir issue is a debt that we owe not only to the Quaid-e-Azam and the noble souls who laid down their lives and sacrificed, who suffered their lives and property and honour at the altar of the two - nation theory and created Pakistan but we owe it to our posterity also in its freedom and sovereignty. Then we equally owe it to our Islamic identity: Remember my words that if we cannot make Pakistan complete, viable, strong and resistant then not only, God forbid, our independence and sovereignty would be at stake but our faith and religion will also go down with it. This has happened in many places in the world. It is not the first time. So this is the time when we have to show our firm conviction - demonstrate our conviction to retain it. Then we owe it equally to millions of Kashmiris who are still groaning under the yoke of Indian slavery, suppression, repression and humiliation of the worst kind and also to the millions of Indian Muslims. Not only Muslims in India but to all those who want to embrace Islam. They are fed up with the inhuman, inconsistent and unnatural customs and traditions of the inflicted (fake) religion on them. So we owe it to all of them.

In Kashmir, I really sometimes feel, (I feel really), I don't know how to explain it to you but I feel that if our hearts have not hardened heavily and if our ears have not yet become deaf why cannot we feel the pangs of the people who are suffering in our name in Kashmir, and what are we doing to gear up ourselves and our resources and mobilize them to come to their aid. Then the Kashmir issue is a challenge staring right in our face. We must rise upto the occasion and fight it out. Then the Kashmir issue is again a threat not only to the security, stability and sovereignty of our dear country but it is also a serious threat to our faith and religion. Then while it is a lacerating or festering wound in the chest of humanity like-wise its resolution will provide a panacea for many an ill which today engulfs particularly the region and generally world peace at the same time. Therefore the sooner it is resolved the better. That is how I perceive this issue and with that I conclude. My profound gratitude once again Mr. Commandant for affording me this precious opportunity! Thank you very much!

I request the Commandant! if you have sufficient time at your disposal and if the Chief Instructor also agrees to go into a detailed question/answer session with me, because generally both of us remain unsatisfied over the question/answer business. Many people would like to ask questions and I would like to answer those questions. So if we have time enough we can go into that straight away if you want or if you want to have a respite, as you like.

Thank you so much!.

QUESTIONS/ANSWERS.

Question: Mr. President Sir, I think there could be no better person for interpretation of the Kashmiri people's stand on the Simla Accord. How do you see the future of the Simla Accord once it is so open to different interpretations at convenience.

Answer: You see, in the Simla Accord, one thing objectionable which the Accord contains is the reference to the conversion of the cease-fire line into the control line. I personally, as the President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, even at that time had refused to accept it as control line and I continue calling it the cease-fire line. Now some of the people have said it is quite understandable that the idea behind this conversion of the cease-fire line into the control line was and which might have been discussed mutually behind the doors, that it will gradually be converted into a final boundary between Pakistan and India. The next step to be taken after some time was to allow movement on the so-called control line under visas and passports from both sides. As you must have read in the papers, quite sometime ago, that there was a demand - Kashmiris residing in Pakistan were made to put in a demand that separated families, since so long now, should be allowed to visit their families across the cease-fire line. The idea behind it was to allow the issuance of visas and passports from both India and Pakistan on a particular point on the cease-fire line i.e. the control line. That was resisted very vehemently and in fact we did not let them do it, rather we

made them apologise. General Chishti himself, in the beginning when he became Minister of Kashmir Affairs, also, made a statement that they will consider this more favourably. Then I came out with a statement. I said that this is outright treason and it is betraying the country and the people of Kashmir and everybody. If somebody allows passports and visas to be issued on the cease-fire line, we will not let them do it. So that is how we practically defeated it. In fact there has been a great fight internally on this point. Except this point of the control line there is nothing in the Simla Accord which worries us, the people in Kashmir. So we attach no importance to the Simla Accord whatsoever. It has something to do with the Government of Pakistan to find a way out how they can wriggle out of it or how in the presence of those provisions they can make their own interpretation and take the case back to the Security Council. Besides the said Simla Accord, for going to the Security Council, there is yet another position and very important too, the support _____ enlisting the support of our friends outside. That support we have not been able to muster as yet but I see a bright future and a conducive atmosphere coming up only if we show courage and determination. So that is the position of the Simla Accord in a nutshell.

Question: Sir, the importance of Kashmir for Pakistan cannot be ignored. But at the time of independence of Pakistan the Kashmiri people wanted to join Pakistan because they knew that Pakistan will be made. They had in front of them the leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah but

unfortunately we have not been able to save Pakistan in the form it was given to us by Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. So, Sir, keeping in view the present situation in Pakistan and that Indian held Kashmir has got a Chief Minister who is pro-India, what do you think that if the people of Kashmir are given a chance to make a decision whether they would like to come to Pakistan or at this moment they would like to have an independent status or they would like to go towards India?

Answer: My friends! There are two aspects in the question. One is whether they would like to join Pakistan or India or become independent. Now as far as the first part is concerned, as to what the Kashmiris would do in case they are allowed to exercise the right of self-determination, there is absolutely no doubt about it. No matter who says, and what somebody says, but the situation itself warrants the reply which I am going to explain to you. That is the people will invariably decide to join Pakistan. That has been known to India, and we had offered, not to speak of the present Chief Minister but to his father Shaikh Abdullah that the government be set up under Shaikh Abdullah and a plebiscite be held in his presence as the Chief Minister of the entire State. We are still prepared to accept the challenge but India backed out. So there is just no denying the fact and there is no need to really deliberate on it at length. even the non-Muslims, a big section of the non-Muslims residing in Kashmir, will also vote for Pakistan. That has been on record. That is one. The second point is whether they would vote for this or that or for independence.

Now according to the Security Council Resolution our case is that the people of Kashmir should either accede to Pakistan or to India. The third option has been totally ruled out unless we can find some way to have it included now which is impossible. This portion is not included in the plebiscite proposal. That is out of the question but even if it was there, it will be only tantamount to dividing the Pakistani votes in favour of India though it would have no effective bearing on the result of the plebiscite as such.

Question: Sir, having listened to you today and gone through your previous views on the subject one finds that you are a staunch exponent of the political solution of the Kashmir problem. Sir, don't you think that a combination of the military option with the political solution side by side, today or at any stage would be necessary. So would you like to combine the military option with the political struggle.

Answer: Well, I have already disagreed with the military option. I don't rule out the possibility of a military option. It has to be understood as to why I say possibility. Simply because may be it is thrust upon you from the Indian side that is why I do not rule out the possibility. If it is thrust upon you, you will have to go to the task but in our planning at the moment we do not visualize a military option. Yet, even if we either way resorted to a military option, we will still have to have a political umbrella. The military option alone will not do. It cannot be isolated. Therefore, if you have to have a political umbrella even for a military option then why not have it straight away. This is not totally ruling out the

possibility but it is ruling out the planning and the thinking on the military option because then we will close down other avenues, and through the military option you may not succeed. You may not be able to achieve anything. That is why I have been insisting on a political option which is absolutely sure. It may take a long time, more time than we expect, but surely it is very effective in the end.

Question: Sir, the Northern Area is presently under the administrative control of the Federal Government. There are people who consider that they should be given the status of the 5th province of Pakistan. Sir, do you think it is going to have some effect on our stand on the Kashmir issue?

Answer: I wonder if you have read in the newspapers a letter which I wrote to the President of Pakistan very recently on the Northern Areas. I have explained its historical, geographical and legal position as it obtains till today. There also I have explained its political aspects to which you have just now referred. For making the Northern Areas a province of Pakistan, the first thing to be considered is whether it can be made a province of Pakistan or not. Before going to the conclusion of what happens after that, we must also know that we cannot make, by no stretch of imagination, can it be made a province of Pakistan. This is simply loud thinking and tall talking about it. There is a decision by the Supreme Court in one of the cases that not an inch of the territory of Kashmir can accede to Pakistan or can be converted into Pakistan; and there are of course other implications. For example there will have to be a Bill.

Let me make it still more clear to you that a Bill will have to be introduced in the National Assembly of Pakistan before taking this extra-ordinary measure. I am absolutely sure that the National Assembly of Pakistan will never pass it and even if they go into that exercise I will have it blocked at the Senate level, and it will never go through. So this exercise will be absolutely futile; it will not produce any result.

Number two; that is very important. It is the political aspect. Making any part of Kashmir territory a part of Pakistan by converting it to be a part of Pakistan is certainly suggestive of our change of policy and or a total change of view about Kashmir; and in the event of plebiscite, for example tomorrow, by some stretch of the imagination or by some accident if India agrees to hold a plebiscite, then how are these people living in the Northern Areas going to vote this way or that. So that exercise really cannot be undertaken and it is simply futile. It is wasting time to think that it can be made a province of Pakistan. Mr. Bhutto had undertaken this exercise very thoroughly. He himself had suggested in one of his speeches in Muzaffarabad to make the whole of Azad Kashmir and Northern Areas a province of Pakistan. Then of course after he asked the concerned people to go into an exercise - study its political, legal, constitutional, historical and geographical position and repercussions, it was given up by him. So this is just an exercise in futility.

Question: (The question was inaudible while transcribing from a recorded cassette. It was related to what the future would be in the opinion of SAQ).

Answer: My friends! I tell you in the first instance, that thinking about the Kashmir issue so far ahead, 50 or 100 years or so, is really crucifying. I cannot and do not want to think beyond a year or two at the most. I am a firm believer, knowing things as I do, that if President Zia-ul-Haq, had lived for another two years, the Kashmir question would certainly have come to an end. So it depends on chances and circumstances. May be somebody else comes up or may be the present Government can, if God gives them strength, take appropriate measures for it and it comes to an end. That is one aspect. The second is that you see the resisting forces will continue to stay as I have explained in the main text of my speech. Then even if you forget about it. India is not going to let you forget it because Kashmir is a part of the bigger scheme of things with India. Kashmir is not the scheme of things itself for India. It is a part of the bigger scheme of things and that scheme does not stop at the present cease-fire line. It goes far beyond that. Therefore, there is no point in dragging the issue so much. The resistance would continue and even a fight might ensue afterwards. As far as I am personally concerned we have been educating our youngsters by a number of means, speeches, books and audios and videos and discussions and mutual dialogues and so on and so forth. We have been trying to educate our youth to maintain the continuity of this

resistance even today with a bigger force. So there is no worry on that score, by the grace of God.

Question: Sir it is that, much of the activities in this regard just appeared to be taking place on this side of the cease-fire line but this apparent tranquillity and peace on the other side of the cease-fire line gives an impression to the neutral world that probably it is a political stunt capitalised by Pakistan and its leaders. Now what is the responsibility of the leaders - the Kashmiri leaders - to keep the issue alive on both sides of the cease-fire line. What efforts are being taken or made in this regard?

Another question, Sir, relating to the same question is that we should export our ideas to keep the other side and Kashmiris on both sides of the cease-fire line abreast. So the media can help you to a great extent and it is a very forceful means to undo what India is doing. They are doing so, Sir, by having established several boosters right on the cease-fire line. We have to do something to counter it. So what could stop the President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir to take the decision to establish seven or eight boosters on the cease-fire line. On the other hand, it appears to have something to do with Pakistan. You could have benefited from the support you had of the late President Zia. Did you ever speak to him on the matter and what was his answer?

Answer: As far as peace and tranquillity, as you said, existing on the other side of the cease-fire line is concerned, it is in fact not so. That came about only in a very brief

period in the past, when things became quiet as a result of the 1971 debacle. That has changed since 1985. Particularly, you must have seen that there has been a change in the government thrice and people flouted the central authority. There is hardly a week gone by when there were no demonstrations, anti-government demonstrations, where people were not killed and shot dead, the people were not wounded. The people have not been put behind the bars to the extent of people demonstrating on that crash of the late President Zia ul Haq. It is said that almost 16 people were shot dead during the demonstration and more than 100 were wounded. Similarly on the occasion of a cricket match or a hockey match or some other function, you must have seen that occupied Kashmir has been all the time aflame and it has not been quiet for the last three years; and as of today there have been curfews imposed here and there. In Kashmir 16 new Indian battalions have been inducted to maintain the law and order situation which you must have read in the newspapers the other day. They were already maintaining a huge army there for a long time but on top of it, added to it, 16 new battalions. So all this shows something serious. It is not a hoax or a piece of propaganda. It is a very genuine situation but I can also tell you that I on my part, have done my best to soft-pedal the thing and to keep it on a low key. There are very genuine and obvious reasons for it. Otherwise we can have a flare up in Kashmir at any time we want but it is the question of how to follow it up and how to maintain it. So that is what the exact position is.

The second one is the media help. There are two parts of the question. One is that whether I referred it to President Zia or not and what was his reply and reaction and the other is whether the message is conveyed across or not. The whole exercise had been undertaken many a time but it was never implemented. The President himself was very keen on this and we had been more than half way through. In fact only the instruments were not installed. All other preparations were made but I knew at the same time that there was a lot of pressure from the Indian side not to install these boosters. There was tremendous pressure by them. Sometimes it was resisted and sometimes it might not have been resisted but despite that fact the booster was going to be installed in a short time. I do not know what will happen to it now. The second point is whether the Government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir can do it or not. In fact we have been after it after we have seen what happened in the SAARC when the news bulletin and the TV did not report on Azad Kashmir for two days. Having gone through that we felt the need of establishing a TV station of our own in Azad Kashmir. That might sound a little too much but if the news media in the country, don't come up, come to our help, we will not be left with any other alternative except to set up a TV station of our own in Azad Kashmir but we are trying to avoid that for a simple reason. There is a very delicate reason behind it which I wish my brothers to understand and that is, that this will be interpreted by the anti - Pakistani forces as a move towards secession and an independent Kashmir. So that is why we have been avoiding many things at the cost of many other things. Those things

which we should otherwise have done. We are trying to convince the Federal Government to set up a booster and if they don't do it then perhaps we might have to do it ourselves.

Question: Sir, you said that Azad Kashmir and the Northern Areas cannot become a part of Pakistan and people are also opposed to it but, Sir, you have written a book and given it the title "Kashmir Banega Pakistan". These are contradictions and secondly, Sir, you said that India should not disintegrate because it is not in our favour but I personally feel that disintegration is in our interest.

Answer: Gentlemen! This "Kashmir Banega Pakistan" (Kashmir to become Pakistan) is a part of our ideology starting from the 19th of July 1947, just a few days before Pakistan was created. The mouthpiece of the Jammu and Kashmir Muslims, the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, had passed a Resolution on the 19th of July 1947, demanding accession of the State to Pakistan as provided in the instrument of accession. So we stick to that position. When we say "Kashmir Banega Pakistan", we mean that the whole of Jammu and Kashmir State should be liberated and it should go to the people to decide whether they would like to go to India or to join Pakistan. I and my party will stand for Kashmir joining Pakistan. So this is a safeguard against some deviations if they were sometimes made on the ideological front; and that also provides for our integrity with Pakistan. So to give it up today, for example, the people will tend to drift away from this mainstream and

drifting away of the people of Azad Kashmir from the mainstream is ipso-facto to the advantage of the enemy standing across. Therefore, we have scrupulously stuck to our position but this does not mean that we allow in the meantime a territory to accede to Pakistan and become a part of Pakistan. Azad Kashmir should have also acceded to Pakistan but if it does then we will have really taken back our claim over the entire territory to accede to Pakistan through the vote or right of self-determination. So that is how we explain this position.

The second one is the disintegration of India. I have a very queer feeling about it that primarily the people who are engaged, who engage their minds towards that negative work whether it is in individual life or collective life, they ultimately destroy the energies of doing anything positive. That is one aspect which is very important and I have seen it throughout my life. I have seen individuals who were devoted to negative attitudes. They ultimately landed into the attitude itself and destroyed themselves and their potentials. So that is one. When we concentrate on disintegrating India, we will be simultaneously disintegrating ourselves. So here I can see it as clearly as it is. The second point from my side is that it is like a famous saying which is more akin to the military personnel. It is like a small boat sailing along a ship which is going to sink. That boat very rarely escapes. That also sinks down with it. Therefore, we should not really waste our energies on disintegration of India. We should try to protect our own country believing that India has got to disintegrate. It is disintegrating through

its own process of disintegration. India will go on disintegrating. Therefore, we should not really bother much about that.

Question: There was a question that when the political option to resolve the Kashmir issue alone could not succeed what would be the future of Kashmir and how does the President AJK foresee the solution of the issue without involving the military option, if so desired.

Answer: Gentlemen. The political option does not mean merely taking the issue back to the United Nations. It envisages a total political activity inside the country, in Azad Kashmir, outside the country where the people of Pakistan and Kashmir are residing and also any activity in the countries which are favourable and even those which are not favourable we should try to utilize them. So there is a huge activity when I talk of a political option. It includes a tremendous field of activity. The widest field of activity is included in that. I think the pressure which we can mount through the political option we cannot mount against India by any amount of military option. Militarily as I have said we can never be equal to the Indian Army in numbers, in material, in equipment and in all their resources. So why should we venture into a thing which we know will create another problem for us; and secondly what you said is resistance. The resistance movement can, there is a possibility, lead to a military confrontation because India, in desperation not being able to contain a resistance movement may hit some where else. That can be foreseen.

In that event we should be prepared for the eventually. We should not ask for it, we should not take an initiative on it; but we should be prepared for that eventuality, if it comes up. I think if India in its efforts to contain a movement of resistance in Kashmir wanted to attack us, it will have to think a hundred times before going into a military attack. It will have to think hundred times before going into a military confrontation with Pakistan. That will surely mean at least losing Kashmir, and by losing Kashmir India will have no cause to go and attack Pakistan unless, of course, there was an all-out national war. In a national war, it was very rightly said by General Arif, when he took over as Chief of the Army staff, that a war with India from our point of view should not be restricted to the war between the two armies. It should be an all-out national war and in a national war it is India who is going to lose and not Pakistan. Of course, we will suffer, no doubt. Any nation that wants to live with honour has to suffer. So that is an option which I really rule out at the moment. Possibilities, of course, are there. If they are thrust upon you but the resistance movement is one thing which India just cannot face and the total output and the net result of the movement will be in favour of the Kashmiris themselves and in favour of Pakistan.

