

The Conduct of Pakistan's Foreign Policy

Structure, Strengths and Issues

(2018-2020)

Policy Brief

Part-3

Pakistan-India Relations

Pakistan-India relations are a unique example of lingering tensions rooted in religion, culture, identity, and conflicting versions of history and war. The root cause of these lingering tensions is the core issue of Jammu and Kashmir, which has eternally bedeviled bilateral relations. Apart from the core Kashmir dispute, India kept on adding new issues to complicate the process of finding a tenable solution to the Kashmir dispute.

This was exactly the backdrop when the incumbent government took office amid rising tensions. The short-lived optimism generated by the leadership contacts in the previous governments had fizzled out due to India's rising belligerent and aggressive policies as well as repression and atrocities perpetrated against the people of J&K. India had virtually closed the option of leadership and high-level visits, contacts, and any meaningful dialogue on bilateral issues. The Indian government also blocked contacts of the Pakistan side with the Kashmiri leaders. India shifted the blame to Pakistan by immediately accusing it for the attacks on Pathankot Air Force station, Indian Army base in Uri, Indian paramilitary camp near Srinagar in October 2017, and Indian army base in Jammu without cooperating with Pakistan in the process of investigations. The Indian subversive and terrorist activities in Pakistan also brought bilateral relations to a halt.

Chronology

Prime Minister Imran Khan announced his vision of a peaceful neighborhood after the formation of the government. He pledged that Pakistan will take two

steps if India takes one to normalize relations and conveyed readiness to resolve all outstanding issues including the Jammu & Kashmir dispute through dialogue. Pakistan's goodwill initiatives were not reciprocated by Modi's government. The important developments in Pakistan-India relations are summarized below: -

1. UNGA Sessions

The prime minister did not attend the 73rd session of the UN General Assembly in New York in September 2018 due to an 'austerity drive', which was not followed subsequently. He missed an ideal opportunity of delivering his maiden address at the UNGA and sharing with the world leaders Pakistan's perspective and narrative on improving bilateral relations and seeking their support on Kashmir. The prime minister's initiative of a meeting of foreign ministers of India and Pakistan on the sidelines of the 73rd session of the UNGA was foiled by India's cancellation of the meeting within 24 hours after confirmation.

Prime Minister Imran Khan attended the 74th session of the UNGA in New York in September 2019 and delivered a comprehensive and strongly-worded speech highlighting India's illegal steps of August 5, 2019, and urged the international community to help resolve the Kashmir dispute. On the sidelines, the prime minister met President Trump, and the presidents of Turkey, Iran, and Ethiopia, the prime ministers of the United Kingdom, Italy, New Zealand, Malaysia, Norway, and vice president of Indonesia. The prime minister addressed the 75th virtual session

of the UNGA on September 25, 2020, and urged the international community to investigate gross violations of human rights in IOJ&K, prosecute the Indian civil and military personnel involved in state terrorism and serious crimes against humanity, requested the UNSC to prevent a disastrous conflict and secure implementation of its resolutions.

1.1. Informal Consultations at UNSC on Kashmir

China supported Pakistan in holding three closed-door informal consultations at the UNSC on Kashmir in 2019-2020. China's suggestion that the UNSC president make a formal statement on the situation in J&K urging the parties not to exacerbate tension was not accepted in absence of consensus among UNSC members. The UNSC after three informal consultations urged Pakistan and India to deal with this issue bilaterally. Instead of facing this reality head-on and drawing the right conclusions from the country's failure, the government presented the UNSC's informal consultations as Pakistan's diplomatic victory.

1.2. Joint Statement at UNHRC and Meeting

Pakistan, on behalf of over 50 countries, delivered a joint statement on September 10, 2019, at the 42nd session of the UN Human Rights Council in Geneva on the worsening human rights situation in IOJ&K and appreciated "the joint call by these countries for removal of restrictions, and implementation of the UNSC resolutions and recommendations of the UN's Kashmir reports (June 2018 and July 2019) for peaceful resolution of the J&K dispute."¹ Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi also claimed to have the support of over 35 foreign ministers and expressed optimism to table a resolution on Kashmir at the 42nd session of UNHRC. However, Pakistan could neither file a draft resolution on Kashmir, nor manage a debate, nor convince the UNHCR to hold a separate special session on Kashmir. The minister for human rights attended the 43rd session of the UNHRC in Geneva on February 25, 2020, and reiterated Pakistan's request to the international community to constitute a commission of inquiry into gross human rights violations in IOJ&K.

2. The OIC Meetings on Kashmir

The foreign minister attended an emergency meeting of the OIC Contact Group on Jammu and Kashmir on August 6, 2019, in Jeddah and strongly condemned India's illegal steps of August 5, 2019. Assistant secretary-general OIC, on behalf of the OIC secretary-general, expressed deep concern over developments in IOJ&K and reaffirmed the OIC's full support to the people of Kashmir in their struggle to achieve their right to self-determination.

The OIC Contact Group on Jammu & Kashmir held a meeting on the sidelines of the 74th UNGA in New York on September 27, 2019, and for the first time adopted a joint communiqué which reaffirmed the OIC's position and resolutions on Jammu & Kashmir and expressed deep concern over the worsening human rights and humanitarian situation in Indian Occupied Jammu & Kashmir (IoJ&K). The OIC Independent Permanent Human Rights Commission (IPHRC), in its first-ever "open discussion" held in Jeddah in November 2019, strongly condemned the blatant violation of human rights in IOJ&K and reaffirmed the right of self-determination of the people of IOJ&K.

The foreign minister participated in the 47th session of the OIC CFM held in Niamey (Niger) on November 27-28, 2020. The CFM adopted a resolution unanimously and reaffirmed its strong support for the Kashmir cause. The resolution demanded that India cancel the issuance of domicile certificates to non-Kashmiris, reverse unilateral and illegal actions including J&K Reorganization Order 2020, J&K Grant of Domicile Certificate Rules 2020, J&K Language Bill 2020, and amendments to the land ownership laws. In the emergency virtual meeting of the OIC Contact Group on J&K held on June 22, 2020, the foreign minister urged the OIC to step up its efforts to facilitate a lasting solution to the J&K dispute.

3. The Plight of Indian Muslims

Since independence of India in 1947, the Indian Muslims have faced systematic discrimination, prejudice, and violence despite constitutional protections. Anti-Muslim sentiments have heightened under the leadership of Prime Minister Modi, who has pursued a Hindu nationalist agenda since his election

¹ "Joint statement delivered by Pakistan on behalf of over 50 countries at the Human Rights Council on the human rights situation in IOJ&K," September 10, 2019, <http://mofa.gov.pk/joint-statement-delivered-by-pakistan-on-behalf-of-over-50-countries-at-the-human-rights-council-on-the-human-rights-situation-in-iojk/>

in 2014. Muslims are disproportionately the victims of communal violence. Since Modi's re-election in 2019, the Indian government has pushed controversial policies to ignore and limit Muslims' rights, particularly through the Citizenship Amendment Act 2019 (CAA), which allows fast-tracked citizenship for Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist, Jain, Parsi, and Christian migrants from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, and Pakistan.

The Act is discriminatory because it excludes Muslims and applies a religious criterion for the first time to the question of citizenship. In 2019, the Assam government updated its National Register of Citizens (NRC), which makes it mandatory for all Indians to prove their citizenship. The NRC is aimed at rendering many Muslims stateless because they lack necessary documents and are not eligible for fast-tracked citizenship under the CAA. These moves sparked protests in India and drew international condemnation. On December 16, 2019, Foreign Minister Qureshi made a statement in the National Assembly following which the National Assembly unanimously passed a resolution condemning the Indian government over discriminatory CAA legislation against Muslims and called upon "the international community including the United Nations, Human Rights Council, and other relevant Human Rights organizations to urge India to revoke this discriminatory Act."²

4. Opening of the Kartarpur Corridor

The incumbent government took a positive step by opening the Kartarpur Corridor on November 9, 2019, to facilitate Sikh pilgrims from India and the world to pay homage to the founder of the Sikh religion, Baba Guru Nanak Dev Ji. The preparations for the opening were announced on August 17, 2018, when Prime Minister Imran Khan pledged in his oath-taking ceremony to open the Kartarpur Corridor. The groundbreaking ceremony took place on November 28, 2018, which was attended by an Indian delegation comprising Navjot Singh Sidhu, Harsimrat Kaur Badal, Union Cabinet Minister of Indian government, and Minister for Housing Hardeep S. Puri. The Indian Minister of External Affairs Sushma Swaraj declined the invitation. The Indian government and media waged relentless negative propaganda campaign against Pakistan on the opening of the Kartarpur Corridor and insinuated that the corridor would be used for terrorist activities.

The credit goes to the incumbent government and military leadership for the promotion of religious tourism, inter-faith and inter-cultural harmony, and fulfilling a longstanding aspiration of the Sikh community to pay homage to Baba Guru Nanak Dev Ji. Pakistan also used the inauguration of the Kartarpur Corridor to reaffirm its principled stance that the Kashmir dispute is the core issue between the two countries and durable and irreversible peace would not be possible without resolving the dispute. Some observers are, however, of the view that the timing of the inauguration on November 9, 2019, after India's illegal annexation of the IIOJ&K on August 5, 2019, was not appropriate as it had caused dismay among the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

5. The Kulbhushan Jadhav Case

The incumbent government inherited the Kulbhushan Jadhav case from the previous government. Kulbhushan was arrested in Balochistan on March 3, 2016. The Indian government was informed about his arrest and requested to help Pakistan in the investigation by providing information on certain points, which was denied by India. The Indian government asked for consular access, which was initially not granted by Pakistan based on sensitive nature of the case. Pakistan subsequently agreed to provide consular access and asked India to provide information on certain points, which India denied.

On April 10, 2017, based on his confessional statement and irrefutable evidence, Kulbhushan was sentenced to death by a Field General Court Martial and convicted on charges of funding and sponsoring terrorism on Pakistan's soil, involvement in espionage and spying for India and RAW, and destabilizing Pakistan during 2003-2016. His appeal was rejected by the army chief though his mercy petition is still pending.

On May 8, 2017, India approached the International Court of Justice (ICJ) and appealed for issuance of a stay order to Pakistan on the ground that Pakistan had violated the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations, 1963 by denying consular access to Kulbhushan. On May 18, 2017, the ICJ issued stay order and directed Pakistan to suspend judgement on the case. On July 17, 2019, the ICJ issued detailed 42-page verdict and rejected India's appeal for Kulbhushan's release and ordered Pakistan to review

² National Assembly Resolution: "The National Assembly unanimously condemns India's Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2019, a discriminatory law," December 16, 2019, http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/questions/1576558079_900.pdf

and reconsider the case, provide India with unhindered and unimpeded consular access, and suspend the execution of death sentence till the review is completed.

In compliance with the ICJ verdict, Pakistan has so far given two consular accesses and offered the third consular access. Earlier in December 2016, Pakistan had also allowed the mother and wife of Kulbhushan to meet him. The ICJ verdict was in favor of India as it succeeded to invoke consular access, suspend death sentence, and the ICJ did not declare Kulbhushan a terrorist. The verdict was also in favor of Pakistan on legal and political grounds as well as the fact that the ICJ asked for a review and did not declare the death sentence null and void.

On October 21, 2020, the National Assembly's Standing Committee on Law and Justice approved a government Bill seeking review of conviction of Kulbhushan. The opposition parties including the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam (JUI-F) termed the Bill as NRO for Kulbhushan. Aliya Kamran of the JUI-F opposed the Bill on two points: (1) the Committee members are not sitting to legislate for an Indian spy, and (2) "The legislation is unnecessary since the judgement of former Chief Justice of Pakistan Nasirul Mulk has already said the constitutional courts can review the judgements of the military courts." The Minister for Law and Justice Farogh Naseem rejected the opposition's criticism of the Bill on a weak plea stating that the Bill had been introduced in compliance with directives of the ICJ. He warned that Pakistan could face sanctions for not complying with the ICJ's verdict.³

On June 10, 2021, the National Assembly adopted the ICJ (Review and Re-consideration) Bill, 2020 to give the right of appeal to Kulbhushan amid the opposition's strong protest and boycott. While defending the Bill, the law minister said had they not passed the Bill, India would have gone to the UNSC and could have moved contempt proceedings against Pakistan in the ICJ.

Members of the incumbent government and the previous government have been blaming each other for delaying action and dragging feet in the Kulbhushan Jadhav case. The incumbent government has recently started review and retrial of the case,

which has been moved to the Islamabad High Court. The case was adjourned for October 5, 2021. However, the joint session of the Parliament, held on November 17, 2021, passed the International Court of Justice ICJ (Review and Reconsideration) Bill, 2020 to give right of appeal to Kulbhushan in the light of ICJ directives. India is now asking for direct, unhindered and unimpeded consular access without presence of Pakistan's civil and military officials, providing all documents related to the case, and appointing an Indian lawyer or a Queen's Counsel to represent Kulbhushan during the retrial and review, which Pakistan has categorically denied as per Pakistan's laws. The fact remains that like the previous government, the incumbent government has not handled the case effectively and timely and not built its narrative proactively based on strong legal ground and resultantly the case has been complicated.

6. Back-Channel Diplomacy

It has been the practice that Pakistan and India have historically maintained a mechanism of back-channel diplomacy to discuss the contentious and core issues including Jammu and Kashmir through informal negotiations along with formal channels of communication to give recommendations to address the contentious issues. Back-channel diplomacy has been carried out through interlocutors – retired personnel from the two ministries of foreign affairs, army personnel, and national security advisers.

In the above backdrop, the Indian print and electronic media claimed in February 2021 that as a result of activation of back-channel diplomacy the Indian National Security Adviser Ajit Doval had been in touch with Special Assistant to the Prime Minister Dr. Moeed Yusuf directly and via interlocutors from the intelligence community for three months and met in a third country (the UAE) and these contacts have led to the signing of joint statement on ceasefire between the Indian and Pakistani DGMOs. The Indian NSA also reportedly claimed that he had kept communication channels open with Pakistan Army Chief General Qamar Javed Bajwa. Dr. Moeed immediately dismissed the Indian media reports as "baseless", claiming that no back-channel talks have taken place between him and the Indian NSA and the joint statement between the DGMOs was the result of

³ Malik Asad, "NA panel okays bill for review of Jadhav's conviction," *Dawn*, October 22, 2020, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1586398/na-panel-okays-bill-for-review-of-jadhavs-conviction>

discussions through the established channel of DGMOs.

Apart from denial from Dr. Moeed, there were some indications that stalemate in bilateral relations was witnessing a thawing when General Qamar Bajwa, while addressing cadets at the Pakistan Air Force Academy in Risalpur on February 3, 2021, and the Islamabad Security Dialogue on March 18, 2021, had stated that Pakistan and India must resolve the long-standing issue of Jammu and Kashmir in a dignified and peaceful manner through dialogue as per the aspirations of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. He added that “However, we feel that it is time to bury the past and move forward. But for resumption of peace process or meaningful dialogue, our neighbor will have to create conducive environment, particularly in Indian Occupied Kashmir.”⁴ This offer of strategic pause was one of the most conciliatory remarks from Pakistan’s Army Chief since the abrogation of Article 370.

Reportedly, the UAE also used back-channel diplomacy to facilitate negotiations between Pakistan and India to issue a joint statement by DGMOs. The fact also remains that apart from apparent conciliatory signs of back-channel diplomacy, Pakistan and India have maintained their respective positions on the Jammu & Kashmir dispute and India has stonewalled all efforts to kick start the process of result-oriented dialogue to resolve the core issue of Jammu & Kashmir. The observers are of the view that India has agreed to ceasefire just as an eyewash to convey a signal to the world that it is gradually establishing contacts with Pakistan.

The DGMOs ceasefire agreement followed by the Pakistan political and military leadership’s peace pitch and overtures at the Islamabad Security Dialogue may or may not have been facilitated by back-channel diplomacy. It is a small normalization measure but any

major India-Pakistan initiative should be linked by Pakistan to Kashmir. At the same time, these peace overtures may have acknowledged the new realities covering the China-India border conflict, the unresolved Afghanistan crisis, the new Biden administration, US-China tensions, and Pakistan’s hope for a reset in its relations with the US.⁵

Analysis

Pakistan-India relations, which were already stalemated when the incumbent government assumed power, further deteriorated and nosedived. India posed the most daunting foreign policy challenges and threats to Pakistan. Tensions escalated after the Pulwama incident and aerial skirmishes, and Modi’s success in re-election ignited troubles after the annulment of Article 370 and 35A and ending the special status of IIOJ&K. During 2018-2020, India carried out 8,447 ceasefire violations along the LOC resulting in 64 martyrdoms and serious injuries to 399 innocent civilians.⁶

The prime minister or foreign minister did not visit the P5 countries barring China, and friendly countries like Iran, Turkey, and Malaysia immediately after August 5, 2019, to take world leaders into confidence. Subsequently, the foreign minister wrote 12 letters to the UNSC president and the UN secretary-general,⁷ highlighting different phases of the worsening situation in IIOJ&K. He called on the UNSC to exercise its direct responsibility to prevent India from changing the demography of the disputed territory and for securing the implementation of the UNSC resolutions. The foreign minister telephoned 43 foreign ministers during Covid-19 and briefed them on the grave situation in IIOJ&K. Details can be seen at **Annexure-AA**.

All efforts by Pakistan and the international community led to the issuance of some vociferous

⁴ “Full text of Gen Bajwa’s speech at the Islamabad Security Dialogue,” *Dawn*, March 18, 2021, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1613207>

⁵ The national security advisor made some confusing statements on the evolving situation in Afghanistan, Pakistan’s relations with the US in the wake of withdrawal of American troops from Afghanistan, and media interviews on Pakistan-India relations without clarity and sent mixed signals to the world, which should have been avoided.

⁶ MOFA press releases: “Ceasefire violation by India by 31st December 2018,” January 1, 2019, <http://mofa.gov.pk/ceasefire-violation-by-india-on-31st-december-2018/>; “Text of Foreign Minister’s letter to President of Security Council and UN Secretary General,” December 18, 2019, <http://mofa.gov.pk/text-of-foreign-ministers-letter-to-president-of-security-council-and-un-secretary-general/>; “Senior Indian Diplomat Summoned to Register Pakistan’s Strong Protest Over Ceasefire Violations by India,” January 1, 2021, <http://mofa.gov.pk/senior-indian-diplomat-summoned-to-register-pakistans-strong-protest-over-ceasefire-violations-by-india-31/>

⁷ These letters were written on August 1, 6, 13 and 26, September 16, October 31, December 12, 2019, March 9, May 21, August 4, September 24, and November 25, 2020.



statements, speeches, and meetings thus creating some awareness of the atrocities in IIOJ&K but without achieving substantive success in alleviating the plight of Kashmiris, easing of restrictions, or rescinding illegal steps. Meanwhile, the government resorted to symbolic steps such as installing a curfew clock, issuing political map of Pakistan, renaming Islamabad's Kashmir Highway as Sri Nagar Highway, and observing a one-minute silence on Fridays. All these symbolic steps reflect the lack of any genuine attempt to present national consensus on extremely important subject of IOJ&K in reinforcing our narrative to the world.

Pakistan's diplomatic failures on holding formal consultations and sessions on Kashmir at the UNSC, UNHRC, and the OIC speak loudly of Pakistan's lack of optimism to mobilize support and exploit it in Pakistan's favor. Another failure in this regard was that the European Parliament had discussed developments in Jammu and Kashmir on September 17, 2019, but it had not ended in a vote. Besides, on January 27, 2020, six different political groups representing 626 MEPs out of the total 751 MEPs filed six scathing resolutions on Jammu & Kashmir and the Citizenship (Amendment) Act (CAA) for debate.⁸ But the move was scuttled due to lobbying by India. Pakistan could not move proactively and finally the European Parliament deferred the vote on the resolutions. Besides, the UK Parliament's All Party Parliamentary Group (APPKG) report on human rights violations in IIOJ&K, two reports of the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) of June 14, 2018, and July 8, 2019, two hearings in the US Congress in 2019, and exhaustive international media coverage on the

situation in IIOJ&K manifested Pakistan's inability to build on these developments.

Only China, Turkey, and Malaysia had unequivocally rejected India's annexation of Kashmir whereas most of the Western governments and the Arab countries remained non-committal on the issue. The UNSC, UNHRC, OIC, and world leaders repeatedly advised Pakistan⁹ to exercise restraint, deescalate the situation, and resolve issues through bilateral dialogue. Our leadership also reiterated to pursue dialogue, diplomacy, and mediation, which were options long withdrawn by India.

In terms of achievements, Pakistan presented a dossier giving "irrefutable evidence" on India's active planning, promoting, aiding, abetting, financing, and execution of terrorist activities against Pakistan, exposing the involvement of Indian RAW in training terrorists and patronizing banned outfits for attacks in Pakistan and fomenting unrest in Gilgit and Baltistan. The dossier has been shared with the UN secretary-general, OIC secretary-general, FATF, and P5 countries. Pakistan has urged these organizations to proceed against India based on evidence provided by Pakistan. The publication of the second report by EU DisinfoLab¹⁰ about India's global disinformation campaign against Pakistan has further corroborated Islamabad's position about Indian nefarious designs against Pakistan and vindicated the country's perspective on India's state-sponsored terrorism. The report also highlights India's clandestine efforts in the last 15 years to target the EU, the UN, Pakistan and other countries. However, Pakistan could not utilize the two reports effectively and widely to expose India's nefarious designs.

⁸ Gouri Sharma, "Why did European Parliament delay a vote on India's CAA, Kashmir?" *Al Jazeera*, January 31, 2020, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/1/31/why-did-european-parliament-delay-a-vote-on-indias-caa-kashmir>

⁹ Details of views and comments of world leaders can be seen at Annexure-AA.

¹⁰ Details can be seen at the website of EU DisinfoLab, <https://www.disinfo.eu/publications/indian-chronicles-deep-dive-into-a-15-year-operation-targeting-the-eu-and-un-to-serve-indian-interests/>

Foreign minister's telephonic contacts with counterparts and world leaders regarding India's annexation of IIOJ&K & Covid-19

Serial No.	Country/ Organization	Dignitary/Designation and Name	Date(s) of Call(s)	Gist of discussions with foreign ministers and leaders
1.	The Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), Geneva, Switzerland	The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Michelle Bachelet	August 8, 2019	The two leaders discussed deteriorating situation in IIOJ&K after annexation on August 5, 2019. The foreign minister thanked the high commissioner for the latest report on the situation of human rights in Kashmir issued in July 2019 and that her mandate gives hope to the long-suffering people of IOK. She expressed her concerns regarding the impact of actions taken by India on human rights of the people of Kashmir.
2.	European Union	High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Vice President of the European Commission, Federica Mogherini	August 8, 2019	Foreign Minister Qureshi briefed the EU High Representative on the worsening situation in IIOJ&K and the events of far-reaching consequences. The EU High Representative underscored that all disputes should be resolved through dialogue and peaceful means.
3.	The Russian Federation	Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov	August 14, 2019, June 18, 2020	The foreign ministers discussed the worsening situation in IIOJ&K, double lockdown, intensified military crackdown and Covid-19. The Russian foreign minister stated that Russia was closely observing the situation and underlined the importance of resolution of all outstanding issues through dialogue and peaceful means.
4.	Spain	Foreign Minister Josep Borrell	August 16, 2019	The Spanish foreign minister stated that Spain was closely monitoring the situation in IIOJ&K and that any further escalation would have severe impact on peace and security in the region. He added that Spain and the European Union would make every effort to ensure peace and stability is maintained in South Asia.
5.	The Netherlands	Foreign Minister Staphanus Abraham Blok	August 16, 2019, June 3, 2020, December 16, 2020	The two foreign ministers discussed the worsening situation in IIOJ&K, double lockdown, intensified military crackdown and Covid-19.
6.	Canada	Foreign Minister Chrystia Freeland	August 16, 2019	She stated that Canada was following the situation closely and was concerned about the risk of escalation, infringements on civil rights and reports of detentions.
7.	France	Foreign Minister Jean-Yves Le Drian	August 20, 2019	The French foreign minister stated that France was extremely concerned at the situation in IIOJ&K and urged both sides to engage in a bilateral dialogue. He emphasized the need to ensure that there was no further escalation.

8.	Denmark	Foreign Minister Jeppe Sebastian Kofod	August 20, 2019, July 2, 2020	Foreign Minister Kofod said that Denmark was following the situation with grave concern. He added that Denmark fully supported the statements of the UN Secretary General and the EU High Representative on the issue of Kashmir. He urged both India and Pakistan to enter into a dialogue and desist from any actions that could further escalate the situation. He underlined that any further deterioration in the situation could have devastating consequences.
9.	Norway	Foreign Minister Ine Marie Eriksen Soreide	August 21, 2019, April 29, 2020	Foreign Minister Soreide stated that Norway was concerned about the situation in Kashmir and added that they would urge both India and Pakistan to de-escalate the situation and ease tensions. She underscored that it was important for both the countries to engage in dialogue to find a durable solution to the issue.
10.	Sweden	Foreign Minister Margot Wallstrom	August 21, 2019	Foreign Minister Wallstrom stated that Sweden was closely following the developments in Kashmir and underlined the importance of bilateral dialogue and negotiations to resolve the issue and stressed that the citizens of Kashmir must be included in the decisions about their future. She added that there were worrisome reports of human rights violations in Kashmir, which must be investigated.
11.	Swiss Federation	Foreign Minister Ignazio Cassis	August 22, 2019, May 1, 2020	Foreign Minister Cassis expressed concern at the situation in Kashmir and urged both sides to exercise restraint. He emphasized the need to de-escalate the situation, avoid loss of lives and resolve issues peacefully through dialogue.
12.	Nepal	Foreign Minister Pradeep Gyawali	August 22, 2019	The Nepalese foreign minister said that Nepal was closely watching the situation and would continue to call for settlement of all disputes through peaceful means.
13.	Maldives	Foreign Minister Abdulla Shahid	August 23, 2019	The Maldivian foreign minister said that Maldives was closely watching the situation in Kashmir. The two foreign ministers agreed to remain in contact and continue to work together for peace and stability in the region.
14.	Japan	Foreign Minister Taro Kono	August 23, 2019	The Japanese foreign minister said that Japan was following the situation in Kashmir with concern and urged the parties to avoid escalation.
15.	New York	UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres	August 24, 2019, April 2, 2020, May 22, 2020	Secretary General Guterres in his statement on August 8, 2019, said that “the position of the United Nations on this region is governed by the Charter of the United Nations and applicable Security Council resolutions”. This position of the UN secretary general has also been corroborated by OHCHR’s Kashmir reports. The UN secretary general said that he was closely monitoring the situation in Kashmir and would remain engaged on the

				evolving developments. He expressed the importance of maintaining peace and stability in South Asia and the Gulf region through political dialogue, diplomatic solutions and respect for human rights.
16.	Jeddah	OIC Secretary General Yousef Al-Othaimen	August 26, 2019, May 23, 2020, November 12, 2020	Secretary General Al-Othaimen expressed serious concern over the worsening human rights situation in IIOJ&K, noting that the OIC will continue to play its role in support of and solidarity with the Kashmiri people.
17.	Turkey	Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu	August 26, 2019, January 5, 2020	Foreign Minister Qureshi thanked the Turkish foreign minister for Turkey's steadfast support to Pakistan on the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. The foreign minister also conveyed deep appreciation for President Recep Tayyip Erdogan's strong support for the Kashmir cause expressed at every juncture.
18.	Belgium	Foreign Minister Didier Reynders	August 27, 2019	Foreign Minister Reynders expressed concern over the human rights situation in IIOJ&K. He stated that further escalation would have severe impact on peace and security in the region. He reaffirmed his readiness to remain engaged by playing a facilitative role.
19.	Kuwait	Foreign Minister and Deputy Prime Minister Sabah Al Khalid Al- Sabah	August 28, 2019	Kuwaiti Foreign Minister Sabah Al Khalid Al-Sabah noted with concern the deteriorating situation in IIOJ&K and underlined the need for preventive steps and peaceful resolution of disputes.
20.	New Zealand	Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Winston Peters	August 29, 2019	The foreign minister of New Zealand said that New Zealand was following the situation with concern and it believes in upholding human rights and the rule of law. The two foreign ministers agreed to remain in contact and continue to work together for peace and stability in the region.
21.	Sri Lanka	Foreign Minister Tilak Janak Marapana	August 29, 2019	The Sri Lankan foreign minister said that Sri Lanka was following the situation in IIOJ&K with concern. The two foreign ministers agreed to remain in contact and continue to work together for peace and stability in the region.
22.	South Korea	Foreign Minister Kang Kyung-wha	August 30, 2019	The South Korean foreign minister said that South Korea was following the situation closely and it believed in upholding of human rights and the rule of law. The two sides agreed to remain in contact and continue to work together for peace and stability in the region.
23.	Iceland	Foreign Minister Gudlaugur Thor Thordarson	September 2, 2019	Foreign Minister Thordarson expressed concern over the human rights situation in IIOJ&K and urged both India and Pakistan to resolve the issue through peaceful means.

24.	Bangladesh	Foreign Minister Dr. A.K. Abdul Momen	September 3, 2019	The Bangladeshi foreign minister emphasized the importance of resolving disputes through dialogue and discussions.
25.	European Union	EU Special Representative for Human Rights, Eamon Gilmore	September 6, 2019	The special representative stated that he was cognizant of the human rights situation and that the European Union would remain seized of the matter.
26.	Iran	Foreign Minister Javad Zarif	January 5, 2020	The two foreign ministers expressed concerns over the rapidly deteriorating situation in IIOJ&K and agreed to remain in touch.
27.	UAE	Foreign Minister Sheikh Abdullah bin Zayed Al-Nahyan	January 5, 2020	The two foreign ministers discussed the matters related to the global outbreak of Covid-19, and prospects of enhanced bilateral cooperation to jointly address the situation.
28.	Australia	Foreign Minister Marise Payne	April 9, 2020	The two foreign ministers agreed to continue collaborative endeavors to deal with the Covid-19 pandemic.
29.	Finland	Foreign Minister Pekka Olavi Haavisto	April 30, 2020, November 2, 2020	Foreign Minister Haavisto expressed solidarity and agreed for a coordinated international approach to deal with Covid-19. The two leaders agreed to remain engaged on the debt relief initiative and enhancement of bilateral relations.
30.	Bahrain	Foreign Minister Dr. Abdullatif bin Rashid Al-Zayani	May 4, 2020	Foreign Minister Qureshi briefed his Bahraini counterpart about Prime Minister Imran Khan's Global Initiative for Debt Relief for the developing countries. The foreign minister of Bahrain appreciated the measures taken by the government of Pakistan and extended his government's support to the Prime Minister's Debt Relief Initiative.
31.	Oman	Foreign Minister Yusuf bin Alawi bin Abdullah	May 5, 2020	The Omani foreign minister lauded the efforts of the government of Pakistan in combating Covid-19 pandemic. He extended his government's support to Prime Minister Imran Khan's initiative for debt relief.
32.	Kuwait	Foreign Minister Sheikh Dr. Ahmed Nasser Al-Mohammed Al-Sabah	May 7, 2020	Foreign Minister Dr. Ahmed appreciated the efforts of the government of Pakistan in combating the challenges posed by coronavirus. He extended Kuwait's support for Prime Minister Imran Khan's initiative for debt relief.
33.	Japan	Foreign Minister Toshimitsu Motegi	May 15, 2020	Foreign Minister Qureshi thanked Japan for its assistance to Pakistan to combat Covid-19 pandemic. He also briefed his counterpart on the worsening situation in IIOJ&K.
34.	Canada	Minister of International Development of Canada, Karina Gould	June 3, 2020	Foreign Minister Qureshi apprised Minister Gould of the grave human rights violations and intensified military crackdown in IIOJ&K as well as Indian moves to change the demographic structure of the occupied territory. The two foreign ministers also

				discussed ways and means to combat Covid-19.
35.	Ireland	Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Simon Coveney	June 8, 2020	The two foreign ministers agreed to remain engaged on combating Covid-19 and the worsening situation in IIOJ&K.
36.	Saudi Arabia	Foreign Minister Faisal bin Farhan Al-Saud	June 22, 2020, January 5, 2020	Foreign Minister Qureshi expressed appreciation for Saudi Arabia's steadfast support for the Kashmir cause, including as a key member of the OIC Contact Group on Jammu and Kashmir. Views were exchanged on working together to advance the Kashmir cause on different platforms including the OIC.
37.	European Union	High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Josep Borrell	July 1, 2020	Foreign Minister Qureshi delineated the steps taken by the government of Pakistan to save lives, secure livelihoods, and stimulate the economy in the wake of Covid-19. He thanked the European Union for its support to Pakistan in its endeavors to tackle Covid-19. The two leaders agreed to expand cooperation between Pakistan and the EU.
38.	Tehran	Secretary General of Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), Dr. Hadi Soleimanpour	July 3, 2020	The exchange of views covered matters relating to ECO's vision, response to Covid-19, ECO's projects for enhanced economic cooperation and connectivity, and developments in the region. Foreign Minister Qureshi briefed the ECO secretary general on the worsening situation in IIOJ&K.
39.	China	State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wang Yi	July 3, 2020, December 31, 2020	The two foreign ministers discussed bilateral, regional, and international issues, the worsening situation in IIOJ&K, underscored that disputes in the region should be resolved through peaceful means and agreed that mechanisms rather than resorting to unilateral, illegal and coercive measures reflected in India's decision of August 5, 2019. Both sides reaffirmed the resolve to take measures for economic recovery in the aftermath of Covid-19.
40.	USA	US Secretary of State, Mike Pompeo	August 7, 2020	Foreign Minister Qureshi apprised Secretary Pompeo of India's continuing regressive policies in IIOJK manifested with massive violations of basic human rights and fundamental freedom, and appreciated the US participation in the debate in the UN Security Council on August 5, 2020, on the completion of one year of India's unilateral and illegal actions. The foreign minister thanked Pompeo for the US support and assistance during Covid-19.
41.	Uzbekistan	Foreign Minister Abdulaziz Kamilov	August 12, 2020	Foreign Minister Qureshi briefed his counterpart on the deteriorating situation in IIOJ&K. The two foreign ministers agreed to remain in close contact to take forward the important bilateral agenda and close cooperation in the regional context.

42.	Indonesia	Foreign Minister Retno L.P. Marsudi	August 5, 2020, October 8, 2020	The foreign minister congratulated Indonesia on becoming the president of the UNSC for the month of August 2020 and urged Indonesia to address the deteriorating human rights situation in IIOJ&K.
43.	Germany	Foreign Minister Heiko Maas	November 2, 2020	The two foreign ministers discussed bilateral relations, Covid-19 pandemic and Afghan peace process. Foreign Minister Qureshi briefed his counterpart on the rapidly worsening situation in IIOJ&K.
44.	Egypt	Foreign Minister Sameh Hassan Shoukry	December 24, 2020	Foreign Minister Qureshi briefed his counterpart on the developments in IIOJ&K, and underlined the need for the international community to take steps to address the grave situation. He thanked Egypt for cooperation during the 47th session of the OIC Council of Foreign Ministers in Niamey in November 2020.

Prepared by:

Ambassador (retd) Tajammul Altaf
Senior Research Associate,
Institute of Policy Studies, Islamabad.

For queries:

Naufil Shahrukh
General Manager Operations
Institute of Policy Studies, Islamabad.
naufil@ips.net.pk | www.ips.org.pk