

## PAKISTAN IN THE UN OVER THE KASHMIR DISPUTE: A CORPUS-BASED STUDY

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### Abstract

*This article investigates the role of Pakistan in highlighting the Kashmir dispute at the UN since the partition of the Sub-continent in 1947. Using the Corpus-Based Critical Discourse Analysis (CBCDA) methodology, the researchers analyzed Pakistani representatives' speeches at the UN General Assembly (UNGA) with reference to the Kashmir dispute. The corpus Software LancsBox was used to analyze the data quantitatively. The socio-political analysis was done using Fairclough's three-step model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which involves text analysis, explanation, and socio-political interpretation. The findings showed that since its independence, Pakistan continuously raised the dispute of Kashmir at the UN forum and demanded a peaceful settlement of it through the resolutions passed by the United Nations Security Council.*

**Keywords:** Corpus linguistics, speeches, critical discourse analysis, socio-political, united nations, Kashmir

### INTRODUCTION

The history of Kashmir shows that it was ruled by different host kings in the past but the modern history of Kashmir started with the accession of its territory by the Mughal Emperor Akbar in 1586. Later, Gulab Singh signed a treaty with the British Government and they sold Kashmir to Gulab Singh for a paltry sum of 7.5 million rupees (Sufi 1974). This Dogra rule of Kashmir remained constant till the separation of the sub-continent in 1947. In the partition, it was decided that the territories of the Muslim majority would be given to Pakistan and territories with the Hindu Majority to India. Jammu and Kashmir was one of the 565 princely states of the Indian Subcontinent, and on the separation of the Indian Subcontinent through the Indian Independence Act, 1947, the princely states joined either India or Pakistan except three princely states of Hyderabad, Junagadh, and Jammu & Kashmir. Later, the Indian military occupied Hyderabad and Junagadh and, in the garb of a controversial Instrument of Accession allegedly signed by Maharaja Hari Singh with India also sent her forces to occupy Jammu & Kashmir on October 27, 1947 (Lamb, 1991).

The people of Kashmir had an inclination towards Pakistan on the basis of Islam so in the very beginning of its independence, the sub-continent witnessed a conflict between the newly established states Pakistan and India. It led to the first Kashmir war between these two neighboring countries in 1947 and India took the issue to the United Nations (UN) under Article 35 of the UN Charter on January 01, 1948. The state of Pakistan also submitted its reply to the UNSC on January 15, 1948, and then the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) passed around 18 Resolutions on J&K from 1948 to 1967 (Hussain, 2000). The UN through its resolutions gave a three-step formula for the peaceful settlement of Kashmir involving a complete cease-fire, a gradual withdrawal of the military, and the conduct of an impartial plebiscite under the supervision of the UN.

During all these years, Pakistan has constantly demanded a plebiscite for the people of Kashmir through the UN Resolution, but India maintains that the Kashmir issue is exclusively a bilateral problem involving India and Pakistan. India initially supported the idea of a plebiscite, but it subsequently refused to implement the plebiscite on the pretext that it would disrupt the geographical boundaries of its country (Zaheer & Hashmi 2021). The gravity of this dispute increased when in 1989 a new wave of freedom movement started and this fresh struggle of the Kashmiri people was answered by India with an increase of military personnel in the disputed region to try to crush this freedom movement. Anwar (2024) in her study on the Kashmir dispute states that Pakistan's support for the cause of the independence of Kashmir has always been evident as it has consistently supported the Kashmiri people's right to self-determination through a plebiscite under the UN Resolution 1948, which was also promised by the first prime minister of India, Pundit Jawahir Lal Nehru. This study shows that the support of Pakistan has religious factors as it has long been argued that being a majority Muslim state Kashmir should be part of Pakistan according to the partition rules. Furthermore, the protection of the freedom of the Muslim brothers of Kashmir was also considered the essential responsibility of the state of Pakistan.

Pakistan's policy toward the Kashmir dispute is important for its relations with India. Pakistan's policy has evolved with time since every government has devised its method, so the importance of conflict has varied from time to time. Furthermore, the domestic political factors and the international scenario have also substantially influenced Pakistan's policy on Kashmir. Pakistan's involvement in the Soviet-Afghan War and also becoming a partner in the US alliance has greatly affected its relations with the rest of the countries of the world including India. Other factors that influenced the Kashmir policy of Pakistan are the transformation from dictatorship to democracy, change in governments, terrorism, and extremism, and a weakening economy along with an imported war on the western border have substantially influenced the course of Pakistan's policy toward this dispute (Shafiq 2015).

Pakistan has consistently raised the Kashmir dispute at the United Nations, framing it as a critical issue not only for the South Asian region but also for international peace and stability. When the UNSC first addressed the conflict in 1948, Pakistan sought to highlight the plight of the Kashmiri people, emphasizing their right to self-determination under the UN resolutions. Pakistani leaders have regularly used the UNGA as a platform to call for global intervention, citing human rights violations in Indian-administered Kashmir and advocating for the implementation of the UN-proposed plebiscite. Pakistani leaders at the UN argued that the dispute is not a bilateral issue but a matter of international law and justice, requiring multilateral engagement. This stance by Pakistan reflects its commitment to keeping the Kashmir issue on the global agenda, despite challenges in achieving tangible resolutions through the UN framework (Mughal and Haroon 2024).

The present study revolves around how Pakistan has represented the Kashmir dispute at the UN General Assembly (UNGA). For this purpose, a Corpus-Based Critical Discourse Analysis (CBCDA) of 74 speeches of Pakistani representatives has been conducted.

## METHODS

Seventy-four speeches from 1948 to 2021, delivered by the Pakistani representatives at the UNGA are chosen for analysis. These speeches are available in PDF form on the online website <https://digitallibrary.un.org/?ln=en> in the English language. The researchers chose one speech per year preferably delivered by the prime ministers or presidents of Pakistan but in case they were not the part of Pakistani delegation, the speech delivered by the most senior representative has been selected for analysis. The methodology of this study is twofold: the quantitative analysis of the data has been conducted using the corpus software LancsBox. It is a cutting-edge software tool developed at Lancaster University to help researchers and students in analyzing language data. It was first

released in 2015 and was designed to provide an intuitive yet powerful platform for corpus analysis, enabling the examination of large textual datasets for patterns, frequencies, and collocations. It incorporates advanced visualization tools, such as collocational networks and keyword analyses, making it suitable for linguists, educators, and social scientists and supports multiple languages and has been widely adopted for both research and teaching purposes due to its user-friendly interface and open-access model.

The qualitative analysis is done with Fairclough's (1995) three-step model of CDA, which includes text analysis, interpretation, and socio-political explanation. This three-step model CDA is a foundational framework for examining the relationship between language, power, and society. In the 'text description' stage, the researchers focus on the linguistic features of a text, such as vocabulary, grammar, and structure, to uncover explicit and implicit meanings. The second 'interpretation' stage examines how the text interacts with the social context, considering the production and reception of the discourse, including the beliefs, values, and assumptions of both the producers of the text or speech and the audiences. The third and final step 'explanation' situates the discourse within broader social structures, exploring how it reflects, reinforces, or challenges power relations and ideologies.

These three steps enable the researchers to analyze the political will of the Pakistani leaders and also the power dynamics related to the Kashmir dispute.

## DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

The study analyzed the following corpus:

**Table 1: Corpus used**

Name	Language	Texts	Tokens	Additional information
Speeches	English	74	257,021	Types: 13,330 Lemmas: 11,373

Table 1 given above shows that a total of seventy-four speeches are used as a corpus of this study. The total tokens of the speeches are 257021 including 13330 types and 11373 lemmas. The search term *Kashmir* occurs 559 times in 63 out of 74 speeches. Table 3 displays a random sample of 10 concordance lines, showing the most immediate contexts in which, the search term is used.

## Key Words and Collocational Patterns

Table 2 in the following shows the keyword analysis. As the term *Kashmir* is a lexical word the researchers have made a list of the top twenty lexical keywords used in the speeches of Pakistani representatives.

**Table 2: Top 20 Lexical Keywords used in selected corpus**

No.	Type	Frequency	%
1	Pakistan	1556	0.605
2	nations	1389	0.540
3	united	1246	0.484
4	world	969	0.377
5	India	905	0.352
6	peace	902	0.350
7	people	891	0.346

8	International	889	0.345
9	countries	796	0.309
10	security	742	0.288
11	nuclear	655	0.254
12	states	575	0.223
13	<b>Kashmir</b>	<b>559</b>	<b>0.217</b>
14	economic	479	0.186
15	assembly	465	0.180
16	general	388	0.150
17	council	385	0.149
18	development	344	0.133
19	President	339	0.131
20	government	324	0.126

Table 2 above shows that the search term *Kashmir* occurs 559 in the selected corpus which is at the number 13 of the most used lexical words. The frequent occurrence of this term in the speeches of Pakistani leaders at the UNGA underscores the centrality of the Kashmiri cause in Pakistan's foreign policy and political rhetoric. This repetition signifies Pakistan's consistent advocacy for the rights of the Kashmiri people and its commitment to addressing the Kashmir conflict on international forums. Pakistani leaders often invoke the term in the context of justice, sovereignty, and human rights and they position themselves as staunch supporters of Kashmir's self-determination through the conduct of an impartial plebiscite. The prominence of *Kashmir* within these speeches reflects Pakistan's motive for a peaceful settlement of this dispute as it can prove to be disastrous not only for South Asia but for the whole world. By frequently mentioning *Kashmir* Pakistani representatives seek to maintain its importance in the geopolitical discourse while enforcing its identity as a defender of oppressed nations within the global context.

Table 3 in the following shows the collocations or words frequently occurring near the keyword *Kashmir* which shows the mindset of Pakistani representatives about the Kashmir dispute.

**Table 3: A random set of concordance lines for Kashmir in selected speeches**

Filename	Left	Node	Right
Mr. Zardari 2009	issues with India. Meaningful progress towards a resolution of the	Kashmir	dispute is necessary for durable peace and stability in South
Syed Sharifuddin 1966	statements made by the Indian leaders that the fate of	Kashmir	is sealed forever? How should one evaluate the present policy
Mr. Qureshi 2018	community, perpetrates state sponsored terrorism in Indian occupied Jammu and	Kashmir	and other parts of India. It is the concern of
Mr Sharif 1998	have appeared, while many old	Kashmir	and Palestine continue to suffer.

	problems persist. The people of		Bosnia has seen a brutal
Mr. Qureshi 2018	region from realizing its true potential. The unresolved Jammu and	Kashmir	dispute hinders the realization of the goal of durable peace
Mr. Shahi 1978	to a just and honorable solution to the Jammu and	Kashmir	dispute in the spirit of the Simla Agreement of 2
Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto 1965	Commission that India was determined to block the demilitarization of	Kashmir	and to prevent the plebiscite, there was no lack of
Mr. Kanju 1991	nearly half a million Indian military and paramilitary forces in	Kashmir,	the indigenous, widespread uprising continues to gather momentum, reflecting the
Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto 1963	settlement on the basis of a division of spoils. The	Kashmir	dispute remains the basic cause of conflict between Pakistan and
Mr. Ali 1994	perhaps a <i>casus belli</i> for new aggression against Pakistan. The	Kashmir	crisis poses a growing threat to international peace and security.

Table 3 shows the random set of concordance lines for *Kashmir* in the speeches of Pakistani representatives. The words like *dispute*, *crisis*, and *conflict* that co-occur with the term *Kashmir* show that Pakistani leaders consider it an unsettled dispute between the two neighboring states. The other important collocates include the terms that show the brutalities of the Indian military in the disputed region. The top ten collocates used with the term *Kashmir* are given in Table 4.

**Table 4: Top ten lexical collocates cooccurring with Kashmir**

No	Collocates	Co-occurrence Count
01	Jammu	222
02	Dispute	80
03	People	61
04	Occupied	10
05	Issue	06
06	Pakistan	06
07	Problem	04
08	Indian-occupied	04
09	Resolutions	04



The analysis of these collocates shows that Pakistani leaders are trying to make the UN realize that there is an ongoing pattern of cruelties against the innocent Kashmiris that needs to be stopped immediately. It is also highlighted that the only way to bring peace and security to the region is to settle the Kashmir dispute according to the wishes and desires of the Kashmir people. The only possible solution for Kashmir as proposed by the UN is through the conduct of an impartial plebiscite under the supervision of the UN in which the people of Kashmir would decide whether they want to be part of India, or Pakistan or want to remain independent. The collocation patterns mentioned above also show Pakistani representatives' concerns about peace and security in the South Asian region. It is also found that Pakistani leaders look towards the UN and the international community to put pressure on India to implement the UN resolutions and allow the people of Kashmir to exercise their rights.

### Rhetorical and Discursive Strategies

Pakistani leaders have frequently employed rhetorical and discursive strategies in their speeches on the Kashmir issue to consolidate ideological narratives, and to foster solidarity for the people of Kashmir who have been living in miserable conditions since the partition of the sub-continent in 1947. They also utilize these techniques to show the people of Kashmir as a symbol of resistance against oppression. Discursively, these speeches position Pakistan as a central figure in supporting Kashmiri rights, while delegitimizing India through terms like "Zionist regime." Such rhetoric not only mobilizes internal and external support but also reinforces Pakistan's geopolitical stance as a champion of resistance in the Islamic world. An analysis of some of the rhetoric and discursive strategies employed in the speeches of Pakistani leaders in the Kashmir context is given below.

**Table 5: The use of Rhetorical and Discursive strategies**

Speeches	Rhetoric or Discursive Strategies	Examples
Mr. Bhutto 1963	Rhetorical Question	<i>'What, on the other hand, has been the conduct of India?'</i>
Mr. Ayub Khan 1962	Analogy	<i>'Palestine and Kashmir are but a few of these unresolved burning problems.'</i>
Mr. Bhutto 1965	Political Jargon	<i>'India has made a show of willingness to enter into bilateral negotiations with Pakistan'</i>
Mr. Ali 1994	Evidence	<i>'well documented by impartial organizations and observers, such as Amnesty International, Asia Watch'</i>
Mr. Arshad 1968	Inclusive Language	<i>'this pledge we shall fulfill with the people of Kashmir, come what may'</i>
Mr. Bhutto 1963	Repetition	<i>'That was stated by Mr. Naehru on October 27, 1947. That was stated by Prime Minister Nehru on November 2, 1947'</i>
Mr. Bhutto 1963	Triadic Structure	<i>'Let their conscience be clear on this matter. Let them release Shaikh Abdullah. Let them hold a free and impartial plebiscite.'</i>

Mr. Musharaf 2003	Hyperbole	<i>'Jammu and Kashmir have been rightly described as the most dangerous dispute in the world.'</i>
Mr. Sharif 1998	Euphemism	<i>'exporting sensitive technologies and equipment'</i>
Mr. Zia ul Haq 1980	Historical References	<i>'principles of the Simla Agreement of 1972'</i>
Mr. Rashid 1970	Appeals to hope	<i>'we <b>hope</b> that India will fully cooperate in reaching an equitable solution of this very serious problem.'</i>

Table 5 shows the different rhetorical or discursive strategies employed by Pakistani representatives to highlight their stance on the Kashmir issue. For instance, they present the facts with authentic data verified by impartial international bodies like Amnesty International or Asia Watch. They also use political jargon in which they try to use inclusive language in order to show their support for the people of Kashmir. Hyperbolic statements like calling Kashmir *the most dangerous dispute in the world* also show that Pakistan is very concerned about this dispute. The data also reveals that Pakistani leaders are very disappointed with the attitude of the Indian state but are also hopeful that Indian leaders would understand the gravity of the situation and come to the table of negotiations to discuss all the disputed issues including the most important the Kashmir dispute.

The use of discursive techniques like repetition and reference to historical events show that the dispute of Kashmir has been oft-repeated in the UNGA throughout the history of the establishment of the UN. It remains on the agenda of the UN since 1948 and all these years have seen that Pakistani leaders continuously stressed the need to resolve this dispute according to the wishes and desires of Kashmiri people. Pakistani leaders refer to the past pacts where India accepted to come on the table for discussion but later withdrew with the claim that situations have changed since it made the promises.

### Evolution of Kashmir-Related Discourse Over Time

The dispute of Kashmir between the two nuclear powers Pakistan and India started since the partition in 1947. Pakistan claims that it has highlighted this dispute on different international forums with the same intensity and attention. However, the researchers found that Kashmir-related discourse has evolved according to happenings in national and international politics. The three stages mentioned in the following tables 6,7 and 8 show that this discourse has passed through three different phases. Pakistani representatives' speeches have been influenced by what was happening in and around the country.

**Table 6: Data Statistics (1948-1965)**

Name	Language	Texts	Tokens	Kashmir Term
Speeches	English	18	85,140	179

Table 6 shows the first phase of the Kashmir-related discourse of Pakistani representatives at the UNGA. This stage started when Pakistan officially became a member of the UN in 1948 and the dispute of Kashmir after the initial conflict was brought to the UN. The UN passed several resolutions for the solution of this issue involving three stages i.e. an immediate cease-fire, gradual withdrawal of the military from the disputed region, and ultimately the conduct of a plebiscite under the supervision of the UN. This first phase in which the term *Kashmir* occurs for 179 shows that Pakistani leaders wished to get a solution to it immediately after the issue started. This phase ended in 1965 when the neighboring countries Pakistan and India had a war which was based on the same dispute.

**Table 7: Data Statistics (1966-1988)**

Name	Language	Texts	Tokens	Kashmir Term
Speeches	English	23	96,066	103

Table 7 shows the second phase of the Kashmir-related discourse which started in 1966 and ended in 1988. The speeches of this phase show that due to some national and international issues, the dispute in Kashmir could not get much prominence. The first important cause of this less mention of Kashmir in the speeches of Pakistani representatives is the conflict in Western Pakistan where the unrest led to the division of Pakistan and a new country named Bangladesh came into existence. The second cause was the political unrest in Pakistan and later the inclusion of Pakistan in the Soviet war also caused the dispute of Kashmir in the background. Due to these causes, Pakistan could not give full attention to the Kashmir dispute and this issue remained to have been discussed little as compared to the other two phases.

**Table 8: Data Statistics (1989-2021)**

Name	Language	Texts	Tokens	Kashmir Term
Speeches	English	33	75,815	277

The 1989 uprising in Kashmir marked a significant and changing period in its history, causing a violent insurgency that lasted for decades and still is going on. This revolt was sparked by the growing discontent among the Kashmiri Muslim population, particularly over issues of political autonomy and the failure of the Indian government to address their aspirations for the fulfillment of the promise of conducting an impartial plebiscite by the UN resolutions. The response of the Indian government was one of heavy militarization and crackdowns, leading to widespread human rights abuses, including extrajudicial killings, disappearances, and torture. This phase of Kashmir-related discourse shows the maximum references to the Kashmir dispute i.e. 277 times due to the ongoing freedom struggle movement in Kashmir and also because of the cruelties of the Indian military in Kashmir.

## DISCUSSION

The analysis of the speeches of Pakistani representatives shows that in the foreign policy of Pakistan, Kashmir occupies a central ideological and strategic position. This prominence stems from a blend of religious, revolutionary, and geopolitical considerations that have consistently shaped the narrative of Pakistani representatives. The corpus analysis highlights frequent references to themes of "resistance," "oppression," and "liberation," underscoring how Pakistan keeps its stance on Palestine with broader anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist ideologies.

### **Kashmir-related prevalent themes**

The analysis and findings of the data show that Pakistani leaders are trying to show the world that Kashmir is not an ordinary issue but rather a most dangerous dispute between the two nuclear powers. As far as the themes of these speeches are concerned, the first theme found in the analysis of the data is the focus of Pakistani representatives on the Peace and Security of the region. In examining this as a recurring theme, this analysis focuses on how these terms are constructed and positioned within the Kashmir-related discourse. Through the investigation of the lexical choices, metaphorical language, and the broader narrative context, the study can gain insight into how "security" and "peace" are rhetorically employed in the speeches of the Pakistani representatives. Mr. Yaqub Khan emphasized that Pakistan as a responsible state, was worried about the peace and security of the South Asian region.



1. *'Pakistan remains committed to the promotion of an environment of peace and stability in our region in which the people of the countries of the area can fulfill their aspirations for a secure and prosperous future.'* (Mr. Yaqub Khan 1985)

Here, he presented Pakistan's narrative, which is very clear: Pakistan wanted peace in the region because it would bring progress and prosperity and allow the people to live happily. Another Pakistani representative Mr. Kanju in his address to the UNGA clearly stated that Kashmir was the only dispute that created a hurdle in the way of peace and security in this region. He stressed the need to get an immediate solution to this dispute according to the past agreements that were made between India and Pakistan such as the Simla Agreement of 1972.

2. *'Peace and tranquility cannot return to South Asia unless this outstanding dispute is resolved. Pakistan has proposed to India the commencement of a bilateral dialogue in accordance with the Simla Agreement to reach a final settlement of the Kashmir dispute on the basis of the United Nations resolutions. We hope this dialogue can start without further delay.'* (Mr. Kanju 1992)

Mr. Kanju hoped that India would understand the seriousness of the dispute and come to the table of negotiations for a bilateral talk and ultimately the dispute of Kashmir would be solved according to the UN resolutions which say that the people of Kashmir would be allowed to choose their future with the help of a plebiscite. The ex-prime minister of Pakistan Mr. Imran Khan in 2019 called the dispute of Kashmir *a nuclear flashpoint* that could any moment cause a nuclear war between Pakistan and India. The data analysis reflects the underlying ideologies, where the terms "security" and "peace" may carry different meanings depending on the political stance, intended audience, and contextual circumstances within each speech.

The other prevalent theme found in the political discourse of Pakistani leaders during their discussion of Kashmir is freedom which bestows the power to make choices, take actions, act, move, worship, etc. without undue restriction or control, allowing individuals, communities, and nations to express themselves, pursue their aspirations, and live according to their values. It includes personal, political, economic, and social dimensions, granting people the right to make decisions about their lives, beliefs, and relationships and it also fosters creativity, responsibility, and dignity, enabling individuals to explore their potential while respecting the rights of others. Since its independence in 1947, Pakistan has been fighting a case for freedom for the people of Kashmir, and like other world forums, at the UNGA Pakistani leaders talk about the conditions prevailing in Kashmir. In other words, they justify their stance on why they are advocating freedom for Kashmiri or why the people of Kashmir need freedom. Mr. Sharifuddin stated that the freedom movement in Kashmir is a just and basic right of the Kashmiri people.

3. *'A people's passion for freedom is unconquerable. Force and oppression can succeed no more in Jammu and Kashmir than in other parts of the world where people struggle for freedom from alien domination.'* (Mr. Sharifuddin 1966)

He told the international community that it is natural for humans to have an instinct for freedom. Likewise, the people of Kashmir are justified in their wish for freedom as it is their basic right. The use of force and oppression by the Indian military couldn't put the people of Kashmir under pressure, and this would not end their desire for freedom. Mr. Sharif also favored the freedom movement of the Kashmiri people in his speech at the UNGA and called it a just and peaceful struggle.

4. *'The latest Kashmiri Intifada, a popular and peaceful freedom movement, led by Kashmiris, young and old, men and women, armed only with an undying faith in the legitimacy of their cause, and a hunger for freedom in their hearts.'* (Mr. Sharif 2016)

Mr. Sharif believed that the freedom struggle of the Kashmiri people was Indigenous and there was no outside involvement as blamed by the Indian leaders. The people of Kashmir including young, old,

men, and women, all have a keen desire and hunger for freedom in their hearts and they are not willing to yield. They are struggling to get freedom peacefully and are unarmed.

One important theme found in the speeches is based on humanitarian concerns referring to the principles and considerations centered on human welfare, rights, and dignity, especially in crisis or conflict. The Pakistani leaders emphasize the need to provide aid, protection, and support to individuals and communities experiencing suffering, regardless of political, cultural, or ideological attachments. Pakistani leaders talk about the Kashmir dispute on humanitarian principles including immediate, life-saving assistance, such as food, medical care, shelter, and moral support.

Mr. Imran Khan, ex-prime minister of Pakistan speaking on the Kashmir dispute, pointed out the human rights violation by the Indian military in the disputed region of Kashmir. He stressed the need to address these humanitarian issues prevailing in Kashmir.

5. *'India's actions in Occupied Jammu and Kashmir also violate International Human Rights and Humanitarian Laws, including the 4th Geneva Convention, and amount to "war crimes" and "crimes against humanity.'* (Mr. Imran Khan 2021)

He highlighted the violations of human rights and humanitarian laws in the occupied Kashmir by the Indian military. He claimed that the Indian military was committing war crimes in Kashmir by extra-judicial killing, using rape as a war weapon, missing the young people of Kashmir, and also using pellet guns to blind the innocent Kashmir. According to him, all this was a violation of 4<sup>th</sup> Geneva Convention rules.

#### **Role of the UN and the International Community**

The UN and the international community are pivotal in addressing and resolving global disputes as through diplomacy, peacekeeping, and international law, the UN fosters dialogue between conflicting parties, helping to prevent escalations among the countries. In case of violations of its resolutions, the UNSC can impose sanctions, authorize peacekeeping missions, or facilitate peace talks to mediate disputes, promoting nonviolent solutions. International bodies and regional alliances, such as the European Union, African Union, etc., also contribute to the UN's duties by supporting negotiations, offering humanitarian aid, and implementing peace agreements. After the independence of the Sub-continent, the dispute of Kashmir was taken up by the Indian government in the UN and the UN passed the resolutions for the peaceful settlement of Kashmir. The first step according to the UN was an immediate ceasefire in the disputed area, then in the second step, it was asked to both countries to gradually withdraw their forces from Kashmir and the third and final step was to conduct an impartial plebiscite in Kashmir which would allow the people of Kashmir to decide about their future.

Pakistani leaders in their speeches have repeatedly discussed the role of the UN and also the international community. The analysis of the data shows that most of the Pakistani representatives are not satisfied with the role of the UN in solving the dispute of Kashmir. They think that the UN has not made sincere attempts toward solving this issue as the countries controlling the UN think mostly about the material gains that they get from India. Mr. Qureshi showed his concerns about the role of the UN in his speech of 2018 in the following words:

6. *'It is the concern of the United Nations, as Jammu and Kashmir remains on the agenda of the UN Security Council. And it is a matter of concern for the international community as humanity is being crushed and human rights being violated.'* (Mr. Qureshi 2018)

He stated that the UN should understand it was a matter of grave concern for the UN that the dispute of Kashmir has there on its agenda for the past many decades and the UN has failed to solve it. He also criticized the international community that was witnessing humanity being crushed and the grave violations of human rights but was reluctant to even condemn these illegal acts of India. Mr. Imran Khan also showed his grave concerns about the dispute of Kashmir and also reminded the UN that it had promised the people of Kashmir for the self-determination of people.

7. *'I am not threatening here about nuclear war; it is a worry. It is a test for the United Nations. You are the one who said Kashmir's right to self-determination. This is not the time for appeasement like that in 1939 in Munich.'* (Mr. Imran Khan 2019)

Mr. Imran Khan tried to make the UN and the international community realize that the dispute of Kashmir is a serious one as it could lead to a nuclear war in the region which could have destructive impacts not only for the people living in South Asia but also for the whole world. He stated that the UN should take immediate measures to resolve this dispute and avoid the circumstances to come on the same level as what happened in Munich in 1939. He directly addressed the UN and reminded them that the UN had promised the people of Kashmir a free and impartial plebiscite in 1948. Mr. Ali in his speech called it a clear failure of the UN in implementing its resolutions.

8. *'Also, my delegation cannot but give expression to its sense of] disappointment at the failure of the United Nations to implement its own resolutions relating to grave problems affecting international peace and security.'* (Mr. Ali 1955)

Mr. Ali showed his disappointment about the role of the UN which has failed to implement its resolutions about different issues including the most important the Kashmir dispute. He stated that the dispute of Kashmir is a serious threat to global peace and security and the UN should try to resolve it as early as possible. Mr. Imran spoke about the duality in the role of the international community towards the oppression in different parts of the world.

9. *'How would the Jewish community react if even 8000 Jews were under lockdown? How would the Europeans react? How would any human community react? Are we children of a lesser God? Don't u know this causes us pain?'* (Mr. Imran Khan 2019)

Mr. Imran Khan tried to show his disappointment about the role of the international community with an analogy. He stated if only 8000 Jews faced a problem in any part of the part the whole international community would react aggressively to the aggression against the Jews but in the case of Kashmir where 8 million people are living a life of suffocation, the world is silent because they are not Jews. He tried to prick the minds of every civilized member of the international community that they should realize the problems faced by the people of Kashmir and put pressure on India to solve this issue.

### **Role of India**

The speeches of the Pakistani representatives at the UN mostly represent India as an aggressor who has no respect for the human rights of the people of Kashmir. Mr. Sattar presented the grave human rights violations by the Indian military in Kashmir.

10. *'Since 1990 Amnesty International has been reporting on the massive violations of human rights in Kashmir by Indian forces, on the practice of arbitrary imprisonment, torture, and killings of Kashmiris in custody, and on the perpetuation of rape as a matter of policy.'* (Mr. Sattar 1993)

Here Mr. Sattar referred to the reports being published by Amnesty International about the human rights violations in Kashmir. These reports clearly proved the massive human rights violations in Kashmir by the Indian military. These violations included imprisonments, forced disappearances, torture, killing in custody as well as using rape against innocent women as a war weapon. According to Mr. Imran Khan, the Indian government is following the Hindu Extremist philosophy as the current government in India is backed by the Hindu extremist group RSS.

11. *'RSS believes in the racial superiority of Hindus. It was hatred for the Muslims & Christians.'* (Mr. Imran Khan 2019)

Mr. Imran Khan referred to the ideology of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) a Hindu nationalist organization in India, founded in 1925 by Dr. Keshav Baliram Hedgewar in Nagpur. It is one of the world's largest voluntary organizations, with a mission to promote Hindu culture, values, and identity while fostering unity among Hindus and it operates through its network of *shakhas* (branches), where members engage in physical training, discussions, and community service. Over

the years, the RSS has been a key player in India's socio-political landscape, influencing the formation of various affiliated organizations, including the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). Mr. Imran Khan referred to the current government of Prime Minister Mr. Modi which is largely supported by this extremist Hindu organization based on the hatred against Muslims. According to Mr. Imran Khan, the Indian government obsessed with the same ideology was trying to crush the Muslims in Kashmir. The brutalities being committed against the innocent and helpless people of Kashmir show the RSS thought prevailing all over Indian policies. Mr. Bhutto portrayed India as a country that violates international commitments and also its pledges made to Pakistan.

12. *We now hear it said that India has made no such commitment. We know, of course, that the easiest way to repudiate a commitment is to deny that it was ever made.'*

(Mr. Bhutto 1963)

Mr. Bhutto highlighted the negative attitude of India that promised to the people of Kashmir for giving a right of self-determination and the same kind of pacts it signed with Pakistan. It also pledged to the UN that it would provide an opportunity to the people of Kashmir through the conduct of a plebiscite to decide about their future. Later, India refused to do so and claimed that it had not made any promise and if there was any commitment, it had become null and void as the conditions have largely changed since it had made a promise. India also claims that if it allowed the people of Kashmir a right of self-determination, it would damage its geographical boundaries.

#### **Place of Kashmir in the Foreign Policy of Pakistan**

Pakistan has consistently emphasized the Kashmir issue as a central component of its foreign policy since its independence in 1947 and views Kashmir as a disputed territory whose final status should be determined by the will of its people, in line with United Nations resolutions. Pakistan actively raises the Kashmir issue in international forums, including the UN, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), and bilateral dialogues with major powers. Pakistani representatives mostly focus on the human rights violations in Indian-administered Jammu and Kashmir and advocate for the right to self-determination for the Kashmiri people. Pakistan has also engaged in diplomatic efforts to gather support from Muslim-majority countries and global powers while maintaining consistent communication with the Kashmiri leadership. Mr. Sharif showed his stance on the Kashmir issue in his address to the UNGA.

13. *'Pakistan fully supports the demand of the Kashmiri people for self-determination, as promised to them by several Security Council resolutions. Their struggle is a legitimate one for liberation from alien occupation.'* (Mr. Sharif 2016)

Mr. Sharif stated that Pakistan supported the just demand of the Kashmiri people for self-determination as was promised by the UN in its resolutions. He declared it a legitimate liberation movement against illegal foreign occupation. Mr. Bhutto reaffirmed Pakistan's policy in his speech in 1964 in the following words.

14. *'What Pakistan cannot, and shall never, accept is that the people of Kashmir should be deprived of their birthright and be held in bondage under alien rule.'*

(Mr. Bhutto 1964)

These words as mentioned above clearly highlight why Pakistan is helping the people of Kashmir. Pakistan will never accept the Indian wish to keep the people under their rule and deprive them of their freedom which is a basic right of any human on the earth. According to Mr. Bhutto Pakistan asked India to come forward for a bilateral discussion for the solution of the dispute of Kashmir. Pakistan was doing it out of responsibility and not because of any fear. Mr. Imran Khan stated that the world should understand the seriousness of the Kashmir dispute that could bring two nuclear states on the verge of nuclear war which will have impacts not only for the people living in the South Asian continent but for all the people of the world.



15. 'Will the word community appease a market of 1.2bn or will it stand up for justice and humanity? If a conventional war starts between 2 countries, nuclear countries anything could happen.' (Mr. Imran Khan 2019)

This extract from the speech of Mr. Imran Khan shows that Pakistan is very serious about the solution of the Kashmir dispute and for this Pakistan can face any challenge. He called the dispute of Kashmir a nuclear flashpoint and also criticized the international community which was thinking about its material gains from the large market of India. He reminded the international community of the dangers of the tense relations between India and Pakistan if a conventional war started, it would not be in control because the country feeling lost in war could even not hesitate to use nuclear weapons as a last resort. He was trying to convince the world that it should understand the troubles and suffering of the people of Kashmir and then stand for justice.

## CONCLUSIONS

This study revolves around the way Pakistan has highlighted the Kashmir dispute at the UNGA. For this study, the researchers analyzed 74 speeches of Pakistani representatives delivered at the UNGA during the General Debate Session. The methodology employed for this study was Corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis (CBCDA). The corpus software LancsBox was used for the quantitative analysis and Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA for the socio-political analysis of the corpus data.

To conclude it can be said that Kashmir keeps an important place in the foreign policy of Pakistan as it plays an important role in shaping its regional alliances, security concerns, and diplomatic initiatives. The analysis of the selected speeches shows that the dispute of Kashmir was there in the first speech of Mr. Zafrullah Khan in 1948 and was also there in the last analyzed speech of Mr. Imran Khan in 2021 which shows that Pakistani leaders have never forgotten to mention this issue in their discourse. It is rooted in both territorial claims and a strong commitment to the self-determination of Kashmiri Muslims it is viewed by Pakistan as essential to its national identity and regional strategy. The dispute over Kashmir with India has influenced Pakistan's close ties with China, positioning Beijing as a balance to India's influence in South Asia. Moreover, Kashmir remains central to Pakistan's relationship with the United Nations and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), as Pakistan frequently raises the issue on international platforms to gather support and demands from these international bodies to put pressure on India to allow the people of Kashmir to decide their future according to their wishes. The speeches of the Pakistani representatives show that Kashmir impacts defense policies and cross-border relations, keeping the matter at the core of Pakistan's approach to its strategic interests in South Asia.

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