

Salman Sagar + 3 wanted to form new political party

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KZINE

OPENING KASHMIR'S EYES

**CROSS-BORDER
CALL FOR
MEHBOOBA:**
Ask For Dialogue
With Pakistan

**DR FAROOQ GETS
ANGRY WITH KZINE,**
He Might As Well
Take Some Questions

**'PAKISTAN-
ADMINISTERED
JAMMU AND
KASHMIR IS
A COLONY'**

**"Unfortunately some
INDIAN MUSLIMS
SUPPORT THE
TALIBAN blindly"**

Meet Mehbooba, The New Geelani

**PAKISTAN'S BIGGEST
INVESTMENT IN KASHMIR**

Ahead of PM Modi's Meeting With Kashmir's Political Leaders, Mehbooba Got A Cross-Border Call: Ask For Dialogue With Pakistan



Politics in Kashmir has always been a cesspool. Cutting across party affiliation and ideologies, the political elites of Kashmir continue to milk the so-called conflict. There is little hope that the filth in Kashmir politics shall be removed any time soon. The damning fact is that the culture of corruption here had the patronage of New Delhi. For decades, the state was literally dysfunctional. The political elites prospered at the cost of the Kashmir society.

For decades, our political class has also perfected the art of double speak.

I remember that in 2004, I wrote that in a conflict-ridden region like Kashmir, politics is subservient to external but invisible forces.

On July 24, Prime Minister Modi chaired the meeting with the political leaders of Kashmir at his residence in New Delhi. About an hour before the meeting, India's premier spy agency intercepted a conversation of Mehbooba Mufti with a top handler in Pakistan. According to highly placed sources, Mehbooba was told that the least she could do in the all party meeting with Prime Minister Modi



was that she should stress for dialogue with Pakistan. "Forget about demand for restoration of Article 370 or statehood. Ask for dialogue with Pakistan," Mehbooba was reportedly advised by the caller. This brings to the fore the murky politics in Kashmir. I stand vindicated on what I stated in my first book, *K File: The Conspiracy of Silence*. I had written: Nothing is indigenous in Kashmir – neither the narratives nor the slogans.

Mehbooba's unabated rant is not what the drawing room thinkers in New Delhi and elsewhere claim it to be. It is not the reflection of the general mood or any representation of the sentiment of the people. Mehbooba is now a Pakistan stooge hell bent upon creating problems for the people of Kashmir. Unfortunately her political opponents outside PAGD lack the will or the courage to stop her rant. New Delhi also seems to be divided on how to deal with her. Mehbooba has friends in the establishment who defend her actions and advise the government that no action must be initiated against her.

Bashir Assad

razor sharp analysis

INCISIVE REPORTING

INVESTIGATE THE TERROR ECOSYSTEM

EXPOSE DECEPTION

RESTORE ORDER

MAKE A SPLASH

INCULCATE DEMOCRATIC SPIRIT

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OPENING KASHMIR'S EYES



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PAKISTAN'S BIGGEST INVESTMENT IN KASHMIR

Meet Mehbooba, The New Geelani

by Bashir ASSAD

After 30 years, Pakistan has found a new trump card in Kashmir. More powerful than the Hurriyat or the terrorists put together. Powerful not because she has any personal ability or public support.

The trump card is powerful because the person in question is the former chief minister of Jammu and Kashmir. She is the daughter of a former chief minister, who had also been India's Home Minister. With these credentials, the appeal that Mehbooba Mufti carries nationally and internationally is immense. Her rants can be diplomatically and politically disastrous for the Indian state. Mehbooba Mufti knows it. She is milking it.

Where Mehbooba Mufti is concerned, the weakness of the state is this: Because she's a former CM, the daughter of a former CM and Home Minister, it shall be difficult for the Indian state to call her bluff on what she has become – a Pakistan agent.

Mehbooba Mufti is the new Geelani. It took a while for this truth to hit most people. Because of her credentials, what she says shall be given space by the national and international media. It is happening already. This makes Madam Mufti the most compelling and most effective investment for Pakistan in Kashmir.



Mehbooba Arm-Twisting The State

The position of the Indian state has been that the abrogation of Article 370 and 35A was an attempt to correct the political discourse in Kashmir. It was never meant to replace the political actors. The Indian state has consistently taken the position that given the democratic system, there is no intention to squeeze the space of the old political horses. They have a right to do politics. The state may differ with them. That does not mean that the state will impose permanent restrictions on them.

With her rants and irresponsible diatribe, Mehbooba seems to be abusing democratic space and freedom.

Pakistan Abandoned Hurriyat Two Years Ago

Pakistan abandoned Hurriyat two years ago. After the abrogation of Article 370 and 35A, the Hurriyat leadership became obsolete and lost all utility for Pakistan. Keen observers of Kashmir dynamics observed that in these two years, no statement regarding the Hurriyat leadership has emerged from Pakistan. With zero significance, Hurriyat has dropped from Kashmir's mindspace.

Enter Mehbooba Mufti – the new Geelani. She is currently Pakistan's best bet in India. Compare her utility with the utility of the Hurriyat Conference when it first entered the scene.

In the 1990s, the utility of the Hurriyat Conference was that it had fought elections under the Constitution of India. The team that comprised of wannabe legislators was now rejecting the system that they were part of. This gave them credibility and weight.

This is always a dangerous proposition for the state. It is much simpler if radical and fringe players discredit the authority of the state. They do not carry any moral authority. But if the state is challenged by the elements that had been part of it, the authority of the state is impacted. The challenge of such elements carries more weight.

Pakistan Finds New Mascot In Mehbooba, GOI In Fix

After 30 years, Pakistan has found a new figure in Kashmir to serve its interests. By co-opting Mehbooba, Pakistan has hit the jackpot.

With this new alignment of Mehbooba Mufti with Pakistan, the government is in a fix. Mehbooba's agitational rants move into the space of sedition. Despite her regular transgressions, Mehbooba firmly occupies the democratic space. This is the reason why her outrageous comments are brushed aside by the media as democratic dissent and tolerated by the state. Despite her seditious conduct, the state may find it difficult to jail Mehbooba or restrict her. As former CM, her credibility is much higher, and so is her nuisance value.

It is because of her political stature that all the Hurriyat leaders put together are no match for Mehbooba. She can prove more fatal for the state than Hurriyat or terrorists.

Currently, Mehbooba does not enjoy any public support in Kashmir. The only support she can bank upon are the fringe elements of Jamaat e Islami. Her former political stature gives her a national and international appeal. That carries the potential to damage Indian interest diplomatically and politically.

Nobody is Calling Mehbooba's Bluff

Because she is Mehbooba Mufti, the national media is willy nilly giving space to her rants. Nobody is calling her bluff.

Nobody is telling Madam Mufti that Kashmir is changing rapidly. The swift deterioration in Afghanistan has made a sizable section of Kashmiris apprehensive. Kashmir is not defined by a regressive socio-religious code that the Taliban want to impose in Afghanistan. Kashmiris don't want to create the Afghanistan reality here.

DISSENT? OR SEDITION?

Srinagar, August 22

Asking the Centre to learn a lesson from the withdrawal of US forces from Afghanistan, former Jammu and Kashmir chief minister and Peoples Democratic Party president Mehbooba Mufti on Saturday sounded a warning to New Delhi and said that if the people of J&K "lose patience, you will not remain — you will (also) disappear".

Mufti was addressing a public rally in south Kashmir's Kulgam during a rare public outreach by mainstream political leaders in the Valley since the abrogation of J&K's special status and downgrading of the state into two Union Territories in August 2019.

"Patience needs courage. What people of Jammu and Kashmir are enduring...the day they lose patience, you also will not remain — you will disappear," Mufti said. "I am telling you again and again: don't test our patience; understand and correct (yourself)."

Mufti urged the Centre to take lessons from the Taliban capture of Afghanistan and resolve the Kashmir issue through dialogue. "Understand what is happening in the neighbourhood... Such a big power — America — had to fold their beds and return," she said. "You (the Centre) still have an opportunity. The way (former PM Atal Bihari) Vajpayeeji started a dialogue — with outside (Pakistan) and here (in J&K) — you also (should) start a dialogue."

Referring to the abrogation of special status and bifurcation of the erstwhile state into UTs, Mufti said,

"What you have robbed us of illegally and unconstitutionally — the identity of J&K — that you have distorted, and the pieces that you did to J&K...correct this mistake, or else it would be too late," she said.

The PDP chief accused the BJP-led Centre of misusing central agencies such as the NIA, CBI and the Enforcement Directorate to crush dissent and political opponents. Warning of communal polarisation, she said that if the BJP doesn't mend its ways, India would break into many parts on communal and religious lines.

(THE INDIAN EXPRESS, AUGUST 22)



THE JAGIRS OF ALI SAGAR PART II

Dr Farooq gets angry with KZINE

NC President May Like To Enlighten Us How Sagar And Sagar Have Amassed Such Huge Properties

Post August 5, 2019: Kashmir's New Normal

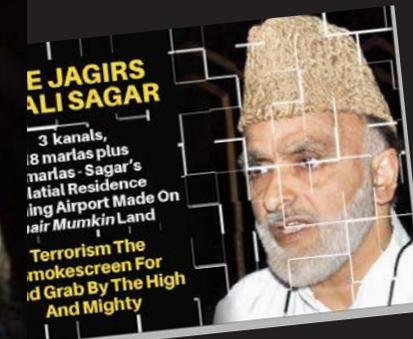
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KZINE
OPENING KASHMIR'S EYES



THE JAGIRS OF ALI SAGAR

Terrorism The Smokescreen For Land Grab By The High And Mighty



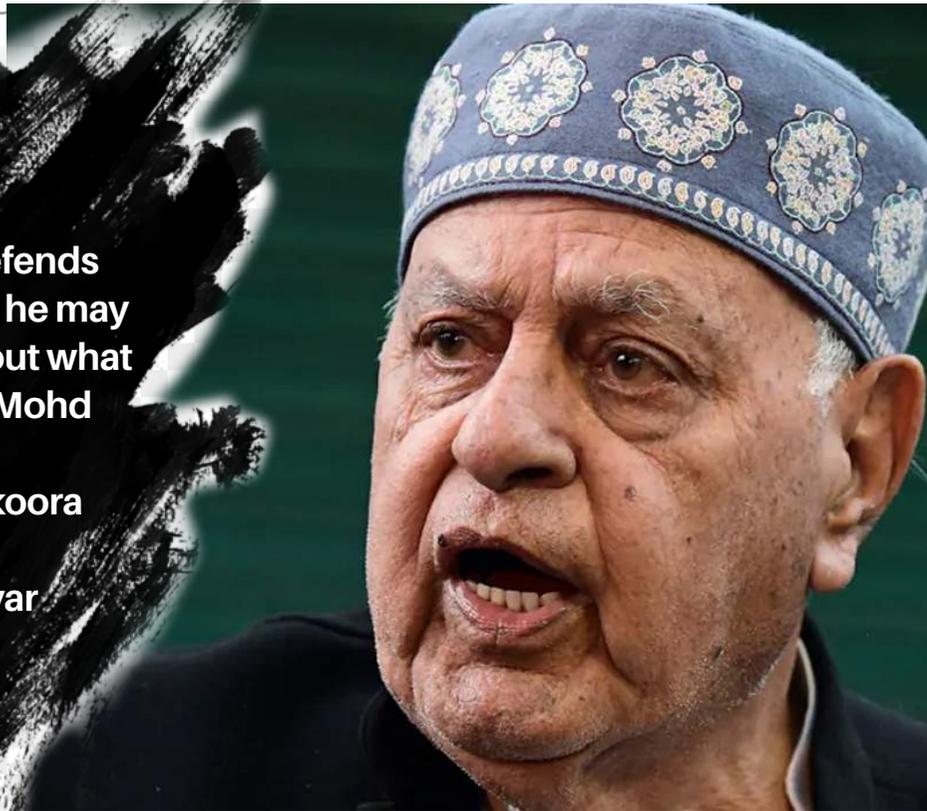
Pages from KZINE Edition 10

National Conference President and former chief minister Dr Farooq Abdullah is angry with KZINE over the land grab expose of his colleague and party general secretary Ali Mohd Sagar. In response to the cover story titled The Jagirs of Ali Sagar in Edition 10 of KZINE, Dr Farooq sent the following message: "Sagar sold his house in old town and then was able to make this house. Don't spread lies for BJP".

Dr Farooq's anger following the expose on his senior party colleague is understandable, but it is unfounded. It is unfortunate that a political leader of the stature of Dr Farooq Abdullah should resort to mud-slinging in order to hide the corrupt practices of his colleague. There are two parts of Dr Farooq's short response. KZINE is morally and ethically duty bound to respond to his allegation with facts and evidence.

As for the property of Ali Mohd Sagar, Dr Farooq Abdullah's statement is completely

Dr Farooq Abdullah defends his party colleague, so he may also choose to talk about what is the total share of Ali Mohd Sagar in 900 kanals of property owned at Zakoora by Sheikh Hassan, a businessman of Khanyar



Dr Farooq Abdullah
PHOTO COURTESY: DAILYEXCELSIOR.COM

misleading for two reasons.

One, Sagar has not sold his ancestral property in Nawabazar. He is still the legitimate owner of that property and carries out all his political activities from the same house.

Second, KZINE had raised questions about the legal status of the premium land purchased/occupied by Ali Mohd Sagar adjoining Srinagar International Airport. The KZINE story had highlighted that Sagar has made a grand residential accommodation over land measuring 3 kanals and 18 marlas on Ghair Mumkin land.

The plot is registered in the name of Mst. Saleema, wife of Ali Mohd Sagar, resident of Nawabazar, Srinagar, under Khasra number 1015. With his stature and clout, Dr Farooq has access to any information that he desires in the erstwhile state of Jammu

and Kashmir. If he so desires, he can easily get the status of the land verified in revenue records – Ghair Mumkin.

KZINE also highlighted that Sagar has further encroached upon Ghair Mumkin land measuring about 6 marlas facing the airport road. Is Dr Farooq Abdullah upset about why has truth been revealed by KZINE? On a personal front, Dr Farooq greatly values truthfulness and honesty. He may appreciate that Ali Mohd Sagar is accountable to the people for the wealth that he amasses illegally and unlawfully, and for his land-grabs.

In Edition 10 of KZINE, we also revealed that Sagar owns huge benami property along the Nowgam-Lasjan bypass near Padshahi Bagh. This is registered in the name of some distant relative. Senior revenue officials told

KZINE that both benami properties include encroachment of state land, and wrong entries have been made in the revenue records.

KZINE had also revealed that Salman Sagar is in possession of 40 kanals of land, which includes state land at Charar e Sharief. Sagar also has a property at Chanpoora Budgam, which houses the district godowns of Food Corporation of India (FCI). When

and how did the Sagars amass this wealth? Perhaps Dr Farooq Abdullah may like to comment on this too.

How About Ali Sagar's Share In the Zakoora Property?

Further, because Dr Farooq Abdullah defends his party col-

league, he may choose to talk about what is the total share of Ali Mohd Sagar in 900 kanals of property owned at Zakoora by Sheikh Hassan, a businessman of Khanyar. According to sources, Sheikh Hassan's sons Sheikh Aslam and Sheikh Farooq own more than 900 kanals of land at Zakoora. Ali Mohd Sagar is the silent partner. A huge construction is coming up on the land in question for the establishment of a high profile educational institute.

According to locals, Ali Mohd Sagar is an equal partner in the property. Because he didn't want to be named, there is no mention in the revenue records. When contacted, the revenue official of the area told KZINE that in black and white, Sagar has no involvement in the revenue records for this property. The revenue official admitted that in the department, they have heard from the locals that Sagar is the silent partner of Sheikh Brothers in the property. It was immediately not known in whose name Sagar's share is registered.

It does not behove Dr Abdullah to condone the corrupt practices of his party colleague. KZINE states the truth – the inconvenient truth, and we shall continue to do so. Kashmir's politicians have 75 years of expertise in peddling lies and making people believe it as the gospel truth. In angling for power, they have aligned with far right religious extremists on both sides of the divide.

Dr Farooq's words remind us of an oversight on our part, though. "Don't spread lies for BJP," he said. KZINE must equally focus on the wrongdoings of the politicians in Jammu, so that Dr Farooq and others do not accuse us of any favour towards the BJP. Noted, Dr Farooq.

Dr Farooq's words remind us of an oversight on our part. "Don't spread lies for BJP," he said. KZINE must equally focus on the wrongdoings of the politicians in Jammu, so that Dr Farooq and others do not accuse us of any favour towards the BJP. Noted, Dr Farooq



Ali Sagar's property at Chanpoora Budgam, which houses the district godowns of Food Corporation of India (FCI)

Salman Sagar, Ishfaq Jabbar, Tanveer Sadiq and Altaf Kaloo wanted to form a new political party

The Four Went Around The Power Corridors In New Delhi, But Things Didn't Work Out



Salman Sagar and Ishfaq Jabbar

by GM MIR

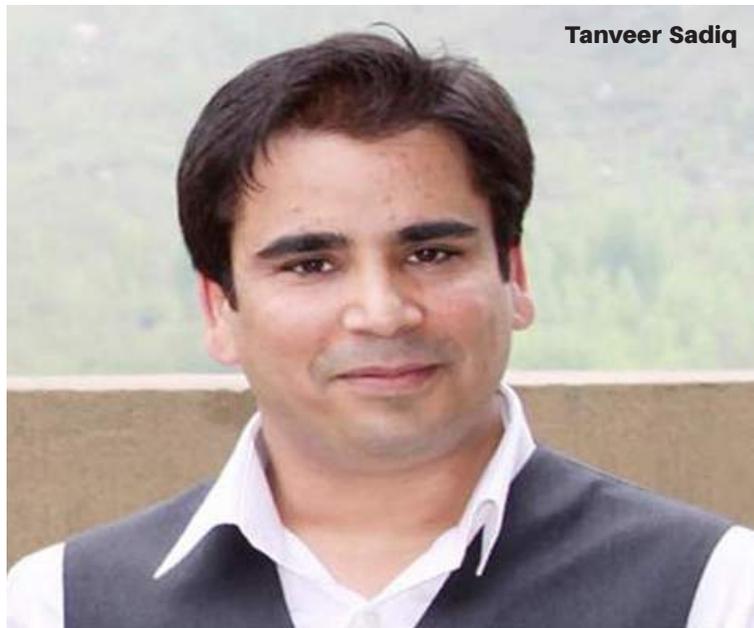
In electoral democracy, political and personal interests usually overshadow the larger good of the state. In Jammu and Kashmir, political figures have always prioritized personal and party interests. In the process, the larger interests of the state and its people have got butchered.

The events of August 5, 2019

again exposed every single political entity in Kashmir valley. KZINE brings to you the inside stories that are a reflection of the double-faced political elites of Kashmir. For public consumption, these political leaders pretend to be heroic. In private, they are just the opposite. All the crying and complaining was only for public consumption because their political future was on stake.

In Edition 11, KZINE brings to you the tale of four characters of National Conference – Salman Sagar, Ishfaq Jabbar, Tanveer Sadiq and Kaloo.

These political figures were under preventive detention for five months following August 5, 2019. During their detention, these four men had extensive discussions and drew up plans for the future.



Tanveer Sadiq

WITH BLESSINGS OF ALI MOHD SAGAR

These four NC leaders met some more important figures at the Centre, in connection with the implementation of the new proposal. This whole process of meetings and procedures was done with the approval and blessings of Ali Mohd Sagar.

After his release from preventive detention, Altaf Kaloo discussed the plan with Sagar Senior and sought his approval for the same. At New Delhi, the talks did not reach anywhere even though the four worked hard to get political patronage.

In this way, the four political leaders put party interest on the backburner, while personal interest ruled high. Salman, Jabbar, Sadiq and Kaloo were aware that if the proposal succeeded, it would crack National Conference. Sagar Senior, the General Secretary of National Conference and a strong pillar for the party, was also focused on personal interest. His beloved son Salman could not have engaged in these conversations with the

ATTEMPTS TO GET OUT OF THE MESS

During detention, Sagar, Jabbar, Sadiq and Kaloo were first lodged at Kashmir International Conference Centre (KICC). They were later shifted to MLA Hostel. From reliable sources, KZINE came to know that these four political figures many times urged the Jail Superintendent that they are ready to

do whatever India wants them to do. The four had planned to join any political party if their release from detention was assured.

Salman Sagar was released in mid-January 2020. Thereafter, Salman, Jabbar, Sadiq and Kaloo left for New Delhi. In Delhi, they tried to meet politically influential people for the creation of a new political party. Their aim was to somehow get out of the mess they were in and align themselves closer to New Delhi.

The four politicians were aware that if the proposal succeeded, it would crack NC. Sagar Senior, General Secretary of NC, was focused on personal interest. HIS BELOVED SON SALMAN COULD NOT HAVE ENGAGED WITH NEW DELHI WITHOUT HIS BLESSINGS

SALMAN, JABBAR, SADIQ AND KALOO TRIED TO MEET POLITICALLY INFLUENTIAL PERSONS AND FORM A NEW POLITICAL PARTY so that they could get out of the mess that they were in and align themselves closer to New Delhi

powers that be at New Delhi without his blessings. Kaloo, former legislator from the Pahalgam assembly segment, had the same motives.

Politicians in Kashmir have come out of their homes for personal interests, not in the interest of their party – be it National Conference (NC), People's Democratic Party (PDP) or any other political formation.

HOODWINKING THE MASSES

The common masses of Kashmir believe that the political elites are taking some concrete steps to reverse the decision of August 5, 2019. The reality is that whatever the political elites do is to serve their personal interest, not the party or the commoners. They pretend to be working for public welfare, while actually they throw dust in the eyes of the people. Even supposedly famous and strong politicians can easily switch to other parties to serve personal interests.

Sheikh Ishfaq Jabbar, former MLA of the Ganderbal Assembly



Altaf Kaloo

segment, switched from Congress to National Conference in August 2013 to gain political sympathy. Salman, Jabbar, Sadiq and Kaloo brainstormed during their detention to plan their moves from their respective party and enjoy position and power be-

stowed by the Centre. Interestingly, party leaders swear by the loyalty of some of these political figures.

It is a global phenomenon that nobody likes to call a spade a spade. In Kashmir, the hypocrisy goes up several notches higher.

**“Unfortunately
some Indian
Muslims
support the
Taliban
blindly.**

**They are not
here. They don't
feel the
desperation”**

What kind of a future are Afghan women looking at under the Taliban rule? What are their fears? Why their despair? Bisma Nazir of Team KZINE spoke to a highly educated young Afghan woman living in Kabul. In order to protect her from any reprisal, we shall not state more about her identity





I am sorry I did not take your call earlier because we feel very afraid. We are highly disturbed. We do not know who is our friend and who is our enemy. Keep us in your prayers.

I was working in an office here. Now I am so broken. They took away our identity. Only because we are women, everything is finished for us. We are not able to work anymore. We are trying to figure out and digest this quick change. We have lost everything – our identity, our flag, everything. For now we are trapped.

Just a few months ago we came from India. I studied there. We

I was a child when for the first time Taliban captured Kabul. We could not go to school. As an innocent child I would pray that it was all a bad dream. I used to pray that I would wake up and not ever see the Taliban again. But again they came. Again history is repeated

should not have come back from India. We thought we will live in our own country and work here. But everything happened in the blink of an eye and now we are trapped. The Taliban do not involve women in money work.

We were in India for education purpose. My other friends were there too. We are shattered now. We studied with so much passion, but now it is waste. Now we are under threat all the time. How will we escape now? There is no flight. How will we go to India or to some other country? We cannot go to Pakistan. It isn't worth it!

The women are feeling crushed. We will have to live

When I and other women see some Indian Muslims supporting the Taliban blindly, we think they need to be educated. They say this because they have never been victims. They have freedom. Their future is secure

life without meaning. We are trapped. I just hope and pray that some day we are able to escape this wretched existence.

Some people say that Taliban are not aliens. They are part of the Afghan society. Then why people are so frightened in Afghanistan? Those people are the ones who try to normalize the Taliban.

The Taliban have been brought up in caves. They do not think the way normal people think.

At this time, they are playing strategically. They need international

recognition, so they are saying some good things. Unfortunately some Indian Muslims support them blindly. They are not here. They don't feel the desperation.

The plan of the Taliban is to make Afghanistan the nest of terrorists. Please do not listen to media propaganda which is trying to normalize them.

I was a child when for the first time Taliban captured Kabul. We could not go to school. As

an innocent child I would pray that it was all a bad dream. I used to pray that I would wake up and not ever see the Taliban again.

But again they came. Again history is repeated. From my childhood, I am seeing the destruction of my country. It is so painful. But it is out of my control. Like me there are thousands of girls here. Till recently I was enjoying my work and being among my people. But it was just a dream. I started working some months ago in my area of specialization. Most of our Department Heads were Indian. I was happy to see progress in my country. But all of it is over now. Taliban allow girls to study only till primary school. They don't allow women even on national TV as anchors.

When I and other women see some Indian Muslims supporting the Taliban blindly, we think they need to be educated. They say this because they have never been victims. They have freedom. Their future is secure.

“Pakistan-Administered Jammu and Kashmir Is A Colony”

“Legislative Assembly Has No Real Power”



by Haris QADIR

Chief Editor of POK Newspaper
Writes For KZINE

The tenth general election of the Legislative Assembly of Pakistan-administered Jammu and Kashmir has come to an end. The ruling Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) has won 25 seats and is in a position to form the government. The PPP is in second place with 11 seats,

while the ruling PML-N has won only six seats in the region. The so-called state parties, the pro-Pakistan Muslim Conference and the Jammu and Kashmir People's Party, have won only one seat each.

There are a total of 53 seats in the Legislative Assembly, of which 45 are directly elected. Thirty-three seats consist of constituencies within the geographical bound-

aries of Pakistan-administered Jammu and Kashmir. Twelve seats are held by refugees from Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan. These constituencies consist of Jammu and Kashmir refugees spread across the four provinces of Pakistan.

In refugee constituencies, the Pakistan-administered Jammu and Kashmir Election Commission has the sole authority to deliver ballot papers and compile voter lists.

People in Muzaffarabad city of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir at a protest rally demanding Islamabad to stop building hydro power projects on Neelum, Jhelum rivers

PHOTO COURTESY: THEPRINT.IN/ANI



PAKISTAN-ADMINISTERED JAMMU AND KASHMIR IS GOVERNED AS A COLONY. ALL THE METHODS AND PRINCIPLES USED IN THE BRITISH COLONIAL ERA ARE USED IN THE SAME WAY HERE. THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY IS EXERCISED BY AN ACT (CALLED THE INTERIM CONSTITUTION 1974). THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY HAS LITTLE AUTHORITY OTHER THAN TO BUILD SMALL ROADS AND CARRY OUT OTHER SMALL CONSTRUCTION WORKS

The rest of the election process is completed by the respective district administrations of the four provinces. That is why the only party that succeeds in these constituencies is the one which has a government in the federation and Punjab.

The Legislative Assembly has eight reserved seats, including one for technocrats, one for clerics, one for overseas Kashmiris and five for women. Members for these seats are elected by the elected members of the Assembly.

In this region, the only party that has won elections in general is the one that has a government in the federation of Pakistan. The real center of power is the Prime Minister of Pakistan and the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs. One of the main reasons for this is the use of influence under a specific mechanism to form an opinion in favour of a particular party or group.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT HAS NO POWER

Pakistan-administered Jammu and Kashmir is governed as a colony. All the methods and principles used in the British colonial era are used in the same way here. The Legislative Assembly is exercised by an Act (called the Interim Constitution 1974). The Legislative Assembly has little authority other than to build small roads and carry out other small construction works.

Despite a two-thirds majority in the Legislative Assembly, no amendment to the Interim Constitution can be made unless the Prime Minister of Pakistan approves it. The appointment of judges in the high courts also requires the approval of the Prime Minister of Pakistan. In addition to the posts of Class IV, it is also necessary to get financial approval from the Secretary of

Finance sent from Pakistan for the creation of posts of all other levels.

The local assembly and the government do not even have the authority to set up a hydel power plant to generate more than 50 megawatts of electricity.

NO 4G INTERNET FOR PAKISTANI-ADMINISTERED JAMMU AND KASHMIR

4G internet is being provided in all four provinces of Pakistan. In Pakistan-Administered Jammu and Kashmir, licenses for 4G internet have not yet been issued to cellular companies. Fortunately, the services in this area are somewhat better than Afghanistan.

The Legislative Assembly, exercising all its powers, has enacted laws to increase the salaries of Members of the Assembly

and to pay lifetime pension to every Member of the Assembly, even if he has been a Member for one day. But the Assembly and the government do not have the capacity to approve a single rupee to provide financial assistance to small traders affected by the Corona epidemic, including day laborers who lost their jobs due to the Corona lockdown abroad.

With a population of over four million, the region has no formal source of employment other than the services sector, which has about 90,000 government employees. Out of a budget of Rs 141 billion, a budget of Rs 113 billion is spent on administrative expenses.

There is a development budget of Rs 28 billion. Of this, about 80% is received by 53 members of the Assembly in the name of development schemes. Money is earned from these schemes through contracts. The same schemes are used as political bribes in elections.

HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT

According to official figures, 10.26% of the 60% youth population is unemployed. The

Govt School Education Being Destroyed To Promote Private Players

The development schemes of the government create a bribe-based political layer that plays a key role in keeping regional and tribal leaders in power. Despite 28% of the budget being spent on the education department, due to political interference, dilapidated infrastructure, lack of planning and declining quality of education, a large number of public educational institutions have more teachers than students. A dual game is at play. The business of education is being promoted under the auspices of the government. The educational institutions are being destroyed under a well-thought out plan to pave the way for the privatization of public educational institutions with a large infrastructure.

unemployment rate for women is 23.91 percent, according to official figures. Unemployment among young people between the ages of 20 and 30 is more than 25 percent. Apart from the Department of Education and Health, employment opportunities for women are available only in private banks and private educational institutions. After attaining degrees like M.Phil, women are forced to work in pri-

private educational institutions on a monthly salary of Rs 5000 to Rs 15,000. Apart from government jobs, the largest source of employment is private educational institutions and small businesses. This includes shops, hotels and guest houses.

The biggest source of employment in the region is the sale of labour abroad. About 1.5 million workers are spread across the Middle East, Europe, the

United Kingdom, United States, Canada, Africa and other countries. Out of a population of 4 million, an average of 30,000 young people go abroad every year for employment. A large number try to reach Europe and the United States using illegal means. It is on the basis of foreign exchange that private educational institutions and small businesses operate in the region and a 'consumer society' is formed.

Dilapidated Health Sector
A large part of the budget is also spent on health. Despite all this, according to official figures, there is one doctor for 3,954 people. According to the same statistics, there is one doctor for every 963 people in Pakistan. Given the dilapidated state of the health sector across Pakistan, one can only guess at the state of health facilities in Kashmir. Even a patient with a minor illness has to travel from Rawalpindi to Islamabad.

In the capitalist system, elections have always been a game of capital. Under normal circumstances, it is capital that decides elections. The working



PHOTO COURTESY: ZEENEWS.INDIA.COM/REUTERS

TILL DATE, NO DISPENSARY AND PRIMARY HEALTH CENTER HAS BEEN OPERATIONAL. IN REMOTE VILLAGES, CHILDREN DO NOT HAVE ACCESS TO SCHOOLS

class has the right to elect one representative of the exploiting class every five years in a capitalist democracy. It cannot use this privilege freely because the ruling classes always have the power to influence capital, the media, the curriculum and public opinion in a systematic way. Therefore, in the capitalist system, it is a crime to call elections transparent and fair.

FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS NOT POSSIBLE

In societies with technological backwardness and historical delays where the tasks of the national democratic revolution have not been fulfilled, free and fair elections cannot be imagined. In societies like Pakistan, there are remnants of feudalism, there

are all the prejudices of the past, there is an over-enlarged role of the state. Even the ruling class is historically so incompetent that it has historically built for its own protection. The rulers are compelled to pretend that they are obeying the state. Under this system, it is not possible to build a society on modern political and social lines. These remain colonial territories under the military domination of a powerful state.

Pakistan-administered Jammu and Kashmir is administratively divided into ten districts. It is impossible to provide basic amenities like education, health, transport, employment, housing, clean drinking water and sewerage system to the tribal population in a budget of Rs. 141 billion. No single arrangement has been made for population planning in the last 70 years. Attempts were made to set up government-level housing societies in a few cities, which

were marred by political bribery and corruption. None of these housing societies could provide basic services. Dispensaries, schools, primary health centers, water pipes and link roads schemes have been provided as political bribes in a haphazard manner. Till date, no dispensary and primary health center has been operational. A reasonable number of teachers and students do not have access to schools in remote villages, nor can public-private transport be run in a profitable manner despite the construction of link roads in remote villages.

STATE INFLUENCE DECIDES ELECTIONS

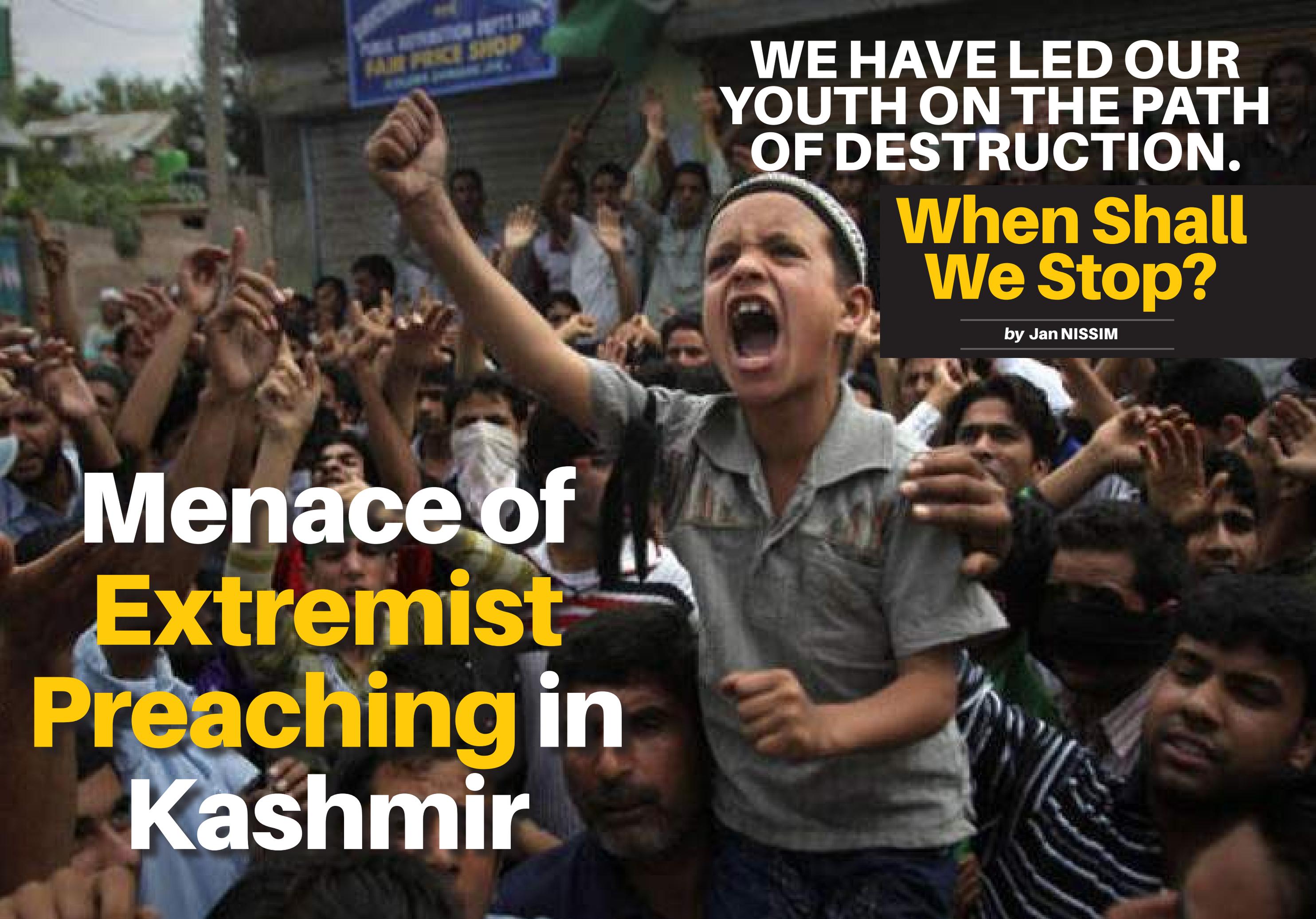
The prejudices, beliefs and values of the past are inextricably intertwined with the modern parliamentary system. Parts of Pakistan-administered Kashmir continue to be the fiefdom of the tribes that had settled in certain

areas thousands of years ago. Elections in this region are ostensibly held in modern parliamentary style. But the implementation takes place under the tribal, numbering system of the past. In powerful tribes, only those with wealth, power and state blessings remain as electables. There are one or two large tribes in different constituencies. One or two members of these tribes are bestowed with political eminence through specific state intervention.

In addition to the support of his tribe, the person who gets the support of the minority tribes in the constituency is declared as the winner in the election. The government of Pakistan is the source of funds and power. Hence the representative of the government gets more support. These people also have the backing of state institutions. If the government gets angry with someone, a similar personality is created to replace the individual.

(Haris Qadir is Chief Editor, Daily Mujadila, Rawalakot, Pakistan-Occupied Kashmir)

ACCORDING TO OFFICIAL FIGURES, THERE IS ONE DOCTOR FOR 3,954 PEOPLE. ACCORDING TO THE SAME STATISTICS, THERE IS ONE DOCTOR FOR EVERY 963 PEOPLE IN PAKISTAN. GIVEN THE DILAPIDATED STATE OF THE HEALTH SECTOR ACROSS PAKISTAN, ONE CAN ONLY GUESS AT THE STATE OF HEALTH FACILITIES IN KASHMIR



**WE HAVE LED OUR
YOUTH ON THE PATH
OF DESTRUCTION.**

**When Shall
We Stop?**

by Jan NISSIM

**Menace of
Extremist
Preaching in
Kashmir**

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or too long in Kashmir now, radical extremist preaching has helped to spread fundamentalism, social orthodoxy, obscurantism and overall closing of the mind. This has also inevitably fomented a culture of violence and extreme hate based on religious supremacy. The social transformation is antithetical to essential Kashmiri values of pluralism, humanism and peace.

We have paid a heavy cost for moving into this toxic mind-space.

The first stage of alienation and marginalization is almost a universal phenomenon. It has many underlying causes like class inequality or psychological complexities. This alienation of individuals has been analyzed by many social scientists, psychoanalysts and philosophers ranging from Marx to Freud to Sartre using varied perspectives.

HOW ISLAMISTS DISTORT THE YOUTHFUL SEARCH FOR MEANING

Alienation can be diluted or contested by resisting despair and hopelessness through finding some meaning and purpose of life. It could be done through the process of some socio-economic, spiritual, and some



The Eight-Stage Jihadist Recruitment Process

Reputed Danish scholar Michael Taarnby's popular analysis of radical jihadi terror ideology explores an eight-stage jihadist recruitment process. He outlines the structure of the jihadist recruitment process with the following stages or components.

1. Individual alienation and marginalisation
2. Spiritual quest
3. Process of radicalisation
4. Meeting and associating with like-minded people
5. Gradual seclusion and cell formation
6. Acceptance of violence as legitimate political means
7. Connection with a gatekeeper in the know
8. Going operational

other rational means. This is what civilized human institutions strive to do. Unfortunately in Muslim societies in general, struggling to come to terms with the question of modernity, this individual alienation is often capitalised on by the Islamic extremists and fascists to sustain their almost apocalyptic project of jihad. This has particularly been true for Kashmir.

The third stage of Taarnby's analysis is the process of radicalisation. From this stage on-

wards, jihadi theoreticians and demagogues completely hijack the thinking of the alienated young men who are striving for meaning in a seemingly hopeless world beset with problems. Instead of giving hope or any rational alternative, these merchants of doom further reinforce these youths' despair and hopelessness while showing them dreams of some blissful, fantastical and eternal life in paradise. Sadly, this makes a terrible Freudian deathwish dominant

FOR A LONG TIME, RELIGIOUS SERMONS HAVE DONE A HIGH DEGREE OF DAMAGE TO KASHMIRI SOCIETY IN REINFORCING IRRATIONAL AND REGRESSIVE ATTITUDES IN AN UNCHECKED AND UNREGULATED MANNER. THE POSITIVE UNIVERSAL TENETS OF ISLAM LIKE EMPHASIS ON EQUALITY, EDUCATION, PEACE AND KINDNESS ARE NOT MADE PART OF THE RELIGIOUS DISCOURSE

jihadist zombies.

The jihadist zombies are devoid of any independent thinking and the cognitive processes, because they have given up them. Their thoughts and feelings are dictated and structured by this jihadist superstructure. Simply, they cannot think on their own. They die the deaths of their conscious self the day they become radicalized. That is why they happily embrace death during encounters.

This death of the conscious mind is also the reason why these persons feel no remorse or guilt when they resort to the killing of fellow human beings. This is unfortunately true of all jihadists whether he or she is in Al-Qaeda, ISIS, Boko Haram, Al-Shabab, Taliban, TTP, Lashkar e Jhangvi, LeT, JeM or HM.

THE DAMAGE CAUSED BY RADICAL PREACHERS

Religion is the dominant public discourse in Kashmir. The jihadist superstructure is



IN MOST OF THE ISLAMIC THEOCRACIES INCLUDING SAUDI ARABIA AND IRAN, ALL RELIGIOUS PREACHINGS AND SERMONS ARE CHECKED, REGULATED AND VETTED BY THE RULING GOVERNMENTS. THE SAME IS NOT THE CASE IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR. IF ONE LOOKS AT THE CONTENT OF THE MOST PREACHINGS AND SERMONS HERE, WHAT COMES OUT MOSTLY IS IRRATIONAL, REGRESSIVE AND OBSCURANTIST TEACHINGS. SOMETIMES THE PREACHINGS TAKE THE FORM OF OUTRIGHT HATE SPEECHES

mainly sustained and nourished by radical preachers of various affiliations including Jamat-e-Islami, Salafis, Deobandis and now some Barelvis and Shias also. Most of the religious sermons during Ijtimas, Friday prayers and Eids inculcate a terrible sense of psychological and social regression among young impressionistic minds regarding both their individual lives and general society. Most of the preachers in Kashmir are illiterate or semi-literate people with virtually no rational understanding of the life and world around them.

For a long time, religious

sermons have done a high degree of damage to Kashmiri society in reinforcing irrational and regressive attitudes among the people in an unchecked and unregulated way. The positive universal tenets of Islam like emphasis on equality, education, peace and kindness are not made part of the religious discourse.

It is worth mentioning that in most of the Islamic theocracies including Saudi Arabia and Iran, all religious preachings and sermons are checked, regulated and



vetted by the ruling governments. The same is not the case in Jammu and Kashmir. The question is, why such exceptionalism? If one looks at the content of the most preachings and sermons, what comes out mostly is irrational, regressive and obscurantist teachings. Sometimes the preachings take the form of outright hate speeches.

WHAT ARE WE PREACHING TO OUR CHILDREN?

Unabated religious preachings with horrifying content

Common Content In Most Preachings, Sermons

1. Hatred against sectarian minorities like Ahmadiyas
 2. Misogynistic injunctions including slut-shaming of school girls
 3. Anti-women education rants
 4. Extreme hate speeches against non-Muslims, mostly against Hindus and Jews
- The Hindus and Jews are notoriously addressed as kaafirs. This is an obnoxious term with horrible racist and genocidal undertones
5. Fascistic glorification of violence in the form of jihad to establish Islam all over the world
 6. Emphasis on supremacist doctrines of Islam while presenting Muslims as victims everywhere
 7. Discouraging Muslims from adopting modern, pluralistic values
 8. Despising science, technology and critical philosophy other than that of Islamic theology
 9. Denouncing democracy and secularism as systems of kufr and baatil
 10. Glorifying and enforcing medieval tribal practices and bloodshed
 11. Practices creating an attitude of despair and hopelessness in this worldly life
 12. Advocating death and some illusory heavenly life over this worldly life, etc

are delivered on a daily basis on massive public platforms addressing large audiences. If these are not going to lead our society

in general and our youth in particular to social obscurantism and extremist radicalization, then what will?

**Hon'ble LG Shri Manoj Sinha
releases third book by KZINE**

Editor-in-Chief

Mr Bashir Assad

Kashmir: The War Of Narratives



Hon'ble Lt Governor Shri Manoj Sinha releases the third book by KZINE Editor-in-Chief Mr Bashir Assad
From left: Mr Bashir Assad, Ms Ambreen Zaidi, Mr Altaf Bukhari, Shri Manoj Sinha, Director IIC Shri Kailash
Nath Shrivastava and Ms Renu Kaul

**If Pakistan attempts to
shut down Kashmir
using the force of the
gun, then what is wrong
if we use the stick to
counter it:
Hon'ble LG J&K**



Hon'ble LG Shri Manoj Sinha speaking at the book launch

The straightforward articulation by Lt Governor Manoj Sinha on August 21 about the new realities of Kashmir made national headlines. The Hon'ble LG was speaking at the launch of the third book by Mr

Bashir Assad, Editor-in-Chief

KZINE, titled Kashmir: The War Of Narratives. Addressing the audience at the book launch organized at India International Centre, Shri Sinha said, "If Pakistan attempts to shut down Kashmir using the force of the gun, then what is wrong if we use the stick to counter it?"

Mr Altaf Bukhari, President of J&K Apni Party, also attended the book launch event.

The Hon'ble LG said that there is now a fine line that is operational in J&K about what is acceptable in the interest of the people, and what is not acceptable. "I believe this should be very clear that this is the fine line and nobody is allowed to cross it. Till the time I am there, this will stay. There will be no compromise," he emphasized.

The Hon'ble LG added that globally, there is an attempt to create false and damaging narra-

tives regarding Kashmir by some self-proclaimed experts. "We need to get out of these misconceptions. We need to focus on what is good for the people and how their lives can be made better," said the Hon'ble LG. "The youth must not look towards only the state as a job-provider. They must become entrepreneurs and create employment for all," he said. The Hon'ble LG also focused upon women's entrepreneurship, and on creating the workforce required by the industry.

'I Wish The Book Is A Bestseller'

Regarding the book by Mr Bashir Assad, the Hon'ble LG said that the book highlights how misconceptions are spread and how people are misled. The book reveals the working of the propaganda machinery which is set upon damaging Kashmir. "Kashmir also has a large number of people who want to work hard. They want to change the destiny of Kashmir."

The Hon'ble LG congratulated Mr Assad for his third book. "Mr Assad is part of the tribe of journalists whose feet and ears are rooted to the ground. People must read what he has written.



"We are lagging behind our adversaries in creating a narrative which can reach the common masses. That is where we have failed. That is one of the areas we have to focus on"



Denial of Terror, Attempt To Whitewash Terrorism

Mr Bashir Assad highlighted that the harsh measures of the state following the abrogation of Article 370 were for a limited period only. "The state soon lifted the restrictions. It was the terrorists who re-imposed the lockdown. They killed people who did not follow their diktat. But internationally, the narrative remained the same, that the harsh measures had been imposed by the Indian state." Mr Assad pointed out that from August 5 to December 2019, 52 people were killed by terrorists. These included truckers, labourers and common Kashmiris. "During this period, opinion leaders in Delhi kept beating about the bush. During the months after the abrogation of Article 370, 12 so-called fact-finding groups came to Kashmir. None of them spoke about the mayhem caused by the terrorists."



There is now a fine line that is operational in J&K about what is acceptable in the interest of the people, and what is not acceptable. "I believe this should be very clear that this is the fine line and nobody is allowed to cross it. Till the time I am there, this will stay. There will be no compromise," the Hon'ble LG said

I wish that the book is a bestseller," said the Hon'ble LG.

We Need To Create Popular Narrative For Common Masses

Speaking on the occasion, Mr Assad said that we are lagging behind our adversaries in creating a narrative which can reach the common masses. "That is where we have failed. That is one of the areas we have to focus on," said Mr Assad.

Mr Assad appreciated the work being done by the Hon'ble LG for the welfare of the Union

Territory of Jammu and Kashmir. "The Hon'ble LG is doing a commendable job. For the first time, historical things are happening in Kashmir. But minds have been poisoned here. People go about their normal, daily routines. They participate in the activities they want to. But if someone comes to them with a camera, their instant response is: Jenab, kitna zulm hai! You are doing everything you want to, but in the mind, these words have stuck. We need to examine what we need to do to change the mindset in Kashmir. I have tried to address this challenge we face and suggest solutions. I hope that we can have a roadmap to deal with this problem in our collective psyche," said Mr Assad.



Empower The Women

Ms Ambreen Zaidi, noted columnist and the Founder of an organisation called The Change-makers, spoke of her work in Kashmir with widows of the soldiers of Kashmir region. She said that during her work and visits she realised that

mothers are the driving force of the society. Ms Zaidi highlighted that the government must invest more in the mothers of Kashmir to lead the society in the right direction.

"We should empower women and make them aware of the red flags. If any mother finds her child getting into unusual activities, she can caution the child. Mothers can make children aware of the immense opportunities available in education. They can make them aware of national and international scholarships, business and entrepreneurship models supported by the government and also various competitive exams. In this way, mothers can empower the children to play a big role in nation building and not take up the path of terror," she said. In a lighter vein, Ms Zaidi urged Mr Bashir Assad that his fourth book must focus on Madr-e-Kashmir. Ms Zaidi also moderated the book launch event.

The book was released by Hon'ble LG Shri Manoj Sinha, Mr Altaf Bukhari, Director IIC Shri Kailash Nath Shrivastava, Ms Ambreen Zaidi, Ms Renu Kaul, owner of Vitasta Publications and Mr Bashir Assad.



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and exclusive features that bring to you
the real Kashmir

KZINE

OPENING **KASHMIR'S EYES**