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Published by:

Chief Editor Kashmir Today K-Block, New District

Complex, Muzaffarabad.

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Ph: 05822-920072, 05822-920074

Month: April 2019

Volume: 08 Issue: 04 Quantity: 1000 Price Rs. 150/-

Yearly Subscription: Rs. 1000/-

Registration No.MZD-31 Printed by Dharti Art Press

DISSENT IN CRISIS

"What is constantly said is that that you must not attack the government because it will endanger the country. There are times when the only safety of the country is attack upon the government, and it will be a grave dereliction of duty on the part of the members of this house if, being honestly convinced that it is necessary to challenge the issue, they take no steps to do it." These words apply to Prime Minister Modi's slander against the opposition.

When Stafford Cripps spoke thus in the House of Commons in 1940, his country was in mortal peril. Nazi Germany rained bombs on London. On much less, Kargil, we had two former foreign secretaries, and former senior bureaucrat K. Subrahmanyam, who later became head of the bogus Kargil Inquiry Committee, issue a joint statement in June 1999 pathetically pleading that it was essential for all to "suspend for the time being any focus on the inadequacies and failures that have led to the crisis".

After the crisis, distinguished journalists Pamela Constable and Sankarshan Thakur published a collection of essays, Guns and Yellow Roses, on the lack of truthful reportage and comment during the war. A BBC journalist remarked, "With luck, this collection of essays is the beginning of India's honest introspection about Kargil."

He was proved wrong. The truth was

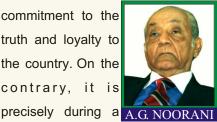
unceremoniously buried. So will it be about Pulwama and much else if citizens do not hold the Modi government accountable. Two of them spoke up bravely. On Feb 18, Chief Minister of West Bengal Mamata Banerjee asked pointed questions on the government's culpability for sheer neglect. She had kept quiet, but Modi's "regularly politicising" of Pulwama, in company with his political valet Amit Shah, forced her to speak up.

At a rally in Mumbai on Feb 23. president of the All-India Mailis-i-Ittehadul Muslimeen, MP Asaduddin Owaisi, asked, "About 200 kilograms of RDX was used for the blast in Pulwama" which he strongly condemned "Was the intelligence department sleeping?" A member of Modi's cabinet impugned the loyalty of critics.

Half a century's life as free citizens has not sufficed to train some in the duties of citizenship. It is time we realised that if dissent had not been stifled on Kashmir and the boundary dispute with China, New Delhi might not have gone to the brink. Popular opinion in Kashmir was misrepresented. Maps that showed the boundary in the Aksai Chin as 'undefined' were taken out of circulation.

There is no conflict between condemnation of the Pulwama killings and accountability for New Delhi's neglect. No conflict either between

commitment to the truth and loyalty to the country. On the contrary, it is



crisis that the truth should be told, and the government asked to account for its lapses.

Britain showed prime minister Neville Chamberlain the door during the Second World War. His successor, Winston Churchill, faced a motion of no-confidence when Rommel's army was at the gates of Cairo and Alexandria, and Singapore had fallen. There was demand for a royal commission on the debacle. During the Korean War, the US Senate armed services and foreign relations committees held joint hearings in which all the top guns testified, including the secretaries of state and defence, and the armychief.

The 1942 no-confidence motion against Churchill read: "That this house, while paying tribute to the heroism and endurance of the armed forces ... has no confidence in the central direction of the war." The mover, John Wardlaw-Milne, offered to withdraw it. Churchill refused. It was a serious challenge, supported by Churchill's friend, admiral of the fleet Roger Keyes, and former secretary of state for war Leslie Hore-Belisha, who asked, "How can one place reliance in judgements that have so repeatedly turned out to be misguided?" The motion was

defeated.

During the First World War, Churchill had to leave the cabinet over his role in the Gallipoli debacle, on which an inquiry was set up. Dissent was voiced freely during the Boer and Falklands wars.

The American press covered itself with disgrace on the Iraq War. Paul Krugman wrote in 2004, "[W]hy did the press credit Bush with virtues that reporters knew he didn't possess?

One answer is misplaced patriotism.

After 9/11, much of the press seemed to reach a collective decision that it was necessary, in the interests of national unity, to suppress criticism of the commander in chief."

Margaret Thatcher revealed the mindset of governments when she sneered at the *BBC* in 1982: "It seems that we and the Argentines are being treated almost as equals and almost on a neutral basis." Retort to the

suggestion that the media must be the publicity arm of the state was swift. Richard Francis, managing director of *BBC Radio*, said "The widow of Portsmouth is no different from the widow of Buenos Aires. The *BBC* needs no lesson in patriotism." This is the retort that upstarts in power deserve.

The writer is an author and a lawyer based in Mumbai.

MODI'S RE-ELECTION BID THROUGH WAR

Rafay F. Shamsi

India's general elections to be held in seven phases starts next month. The first phase starts on April 11 while the seventh one will begin on May 19. The counting of votes starts on May 23 and results will be declared the same day.

Prime Minister Narendera Modi made many promises during his 2014 election campaign, many of which he never intended to honour. Five years on he faces an electorate which can send him home.

Millions of farmers, particularly the small ones, continue to suffer owing to a steep fall in the cost of staples like chickpeas, onions and oilseeds. This can sink the chances of a party forming government in a nation where 70 per cent of its citizens still directly or indirectly make their living from agriculture. Indian farmers from different provinces have

marched on New Delhi many times in the past 12 months.

This is not all. Local and international economists criticise Modi's handling of the economy, saying his ill-thought-out policies have increased inflation and slowed foreign investment coming to India. Failing to deliver on promises is a dangerous past time in Indian politics. Loyalists are known to turn into harsh critics overnight, power and money being the only constants.

These are cogent reasons for the extremist Bharatiya Janata Party government to stir up a hornets' nest on the borders with Pakistan. With the elections beginning in April, it is no wonderModi decided to shore up his sagging popularity at Pakistan's expense.

The Pulwama attack and other

provocations against Pakistan when viewed through this prism begin to make sense.

Modi has a history of using violence to achieve his political goals. Be it the anti-Muslim riots in Gujarat and the consistent blind amnesty to the extremist Hindu Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh's brutalities against Muslims for years.

The Indian prime minister, however, would do well to remember that by using his fascist tactics, he may have propelled himself from Gujarat to the head of the table in New Delhi, but the same prescription may bring him immense grief this time round. India cannot achieve greatness only by its size. She needs a leader with a national vision who selflessly serves its minority communities and other downtrodden people before

attending to the majority.

the Pulwama attack. This unfortunate attack has haunted many lives across India. To its response, many people across the states of India were after Kashmiris who were labelled as Pakistanis, terrorists, anti-nationals and what not. Thousands of students, who were studying outside of Kashmir, have returned to their homes. Many of them have been suspended by their respective institutional authorities and many of them were thrown out of their hostels and other residing places.

t has been about a fortnight since

Some hotels went to the extent of putting up notices that 'Kashmiris aren't allowed to stay' and some shop owners mimicked British when they would say 'Dogs are allowed but Indians (Read Kashmiris here) aren't.' Many Kashmiris were beaten by self styled nationalist groups. People across India have shown that they don't want Kashmiris to be part of India; they just want that piece of land without its people. Social media posts of Kashmiris and other people who asked pertinent questions about the attack were considered as acts of treason. The hatred was taken forward by jingoistic news anchors who were trying to act as advisors to the people or bhakts. The governor of Meghalaya tweeted that "Don't visit Kashmir, don't go to Amarnath Yatra for next 2 years, don't buy articles

from Kashmiri tradesmen who come every winter, boycott everything Kashmiri."

Kashmiri students across India locked themselves inside their rooms and were living like hostages. Bajrang Dal and VHP activists (Organizations declared by CIA as militant groups) attacked many Kashmiri students in Dehradun. A friend over there told me that police couldn't stop them from attacking Kashmiris and when I asked why he said, 'here people say that they (Bajrang Dal and VHP) are above law. The social media was flooded with attacking videos of Kashmiri students, traders etc. but Prakash Javadker, union minister, denied all reports and said that there is no harassment of Kashmiri students. Such hypocrisy has instilled fear among Kashmiri students and are now afraid to return. Besides many colleges have announced that they will not admit any Kashmiri in their so-called colleges.

Scared that their children may fall prey to uncanny milieu of Kashmir, many parents spend their hard-earned money to send their wards out of valley in different parts of the country to seek education. This serves the double purpose of better life chances for the children later and their immunity from radicalization and chances of joining militant ranks or going astray. Once out of valley to pursue their dreams, Kashmir's

young brigade has the potential to assuage the differences between Kashmir environment and rest of the country as they act as ambassadors of social exchange, thus fixing fissures and bringing integration.

However, ironically there have been numerous incidents where Kashmiri students have become victims of campus wrath in different universities and the hostilities are unimaginable after the Pulwama attack. Whole of nation was enraged on the death of 40 CRPF jawans, but how far is it justified to humiliate and demean a Kashmiri for something he has not done. He will take this on his dignity and later govt cries foul that youth of Kashmir are being radicalized. By labelling them as anti-nationals we only reinforce that kind of feeling and behaviour in them and asking them to leave the mainland India when something goes wrong is acknowledgement of fact that there is no space for them in mainland. Belongingness doesn't come from sloganeering and crying hoarse in prime time jingoistic squabble on TV, it comes from gestures of kindness and empathy.

A Kashmiri outside the valley always tries to develop a good relation with the people of that particular state or region but he/she is made to feel that they don't belong here and all this is done by humiliating or beating them therefore a Kashmiri outside valley always feels demeaned and alienated

from India. How come is it possible that the people from Kashmir, who can act as peace ambassadors between the conflicted valley and India are being beaten, will improve the ties between the valley and India. Tell me India, how do you consider Kashmir as your integral part when you don't want Kashmiris to be part of it?

Despite this hate, Khalsa Aid came to rescue of thousands of Kashmiri students and other Kashmiris across India. Sikh community was very helpful to all the Kashmiris who were outside the state and managed to bring them home. J&K Students Organization also helped hundreds of Kashmiri students to return their homes safely. Also, people from many states welcomed Kashmiris, who faced any kind of trouble, to their homes. Kashmir will never forget their hospitality and will be always be in debt to them mostly to the Sikh brothers or Khalsa Aid, their valor has gained a massive respect in the valley.

Besides, the media, be it TV or social, plays a great role in degrading the image of Kashmir. Most people in India know Kashmir through biased media and they also believe in it. The propaganda

is well being played and it only favours so-called politicians. The good things that happen in the valley are never being celebrated. Indian media has done everything it can to spoil the image of Kashmir and Kashmiris.

The current situation in the valley is disturbing. Activists of Jama'at-e-Islami are being arrested since 23rd of February. It is like an undeclared emergency in the Valley. On 28 February, center banned the Jama'at-e-Islami, a socio-religious organization involved in a many humanitarian works especially in education sector. Its ban will impact the education sector severely as there are over 350 schools run by Jel. if these schools are sealed, as is the Ikely outcome of the ban, more than 75000 students will become school less. Govt's contribution in Education sector in Kashmir is almost negligible, banning the J-e-I schools will break the backbone of education sector in the valley.

There is a need of a political party which will be at least in favor of Kashmir as many other institutions in the Valley are in danger. The best would have been if there were our own good colleges in Kashmir so that it wouldn't have been

necessary to study outside the valley. The center should look after the students who have been suspended by their respective colleges outside the state and Govt. should take the responsibility of the safety of Kashmiri students and other people from Kashmir in states across India. Governor of J&K should also take measures to solve the problems faced by Kashmiri students as thousands of carriers are at stake. The Govt. of India should take strong action against the perpetrators who harass Kashmiris outside the valley. Some strict actions should also be taken against the biased media and the jingoistic anchors should stop demonizing Kashmir and Kashmiris.

Center must take Kashmir issue seriously now and solve all the disputes so that we Kashmiris can live in peace. There is an urgent need of dialogue between India & Pakistan. It can be done by sitting across the negotiation table in the spirit of peace and friendship. It might take time to build trust in both the countries, but if it is not done now, it would lead to war like consequences. Let's hope the peace would prevail in all the three places.

INDIAN MEDIA BAYING FOR BLOOD

he hyper nationalist Indian media is further dividing and polarising the Indian society on communal lines. From the calls to eliminate Pakistan from the face of the earth to branding traitors those Indians who have been asking their government for evidence of killing 300 terrorists in Balakot, the media in India has become the propaganda machine. In an age of information, where social media has turned news making into a child's game, the reliance of mainstream media on lie and hyperbolic nationalism to galvanize nation in tense times could make journalism a trivial business. It is easy journalism to become government's mouthpiece, but it takes professionalism to dig out truth and report facts.

The Indian anchors bully their guests the moment they say a positive word for Pakistan or anything against the Indian government. In one programme the anchor went so far as to ask her quest to leave the studio and give his sound bites to a Pakistani channel. Besides putting words in the mouths of the quests to air what the newsroom has decided to telecast. the anchors have taken on aggressive posture with a face laden with anger. There is complete intolerance to any sane voice seeking even a minute of factual reporting from the journalist conducting a given show.

This is not the first time that the Indian media is reporting verbatim its government's policy in the time of crisis. When the 2001attack on the Indian parliament occurred, it was the Indian media that made a terrorist of a Kashmir Arabic teacher, Abdul Ahmad Gilani, from the College of Delhi University. Without bothering to verify whether he made any call to Pakistan when the parliament attack was unfolding, the Indian press quoted what had been fed to them by their investigation agencies establishing Gilani part of Jesh-e Muhammad (JeM). The charge sheet filed five months later had no mention of any phone call received or made by Gilani, and neither could the report establish his links with the militants who attacked parliament. Keeping to the stream of lie the right-wing commentators referred to Afzal Guru as the JeM militant. So high and raw was the commotion wrapped up around this falsified bias that L.K. Advani wanted Guru to be hanged at once. The resonance of BJP policy struck so well with the national conscience that the jury was out against Guru much before the Supreme Court of India handed him death sentence not without acknowledging violation of procedural norms in prosecution. Such is the power of media sold to ultra-nationalism. It is the same weaving of falsification of biases and

prejudice that has come undone on the media since the Pulwama attack.

the the

As soon as the news Durdana Najam

Paramilitary Forces in Pulwama that killed 40 officers reached the newsrooms and studios across India, accusations were hurled at JeM for its hands in the crime. In a matter of a few hours not only the Jesh had taken the responsibility of the attack, but sound bites were also grabbed from the relatives of the killed officers seeking revenge from Pakistan that surpass the Pulwama brutality.

A new narrative of punishing Pakistan at its home turf was launched to which each right-wing commentator and even ordinary people on the street were found giving a go-ahead. The "ghar mai ghus kar maray gay" (we will kill them inside their home) narrative reached hysterical proportion within a couple of hours leaving the government unaccountable for crossing the LoC, the international recognized border, which had the potential to escalate war at the cost of pushing both the countries decades back in development and progress.

The former President of India, Pranab Mukherjee had once raised fingers on the credibility of Indian media saying that there should always be room for discussion and dissension in a vibrant democracy. Further exposing the fault lines of intolerance in the Indian media he said: "There should always be room for the argumentative Indian, and not the intolerant Indian. The media must be the watchdog, the mediator between the leaders and the public." India dropped two levels down from 136 to 138 in 2018 in the index compiled by the global watchdog Reporters Without Borders. The report issued in April 2018 stated: "In India [down from 136 ranking in 2017], hate speech targeting journalists is shared and amplified on social networks, often by troll armies in Prime Minister Narendra Modi's pay." About journalist in Kashmir the report remarked: "Kashmiri journalists were

often the targets of violence by soldiers acting with the central government's tacit consent". Further exposing the psyche of the Modi government towards national media the report observed: "Hostility towards the media, openly encouraged by political leaders, and the efforts of authoritarian regimes to export their vision of journalism posed a threat to democracies". The final nail the report dealt to the Indian version of journalism with these comments: "The Hindu nationalists are trying to purge all manifestations of 'anti-national' thought from the national debate, which is giving rise to self-censorship in the mainstream media." The high profile journalists, like Gaurav Sawant, instead of asking

their government of proving itself right about killing 300 terrorists on the Pakistani soil of Balakot were demanding repeated strike on Pakistan. Even the Reuter's report from the ground in Pakistan suggesting no casualty from the Indian attack in Balakot failed to deter the Indian media from its jingoistic stance. One media commentator noted, journalists were too willing to "reproduce unverified, contradictory and speculative information" that suited the government.

Anchors and pundits were too overwhelmed by the conflict to question the establishment.

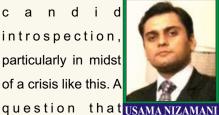
The Indian media will go down in the history of journalism as a watchdog baying for blood in the time of crisis.

LESSONS FROM PAKISTAN-INDIA 2019 CRISIS

n the wee hours of February 26, 2019, Indian Air Force carried out an act of aggression against Pakistan. It crossed the Line of Control, and eventually its aggressive act violated Pakistan's sovereignty. Fleeing Indian Mirage Indian Air Force jets hastily released bombs which landed in open ground in a small village Jaba situated at the outskirts of Balakot, Mansehra. To top this misadventure, Indian government made a premature claim of having killed nearly 300 terrorists. This irresponsible statement marked the first casualty of truth. India failed to offer any credible evidence of substantiating such claim. In a highly

connected world where information flows unhindered on social media any such eventuality on the ground would have come to the fore. However, reporting from various international media groups revealed that there were no terrorist or civilian casualties (except for one wounded local) resulting from the strikes. The first most cogent takeaway provokes a question for strategists in South Asia. The first aspect deserves confrontation with a serious question in an unbiased manner "Is South Asian nuclear environment involving Pakistan and India identical of any other parallel security environment in the world?" This question deserves a

n d i d introspection, particularly in midst of a crisis like this. A



demands making a choice between a popular opinion and a qualified one in order to save this region from a dangerous nuclear crisis. And it deserves a discerning approach to address this point.

Before the emergence of this crisis, a segment of society in India following a popular opinion misperceives and equates nuclear South Asian environment with that of Middle East. In this regard, this popular perspective equates India to that of

Israel's position in the Middle East. This opinion in its inherent approach is faulty at best, extremely riskseeking, and perilous. Israel is the sole country in the Middle Eastern which is also believed to be an opaque nuclear weapons country. And no other country in the region matches Israel's superior conventional military power let alone possesses nuclear weapons capability. To begin with Israel's adversaries, Syria barely holds a struggling military force, its other adversaries Hezbollah and Hamas are non-state militant entities. Israel. thus, reserves the upper hand in undertaking limited military action to full scale war sans of fear of massive use of force from its adversaries. Israel is also capable of defending and thwarting itself against use of short range rockets by either Hezbollah or Hamas. Therefore, as the sole, undeclared opaque nuclear power in the region it doesn't have to fear threat of symmetrical military retaliation in the region. As a result it holds the incentive to carry out offensive military action. This construct of Israel's use of limited military has gained popular traction among news anchors, vloggers, and social media users in India. This one size fits for all approach is not relevant to South Asia's nuclear dominated security environment.

In South Asia, India and Pakistan both are declared nuclear weapons countries. On February 26, 2019,

India took the most unprecedented step in nuclear history of the world. Its radical action involved carrying out aerial raid on Pakistan's territory. In cold-war and post-cold war world order, never did erstwhile Soviet Union or present day Russia and United States (or its European allies United Kingdom and France) ever compromise the extended deterrence let alone compromise each other's broad deterrence by attacking each other's soil. This was an irresponsible behaviour demonstrated by India as a nuclear weapons country to have used military action against Pakistan which too possesses nuclear Particularly, when we ap on s. Pakistan commits itself to Full Spectrum Deterrence primed towards India. This qualified perspective appears to be missing in favor of the foregoing popular opinion discussed earlier.

On February 27, 2019 Pakistan retaliated to respond to Indian aggression and to restore deterrence vis-à-vis India. In its retaliation Pakistan claimed to shoot down two Indian Air Force aircraft. One Mig 21-Bison fell inside Azad Jammu and Kashmir. Its pilot Wing Commander Abhinandan Varthaman after ejecting from his crashing aircraft was rescued from a group of mob and taken into custody by Pakistan Army. After Pakistan's swift action, Prime Minister Imran Khan addressed the nation and demonstrated statesmanship like approach by offering Prime Minister

Narendra Modi to de-escalate as the conflict between the two countries will be catastrophic due to presence of nuclear weapons. He also empathized with India on the Pulwama attack and urged India to share evidence with Pakistan. The following day while addressing the full session of Parliament PM Imran Khan ann oun ced the release of the captured Indian pilot as a gesture of peace, and once again offered India to de-escalate tensions, share credible evidence with Pakistan and undertake dialogue with Pakistan. India has reportedly shared a dossier with Pakistan; however, it has yet to come to the fore if it contains prosecutable evidence.

In midst of this crisis, the most disturbing element has been the handling of public opinion. Some prominent anchors in India have found it hard to discontinue warmongering rhetoric. Knowing the fact that escalation and outright war will be detrimental for both countries and the region. The other caustic aspect in media was element of fake news or false information. One anchor Rahul Kanwal tried hard to prove part of debris of a MIG-21 as that of a PAF F-16 only to fail in such a claim by a defence analyst on that show. Similarly barrage of information without any substantive evidence only underscores presence of fake news and susceptibility to act on misinformation by the two countries. Misinformation is one of diciest factor

(which different researchers and policy makers have warned against) which can lead leadership in India and Pakistan to aggravate their crisis or worsen war conditions in looming threat of nuclear weapons.

The question stands how future miscalculation and misadventure be avoided and where should Pakistan and India move from here. The common intellect and logical aspect because friction of war is acutely

engage in comprehensive dialogue. The two countries should talk everything ranging from Kashmir, bilateral disputes, trade, and economics to terrorism. Strategic coercion by India cannot be applied from chapters of a book, it is rather wise to heed to Clausewitz's counsel

demands that both India and Pakistan divergent than war on paper. Thus, avoid escalation of crisis in future and there is need for reviving un in terrup ted and continuous process of dialogue. But most importantly, it requires divorcing such dialogue from populist sentiments and electoral politics. Durable peace between India and Pakistan demands this approach, if the region is to achieve goals of integration and mutual prosperity.

'S DANGEROUS TIMES IN KASHMIR, BUT THERE IS A PATH TO PEACE

Relations between Pakistan and India over the disputed region of Kashmir are at a low point, but there are ways to broker peace, writes Lee Rhiannon*.

Collateral damage comes in many forms when hostilities break out. For Kashmir-Jammu it is not only deaths and injuries caused by the suicide bomber who in mid-February killed about 40 Indian paramilitary forces. Finding a pathway to peace and justice for the people of this region could also be on the rocks.

Initially there was hope that with worldwide media attention on the military escalation over the disputed status of Kashmir, support would build towards a resolution of this 70-year-old conflict. But at the same time the 24/7 Indian media networks have had unrelenting coverage, with many advocating revenge for the killing of the Indian security personnel.

Social media users in India have amplified the vitriol towards Pakistan and anyone deemed to be unsupportive of the Indian government. The wife of one of the security personnel killed in the February bombing, Mita Santra, was even targeted with online abuse because she called for peaceful dialogue with Pakistan and said war should not be an option.

A number of academics at Indian universities are suffering shocking consequences for questioning how the Modi government is handling the conflict. When

Madhumita Ray, a professor in the state of Odisha, advocated in a television debate that India should not go to war against Pakistan she lost her job. Other leading academics have been humiliated for similar comments.

An emotional response from India is understandable. The killing of 40 of its citizens in one attack is shocking. However, for local Kashmiris there is the context of decades of violence that can be traced back to how Britain in 1947 divided up the sub-continent between India and Pakistan. While India has blamed Pakistan for the attack, Imran Khan's government has denied any connection with the suicide bombing, which it has condemned. The suicide bomber. Adil Ahmad Dar, lived in Indian-controlled Kashmir and was a member of the local militant group, Jaish-e-Mohammed. Dar's parents said their son became radicalised after being beaten by Indian police when he was returning home from school. His recruitment reflects the deep-rooted resentment among young Kashmiris towards Indian forces.



India and Pakistan are both armed with nuclear weapons.

Human rights groups that monitor the violence in Indiacontrolled Kashmir report that 528 people died in 2018, including 145 civilians. This is the deadliest year since 2009.

The level of death and suffering is even higher than these figures suggest. Indian author and political activist, Arundhati Roy, writing earlier this month stated: "Since 1990, more than seventy thousand people have been killed in the conflict, thousands have 'disappeared', tens of thousands have been tortured and hundreds of young people maimed and blinded by pellet guns."

The differences between Pakistan and India are stark. While Pakistan Prime Minister Imran Khan called for a diplomatic solution to the current crisis and said his government's response to India's air strike was to ensure there was "no collateral damage, no casualties", Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi followed a belligerent path promoting Hindu nationalism.

In the immediate aftermath of the suicide bombing Modi committed to "a crushing defeat" of Pakistan and promised a "jaw-breaking response" involving retaliatory "surgical strikes".



Prime minster of Pakistan, Imran Khan. (IMAGE: Chatham House, Flickr)

The Australian Strategic Policy Institute identified that this was "the first time that Indian forces have released munitions into Pakistan's undisputed territory since the 1971 India-Pakistan War". ASPI was established in 2001 by former Prime Minister John Howard and is part-funded by the Department of Defence.

The same ASPI report stated that these strikes "were designed primarily to placate a domestic (Indian) audience while simultaneously limiting escalation by not targeting built-up areas and causing substantial casualties". While some comfort can be taken from this analysis, as it suggests that Modi wanted to avoid an ongoing war, his approach does not develop a pathway to peace and justice for Kashmir. What's more his bellicose statements targeted to a domestic market are inciting deep divisions among Indians towards Kashmiris studying and working in India.

There have been numerous reports of Kashmiri students and business people being harassed and in some cases Indian students have demanded the expulsion of Kashmiri students from their university. A sign of the seriousness of the attacks is that the Indian Supreme Court has ordered the government to protect Kashmiris living in India.

Many of the more than 11,000 Kashmiris studying at Indian universities now want to return to their homes in Indian-controlled Kashmir where reports of their treatment are sure to reinforce the growing anger Kashmiris feel towards India.

This controversy is happening in the hot house of India's general election campaign. From the moment the suicide bomber set off this latest wave of death and destruction a number of commentators speculated that the killings could help the Modi government win the election scheduled for April and May this year.

Both Forbes and the Economic Times have explored the boost they expect Modi to gain from the bombing and cross border air strikes. Prior to the suicide attack Modi's chances of retaining power was put at 50:50 after his Bharatiya Janata Party was defeated in five state elections in 2018, including in the key Hindu states of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh.

Post the February attacks Modi's chances of re-election have been pushed to 70 per cent.

The Times of India speculates that "a strong leader who acts tough" could swing the required "20 seats" to win.



Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi addresses the Paris

Climate Talks. (IMAGE: Thom Mitchell, New Matilda)

With Modi's re-election platform dominated by nationalist zeal, as he has been unable to deliver on his economic and development promises, there could be a repeat of the 2014 general election when Modi won power largely due to his "strong leader" image.

There is a risk that this could plunge not just Indian-controlled

Kashmir but the whole sub-continent into more chaos. A re-

elected and re-invigorated Modi government could move to declare India a "Hindu rashtra" (Hindu nation) by amending the nation's constitution. Arundhati Roy has predicted this would be an upper caste nation where "minorities and all those who do not agree with the majoritarian point can be criminalised". The policy of Modi's BJP sees India as a Hindu country. Implicit in this view is that all Indian Muslims should have moved to Pakistan in 1947. Those that remain in India are viewed as traitors to India. This is the frame for Modi's response to the current crisis. So an attack such as the recent suicide bombing plays into Modi's anti-Muslim narrative. Last year India was added to the United Nations list of countries that regularly inflict reprisals or intimidation through killings, torture and arbitrary arrests against people cooperating with the UN on human rights.

For all the complexity of this dispute, the world cannot again turn away from finding a solution. This is not just because two nuclear powers, India and Pakistan, are facing off against each other. Kashmir, on both the Indian side and the Pakistan side, consists of many different regions with varying aspirations for their future. Not all support autonomy. Surely the starting point to create the conditions to work through these complexities must be the demilitarisation of this region.

Achieving that would be a major step to reducing and eventually ending the ongoing human rights abuses that successive generations of Kashmiris have had to endure. All parties need to respect human rights including freedom of speech and movement. Multilateral bodies along with individual countries have a role to play in working with India and Pakistan to achieve these objectives. Progress is happening. Last year both the Office of the United Nations Human Rights Commissioner (OHCHR) and the British Parliament's All Party Parliamentary Group on Kashmirproduced reports and recommendations that if acted on will take us down the path of achieving peace and justice for Kashmir and for the whole region. The key recommendation from the United Nation's OHCHR is for a Commission of Inquiry that could conduct an on the ground independent investigation in Kashmir. The Pakistan government has agreedthat a UN team can "visit Azad Kashmir as long as it is able to visit the J&K (Jammu-Kashmir). In that sense, Pakistan's stance on the question of 'access' by the UN is unconditional as long as India offers similar access to the Territory it occupies."

So here is the roadblock. The Indian government does not agree with setting up a Commission of Inquiry. The Pakistan government does support establishing the CoI but it will only agree to the Inquiry visiting and investigating in Pakistan-controlled Kashmir if India reciprocates for the region it controls.

Leadership is needed. Pakistan's Prime Minister Imran Khan lowered the temperature on the recent conflict by releasing the Indian Airforce pilot after his plane was shot down over Pakistan. Could Pakistan show leadership again by agreeing to the Commission of Inquiry having free movement in the territory it administers irrespective of India's current position? This would be a significant step to moving the Kashmir conflict away from death and violence and onto the path to peace and justice.

* Lee Rhiannon is a former Greens NSW Senator and longtime activist on a range of social justice and environment issues. Last year she visited Kashmir and earlier this year she attended a London conference on Kashmir.

News Section

PM Imran Khan reaffirms Pakistan's support to Kashmir cause

Islamabad: Prime Minister Imran Khan has reaffirmed



Pakistan's continued moral, political and diplomatic support to the Kashmiris in their just struggle for securing their inalienable right to self-determination.

Prime Minister Imran Khan in his message on the occasion of 79th Pakistan Day, today, while felicitating the nation said, "Today, we should not forget our Kashmiri brethren who have long been victim of Indian state terrorism and are forced to lead a life of misery. While expressing our solidarity with our Kashmiri brethren on this occasion we salute their courage and acknowledge their sacrifices. We reaffirm our resolve to continue our political, diplomatic and moral support for the Kashmir cause at every international forum."

International community should step forward to help resolve the Kashmir dispute Sardar Masood Khan,

Sardar Masood Khan, President Jammu and Kashmir, has said that the international community should step forward to help resolve the Kashmir dispute and prevent any sort of escalation between Pakistan and India. He said, despite the international community knowing fully about the Kashmir conflict, they are hesitant to talk of the

human rights violations taking place in Indian Occupied Kashmir further reiterating that the unresolved Kashmir dispute will remain a threat to global peace and stability.

The President expressed these views while addressing the 29th death anniversary event of former President of AJK and first AJK Defence Minister, Captain General Syed Ali Ahmed Shah, here at the Kashmir Press Club. The event was also addressed by AJK Minister for Sports and Culture, Chaudhry Mohammad Saeed, former AJK Chief Justice and President Jammu and Kashmir Liberation League, Abdul Majid Malik, Sports Minister of Sports and Affairs, former President of the Supreme Court Bar Association and Chairman of the Syed Ali Shah Shah Memorial Committee, Syed Neshat Kazmi, DG Mirpur Development Authority, Ejaz Raza, Director General Kashmir Liberation Cell, Fida Hussain Kayani and President Kashmir Press Club Mirpur, Sajjad Jarral. President Azad Kashmir said that the world should look at Kashmir issue as a humanitarian crisis and not just through the lens of being a nuclear flashpoint between

Masood Khan echoed the fact that the only solution is the resolution of the issue in light of the UN Security Council resolutions and allowing the Kashmiris to exercise their free political will. The state, he said, consists of Jammu, Kashmir Valley, Ladakh, Gilgit-Baltistan and Azad Kashmir; which has to be treated as one entity and any solution of the Kashmir dispute must incorporate the political dispensation of all the people belonging to these five territories. President Masood Khan paid rich tribute to former AJK President and the first Defence Minister of

Pakistan and India. This conflict, he said, directly affects

20 million people living in Jammu and Kashmir.



Azad Kashmir Captain General Syed Ali Ahmed Shah for his prominent role during the war of liberation (1947) and later for his Outstanding services in the newly formed AJK Government. The President said that Syed Ali Ahmad Shah was not only known for his honesty and integrity but also for his immense professionalism and sense of duty towards his people and his undivided focus on strengthening the nascent institutional setup of AJK.

The President said that that he would consider renaming Mirpur University of Science and Technology (MUST) after the former President Syed Ali Ahmed Shah. He also said that in the future, the death anniversary of the Syed Ali Ahmed Shah will be organised at MUST.

He appealed to the political leadership of Azad Kashmir to unite on one platform and leverage their strengths in a united manner to help take forward the freedom struggle of the oppressed Kashmiris in Indian Occupied Kashmir and help them ascertain their right to self-determination.

AJK Govt. APHC should be allowed to plead Kashmir cause, Raja Muhammad Farooq Haider

Muzaffarabad: Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) Prime Minister Raja Farooq Haider on Monday reiterated that the government in Muzaffarabad and a Srinagar-based alliance of pro-freedom Kashmiri leaders should be given in AJK under the basic democracy system. He gave the ideology of the recognition of the AJK government as a 'revolutionary provisional successor government' of deposed Dogra ruler of the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir, "with a freehand to take Kashmir freedom movement to its logical end." He breathed his last in a road accident on March 11, 1988, when he was on board a public transport vehicle as an ordinary passenger despite being leader of the opposition in the AJK assembly. Interestingly, though Mr Haider had been nurtured in a political atmosphere where the ideology of Mr Khurshid was demurred religiously, of late he has however been making more or less same calls regarding the role of the AJK government, without making a direct reference to the late leader's credo. "Kashmiris will have to come forward to counter India's propaganda at the diplomatic front. We ought to reformulate our policies in keeping with the prevailing circumstances, so as to fail India's machinations," the AJK prime minister said. Mr Haider said Kashmir was not a bilateral issue but the issue of life and death for its 15 million populations and its solution had to be reached in accordance with their wishes through implementation of the UN Security



a role for advocacy of Kashmir cause at the international level. "It's the demand of the time and circumstances that the Azad [Kashmir] government and the All Parties Hurriyat Conference (APHC) be given a role to plead their case before the international community," he said at the 31st death anniversary function of the Kashmiri leader K. H. Khurshid. Mr Khurshid who served as private secretary to Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah from 1944 to late 1947 and as AJK president from May 1959 to August 1964 had founded the third major and popular political party in the state of Jammu and Kashmir after Muslim Conference and National Conference by the name of Jammu Kashmir Liberation League (JKLL) in 1962. In 1961, he had conducted and won the first ever elections

Council resolutions. He stressed that the entire Kashmiri leadership must forge unity and unanimity in the interest of their noble struggle and Pakistan. He said invitation to Sushma Swaraj, India's minister for external affairs, to speak as guest of honour at the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) had hurt the concept of Muslim Ummah and rubbed salt into the wounds of Kashmiris. He said Pakistan was the true sympathiser and lone powerful advocate of Kashmiris. Mr Khurshid, he said, was the pride of Kashmiri nation who established the identity of AJK as its president and gave political wisdom to Kashmiris. "Leaders like him are born [once] in centuries and they rarely have a substitute," he added. Prominent among others who spoke on the occasion were PTI

senior vice president Khawaja Farooq Ahmed, JKLL leader Manzoor Qadir, JUI leader Mahmoodul Hassan Ashraf and a retired bureaucrat Shaikh Qayyum.

Peace could not be established in South
Asia without resolving longstanding Kashmir
issue in accordance with the wishes of
Kashmiris, Raja Farooq Haider Khan

Muzaffarabad (PID,AJK) The AJK Prime Minister Raja



Farooq Haider Khan said Peace could not be established in South Asia without resolving longstanding Kashmir issue in accordance with the wishes of Kashmiris. He was talking to under training officers for advance diplomatic course in foreign services academic of 23 countries here on the other day. He said Kashmiris were given choice of deciding their future through UN resolutions but India refused to implement these resolutions. He told the officers that there was complete freedom of speech and movement in AJK. There was no political prisoner in the state nor there was any extremism, he added. He said there was no training camp around and Kashmiris were peaceful people. Mr. Haider welcomed the International Community and UN fact finding mission to Azad Kashmir. He said after Indian aggression liberation struggle has penetrated into the generation born in early 90s. More than 100,000 Kashmiris have been martyred, 10,000 women raped, thousands injured and thousands of houses had been destroyed by occupation forces in IOK, he remarked. "Indian forces have been given powers under draconian laws to kill, kidnap or disappear any Kashmiri or file a fake case against him as and when they like without being accountable to anyone. Government of

Kashmir has no power to take any action against any soldier" he pointed out. He told the officers that UN report has been published on the atrocities and human rights abuses of Indian forces against Kashmiris. European Parliament have held a debate on them too. Giving more details to the officers Mr. Haider told that UN had rejected the resolution of accession to Pakistan of Kashmir assembly in 1945. Mahraja forcibly acceded Kashmir to India against the wishes of people of Jammu and Kashmir. He said the only durable resolution of Kashmir issue was to give choice of plebiscite to the people of Kashmir to determine their future with a free will. He said international community should play its role to give Kashmiris their right to self-determination. Without resolving Kashmir issue peace could not return to the region, he stated. Regarding growth and development of AJK the Premier told the delegation that literacy rate of Kashmir was better than all provinces of Pakistan. There was enormous potential of tourism and hydropower generation which the government was fully exploiting.

Meeting of AJK Parliamentary/Political Leaders with the Foreign Minister

Islamabad (PID,AJK) A 14- member delegation of Parliamentary leaders of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, led by the Prime Minister of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Raja Muhammad Farooq Haider Khan, met the Foreign Minister here on Thursday, to discuss the current situation of Indian occupied Jammu and Kashmir (loK). The delegation exchanged views with the Foreign Minister on the appalling situation of human rights in Indian occupied Jammu and Kashmir, particularly in the aftermath of the Pulwama attack. The Foreign Minister deplored that instead of introspection, Indian Government and its media hurled baseless accusations against Pakistan, without any investigation. He stated that denial by India of the right to self-determination to the Kashmiri people, as recognized by the numerous United Nations Security Council Resolutions on Jammu and Kashmir, continues to keep hostage the peace and security of the nuclearized South Asia. The Foreign Minister regretted that following



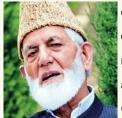
the Pulwama attack, India has intensified its crackdown against innocent Kashmiris. He condemned India's unprovoked shelling across the Line of Control (LoC) and the Working Boundary (WB).

The Foreign Minister also apprised the Parliamentary leaders of AJK on the efforts being undertaken by the Government of Pakistan to highlight the massive atrocities being perpetrated by the Indian occupation forces in Indian occupied Jammu and Kashmir.

The Foreign Minister reaffirmed Pakistan's moral, political and diplomatic support to the people of Indian occupied Jammu and Kashmir in their legitimate struggle for the right to self-determination in accordance with the United Nations Security Council Resolutions.

Gilani expresses concern over arrest spree in IOK

Srinagar: In occupied Kashmir, the Chairman of All Parties Hurriyat Conference (APHC), Syed Ali Gilani has expressed



concern over the arrest spree, slapping of draconian Public Safety Act (PSA) on religious scholar, MushataqAhmad Veeri and Jamaat-e-Islami activists. Syed Ali Gilani in a statement issued in Srinagar

said, "Repressive measures against peaceful and unarmed civilians including resistance leaders and activists are condemnable. The coercive measures will yield nothing but devastation, he added. He said the repressive actions against the freedom-loving people have failed on all fronts to suppress the people's freedom sentiments during the past 71 years especially since 1989 and in future as well. Decrying the conduct of the Indian government as highly unfortunate and

unacceptable, the APHC Chairman said, "The authorities are hell bent to curb and strangulate the genuine aspirations and political voice for the right to self-determination". Hailing the commitment, persistence and unshakable resolve of people in Kashmir, Syed Ali Gilani said the peoples' urge to settle Kashmir dispute has touched the pinnacle and freedom movement emerged as

invincible.

NIA summons to Mirwaiz political vendetta

Srinagar (KMS) In occupied Kashmir, the Joint Hurriyat Leadership has termed the summoning of Mirwaiz Umar

Farooq and Syed Ali Gilani's son, Syed Naseem Gilani, by National Investigation Agency, to New Delhi in the name of questioning as sheer



political vendetta. The leadership in a statement in Srinagar said the NIA raids on the residences of Hurriyat leaders and their relatives are aimed at preventing them from pursing the Kashmiris' demand for freedom. The JRL made it clear that struggle for right to selfdetermination would be taken to its logical conclusion, against all odds. Meanwhile, Mirwaiz Umar Farooq has decided not to appear in person before the National Investigation Agency. His counsel in response to the NIA notice said that Mirwaiz would not travel to New Delhi because of threat to his personal safety. Tehreek-e-Hurriyat Jammu and Kashmir Chairman, Mohammad Ashraf Sehrai in a statement issued in Srinagar said the continued aggressive policy of Indian state against the Kashmiris is aimed at creating a graveyard silence in the occupied territory. The Jamaat-e-Islami of occupied Kashmir in a statement refuted all allegations leveled by Indian government and its agencies against the politicosocio welfare organization as baseless, biased and unfounded. The Muslim Personal Law Board of occupied Kashmir at a meeting presided over by Kashmir's Grand Mufti, Mufti Nasir-ul-Islam urged Pakistan and India to

resolve all issues through dialogue. Indian troops launched cordon and search operations in Arihal, Bongam, Raina and Kashewa areas of Pulwama and Shopian districts, today. The troops sealed all entry and exit points and conducted door-to-door searches in the areas. On the other hand, Canada's most widely read newspaper, The Globe and Mail, has criticized the world's silence over real risk of nuclear war over Kashmir between Pakistan and India. The newspaper in an article written by Alison Redford maintained that the facts demonstrated that Indian military jets breached the Line of Control and launched an attack on civilian targets in Pakistan, and even boasting of civilian deaths, based on an unproven allegation. In response, she added, during the next Indian sorties, which appear to have been a second breach, Pakistan, acting in self-defence, shot down at least one Indian military jet in Pakistani airspace. It is worth mentioning here that Alison Redford had spent a year as a consultant to the World Bank on energy regulation in Pakistan. Over 40 members of the European Parliament through their letters urged Pakistan and India to resolve the tension between the two countries through dialogue. The cross-party letters were organised by British MEP Dr Sajjad Karim.

After Jamaat Gol bans Yasin Malik-led JKLF

The Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) was banned



by the Governmet of India (GoI) under anti-terror law on Friday, officials said. JKLF, which is led by Yasin Malik, has been banned for alleged promotion of secessionist activities in Jammu and Kashmir, they said. They said the organisation has been banned under various provisions

of the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act. Malik is under arrest and at present lodged in Jammu's Kot Balwal jail. This is the second organisation in Jammu and Kashmir which has been banned this month. Earlier, the Gol had banned the Jamaat-e-Islami Jammu and Kashmir.

Hiba Nisar, world's youngest pellet victim, still without sight in injured eye

SHOPIAN (By Raashid Hassan)The world's youngest pellet victim, little Hiba Nisar, who was injured in the right eye during pellet firing by the forces on November 25 last year, is battling to regain the eye's sight. Her parents say there has been no recovery yet as Hiba is still unable to see from the eye that sustained the pellet wound. Hiba's family members told Kashmir Reader that her doctors had advised them that she would have to undergo another surgery next month (around April 10), after which they hope she may regain the eye's sight. Hiba was 19 months old when she was injured outside her home when a gunfight took place in neighbouring village Batgund. Six militants, including Hizb district commander Ali Abas and top LeT militant Umar Ganie, were killed in that encounter. Nisar Ahmad Bhat, the father of Hiba, told Kashmir Reader that all he can do now is pray and provide the best available treatment to his daughter. "I have trust in the doctors who are treating my daughter. They have given me the surety that she will regain her eyesight," he said. He added that he had been about to consult doctors outside the valley, but the doctors at Shri Maharaja Hari Singh (SMHS) hospital didn't allow him to, saying that she was under the best treatment in the valley instead. Nisar said that the family takes her for a check-up once or twice a week but have not seen any positive sign till now. "They may operate upon her eye next month, and she had earlier undergone two surgeries at SMHS Srinagar," he said. Nisar's house is situated some thousand metres from the Batgund encounter site. Hiba's grandfather, Abdul Ahad Bhat, narrated the incidents of the day of the encounter. "There was a huge cordon, but we were not aware that some forces men had laid an ambush outside our house. They were hiding behind a



small tin fence as my daughter-in-law went outside carrying her daughter. When they fired a pellet cartridge at her, Hiba's mother put her hand over the child's face. Her hand and back also sustained injuries, but despite that, a pellet hit Hiba's right eye deep, causing major damage. Till

date, she is not able to see from that eye." He added that there were no protests at the time on around their house as it is in an isolated place and far away from the road as well as the protests of that day. Nisar Ahmad said that so far it had cost him Rs 50,000 for the treatments. "I will go for any hospital and treatments for the eye sight of my daughter," he said, adding that recently the doctors had covered Hiba's left eye to check whether she was able to see from the right one, but she was not able to recognise anything and started crying within a moment. Family members said watching Hiba battling to see and recognise things kills them inside. "She turns her whole head and eyes to the right when she feels something there," said an aunt, sorrowing over the child's condition.



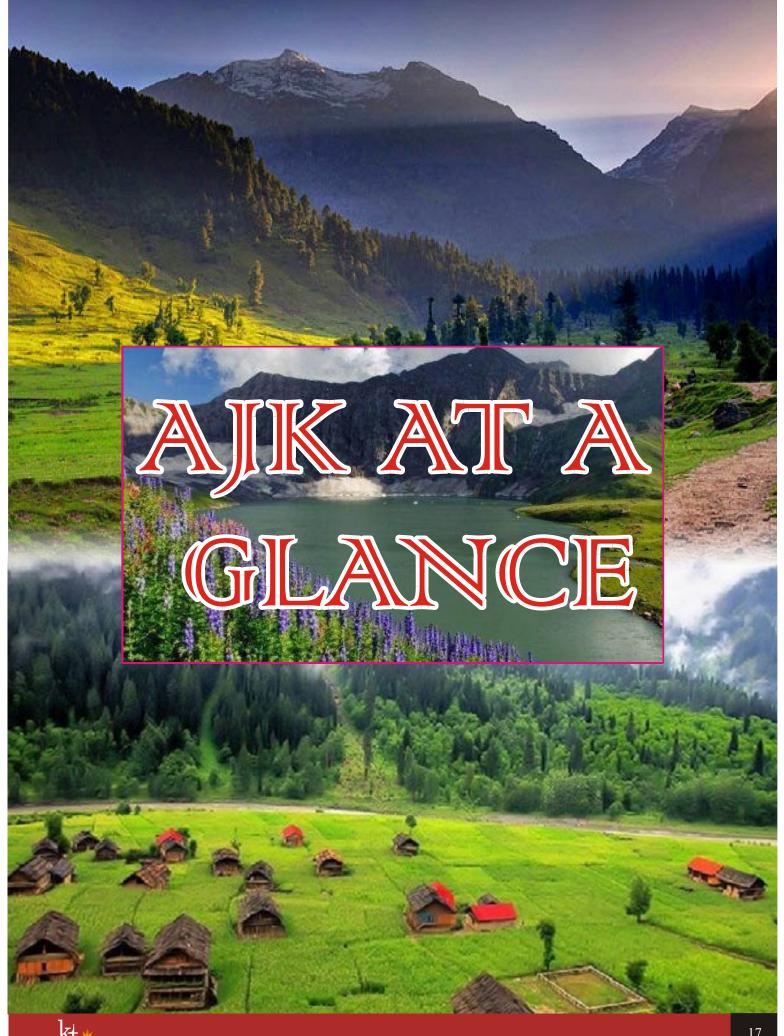
Muzaffarabad (KT):All parties Kashmir Conference organized by Jamaat-e-Islami



Muzaffarabad (KT): Prime Minister AJK Raja Farooq Haider Khan and other speakers are addressing to a Seminar in Girls Post
Graduate College Muzaffarbad on eve of International Women Day



Secretary Jammu & Kashmir Liberation Cell Mansoor Qadir Dar presiding a meeting of sub-committee



Foreword

It is indeed a great pleasure to bring out "Azad Jammu & Kashmir at a Glance 2018" in shape of annual brochure for the second time by P&DD, GoAJ&K. The brochure contains AJ&K brief history and important data about socio economic status of the State and reflects development trends.

I hope this pocket size booklet will prove to be an informative and useful reference document for GoAJ&K departments, researchers, scholars, planners, students and all other who may wish to benefit in context of evidence based planning and informed decision making. For easy accessibility and convenience of the general public, this brochure is also uploaded on the official website of P&DD AJ&K i.e. www.pndajk.gov.pk

I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to all those who contributed towards compilation of this document by putting extra efforts. I look forward for further improvement and welcome feedback and suggestions in this regard.

(Dr. Syed Asif Hussain) Additional Chief Secretary (Dev.)

Area Wise Profile of State of Jammu & Kashmir

(sq. km)

Description	Area
Area of AJ&K	13, 297
Area of Gilgit Baltistan	77, 676
Area of Indian Held Kashmir	93,708
Area Under Control of China	37, 555
Total Area of State of Jammu & Kashmir	222, 236

Source: Land Use Planning, Muzaffarabad

Administrative Setup of AJ&K			
Particular	Nos.		
Divisions	03		
Districts	10		
Sub Divisions (Tehsils)	32		
Union Councils	256		
Development Authorities	05		
Municipal Corporations	05		
Municipal Committees	13		
Town Committees	18		
Markaz Councils	31		
Villages/Mouzas	1,769		
Thana /Police Stations	46		
Total Constituencies of Legislative Assembly	41		
Constituencies in AJ&K	29		
Constituencies in Pakistan for Kashmiri Refugees	12		

Sources: i. Board of Revenue AJ&K

ii. Central Police Office AJ&K

iii. Election Commission Office AJ&K

Population (Pakistan and AJ&K)

(in figure)

	Population				
Item	Census 1998		Census 2017		
	Pakistan	AJ&K	Pakistan	AJ&K	
Total	132,352,279	2,972,501	207,774,520	4,045,367	
Male	68,874,000	14,952,990	106,449,322	1,980,794	
Female	63,478,000	14,772,020	101,314,780	2,064,421	
Urban	43,036,000	3,719,740	75,584,989	702,520	
Rural	89,316,000	26,005,270	132,189,531	3,342,847	
Annual Growth Rate (%)	2.69	2.41	2.40	1.63	
Density (Persons per sq. km)	166	224	260	304	
Area (sq. km)	796,096	13,297	796,096	13,297	

Source: i. Population Census 1998

ii. Planning & Development Department

District Wise Population of AJ&K

(in million)

	Population			
District	Census 1998	Growth Rate (%)	Census 2017	Growth Rate (%)
Muzaffarabad	0.454		0.650	1.91
Neelum	0.126	2.80	0.191	2.23
Jhelum Valley	0.166		0.231	1.74
Bagh	0.282	2.00	0.372	1.47
Haveli	0.112	2.00	0.152	1.64
Poonch	0.411	2.24	0.500	1.04
Sudhnoti	0.224	1.99	0.298	1.50
Kotli	0.563	2.59	0.774	1.82
Mirpur	0.333	2.09	0.456	1.66
Bhimber	0.302	2.60	0.421	1.76
AJ&K	2.973	2.41	4.045	1.63

Source: i. Population Census 1998

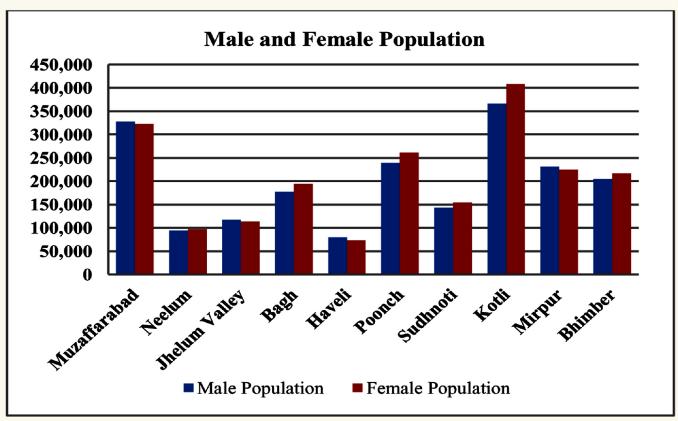
ii. Planning and Development Department

District Wise Male and Female Population

(in figure)

District	Male	Female	Sex Ratio
Muzaffarabad	328,033	322,297	101.78
Neelum	94,333	96,900	97.35
Jhelum Valley	117,333	113,194	103.66
Bagh	177,493	194,414	91.30
Haveli	78,999	73,119	108.04
Poonch	239,822	260,739	91.98
Sudhnoti	143,025	154,553	92.54
Kotli	366,041	408,128	89.69
Mirpur	231,285	224,899	102.84
Bhimber	204,430	216,178	94.57
Total	1,980,794	2,064,421	95.95

Source: Planning and Development Department



Source: Planning & Development Department

	Demography					
S. #	Indicators	Unit	Pak	AJ&K		
1.	Infant Mortality Rate	Per 1000 LB*	66	58		
2.	Maternal Mortality Rate	Per 100,000 LB	178	201		
	Life expectancy at birth*	Percent	67.7	67.7		
3.	i. Life expectancy at birth (Male)	Percent	65.8	65.8		
	ii. Life expectancy at birth (Female)	Percent	69.8	69.8		
	Literacy rate	Percent	60	76.60		
4.	i. Literacy rate (Male)	Percent	70	88.10		
	ii. Literacy rate (Female)	Percent	49	64.9		
5.	EPI coverage	Percent	80	94		
6.	Sex ratio	Ratio	105	95.95		
7.	Population Urban	Percent	36.38	17.37		
8.	Population Rural	Percent	63.62	82.63		

Sources: i. Health Department, Muzaffarabad ii. Pakistan Economic Survey *LB=Live Birth *It is assumed that AJ&K is also at the similar stage in terms of life expectancy rate at birth to Pakistan.

Employed Labour Force

(Percentage)

	2014-15				9,	
Employment Status	Rural			Urban		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Self Employed	55.5	26.9	54.4	39.4	10.8	37.4
Government Employee	22.6	39.5	23.3	38.3	67.1	40.3
Employee(Auto)	1.6	1.1	1.6	3.0	2.7	2.9
Employee (Private)	15.7	7.9	15.4	16.8	9.9	16.3
Employer	1.3	0.6	1.3	0.9	0.5	0.9
Un-Paid Family Helper	3.3	24.0	4.2	1.6	8.9	2.1

Unemployed Labour Force

(Percentage)

Awaa	2014-15				
Area	M	F	Total		
AJ&K	9.4	30.5	11.2		
Rural	9.8	30.4	11.4		
Urban	7.0	30.5	10.0		

Source: AJ&K Labour Force Survey 2014-15

Public Finance

(Rs. in million)

		Revenue Receipts			
S.#	Description	Revised Estimates 2017-18	Budget Estimates 2018-19		
1	Provincial Taxes	5,263.000	6,360.000		
2	Law & Order	153.000	175.000		
3	Land Record & Settlement	240.000	260.000		
4	Stamps	234.000	260.000		
5	AJ&K Transport Authority	30.000	35.000		
6	Armed Service Board	10.000	15.000		
7	Industries	50.000	48.000		
8	Home (Police)	60.000	70.000		
9	Jails	0.300	0.350		
10	Communication & Works	217.000	225.000		
11	Education	130.000	155.000		
12	Health	107.000	120.000		
13	Food	250.000	300.000		
14	Agriculture	8.000	10.000		
15	Wildlife / Fisheries	10.000	30.000		
16	Animal Husbandry	30.000	35.000		
17	Forests	180.000	300.000		
18	Electricity	10,000.000	12,000.000		
19	Printing Press	30.000	40.000		
20	Labour	0.000	7.000		
21	Sericulture	3.000	3.650		
22	Minerals	8.000	9.000		
23	Tourism	15.000	20.000		
24	Religious Affairs	31.700	40.000		
25	Miscellaneous	800.000	882.000		
26	Income from Kashmir Council	14,140.000	12,800.000		
27	Grants	40,000.000	49,000.000		
28	Water Usage Charges	1,000.000	1,100.000		
	Total (1-28)	73,000.000	84,300.000		
29	Adjustment of Overdraft	-	-1600.000		
	G. Total	73,000.000	82,700.000		

Source: Finance Department, Muzaffarabad

Annual Development Programme

(Rs. in million)

	Revised Estimates Budget Est				
S #	Sector/Sub-Sector	2017-18	2018-19		
1	Agriculture	490.000	500.000		
2	Civil Defense	100.000	100.000		
3	Communication & Works	10,818.052	10,383.000		
4	Development Authorities	202.248	202.000		
5	Education	1,565.262	1,950.000		
6	Environment	52.103	60.000		
7	Foreign Aided Projects	1,837.931	1,475.000		
8	Forestry/Fisheries	631.311	550.000		
9	Health	827.662	719.000		
10	Industries, Sericulture, Labour & Minerals	421.579	534.000		
11	Information & Media Dev.	40.000	40.000		
12	Information Technology	225.000	235.000		
13	Local Govt. & Rural Dev.	2,005.000	2,005.000		
14	PP&H	1,714.211	2,225.000		
15	Board of Revenue	100.000	230.000		
16	Power	1,690.000	3,520.000		
17	Research & Development	157.014	202.000		
18	Social Welfare & Women Dev.	54.706	100.000		
19	Sports, Youth and Culture	170.730	200.000		
20	Tourism	164.431	250.000		
21	Transport	12.760	20.000		
	Total	23,280.000	25,500.000		

Source: Planning & Development Department.

Education	Education (2017)				
Govt. Institutions	Nos.	Enrollment by Level (Nos.)	T. Staff (Nos.)		
Primary/High/Higher Secondary Schools					
Primary & Mosque Schools	4,094	213,797			
Primary & Mosque Schools (Male)	2,275	127,251			
Primary & Mosque Schools (Female)	1,819	86,546			
Middle Schools	1,000	92,006			
Middle Schools (Male)	537	54,583			
Middle Schools (Female)	463	37,423	29,123		
High Schools	736	43,061	29,123		
High Schools (Male)	395	25,653			
High Schools (Female)	341	17,408			
Higher Secondary Schools	60	3,402			
Higher Secondary Schools (Male)	23	1,598			
Higher Secondary Schools (Female)	37	1,804			
Inter/Degree/Post G	raduate	Colleges			
Inter Colleges	91	25,479			
Inter Colleges (Male)	45	12,242			
Inter Colleges (Female)					
Inter Colleges (Female)	46	13,237			
Degree College	46 59	13,237 9,790			
			2,570		
Degree College	59	9,790	2,570		
Degree College (Male)	59 25	9,790 3,828	2,570		
Degree College (Male) Degree College (Female)	59 25 34	9,790 3,828 5,962	2,570		
Degree College (Male) Degree College (Female) Post Graduate College	59 25 34 12	9,790 3,828 5,962 1,615	2,570		
Degree College Degree College (Male) Degree College (Female) Post Graduate College Post Graduate College (Male)	59 25 34 12 07 05	9,790 3,828 5,962 1,615 1,255	2,570		
Degree College Degree College (Male) Degree College (Female) Post Graduate College Post Graduate College (Male) Post Graduate College (Female)	59 25 34 12 07 05	9,790 3,828 5,962 1,615 1,255	2,570 107		
Degree College Degree College (Male) Degree College (Female) Post Graduate College Post Graduate College (Male) Post Graduate College (Female) Medical C Mir Waiz Muhammad Farooq	59 25 34 12 07 05 olleges	9,790 3,828 5,962 1,615 1,255 360			

Education (2017)					
Govt. Institutions	Nos.	Enrollment by level (Nos.)	T. Staff (Nos.)		
Universities					
AJ&K University Muzaffarabad	01	8,957	269		
University of Management Sciences & Information Technology Kotli	01	3,752	103		
Mirpur University of Science & Technology (MUST)	01	4,997	340		
Poonch University Rawalakot	01	4,802	155		
Women University Bagh	01	2,297	106		

Sources: i. EMIS Education Department, Mzd. ii. Directorate of Education Colleges Mzd.

iii. All Medical Colleges iv. Finance Department AJ&K

v. Education Section, P&DD

vi. AJK University Mzd., MUST Kotli, Poonch University Rawalakot & Women University Bagh.

Teacher Student Ratio (2017)		
Category of Govt. Institutions	Students Per Teacher	
Universities	25.49	
Medical Colleges	5.16	
Colleges	14.35	
Schools	12.09	

Source: Planning & Development Department, Muzaffarabad

Health (2017)			
Facilities	Nos.		
Teaching/other Hospitals	08		
DHQs	07		
THQs	09		
RHCs	47		
BHUs	229		
Dispensaries	81		
Malaria Centers	160		
Total Beds	3,752		
Population per Bed	1,078		

Source: Directorate of Health Department, Muzaffarabad

Medical Personnel (2017)		
Particular	Nos.	
Doctors (including Medical Specialists, Medical officers and Health Manager)	1,058	
Doctors (Male)	706	
Doctors (Female)	352	
Population per doctors	3,823	
Nurses	649	
Health Teachers/ MCH/L.H.Vs	347	

Source: Directorate of Health Department, Muzaffarabad.

Agriculture (2017)			
Crops	Area in hectare Production in 1000 metric tons		Yield kg per hectare
Maize	99,210	179.49	1,809.27
Wheat	78,020	137.41	1,614.04
Rice	2,390	6.58	2,506.24
Millet	21,453	30.03	1,399.72

Agriculture Machinery (in Public Sector) (2017)		
Machinery Nos.		
Tractors 22		
Threshers	18	

Source: Agriculture Department, Muzaffarabad.

Livestock (2017)		
Animals Nos.		
Cattles	564,705	
Buffalos	703,988	
Sheep	241,911	
Goats	1,763,433	
Camels	577	
Horses	12,436	
Mules	8,120	
Assess	57,321	
Poultry	4,310,858	

Source: Livestock Department, Muzaffarabad.

Land Utilization (2017)

(Hectares)

S.#	Categories	Area
1	Total Farm Area	642,149
2	Farm Area Per Family	1.7582
3	Farm Area Per Capita	0.2171
4	Area Under Cultivation	196,927
5	Cultivated Area Per Family	0.539
6	Cultivated Area Per Capita	0.0666
7	Annual Cropped Area	230,625
8	Non-Irrigated Area	184,824
9	Irrigated Area	12,103
10	Area Under Maize Cultivation	99,206
11	Area Under Wheat	78,018
12	Area Under Rice	2,392
13	Area Under Jawar	121
14	Area Under Vegetables	3,225
15	Area Under Fruits	13,096

Source: Agriculture Department, Muzaffarabad.

Social Welfare & Women Development (2017)		
S. #	Name of Institutions	Nos.
1	Dar-ul-Falah	05
2	Rural House Hold Education Centre	05
3	Kashana Centre	07
4	Shelter Homes	02
5	Social Welfare Complexes	03
6	National Special Education Centre	01
7	Drug Addicts Rehabilitation Centre	03
8	Social Welfare Centre	02
	Total 28	

Source: Social Welfare Department, Muzaffarabad.

Forest (2017)			
Land utilization	Area (in million hectares)	Percentage of Total Geographical Area	
Area under the control of Forest Department	0.567	42.6	
Cultivation	0.173	13.0	
Cultivable Waste	0.032	2.4	
Uncultivable Waste	0.558	42.0	
Total	1.330	100	

Source: Forest Department, Muzaffarabad.

Power (Electricity Department) (2017)		
Electricity Connections (Nos.)	592,613	
Villages Electrified (Nos.)	1,764	
Electricity Units Purchased (million KWh)	1,629.704	
Electricity Units Sold (million KWh)	998.684	
Per Capita Electricity Delivered (KWh)	403	

Source: Electricity Department, Muzaffarabad.

Power (Hydro Power Potential) (2017)			
Status of Project	Nos.	Capacity (MW)	
Commissioned	21	2,361.82	
On-going	15	974.86	
Upcoming	57	5,919.02	
Total (identified) 93 9,255.70			

Source: Power Development Organization, Muzaffarabad.

Roads (2017)	
	(km)
Total Roads	17,033
Metalled Roads	9,540
Fair Weather Roads	7,493
Road per sq.km of Area	0.72

Source: LG&RD and Public Works Department, Muzaffarabad.

Trade & Travel Authority (2017)				
Description	Crossing Point	Nos. of Visitor		
	Chakothi	751		
From AJ&K to IHK*	Tetrinote	956		
	Chilliana	03		
Total		1,710		
	Chakothi	268		
From IHK to AJ&K	Tetrinote	64		
	Chilliana	30		
Total		362		

Source: Trade and Travel Authority, Muzaffarabad.

^{*} Indian Held Kashmir

Items Traded from AJ&K Side	Items Traded from IHK Side
Rice	Carpets
Ja-e-Namez & Tusbies	Rugs
Precious Stones	Wall Hanging
Gabbas/ Namdas	Shawls & Stoles
Peshawari Leather Chappals	Namdas/ Gabbas
Medicinal Herbs	Embroidered Items
Maize & Maize Products	Furniture Including Walnuts Furniture
Fresh Fruits & Vegetables	Wooden Handicrafts
Dry Fruits Including Walnuts	Fresh fruits & Vegetables
Honey	Dry Fruits Including Walnuts
Mungi	Saffron
Imli	Aromatic Plants
Black Mashrooms	Fruits Beating Plants
Furniture Including Walnut Furniture	Dhania, Moongi, Imli & Black Mashrooms
Wooden Handicrafts	Kashmiri Spices
Carpets & Rugs	Rajmah
Wall Hangings	Honey
Embroidered Items	Paper Mache Products
Foam Mattresses, Cushions & Pillows	Spring Rubberized, Coir/Foam Mattresses, Cushions, Pillows & Quilts
Shawls & Stoles	Medicinal Herbs

Trade between AJ&K and IHK During 2017					
Description	Type of Vehicle	Nos.	Weight (Ton)	Cost (Rs. in million)	
From AJ&K to IHK	Truck	3,564	26,876.45	59,997.03	
From IHK to AJ&K	Truck	8,633	63,726,98	20,422,16	

Source: Trade and Travel Authority, Muzaffarabad.

Transport (2017)				
Registered Vehicles	Nos.			
Buses/Mini Buses	34			
Trucks/ Mini Trucks	142			
Motor Cars	893			
Motor Cycles/ Scooters	6,554			
Rickshaws	851			
Station Wagons	03			
Jeeps	120			
Tractors	44			
Total	8,641			

Source: Income Tax Department, Mirpur.

Telecom Facilities (2017)					
Services Exchanges Capacity Connection			Connection (Nos.)		
PSTN	119	114,090	43,456		
DXX	23	368	46		
DSL	64 10,608		9,625		
SCOM	96	400k	281,442		
WLL	WLL 40 50k		8,571		
Satellite Terminals	03				
Microwave Links	134				
OFC (km)	1,901				

Source: SCO, Muzaffarabad.

Postal Communication (2017)			
Communication Facilities Nos.			
General Post Offices	07		
Sub Post Offices	124		

Source: GPO, Muzaffarabad.

Important Mineral Reserves (2017)					
Type of Minerals	Total Reserves (million tonnes)	Value At mine head (Rs. in million)			
Bentonite Mirpur & Bhimber	4.500	6,750.00			
Granite Muzaffarabad & Neelum	500.000	400,000.00			
Marble Mzd., Neelum & Kotli	34.000	34,000.00			
Coal Muzaffarabad & Kotli	30.000	120,000.00			
Lime Stone- Muzaffarabad	1,000.000	20,000.00			
Gypsum Mzd. & Jhelum Valley	5.000	1,000.00			
Bauxite – Kotli	7.000	1,400.00			
Fireclay- Kotli	7.000	1,400.00			
Quartzite- Kotli	7.000	1,400.00			
Ruby- Neelum	50 million grams	25,000.00			

Source: AKMIDC

AJ&K Small Industries Corporation (AKSIC 2017)						
Name of Centre	Jhelum Valley	Neelum	Mirpur	Total		
Wood Working/Carving Dev. Centre	01	01	-	02		
Loi/ Pattu Dev. Centre	01	01	-	02		
Zari Embroidery Centre	-	-	01	01		

Source: AKMIDC

Tourism (2017)						
Year Rest Houses Visitors/Year (No.) (in million)						
2015	34	1.200				
2016	36	1.500				
2017	31	0.752				

Source: Tourism Department, Muzaffarabad.

Piped Water Supply (2017)

(Percentage)

С 4	District	Population Served			
S.#	District	Urban	Rural		
1	Muzaffarabad	52.74	54.55		
2	Neelum	20.99	46.43		
3	Jhelum Valley	18.13	57.01		
4	Bagh	9.79	52.4		
5	Haveli	34.21	47.37		
6	Poonch	12.13	56.94		
7	Sudhnoti	23.81	41.89		
8	Kotli	87.95	63.00		
9	Mirpur	83.76	68.00		
10	Bhimber	50.06	65.98		
Total		44.51	57.71		

Sources: i. PP&H Department, Muzaffarabad ii. LG&RD Department, Muzaffarabad.

Income and Expenditure of Local Council Service (2017-18)

(Rs. in million)

	Total No.		Expenditures			
District	of M(C) D(C)	Total Income	Dev.	Non- Dev.	Pay & Allowance	Total
Muzaffarabad	04	276.753	24.334	95.458	156.961	276.753
Neelum	02	25.498	3.468	7.048	14.982	25.498
Jhelum Valley	02	19.908	3.737	16.171	0.000	19.908
Bagh	03	54.818	5.560	32.998	16.260	54.818
Haveli	02	12.873	0.872	4.340	7.661	12.873
Poonch	06	87.412	17.466	39.993	29.953	87.412
Sudhnoti	02	21.813	4.009	11.696	6.108	21.813
Kotli	08	238.961	55.530	83.813	99.618	238.961
Mirpur	07	376.437	66.389	88.950	221.098	376.437
Bhimber	03	97.825	35.300	29.816	32.709	97.825
Total	39	1,212.298	216.665	410.283	585.35	1,212.298

Source: Local Govt. Board

^{*}MC=Municipal Committee, DC= District Council & TC= Town Committee



"Recommends to the Governments of India and Pakistan the following measures as those which in the opinion of the Council and appropriate to bring about a cessation of the lighting and to create proper conditions for a free and impartial plebiscite to decide whether the State of Jammu and Kashmir is to accede to India or Pakistan".

(UN Security Council Resolution (47) 1948 dated 21st April 1948)