

**Settler-Colonialism, Social Movement, and Human Rights Discourse: The Case of Azadi
Activism in Kashmir**



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Activism in Kashmir**



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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my family and sister, without their support I would have done my thesis much faster.

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Abstract

The research undertakes to assess the settler colonial project by India in the occupied valley of Kashmir. By using the settler colonial paradigm this study reflects and complements the settler colonial paradigm by explaining four stages of settler colonialism i.e. elimination of indigeneity, expansionism, exceptionalism and denial of hidden structures of violence. Indian settler regime's draconian laws as well as state machinery is involved in physically eliminating the indigenous Kashmiri body as well as transplanting its own culture into the territory. The settler project is expanding into the region by changing the demographics of Kashmir replacing it with Hindus and allotting land to retired army officers by offering them domiciles. The state ideology of Akhand Bharat and RSS is glorifying the Hindu aspects of Kashmir identity like encouraging yatras inside Kashmir and inflaming religious Hindu nationalism. Lastly the regime has always been involved in denying any semblance of human rights to Kashmiris and any resort to grievance redressal at state level and from government machinery is discouraged. The indigenous resistance to re-manufacturing the Kashmiri identity and settler desire is both armed and un-armed. Unarmed struggle has incorporated innovative ideas like distributing calendars as days of resistance, enforced curfews and days of curfews. On 14th of August 2021 fireworks were lit in the honor of Pakistan's Independence Day defying the heavily militarized authorities there. Solidarity with Pakistan is another unarmed resistance method in this social movement against settler colonialism. The human rights discourse is used by Kashmir azadi activists to continue their struggle for their right to self-determination. India, the settler state has offered the "sarak, bijli, pani" (road, electricity and water) development discourse to divert their attention from right to self-determination towards other development human rights discourse but discourse of azadi and right to self-determination never fades away because indigenous population realizes that the settler class which is offering them fundamental human rights is the one denying the actual realization of human rights and making them "exogenous others". The research incorporated semi-structured qualitative interview method to assess the situation in Jammu and Kashmir by analyzing the 9 responses of azadi activists, politicians, indigenous Kashmiris living in Jammu region and academicians.

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Literature Review:

The latest activism in Indian Occupied Kashmir started after the death of Burhan Wani in 2016 and mass scale non-violent uprising which India tried to suppress violently (Zia, 2020). The current wave of indignant citizen protest movement in Kashmir inspired by Burhan Wani activism and post Wani can be referred to as 3rd wave movement in Kashmir independence struggle (Zia, 2020). According to research they are both political and economic in nature and metamorphed into anarchism that is devoid of its earlier militancy (Baverel, 2017). This movement is fueled by “crisis of representative democracy” and Kashmiris general distrust in political system due to prevailing authoritarianism and lack of basic human rights in the occupied valley (Baverel, 2017).

The solution of these anarchist aspirations that envision challenging the Indian state are more “self determination nationalism” where they want to get rid of dominant economic and political system. The protest repertoires of this movement align with anarchist strategies because of spontaneity and absence of leaders in post Wani waves of protest. In keeping with this tradition there are no representatives that can negotiate with the state institutions they have already rejected. This “new anarchism” is as much transnational as much local in its activism.

Indian nationalism is rooted in the post colonial informal empire whose imperialism stems from “majoritarian civilizational-national core” with regards to peripheral identities which are considered ethno-nationalistic (Anand, 2011). The signs of Indian post colonial “uninterrogated nationalism” is entrenched in its policies of state violence in Kashmir manifesting in mass unmarked graves, massacres, enforced disappearance, routine sexual violence and fake encounters (Osuri, 2017). This colonial and imperial thought is responsible for continued subjection of Kashmiri subjects in post colonial India in the context of its uninterrogated nationalism.

Post colonial researches have deconstructed the orientalist thoughts about colonized as non-active, non-sovereign and non-autonomous (Ghosh P. , 2015). Rather it is a point of departure from orientalist thought of colonialism where nationalist discourse offers ample political opportunities for colonized to assert their sovereignty (Ghosh P. , 2015).

Chatterjee seeks to explore how Indian nationalist bourgeoisie engage in Gramscian “war of position” to bring under the sway of nationalist ideology and political program of overwhelming part of popular elements in nations and particularly peasants (Osuri, 2017). He gives the example of Gandhian ideology that operates outside post-Enlightenment thought and becomes historical possibility for political appropriation of subaltern class by elites aspiring for hegemony in new post colonial state (Osuri, 2017). The newly formed nation state has the capacity to behave in colonial or imperial manner during the transition to post colonial state.

Post-colonial nationalism is an expansionist project and new nation states indulge in internal colonialism, colonizing the spaces within its borders (Mathur, 2012). The transfer of sovereignty in Indian occupied Kashmir is not legitimated by popular will but by the use of imperial and colonial techniques of power use to exercise India’s nationalist sovereignty (Osuri, 2017).

Before 1990s Indian state “manipulated elections by arresting political leaders and creating “small wealthy clique” with political interests aligned with Indian political hegemony imposed in Kashmir region (Junaid M, 2013). Post 1990s “a more militarized process” was put up in the region to control the space through violence (Junaid M, 2013). Post 1990s the political developments are described as “ensemble of violent practices and spatial strategies” that post colonial state employs to dominate physical space where its rule lacks the popular legitimacy or face the threat of being popularly supplanted (Junaid M, 2013).

The Kashmiri case demonstrates that how India exercises contemporary colonialism and imperialism by employing the certain geo-political framing as “bilateral dispute” between Pakistan and India, or “integral part of India” (Osuri, 2017). This discursive framing discloses how India employs technique to become post colonial to neo-colonial state.

However there are some studies that pose that social movements in global south arise against the dominant structures hinged on the idea of “exclusion” (Thompson & Tapscott, 2010). The dominant theoretical paradigm in social movement studies was criticized for developing a very euro centric experience. In order to study the paradigm which do not fall under the nomenclature of Northern experience, the contribution of inequalities and structural marginalization genetic in modern global system and “internal distortions” arising from indigenous dynamics in social movements in global south were studied (Thompson & Tapscott, 2010). The class based

differences were leading factor that caused discontentment translating into social movements. Structural and environmental factors were also causes of grievances among subordinate masses. Horizontal form of participation between the social movements in global south and global north was found in the form of “invented spaces for participation” (Altmann, Demirhisar, & Mati, 2017). This implies networking and collaboration between southern and northern collective action entities which brews collective identities. These movements tend to lack the proper demarcation of organizational structures and internal bureaucratization. Thus, serving the agendas both globally and nationally.

On August 5th 2019, the government of India annexed Kashmir by announcing the nullification of article 370 of Indian constitution. This article protected Kashmir’s semi-autonomous status. This was followed by blanket communication ban and further increased the militarization of Indian-occupied Kashmir region (Misri & Bhan, 2019). This means the article 35A which protected Kashmiri exclusive ownership of land via its permanent resident status also went down the drain. Thus, the law which protected the threadbare vestiges of Kashmiri autonomy and their indigenous ownership of their land from Indian settlers vanished overnight (Osuri & Zia, 2020). The Jammu and Kashmir Land Reorganization Act promulgated on 31 October 2019, allows for sale of Kashmir land which was previously protected by the article 35A now allows the Indian settlers to acquire the land ostensibly for development purpose through an old Hindutva vision of demographic change converting majority Muslim Kashmiris status into minority one (Zargar, 2019).

This naming and framing of colonial violence expand the scholarship debate to settler colonialism, colonialism and occupation in modern era. The academic debate terms this occupation as transcending the realm of international humanitarian law toward the “extraterritorial military interventions” (Matos & Ward, 2012). This military occupation includes annexation of territory, forced interventions, establishment of long-term military bases. In Kashmir’s context, research has explored how India has moved towards “occupational constitutionalism” or occupying through constitutional process (Duschinski & Ghosh, 2017). The occupational constitutionalism can be mapped through “farcical invocations and theatrics of democracy or elections” and continued rhetoric and narrative that legitimizes this occupation

(Duschinski & Ghosh, 2017). This Indian stated induced violence can be renamed as denied sovereignty and colonialism in the context of Kashmir.

Similar to the colonial practices of Israel in Palestine, India has maintained the “necro-penological regime of dispossession” in occupied Kashmir (Kevorkian, 2014). This implies that Kashmiri dead bodies are evacuated from humanity not just in life but also in death. Necro-penology means the practice of incarcerating the dead bodies, thereby expanding carceral spaces and infusing new form of tortures in the practice of mourning (Mbembe, 2003). The Kashmiris are denied the right to mourn which can be construed as political act by settler colonial state. The enforced disappearance of 8000+ Kashmiris has put their families into state of mourning in an “unending uncertainty” (Zia, 2019).

The continued use of pellet guns by Indian security force illustrates the extreme violent neo-colonial mindset that India wants to exert its occupation on Kashmiri bodies. Indian government employs the narrative of fine-tuning a “non lethal” punishment as projecting Kashmiris as rights bearing citizen of legitimate democracy (Zia, 2019). The narrative of “non lethality”, even as killings of combatants and non combatants is useful technique employed by India to offset any rampant allegation of extreme violation of human rights. By making this “maiming” a central act of government as its sovereign right, India has given the impression of itself as appearing a democratic governance (Zia, 2019). However, it behaves as military neo-colonial occupation undertaking extreme violence to brutally suppress Kashmiris. United Nations Human Rights report on India clearly demonstrates how violence is perpetuated by enforced disappearance, outright killings, mass rapes, incarcerations, blinding by pellet guns and that too its forces are operating with uninterrogated accountability (Zia, 2019).

Indian settler state in order to suppress the Kashmir freedom movement impose curfew. Under the curfew the assemblage of four or more Kashmiris is unlawful but walking alone is not unlawful rather its forbidden (Junaid, 2019). By announcing curfew India is “interpellating” creating “Kashmiris as subject of occupation”. Louis Althusser defined the concept of interpellation as function of ideological state apparatus which forms subjects when individuals internalize ideology of state through non-coercive process of hailing (Althusser, 2001). In colonialism, ideological and oppressive state apparatuses are joined and interpellation works via

direct threats of violence. Under Indian colonialism curfew lasts for months. But many Kashmiris walk alone as a form of “embodied resistant surveillance” one that counter surveils the “ever lasting surveilling apparatus of occupation” (Junaid, 2019). “Walking in protest” is a critique of “colonial spatial logic”.

People living under Indian occupation may not give clear script of resistance, but research argue it needs full appreciation of logic because it is a political project because they are enacted to be seen as right bearing subjects wanting to fulfill their bodily demands (Junaid, 2019). As the occupation and Indian colonialism fabricates a deep sense and space of alienation, the deeper and entwined history of bodies and places in Kashmir become unconscious reservoir of resistance. They respond to colonialism and violence with adeptness and agility. They speak in different tongue to resist the neo-colonialism. The decolonizing begins with an acknowledgment of solidarity protests located in contested sovereign indigenous space. Decolonizing solidarity thus requires, “dramatic reconstruction and reimagining of relationships between people, land and state” (Osuri, Imperialism, 2017).

Kashmir movement traces its footsteps to pre-partition mobilization of Kashmiris against Indian occupation forces. That movement has evolved over the time (Mahmud, 2012). An unparalleled prevalence of upsurge has been witnessed by the aggrieved minority Kashmiri group in India, far from appearing as religiously inspired or ethno-nationalist movement, Azaadi movement in Kashmir is striving for “self-determination nationalism” from “accommodation-seeking nationalism” (Osaghae, 2008).

The contemporary freedom movement is collective mobilization under the umbrella of non-violent approach that has adopted the liberal elements of progressive human rights discourse highlighting the torture, rapacious exploitation of systemic difference for oppressing Kashmiris and extra-judicial killings of peaceful activists and protestors in Indian occupied Kashmir (Mahmud, 2012). Apart from that, Kashmir movement is also exploring the lens of social violence where “acts of violence are committed by disrespecting, humiliating, dishonoring and taking similar actions like insulting etc to harm or damage the identity or reputation of victims and extending control over them (Sanaullah, 2020).

The discourse of human rights is the main weapon to seek the attention of justice seeking group whose emancipatory and empowering perception gives a sense of security to Kashmiri people about their entitlement to protection, development, equality, and self-determination. Human rights are the most common form of grievance expressed by oppressed groups in their activism against the status quo (Osaghae, 2008). Their usefulness in social movements act as sanguine formulations to press for social change against existing structural power arrangements or at least strive for that change (Landy, 2013). Human rights approach rings the bell on wider scale as a face of recognition for social movements because everyone has human rights as a virtue of universality of human frailty (Turner, 1993).

However critical scholars criticizing the discourse of human rights take a less forgiving approach on the application of human rights. They believe human rights develop as a means of challenging power but more often they end up further as a means of institutionalizing it. Once they are institutionalized, they will play a “highly ambivalent role in respect of power” (Stammers, 1999).

Other scholars are more vicious in their criticism of human rights. Human rights are often limited to negative liberal rights which implicitly carries anti-political aspirations for the subjects making them yearn to be free of politics and entire collective determinations (Brown, 2004). This denudes them from proper historical context undermining the political aspirations of aggrieved suppressed people. By labeling masses as individualized, decontextualized objects makes the ground fertile for powers residing in western hemisphere to intervene in global south (Rancièrè, 2004). Human rights act as “linguistic signifier” which produces de-politicized, decontextualized victims waiting for assistance from global north to intervene (Landy, 2013).

Some scholars argue that human rights discourse should not be seen as legal abstractism rather it is a socially constructed discourse. It has inherent universalizing tendency. This means it originates from social movement at one place but it can be used as an explanatory framework for another struggle. It is a process of “localized moments of contention and cognition translated into universal language” (Estévez, 2011). This language can have both enabling and constraining effect.

Critics of human rights have problematized their application on four sets i.e. “metaphysical abstraction”, “legal positivism”, “strong particularism” and “structuralism” (Stammers, 1999).

The idea of human rights fathered by natural rights is included in almost every critique, but this aspect hinders the actual socio-historical developments of human rights in particular social context (Mendus, 1995).

Secondly, the codification of human rights in the bills of rights and regional rights instruments limit the role of social movements in construction of human rights (Landy, 2013). This oversimplifies a very complex phenomenon.

Thirdly, particularism accept the existence of human rights as socially constructed ideal but focus on particularities of such social construction (Simpson, 1996). They deconstruct the universality of human rights. Any universality is actually an imposition of one form of particularity on other. This particularity can be found in “cultural absolutism” hinged on the idea of strong nature of particular culture to communitarianism which assumes strong communities based on nation-state to post modernism which focus on plurality, fragmentation, and difference and deny the universality of human rights (Wilson, 1997). This is problematic development as cultural absolutism and communitarianism fail to de-mystify the socio-historic development of rights narrative. It clubs together all the cultures as unitary and deny their “historicity” (Landy, 2013).

Fourthly, structuralism pours the structuralist explanation as hinderance for the realization of human rights. The most likely example is Marxist critique of bourgeois ideology which believes human rights is just a reason for western imperialism. But it strongly denies any possibility of any human action which can challenge the structures of power (Pollis & Schwab, 1975). In other words, the role of social movement is bringing the positive change for the realization of human rights is often overlooked (Landy, 2013). Social movements remain important agents in retarding or fostering the socio-historical change. If social movements facilitate change, then new relations and structures of power will become institutionalized and culturally sedimented in new social order.

The discursive use of human rights in social movement challenges the structures of power in how power is embedded in everyday social relations and “concentrated sites of power” (Stammers, 1999). The human rights discourse in social movement seeks to legitimize the alternative norms, values and lifestyle and also validates the identities and perspective of

oppressed by structures of power. In Gramscian terms they establish “counter hegemony” (Hunt, 1990).

Social movements have demonstrated the tendency to make power visible and by deploying human rights discourses they challenged the entrenched power structures (Stammers, 2003). It is therefore accurate to see socio-historical development of the concept of human rights taking the form of social movement. The new social movements based their assertion on cultural identity extensively use the human rights discourse which have mushroomed into demands for whole new sets of human rights claims (Tucker, 1991). New social movements have challenged the structures and relations of power by using human rights.

The very notion that people are entitled to human rights for their protection, equality, self-determination and development gives an impetus to take the struggle for social movement in non-systemic ways. This foregoing provides the perfect context for “new grass root stirrings” “new social movements” and “action groups” (Osaghae, 2008).

Framing the human rights discourse in social movement provides a bolstering trend to entrench mutually exclusive ideological and political stance of actors located in oppositional positions like Israel-Palestine conflict etc (Landy, 2013). The universalist concept of rights discourse bypasses the ethnically segregated concept of exclusionary nationalism and allows them to attain “cognitive liberation” (Futrell, 2003). Cognitive liberation allows some people to look at their misfortune as injustice. This provides them ground on which critical claims are made and a stepping stone for collective mobilization and action. Cognitive liberation is intertwined with contextually relevant frames to overcome the “informational haze” (Futrell, 2003). Human rights discourse provides such liberatory framing mechanism for Kashmiri activists.

However, the western intellectual hegemony on the scholarships for social movement obscures the different dynamics of these social movements in global south. Social movements in global south do not necessarily emerge in liberal environment (Altmann, Demirhisar, & Mati, 2017). They are reminder of illiberal and undemocratic environment. The case of Kashmiri azadi movement under the Modi regime smacks of that (Zia, 2019). Major contrast between social movements in global north and south is, the north social movements tend to concentrate on matters involving society rather than state (Altmann, Demirhisar, & Mati, 2017). While in global

south, social movements challenge the existing system of control inside the state. The feeling of disillusionment with democracy, the “ability to aspire” and “capacity for voice” arises from global south (Appadurai, 2004). Kashmir solidarity movement is a social movement led by youth by incorporating latest social media technology to spread the message of human rights loaded with heavy liberal idioms like civil liberties, social justice and popular sovereignty (Mahmud, 2012). This movement has wiped out the image of foreign driven struggle and bolstered its ingenious character. This has not only garnered support from wider Kashmiris including diasporas but also from within India. Research has shown the social movements inside India aspire to change their condition by shattering the rough cleavages imposed by caste based hierarchies and improve the geography of uneven development. Indian social movements have two fold objectives “equality”: an inclination to fight for removing socio-economic deprivation and “identity” in pursuit for consolidating the collective identity of specific region, religion, caste or class (Ray & Katzenstein, 2005).

Theoretical Framework:

Settler colonialism studies have consolidated their position as their own field of inquiry. In settler colonialism, colonizers come to stay and establish new society for themselves while replacing the indigenous population (Veracini, 2010). It hinges on the drive towards self-supersession – a totalizing rationality that will abolish indigenous futurity and transcend towards post-colonial or settled future (Park, 2020). Patrick Wolfe highly influential studies on settler colonialism leverages from the argument that in settler societies “invasion is a structure not an event” (Wolfe, 2006). Settler colonialism is not just a thing of past, but it is a persistent present reality. It is different from colonial projects. The colonizers, in former case, “comes to stay” in order to establish a new political system for itself (Veracini, 2013).

According to John Collins there are four stages of settler colonialism: elimination, expansion, exceptionalism, and denial (Park, 2020).

Elimination may not always require complete physical obliteration of indigenous bodies but also disappearance of indigeneity i.e native culture, identity, or society (Lawrence & Dua, 2005). It is an organizing principle that aims to manufacture a new settler society by demolishing and replacing the indigenous one.

The settler colonial project hinges upon the logic of elimination while colonialism is intertwined around the “logic of exploitation” (Veracini, *Introducing*, 2013). A decolonized political body and neocolonial relations the latter maintains with colonizing metropolises are direct successors of colonial state. Settler colonialism is impervious to regime change. The settler colonizer seizes the land of colonized while eliminating the natives and replacing them with settlers. The colonizer seeks the labor from the land of colonized. Territory is “specific irreducible element” of settler colonizer while race, religion, gender, civilizational discourse, and ethnicity also plays a complex role (Busbridge, 2017). It’s a wholesome project designed to coordinate comprehensive agencies from metropolitan centers to frontier encampment (territorial invasion by colonizers) in order to eliminate native societies (Wolfe, 2013). It is not predominantly dependent on presence or absence of state institutions or state functionaries. Accordingly, the patronage of genocide by settler colonialism doesn’t necessarily hinges on formal state apparatus.

The logic of elimination is tied with the logic of expansionism where frontier is important ideological structure which facilitates territorial acquisition (Veracini, 2010). The heroic discourse about settler’s frontier forms a part of state founding myths and frame discourses about indigenous bodies (Evans, 2014). Therefore, the land seizures become important policy in order to build a new settler society.

The logic of expansionism and elimination are linked with colonial ideology of progress. It traverses the path towards evolutionary western civilization. This progress is inflected with **exceptionalism** that renders the heroic self-supersession of settler colonialism (Collins, 2011). It gives settlers a sense of purpose, righteousness, mission and indeed a destiny.

At the same time, it relies on denial of hidden structures of violence that are persistent in the present. Literal denial denies the raw facts of wrongdoings and atrocities (Collins, 2011). Interpretative denial gives different meanings to raw facts. Cultural denial encourages normalization of social disregard and wrongdoings. All of these modes of denial represent settler colonies (Collins, 2011).

Settler colonialism paradigm has gained traction in the academic studies because it proposes the conventional models of conflict resolution are not equipped with the conflict’s colonial dimensions. It suggests instead to make decolonization the part and parcel of any solution.

The settler colonialism leaves very little space for indigenous agency. According to research as mentioned above there exists a nexus between former colonial states (like UK), current settler colonial states and powerful post colonial states (like India) in military alliance and geopolitical liberal trade (Osuri & Zia, 2020). This leads to “logic of elimination” of natives rather than “logic of exploitation” of indigenous people (Wolfe, 2006).

The settler colonial situation establishes a system of relationships between three agencies: the indigenous colonized, settler colonizer and a variety of differently categorized exogenous alterities (Veracini, 2010). In settler colonial domains, indigenous and exogenous others progressively disappear in different ways: expulsion, extermination, incarceration containment, selective assimilation and restriction for subaltern exogenous others (Lloyd, 2013). It is characterized by permanent domination of native population by exogenous others, including certain mythologies about settler/indigenous difference, an ambivalent relationship to the metropole and settler need to manufacture an “indigenized” identity with particular preoccupation with militarism and violence (Busbridge, 2017).

Indigenous people obstruct the settler access to land so their increase in population was a threat to settlers. Their race was targeted by “logic of elimination” and race become genetic code for settler colonialism studies (Wolf, 2011). Islamophobia, racism, and xenophobia are intrinsically tied to settler colonialism.

Under settler colonial model, elements of settler citizenship are selectively offered to the native population, after their radical reduction, in order to eradicate residual sovereign impulses (Povinelli, 2002).

Recently transitional justice has been established as paradigmatic framework to address the injustices perpetrated by settler regimes against indigenous population most notably under liberal democracies (Winter, 2014). However, this concept has been deconstructed by new research on three ontological grounds (Park, 2020).

First transitional justice operates on the ontological stability of settler colony. The violence which is designated for transition is “non-identical with state and society”. Contrary to it, in settler colonialism in which transitional justice responds to regime of violence is indivisible from

society and state. In settler colonies, transitional justice may confront violence but cases like Argentina, a country which experienced transition from dictatorship to democracy, remains a settler colony (Wolfe, 2006).

Second, transitional justice and settler colonialism share a common futurity. Settler colonialism strives for self-supersession- in order to become post-colonial. A settler becomes natives instead. Transitional justice allows settler state to “settle in”, to become post-colonial.

Third, both settler colonialism and transitional justice is liberal polity. Liberal philosophies deeply enmesh colonialism, racism and liberalism and exude those who are deemed as fully capable of being human being (Mendoza, 2013). The indigenous scholars of decolonization have long declared liberalism as long arm of settler colonialism. Liberalism debates for inclusion, humanity, and greater pluralism while native people who provide fertile ground for such kind of debates are deferred into past which never happened and a future that will never come. In other words, the liberal ethos of right to self determination is based on the denial of same value i.e. self determination to indigenous population in settler societies (Wolfe, 1994).

Under settler colonialism, sanctioning the equal rights of native population has always been deemed as powerful weapon in the denial of their indigenous entitlement and in enactment of coercive assimilation. The former acts as a tool for their own delegitimization. This bolsters the subjugation of indigenous people under settler colonialism. While at the same time the talk of reconciliation becomes an empty “pacifying discourse” with no acknowledgement of the native self determination or return of their lands (Park, 2020).

Survival and resistance are genuine passages on which post-settler colonial foundations can be built. Survival doesn't simply imply the active presence, but also continuation of native stories. These stories are denouncing dominance, victimry and tragedy (Park, 2020). But both of them must become ultimately unnecessary only when exploitative desire to disappear native population is abandoned. Correspondingly native people must stop, being understood as vulnerable.

Theoretical relevance:

India's tryst with settler colonialism has been a feature of India's Kashmir landscape long before the partition of the subcontinent in 1947. However, its relevance as a theoretical paradigm being used in colonial studies is relatively new. In colonialism, colonizers want natives "to work for them" while in settler colonialism settlers want natives "to go away". India's abrogation of article 370 and article 35 A on 5th of August 2019, has shed the light on settler colonialism as a more fruitful theoretical lens to study its ventures in Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK). Settlers want to occupy indigenous land and eliminate natives who stand in their way. As non-Kashmiris flock to Kashmir, India's identity as a settler state comes to fore.

Post-partition regime of India defines how much settler colonial mindset has guided its policies in IOK. Arbitrary detention, military impunity and forced displacements which were regular features of the Indian army in IOK, even before 5th August 2019, are explained by settler colonialism. Article 370 defined the "permanent residents" of longtime residents of Kashmir and gave them particular privileges like the ability to purchase land.

Article 370's promise of autonomy was a shallow legal conjecture. India removed Kashmir's unique governance feature like the seat of prime ministership. The federal and state elections have further facilitated the dilution of article 370. The state elections often installed, uninstalled, and reinstalled the local government by the federal interventionist government. The result was the choice of hand-picked pro-Indian state political parties. During governor rule, India imposed the Armed Forces Special Powers Act and the Public Safety Act under which military authorities carried out forced displacements, and arbitrary detentions with full impunity.

Indian state machinery was busy at clipping away the autonomy of Kashmir, a freedom struggle exploded manifesting in rich unarmed forms like protests, graffiti, rap, boycotts and marking Indian Independence Day as black day.

According to John Collins's stage of elimination in settler colonialism, elimination may not always mean eliminating the native body but also the disappearance of indigeneity, i.e. disappearance of native culture, identity or society. Before abrogating article 370, the Indian state started promoting "militarized tourism" as a coercive policy to steer Kashmiri identity as Hindu.

one. The promotion of Amarnath Yatra- a Hindu pilgrimage to Lord Shiva- was equated with national pride. This militarization of tourism has excluded Muslim identity in Kashmir. This worked as sophisticated policy weapon for erasing the indigeneity. Indian settler like desires has infected every aspect of life in Kashmir. Bollywood films exploit Kashmir landscape as empty pastoral space free of any freedom or political aspirations or unrest and later chastise it of forgetting the imagined past. Signs greeting visitors to Kashmir declare it as “atoot ang” an integral part of India and development projects like Kashmir Railway Project underscore the settler desire to assimilate Kashmir into Hindu nation. After few days government of India revoked article 370 erasing the state identity of Kashmir altogether.

Intense human rights violations have flowed from militarization of Kashmiri soil. From 2008 to 2018, an estimated 1081 civilians in Kashmir were “eliminated” by security forces by extrajudicial executions. These tragedies are further compounded by unmarked, unknown, and mass graves and incalculable cases of sexual violence and torture. These are the actions that would be otherwise deemed as abuse of criminal justice system but enjoy impunity under use of Armed Forces Special Powers Act. Thus, the logic of elimination of nativity is tied to logic of expansionism.

The settler colonialism of Indian regime has also erased the Kashmiri civil society voices against arbitrary detention. In these legal regimes Kashmiris are caged as demographic and existential threats. It relies on denial of structures of violence that are persistent in past and present.

Abrogation of article 35A makes the recruitment of settler community on indigenous Kashmiri land a reality. Thus, it secures the “settler colonialism’s specific irreducible element” i.e. land or territory. India can now invest the territory for natural resources, exploitation of trade and for settling new community of residents there. The non-Kashmiri residents can now acquire Kashmir’s domicile. The non-local Kashmir business of mining bids were solicited at the time when internet connectivity was restricted in Kashmir. Thus, a blow to native Kashmir’s mining business.

Thus, with all these actions Indian occupied Kashmir is moving towards self-supersession- a totalizing rationality that is abolishing Kashmiri indigenous futurity and transcending towards post colonialism or settled future (settler’s future).

Research methods:

It is qualitative research. It wanted to gauge the indigenous response to the settler colonial project by invoking the use of human rights through in-depth interviews. The research wants to gauge the lived experience of people living under the settler occupation. It is a qualitative research which has employed the theoretical paradigm of phenomenology. This research wants to analyze and interpret the experience of others. Hence in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted from the participants.

Research Objectives:

- To understand the settler colonial project of Indian state inside Kashmir in IOK especially the reconstruction of identity.
- To understand the extent of resistance posed by social movement of azadi activism against the settler colonial project.
- To understand if human rights discourse help indigenous response in resisting settler colonialism

Research questions

- **Is Indian state eliminating the aspects of Kashmiris identity under its settler colonial project?**
- **Did Social movement of azadi activism resist settler colonial project?**
- **Did human rights discourse help indigenous response in resisting settler colonialism?**

Data analysis and discussion:

The settler colonial project is a distinct type of colonial project that expands through the replacement of indigenous people through an invasive settler society. Over the time it gives birth to distinct identity and sovereignty. According to Patrick Wolfe settler colonialism is a structure rather than event. This means that settler colonial invasion persists in ongoing elimination of indigenous population and asserting state sovereignty and juridical control over their lands. Despite notions of post colonialism settler colonial societies do not cease being colonial when political allegiance to founding metropole is severed. Although colonial lens has been applied to Kashmir dispute but the abrogation of article 370 suggests that colonial lens may be more befitting to it. Settler class aim is to occupy indigenous land and eliminate those who stand in the way. Thus, as non-state Kashmiris flock to Kashmir India's identity as settler colonial state stands exposed.

India identity as settler colonial state predates back to partition of subcontinent. Kashmiris living in Indian Occupied Kashmir used to come to Pakistan, during British rule for their jobs. After their jobs they would return back to their homes. There was a "tithe" imposed by the Maharaja which was kind of a tax, explained Rashid Wali Janjua in 2021, a researcher with Islamabad Policy Research Institute who studied Kashmir, "All the hard earned earnings of the whole summer was taken away once they returned back to their country for their rest and recreation, waiting for their families." It was a very exploitative and unjust system. It subjugated Kashmiris, deprived them of their rights and socially marginalized them. Muslims lost their political as well as economic cloud and became a subjugated class. "There was even a term of derision to refer to them as Kashmiri Hatus", explained Janjua. This exploitation which led to poverty and estrangement erupted in the form of popular discontent against Sikh Maharajas ruling them. This discontent kept its momentum after partition of 1947 against settler colonial regime of India. Muzammil Ayub Thakur, Srinagar born Kashmiri activist said in 2021

"It is important we understand what settler colonial project looks like of India particularly RSS (Rashtraya Swamiksevak Sangh). They believe in something called "Akhand

Bharat”, “Akhand Hindu Nation”. It is one of the reasons India is so pained by the liberation of Pakistan. It is another extension of the reason why they facilitated the secession movement or breakage of east Pakistan from west Pakistan. For they feel the death by thousands cuts (a Chinese proverb meaning small injuries are inflicted to become fatal) where they can weaken all the other regions that have separated from Akhand Bharat ideology. In the future they can reunify.”

Settler colonial regime over the time imposes its own distinct identity and sovereignty over the indigenous lands. As mentioned in the theoretical section of this research John Collins mentions four stages of settler colonialism where first stage is elimination. The settler colonial project hinges upon the logic of elimination. Elimination may not always require complete physical obliteration of indigenous bodies but also disappearance of indigeneity i.e. native culture, identity, or society. As for India’s settler policies in following the logic of elimination, it is trying to impose its own Hindu Rashtra philosophy over Kashmiri landscape in Indian occupied Kashmir to eliminate the indigeneity. The “Hindu Rashtra” or “Akhand Bharat” philosophy comes from RSS literature that Hindus believe span Hindu nation because they believe they are a superior race (Leidig, 2020). These terminologies are present within the Hindu Rashtra literature. It is inspired by the Nazi ideology. RSS literature on Hindu Rashtra has extracted exactly the same kind of wording and language that the Nazis used when they were justifying the atrocities during the war. This philosophy spells out the superiority of Aryan race, “pan Hindu nation, one party, one ruler, one nation” (Sarkar, 2020). According to a Srinagar based activist, whose identity is kept anonymous for the fear of reprisal from settler colonial state, Hindu Rashtra believes that peace can be attained on their own terms. They want to capture Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal Bhutan and Sri Lanka.

“Their (Hindu Rashtra) literature identifies holy Kaaba and Makkah as Makkaishwar Mahadev. That’s what they refer to Makkah as! The holy site of Muslims they believe is part of Akhand Bharat. When we talk about the war on Kashmiri identity it isn’t about being Kashmiris it is because they are Muslims. They want to convert these people back into Hinduism because they believe that before Islam came, before Mughal empire

everybody was a Hindu. Hinduism was the primary religion in the region. They want to revert back to it.”, exclaimed that activist in 2021.

Muzamil Ayub Thakur further said in August 2021

“These are the same kind of languages Nazis use identical to the RSS. That’s their philosophy and I am just translating it all identity on Kashmiris. It is not just the war on the identity of Kashmiris but it is the war on the religious identity of Kashmiris. A lot of times we mistakenly think Indian nationalism is what is a priority. Indian nationalism isn’t priority for Hindus. It is Hindutva. It is Hindutva ideology.”

On 5th of August 2019 Indian settler regime in Indian occupied Kashmir abrogated article 370 and 35A of Indian constitution. Many people see the article 370 and 35A as largely symbolic. It had a symbolic function of preserving Kashmiri identity. Article 35A had the legal function of defining the “permanent residents” of Indian Occupied Kashmir valley which was preserved and vested with the legislative assembly of Indian occupied Kashmir valley. Resultantly the local government was able to give them special privileges like the ability to buy lands to permanent state residents of Kashmir valley. Hence only state subject Kashmiris could own property in the region that India has occupied forcefully.

Settler colonial project is involved in multiple layers of eliminating indigenous identity and transplanting its own identity and philosophy.

The Kashmiri language is under threat. Inside the Kashmir the predominant language spoken by Kashmiris is Urdu and Kashmiri. Now they have erected the Sanskrit and Hindi as official language after the abrogation of article 370 and article 35 A. Altaf Hussain Wani, a Kashmiri researcher at Kashmir institute of international relations and an activist noted that:

“Urdu use to be official language in Kashmir for last 131 years. Now it has been replaced by Hindi. So, in Kashmir we have a Persian written script, BJP is trying to replace it with Dewan Darri. They are rewriting the history of Kashmir.”

Expanding this point further Muzammil Ayub Thakur says that his cousins in Kashmir are now speaking Hindi. He explained that in Urdu it's the expression “Araam se” (slowly) but now it has been replaced by “dheeray dheeray” (Sanskrit expression of slowly) on my cousin tongues by the settler regime of India. Instead of saying khandan (Urdu word for family) they say pariwar (Hindi word for family). This is the literal form of saffronization. The biggest social agent for implementing this settler language i.e Hindi is school. The research found that the settler colonial regime of India inside occupied Kashmiri schools have started teaching Hindu mythology in place of traditional history. Similarly Kashmiri traditional dress called Pheran a long cloak worn by indigenous people of Kashmir, has been banned in government buildings and in public places.

“If you understand how re-education camps works! They have started inculcating and brainwashing the young children into re-educating them. People accuse China of doing it but when India is doing it, it doesn't seem to be problem particularly inside Kashmir. So, these are methodologies that they use to further the settler colonial project inside Kashmir. They not only want to settle colonies but also colonize the people themselves intellectually, literally, culturally, physically and economically.”, lamented Muzammil.

The realm of economy is also targeted by settler colonial regime of India. Another Shopian based pro freedom Kashmiri activist told more than 50% of population inside Kashmir is dependent on government jobs and other 50% are either laborers, farmers, or businessmen. Even those businesses are highly dependent on external funding. Indian Occupied Kashmir doesn't have international port or borders. It doesn't have traditional routes, of course they have been blocked by India. The indigenous economy is very much dependent on settler colonial regime of Indian input and external output.

“Even our apples, they are first selling inside India at lower rates, then they are sent abroad at higher rates. We have here tulip gardens inside Kashmir. They (tulips) are sold at very lower rates to India first then they are sold at higher rates by Indians. In terms of economy if you look at the 2008 we have Amarnath Land row which we call our version of intifada. Arabs had Arab spring we had ours long time before them. India imposed economic blockade during that period. Indians stopped all forms of important imports to and from Kashmir. In those 6 months we had no import from India. No food, medicine, water or milk, healthcare support whatever it was. It was all stopped! That’s when we realized how dependent India had made us on them for daily necessities. That’s another form of settler colonialism to make sure indigenous population are completely and utterly dependent on occupying force/settlers regime”, told Muzammil.

In the second stage of settler colonialism, logic of elimination is tied with expansionism. The heroic discourse about settler’s frontier forms a part of state founding myths and frame discourses about indigenous bodies. Therefore, the land seizures become important policy in order to build a new settler society.

Kashmir in Hindu Rashtra belongs to Hindus. According to Altaf Hussain Wani, Pakistani leader of All Parties Hurriyat Conference and chairman of Kashmir Institute of International Relations, to glorify this ideology, settler regime is constructing 50,000 temples in Kashmir. While official record shows there were only 432 temples in Kashmir. They clearly want to expand their ideology while eliminating the indigeneity. Secondly, along with that the settler regime is creating more Hindu pilgrimage sites in Kashmir.

“Previously Indian occupied Kashmir had 3 to 4 Hindu pilgrimage sites like Amarnath Yatra and Ganderbal temple. But now they are trying to create more and more such sites by justifying this site was occupied by this Hindu lord and that Hindu lord. On this place that lord stayed there. So, they are creating more pilgrimage sites in order to attract more and more Hindus to Kashmir”, told Altaf Hussain Wani.

The settler regime wants to “hinduize” Kashmir. When non-state subjects outside of Kashmir throng to Indian Occupied Kashmir, they bring their culture, language, customs, traditions, threatening the basic indigenous identity or indigeneity. The settler colonizer seizes the land of colonized while eliminating the natives and replacing them with settlers. The colonizer seeks the labor from the land of colonized. Territory is “specific irreducible element” of settler colonizer while race, religion, gender, civilizational discourse, and ethnicity also plays a complex role. In case of Indian Occupied Kashmir the settler regime has also tried to change the environment in the name development. Kashmir is mostly a forest land, a paddy land. The constitutional of India attaches the environmental rights to it. Construction on paddy land is prohibited. More than 21,000 hectares of land “the irreducible element” of settlers is under occupation of Indian armed forces in Indian Occupied Kashmir (Mehr-un-Nisa, 2021). More than 243 hectares of forest land has been given to Indian Army and over 727 hectares of forest land was allotted between 18 September and October 21 by former Forest Advisory Committee (FAC) (Mehr-un-Nisa, 2021). Mashal Malik the azadi activist and wife of Yaseen Malik leader of Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front, told India is ignoring the environmental laws because there is strict action against such violence and then above then it’s a disputed territory.

“They are playing with the water bodies over there. Thousands of canals of land banks are being earmarked indefinitely and are being allotted to non-state subject holders; the Indians by announcing their best industry policy”.

The settler regime wants to settle its retired and serving military personnel in occupied Jammu and Kashmir. Settler armed forces have started working on Kashmir’s first Sainik colony to provide housing facilities to retired Indian soldiers and also to the families of deceased soldiers and army personals (Mehr-un-Nisa, 2021). There have been already three soldier’s colonies propped up in India occupied regime complementing the settler project. Meanwhile Zila Sainik Welfare Office have also forwarded the request for the transfer to 25 acres to home department in Srinagar (Mehr-un-Nisa, 2021).

“They are giving citizenship rights to non state Kashmiris and land rights to Indian army there. They can declare any place as strategic. They can build cantonments there, quarters for army personals and societies. For it is the Indian army which decides if this place is strategic, they can take it over. It can include town or village or something else. They can take it over”, lamented Mashal Malik.

To replace is to eradicate the native population within the settler colonial paradigm. This eradication is driven by logic of elimination. The “logic of elimination” doesn’t necessarily entail violence as stated by Patrick Wolf. To eradicate indigenous equally means displacement, forced assimilation and induced disappearance of nativity. The autonomy guaranteed under article 370 shows that Kashmir’s autonomy was diluted by growing settler desire for Kashmir and its land facilitated the modern settler colonial project in the region.

Article 370’s autonomy was largely unfulfilled. It was a pledge not redeemed. The settler in colonizing metropole (New Delhi) began to unilaterally modify the principles of article 370. These modifications reflected the metropole’s desire to seize power from Jammu and Kashmir legislative assembly and disband the elected state governments. After partition 47 presidential orders extended 260 of Indian constitution’s 395 articles to Kashmir (Chatterji, 2020). The settler colonial regime of India used these presidential orders to enlarge the mandate of most Indian laws to Jammu and Kashmir region monopolizing the settler rule over there while subsuming the Kashmiri’s self-governance. India removed prime ministership from the legal cover of Jammu and Kashmir state legislation and installed the office of chief minister that can be controlled from metropole. The elections have been largely criticized as the denial of actual realization of the political rights of Kashmiri population. The colonizing metropole has often uninstalled, reinstalled, and hand-picked the pro-Indian local leaders (Widmalm, 1997). When state government is deemed as inoperable which fails to uphold the neo-colonial relations with metropole, it is dismissed. The federal governor is put in place by the colonial metropole to deprive the indigenous entitlement of their political rights. The federal governor has been imposed 8 times with longest duration of president’s rule in Kashmir state, the settler project has

effectively expanded its control while eliminating Kashmir's dissenting political voice following the logic of elimination (Chaubey, 2018).

After the abrogation of article 370 the legal framework surrounding the right to the residency at Jammu and Kashmir was redefined, making it mandatory to obtain a domicile certificate to enjoy facilities like education, employment, and housing. Under the Jammu and Kashmir Reorganization Order 2020, 29 laws have been completely repealed and 129 laws have been partially amended. According to amended law people residing in Kashmir for 15 years or more will be considered the permanent residents or state subjects of Occupied Kashmir valley (Chaubey, 2018). Complementing that the students who have completed at least 7 years of education, including 10 or 12th grade studies from the academic institutes of Jammu and Kashmir will also be considered residents. Under new domicile law, according to Altaf Hussain Wani the chairman of Kashmir Institute of International Relations, in January 2020, 22 million Indians/Hindus (non-state subjects) qualify for domicile.

“This means you can have a job in Kashmir. You can purchase the land in Kashmir, you can buy the immovable property in Kashmir. By getting more population to getting settled in Kashmir, this is land grab in Kashmir. With the more influx of population, it will become Muslim minority state”, claimed Altaf Hussain Wani.

According to Mashal Malik the settler regime has granted 12 lacs (1.2 million) non-state subjects of Kashmir i.e. Hindus the registered voter rights in disputed territory. This step is aimed at further expanding the settler colonial project and converting Muslim majority into Hindu majority.

The logic of expansionism and elimination are linked with settler colonial ideology of progress. It traverses the path towards evolutionary western civilization. This progress is inflected with **exceptionalism** that renders the heroic self-supersession of settler colonialism. It gives settlers a sense of purpose, righteousness, mission and indeed a destiny.

The erosion of Kashmir autonomy stemmed from growing rhetoric of desire for Kashmir. The land of the occupied valley was long prized for its strategic location and fertile soil. The settler's long focus on constructing Hindu heritage of Kashmir has amplified reasons for non-Kashmiris Hindus to flock the region. The promotion of Amarnath yatra- special homage to the ice formation representing lord Shiva has grown over the years. This promotion has been equated with the national pride where "yearning for Moksha (salvation)" is associated with solidarity towards soldiers fighting to defend the land (Junaid, 2012). The construction of Hindu-ized religious identity in Kashmir manifesting in promoting the construction of 50,000 temples in occupied valley that too for minuscule Hindu minority shows that state is fueling the "exogenous otherness" of Muslims. The settler regime has crafted the Kashmiri identity into Hindu one. It was indeed Amarnath Yatra that state heavily advertised in months leading to abrogation of article 370. In fact before revocation of article 370 and 35A, settler regime evacuated thousands of Hindu pilgrims citing a Pakistan backed terrorist attack. This further militarized the region. Non-Kashmiri students in Kashmiri universities were ordered to leave (India orders tourists to leave Kashmir over 'terror threat', 2019). When pressed about the rumors of abrogating article 370 and article 35A state political leaders assured that its rumor mongering (Zia, 2019). All those assurances proved to be a lie. Amarnath yatra is manifestation of militarized tourism. The presence of settler military is reminder for Yatris (pilgrims) that its their land and they can feel safe in it. The signs greeting the tourists in Kashmir emphasize that Kashmir is "atoot ang" (integral part) of India and its "India's crown". India coined the term 'Kashmiriyat' to give this Sufi-sque passive historical identity to Kashmiris and to ask the people of Kashmir to go back to those roots (Junaid, 2012). This concept envisages the religious need to go back to Sufi identity. A more passive identity to be subdued by Hindu majority. Muzammil Ayub Thakur spoke on this in August 2021

"There is a misconception about what Kashmiriyat is, people of Kashmir never understood what Kashmiriyat was because we never created that term. The term was created by Hindu minority to subdue Muslims majority. Lot of this can be found in book written by Ather Zia about the misnomer of Kashmiriyat. For us, Kashmiris, the realization has come that Kashmiri identity is deeply rooted with Muslim identity. Our Muslims identity is deeply rooted with Pakistani identity. That is how we identify

ourselves, most of us at least.... As Kashmir Muslims align themselves deeply with the principles of Quaid e Azam, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Allama Iqbal and Pakistan.”

The colonial intertwining of military bureaucracy and settler colonial regime of India has enabled the goal of latter: to deny. The denial of hidden structures of violence that are persistent in present. Kashmir has approximately more 900,000 military personals making it highly militarized zones of the world. Intense human rights abuses have flowed from this militarization. According to UN OHCHR report from 2008-2018 alone an estimated 1081 Kashmiri civilians were eliminated by security personals. Atleast 8,000 Kashmiris have been disappeared since the start of pro-freedom uprising in 1989 (Aljazeera, 2019). At the heart of this settler colonial regime, a defacto impunity has been granted to military forces. The imposition of Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) was made during Governor rule in 1990. Similar legal regimes have been imposed in “disturbed areas” (Armed Forces (Jammu and Kashmir) Special Powers Act, 1990 (No. 21, 2012). The definition of disturbed areas is very vague. Its scope is determined by colonial metropole (central government) and is not subject to any review. This law vest sweeping legal authority to military officers. They can use lethal force where it may not be required. The armed forces can annihilate any property from which armed attacks are likely to be attempted, arrest without any warrant and enter or search without warrant. They can also search, stop, or seize vehicles. In short actions that would otherwise constitute the breach of human rights law or Indian criminal law are now part and parcel of AFSPA. The violence has been structuralized and settler regime is denying these hidden structures of violence. Notably this law contains within an explicit immunity clause, “No prosecution, suit or other legal proceeding shall be instituted, except with previous sanction of central government.” The reality of immunity clause has been devastatingly brutal for indigenous population of Kashmir. In last 28 years not, a single case has been prosecuted under Armed Forces Special Powers Act by either Home Secretary or Defense secretary (Imroz, 2019). Although activists around the India have challenged its power but court has held that army’s powers are not “arbitrary” or “unreasonable”. This law is inspired from British colonial vestiges of Armed Forces (Special Powers) Ordinance 1942 to trample on “Quit India Movement” for subcontinent’s struggle against colonial yoke (India: Briefing on The Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958, 2005). The rationale for AFSPA is not far from modern day neo-colonial settler tendencies of India where it wants to

engage in literal denial of the raw facts of wrongdoings and atrocities as stated in the model of John Collins about settler colonialism.

In addition to granting military impunity, an arbitrary detention regime erected by settlers in Indian occupied Kashmir has erased Kashmiri voices from civil society. The imposition of Public Safety Act (PSA) enlarges the tentacles of preventive detention that operates outside the criminal justice system of India. This law was enacted in 1978 to prevent the “timber smugglers” from destroying the forest landscape of the Kashmir region (Chakravarty, 2020). However, this regime has been applied to multiple perceived “dangers” like the entrance of unauthorized subject in the prohibited spaces, or the circulation of any material which “affects the public order”, or any individual acting “in any manner prejudicial to maintenance of public order” (Jammu and Kashmir Public Safety Act, 1978, Act No VI Of 1978, n.d.). If anybody is found violating PSA, that person can end up in jail for a year if they have acted in a manner prejudicial to maintenance of public order” or up to two years if they have acted “prejudicial to the security of state”. The detaining authority must be “satisfied” that facts meet the threshold no criminal charge or suspicion of criminal activity is required (Jammu and Kashmir Public Safety Act, 1978, Act No VI Of 1978, n.d.). It excludes the traditional protection granted by criminal justice system. Detainees are without any access to judicial authority, facing restrictions on access to legal representation, or judicial appeal or review to judicial review. The only legal redemption available to challenge arbitrary detention under PSA is to petition Supreme Court or high court through habeas corpus. Habeas corpus inside Kashmir is obsolete, so this structural violence results in disappearance of indigenous Kashmiri bodies. At the height of 1990s the relatives of missing persons filed thousands of habeas corpus petitions (Ghosh, 2020). Majority went unheard, Muzammil Ayub Thakur commented on the application of PSA in 2021

“You have draconian versions like PSA, that means anybody can be put in jail for two years without any trail. They (settler regime of India) can put as many PSAs as they want. The evidence is Masrat Alaam, we call PSAs as revolving door. He went to jail for two years under Public Safety Act. The moment he is to step out for release, they place

another PSA act on him he again goes back to jail. He has been in jail for more than 25 years.”

The purpose of Public Safety Act is to ensure to keep recalcitrant Kashmiris “out of circulation”. The combination of Public Safety Act and Armed Forces Special Powers Act establishes a “Death zone” where detention and impunity runs rampant. It encapsulates the perfect legal regime erected to expand the settler project of encaging Kashmiris as “existential and demographic threats” (Kanji, 2020). “Spatially differentiated policing of populations” with intense militarization of indigenous soil suggests that terrorist stand for “indigenous” (From Domicile to Dominion: India’s Settler Colonial Agenda in Kashmir, 2021).

The entire civil and administrative restructuring is happening in Indian Occupied Kashmir. Kashmir has rich Sufi history. The darbars/dargahs (shrines) were under the control of Kashmir and they were run by the contributors of Niaz from Kashmiri Muslims. Mashal Malik said in 2021. “Those assets (Sufi dargahs) are now taken over by Delhi and the dargahs, the mehkma-e-auqaf (department for religious charity) just like here (Pakistan), they have the waqf board there, that is also under the control of India”

Nisar Ahmed Thakur, hailing from Kashmir and a researcher of Kashmir studies said that India has taken full control over the educational institutes and the seats of the Kashmiris are being allotted to Indian students. They are being favored more. The bureaucracy has been completely shuffled and Kashmiri bureaucrats are not back to resume their services in Jammu and Kashmir and they are being shifted to far away states from India.

“Kashmiri bureaucrats have been replaced with fascist BJP supporters. They (the latter) are being shifted there for administrative control not just in the army or the police but even in the JK police, majority is Indians now. There are very little Kashmiris left (in bureaucracy)”, says Nisar Ahmed Thakur.

Covid proved a real game changer for India. Before the pandemic struck, there were massive protests going inside India against the restructuring of legal regimes like the imposition of Citizenship Amendment Act, abrogation of article 370 and 35A but the pandemic provided authoritarian regimes around the world an ideal opportunity to clamp down on protestors in the name of scuttling congregations (Kaushik & Penkar, 2021). It allowed the ample time to settler regime of India to re-manufacture and consolidate the legal changes which were facing massive backlash before pandemic. Mashal Malik said the testing kits were being transported to Jammu and Kashmir. They were not being provided to the public.

“They were being provided to set segment especially to the occupational forces for their protection, for their care. Secondly ventilators were being given to hospitals. They were being given to Indian army hospitals in Kashmir and other extra ones were sent for other extra Indians because Kashmiris are not human beings, they are just statistics of shooting game.”

Shehryar Afridi, the chairman of Parliamentary Special Committee on Kashmir verified that only one ventilator is available for 72,000 Kashmiris and one doctor for 74000 Kashmiris. He said Pakistan requested for health corridor to occupied Kashmir so that covid cases can be handled based on humanitarian response to health crisis. But this request was turned down.

The electoral re-engineering is happening in the legislative assemblies. The elections will be conducted on the basis of geography not on demography. According to Mashal Malik there is 6.8 million population in Kashmir valley in 2011 census, while 5.3 million in Jammu region. India abolished the legislative assembly of Jammu and Kashmir after the abrogation of article 370 and 35A but it has retained the provisions reserving 24 vacant seats for Azad Kashmir in the legislative assembly of Union Territory of Indian occupied Jammu and Kashmir. Kashmir region dominated by Muslim population has 46 seats, 9 more than Jammu region resided by Hindu Pandits and Buddhists. These boundaries were demarcated on the basis of 1981 census. They were last re-drawn in 1995. After abrogating the article 370 and 35A settler regime wants to

increase Jammu seats to 9. So that a demographic change becomes more pronounced and in the favor of settler regime there.

“This is their plan. They have given Jammu greater seats based not on population but on geography because they have already settled Hindus over there (Jammu) for decades. Now they want to add 9 more (seats) in Jammu. That’s why they had talks with so called mainstream political leadership of Kashmir. I call this leadership collaborators. Even collaborators have rejected this plan.” Said Mashal Malik.

Repertoire of indigenous resistance

Unrelenting legal hostility and militarized response to social dissent targeting Kashmiri civilians i.e. students, healthcare practitioners, laborers, lawyers and journalists and their allies has failed to curb the indigenous resistance to the settler regime.

The indigenous resistance of Kashmir against the settler colonial project is going on for last 73 years. That makes it one of the longest indigenous resistance to settler regime in modern history. Kashmiris initially decided to resist the settler colonial regime peacefully without invoking the use of arms. But the heavy handedness in eliminating the identity and erasing the culture by settler colonial regime of India had pushed and forced indigenous resistance i.e. the peaceful population the civilian population towards adopting the violent means in their self-defense for attaining their right to self-determination.

According to Srinagar based Kashmir Muslim lawyer Nasir Qadir

If you have to trace the armed struggle it started way back in 1972. But it was not very organized, what we call “musalah” (organized). Kashmir started its armed struggle, in an organized manner, in 1990s, post 1989. In 1987 when Muslim United found that their elections were rigged by congress party at a massive scale and majority of their political

leaders were arrested, so, they resorted to armed struggle. There were massive Human Rights violations. In their self-defense they started their armed struggle. So post 1989 both the streams are going on. The indigenous armed struggle in self-defense and then there is local mob who are resisting the occupation peacefully.

The lawyer further deliberated that right to self determination of Kashmir is granted by United Nations which UN accepted and recognized in the context of Kashmir's indigenous struggle in the form of social movement against settler colonial project. The 9/11 was paradigm shift in international relations. Post 9/11 there was a kind of pressure to entire regions who were witnessing war of liberation or resistance against colonial regime. Indian political narrative at global arena very successfully linked the social indigenous movement resisting against settler colonial regime with terrorism, religious militancy, and fundamentalism (Balagopal, Kashmir: Self-Determination, Communalism and Democratic Rights).

It is a sheer absurdity to relate 9/11 theory of exceptionalism with any movement which is fighting/resisting for the war of liberation against colonial regimes. No doubt India gained (from the international environment created against Islamic militancy post 9/11). Because world bought their narrative on war on terror. But let me tell you whenever you resist colonial regime, it is permitted within international laws to fight a colonial regime. Thus, the armed struggle like in the case of Palestinian armed struggle (is legally just). Every social movement to self-determination has a right to fight in self-defense. There are certain points about theory of exceptionalism or War on Terror but it clearly mentions that wherever there is fight for Right To Self Determination, the party to indigenous rights have every right to self-defense. So is this situation in Kashmir. We cannot link it with WoT or islamophobia or whatever the radicals think.

Qadir further deliberated upon the armed resistance to settler colonial regime, "We have one of the largest indigenous armed group called Hizbul Mujahedin". Hizbul Mujahedin has its own laws, rules and regulations. They are governed by their own constitution. They act within the ambit of their constitution. They don't target civilians. They have a fixed agenda. They resort to

guerilla forces resisting the settler regime. If there is any kind of act who is contrary to their constitution, then they have prosecution panel as well.

“You will find many stories about their disciplinary actions.” Qadir commented.

Unarmed Resistance Methods in social movement

The indigenous response against settler project has incorporated many innovative unarmed resistance methods.

In 2008 when settler regime in connivance with local government installed by metropole transferred forest land to Amarnath shrine board in main Kashmir valley to set temporary facilities and shelters for Hindu pilgrims. There was a mass mobilization. People numbering 500,000 a day came out against this land scam. This was Kashmiri intifada in 2008. Another intifada occurred after Tufail Mato was killed, young boy who was going to private tuition. It was in 2010 when Kashmiris started “Quit India” movement. In these mass mobilization movement, common masses would come out to streets, they would assemble at a place and they would protest peacefully. The peaceful protest was targeted by pellet guns, that are used on animals and are banned. The settler regime would consider its “right to maim” (Zia, Blinding Kashmiris, 2019). The justification followed by using pellet guns in mass blindings was the technology of “non lethality” in punishing indigenous resistance movement. This disability resulting from blindness was a registration of “biopolitical population control” that decide which bodies are hailed by institutions to depict the professed progress made by “liberal rights bearing subjects” (Puar J. , 2017). The use of pellet guns is about producing maimed physical bodies that are not allowed to die. For the living death is imposed on them. The “shoot to cripple” manifesting in right to maim is aimed to pre-empt the debilitating resistance capacities of another intifada (Puar J. K., 2017). The settler regime wants to produce a deformed population unable to resist the settler colonial project.

Protestors also adopt stone pelting, similar like in Gaza, to resist the settler occupation. The youth protest against 9 lac armed forces when they use excessive force. Other than peaceful protest there are indigenous guerillas fighting occupation. A direct confrontation with occupation.

The “politics of democracy” concept deliberated by Ather Zia explains how India utilize the tool of democratic system- primary electoral system like elections to extend its settler project there (Zia, Blinding Kashmiris, 2019). It wants to legitimize its own right to govern and hinder the actual realization of human rights for indigenous population by installing puppet regime there.

In post Wani protest over eleven thousand people were wounded more than ninety-eight were killed. The politics of criminalizing social dissent coupled with military impunity over civilian lives- whether combatants or non-combatants- and massive human rights violations have made people accept that the structures are not going to help them in seeking any grievance redressals. The government machinery and military will not be prosecuted. Puar studies the concept of racializing bio-political logic of security in the context of Gaza to Ferguson. In Kashmir this racializing exists in otherizing Muslims who are liable to be killed because they are “traitors” to Indian settler colonial project. Muzammil gave the practical example of racializing the bio-political logic of security when an 8 year old was martyred by settler military in occupied Kashmir during the regime of Mehbooba Mufti, whose government was in coalition with BJP, she sarcastically said the boy didn’t went to fetch a toffee? “She had no consideration that an eight-year-old was killed”, expressed Muzammil.

Now post abrogation of article 370 and 35 A the general distrust of mainstream pro Union political leaders is increasing among the people. The research found that there is massive backlash against the “collaborators” (pro Union mainstream Kashmiri politicians “Gobkar group comprising Mehbooba Mufti, Farooq Abdulla and Muzafar Baig etc). Rashid Wali Janjua, a researcher at Islamabad Policy Research Institute studying Kashmir movement, said post abrogation of article 370 and 35 A, Gobkar group comprising leaders like Mehbooba Mufti, Muzzafar Baig, Farooq Abdullah who always pandered to the wishes of Indian leadership and

always paid a second fiddle to the Indians, went against India after revocation of article 370. They had to be put under house arrest and detention. The Modi government invited them over and came to negotiate some kind of settlement within the Indian union.

“It was a very clever attempt to divide the Kashmiri Indians because after a very long time Kashmiri leadership both moderates and middle of the spectrum and hard-liners are gelled together”, commented Rashid Wali Janjua.

This is one of the indigenous responses by social movement of resisting the settlers. Even “collaborators”, who lost their support within the party workers are refusing to assimilate Kashmir in to Indian union.

After 2019 the legal landscape has made indigenous resistance against the settler colonial regime very claustrophobic. There is virtual as well as physical lockdown. Media blackouts have been so wide that practically it is difficult for people to organize themselves. Respondents interviewed for this research were in union with the point of view that Burhan Wani appeared as poster child of resistance movement. His existence gave inspiration to Kashmiris to further their cause. It reinvigorated and re-instilled the need for the resistance against settler colonialism. The political leadership inside India Syed Ali Gillani, Masrat Alaam, Mirwaiz Umar Farooq, Asia Andrabi, Yaseen Malik, were locked up inside the bar. They are not given the political opportunity to speak on public platform or on social media or on media in the same way as collaborators or Indian puppet regime is given.

An underground activist wanting to remain anonymous reached out to this research and said because it (Burhan Wani phenomena) was an underground movement, it was rebellion of sorts. It gave people inspiration that a young boy with limited training and resources of armed resistance has become a poster child of armed resistance charged with his fellow mujahedeen comrades. It gave people a hope laced with responsibility that whatever we can do, we have to do it. That passiveness within the social movement melted away giving rise to write more to research more, and to reach out to international community.

To be active simply put as much possible as they can. It wasn't just Burhan Wani, highly educated, highly qualified, highly intellectual people like Riaz Neiko, or Dr Manaan Wani felt to resist the settler colonial regime was through armed struggle. said Muzammil.

After Wani martyrdom it further gave people inspiration to look for alternative methods to resist occupation. Another form of unarmed indigenous resistance was to issue calendars. Calendars for Kashmiris aren't just dates, days, and time of the week. Calendars for them means days of resistance, days of curfew, days of imposed curfews that they impose on themselves to resist settler colonialism. Indigenous population won't go out to the streets. They would protest by not serving customers or plying the streets without cars. So, unarmed resistance continues like that.

Muzammil explained that on 14 of August 2021 Kashmiris came out and lit fireworks celebrating Pakistan's Independence Day in the face of millions of military personals, in the face of millions of pellets guns, bullets and tanks.

They still celebrated it. They still celebrated Pakistan's Independence Day. They rejected India's Independence Day. So sometimes our forms of resistance aren't just about physical resistance against occupation, it is about showing support to Pakistan. That in itself is a resistance to settler regime. On Indian Independence Day they put complete curfew not allowing anybody out. People sometimes defy those curfews.

Kashmiris would employ different methods like they resort to Hartal. They would shut down their businesses in show of defiance for civil disobedience.

Ramifications of settler colonial policies in Kashmir:

Muzammil Ayub Thakur explained the social movement resisting settler colonialism, "Until 2019 we resisted in every form and shape." But post abrogation of article 370 and 35A the digital

resistance which spawned the rise of Burhan Wani phenomena and gave a new face to Kashmiri indigenous resistance movement, was shut down by Cyber IT cell of India that monitors all the digital activity (Kashmir group calls India's internet ban 'digital apartheid', 2021). Communications are encrypted but India bypassed that by employing snooping software purchased from Israel. People who used social media as a tool to express their conditions and convey news to international media has been curtailed. People coming on streets for peaceful protest, have also been curtailed by laws that do not allow more than 3 people to congregate on streets.

During the course of this research, it has been found through various in-depth interviews with people involve in activism of Kashmiri indigenous resistance that settler regime is very rapidly involved in extricating the Kashmiri identity and replacing it with settler colonial identity. But people of Kashmir maintain highly with Islamicity. In order to find out the depth of repression and activism to resist that repression Muzammil Ayub Thakur's cousin got martyred by settler colonial regime. This was not the first martyrdom sacrifice in his family. Many people have been targeted of his family by settler colonial regime. However, he asked for the felicitation of martyrdom in his family. He declared him as lucky one to attain the ranks of martyrdom. Same was the case with Nasir Qadir a highly qualified lawyer from Srinagar. He reacted to the settler colonial regime's project in inflicting the brutalities to radically re-construct the makeup of Kashmir concept,

It is not about zulm (brutalities). Of course we bear a lot of oppression! It is about the deep knowledge of our religion and jihad. I am very liberal guy. I am also PhD candidate. I am pursuing my PhD in armed conflict right now! I have seen so many liberal societies. Don't count me in radicals calling for jihad. Jihad is something else. If you go to the philosophy of jihad. If person is on the haq (truth), if person is fighting colonial regime, if person is fighting non-Muslims who desecrates the sanctity of his mother or sister (mass rapes) when you have such disgraceful things and you die fighting for the chastity of your women or fighting for Islam or against the oppression. It deserves the nobility. No doubt

they have seen a lot of oppression. Kashmiris are in do or die situation. There is no other choice.

Many respondents of the interview linked Kashmiri identity with Islamic identity which they in turn linked it with Pakistani identity.

Social movement incorporating human rights frame:

Indigenous people in the heart of west claimed quasi-sovereign, substate and collective rights by expanding on the language of human rights (Johnson, 2020a). In some cases, they attained success. Indigenous population was successful in crafting an open space for recognition of their indigenous rights. They shifted the state policy to internal self-determination. Indigenous people in 1970s turned their attention to the United Nations for seeking protection for their collective claims. They hoped that this would shame the settler states to granting their indigenous rights. The indigenous population involved the use of “language of wider world”, including that of human rights tying it with their specific colonial history and settler society (Johnson, 2020b). The settler laws are actually the instrument of dispossession. The imposition of settler sovereignty is “uniquely destructive of indigenous rights” (Johnson, 2020c). They usurped the legal regimes and political society of indigenous people. Settler regimes tried to establish norms like treaty making and accession deeds with indigenous population.

In many instances the land was grabbed without any agreement by the legal arms of settler regimes in the form of allotment policies and land courts which favored settler regimes.

In the case of Kashmir, the settler state has denied them their right to self-determination. Many democratic activists inside India who are outspoken on democratic activism turn on a stony silence on Kashmir issue. A leftist intellectual even dubiously claimed that Kashmir right to self-determination is actually their religious right of self-determination (Balagopal, Kashmir: Self-Determination, Communalism and Democratic Rights).

However, Kashmiris are fighting tooth and nail to resist settler regime. They are struggling for their right to self-determination. For this right they are even ready to sacrifice their everything. India tried to hoodwink the debate around right to self determination to “sarak, Bijli, pani” (road, electricity and water), which roughly means they want to divert the debate to development. But this trick didn’t work on Kashmir indigenous population, because they realized the folly inside this slogan. The same people who are talking about sarak, Bijli and pani are the ones who are denying them basic human rights.

Muzammil said,

This makes no sense whatsoever. Most importantly has anybody asked the people of Kashmir do they want development? Do they want sarak Bijli pani or McDonalds? What do they want? Nobody cares! Everyone will sacrifice every single of those development ideas that India is offering for the right to self-determination. We will give everything all that we have just if we are given our right to self-determination to decide our own fate.

Limitations:

The study conducted wanted to reach out to more people living in Indian occupied Kashmir, but many refrained despite repeated assurance of protection for their anonymity. They feared reprisal from the authorities. Some of them came out but many feared reprisals.

However, the research wanted to gauge the indigenous response to the settler colonial project by invoking the use of human rights. It conducted in-depth interviews for this reason and captured the sentiments of the people living under the settler occupation.

Conclusion:

The settler regime is busy in re-manufacturing the physical, psychological and even environmental landscape of Kashmir. They have imposed draconian laws which makes the suppression very pronounced in Kashmir. The philosophy of Akhand Bharat comes from RSS literature that Hindus believe span Hindu nation because they believe they are a superior race. These terminologies are present within the Hindu Rashtra literature. It is inspired by the Nazi ideology

Unilateral annexation of article 370 and 35 A followed by demographic changes and certain amendments in the law expands the settler colonial project. Domiciles are being doled out to the non-residents, to Gurkha regime (retired army officers). The regime has snatched Kashmiri property. Certain so-called commissions are appointed to change the nature of land from Kashmir Muslim owned to hinduizing it. Military legal regimes can declare any area the strategic land. These are all the methods of settlement. India is employing the settler colonial project in IOK. It is doing this now in a speedy manner especially after the abrogation of article 370 which gives semi-autonomous status to Kashmir.

After 2019 the laws have become so difficult, the communication ban has been so strict, media blackouts have been so wide that practically it is difficult for people to organize themselves. However, Kashmiris have resisted this settler occupation. They have deployed armed as well as unarmed struggle. They adopted very creative and innovative methods to resist. For example they lit fireworks on 14 august 2021 on Pakistan independence day to defy the strict curfew and authorities. They started doling out calendars.

Apart from that the search found out that settler regime failed to suck out Islamicity from the Kashmiri people. They are determined and are in no mood to abandon their indigenous struggle for their right to self determination.

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Annexures

Respondent no 1

To understand the settler background of Kashmir, you need to understand its background. Basically it's a political dispute. It is all about the aspirations of people of Jammu and Kashmir. These aspirations were right to self determination. Right to self determination is universal principal recognized by UN. Through this platform people are given this right so that they can peacefully aspire to their self determination. Now you are talking about this Indian dispute of Kashmir, how to talk about it. How did it started from occupation to annexation on 5th august 2019? The move of India in 2019, it was an act of settler colonialism. how? In order to neutralize the aspirations of people of Kashmir politically, India erected the settler colonialist project.

The movement against India accelerated after Burhan Wani death. Before that the movement was suffering a bit low momentum. However many considered wani a local hero who openly challenged he settler regime of India and that too by using social media a new tool in the itinerary of social movements around the world.

He was the first to use this. He became a household name in Kashmir. Burhan Wani became a household name. after his martyrdom he got massive response from Kashmiri people, his funeral was huge procession. The people came out and massive agitation again started. 140 youth were martyred in the aftermath of his martyrdom. Burhan Wani phenomena was carried by international, social media and Pakistan media. So this movement assumed the name post Burhan Wani freedom struggle or whatever u called it. Actually it is not the struggle that started post Burhan, it was a struggle which was there. We can say this is just different era in freedom struggle in which people came to fore and struggled. Because of this struggle, the fear previously prevailing because of atrocities of India was broken, Kashmiri youth openly came to forefront. They gave the impression that peaceful struggle doesn't give any results which means we have to resort to guns. Post Burhan a new culture was introduced. Literate people, engineers, doctors, scientists, PhDs, researchers from different fields one way or another way, because Indian system had failed them, there is no fear of Indian atrocities in Kashmiris. Out of that people take refuge in taking the gun. A new struggle called post Burhan Wani struggle started. This struggle is same one which started in 1940s which is the right to self determination for the people of

Kashmir. There are a lot of groups involve in this movement which different ideologies. Some talk about Islam, it is the only way of life. some talk no we have the right to self-determination, each and everyone have this right. Somebody talk about different things. But main ideology is same that we need freedom from Indian occupation.

At the moment there is armed struggle prevailing in Kashmir. There is armed as well as peaceful struggle prevailing in IOK.

All the govt are prodding India to improve your human rights situation in Kashmir. At the first juncture they ceasefire at LOC with Pakistan. It was mutual understanding between India and Pakistan. Pakistan also wanted to have ceasefire because it was Kashmiris who were killed because of LOC violations. After that Indians took refuge in this statement to confuse international community that we have started dialog with Kashmiri people. But they approached their old guards. But old guards are not ready t work under the current dispensation.

The de limitation commission has to be met by political leaders and they have to give their input for the commission. But political leaders know their motives inside Kashmir valley. the commission wants to increase the seat numbers in Jammu region. That too in Hindu belt. That way they want to decrease the no of seats for Muslims in state assembly In future elections. In delimitation commission Kashmiri pandits were also asking for 3 seats in Kashmir valley reserved for them.

Human rights commission, the biggest office held by sec general said that Kashmiri people right to self determination is protected by international law. This shook the foundations of Indian state.

Respondent 2

The social movement against India in IOK is considered by many Pakistanis as post Wani movement. For, it majorly used social media for it. Actually, its not like that. This movement right from 1948, when India occupied Kashmir against their wishes when UN resolutions were passed in the favor of Kashmir there was a understanding among Kashmiris they have been occupied by India against their wishes. They knew that UN has given them right to decide their future. That movement continued in one form or another form. It was political in nature. UN was with the movement till 1957 in its whole entirety. India has now abrogated article 370. In 1951 when India tightened its military occupational grip on Kashmir, they gave title to the majlis aamla of national conference as constituent assembly. That assembly passed a resolution that Kashmir is integral part of India. They ascended the accession of maharaja. Pakistan took this issue with UN. UN passed a resolution and said there is no assembly in Kashmir either in Srinagar or in any part of Kashmir as a right to decide on behalf of the people of Kashmir. This thing was simmering in Kashmiris that our right is recognized by UN. But it was start of the movement and with forceful repression coupled with no media on the reports of strong resistance going on in Kashmir against India. But there was always a political resistance against Kashmir in Syria. You might have heard the names of Al jihad, in 1970s there was al jihad named organization, at the same time Al fatah organization was propped up. They wanted to wage guerilla warfare but it couldn't materialize at that time. But those things went on. It culminated in late 80s. for, in surrounding areas in the world, many social movements were successful. Like Russia left Afghanistan, at the same eastern Europe underwent massive changes. People got their rights. Yugoslavia was disintegrated. Keeping in view these conditions Kashmiris thought they should also take up armed struggle. Before that they wanted to have political struggle. Lets challenge India through ballot not through bullet. The elections of 80s were rigged. All those contesting on behalf of resistance, named themselves Muslim Mutahida Mahaz, were put behind the bars. Elections were rigged and Farouq government was installed in Kashmir. Then that gave birth to armed struggle in Kashmir where Kashmiris decided to go for armed struggle. Armed struggle was started in late 80s in 88. Armed struggle continued after 88. It saw its fair share of ups and down. This armed struggle internationalized Kashmir issue. Foreigners also came to know about Kashmir. Hindustan used to go to world to tell there is insurgency in Kashmir and Pakistan backs militancy in Kashmir but no body was listening to India at that time. Everybody

use to say go and talk to Pakistan and Kashmir and resolve the problem. This movement was a very strong movement, not just an ordinary movement. If I could have the archives, I could show you there were hundreds of thousands of people on the streets in Kashmir in 1990s everyday not one day. Hundreds and thousands of people everyday on streets rioting on each and every nook and corner of Kashmir valley even in Poonch Rajouri. So this movement is nota new one. What happened which is your question post Burhan, after 9/11 Kashmiris adjusted unilaterally to the international environment. After 9/11 whatever happened in war on terror in America it was said the use of gun should be prohibited. Kashmiris unilaterally adjusted themselves. Lets now out case and lets have a peaceful resistance. If you have gone through the Kashmiri, there were huge intifadas in 2008, 2009 and 2010. Before Arab spring there was a Kashmir spring, many people use to throng out for this thing (movement). So it was there. What happened then the Indian response to this was militarized. That was not civilized response, they used same tactics same rules as they were used against the militancy and all that and they would propound the human rights violations which they did from 88 till date. This can be found in archives in your data and it is also present in human rights reports and in human rights watch reports. Amnesty international also presented these reports along with world largest organizations.

After 9/11 Kashmiris unilaterally changed the modus operandi of their movement. Then came the peaceful resistance as I told you before. There was Arab spring at that time before Arab spring there was Kashmir spring. People in lacs were protesting against India peacefully. Those protest were met with brute force. In 2010 it was first time pellet guns were used in Kashmir. It was 2010. It was started in 2010. If I remember the incident Mudassar was the first casualty of this pellet gun. When this started, India slowly started this narrative around the world that militancy has stopped in Kashmir. These were the militants we have killed them; we have left this all and there is nothing like now. There is peaceful environment. They just try to sell the normalcy around the globe that Kashmir movement has died down. At that time a young boy named Burhan emerged. He has his own history how he was beaten and then he ran away. His brother was also beaten and then they ran away. Both of them were grabbed at check post and beaten. Burhan again ran away while his brother was severely beaten. Then he joined ranks. What he did, Allah wanted to elevate him in the eyes of people, he was the first to use social media. He used social media. Like in 90s or in 88, a lot of anonymous people were there. They

were using their cover names, they were working there without using their pictures. That couldn't translate into household movement. In 89 Yaseen Malik, Sheikh Hameed, Ishfaq Majid Wani, Javid mir, all four boys made Haji group. They use to write for newspaper. They use to pen down article under cover names. For instance writing that.... that person is sitting on the height of 12000 he is doing this thing, while Azad Iqbal (pseudo name) is doing that thing. These boys came to press and they said these are cover names actually we are doing it. They were first who openly came forward, whose pictures use to publish in press. This movement became a household name in Kashmir, these four people. So much so that everyone in house became a commander inspired from them. People started glamorizing the militancy at that time. Everybody took the arms and wanted to have training and go back. Similarly, Burhan Wani for first time use social media and posed with weapons and gave the interviews. He made and posted videos and addressed people, Hindustan and youth there. He was the first to use this. He became a household name in Kashmir. Burhan Wani became a household name. after his martyrdom he got massive response from Kashmiri people, his funeral was huge procession. The people came out and massive agitation again started. 140 youth were martyred in the aftermath of his martyrdom. Burhan Wani phenomena was carried by international, social media and Pakistan media. So this movement assumed the name post Burhan Wani freedom struggle or whatever u called it. Actually it is not the struggle that started post Burhan, it was a struggle which was there. We can say this is just different era in freedom struggle in which people came to fore and struggled. Because of this struggle, the fear previously prevailing because of atrocities of India was broken, Kashmiri youth openly came to forefront. They gave the impression that peaceful struggle doesn't give any results which means we have to resort to guns. Post Burhan a new culture was introduced. Literate people, engineers, doctors, scientists, PhDs, researchers from different fields one way or another way, because Indian system had failed them, there is no fear of Indian atrocities in Kashmiris. Out of that people take refuge in taking the gun. A new struggle called post Burhan Wani struggle started. This struggle is same one which started in 1940s which is the right to self determination for the people of Kashmir. There are a lot of groups involve in this movement which different ideologies. Some talk about Islam, it is the only way of life. some talk no we have the right to self-determination, each and everyone have this right. Somebody talk about different things. But main ideology is same that we need freedom from Indian occupation.

At the moment there is armed struggle prevailing in Kashmir. There is armed as well as peaceful struggle prevailing in IOK.

Post Burhan Wani a new wave of spirit was infused in that struggle. Literate people gave expression to this wave. Previously people use to sell this as a movement arising out of unemployment and illiteracy where people carried guns. But that was not the case in 90s. but in 90s there were people scholars like Shamsul haq, triple MA, Salahuddin the handsome Hizbul chief MA in political scientist, we were there, all educated no one's education less than a university graduate. There was a propaganda against us. Of course illiterate people were also in that struggle. That myth was broken by Burhan Wani. When expression came out that when a professor goes to university and join the rank similarly when a scholar goes to join that rank and world knows that scholar and media knows him already and he is writing on media. Those expressions came out. The movement which out was more political as well as armed struggle.

Kashmiriyat is an expression, it is identity of Kashmiris that they are Kashmiris. That means their culture their religion, their language, their social ethos that means Kashmiriyat to them. For currently we see this is under threat through the Indian invasion. Whatever Hindustan is doing there Kashmiriyat is under threat. So all of these things were protected in the constitution. For Indian it means separation, we are talking something as Kashmir belongs to them. So it is their territory. While talking about their identity and culture and all these things, that means they are denying the sovereignty of Indian state. Thereby they can be dubbed as separatist. After abrogation of article 370 and 35 A they have directly attacked it religion, political and its cultural landscape. What I mean by that Urdu use to be official language in Kashmir in last 131 years. Now it has been replaced by Hindi. So in Kashmir we have a Persian written script, BJP trying to replace it with Dewan Dari. They are rewriting the history of Kashmir. Kashmir was Hindu place, this belongs to Hindus for that purpose they are constructing 50,000 temples in Kashmir. While official record show there were only 432 temples in Kashmir. So for what purpose they are constructing temples. This is one of the questions. Second along with that they are creating more Hindu pilgrimage sites in Kashmir. Previously we had 3 to 4 sites like amaranth yatra then we had Ganderbal temple which had some sort of festival there. But now they are trying to create more and more sites by justifying this site was occupied by this Hindu lord and that Hindu lord. On this place that lord stayed there. So they are creating more pilgrimage sites in order to attract

more and more Hindus to Kashmir. They want to Indianize Kashmir. Because when people come they bring their culture, language, customs, traditions, this threatens your basic identity. On the other hand, after abrogating article 370, they have given the rights to Indians, they changed the domicile law. New domicile law, in Jan 2020, 22 million Indians/Hindus (non-state subjects) qualify for domicile. This means you can have a job in Kashmir. You can purchase the land in Kashmir, you can buy the immovable property in Kashmir. By getting more population to getting settled in Kashmir, this is land grab in Kashmir. Again with more influx of population. So it will become Muslim minority state. But long with that Kashmiris will face external threat to their language, religion and they will be marginalized in their society.

The settler regime has denied all the rights to Kashmiris. Already there were such colonial laws in Kashmir like AFSPA, PSA, NSA UAPA. These are all in contravention of HRL. Its what IHRL says. It has been communicated to India by different special rapporteur of UN HRC. These laws are in denial in IHRL. How can we say that settler government has given them any kind of human rights to the people of Kashmir. The day Modi government came in, there is no freedom of assembly and speech in Kashmir. The new media policy which the government of India has enacted, it says any content written on any of the newspaper or any of the channel has to be sanctioned by government of India. The new content would be state sanctioned content. Indians have totally chocked free speech. Even journalists write with different pen names not with original names for the fear of reprisals. Recently 20 of journalists have been summoned by police. They have asked you have published this content or this story, disclose the source of this story. An FIR has been registered against many of them under UAPA. So media is under threat totally. You cant see any opinion piece in their newspaper after 5th august onwards pertaining to Kashmir dispute or against Indian abrogation of article 370 or any human rights violations there. This regime has totally curtailed media freedom, along with earlier giving citizenship rights to non state Kashmiris and land rights to Indian army here they can declare any place as strategical. They can build cantonments there, quarters for army personals there and build societies there. For it is the Indian army which decides this place is strategical, they can take it over. It includes even if it is town or village or something else they can take over. For this purpose they don't have to take NOC from any department now. Recently amendments were made to Ladakh law amounting to 200 laws after abrogation of article 370 and 35A. all of these to curtail their freedoms, freedom of speech, expression, land rights and protection against unemployment. If

any employee found using social which state thinks is contrary to state sovereignty, he is thrown out office. There is no remedy from any court of law to challenge that dismissal. Police authority will say it is against the state law so you shall cease to be government employee.

When Hindustan revoked article 370, four agenda justification was provided. First article 370 is an impediment in the development of Kashmir. So by revoking them we can have better development schemes. For that purpose Indian govt signed nearly 200 MOUs. With different Indian MNCs. Secondly they wanted to eliminate the dynastocracy in Kashmir, the replacement of the hegemony of four ruling families in Kashmir. They put them behind the bar. Third was giving rights to people with national integration. After passage of two years what we see is govt of India couldn't find any collaborators. For two years there was no takers in Kashmir then again resorted to same collaborators whom they thought to throw out. Who were previously helping the occupation in Kashmir, who were working with them. But at that time Modi govt said these are the people impediment, these are thieves who have looted the national wealth. But again after two years they have enclosed them because they do not find any of their takers outside. Second when this meeting took place, the outcome was nothing. The announcements made after the meeting said nothing substantial happened in the meeting. they presented their grievances but Modi was requesting them to have delimitation first, then elections and then restore the state status to the J&K but not Ladakh. Under the law delimitation is already has been led under the SC. The outcome was nothing some of leaders met with Delimitation Commission while others didn't meet it. Nothing came out which would meet India's settler regime anticipations. This is also problem for the collaborators, if they accept what settler regime is sanctioning them, they will lose whatever little legitimacy they have in Kashmir. Yesterday we heard Mehbooba mufti saying that India should learn lesson from Afghanistan, from Taliban. For that she met with lot of criticism.

Kashmir is baggage for India in order to vent off that pressure India had that meeting with collaborators. The international content, including different opinion in Washington post, NYT and all international papers and all human right organizations. All the govt are prodding India to improve your human rights situation in Kashmir. At the first juncture they ceasefire at LOC with Pakistan. It was mutual understanding between India and Pakistan. Pakistan also wanted to have ceasefire because it was Kashmiris who were killed because of LOC violations. After that

Indians took refuge in this statement to confuse international community that we have started dialog with Kashmiri people. But they approached their old guards. But old guards are not ready to work under the current dispensation. Only purpose to have sanction from them on delimitation and second to tell international community we are in touch with Kashmir people through their leadership, we are talking to them. Third one govt of India wants to conduct elections in Kashmir. Soon after delimitations, they want to legalize whatever they have done ultra constitutionally. In last two years through parliament of India which didn't have authority to do it constitutionally.

The state assembly of Kashmir sanctioned that there can be no delimitation till 2026. That state assembly has been dissolved now. They went for agitation to process that. People resultantly went to SC of India, now that is under court of law. They have to agitate against the then state assembly. For that they need the sanction of political leaders. The delimitation commission has to be met by political leaders and they have to give their input for the commission. But political leaders know their motives inside Kashmir valley. The commission wants to increase the seat numbers in Jammu region. That too in Hindu belt. That way they want to decrease the no of seats for Muslims in state assembly in future elections. In delimitation commission Kashmiri pandits were also asking for 3 seats in Kashmir valley reserved for them. So this is dangerous game for the political leaders who are already contesting the elections there.

Post Burhan Wani a lot of things happened. That's why it got the name post Wani. Although everyday one or two Kashmiri die there. What we saw post Burhan Wani, it saw massive scale of blindings of Kashmiris in the valley. That was dubbed as "year of dead eyes" by physicians for human rights, a US based org. that internationalize the Kashmir cause which rattled the foundations of Indian state. UNHRC reports came post Burhan Wani. So after 70 long years a detailed report was published. Human rights commission, the biggest office held by sec general said that Kashmiri people right to self determination is protected by international law. This shook the foundations of Indian state. Thirdly, BJP agenda was based on Hindutva, abrogating article 370 and 35A from the very start. They got so much unnerved by the UN HRC reports that they thought they should straight away abrogate article 370 and annex Kashmir which would resolve Kashmir issue. India had to earn bad name by doing this. Where tv channels use to show catchy phrases like "incredible India" at the same screen they showed the atrocities committed by India.

This issue was discussed in parliaments around the world which infused new spirit in the struggle against Indian regime Post Burhan Wani with international recognition and indigenous touch. There is no insurgency going on there it is totally indigenous struggle going on.

There is presence of 9lac army there along with draconian laws. They have tried to create silence there but it is a graveyard silence. One of my researcher from occupied Kashmir wrote in his report that peace under pressure cooker. He met me in 2016 and I asked him has the pressure cooker burst. He replied half has exploded. Up till now the pressure on pressure cooker is increasing. The way they are suppressing it and agitation is increasing in Kashmir. They don't have any other option than to use force to crush people's spirit.

Respondent no 3

Kashmir is fighting the war of liberation for last 73 years. That's makes it one of the longest military occupation in modern history. Kashmiris initially decided to fight this colonial regime peacefully in peaceful manner. Even Kashmiris fought elections, some of factions so that they would get their rights politically. But it was India that pushed and forced us, the peaceful population the civilian population towards violence. So post 1989 both the streams are going on. The indigenous and armed struggle in self-defense and then there is local mob who are resisting the occupation while peacefully. They would employ different methods like they resort to Hartal. They would shut down. Or presently what they started doing is trend. They tried to resist this military occupation. So you find both the armed as well as unarmed resistance in IOJK.

No no its not post Burhan Wani, if you have to trace the armed struggle it started way back in 1972. But it was not very organized, what we call musalaha. It was not. In 70s you find Kashmir, it is not a violence, a Kashmiri defending his right, by resorting to arms. But organized manner Kashmir started his armed struggle it was in 1990, post 1989. In 1987 when Muslim united found that their election were rigged by congress party and majority of their political leaders were arrested. So, they resorted to armed struggle. There were massive HR violations. In their self defense they started their armed struggle. So it was post 1989 there were different groups in Kashmir who took up the armed struggle and fought for their right to self determination.

No doubt 9/11 was paradigm shift in international relations. There is a sheer absurdity to relate 9/11 theory of exceptionalism with any movement which is fighting for the war of liberation. No doubt there were certain restrictions imposed on Pakistan, of course India gained. Because world bought the narrative on war on terror but let me tell you whenever you fight colonial regime, there is fight for self-determination, it is the UN or laws. There is only position of war of liberation of right to self-determination, it is permitted within international laws to fight a colonial regime. Thus the armed struggle like in the case of Palestinian armed struggle. Every movement to self determination has a right to fight in self-defense. Post 9/11 there was a kind of pressure to entire regions who were witnessing was of liberation against colonial regime but there is Malaysian declaration. There are certain points about those the exceptionalism or War on Terror but it clearly mentions that wherever there is fight for RTSF, the party to indigenous rights have every right to self defense. So is this situation in Kashmir. We cannot link it with

Wot or islamophobia or whatever the radicals think. The movement in Kashmir is for the right to self determination UN guaranteed, UN accepted UN recognized the right to self determination. So if anyone fights violently or peacefully it is his basic fundamental right. There are plenty of judgments in this case.

We have one of the largest armed group called Hizbul Mujahedin and indigenous armed group. They have a proper constitution. They are governed by their constitution. They act within the ambit of their constitution. They don't target civilians. They have fixed agenda. They have concertation or they resort to guerilla forces. If there is any kind of act who is contrary to their constitution, then they have prosecution panel as will. You will find many stories about their disciplinary action.

Post 2008 when Amarnath shrine board when this land was forcefully given to amarnath board Kashmiris started mass mobilization. There was a intifada in 2008, then there was a intifada after Tufail Mato was killed, young boy who was going to private tuition. It was 2010 when Kashmiris started "Quit India" movement. In these mass mobilization movement, there are two types of resistance. Common masses would come out to streets, they would assemble at a place and they would protest. There was a massive protest. One form of resistance was to protest massively unarmed. Men/ women come out in street and protest leave India from Kashmir and stop human rights violation. Other thing when peaceful protest was targeted by pellet guns, who are used on animals and are banned, the material that they use is banned substance, when occupying force resort to force on unarmed protestors. Then there is stone pelting, similar like in Gaza. The youth protest against 9 lac armed forces and they use excessive force. What do you expect they resist with the stone in hand. Other than peaceful protest there are indigenous guerillas fighting occupation. A direct confrontation with occupation.

We use literature and art. Kashmiris living in Occupied valley are more literate than Pakistanis, Indians, Kashmiris of AJK. If you find the figures of literacy rate you would find them literate than the three regions. So we have a lot of publications. The books they have published to resist the occupation and art is another form of resistance.

Of course it is a settler regime. Unilateral annexation and demographic change and certain amendments in the law, certain new laws. It is a settler colonial project. You give domicile to the non-residents, why? you give domiciles to Gurkha regime (retired army officers). You snatch

Kashmiri property. You appoint certain so-called commissions and then see the nature of land. You issue an order that this area is called strategic land. What is this these are all the methods of settlement. India is employing the settler colonial project in IOK. It is doing this now in such a speed especially after the illegal abrogation of article 370 which gives semi-autonomous status to Kashmir.

Talking to any non-entity or collaborators would in no way solve this issue. You have to talk with various stakeholders. You are talking to bunch of collaborators who have served Indian occupation in last 30 to 40 years. You think talking to collaborators would ease out the sufferings of Kashmiris? NO

This is a volatile armed conflict, a very grave one which needs to be addressed when you involve a local Kashmiri with two important parties: India and Pakistani. India is using a harsh tactics, it is beyond imagination. I think Pakistan is evidently sleeping, it is in a deep slumber right now because they don't have right sense what India is doing post abrogating of article 370. Because there is massive administrative and legislative change going on. So I don't see this issue going any where until there is eye to eyeball contact. That means there should be a war between. Eyeball to eyeball contact means you have to do your diplomacy very aggressively.

No body knows what happens next but the way things are going on. We see massive change at administrative and legislative level at rapid speed, you have censorship every where. Dissent is being criminalized under draconian laws. He are being booked under controversial laws like UAPA, PSA. No law is there. No human rights. This is the place without basic human rights. One doesn't know what will happen to the next. Let me tell you Kashmiri was fighting this occupation, he was resisting the occupation and it is today, tomorrow Kashmir will resist this occupation at tooth and nail. Tomorrow they will resist, no matter if they won or loose but they will not keep mum. They won't compromise on their basic principles, they wont let the settler colonial project to become true or become a reality. Kashmiris will fight. They want to fight. Every Kashmir young, old, male or female. I was lawyer to 85 years old man who was booked under the PSA. Can you believe 86-year-old man. This will give you a sense how Kashmiri see this occupation. How Kashmir resists this occupation.

It is not about zulum it is about the deep knowledge of you r religion and jihad. I am very liberal guy. I am also PhD candidate. I am pursuing my PhD in armed conflict right now, I have seen so

many liberal societies. Don't count me in radicals calling for jihad. Jihad is something else. If you go to the philosophy of jihad. If person is on the haq, if person is fighting colonial regime, if person is fighting non0-muslims who desecrates the sanctity of his mother or sister/ when you have such disgraceful things and you die fighting for the chastity of your women or fighting for Islam or against the oppression. There is nothing like the rise of radicals or they have bear a lot of oppression, no doubt they have seen a lot of oppression. Kashmiris are in do or die situation, even he has to accept this settler colonial thing. There is no other choice.

Respondent no 4

Settler colonialism is not something that has been portrayed by media. The discussion that have arisen out of it particularly since 5th august 2019. I don't believe this is where its stems from. It stems all the way back to 1947. In fact I would say it would go even far back to the foundation of RSS. Proof of which is in the literature in 1920s they modeled themselves on Nazi Germany philosophy. Their ideology is nearly 100 years old. So settler colonialism isn't really a new phenomena. This is something which is in the making for the last 100 years.

Before we talk about Kashmiri identity I think its important we understand what settler colonial project looks like of India particularly RSS. They believe in something called "Akhand Bharat", "Akhand Hindu Nation". It is one of the reasons India is so pained by the liberation of Pakistan. It is another extension of the reason why they facilitated the secession movement or breakage of east Pakistan from west Pakistan. For the feel the death by thousands cuts a Chinese proverb where they can weaken all the other regions that have separated from Akhand Bharat ideology. In the future they can reunify. Now this akhand bharat philosophy comes from their literature that they believe span Hindu nation because they believe they are a superior race. These are the terminologies that are not something that I am making up, they are within their own literature. Its exactly the same kind of wording and language that the Nazis used when they were justifying the atrocities during the war. So you can really mirror the image in contrast to RSS with the Nazi Germany. The philosophy they use the Aryan race superiority, pan Hindu nation, one party one ruler one nation. These are the same kind of languages Nazis use identical to the RSS. That's their philosophy and I am just translating it all identity on Kashmiris. Its not just the war on the identity of Kashmiris but it is the war on the religious identity of Kashmiris. A lot of times we mistakenly think Indian nationalism is what is a priority. Indian nationalism isn't priority for Hindus. It is Hindutva. It is Hindutva ideology. We see that more apparently in recent times when Donald trump came to power in USA, it gave power to right wing to express themselves more freely and more openly. With Modi coming to power it has given the same power to right wing fascists inside India to openly vent exactly how they feel what they believe. They believe peace can only be attained on their own terms i.e Hindutva and Hindu rashtra, pan Hindu nation, akhand bharat. We capture Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Srilanka. To the extent that their literature identifies holy Kaaba and Makkah as Makeshwar Mahadev. That's what they

refer to Makkah as! The holy site of Muslims they believe is part of Akhand Bharat. So when we talk about the war on Kashmiri identity it isn't about how they are just because Kashmiris it is because they are Muslims. They want to convert these people back into Hinduism because they believe that before Islam came, before Mughal empire everybody was a Hindu. Hinduism was the primary religion in the region. They want to revert back to it. That's what I believe where this stems from. This is where settler colonial project and demographic change process is coming from. It is from their philosophy of Akhand Bharat and Hindu nation, one party one ruler. So they can create this Hindu rashtra. So for me when it comes to Kashmiri identity, that is their by-product on the war on Islam.

In the Last of couple of decades, although we know armed resistance started in 1980s and partition happened in 1947, but the way it had impacted the people of Kashmir is slowly over a period of time. What India has done is it has changed the language, inside Kashmir we are predominantly Urdu speaking and Kashmiri speaking. Now they want to change into Hindi speaking and Sanskrit speaking. Our masjids are slowly being shut down and they are funding project to build mandirs, even though Hindu population inside Kashmir is minority and such a minuscule minority that it doesn't deserve the number of temples that they want to open up. They created this fund project to fund as many temples as possible inside Kashmir. Subsequently they will start taking over our masjids and convert them into temples. If you need proof of that then Babri Masjid is prime example. Babri masjid was done inside India and that was not even a conflict zone. So you can imagine what they will do inside Kashmir. So its just our religious identity, it our language identity and our cultural identity is under threat. Our cultural dress called pheran, a very long cloak worn by Kashmiris. They even put a law to ban pheran in govt buildings and public places so we cant wear that.

Of course the language has changed even inside the school now. Instead of teaching the traditional history they teach Hindu mythology. Hindu mythology is a mythology. It is not a scientific historical subject. These are mythologies, religious studies. But they are teaching them as history. More importantly they are even teaching our children the Hindi language. my own cousins I cant speak to them in Kashmiri or in Urdu. I speak in a broken Urdu. I cant even speak to them in broken Urdu. Because their language is very much in Hindi. I will give you an example in Urdu you say "Araam say" in Kashmir children have started saying "Dheeray

dheeray” which is hindi language. instead of saying khandan they say pariwar. This is the literal form of saffronization. They started inculcating and brainwashing the young children in re-educating them. If you understand how re-education camps work. People accuse China of doing it but when India is doing it, it doesn't seem to be problem particularly inside Kashmir. So these are methodologies that they use to further the settler colonial project inside Kashmir. They not only want to settler colonies but also colonize the people themselves intellectually, literally, culturally, physically and economically.

Economically we are very subjugated. More than 50 % of population inside Kashmir is dependent on government jobs and other 50% are either laborers, farmers or businessmen. Even those businesses are highly dependent on external funding. We don't have international port or borders. We don't have traditional routes, of course they have been blocked by India. Our economy is very much dependent on India input and external output. Even our apples, they are first selling inside India at lower rates, then they are sent abroad at higher rates. We have here tulip gardens inside Kashmir. Even they are sold at very lower rates to first India then they are sold at higher rates by Indians. In terms of economy if you look at the 2008 we have Amarnath Land row which we call our version of intifada. So Arabs had Arab spring we had ours long time before they. So India imposed economic blockade. Indians stopped all forms of important imports to and from Kashmir. In those 6 months we had no import from India. No food medicine, water or milk, healthcare whatever it was. It was all stopped that when we realized how dependent India had made us on them for daily necessities. That's another form of settler colonialism to make sure indigenous population are completely and utterly dependent on occupying force.

Until 2019 we resisted in every form and shape. We have our digital resistance which was shut down by Cyber IT cell that monitors all the digital activity. Communications are encrypted but India bypassed that. People who use to use Facebook and social media as a tool to express their conditions and news for international media has been curtailed. People use to go on streets for peaceful protest, have also been curtailed by laws that do not allow more than 3 people to congregate on streets.

You have draconian versions like PSA, that means anybody can be put in jail for two years without any trail. They can put as many PSAs as they want. The evidence is Masrat Alaam, we

call PSAs as revolving door, the moment Alaam went in for two years, the moment he is to step out for release, they place another PSA act on him he again goes back to jail. So he has been for more than 25 years in jail.

Qasim Fakto is another prime example. They have AFSPA which gives military impunity to Kashmir. They can commit murder, torture, rape and forced disappearances, they can do mass graves, pellet blindings anything they want. They would never see a jail why because they have consider it supposedly as high risk terrorist zone. Civilians are mostly suffering because of these draconian laws. Even though we protest there are always counter measures in place. Indian state is very innovative in kind of terms they use. If you listen to the term AFSPA, as if this is a benevolent kind of law in Kashmir, it's a terrorist law in Kashmir.

The types of resistance people have shown on the streets of Kashmir can be in form of peaceful protest, stone pelting, online resistance, or writings. Every opportunity or every avenue people have created out of their own innovation has been curtailed one way or another.

After 2019 the laws have become so difficult, the communication ban has been so strict, media blackouts have been so wide that practically it's difficult for people to organize themselves. But we have seen recently on 14 of august Kashmiris came out and lit fireworks celebrating Pakistan's Independence Day in the face of millions of military personals, in the face of millions of pellets, guns, bullets and tanks. They still celebrated it. They still celebrated Pakistan's Independence Day. They rejected India's Independence Day. So sometimes our forms of resistance aren't just about physical resistance against occupation, it is about showing support to Pakistan. That in itself is a resistance to settler regime. So when we have cricket matches, we can't have Pakistani uniform cricket shirt or flag flying. On Indian Independence Day they put complete curfew not allowing anybody out. People sometimes defy those curfews. Walking alone is itself a form of resistance. Our leaders inside Kashmir, APHC, JRL, another form of resistance by them is to issue calendars. Now calendars for us aren't just dates, days and time of the week. Calendars for us means days of resistance, days of curfew, days of imposed curfews that we impose on ourselves to resist settler colonialism. we won't go out to the streets, we would protest by not serving customers or plying the streets without cars. So, we will resist like that. We will always resist like that. Of course, there is an armed struggle which is indigenous and very miniscule.

When Burhan Wani appear as poster child of resistance movement people already knew about human rights for 70 years. But his existence gave inspiration to Kashmiris that if young boy like him could appear, so good looking and in early 20s if he is able to be so eloquent and take up armed resistance, t gave inspiration to the people to further their cause. It reinvigorated and re-instilled the need for the resistance to Indian occupation. Occasionally what happens is there are peaks and troughs. It is a circle. Every movement has its rotations sometimes you have extreme support for the movement or extreme activity and then you have moments of passiveness. With the rise of Burhan Wani, a poster child of resistance, it gave a people an opportunity an inspiration. The political leadership inside India Syed Ali Gillani, Masrat Alaam, Mirwaiz Umar Farooq, Asia Andrabi, Yaseen malik, they are most of time locked up inside the bar. they are not given the political opportunity to speak on public platform or on social media or on media in the same way as collaborators or Indian puppet regime is given the opportunity to speak. But because it was an underground movement, it was rebellion of sorts. It gave people inspiration that a young boy with limited training and resources of armed resistance can become a poster child of armed resistance charged with is fellow mujahedeen comrades, it gave people a hope laced with responsibility that whatever we can do. That passiveness melts away giving rise to write more to research more to reach out to international community. To be active simply put as much possible as they can. It wasn't just BURHAN Wani highly educated people like Riaz Neiko Dr Manaan Wani, so we have more people who were highly qualified, highly educated, highly intellectual. Yet the only way they felt to resist the settler colonial regime was through armed struggle. After Wani martyrdom it further gave people inspiration to look for alternative methods to resist occupation.

There is a misconception about what Kashmiriyat is, people of Kashmir never understood what Kashmiriyat was because we never created that term. The term was created by Hindu minority to subdue Muslims majority. Lot of this can be found in book written by Ather Zia about the misnomer of Kashmiriyat and where it stemmed from. Kashmiri identity is something else. Cultural heritage is something else but the term Kashmiriyat was coined by Indians to give this sufi-sque passive historical identity of Kashmiris and to ask the people of Kashmir to go back to those roots. To go back to Sufi identity. To go back to passive identity to be subdued. That's how the term Kashmiriyat was created. Ather Zia has written extensively on this. I would strongly recommend to writing his writings on it.

Now the Kashmiri identity was historically a sort of patriotic nationalism that many countries associated with themselves. So for example when you ask Pakistanis what does Pakistaniyat mean, it means your nation, sovereign borders, it means Allama Iqbal it means Quaid e Azam. It means the food, language the people. But for us the Kashmiris the realization has come Kashmiri identity is deeply rooted with Muslim identity. Then Pakistani identity is deeply linked with Muslim identity. That is how we identify ourselves, most of us at least.... As Kashmir Muslims align themselves deeply with the principles of Quaid e Azam Mohamad Ali Jinnah, Allama Iqbal and Pakistan.

When Burhan was martyred, there was a slogan "jitey Burhan Maroo gay utna Burhan niklay gay". Even though our leadership is behind the bars but the principles and the foundations that they have laid down for 70 years lives on whether we have those leaders or not. Each person within Kashmir is leader himself, within Mohalla committees, within masjids, within the localities, the business people, the journalists everybody has the role to play. And they are playing the role. Even on 14 of August when the fireworks were lit to celebrate Pakistan Independence Day, that was done without any leader. That was done because people wanted to defy the authorities, they wanted to celebrate. Whether we have the leaders or not, the fact is when the principles or the foundations of any ideology are laid down the people genuinely believe in it they don't need leaders one or two to guide them. The common man or common people will figure out how they can resist. Honestly with entire leadership in jail it has given the opportunity to young people to become more innovative in their forms of resistance and how to take this movement further along. A lot of times what happens is you become so much dependent on leaders that you stop thinking about yourselves. Or you don't understand the directional approach. Sometimes I think when Jinnah passed away which direction Pakistan would have taken if he was still alive. But Pakistan still survived, flourished, it has defended itself, Pakistan is an atomic power. Pakistan is fighting India on every front. Pakistan is engaged with Afghanistan and Pakistan is still there. It doesn't matter whether leadership is there or not, it is the common man that defines the movement, it is the awam that runs it, the sacrifices that they have in their hearts in their minds and in their soul. The movement is not dependent on one man or one organization. The legacies of those who have been martyred, the victims that is the inspiration and soul of Kashmir movement.

We consider Mehbooba mufti, Sajad Lone, Faruq Abdullah, as collaborators. Anybody who has worked with BJP regime, anybody who is in so called mainstream politics that aligns themselves with Indian constitution we call them collaborators. Whether they have consideration for people or human rights or abrogation of article 370 is irrelevant. We don't recognize them as our leaders in any shape or form. Whether they are alive or dead or go to jail or are free it makes very little differences to us. What should have made the difference though to them or world is that even though the puppets or lending's or quislings, the collaborators that India have used historically. Sheikh Abdullah his son Farooq Abdullah his son Omer Abdullah their entire family lineage and then muftis have been staunch pro-Indian politician. and yet India locked them up in jails as well as our leaders like Gillani sahib or Yaseen sahib. It goes to show that India doesn't trust any Kashmiri no matter how pro Indian they may be, they don't trust anyone. These people have sided with India, they have demarcated the land borders, she was in coalition with BJP after they broke and abrogated article 370. The NC led by Abdullaahs had coalition with mainstream government. What is however entertaining to us how they have been used as disposable tissue papers. Mehbooba Mufti lost trust pf people of her party workers. She has lost everything. Eventually there will be elections inside Kashmir, the local elections to elect people to legislative bodies and for chief ministership. Her recent stance on how India should learn a lesson from Afghanistan and Taliban, she wants to hoodwink Kashmir people befool them and get the votes for the elections. She wants to tell we are speaking your language. these are things usually opposition do for the politics, before she came to power she said exactly the same things but when she is in power she shows her true colors. When an 8-year-old was martyred she sarcastically she "did he went outside to fetch a toffee". She had no consideration that an eight-year-old was killed. The language that they use is exposed. Its like in context of Pakistan Hussain Haqqani suddenly speaking in favor of Pakistan but question is will he be trusted again. They all are Hussain Haqqani's of Indian occupied Kashmir.

Until international community, UN and USA takes some firm action the repression will continue. But what worse is settler colonialism will continue the demographic change will occur and that is their entire purpose. The identity of Kashmir will change, the Muslims identity of Kashmir will be eliminated. The majority will become a minority. Kashmir will become like another Maharashtra or another Gujrat. It's the Akhand Bharat philosophy. I think IK said in UNSC explained what is exactly happening inside Kashmir. Historically we learned fascism ended after

WWII but Indian fascism was born on 1922 and nobody paid attention to it. The CAA is manifestation of what happened in Kashmir, and they have exported the laboratory test of Kashmir to entire India. RSS is no less than Nazi Germany. They have followed the ideals of Mussolini, Hitler but nobody has uttered a word on it. Why because of financial and geo strategic positions of India, they need India against China

I think after two-year Pakistan would be in a better position economically because of CPEC and it will be able to engage international community more actively on Kashmir to resolve it. 'When you push and push people to the corner eventually, they will lash out.

Even with diaspora in London people like me who are working day and night for Kashmir because I have been targeted smear campaigned all over Indian media for two weeks and there is 100 pages dossier written on me. So this is going to continue, the maligning and disinformation about people of Kashmir unless more international powers are going to intervene. Otherwise, we are going to see annihilation of nation which can't and shouldn't be tolerated.

In term so HDI we were much ahead of many states in India, this is a misnomer when they said they abrogated article 370 for development. Even for development you can't subdue the populations right to life, education, protest.

We cannot discuss law and order, sarak Bijli pani, governance and development inside Kashmir. The same people who are discussing about them are denying the same things to indigenous Kashmiris. This makes no sense whatsoever. Most importantly has anybody asked the people of Kashmir do they want development, do they want sarak Bijli pani or McDonalds. What do they want? Nobody cares. Everyone will sacrifice every single of those development ideas that India is offering for the right to self-determination. We will give everything all that we have just if we are given our right to self-determination to decide our own fate.

Congratulate me on the martyrdom of my cousin. We have sacrificed so many of our brethren inside my family. These are happiness days that he attained martyrdom and we are the unfortunate ones left behind.

After August 2019 there was a very strict curfew even street dogs were even found on the streets.

12000 young children they arrested on 4 august put them in different jails complete media blackout

The influx of 2 lac more military personals it closes the fear cycle. Once some patchy internet was restored there was realization within Kashmir that we are talking about them, diaspora did active campaigning for them and that gave inspiration of people there. 5th of august people morale was bit low but now it has bounced back, the proof of which is fireworks in Srinagar heart of Kashmir capital. Even before 5th of august nobody would dare to lit fireworks in the heart of capital in downtown in heart and soul of Kashmir. But this 14 august people came for celebration I don't think so govt of India can crush the spirit of Kashmir people.

Respondent no 5

Basically, Burhan's killing happened a few months after the joint resistance leadership. Because right now, there's a debate going on in India, they want to ban Hurriyat and they had already banned JKLF and some other Islamic parties over there, the pro-freedom leadership. Now this act of banning them, it goes back to Joint Resistance Leadership. The first tenure of Modi up to in place of 2014 and I was there at that time when it was newly elected and there was massive fever in support of Mr. Modi and the resistance community in Jammu and Kashmir, Junagarh and that was a haunting time for all the liberal doves. People wouldn't believe in hate speech or racial politics, or politics based on extremism and his hand already dripping with the genocide of Gujrat Muslims. So, he added in his manifesto because it's linked with Burhan's assassination. Basically, the agenda on which BJP came was saffronization and to make that process or the implementation, they had to do groundwork. So that groundwork took place in 2014 onwards, that was his first tenure. At that time, they were cleansing villages and they had the excuse of doing search operations against militancy and through that excuse they had been doing various operations, eroding, and destroying the construction of houses of people in villages, arresting people, doing fake encounters over there using grenade blasts. It was very common those days and at that time, there was an announcement by the government there that they are going to build semi; colonies over there. So that was the time when the Kashmiri youth was naturally very angry because nobody could even dream that Article 370 could be abrogated. But there were fevers, they were constructing apartments and there were some pictures that had got viral on social media at that time and that's why the entire Hurriyat, pro-freedom leadership; Mr. Gillani, Mr. Mirwaiz, Mr. Yasmeen, Asiya Andarabi and they were all together against India in the past but now they were formally together. Put the fractions of Hurriyat, JKLF, Dukhtaran-e-Millat and my husband spare-headed this unity in a formal term meaning that they will collectively protest, collectively stand because they all had huge massive followings and they all came on one common goal which was naturally against Indian occupation and also this is not going to be acceptable to chain of democracy. So at that time, we saw a lot of protests happening in Kashmir in 2014. Then the flood came in 2015 and there was a colossal damage. India did not allow any foreign aid to come there. Literally it caused damage there. Everything was under water; the business communities, the civil society, everyone suffered. So when that was over, the flood and its ramifications, we saw again the rise in killings, indiscriminate use of pellets, and bullets

against students. We saw a lot of students being attacked by the Indian army, especially female young girls which has never happened in resistance movements where you could see kids in uniforms coming out and they were protesting also young kids 13-14 year old and there was the famous case of Insha Malik, she was pelleted and lot of other kids and elders and youngsters, they were all attacked. So that's when Burhan came into the picture through his videos but before that, during the Amarnath Yatra in 2010, I was also there at that time. That time he was a protestor like young students protesting. Going back to 2010, he was tortured, really third-degree torture. It was him and his brother and the later on they saw that there was no path for peaceful resistance, peaceful means were discouraged by India. Slowly and steadily that anger was growing amongst youth so we saw his videos at that time, and he was like sacrificing our last drop of blood but we will not accept this. So he was that digital folk hero of Kashmiris. Naturally he was really good-looking and charming and brave and a gold-medalist with a good background and brave obviously. So in the tech savvy world, we saw an advancement of youth coming forward through this platform and his weapon was his phone. The world criticized that he was a mujahedeen or what but he had not killed anybody, he hadn't taken any militant action against the Indian forces though Kashmiris have a right to defend themselves against occupational forces but he had not done that. He was peacefully, through his video messages giving his strong message that with a gun and a background but he was not shooting anybody, he was not attacking any of the army occupational forces so that was his start of a new era at that time when the joint resistance leadership happened and Burhan Wani's shahadat and then we saw the wave, the rage, the anger, the tempo, the movement Intifada, getting a new spirit and a lot of times people ask me that a lot of boys, girls, youngsters, adults have sacrificed and have been martyred. So why wasn't then the movement aligned at that time but no that's not the case. The case is the level of aggression coming from the Indian side, their policies, they are challenging the demography. There are moments like in 1987 if you go back and then to Burhan's shahadat. At that time also the youth was taking part in elections over there very actively but they were discouraged and winners were declared losers and that was the time when for the first time the Kashmiri students protested everywhere in public and everybody said it was a complete fraud. So the students who protested or youth or political actors, they were arrested. They were taken to torture cells over there and third-degree torture and Yaseen was amongst them. So at that time the youngsters, the haji group they founded the first time ever a militant group was formed and

that was the turning point and then this point when India was hell bent upon changing the demography, reconstructing the colonies for retired army personals and then the youth of Kashmir was finding it claustrophobic living in curfews, living in economic blockade and they came out during the Amarnath Yatra. Also the youngsters, they were not given any space, they were tortured and pellets and everything. So that was the tipping point, we saw a major change in the determination, we saw a new fire in it.

This was in 2010. I was over there. Some youngsters were killed and you can google it. You can find all the data of 2010 because that is linked with Burhan directly because that is one factor which people don't focus on. why did he pick up the gun though the gun factor was not used by him. He was just basically showing the world that we are alive and we want to protect our motherland. So you need to focus on that reason. They tried every possible manner. How they mentioned his brother, him and family. This is the root cause, this was the starting point where it all started but you need to google it.

For them I think dil ki doori wala slogan and if you compare that with Vajpayee, Kashmiriyat, insaniyat and his slogan was also very catchy but it is the total opposite. So that's how India is under the current regime is seeing a graveyard of Kashmiris and just silencing them completely and absolutely and not leaving any space for any kind of political voices or voices of dissent or against actions or against their occupation, against the policies of India. But for Kashmiris, Kashmiriyat has the rich history for 5000 years and very strong Sufi cultural, Sufism, Sufi saints is over there with a lot of dargahs and Shandaan, Noor-ud-deen Wali and then you have Baba Rashi and Hazrat Bal. People over there are very very peace-loving, very romantic, they are very cultured and civilized and very hospitable and they have great business skills and the kind of horticulture tourism country they had over ages. It's very rich in civilization and it's influenced by the Handaans and we see a lot of romanticism in their movement, in their culture, in their poetry, in their dialect. There's a lot of rhythm in their lifestyle and very creative and sadly such kind of people had to keep on facing such occupations be it the Dogras, be it the Indians yet no one has ever been able to conquer them. I mean we celebrate or we speak about the Afghans like Changez Khan, Alexander. Nobody could really conquer them or this is like the graveyard of superpower they say that, no foreign occupation but they've always had the weapons, they've always had some way of revolt. I'm not saying that they have a lot of weapons compared to other

forces but when you compare that situations to Kashmiris and even with the Palestinians, you have the support of Hamas over there, what's happening and the leaders are you know walking around, they can travel. The Palestinian leaders have passports and their voice can be sent across to the world. You are sitting here, you can't go to Srinagar but you can go to Palestine, we can. Airports are open. The media houses are allowed in the international media press. Recently one of their buildings was also explored by the Israelis but you can't even imagine such a building in Kashmir. So they are very soft people. Kashmiriyat is something where a lot can be spoken about but I think in a nutshell, they've been underestimated. Kashmiris are not just peace-loving but they are extremely brave and they have a lot of honor and pride in them and they have been fighting this war against occupation for decades without any help, without any army and they have not been acknowledged for their peaceful movement as well. So it's something that we should focus on more. We should project that more. Not just having sympathies for them. That concept wouldn't work because they don't want just tears or something from the world. They want the world to acknowledge them for their services for peaceful movements, for acknowledging the new world order and because they were the worst acknowledged. It moved from an armed struggle, it was a majority arm struggle before 9/11 but they did have a lot of arms.

No I mean, we've seen after abrogation even before the abrogation of article 370, the previous tenure Modi was cleansing literally shaving off the homes of people and he was cleansing the religions over there by these fake cases and taking counters and arresting people. So they were building the ground for colonies, housing societies, industry plants over there and new tourist resorts being controlled directly by India and using resources of Kashmir and occupying the land fully and wholly. So they were busy in that previous tenure but this tenure, we saw a lot of actions being implemented now. Their goals, they were working on it but now we could see them being implemented, being practiced after 370 and 35A. So basically article 370 ensures a certain degree of autonomy and 35A ensures separate citizenship law in the Indian constitution and right now what they are doing is they are knotting. They have, according to my sources, 4 million domiciles have been issued to the Indians and 12 lakhs Indians have been given the registered voter rights in a disputed territory and India has taken full control over the educational institutes

and the seats of the Kashmiris are being allotted to Indian students. They are being favored more. The bureaucracy has been completely shuffled and you don't have Kashmiri bureaucrats back to resume their services in Jammu and Kashmir and their being shifted to far away states from India and you have fascist BJP supporters, bureaucrats being shifted there administrative control not just the army or the police and yeah even in the JK police , majority is Indians now , very little Kashmiris left and then there's Auqaf port that you have there because as I mentioned; a lot of dargas there, Sufi shrines there which were under the control of Kashmir and they were created by the contributors of Niaz from Kashmiri Muslims so those assets are now taken over by Delhi and the dargahs, the mehkmah-e-okaf just like here, they have the waqf board auqaf. Well, that's also under the control of India. Hot tourist spots, forest lands, prime locations over prime lands being allotted to Indians over there and all the nominations are taking place at the waqf, the bureaucrats, everything ISC officers. They are being done by Delhi and non-local officials are running the entire administration over there. So, then it's mostly a forest land, a paddy land. Their environmental rights are attached to it and it's not allowed to do construction on paddy land whereas India is ignoring the environmental laws because there is strict action against such violence and then above then it's a disputed territory. So, they are playing with the water bodies over there and thousands of canals of land banks are being earmarked indefinitely and are being allotted to non-state subject holders; the Indians by announcing their best industry policy. Then you have the Covid situation all over the world. That has also deeply impacted the Kashmiris because they were already in a lockdown, in a curfew, in a siege especially after 2019 after the world's complete lockdown in March 2020. We saw the worst happening to Kashmiris, double triple whatever you call it lockdown and everything happening at the same time in India, using that as an ideal opportunity when the world's focus was shifted from the Kashmir issue where the world was very vocal about it. You can see protest everywhere happening, New York Times, Washington Post everywhere people were speaking up, and reports were being published, British Parliament, European Parliament, condemnations happening from the global parliaments at the world, think tanks, reports, articles everywhere tutorials, press coverage and lot of non-Kashmiris and non-Pakistanis were protesting against this genocide. So suddenly this covid happened and India used this as an opportunity that the world's attention was drifted away from this issue. So they started focusing on allocating more and more domiciles, residency certificates to new Indians and in the meantime, as I mentioned, 40 lakh, they could be even more than that

and then we saw that the testing kits were being transported to Jammu and Kashmir. They were not being provided to the public, they were being provided to set segment especially to the occupational forces for their protection, for their care and secondly ventilators were being given to hospitals, they were being given to Indian army hospitals in Kashmir and other extra ones were sent for other extra Indians because Kashmiris are not human beings, they are just statistics of shooting game. So they were shifted to India, these are official reports; ventilators from Kashmir were shifted during covid to Delhi and other places and we saw a lot of mismanagement happening within India also during covid but still they don't listen to the signs of God Almighty and there is something called Karma; what goes around, comes around. Even then nothing affects them. So this is the situation on ground, economically our resources are being taken away, political bureaucrats rights, the educational rights, the religious rights, there is Muharram right now; that happens every year over there. Muharram, Ashura are not allowed there, the rallies and last year also we saw heavy use of guns and pellets and gas were exploded on processions and this year, we saw assassinations happening. So mosques over there, they are being demolished or earmarked around over, I think I am guessing the exact number that maybe 500 or 5000 mosques have been earmarked by India and they are going to construct after the mandirs over there, so they are really playing with the entire nature of Kashmir. So the fabric and overall scenario over there is that they want to transform Jammu and Kashmir into mini Indian colony or into mini India as your topic is about saffronization. The steps that are being taken systematically. I mean India is not stopping, it's not just bloodbath. Its policies are being implemented, being practiced and nothing is hindering them and Corona was so-called lucky for them to go ahead with its plan.

That was basically, because they had the DLC elections, basically an exercise was being conducted by the various pro-India parties that you have over there. They were invited to listen to them but overall it was to show the world that there is normalcy to believe in democracy and at the same time they wanted to go forward with their delimitation agenda and after making two union territories, what India is planning especially for the next elections over there, is to demarcate the seats and electoral constituencies over there. They will not be based on population because population is what they are changing right now, because it's a majority Muslim area;

Kashmir and Jammu; you have majority of Indians over there, I will not say Hindus but Indians as they change the demography 1947 through the RSS. They are applying that now in Kashmir. So over there that's a vision of temples, newly constructed temples for the past 17 years. So they have decided now in India that they will conduct elections over there. Not on the basis of population but on the basis of demography and the official 2011 census that was recorded over there, there was a population of 6.8M in Kashmir valley and i am only mentioning the religion segment only just the population. 6.8M in Kashmir valley and 5.3M population in Jammu and Kashmir. So based on the population distribution, the Kashmir division had 48 seats. 9 more than Jammu, 27 representatives in Jammu and 46 were in Kashmir division and i am talking about the 2011 population census. Now it must have increased in Kashmir. The reorganization Kashmir act took place on 5th of august 2019. The government of India has passed it through the parliament and increasing the effective strength of the assembly, this is their goal from 87 to 90 members. So Ladakh which is now a separate occupational administered territory by India according to, we call it occupied. It had 4 seats. Government circles in India, have argued that the delimitation, because that was the meeting about, is required by the parliament because it was passed in the Jammu and Kashmiri organization act on 5th of august through which they abrogated Article 370 and 35A. So they are demanding the increase in the effective assembly from 87 to 90 members and Ladakh is now a separate occupational administered territory. It had 4 seats in the past. Now which is a very very important point that now after 5th of august, their goal is that the assembly. They will keep 24 seats vacant or areas which are under Pakistan's control. Jammu and Kashmiris assembly boundaries were last redrawn in 1995 which were based on 1981 census. Now through this delimitation, they didn't want it on the basis of population but on geography so on that criterion, their plan is for the next election over there that the Kashmir division has 46 seats which is 9 more than Jammu. But now India wants to increase the Jammu seats because there are 2 union territories: Jammu and Kashmir. Through which Kashmir's population is greater so it has more seats but now they will not do like this. They have given Jammu greater sets based not on population but on geography because they have already settled Hindus over there for decades. Now they want to add 9 more in Jammu because as i mentioned that Jammu has 37 representatives. So they've used the puppet leadership of 2-4 families for decades and they enjoyed it as well. So now they are scared. So Mehbooba mufti is speaking the language of Kashmiris, they now hate India after article 370 and

35A. That's not the case. All these puppet Kashmiri leadership is screaming because they know sooner or later, i mean they have been enjoying the bloodshed of Kashmiris and ruling over their dead bodies and literally trampling over their dead bodies and doing politics for decades and dynasty politics they have. So for them it's a major shock that the representatives of sentiments because Kashmiri is torn by whatever they say, the Kashmiris are living there especially ground Kashmiris because it's these families who have been strengthening the occupation over the decades. And all those elections that used to happen, through those puppet elections, Draconian laws were passed like TADA POTA, armed forces special powers act, telegram act and many others. This is what they have been doing for decades and now they know India doesn't need them after the delimitation and abrogation of article 370 because more and more Indians settlers will come here and get citizenship so where will we go so that's why they are screaming against India right now and they are saying now to revert back to the previous revoke article 370 abrogation. But their intentions are just tooling over the dead bodies not to ask India to stop the bloodshed and to evacuate the place, demilitarize it or to de-weaponize it. They don't have their focus on this which is the main issue.

Kashmiris have always challenged it but 1987 and 2016; Burhan's shahadat. These times were the turning points because whatever happened with Kashmiris over there; first time ever they took up the gun and then now when India was trying to change the demography. They had already occupied it through their army but now their public was coming as occupied so naturally this was a big blow for Kashmiris and Burhan being a young icon as i mentioned. I've given a whole detail on Burhan and everything but it's kind of sad that i found out later on he was tweeting from some other IDs, we had no idea about and then when he was martyred, the next day it was in Hindustan Times and he used to regularly tweet me and tag me and Mr. Mirwaiz because Yaseen was not on terms on that platform. I had no idea so I had that little kind of stings me that I had no idea that he used to regularly tag me and it was him doing that. But yes i used to see his messages like all Kashmiris would on social media platforms and this is something very deep rooted in Kashmir and it's purely indigenous and the sentiment of Azadi and resilience and fighting against occupation and it has not simmered down. Yes sometimes killings squeeze or the tides are high. That's why the world suddenly wakes up from its deep slumber and starts

condemning. But it's always tides high or low of the killing by India. That does not determine the commitment or passion that the youth or public has with it. But yes it does make headlines; bloodshed and killing of youth, pellets, rape as a weapon of war, massacres. But overall if you follow the calendar for the past 70 years, you have seen consistency, resilience and never have we seen the movement growing weaker instead we've seen it magnifying over the decades and years. We've not seen a halt in it because the key to any resistance movement or any struggle, especially freedom struggle depends on the will of the people. So that is undying and such moments or incidents, they find it as turning points in setting a heroic example for the generations to come. We saw a lot of PhD Scholars, doctors, a lot of youth, elderly, scientists, pilots, so many youngsters that have lost their lives, professors, academic lawyers losing their lives, journalists, the legends, the top cream also laying down their lives. So, this is something which is not just incident based. That's my philosophy. It is a turning point, defining moments definitely they are but they are not the only reason for continuing. This is their just struggle, they have UN resolutions. They have never ever bowed down before India. So why should we have the remote control of our movement in the hands of India and only when the bloodbath is high, we should keep it alive so you doing the study, so I think you should mention this point as well that it's an ongoing resistance and we have very little literature on the movement, on the research and it's high time that we keep it continuance, we campaign for it, we keep an academic research on it and we've seen a lot of success in Palestinian movement of keeping it alive. How they focused more on international law, humanitarian law or publishing reports, research and trying to keep it credible. Not just as rhetoric or emotionalism, keeping it credible, keeping it under the framework of international law because Kashmir and Palestine fall under that international law, humanitarian law, and UN resolutions. So I think it's important link the movement, the resistance, the massacres directly with genocide ethnic cleansing with sanctions being imposed on India for doing defense trade with other countries and using that on civilians and Kashmir which is illegal. So economic sanctions can be imposed on India. So these are the ways through which we can raise the voice of the Kashmiris, the incidence, the sacrifices of the youth and recently what's happening over there that you've seen; no colleges and schools, universities, continuous lockdown take place. So how that impacts the psychology of the youth there when they see a very dark and oblique future, career options for them. So what is left for them? Political voices are being suppressed. Movement is right now leaderless in the sense that they are

all locked up and that's what India wants to do; completely eliminated because it; a leader that guides you discipline, organizing protest. So there is a huge vacuum right now and that's also a scary situation and we need to keep the youth guided in focusing on their education, career and at the same time at the movement. So how can they do that? They are suffering.

Respondent 6

You see you must understand these movements are the response to perpetual injustice first indigenous movement which vitalized this issue was 1989. After the elections in mid 80s, which were massively rigged there was spontaneous uprising and a response. Prior to that Kashmir issue had gone into dormancy. So 1989 gave it a first flip so that was the era in which there was global uprising also in Palestine also and there was intifada a resistance to brutal occupation so that model was available and came in the world. When that happened discontent was always doing on sub surface. It suddenly erupted in 1989. Pakistan was accused of supporting this uprising through cross border and material help is given through those militant cadres. Some of those were allegations were substantiated because the discontent was indigenous, it was not confined to uneducated strata it was among the populated youth which was well aware. So, that was an era in which internet and other things and media were about to come on the surface, yet this indigenous uprising was prestige. For decade this thing continued. And then after 2001 when Afghanistan war started Kashmir went into back burner due to the back lash and after the Kargil conflict. This Kashmir issue was very cleverly conflated with issues of extremism and terrorism. The global community was quite shocked by 2009-11 events it also played along so Pakistan was in a very unenviable situation, and it attempted on its part to reassure the world this is an indigenous uprising not a cross border terrorism which India had branded very cleverly after Kargil conflict. Once Americans invaded Afghanistan and established their foothold here. The whole focus shifted to Afghanistan so Kashmir went into unenviable eternal but indigenous discontent the injustices the brutal occupation and slow usurpation of their rights continued unabatedly. And thereon we reach another tipping point, you see this is just a like a mold like a substratum of discontent where a molten lava is flowing and there is a false kind of peace you can say negative peace what we say in case of positive peace the fundamental causes are interest. In negative peace violence is supposed down for a while. Burhan Wani was another tipping point the killing signified the brutal intent of the Indians and that catalyzed another resistance. That was a kind of a second Intifada unarmed and you see the way people came out and another variable that facilitated the Kashmiri uprising was the explosion of the digital age digital media age had come into you know forefront. Here onwards it was twitter you know Instagram and the world knew what was happening the brutal killing how a youth was you know a flower of his youth was cut down and the message resonated with the international society. So Indians came

under more repercussion. But unfortunately, due to geopolitical realities the global powers chose the other way and Indians meanwhile came under the grip of very ruthlessly suppressive and having a poisonous creed Hindutva doctrine which was under RSS ideology and BJP was for all practical purposes a political wing and RSS was its ideologue. So in their manifesto under the RSS influence were the who came into power had promised to reintegrate the Kashmir as a union territory that was his total promise. Once he came into power such about usurping the rights slowly and separately

You need to understand that such movements need a champion, catalysts and an ideology. As a truthful exposition in a book which you must consult not for this particular issue but for the general perspective “starfish and the spiders” by Ori Brafman and Rod Beckstrom. The book says that starfish is that leaderless organization that has no central leader but it has got a very potent ideology so it can not be cut down by a spider which is a state. Spider has a central eye central nervous system centralized control muscle system if you hit the brain it dies, if you hit the starfish and cut down one limb it regenerates so it is cellular in nature it is thriving on ideology it has its champions which are hidden may be there are sleeper cells may be there you know extra territorial presence also but those could be activated. Leaderlessness does not indicate powerlessness and the leaders are there is Kashmiri leadership you know there is a Gorkha group pro union moderates like Mehbooba mufti, Farooq Abdullah then there are those who have other end of the extremes like Asiya Andrabi, Ali Gillani, Yasin Malik who is completely uncompromising and then there is somewhere in the balance Mir wise he has started a very moderate course. His contributions are making the most impact because Ayesha Gillani because of his age, because of his particular stance his message is resonating amongst the segment but not the whole population. Whereas Mir wise shah and his adherents are having message all across. Its not entirely leaderless. There social activist troops there are Kashmir diaspora in UK which is very potent there are activists like Muzammil Thakur who are very active in the social media there are international you know academics like Dr Serena who actively provoked the Kashmiri movement as the US diaspora also there is a Pakistan-Kashmiri diaspora which is very active Mashal Malik is here which is wife of Yasin Malik she is the vanguard of the Kashmiri liberation proxy so this thing is quite potent discontent is there its only the question of passion

and Indians with 900,000 troops there they have over matched the population of Kashmir you know you see the occupation force ratio and they have the benefit of the draconian war TADA UAPA how could population survive under such environments where a virtual lockdown has been imposed irrespective of government, internet bay blocked, every citizen is surveilled, movements are restricted POTA are imposed and egregious violations of human rights are imposed. But that does not mean indigenous, which is home spun nationalistic spontaneous uprising will die now. It is expanding in fact more the more Indians will get depressive the more resistance will get form. Such a leadership will not be able to kill this resistance by hammerhead tactics.

You see their identity is rotated in their identity politics it was way back to two three centuries. The Kashmiri identity and the Kashmiri concept is not rotated in 1930s which we popularly understand once Farooq Abdullah's father Sheikh Abdullah started with his resistance movement and lot of Kashmiris were killed and still they celebrate 1929-30 as day of Kashmir martyrs against the Kashmiri Dogra suppression arose and spontaneous revolt and row of Kashmiris were killed. So this was after famous sellout of Kashmiris Maharaja Gulab Singh Dogra the British sold Kashmir to him he was one of the generals of the Maharaja Ranjeet Singh. Once British defeated Maharaja Ranjeet Singh the treaty of Amritsar sold Kashmir to Dogra rule. So from there onwards the dominant majority was always Muslims from centuries. It became a subjugated entity. The Dogra rulers were Jammu based and shifted to Sri Nagar also. They were most repressive entity because they had to rely on those draconian laws, tactics and they were an extractive regime and they were basically keeping Muslims in served bondage and every important slot in the government was police or state forces was held by Dogras. There were Muslim barristers and there was some bureaucracy but that was marginalized. So process of deprivation and marginalization of the Muslims started in the 1846 onwards and each successive Maharaja and this thing continued in the Muslims and lowered down in the scale of human development. So much so that is was term of derision to refer to them as Kashmiri Hatus. They used to come to Pakistan, British India do their jobs here and once they used to come back there was a tithe imposed by the Maharaja which was kind of a tax. So the hard earned earning of the whole summer was taken away once they went to their country for their rest and recreation and

waiting for their families so it was very exploitative, unjust and subjugated Kashmiris to the extent, deprived them of their rights, socially marginalized them that Muslims lost their political as well as economic clout and became a subjugated class. Kashmiri Brahmins the top hierarchy and then Kashmiri state forces, the bureaucracy, the Dogra rulers they were ruling the roost in Jammu as well as Srinagar. So this exploitation which led to poverty and estrangement erupted in the form of discontent spontaneous discontent once British loosened their control, granted independence to India and Pakistan and Maharaja refused to accede either India or Pakistan and he was waiting perhaps for Pakistan to give him some kind of assurance remain autonomous within Pakistan or India so he was playing both ways but the patience was wearing thin the people arose spontaneously in revolt and most of the Muslims since there was lack of opportunity. In the Kashmir state most of the Muslims they took up service in the British Indian army and they went and fought world war 1 and world war 2 most of them were well trained. So it was that retired cohort of ex-servicemen that became the vanguard of the resistance.

Kashmiriyat means political and ethnic identities in Kashmiri Muslims which have a distinct culture, religion, heritage and they have to form part of a country either India or Pakistan. As per the UN 's resolutions which were you know which very clearly said that the right to self-determination would be given to the people as per their you know population and they would decide so Kashmiriyat is essentially rooted in Kashmiri culture so Kashmiri people are ethnic Kashmiris, cultural Kashmiris and they would not like to be subsumed into Indian union like any other state. They have a distinct heritage they were never part of the Indian union. It was the unjust treaty of the 1846 which sold out Kashmir and the population was bounded against its wishes. Once opportunity arose to its press you know will or what you call Kashmiriyat is nothing more than expression of their citizenship, of their you know hakims back to their roots and that roots were rooted in their Kashmiri soil, culture, language and they have a distinct language nothing to do with the Hindi, they have distinct preferences nothing to do with Indian territory habits, they have a different religion and a different political system nothing to do with Indian union. They have no justification in international law for their you know making part of Kashmir as Indian union because even after conditional accession this accession is also challenged which people say that Maharaja was on the run and couldn't sign that instrument

of accession and Mr Ram has very clearly pointed out in a book that this instrument of accession is also doubtful but even if we accept for a moment that was signed by Maharaja soon after that he had signed on a certain conditions those conditions were that Kashmir will enjoy a special status, never be part of Indian union and its actual status will be decided as per the freely expressed will of the Kashmiri people which later on was you know put into the shape of UN's resolution via international community.

What India is doing yes I do support the statement that if you call that Kashmiriyat which is the Indian Kashmiri identity. It is an encroachment on temporal and special dimensions of Kashmiri identity. So what is temporal and what is special I will explain to you. Spatial is that they are trying to make Kashmir a part of an Indian union by eroding its political identity, distinct autonomous state which was granted albeit in a form which was not acceptable to Pakistan in article 370 incidentally was not Pakistan's idea, it was the idea of indigenous Kashmiri leadership, Farooq Abdullah and successors, who wanted some measures of autonomy till the time Kashmiris decide their fate. Now, Indians were always ready to give some kind of purveyance to this Kashmiri accession. What they did initially was to formulize a ceasefire line Karachi agreement 1948. Later on after 1965 war certain war conditions were added after Tashkent agreement. A ceasefire line was further formulized and after 1971 war Shimla pact the same ceasefire line was converted into LOC which meant that ceasefire line is a temporary line and its status has to be altered as per the UN's resolutions. When they meant LOC wherever they are sitting and controlling that becomes the territory of that respective country. Though Pakistan added improvised role in Shimla pact notwithstanding with all this what we are accepting as per the Shimla agreement is without the prejudiced position of both countries in UN resolutions. So that was a slow attempt to annex Kashmir, then ceasefire line then LOC and third they went for the revocation of article 370 essentially making Kashmir part of Indian union dividing into two territories dividing Jammu and Kashmir state and then Ladakh. One would have legislature name only and state legislature and Ladakh would be a union. With this they have done an assault. Temporal means where we live there is a living environment that they are trying to change by changing the demography where revocation of article 35 a which gave a security to Kashmiris where no non-Kashmiri non-subject Kashmiri can buy land, cannot gain citizenship why because

if you populate Kashmir with non-subject Kashmiris the demographic balance would tilt in favor of non-Kashmiris. In case of any future political decision the benefit would go to non-subject Kashmiris India would be able to tell the world that this is as per the will of people so it is a very clever strategy as per the demographics. They are trying to change the demographics and when they are trying to change the demographic identity what they plan to do is that they buy land they are changing the laws they have got the laws like Jammu and Kashmir reorg act those are reorg, removal of difficulties order 2020, Kashmir reorg and ratification order. All these orders allow the bureaucrats who have served in Kashmir for ten years to gain citizenships and non-subject Kashmiris they can also gain citizenship and the criterion has been made very loose. It has been made easy to gain citizenship and it has been made easy for them to buy property. Previously they could not buy any property, now state could also buy property and individuals can also buy property. So rich Indians can buy property from the poor Kashmiris so that would be a disaster so this what the answer to your question was that it is an assault on temporal and spatial dimensions of Kashmiris. Article 370, article 35 A and whole slew of rules and laws made after that basic revocation.

So if asking about the denial of the Kashmiri human rights by Indians so yes it is very simple yes their basic fundamental rights are international you know conventions is the right of expression, right of self- determination. They are in denial of that they have not let the plebiscite take place once curious you know excuse on the other and they have been evading. India has evaded at every stage first on the basis of keeping troops that bare minimum troops are employed since Pakistan is also keeping troops so it should demilitarized so on demilitarization issue also UN resolutions successive resolutions in 1950 they very clearly said that look that this is not the valid excuse for denying the people their right of self-determination that also was not accepted by Indians. Those UN resolutions were under the clause that both countries agreed to the plebiscite so cleverly kept on evading. So on that score yes they are denying the rights then you see the human rights is denial of freedom of association, media, moving, gain and access to information, internet. When you deny that it's a clear human rights abuse. Then once you impose draconian laws like TADA, UAPA, whole lot which is given which you can take so why not aim each one of them. Those laws gave proportionate security to these past laws to arrest without a warrant

keep in detention illegal detention and you know that is entertaining a lot of killings and incarcerations forced conversions in some cases and there is a whole next I mean there are 15000 incarcerations after revocation 2019. You will be amazed to know that around there is a loss to state economy 5.3 billion since 2019. It's the biggest humans rights economic denial violation since 2019 because of a virtual siege like thing which Indians are imposing on. Now I give you some figures that as per the UN's genocide convention the killings that have happened in Kashmir have been tracked by the UN genocide convention sensor and what we see is the use of pellet guns against children in IIOJK which have killed 39 children naming other 30. You see this pellet gun is human rights abuse, egregious abuse because it is never used against human beings, it is used against animals actually. They are using against peaceful protestors. Since august 2019 I told you that 15000 people have been arrested there have been 390 extra judicial killings and I am not going far into the history referring benchmarking the august 2019. 390 extra judicial killings which is a large number in a small state like Kashmir. 3.8 million non-domicile people have been settled in the state. Out of those 3.8 million, 1.2 million have been added in the voter list. There has been a digital apartheid a complete internet denial for 243 state weeks which is a world record. So international community needs to be sensitized on these egregious abuses that for a country is kept without internet for 243 weeks and there are 900000 security troops clamping down with those armed with draconian laws with illegal detention without a warrant and a judicial you know arrangement so that kind of population is in ethereal incarceration and all kinds of human rights abuses are incarcerated. There are infamous laws like POTA 2002 unlawful activity prevention act 2019 which blatantly violates articles 6 and 7 of ISSCPR which is International Covenant on Rights. So international covenant on civil and political rights we know that you asked about human rights so public safety act which they have imposed is violative on International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. And TADA act you familiar with TADA act 1987 so you can read it up final so this act violates article 6 of ISSCPR while prevention of terrorism act POTA 2002 and unlawful activities prevention act 2019 they as mention in article 6 and 7 in national convention in political and civil rights. So this is a very clear indication that there are you know evidences available. There is only a way of packaging this evidence into an organized manner, leveraging the help of international lawyers and then presenting this evidence in an organized manner to international community like the UN body like the ISSCPR and invoking the universal jurisdiction what we call the universal jury. There

are countries like Germany, France, Argentina where they can invoke a universal jurisdiction. Anybody who is committed in human rights violation they are liable to be tried in a court of law in those countries. So the domestic laws of those countries try so that there are ways and means what not have not been done is that the voice of Kashmiris is not being projected in an organized manner there is lot of dissent there is lot of unorganized messaging, advocacy, seminars, webinars but the international community accepts things in international criminal court, in ICJ or ISSCPR as per international law one of the steps is to package this law you create an investigative body as per the statute. It can be done in one of our universities, so universities have the charter to commit such a body of investigative committee. So that investigative body can get hold of a dossier of human rights abuses of incarcerations, of women molestations, killings of unlawful detentions and present this with the help of evidence and there should be people who should be ready with FIRs which they have launched or denied so with the credible evidence that the dossier has to be prepared that body which is created as per the statute present that evidence to the international forum and that thing can be pursued to the international level. So that's the way to know and a lot of international law effort is required, a lot of world advocacy is required. Also the world conscious has to be you know sensitized to what is happening through constant advocacy because of geo-political considerations they are not paying attention to Kashmir. They are conveniently overlooking this thing because India is too close in the geo-political calculations, a staunch ally and everything is viewed from that prism. So that kind of unjust and unfair treatment which is being willed out to Kashmiris, it needs to be highlighted to the world.

You see that leadership which you are imagining constituted the Gobkar group of the malleable Kashmiri leaders like Mehbooba Mufti, Muzaffar Baig, Farooq Abdullah which always pandered to the wishes of Indian leadership and always paid a second fiddle to the Indians. Some people Kashmiri leaders amongst the Kashmiri leadership the genuine leadership aspiring for liberation, it accuses them of selling Kashmiris. Now even that leadership went against India after revocation of article 370 and had to be put into house arrest and detention. The Modi government invited them over and came to negotiate some kind of settlement within the Indian union. It was a very clever attempt to divide the Kashmiri Indians because after a very very long Kashmiri leadership both moderates and middle of the spectrum and hard-liners are gelled together. But

this attempt also came on component could not succeed because they saw through the Indian attempts to flop them off because they offered them nothing concrete. Only you know small incentives which fell much short of revocation of article 370. Lockhart Leadership also highlighted the revocation of 370 and clearly told the leadership that they cannot make any concession, they are definitely in no position to make any concession below the sentiments charged in Kashmir's revocation and they've asked that any settlement will take place after you restore the status quo and date August 5 2019.

It did cherish. Challenged the great deed and it was because of that challenge that some concessions were made and these leaders like Mehbooba Mufti, Farooq Abdullah were coopted and they were resemblance of Kashmiri division which was essentially sort to the Kashmiri leadership without making fundamental change in Indian attitude but this made a big that it rattled the Kashmiri leadership but instead of the Indian leadership it was you know the attempts to bog them voluntarily voting from the state legislative forum or you know the integration into the Indian union, alloying the demographic changes, alloying the changes in the status, they resisted to the date due to the indigenous you know uprising. And this you know alarmed the Indian leadership and they you know instead of responding positively they responded with more impression. And went implemented with their agent which they have promised in their elections manifesto that we will come and wear out the political identity by revoking the article 370 (35) (a). So the answer to your question in short is that Kashmiris refuse to make opted to the voluntary submission into the Indian integration. As a result, India had to leave its clever fame and went with the suppressive handed response.

Respondent no 7

Indians are doing that and you have mentioned it in your article that when we talk of Indian movies, when we talk of Indian channels, TV, the way had been portrayed, the way Pakistan had been portrayed, the way those who are fighting for freedom, they are being depicted it shows one thing that at the end of the day, basically leadership, interest and then the overall policies decide the fate and future of any state or society.

Indians were o this opinion that we will offer them certain packages which will ultimately mold them and the people of illegally occupied Jammu and Kashmir will accept and will start giving more importance or weightage to India. They failed to understand one thing that from 1834, when Kashmir was sold by Dogras since then, they are struggling for freedom and their rights. It means 177 years and it is not a joke. Now Kashmir was always differently treated by different leadership and that status which had given them their due rights; article 370 and 35A; right to job, right of property, right of ownership, identity, recognition. In fact when this new concept of Hindutva emerged where Modi is now considering himself as a Bhagwan and it has a special word which I am forgetting. Anyways Modi through RSS, one thing was injected when RSS was formed that whatever we for all those miseries, Muslims were responsible and people used to come, conquer us and control us in the form of Mughals etc. now it is revenge. Akhand bharat has nothing to do with us. Akhand bharart is basically a philosophy where they want a soul state for Hindus. Now when they introduce this ghar wapsi program under RSS where the emphasis and main logic behind that initiative is that we were forcefully converted those who are Muslims in India. They were forcefully converted either they are Christians or Muslims or lower caste Hindus. Now they need to convert otherwise they leave. What does it show? Second thing is why would they be converting mosques into temples? Why minorities are at the receiving end? Why they are when you talk of world's second largest exporter of meat; India and at the other side they are killing innocent Muslims those who are consuming meat. Anything particular thing which I would like to mention here is those who belong to Kashmir or are Muslims in India, they were never given due rights. Yes we see the performing artists; Shahrukh Khan, Salman Khan, Shabana Azmi, Naseer-ud-din Shah recently Yousaf khan known as Dilip Kumar. Were they

given due rights? No. they were not even allowed to buy an apartment in Mumbai. Shahbana Aazmi and her husband. So initially they give them

It is a deception, in fact on the one side why Farooq Abdullah and his family, and then Mehbooba Mufti; they remained in powers. Why they are dejected and now they are morrow less of this opinion that something is terribly wrong somewhere and even now their commitment and loyalty has been challenged. Why Mehbooba Mufti's daughter and Farooq Abdullah's family and all those who supported India for 7 long decades. Now are of this opinion that we were wrong. Let's say that if Indians had been more loyal to Kashmiris, why would they be throwing people behind bars or jail? Why would they be going for article 370 and 35A? If they want to bring it under India's union territory, then conduct referendum. Why they are scared of that? Why aren't they going or it? Why are they going for this demographic terrorism? They have given their so far given accommodated 4.1M people. Why they have introduces laws for example citizenship amendment act? 4.1M people have given domicile and are settled in IJK. Why would they be going for citizenship amendment act? Why would they be giving importance to domicile law? And one thing which is very very important for all of us that when you consider somebody your citizens, why would they be taking their rights away. Since 5th of august 2019, 2 years and more or less 2 weeks, why they have been deprived of everything? Their land, their property, their economy, their culture, this is for a reason. This is the opinion of Modi that we give them everything but still resentment, violence, those freedom slogans, protests and the you momentum in the shape of Burhan Wani and the literate youth if Kashmir; they have become India. Indians are of this opinion that why they are constantly demanding something that is against India. If today we compromise on Kashmir, tomorrow they are more than 12 uprisings in India for example Assam. Why citizenship amendment act, why they were asked to present their identity and only then. So having said all this as a hegemonic power to control this region. India starting from minorities and expanding it to the region recently Nepal, a landlocked country, what have they done to them. Why Nepal was forced to come on the map?

Obviously. Number one; whenever Indian wanted to conduct the elections, turnout not more than 4-5%. Why constantly sub-Draconian laws for example UAPA law those who in any capacity

want to post anything on social media, they are arrested and thrown behind bars whether they are journalists, students or from any background. Why would they be still going for concentration camps where they are throwing children; boys and girls starting from the age of 10 up to 30-35 years and the sole objective of those concentration camps and the logic which they give is we are working on their mind? Why Aasiya Andrabi, recently Ashraf Khan Sehrai, Dr. Qasim Faqtoh, Mr. Butt, there's a huge list those who are all the political leadership. They have been either thrown either behind bars or they are under house custody.

No. according to Indian's point of view through force, they want to control everything but in fact it is aggravating everything. Recently on 14th august, the way Kashmiris celebrated Pakistan birthday and again on 15th of august, they celebrated it as a black day in IOJK. Imagine the Indian government's deliberately failed to gain the confidence of Kashmiris. When we talk of Kashmiris, we are specifically talking of Muslim Kashmiris rather all those living in Kashmir, it could be Hindus. These policies are basically haunting them as well and in US human rights committee, Kashmiri pandit, I am forgetting the name of the lady, she pleaded Kashmir case and she declared Modi's government not only fascist but the chief made them responsible for human right abuses for example mass rapes and mass graves. What happened in 1998 in Kupwara starting from the age of 10 up to 85. Women were raped and even today rape is that tool through which they want to give a message but still they are resisting another tool that is missing persons and half widows is a new concept. Half widows where a widow is not even aware of whereabouts of her husband. Then why would they be throwing boys and girls in concentration camps. They fear that tomorrow they will become the voice of the unheard. Why they are not allowing opposition political parties, international observers? Why even today freedom which has been given to rest of India, has not been given to Kashmir?

Oh yes! It is successful. Number one; the day article 370 and 35A was revoked, thrice nobody vetoed in security member council, and it was discussed. Number two; through parliamentary knots, Kashmir case has been debated in different parliaments. When you talk of American congress, House of Commons in UK, House of Lords any parliament; French parliament, Swedish parliament, Danish parliament, in European parliament it has been debated then international media was silent. Now they have started associating Modi's policies with fascist approach of Nazis. Another particular thing that needs attention that why Donald Trump, Joe

Biden in his recent presidential election said that Kashmir is an issue that needs attention even in today's world, one thing that has been emphasized by Pakistani leadership especially PM that India has become a threat to global peace because Kashmir is a flash point and if we intrude Russia in this region, half of the globe lives here and all four key stakeholders have got nuclear patterns; Russia, China, Pakistan and India any one toward incident for example god forbid if anything happens between Pakistan and India, do you think China will remain safe? No, it will be affected. The troops of US Persian Gulf, it will spread to the entire globe, so anyone sitting in New York, Washington, Stockholm, London, and Paris they won't remain safe. So it has the policies and the overall approach has given a started giving hot signals to the global committee, alarm bells have started ringing again and the world is now willing to resolve this Kashmir issue because whatever happened in Madras and one thing the world needs to know -- that when Gujrat massacre took place, Modi was declared persona non grata, he was not allowed to visit US. What made the west to revisit that approach because once he became the PM of India and India is the largest democratic country in the world and the second largest secular country in the world. The world gave them an opportunity to prove their worth but now the world that knows that whatever is happening in IOJK and the way it has been coming up with different policies, the world leaders have given their overall

Yes, things have improved. Number one; Human rights committee in 2018-19 and 2019-20, their report blamed India and it had never ever been mentioned in such a manner before the way it had been mentioned this time. For all this, Indians have been responsible. For human rights abuses, for that fascist approach for example imagine in today's contemporary world we are witnessing 4th phase of covid where all the states are giving emphasis to protect their citizens from covid by providing relevant facilities by investing in their health care systems by buying vaccines and doing the needful. There's only one ventilator for 72K Kashmiris. One doctor for 4K Kashmiris. What does it show? And why Pakistan opted and requested the global community to WHO and to UN that please make a health corridor where health facilities could be provided by red clause, UNHCR, UN all the key stakeholders of UN for those who are at the receiving end. So we nations, global stakeholders are having an eye on IOJK but they are coming with such policies which can benefit the local community; another particular answer to your question.

Approximately 2 years ago, Modi along with business community, the financial and the business tycoons of India along with Arab world wanted to invest in IOJK. Why they failed? Why did Indian work? The reason is resentment. After all these atrocities, human right abuses, this lead to introduction of barbarian laws for example you've already mentioned that. The laws they had introduces wouldn't let people breathe. I believe never in the history of IOJK, the level of resentment was like this what we are witnessing today. Everyone, the recent video of a journalist with boys; 8-9 year Kashmiri boys. Have you seen it? I'll share it with you afterwards. Their sole objective is only one that is freedom, and they are not willing to discuss or share or raise anything. They have offered them again and again and constantly those who are behind bars for example Qasim Fatooh is behind bars since 28-29 years. He has done PhD and he is the husband of Asiya Andrabi. Imagine everyday they have been giving them offers and the go through those tortures. Why aren't they surrendering it? Rape, murder and when their loved ones are missing. They are willing to go to any extent and they have realized that we don't want to talk to India. We don't need anything from India and even after the abrogation of article 370 and 35A, everything has been taken away but still it was a tool through which they want to convey a message that we've taken away everything from you. But still the momentum is same rather it is more deep rooted than ever before.

Obviously through demographic changes, that settlement, which is taking place, they are bringing those back, they want to change the overall approach at the grass root level. Recently, again you've mentioned in your report/article, that they went to the Amaranth Yatra. Modi wants to become an autaar, autaarvis a new brought, God forbid, of political autaar. It's a new beginning, the emergent of India, Hindutva where they will now take revenge, they will control this particular region for example when you talk of Pakistan, they say Sindh and their spiritual commitment with Sindh. All those hoary when we talk of Pakistan, when we talk of Hindus or Sikhs, their holy places are in Pakistan too. So their mindsets is such. So keeping in mind your question, the settlement and by changing the diversity culture for example why would they be artisans, the culture, the cuisine of Kashmiris, their language, recently you must have noticed that Urdu has been eliminated. There are no initiatives to protect Kashmiri language. And last and most importantly, Indian culture and sports unity, they have been making documentaries, movies

on hockey players and cricket players and different. They have initiated new initiatives of soaps. Initially benefitted with image for example when Indian premier league was introduced, why Kashmir cricket team was not a part of it? Why Kashmiri players were not allowed to play IPL? They're biased, that realization no matter whatever you do for them they will not become yours. That is making them understand that enough is enough now through force and through such barbarian policies, they can control Kashmir and those who want to raise their voice. They are either asked to leave Kashmir and go to Pakistan or anyone in any capacity raised any voice, they are thrown behind bars.

As I told you that at the hands of the state, their interest and then through media. They have been achieving their desired objective. I give an example of US becoming a messiah and on the other side what they did Vietnam and Cuba and Afghanistan and other countries. Indians succeeded for a time being for example when EU disinfo lab exposed India through 750 labs for 15 long years through fake news and all that which was highlighted at the highest levels. It was dejected because it showed the true face of India where deception and lie was the main tool through which they wanted to achieve their desirable objectives. Initially they linked that freedom struggle with terrorism, with extremism and with regularization. Why the PM of Pakistan and UN would say that Modi's policies, what made Burhan Wani; he was a literate soul, why would he be opting for gun? And whatever happened in Pulwama, they need to know, and they need to go to the roots, so the question is that for a time being they succeeded but now they are exposed. The world has realized and seen the true face of India. For example, imagine UN and law of the land, any law of the land and UN has a signatory and as a global citizen, it's a disputed area and we've got this right to self-protection. If somebody wants to kill you and you are not carrying any weapon, what will happen? You will lose your life. You have this right to protect yourself. You need to carry a gun as per the law but there what Indians are doing, can you initiate any resistance without weapons in today's world? No, you cannot. The people of Kashmir have made a new history just like Palestinians. Intifada; throwing of stones, chanting slogans, protesting, surrendering, willing to go to prisons by making the national days into black days, by making everyone realize that I am willing to go to that level where I can, lose my life and these helpless Kashmiris are proving it to the global committee though they never accepted it but they've

accepted it now because that is the last nail in the coffin of India and Modi when they abrogated article 360 and 35A from the constitution. That made the whole world realize that their motives are totally different and their inhuman and unjust policies is basically challenging the global peace.

Number one; Saeed Ali Gillani all the top political leadership, all parties Hurriyat leadership consist of all the political parties, their leadership, civil society, all those in any capacity as anything to do as opinion leaders of IOJK. Why are they against these policies of India any they want freedom? Even when they were together, they turned out in elections. Why it was not more than 10%? May I know the reason for this? They were not more than 10% because they never believed in Indian policies. They never owned India. They never wanted to give any sort of importance in any capacity to that country in whose legitimacy they never believed. They always considered themselves not a part of India, so they constantly reminded them and Why APHC, Indian's present government has challenged them? Why are they not being given importance? Recently they have not been allowed to move outside. Opposition parties are not allowed to go and interact with APHC and all the stakeholders. These so called puppets, which we just mentioned, they don't represent the Kashmir community. For example, majority of them can't speak Kashmiri language. They are planted. Basically, it is an eyewash. Through them they want to convey a message to the global community for example what made us to go for KPL. On one side of LOC, there are any oppression seats is the order of the day. They are not given due rights. They can't breathe, can't walk, can't go to school, colleges, universities, they can't do their own businesses, they can't move openly, their properties, culture, identity, tourism everything has been taken away. On the other side elections took place. All the political party leaders; Maryam Nawaz was there, Bilawal was there, PM Imran Khan was there. All the top political leadership visited every single district of Azad Kashmir. Few months back, Gilgit Baltistan elections took place. All political parties participated. There was a sense of festivity, youth participated, youth parties. There was a cutthroat competition and then top leadership was there, international observers were there. They were observing everything. Why Indians failed to do that? Why they are not allowing international observers, key political leaders of India? Why are they not allowing media to cover it? They are scared because they know that it has gone out of their hands

and if they somehow recently Modi's government, just for an eyewash, sent a delegation in IOJK and what was their report? They mentioned it in their report that it was fabricated and now to understand the pulse at the grass root level, it needs to be organic; that everything is normal and in that report those who visited they mentioned themselves that it was fabricated.

The world as a whole, global key stakeholders have become silent spectators. Yes Pakistan has been constantly reminding the global key powers, the movers and shakers to wake up and address it. The way they are bringing people from different parts of India by giving them domiciles and that settlement which is taking place is very very alarming. And situation is still very alarming for the global peace perspective because after using force and where we've got one soldier for 9 Kashmiris, militarize zone, vibe are that in near future key stakeholders of the globe need to intervene. Otherwise they will keep on bringing people and only thing which they have in their mind is that they want Pakistan to somehow or the people of Azad Kashmir or those who believe in freedom from Pakistan somehow could cross LOC and penetrate and prove it to the whole world that Pakistan is an aggressor and they are interfering now. The world that at this particular juncture, Pakistan has been very responsible, Pakistan has played all those cards through which they can aware the global community and key stakeholders and we are constantly reminding the world that the next step of Modi is going to be a such which can harm the global peace and credit goes to disinfo lab, credit goes to people of IOJK and above all, credit goes to Kashmiri diaspora. Those who are living in different parts of the globe, those who are from Jammu or Pakistan, Kashmir as a whole, they are playing a pivotal role. They are the ones who are constantly reminding the global powers that fascist Modi is not only a threat to Kashmiris but to the entire global peace.

The sole objective of Hitler was that holocaust. He was the opinion for every ill, the theory was based on that revenge, that for every ill Jews are responsible. Similarly Modi and RSS is of the opinion that for every ill Muslims are responsible and wherever they see Muslim dominance, presence they are there to undermine them.

Nazis were a threat to the entire global community. Allied forces even those who are supporting Germans in those days, those who were supporting Hitler, they are of the opinion now that it was an insane approach for example if you ask this from a polish, Hungarian those who were part in a parcel in that group which believes in clannism. Today the world is reminded by my PM that the way Hitler played with humanity where millions of people lost their lives and Europe was completely devastated. PM is reminding the globe that one side you are giving importance to your interest, regional, bilateral, unilateral interest are given importance but on other side fascist Modi is there to undermine everything and his policies are as such where the global peace is at stake and God forbid humanity will suffer again because his policies are as such where he is solely against humanity. Why is the world emphasizing on interfaith harmony? Why the world is giving importance to women empowerment, child rights, human rights, old age people, then minority is priority number one. He has been bulldozing one after the other. Human right abuses is the order of the day and world is silent and that silence is itself supporting that approach and momentum of Modi. That is one side of the story for which my PM has to knock at the door of global powers at the highest level. O now answering to your question, I believe Modi is a scar on the face of humanity. If the world was unable to realize now we are in a position where India is at the receiving end and now, we want that the global community to come forward and sanctions need to be imposed in India. Were India needs to be realized that it's too work because when we talk of 1.25 trillion Indians, about 500-600 Indians life, property, future, self-respect isn't safe. Out of the total population of India, 25-30% people in the ideology of RSS. They are given license to bulldoze, to kill, to bully. And for example, we're not against India, we are against that policy and that thin mindset and that leadership which is basically against humanity whether they are in India, IOJK or any other part of the world because threat in the name of religion, in the name if supremacy and in the name of revenge is haunting the entire global peace and the world as a whole.

Respondent no 8

Modi wants to become an autaar, autaarvis a new brought, God forbid, of political autaar. It's a new beginning, the emergent of India, Hindutva where they will now take revenge, they will control this particular region for example when you talk of Pakistan, they say Sindh and their spiritual commitment with Sindh. All those hoary when we talk of Pakistan, when we talk of Hindus or Sikhs, their holy places are in Pakistan too. So their mindsets is such. So keeping in mind your question, the settlement and by changing the diversity culture for example why would they be artisans, the culture, the cuisine of Kashmiris, their language, recently you must have noticed that Urdu has been eliminated. There are no initiatives to protect Kashmiri language. And last and most importantly, Indian culture and sports unity, they have been making documentaries, movies on hockey players and cricket players and different. They have initiated new initiatives of soaps. Initially benefitted with image for example when Indian premier league was introduced, why Kashmir cricket team was not a part of it? Why Kashmiri players were not allowed to play IPL? They're biased, that realization no matter whatever you do for them they will not become yours. That is making them understand that enough is enough now through force and through such barbarian policies, they can control Kashmir and those who want to raise their voice. They are either asked to leave Kashmir and go to Pakistan or anyone in any capacity raised any voice, they are thrown behind bars.

So if asking about the denial of the Kashmiri human rights by Indians so yes it is very simple yes their basic fundamental rights are international you know conventions is the right of expression, right of self- determination. They are in denial of that they have not let the plebiscite take place once curious you know excuse on the other and they have been evading. India has evaded at every stage first on the basis of keeping troops that bare minimum troops are employed since Pakistan is also keeping troops so it should demilitarized so on demilitarization issue also UN resolutions successive resolutions in 1950 they very clearly said that look that this is not the valid excuse for denying he people their right of self-determination that also was not accepted by Indians. Those UN resolutions were under the clause that both countries agreed to the plebiscite so cleverly kept on evading. So on that score yes they are denying the rights then you see the human rights is denial of freedom of association, media, moving, gain and access to information, internet. When you deny that it's a clear human rights abuse. Then once you impose draconian

laws like TADA, UAPA, whole lot which is given which you can take so why not aim each one of them. Those laws gave proportionate security to these past laws to arrest without a warrant keep in detention illegal detention and you know that is entertaining a lot of killings and incarcerations forced conversions in some cases and there is a whole next I mean there are 15000 incarcerations after revocation 2019.

Kashmiriyat means political and ethnic identities in Kashmiri Muslims which have a distinct culture, religion, heritage and they have to form part of a country either India or Pakistan. As per the UN 's resolutions which were you know which very clearly said that the right to self-determination would be given to the people as per their you know population and they would decide so Kashmiriyat is essentially rooted in Kashmiri culture so Kashmiri people are ethnic Kashmiris, cultural Kashmiris and they would not like to subsumed into Indian union like any other state. They have a distinct heritage they were never part of the Indian union. It was the unjust treaty of the 1846 which sold out Kashmir and the population was bounded against its wishes. Once opportunity arose to its press you know will or what you call Kashmiriyat is nothing more than expression of their citizenship, of their you know hakim back to their roots and that roots were rooted in their Kashmiri soil, culture, language and they have a distinct language nothing to do with the Hindi, they have distinct preference nothing to do with Indian territory habits, they have a different religion and a different political system nothing to do with Indian union. They have no justification in international law for their you know making part of Kashmir as Indian union because even after conditional accession this accession is also challenged which people say that MahaRaja was on the run and couldn't signed that instrument of accession and Mr Ram has very clearly pointed out in a book that this instrument of accession is also doubtful but even if we accept for a moment that was signed by Maharaja soon after that he had signed on a certain conditions those conditions were that Kashmir will enjoy a special status, never be part of Indian union and its actual status will be decided as per the freely expressed will of the Kashmiri people which later on was you know put into the shape of UN's resolution via international community.

Respondent No 9

This was in 2010. I was over there. Some youngsters were killed and you can google it. You can find all the data of 2010 because that is linked with Burhan directly because that is one factor which people don't focus on. why did he pick up the gun though the gun factor was not used by him. He was just basically showing the world that we are alive and we wanna protect our motherland. So you need to focus on that reason. They tried every possible manner. How they mentioned his brother, him and family. This is the root cause, this was the starting point where it all started but you need to google it.

For them I think dil ki doori wala slogan and if you compare that with Vajpayee, Kashmiriyat, insaniyat and his slogan was also very catchy but it is the total opposite. So that's how India is under the current regime is seeing a graveyard of Kashmiris and just silencing them completely and absolutely and not leaving any space for any kind of political voices or voices of dissent or against actions or against their occupation, against the policies of India. But for Kashmiris, Kashmiriyat has the rich history for 5000 years and very strong Sufi cultural, Sufism, Sufi saints is over there with a lot of dargahs and Shandaan, Noor-ud-deen Wali and then you have Baba Rashi and Hazrat Bal. People over there are very very peace-loving, very romantic, they are very cultured and civilized and very hospitable and they have great business skills and the kind of horticulture tourism country they had over ages. It's very rich in civilization and it's influenced by the Handaans and we see a lot of romanticism in their movement, in their culture, in their poetry, in their dialect. There's a lot of rhythm in their lifestyle and very creative and sadly such kind of people had to keep on facing such occupations be it the Dogras, be it the Indians yet no one has ever been able to conquer them. I mean we celebrate or we speak about the Afghans like Changez Khan, Alexander. Nobody could really conquer them or this is like the graveyard of superpower they say that, no foreign occupation but they've always had the weapons, they've always had some way of revolt. I'm not saying that they have a lot of weapons compared to other forces but when you compare that situations to Kashmiris and even with the Palestinians, you have the support of Hamas over there, what's happening and the leaders are you know walking around, they can travel. The Palestinian leaders have passports and their voice can be sent across to the world. You are sitting here, you can't go to Srinagar but you can go to Palestine, we can. Airports are open. The media houses are allowed in the international media press. Recently one

of their buildings was also explored by the Israelis but you can't even imagine such a building in Kashmir. So they are very soft people. Kashmiriyat is something where a lot can be spoken about but I think in a nutshell, they've been underestimated. Kashmiris are not just peace-loving but they are extremely brave and they have a lot of honor and pride in them and they have been fighting this war against occupation for decades without any help, without any army and they have not been acknowledged for their peaceful movement as well. So it's something that we should focus on more. We should project that more. Not just having sympathies for them. That concept wouldn't work because they don't want just tears or something from the world. They want the world to acknowledge them for their services for peaceful movements, for acknowledging the new world order and because they were the worst acknowledged. It moved from an arm struggle, it was a majority arm struggle before 9/11 but they did have a lot of arms.

Until international community, UN and USA takes some firm action the repression will continue. But what worse is settler colonialism will continue the demographic change will occur and that is their entire purpose. The identity of Kashmir will change, the Muslims identity of Kashmir will be eliminated. The majority will become a minority. Kashmir will become like another Maharashtra or another Gujrat. It's the Akhand Bharat philosophy. I think IK said in UNSC explained what is exactly happening inside Kashmir. Historically we learned fascism ended after WWII but Indian fascism was born on 1922 and no body paid attention to it. The CAA is manifestation of what happened in Kashmir and they have exported the laboratory test of Kashmir to entire India. RSS is no less than Nazi Germany. They have followed the ideals of Mussolini, Hitler but nobody has uttered a word on it. Why because of financial and geo strategic positions of India, they need India against China

I think after two-year Pakistan would be in a more better position economically because of CPEC and it will be able to engage international community more actively on Kashmir to resolve it. 'When you push and push people to the corner eventually they will lash out.