# Political victimization and Voices of survivors in Gilgit-Baltistan; Case Study of Progressive and Nationalist Political Victims.



Bv:

**Abdul Azeem** 

Supervisor

Dr. Asim Sajjad

National Institute of Pakistan Studies Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad 2022

# Contents

Acknowledgments	ii
Abstract	iii
Chapter 1	1
Introduction to Gilgit Baltistan	1
Geography of Gilgit	1
History of Gilgit	2
Research question	12
Subsidiary questions	
Thesis Statement	12
Literature Review	12
Methodology	
Locale	15
Data Collection	
In-Depth Interviews	16
Participants	16
Records	
Chapter 2	17
Political Victimization in Gilgit-Baltistan	17
Chapter 3	27
Status of Gilgit-Baltistan	
Chapter 4	38
Impact on Gilgit-Baltistan	38
Chapter 5	49
Gilgit-Baltistan's and the Political prisoners	49
Chapter 6	57
Poetic Activism	
Conclusion	
References	71

# Acknowledgments

I would like to express sincere gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Asim Sajjad, who helped me with his valuable knowledge throughout my research work. Moreover, I want to pay thanks to my beloved parents, whose emotional and financial support boosted my morale throughout my educational career and this research in particular. Furthermore, special thanks to my loving siblings for their emotional encouragement.

Furthermore, I want to mention my other teachers who encouraged me through their knowledge and appreciation. Bundle of thanks to my friends, who helped in data collection.

I also thanks librarian all staff of NIPS who helped and guided me when needed.

**Abdul Azeem** 

## **Abstract**

Political dimensions and shifting of power changes with times, Political victimization in politics with political workers happens across the world. The political ground of Gilgit Baltistan is mostly unknown to the world because world only knows the beautiful sceneries and highest peaks of high Asian mountains but not the existence and sufferings of people in the mountains. Its status was discussed only with reference to Kashmir dispute, but from last few years the region is spot lighted in national and international media due to climatic changes, outburst of glaciers, Natural disasters, Political uprisings and CPEC project. When these issues came to surface new debate opened about political status of Gilgit-Baltistan a national discourse, regional voices and international powers raise question on status of GB. Pakistan was strong argument on dispute Kashmir and Kashmir policy till 2013, but now the government is thinking to change the status of region to full fledge provisional position.

# Chapter 1

## **Introduction to Gilgit Baltistan**

Gilgit-Baltistan (GB) is a sparsely populated alpine region in northwestern Pakistan. Its natural environment is often described in superlative terms: it has the longest glacier in the world outside the Polar Regions, and is home to the second highest peak of the world (K2) and another four or eight thousand peaks. GB is primarily an alpine desert; it is geologically divided into three alpine systems: the Himalayas, the Karakoram and the Hindu Kush. Gilgit-Baltistan covers 27,188 square miles (72,496 square kilometers) and has a population of about 1.5 million. Gilgit-Baltistan is divided into three divisions: Diamer, Baltistan and Gilgit, and ten districts. The region is bordered by Afghanistan's Wakhan Belt and China's Xinjiang Province to the north, Indian-occupied Kashmir to the south and southeast, and Chitral to the west. The area is dominated by high snow-capped mountains cut by valleys. Hindukush is located to the north, separating the Ishkuman and Yasin valleys from the Wakhan corridor. In Chitral, the highest peak is Tirich Mir (25,289 feet). The Pamirs meet the Hindu Kush mountains where Pakistan, China and Afghanistan meet. The Karakoram's Muztagh Mountains are further east, and the southern boundary of the range is formed from west to east by the Gilgit, Indus and Shaoke rivers that separate the Himalayas. K2 (28251) is the highest peak, followed by Gasherbrums, Broad Peak, Rakaposhi and Masabrum.

## Geography of Gilgit

To the north-west of Kashmir State, running upto and on the right of the Indus, was the Gilgit valley. It was a part and parcel of Dardistan. There was, actually, no region known as Dardistan to its inhabitants. Dardistan appears to be simply a convenient, but somewhat misleading, name employed by the British Geographers to express a large tract inhabited by different Aryan races of somewhat similar type. It comprised, besides Gilgit, Astore, Boonji, Hunza, Nagar, Punial, Yasin, the independent republics of the Indus valley such as Gor, Darel and Tangir, and other countries south of the Hindukush® including Chitral. The ancient name of Gilgit under its Hindu

Ras (Kings) was Sargin. Later it was known as Gilvit, which the Sikhs and Dopas corrupted into Gilgit. Gilgit was situated at an elevation of 4,890 feet above sea level in 35°55' N and 74°23' East. The climate of Gilgit was dry and wholesome, though the heat in summer, owing to the radiation from the enormous expanse of bare rock, was oppressive; but the nights were cool and fresh. There was no rainfall to speak of, it being almost intercepted by the neighboring lofty mountains. There was also practically no snowfall in Gilgit. The vegetable products of Gilgit consisted of wheat, barley, naked barley, rice, maize, millet, buck wheat, pulse, rape and cotton. The fruits included mulberry, peach, apricot, grape, apple, quince, pear, greengage, fig, walnut, pomegranate and sarshing; besides musk-melons and water-melons. Silk was grown, but in very small quantity. From the strategical point of view, Gilgit was of as much importance to the British government of India as Peshawar, for it was the gate to India from Central Asia and it was here that the three Empires of China, Russia and Great Britain met. Besides, it covered all the Passes over the Hindukush from the eastern most one, the Shimshal, to those at the head of the Yasin River, in the west. All these Passes descended to the valleys of the Gilgit River and its tributaries. But the possession of the Gilgit valley would offer more than this; it afforded the British a direct communication through Kashmir territory to the protected State of Chitral, which would be otherwise removed from their influence by the interposition of countries at that time closed to them. Again, from Gilgit mountain roads radiated into all the surrounding valleys." It is easy, therefore, to see how favorable was its position for the establishment of the headquarters of a confederacy of small States.

## **History of Gilgit**

The history of Gilgit, \_Sargin Gilgit' or the happy land of Gilgit, as it was known in its own hina language, is lost in antiquity. The last ruler reputed to have been a Hindu was Sri Badat, whose

rule extended over all the neighborhood from Astore to Chitral; he was a real person, but has become legendary on account of his reputed cannibalism. Hunza tradition has it that the daughter of the cannibal King married a Hunza prince, Shamsher, and it was this daughter who arranged her father's death. Only fire could harm the Ra. They dug a deep trench near his castle gate, concealing it with a cloth. They then raised an alarm at night, the Ra rushed out to repulse what he believed was an attack, fell into the trench, and was killed by the villagers throwing burning torches on him. But there is another version of Badat's death. According to it, the said Hunza prince launched an attack on Gilgit. Badat faced the enemy desperately, but was killed in the battlefield by an arrow from Shamsher. The death of Badat decided the fate of the battle in favour of Shamsher who occupied Gilgit. Shamsher was a Muhammedan and established Muslim rule in Gilgit.

Whatever be the circumstances of Sri Badat's death, all -available sources on the subject agree that he was removed from the scene, the Hindu rule in Gilgit was terminated, and a Muslim one founded by Shamsher. The dynasty that was founded by Shamsher was called Trakhane, from a celebrated Ra named Trakhan, who reigned about the commencement of the fourteenth century. The previous rulers, of whom Sri Badat was the last, were called Shahreis. Tarakhan was succeeded as Ra of Gilgit by Azar, Jamsher, Khisrau, Fardos, Habikan, Gauritham, Muhammad Khan and Abas. Abas was the last of the Trakane line; with him ended the independence of Gilgit; henceforward the valley was devastated by successive invasions of the neighbouring Rajas, who, each in turn, first acquired the country and then was defeated and killed by some other. In the twenty or thirty years ending with 1842 there were five dynastic revolutions in Gilgit, as follows:

- (1) Suleiman Shah, ruler of Yasin, of the Bakhte caste or family, who was a refugee in Gilgit and had been given protection its ruler, killed Abas about 1805.
- (2) Azad Khan, ruler of Punial, killed Suleiman Shah at Cher Kila and ruled in his stead in Gilgit.
- (3) Tair Shah, ruler of Nagar, displaced and killed Azad Khan; he himself died a natural death, and was succeeded by his son, Shah Sikandar.
- (4) Gaur Rahman, ruler of Yasin, conquered Gilgit and killed Shah Sikandar.
- (5) Shah Sikandar's brother, Karim Khan, having escaped to Gor, from there sent an agent to the Sikh Governor of Kashmir imploring aid against the invader.

The Gilgit-Baltistan's society is wide by language, religion, and culture. Historical and cultural sites are locations that have been recognized for their significance in a country's history. Historic sites serve as a physical link to the past; they are often associated with an event, a person, a place, or the constructed legacy. They are an integral component of the nation's legacy and help define its identity. Historical landmarks are a society's primary asset since they reflect its identity, and an individual can gain a firm grasp on his or her own past and forefathers' life. Gilgit-Baltistan's people share strong sects, culture, and language ties with the Kargil people (occupied Kashmir). The district is primarily populated by Muslims of Balti ancestry. Balti is the primary language spoken in Kargil, while Shina is spoken in Dras. Kargil and Dras were taken by freedom forces during the 1948 liberation war. The area was recaptured by the Indian army after the freedom forces fled to Olding to reorganize following the announcement of a truce. Today, Pakistan's army enjoys strategic advantage in the Kargil region, where it poses a threat to India's route to Siachen. The Deosai plain is located 30 kilometres from Skardu in Baltistan. It is the world's second highest plateau, covering an area of 3000 Sq Km. The average hight is 3500 meters, and the majority of the year is covered in snow. According to 1960s press accounts, the Americans were interested in creating a base here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Home: Gilgit-Baltistan. (n.d.). Visitgilgitbaltistan.gov.pk. Retrieved March 31, 2022, from https://visitgilgitbaltistan.gov.pk/

The great game refers to the century-long competition between USSR and United India for control of Central Asian states. In his book "The Gilgit Game," John Keay discusses a portion of the big game played in Gilgit. Gilgit was regarded as the doorway to India, the fulcrum of Asia, and British India's security was contingent upon these frontiers. The British were keen to keep their northern frontier free so that Russians could not infiltrate Chitral and Gilgit via the Pamirs and Hindukush. Lord Curzon paid a visit to this inhospitable region even before assuming the office of Viceroy of India. Field Marshal Kitchener, the Indian army's commander in chief, also visited Gilgit to gain firsthand experience following a Russian military officer's visit to Hunza. With the opening of CPEC, Gilgit-Baltistan has once again become a focal point of a new big game being played by India, the United States of America, and Afghanistan. While testifying before the Senate and House Armed Services Committees, the US defence secretary informed them that CPEC traverses through contested area.<sup>2</sup>

In April 1984, India began holding key peaks in a massive airborne operation named Meghdoot. The terrain dips down from Indian occupation areas to Pakistani army positions and leads to Baltistan's major towns. Indians fear if Pakistan gains additional heights, the Indian supply line to Ladakh and Kargil may be jeopardized. Gilgit-Baltistan is renowned for its majestic glaciers, which feed rivers (River Indus) that provide for 75% of the country's stored water supply. Gilgit-Baltistan is home to several significant glaciers and largest non-polar regions, including Baltoro (63 kilometers long), Batura (57 kilometers), Biafo (67 kilometers), and Hispar (61 kilometers). GB is home to more than 7000 glaciers and the Karakoram alone is home to 40 glaciers.

Gilgit-Baltistan historically connected to China via one of the Silk Roads. One path connected Shimshal and Hunza via the Muztagh River. Another road began in Tashkurgar and led to either Wakhan or Khunjerab. A vital link was established via the KilkMintaka passes to Gojal and Drakut. The Silk Road has been through Karakoram Highway, the world's eighth wonder, which was completed in 1979. Gilgit-Baltistan's prominence expanded initially with the completion of the Karakoram Highway (KKH) and then with the launch of CPEC. The distance between Gwadar and Khunjerab is 2463 kilometers, and the port Gwadar will benifit China at least 16000 kilometers. Gilgit-Baltistan is critical to this project since it serves as the entryway to CPEC. The CPEC spans about 500 kilometers through Gilgit-Baltistan, and so its success is contingent on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Keay, J. (1990). The Gilgit game. Oxford University Press.

Gilgit, the entrance. Diamer-Basha dam is located 40 kilometers downstream of Chilas on the Indus River. It is one of the largest public sector projects ever undertaken in Pakistan. When completed, the Diamer-Basha project will supply the main grid with 4500 megawatts of hydropower electricity. It will be able to hold an additional 8500000-acre feet of irrigation water.<sup>3</sup>

In the year 1845 there occurred an important episode in the History of British India; the first Anglo-Sikh War broke out. This was one of the most hotly contested campaigns that the English ever fought in India, and victory at one time trembled in the balance. The battle of Sobraon, however, decided the fate of the contest in favour of the British. The Sikhs were defeated, and peace was concluded between the two powers by the Treaty of Lahore, dated March 9, 1846. ^ But the English detested the warlike habits of the Sikhs and wanted to cripple their power once and for all. To this end, they dismembered the Sikh Kingdom of the Punjab. Out of it they created a separate State of Jammu and Kashmir and sold it to a Dogra Rajput of Jammu, Gulab Singh, under the Treaty of Amritsar, dated March 16, 1846, for seventy-five lakhs of rupees.\* Gulab Singh thus became the first ruler of Jammu and Kashmir. Not only the vale of Kashmir, but all the hill countries beyond which had been recently subjugated by the Sikhs, including Ladakh, Baltistan, and Astore and Gilgit districts, by this Treaty became the appanage of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.

Gilgit-people Baltistan's are legendary warriors, as evidenced by past fights with local kingships, against Dogras, the British, and the Indian fighters. The coup was organized in favor of Pakistan on the night of 31 October 1947 by Gilgit Scouts. On 01 November 1947, Brigadier Ghansara Singh, the Dogra governor, defeated by Gilgit Scouts, and Pakistan's flag was flown. Gilgit Scouts later became part of the civil armed forces as the Northern Light Infantry (NLI). The NLI regiment was elevated to regular infantry status in 1999 as a result of its remarkable performance

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Welcome to GilgitBaltistan. (n.d.). Visitgilgitbaltistan.gov.pk. Retrieved March 31, 2022, from <a href="https://visitgilgitbaltistan.gov.pk/blog/100">https://visitgilgitbaltistan.gov.pk/blog/100</a>

during the Kargil war. Gilgit-soldiers Baltistan's are regarded as the best warriors, having demonstrated their mettle during the 1948, 1965, and 1971 wars, the Siachen conflict, the Kargil war, and the war on terror. Nishan-e-Haider's recipient, Lalik Jan, is a Gilgit-Baltistan native. Gilgit-Baltistan's people are ardent patriots who adore Pakistan more than any other Pakistani. Following freedom, the inhabitants of Gilgit-Baltistan petitioned Pakistan's government to seize administration of the territory. A crew of sub-nationalists Whoever does not have broad support in the region is abusing the issue of constitutional status to pollute and incite the minds of the younger generation. After the independence, successive governments introduced several packages aimed at mainstreaming the region. However, the packages did not live up to the expectations of the Gilgit-Baltistan people. The people of Gilgit-Baltistan seek to be recognized as part of Pakistan. This could be achieved by giving the province temporary status subject to the final settlement of the Kashmir dispute.<sup>4</sup>

Before independence, GB was part of the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir, one of the country's largest principalities. The state was established in 1846 as a result of negotiations between Britain and Gulab Singh of the Dogra dynasty. Gulab Singh, ruler of the Sikh Empire of Jammu, chose to remain neutral and support the British East India Company during the First Anglo-Sikh War (1845-1846). Recognizing Singh's commitment throughout the battle, the East India Company sold him Kashmir in 1846 for what was then worth 7.5 million rupees. As a result of this arrangement, Jammu and Kashmir's first Maharaja was named Ghulab Sing. In 1840, before the Treaty of Amritsar was signed, Gulab Singh's Dogra army subdued and annexed what is now Baltistan. Under new administrative system, Baltistan is incorporated into Ladakh district as Skardu tehsil.<sup>3</sup>

Recognizing the geostrategic importance of the region and anticipating a possible USSR occupancy from Central Asia, the British acted directly and established a "Gilgit Agency" to control the region. This marked the beginning of the Anglo-Dogra dual control of Gilgit. Civil administration remained in the hands of King Dogra, while military and security responsibilities were transferred directly to the British Indian government. The main goal of the British Empire

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Sökefeld, M. (2017). At the Margins of Pakistan. In R. Kalia (Ed.), Pakistan's political labyrinths: military, society and terror (1st ed., pp. 174-188). Routledge New York.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Ahmad, S. (2020, November 1). HISTORY: THE GILGIT-BALTISTAN CONUNDRUM. DAWN.COM. https://www.dawn.com/news/1587950

in India was to protect its northern borders. A local military group developed and was named the Gilgit Scouts. It was trained, armed and led by the British. In 1935, the British leased the Gilgit Agency to King Dogra for 60 years. However, Baltistan's territories remained directly under Dogras control. Two weeks before India and Pakistan gained independence, the British abruptly terminated their leases. British Commander Major General Scott-in- The Kashmiri army chief arrived in Gilgit on July 30, 1947. He was escorted by Brigadier General Gansara Singh, who was appointed by the Kashmir Maharaja as Gilgit chief executive. Under the lease, the British provided Gilgit to Jammu and Kashmir state. On 1 August, Brigadier Gansara Singh took control of Gilgit Agency from British rule Colonel Roger Bacon. The Union Jack was retired and the Maharaja annexed the territory. Lord Mountbatten's unexpected revocation of the lease and handing over control to the Douglas family has raised concerns about the status of the Gilgit Boy Scouts. After Ghansara Singh's arrival, reports began to circulate that the Gilgit Boy Scouts would be replaced by the Kashmiri army. Boy Scouts explicitly oppose Kashmiri army takeover.<sup>6</sup>

Before and during the Dogra era, Gilgit and Baltistan were divided into small kingdoms ruled by Rajas and Mirs (local rulers). Although the British and Dogra dynasties simultaneously exercised administrative control over Gilgit institutions, the Rajas and Dapengs retained considerable autonomy within their own territories. The ruling elites of these kingdoms awarded scout officer positions, making scouts a powerful voice and actor for future settlements in the region. However, with Britain's withdrawal from the subcontinent and the independence of Pakistan and India, the Gilgit Scouts expressed hostility to the new ruler of the IAEA because of his uncertain position. With the end of the British government coming to an end, uprisings against the Maharaja have broken out in several parts of Kashmir. Fearing a Muslim uprising in Kashmir and the approaching rebels, Maharaja announced Kashmir to join India on October 27, 1947. Gilgit finds herself in a dangerous situation after joining. On October 31, 1947, the Gilgit Boy Scouts who had previously formed the Revolutionary Council began an uprising against Dogra's control. Kashmiri troops are stationed in the Bengi area near Gilgit, where the Maharaja's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Sökefeld, M. (2017). At the Margins of Pakistan. In R. Kalia (Ed.), Pakistan's political labyrinths: military, society and terror (1st ed., pp. 174–188). Routledge New York.

garrison is located. Muslim soldiers led by Mirza Hassan Khan attacked the Sikh company in Bangui, forcing them to flee to Lundu in Baltistan.<sup>7</sup>

After some resistance, Governor Gansara Singh surrendered to Major Babar. The uprising resulted in the liberation of the area around Gilgit from Dogra's rule. On November 1, 1947, the independent state "Gilgit Islamic Republic" was proclaimed and a provisional government was established in Gilgit. Raja Shah Raees Khan of Gilgit named president. The revolutionary government, Colonel Mirza Hassan Khan was appointed head of the armed forces. Gilgit unconditionally agreed to Pakistan 15 days after independence. On November 16, 1947, a Pakistani government representative, Sardar Mohammad Alam Khan, reached in Gilgit and served as a political agent. Meanwhile, Raja Mohammad Ali Khan of Lundu organized the poor to fight the arriving Sikh army. Many soldiers were killed in the fighting, and a large number of others were captured and deported to Gilgit. Later that year, the Raja of Lundu wrote a letter inviting the Gilgit Scouts to liberate Baltistan from Dogra Raj because of the lack of organized local forces in the region.

In Baltistan, local residents and Boy Scouts fought against the Kashmiri army for nearly a year, with heavy casualties. As former Sindh Inspector General Afzal Ali Shigri from GB wrote in an op-ed in Dawn on 21 December 2018, independence was "through brutality between Gilgit Boy Scouts and a handful of civilian fighters led by Kashmiri forces" The battle was made." After the region joined Pakistan unconditionally, the Pakistani government did not put in place proper governance and administrative structures and instead implemented the Frontier Crime Regulations (FCR) in the region. The FCR was a colonial law that stripped people of their basic rights and delegated supreme power to Political Agents with administrative, legal and judiciary powers - officials. Furthermore, despite Pakistan's annexation of Gilgit and later Baltistan, the authoritarian Rajgiri (Principality) and Jagirdari (feudal) systems remained intact. Rajas and Mirs continue their exploitative practices of taxation and begging (unpaid forced labour).

The question of what to do with GB was a source of controversy in the state's early years. GB was stripped of executive powers and placed under the control of federal bureaucracies and ministries. In her book *Delusional States*, Nosheen Ali points out that although Pakistan's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Ibid.

political leadership welcomed the entry, the country failed to formally incorporate the GB into its territory, mainly due to clashes with India over control of Jammu and Kashmir. As a result, Pakistani government links GB with Kashmir to gain more votes in possible UN referendum on resolving Kashmir dispute.<sup>8</sup>

As a result of this connection, the region retains its position as a disputed territory. As a result, the region is constitutionally unrepresented in the national legislature. Numerous governments have attempted to regulate the issues and resolve the conundrum by various ways; yet, the anomaly persists. The issue of GB's incorporation into Pakistan is compounded by the fact that both Pakistan and India assert that GB is a portion of Kashmir. When India brought the Kashmir conflict to the United Nations, India's claim was refused, and the entire state of Kashmir — including GB — became a disputed area. The issue was to be addressed via plebiscite subject to specific criteria.

Scholars and political analysts in the United Kingdom adopt a contrary position. According to historical records, the Dogras of Kashmir took Baltistan through military assault; their reign lacked any legal or constitutional justification. The populace, on the other hand, never accepted their control. As a result, the region's occupation via armed assault cannot justify its association with Kashmir. Qasim Naseem, a renowned journalist and writer from in the United Kingdom, says that if the reasoning for making GB a part of Kashmir is accepted, Pakistan and India may also be deemed constitutional parts of the United Kingdom. Kashmir itself was ruled at one point by Sultan Saeed Khan Kashgari and was briefly occupied by the Afghans. Kashmir, on the other hand, did not become a part of Kashgar or Afghanistan. Additionally, Naseem asserts that we do not recognize Occupied Kashmir as Indian part, despite the fact that it has been administered by India since 1948.<sup>10</sup>

What complicates GB's predicament is that, after 73 years of freedom, it has yet to achieve what it sought. Each year, the people of GB celebrate their freedom with zeal. The struggle to integrate the region into Pakistan, on the other hand, continues. Various Pakistani governments

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Ali, N. (2019). Delusional States: Feeling Rule and Development in Pakistan's Northern Frontier. Cambridge University Press.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Ahmad, S. (2020, November 1). HISTORY: THE GILGIT-BALTISTAN CONUNDRUM. DAWN.COM. <a href="https://www.dawn.com/news/1587950">https://www.dawn.com/news/1587950</a>

have attempted to regulate GB concerns through reform and executive directives in the past. The region has recently been thrust back into the spotlight as the federal government revealed plans to grant provincial status to GB. It appeared as though Great Britain was finally on the verge of integrating with Pakistan. The critical question, however, is if the Pakistani government can take this courageous move and, rather than issuing a further executive order, put GB inside the jurisdiction of Pakistan's constitution.<sup>11</sup>

The adviser to prime minister on national security, Moeed Yusuf, was questioned by a journalist of India, Karan Thapar in an interview with Indian media about the PTI government's plans to grant GB provincial status. While reiterating that the GB will be "incorporated into the referendum on the day it takes place", Yusuf added: "One, no decision has been taken; two, there is a proper discussion: the public debate was initiated by the locals of Gilgit - Baltistan". They've been repeating this for the better part of two or three years. What are they communicating? 'We seek full integration with Pakistan. "In fact, Britain's struggle for rights and integration has been going on for decades.

While political victimization was on its peak from last two decades, government of Gilgit-Baltistan has decided to introduce anti-terrorist courts to encounter the sectarian violence in the area. After 2010 under Anti-Terrorist Act Anti-Terrorist Court has tried to control the sectarian violence but it did not well because of the political and administrative influence. Therefore these charges were used to victimise progressive and nationalist political workers. Dozens of social activists, nationalists and human right activists are facing problems and some of them were put in schedule-04. Because of these restrictions they cannot travel from one district to another without the clearance from local police station which is a barrier in their political progress/political activism.

Beaurocracy treat the citizens of Gilgit Baltistan like a colony from last seven decades through there administrative structure and bureaucracy. Gilgit Baltistan assembly is so called assembly which has no powers of legislations. Systematically administration is busy in land grapping and exploiting the natural resources in many districts. Recently they are threatening people of Nasir Abad Hunza on Issue of Natural resource Marble Mines and people resisted and not giving

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>HRCP. (2014). Caught in New Great Game? HRCP.

permission to extract the marble without their concern. There is no freedom of speech, there is no freedom of critic, there is no freedom of expression, there is not freedom of alternative politics, and they kept each and every district under oppression of administrative setup. Government has failed to provide the basic human rights like Education, Health and Job opportunities. People of Gilgit-Baltistan are facing problem just because they are demanding their basic democratic and human rights.

## Research question

How Political victimization impacts individual beliefs and actions?

## **Subsidiary questions**

- 1. How does Political victimization effect political participation and engagement?
- 2. Political victimization, Behaviour of state institutions and political opinion?

#### **Thesis Statement**

The dispute status of Gilgit-Baltistan was reason for exploitation of Human Rights of the region and victimization of Indigenous voices of the region from main stream politics and economic affairs is now going to be part of Pakistan. The politics is playing know for internal autonomy of region in administration of Pakistan. The previous work by scholars lacked in mapping indigenous political will, as most of them talked about in the light of dispute Kashmir and now GB is in headlines for constitution making process, representation at lower and upper houses, National Finance Commission (NFC), and CPEC project. In this thesis I will try to find the reason why Indigenous Nationalist and Progressive Voices are victimized by institutions, and what are beliefs about authorities in the region.

#### **Literature Review**

The voices from the land now raising for full fledge provincial setup for the region, it was also noticed that full province was the slogan of most political contesting parties in 2015 general election, constitutional status for the region is not so easy as it was remained a limbo for decades but the Indian promotion of the region after CPEC increased its importance. Pakistani

intellectuals, political leaders and establishment divert their attention towards the region after a long pause (Mahmood 2017).

Ali (2012) argues that Poetry — similar to other oral genres such as folktales, songs, and proverbs — essentially shapes consciousness and psychic selves of people. However, since it has been seen purely in terms of folk wisdom or individual expression, its role in collective social and political life has been overshadowed. She examined how poetry festivals organized by a literary organization (Halqa- e- Arbab- e- Zauq) constituted a critical public space for fostering a progressive idea of faith, ethics, and politics in Gilgit. For instance, the following poetry by a local poet in an event organized by local literary organizing stresses that everyone is equal irrespective of its faith.

Mein dastaar- e- fazeelat maangta hoon

Woh kehtay hain tumhaara sar nahin hai

Sabhi momin hain meray deen- e- haq main

Koi mushriq koi kaafir nahin hai

I ask for the crown of goodness

They tell me I don't possess a head

In true faith of mine, all individuals are believers

Moreover, the following poetry tries to convey people that there are certain people who in society who manipulates people towards violence in the name of religion; otherwise, there are no differences.

I see no one as polytheist, no one as nonbeliever

Kuch hain mazhab ke junoon mein garq kuch zaaton mein hain

Dushmanaan- e- qaum har su mukhtalif ghaaton mein hain

Ik bahana hai rasaai ka amir- e- shehr tak

Hum ko apas men lara kar khud mulagaaton mein hain

Some are absorbed in the madness of religion, some are drowned in castes

Enemies of the nation are everywhere hiding in their trenches

It is only an excuse to get to the chief of the city

They make us fight, so that they can sit in meetings with him

The work of the poets of this literary organization in Gilgit can therefore be conceptualized as a type of social effort and shared action that is as concrete and meaningful as a movement and particularly to restore peace in society. Furthermore, Dad (2010) argues that the sub-altern Gilgit-Baltistan's position in political and economic setup of Pakistan and struggle of power between religion, culture and state exposed in the pop songs of Jan Ali, a local folk poet and singer. He exposes the deep complexities of social, religious, political chaos. Jan Ali also refuses to acknowledge the religious interpretations by clerics. In the following commentary he expresses his deep anguish against the strictures that has promoted violence in society in the name of religion.

Why crows and dogs are speaking from the pulpit.

The last few decades has witnessed a shift from culture based identity to sectarian based identity in Gilgit-Baltistan. Jan Ali perceives the sectarian violence in Gilgit imposed by outsiders. He says:

May sargan Gillit gi jak o jak tharat

Dareenay waeye areenuch sos attack tharat

Lo! What is been done by them to my lovely Gilgit,

Outsiders get the peoples' throat slit,

By pelting indigenous populace against each other.

As Martin Sokefeld puts it, what is now known as the history of northern Pakistan? From the beginning of Kashmir and British rule, I show how the British changed their discourse of legal action to differentiate their own model of rule from that of Kashmir. Compared to Kashmiris, the British were able to develop some hegemony by using tools of domination such as Gilgit Scouts

to absorb local institutions. Although British rule was never really questioned, hegemony was incomplete and did not prevent moments of dissatisfaction and resistance. With the British withdrawing from the area, the Kashmiris were unable to take over from the British and establish a position of power in Gilgit. The uprising against the Kashmir government has called for joining Pakistan, but the northern region remains on the fringes of the disputed territory. Pakistani governance was initially feed by a high degree of consensus and the continuation of colonial structures and practices. During the first decades of "independence", these practices were gradually accepted by the local population and acquired the meaning of colonial practices. Opposition to Pakistani rule has grown in recent years and culminated in political moves demanding Pakistani independence.

Nosheen Ali in —Dillusional States" argue, the Northern Areas have been given a space, but not a place, through silencing representations which are \_active performances in terms of their social and political impact and their effects on consciousness. The power of these silencing representations suggests that we need to investigate not only how states \_state but also how they do not state, or cannot state, and regulate and dominate precisely by not stating. The controlled representation of Gilgit-Baltistan within regionals, national other practices of the state that victimize voices and political around. Significance of study: This study or research shed light on the Indigenous Political voices and Subaltern Voices of Gilgit-Baltistan in Political Dimensions and explore the political victimize groups or persons political will about government and Institutions.

### Methodology

Qualitative type research/Case study will be used in the research.

#### Locale

Different districts of Gilgit-Baltistan for conduction of the research. The selection of these local Political Workers, Scholars and Poets. These mention folks are easily accessible for conduction and data collection of the research.

### **Data Collection**

## In-Depth Interviews

The purpose behind the In-depth interviews is getting rich and detailed information about the topic of research. For this purpose, an interview guide was prepared prior to interviews. The data taken from the participants will be recorded through, notebook, audio recording and in the form of key notes.

## **Participants**

Participants of research will be political workers, Educationists, scholars, and Poets. Furthermore will add Reports of Human Rights commission for Pakistan based Reports.

#### Records

Will explore the archives, reports, gazetteers and government letters to understand the political victimization and use of institution to create a Hegemonic Power in Gilgit-Baltistan.

# **Chapter 2**

## Political Victimization in Gilgit-Baltistan

Under Sections 124-A, 123-A and 34 of the Pakistan Penal Code, the Kanter Police Station in Gilgit has submitted its First Information Report (FIR) to 19 nationalist political workers in Gilgit-Baltistan). They were charged with sedition for their speech at a recent seminar entitled "Gilgit-Baltistan in the Kashmir Conflict", which was held in Gilgit Continental Hotels Organization. February 22, 2015.

The following 19 nationalist political and social activists have been nominated in the FIR (Israr, 2015):

- 1. Advocate Muhammad Javed.
- 2. Burhan Ullah (BNF)
- 3. Faizan Mir(GBYO)
- 4. Kamran Wahid (KNM)
- 5. Sher Nadir (KSO)
- 6. Tahir Ali Tahir, National Balawaristan Movement (BNF),
- 7. Aman Ullah, Nationalist leador (GBDA)
- 8. Adovcate Muhammad Shafi (KNM)
- 9. Nationalist Azhar Ahmed Kashmiri
- 10. Mumtaz Nagri, Karakorum National Movement (KNM),
- 11. Shujat Ali, (BNF) engineer
- 12. Sultan Madad Balor (GBDM)
- 13. National Party's Mir Afzal Kashmir,
- 14. President Anjuman e Imamia Faqeer Shah
- 15. Malik Waseem, President of the Kashmir Students' Federation
- 16. Nationalist leader Sayed Tahir Ali Shah
- 17. Social activist Hidyat Ullah Akhtar
- 18. Nationalist leader Dr. Ghulam Abass; and
- 19. Taruf Abbas, Karakorum National Movement (KNM),

Apart from these there are other political victims who have been interviewed. There is one Ahsan advocate who was implicated in numerous FIRs. Another victim is Advocate Nafees. Comrade Aleem is yet another political victim. Baba Jan is a famous name. He has seen some very rough years. Another victim to name is Iftikahr. He too has been implicated in many cases. Tahir Ali is yet another such political victim who has been interviewed. Israr from HRCP is another name to mention in this saga. Haji Nayab is yet another political victim who life and time will be shared.

#### In interview with Ahsan Advocate on his political activism

-Political activism was a significant movement of Manzoor Khan in my KPK since 1976. I stayed with them for a while. After that I went to Karachi at the end of 1975. After that I probably stayed with mkp till 1980. People criticize me a lot that you have left the parties too much. The parties themselves have broken up. There were many differences. There was a lot of extremism in them. They were divided into three parts in Punjab. They were also divided into three parts in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. They were also divided into three parts in Karachi. A group called Muslim League was formed in it. They then fell victim to disintegration. In Karachi, I started working with a doctor. There was a charity store there. So before that we had made a Gilgit Baltistan student friend in Karachi. If we were not in touch with him then there were 15 to 20 friends in it. We also used to publish a magazine called Yolt. I don't know what Yolt used to say in that language. There were many problems. At that time there was a problem of funds. So we used to collect money from people and students. So when we got attached to them, they said that you should leave these students etc. and form a political front. They all came to this democratic front. Sher Afzal, Farman Ali, Jahangir, Safiullah Baig all came. All these were in our Communist League. I was also in the forefront of this movement."

## When Advocate Nafees was asked about his life,

-My name is Muhammad Nafees and I practice courts of law in Gilgit-Baltistan. I have been a member of Balochistan National Front Punjab since 1994. And we've been struggling ever since. We were sued in 1996. In 1997 we celebrated Black Jubilee. There were lawsuits against us and

in 2000 there were lawsuits against us in Gilgit. I was tried in Karachi in 2003. My prison life is 2 years and 4 months. I have been in court for 14 years. I have no case now. I understand when a political activist has politicized victimization. Or punishment."

#### Comrade Aleem reminisced about his time,

+started my political activities in college. At that time there was an emotional tension. Buthu is alive. I was with the People's Party. We did not know why Batu was alive or where. When it came to Atabad. So at that time I was with my family in Gilgit-Baltistan. From there I came to Hunza on April 2. At that time I got an offer to work with Red Cresent. So I kept working. The catastrophe of Atabad was happening. Families were merging. We were assessing it. At that time I was objecting to the attitude of the government. Although I was working with NGO. So, with the servants of the civil administration, many of my questions were answered. From there I was absolutely fed up."

Interview with Baba Jan reveals that he has posed the important and profound questions to the people and political activists in the region. In it he has talked with sociolist, progressive and naxalist circles about their point of view after their arrest. Dozens, hundreds of naxalists and dozens of progressives have been imprisoned and have suffered in various fraternities. Since then, despite long hardships and threats, his voice has intensified instead of being diminished.

#### Iftikhar remembers his time as

In 1994, I became a member of the People's Student Federation Gilgit for the first time. Then when I went to Karachi in 1996, there was a PSO with all Pakistan mahajir. When I found out I was working for a refugee. So I thought for my people too. I was in Gilgit in 1997 when the Black Jubilee was being celebrated. For the first time under the patronage of SP Amir Hamza, we were honored in a protest in Gilgit. After that, there were seven affiliations of my cases. We used to strike there. In 1999, I had the opportunity to visit Gilgit again. At that time the Kargil war had started. We were given a protest call. We protested against this in Hunza."

#### From Tahir Ali's interview

Helong to Balochistan group which is headed by Nawaz Khan Majid Sahib. Our real ideology is freedom. Till we liberate this earth. People's rights are not given them. They do not emerge in the world as a nation. My struggle will continue. We've been involved with the political organization since high school. We also represented in the villages. He was also the Central Chairman in 2011. Then in 2012 Shaheed Zubair's death anniversary was in Sher Qalam. Regularly agreeing with the consciousness, purpose and opinion of our organization. There we have been associated with the idea of freedom. After that, I was charged with treason and terrorism. They became about 10 FIRs. And the other hundreds of FIRs are different. Obviously, if we have taken such a big goal, then there will be troubles. Troubles also had to be endured."

#### From Israr ud Din HRCP's interview

The main thing is the region in which we live. It is important to understand this system. It's been over 70 years, it has no settled position which we can call uncertainty. The voice for independence has been raised here since 1960. He raised his voice even before that. Whenever there is political expression. So state or non-state powers try to suppress them. There is political victimization. These things exist in human history. The same thing is true of this region that black law existed here. If you go far back, Kashmir was also occupied here. Even during this time people used to raise their voices from time to time. No major movement took place but people in Hunza Nagar raised their voices. Against this system. In which people's lives were also lost. Many people were injured. Some people went to jails. And then when this system continued to operate, it ended in 1974 or 1976. During this time, people became political victims.

So our focus was on why the political people seem to be with ATA. An FIR was lodged against us 2/3 days after the protest. This is the first case of its kind on a protest rally. We visited the courthouse many times. It ended in 2017. He had no logic so the court acquitted us. We felt that we were unarmed people. Which is the basic thing. People who speak out on human rights are

peaceful people. They do not believe in violence. Democrats do the same thing. Ata was also placed on me.

Our judiciary, the political system, is deprived of the protection of the Constitution. It is all over Pakistan. The protection of the constitution is that you can claim your rights. So Gilgit-Baltistan is already deprived. The system is running according to one order. This is a temporary administrative arrangement. There are a lot of flaws in it. The judiciary here is the administrative judiciary. It is under administration. However, worldwide, the judiciary is independent. So this is a big question on his freedom. There is talk of lawyers and law within the court. So we got some relief from that.

When the police prosecuted us, we got relief from the courts. Otherwise we would all be in jails now. Lawyers played an important role in this. I give more credit to the lawyers. At that time many senior lawyers fought our cases free of cost. Amjad Advocate did not demand any fee from us. We were not even in a position to pay the fees. In many cases we were disappointed. The role that the court should have played in this. We did not see him. Baba Jan's case is at the top of the list. There is more. When the churches fell on us. We won the case from the lower court. He also won from the High Court. The attorney then filed an appeal in the Supreme Court.

The judge severely reprimanded the attorney for bringing the nobles here. And for the first time, he remarked, "Send them some tea." People inside the court know the law. He was ashamed of the cases in which he was implicated. However, after 3 years, these were the remarks. 3 years of troubles were not cured, but they became part of the remarks record. We are unarmed people. We do not speak harshly to anyone. We are people who talk about rights. If we get 10 insults, we don't insult anyone. People do a thousand bad things but we don't do bad things. We consider argument to be our strength. Some people are good in bureaucracy too but the system is not good.

So systematically tactics were used to hide these voices. This is what we call political victimization."

It is disturbing to watch the upsurge of political persecution of independent forces in Gilgit-Baltistan during the last few years. In Gilgit Baltistan, filing FIRs on sedition charges against political and human rights activists who speak out for their rights is a frequent practice. Previously, on 18th October 2014, a FIR was registered against nine British political and human rights campaigners in Gilgit under the sedition section of the Pakistan Penal Code, i.e. 124 /A PPC. That FIR was filed following their participation in a protest and delivery of speeches disapproving political oppression of political personnel in the United Kingdom(Israr, 2015). Last year, an anti-terrorism court in Gilgit handed down a three-time life sentence to Baba Jan, a progressive leader in the Gilgit Baltistan, and 11 other political workers. They remain in District Jail Gilgit and face life sentence on Anti-Terrorism Act, 6/7 charges. They were arrested on ATA accusations for reportedly blocking the road for the protocol convoy of CM GB and staging a protest with Atta Abad disaster survivors. The protest was directed towards Sayed Mehdi Shah, then-Chief Minister of GB, who was in Hunza on an official visit in August 2011. Two victims of the Atta Abad accident were murdered and dozens were injured as a result of police attacks on protesters. Following that incident, demonstrators set fire to the Ali Abad Hunza police station and SHO residence.

Dr. Zaman, a leader of the Awami Action Committee, was also arrested in Diamer last month for delivering a speech at a public assembly in Chilas in which he denounced the local administration for its discriminating practices. The administration in Gilgit-Baltistan completely denies the rights to expression, assembly, and protest. This has resulted in widespread frustration. When the People's Action Committee announced protest rallies and strikes against the unloading of goods in Gilgit, and the interim government threatened them to act under the National Action Plan, which, although approved by conferences and parliaments of all parties, only applies to participation and terrorism related activities. UK police consistently show the same stupidity when filing FIRs under section 124/A. This section refers to incitement. There is no provision in the statute for direct registration of an FIR under section 124/A. Under the law, the government can bring a lawsuit against a person charged with sedition (124/A) in a court of first instance only with the consent of the governor and the Commonwealth. However, due to a dearth of law-abiding personnel in GB's police stations, illiterate police officials register such FIRs directly without following the proper procedure.

Previously, on October 22, 2014, the court of first instance granted bail to nine political and human rights activists accused of violating legal procedures for registering individuals with the Sedition Unit. Still, British police are reluctant to abandon their tradition of breaking the law. The persecution of political, social and human rights activists in the GB is appalling. If political parties, civil society and the masses do not speak out against such human rights abuses, there will be no future in the GB to speak up for the rights of marginalized, vulnerable and oppressed groups, Society, and the constitutional and political rights of 1.5 million vulnerable citizens. <sup>12</sup>

For more than two millennia, the famed Silk Route has endured numerous vicissitudes. This path has been disrupted numerous times due to political upheavals that have engulfed the territories ranging From Chang'an (now Xi'an) to the region of Mediterranean and Europe. However, trade through Silk Road trad flourished, as its numerous arteries allowed merchants to avoid political upheaval and geographical barriers. Gilgit-Baltistan seems to have a new great game (Dad, 2015). Throughout the 20th century, the borders of the regions along the Silk Roads were redrawn. As a result, travel between the areas surrounding Silk Road became problematic. At the same time, the new road and rail network further reduced the importance of this ancient route.

In spite of mobility limitations, a modest sum of informal barter trade between regions of wakhan and China borders still continued. This contributed to the Silk Route's metaphorical continuity across the hilly regions of China, Wakhan, and Pakistan. Gilgit-Baltistan remained an important commercial route throughout this time. In 1979, with the completion of KKH, the informal nature of past trade became formalized and dramatically expanded. It has facilitated trade and business between the two countries and facilitated connectivity between the mainland and the peripheries. The KKH has been renovated to facilitate the growing volume of traffic between Pakistan and China. Chinese premier Xi Jinping visited Pakistan earlier and announced the establishment of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). This corridor is a part of the new silk route that will connect China's western region to the Middle Eastern marketplaces. Outspreading an highway of the ancient Silk Route via Gilgit-Baltistan into a substantial economic corridor will not only help revive the route but will also transform it into a dynamic link between Central and South Asia — and far away. The CPEC has been considered as a 'game

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Israr, I. (2015, February 25). Political victimization continues in Gilgit-Baltistan. PAMIR TIMES. https://pamirtimes.net/2015/02/25/political-victimization-continues-in-gilgit-baltistan/

changer' for the financial stability of Pakistan and a catalyst for a significant geostrategic swing in the region by policy makers, legislators, and decision-makers.

While economic advancement procedures such as the economic corridor should be stimulated, it is critical to consider the socio-political effects for both Pakistan and Gilgit-Baltistan specially. Unlike the mainland Pakistan, Gilgit-Baltistan occupies a strange location within the Pakistan's larger political structure, as the area does not fall under the country's constitutional dominion. Due to its absence in power structure of Pakistan, Gilgit-Baltistan has always been neglected in major decision-making practices. On the other side, substantial infrastructural and the economic schemes are being implemented, the country's political and economic weaknesses increases. Before embarking on the CPEC project, it is critical to defend political liberties through constitutional amendments and formal reorganisation. Without adequate political and legal safeguards, the CPEC exposes the region to misuse by large corporations and apathetic decision-making agencies.

The political leadership of Gilgit-Baltistan has an obligation to safeguard the financial rights of the local people by guaranteeing that legal procedures are followed before the construction of huge projects such as the CPEC, the Bunji Hydropower Project, and the Diamer-Bhasha Dam. The protection of local people's rights in the face of future Chinese and Pakistani government investments in megaprojects in Gilgit-Baltistan to be used as experiment material for the local political leadership. So, date, no advocate for Gilgit-economic Baltistan's rights and role in the CPEC has emerged. Now, everyone is excited about the corridor's \$65 billion investment. Nothing is more harmful than running a politically restricted region to a massive economic initiative without publicly and democratically defining its legitimate position, role in process, and involvement in the project, and without taking into account the local aspirations. If Pakistan continues with its confuse strategy of political limbo in Gilgit-Baltistan, it will eventually threaten its own interests. When a politically marginalized area is exposed to tremendous economic accomplishments by economic giants, it is natural for the area to gravitate toward economic incentive and align itself with an economically powerful actor as a kind of payback. A Special Economic Zone (SEZ) at Kashgar is also planned as part of the proposed CPEC project. Baltistan's town and Gilgit city would be among 12 economic zones developed along the CPEC.

Economic progress should entail the expansion of freedoms and the empowerment of local populations to exercise their fundamental civil and political rights. To do this, political actions must take precedence over economic arrangements. Amartya Sen sees freedom of expression as the crucial goal and important way of development. If the CPEC is to be viewed as a precursor to complete development, the Chinese and Pakistani governments must give the people of Gilgit-Baltistan legal protections and political rights. Otherwise, muted economic area would be developed that has become a political apocalypse in Pakistan's political structure. To avert the negative consequences of development that would result from the planned corridor, a specialized bill of rights for local people must be developed. This is important because international corporations focus on their own interests and may get immunity from the rule of law in certain circumstances. Eventually, this creates a chance for large corporations to violate indigenous populations' rights. Second, Pakistan's government must develop a strategy that connects local inhabitants' interests to the corridors proposed economic and investment project. It can be achieved by allocating a portion of the revenues collected from the business and industrial parks related to CPEC to the development of Indigenous people.

The social area is one more basic part of the CPEC venture methodology. The two nations would work together on training, culture, the travel industry, and neediness decrease, as well as foster commitment in vocation regions and media through trades and individual to-individual association. China has proactively given supporting to many Gilgit-Baltistan understudies concentrating on the Chinese language and advanced education. This pattern is sure to proceed. Eventually, it will empower China to foster a framework of experts with a superior comprehension of the Chinese financial framework and a more prominent feeling of sympathy for the country. One of the weaknesses of China's proposed money growth strategy for the CPEC is neglecting the social element of growth inclination. China's one-party framework blocks policymakers and chiefs from thinking about the targets and feelings of fluctuated partners. This makes a gap between native individuals and cutthroat goliath projects. This might seem, by all accounts, to be a minor tangle in the great plan of China's vision for the fate of Gilgit-Baltistan, however over the long haul, it might turn into an invulnerable boundary to coordinated effort, while likewise giving a space to powers looking to contain China's developing impact in the locale.

Western nations have generally made gigantic interests in friendly turn of events. The Chinese certainly stand out to this point. China has focused its endeavours for the most part on framework advancement. Gilgit-Baltistan will confront what is happening in which the financial matters will be formed by the Chinese model and social/political cognizance would be moulded by western thoughts of common society and administration, all set against the scenery of Pakistan's decision class' political disturbance. It will have long haul devastating ramifications for Gilgit-economy, Baltistan's culture, and legislative issues. At last, this experience split should be intervened or diminished by Gilgit-political Baltistan's initiative through political, monetary and social freedoms battle. However broad races for the Legislative Assembly of Gilgit-Baltistan (GBLA) are an inescapable, the area's political tip top comes up short on time and ability to safeguard the interests of this little yet decisively critical locale that has turned into a field for the New Great Game's new members.

# **Chapter 3**

# **Status of Gilgit-Baltistan**

Gilgit-Baltistan turning into a sacred piece of Pakistan has been making the motions for certain months. This occurrence has evoked a scope of responses from assorted sections of society in Pakistan, the United Gilgit Baltistan, and Azad J&K. Deplorably, the whole discussion over the situation with GB is predicated on settlements and arrangements closed during the provincial period. Without a doubt, it is unequivocally because of such exchanges that this region has been crashed into a tricky political position. To that end revealing the devastating impact of provincial period exchanges between administering powers on the colonized area of GB is basic.

Baba Jan reveals,

—This is your colonial system. This system is run from Islamabad by a rope. And whatever happens in this system, unless the people here correct that system. As you can see in the Eighteenth Amendment. That many powers within Pakistan have been transferred to the provinces. The powers of the 18th Amendment have not been transferred to Gilgit-Baltistan. Now it has been extended here within the 22nd amendment. Here is the law of terrorism, now with the black laws of Schedule 4."

Iftikhar said,

Here are the administrative courts. When, according to the head of state of Pakistan, the misconduct is taking place in occupied Kashmir. So I want to ask them what is happening in Gilgit-Baltistan. There is FCR law, so there are military courts. Is it legal to have anti-terrorist courts? More than that, these things are being violated here."

During the 1830s, the Dogra lord of Kashmir made invasions into Baltistan and stifled it totally by 1842. Gilgit was then attached by the Dogras. This was a preface to a pattern wherein the strength of nearby realms started to debilitate and different powers started to profoundly penetrate the area more. Pilgrim rulers separated themselves from native rulers by founding a

framework intended to shield provincial interests in the territory.GB was as yet strange landscape for the Dogras of Kashmir and the British in the nineteenth century. Thus, the British began a program of planning and information assortment all through the locale. All the while, Tsarist Russia started investigating the strange grounds of High Asia. The conversion of political power and compositions with map making laid out the foundation for the foundation of new elements, quite unified Kashmir.

The Amritsar Treaty in 1846 was the principal understanding were characters characterized for a long time in Great Britain, in view of frontier prerequisites and negligence for nearby reality. The settlement was loosely characterized: it enveloped bits of Baltistan and all of Astore, yet rejected Ghizer, Gilgit, Chitral, Nagar, and Hunza. This understanding laid the basis for regulatory frameworks and the foundation of Kashmir's character. Today, some in Pakistan propose settling the Kashmir emergency by parting the district similarly. The Amritsar Treaty was eminent for two variables: partners nonattendance the course of direction and unfamiliar rulers' obliviousness of the locale. It is obvious that neither the British nor the Kashmiri rulers reached any nearby ruler while defining the limits.

The Dogra fighters at first endeavored to stifle more modest sovereigns, however were thwarted by the leaders of Hunza - Nagar and Gohar Aman. English implicitly endorsed the Dogra powers' invasions into Baltistan and Gilgit. Martin Schofield finds from the plot of the British and the Maharaja of Kashmir that "from the beginning of Kashmiri matchless quality in Gilgit, the British and Kashmiri talks on the legitimateness of force in Gilgit converged."While the Amritsar Treaty was harsh to the layman of Kashmir, it gave the Kashmiri rulers the power to guarantee G-B part of Kashmir. One more part of the agreement was an absence of understanding about GB, which was beforehand unfamiliar region. Moreover, Frederic Drew interfaces the oversight of Gilgit from the Treaty of Amritsar to an absence of relevant information.

Preceding the appearance of the British and Dogras, Gilgit-personality Baltistan's markers were laid out by the limits of neighborhood sovereigns. While various valley areas shared a typical culture and - generally - perspective, the realms' character bested any remaining contemplations, including language, nationality, and religion. This brought about the formation of particular yet much restricted personalities all through Gilgit-Baltistan. These characters were inseparably

connected to society's power progressive systems and realm structures. Because of the way that authority was secured locally, it engaged nearby rulers to make decisions on issues influencing the regions they dominated.

Victory of the Gilgit Baltistan by unfamiliar powers and the foundation of an incorporated organization in the second piece of the nineteenth century usurped the power of neighbourhood rulers, yet additionally changed character markers. This impact is found in the establishment and restoration of the Gilgit Agency in 1878 and 1889, when it joined the sovereigns of Gilgit Hunza, Punial ,Nagar, Yasin, and Ghizer. The foundation of the Gilgit Agency was propelled to some extent by the craving to end the USSR advance in Afghanistan and Pamir. The other essential intention was to smother native rulers who ignored British strategies and created positive relations with Russia. Mir of Hunza Safdar Khan was one such lord who demonstrated relentless. English Agent in 1889 was Algernon Durand, following the disappointment of Dogra powers to battle Hunza and Nagar. After the skirmish of Nilt in 1891, he set Hunza and Nagar under British power. Subsequently, the British dealt with the whole region of Gilgit-Baltistan (Frembgen 2006).

The British's all out strength over GB's organization was contrary to the standard way of working in the area of territories. The appearance of the British on the political scene in GB cracked the case of regionalism, presenting it to the rest of the world. Until that time, the general population was unaffected by exogenous ways of life, convictions, and establishments. Opening up the shut society sped up the district's improvement in manners that were new to the occupants. Strategically, the area stayed compliant to outside drive communities. Tsarist Russia took moves following the intrusion of Central Asia to cut out new realms from the Khanates and foundation another managerial framework. In contrast to the USSR, the British based their control of GB on nearby rulers, allowing them to oversee the general population by customary ways while remaining faithful to Queen interests. This raised the neighbourhood rulers to a position of subjection to the British. Permitting neighbourhood rulers managerial authority inside their zones of impact while keeping them auxiliary at the aggregate dynamic level turned out compelling for the British.

In 1935, the Dogra leader of Kashmir rented the Gilgit Agency to the British government; neighbourhood partners were not counseled or remembered for the plan. Gilgit-Baltistan was

surrendered to the British for quite a long time under this arrangement. Whenever the rent was ended in July 1947, the land was given to Kashmir ruler Ghansara Singh without the consent of the neighbourhood people. The Maharajas of Kashmir were gatherings to all British-period arrangements, deals, and agreements relating to GB. Consequently, Kashmir rose to noticeable quality in the activity of force under British rule and worked out another character for itself because of the events that happened somewhere in the range of 1842 and 1948. While Kashmir had an impact in the borderland elements of High Asia on the Indian subcontinent, GB steadily lost its organization. In this manner, it turned into a piece of Pakistan's border and was vulnerable to Kashmiri patriotism in the years going before 1948.

The pilgrim time frame's arrangements and deals were expected to delay supreme rule by keeping the native individuals under control. These arrangements laid out the structure for an arrangement of government that decreased the domain to a liminal substance both during the frontier time frame (under Kashmiri/British power) and in the beginning territory of Pakistan. Over the long haul, it significantly affects the social, social, strict, and political areas of the United Kingdom. Gilgit-liminality Baltistan's in the current request of things can be eliminated by delegitimizing the frontier time exchanges that gave it a hazy political remaining in the district.

In interview with Haji Hayab,

—When it was under British occupation, they sold Gilgit-Baltistan to Shah Hassan. So they went. So people tried to build their own system with their help. In such a situation, Pakistan was built in the name of Islam. There were no roads at that time. Officers kept horses here. For these horses, chickens, eggs, straw, corn, etc. were taken from here by force. They were giving to nurture Pakistan's bureaucracy. Against this oppression, Gul Mohmand and Johar Sahib of Kishrot went to Pindi and met the President. And abolished these taxes. Wheat, corn left. People united against oppression. Jail break, police station break up. After that, Bhutto came to power. Johar Sahib explained to Bhutto that the people of the area were loyal and good. Like sheep and goats, they are enslaved in the wilderness. Then he reduced taxes. He also gave subsidy on salt etc. When Johar Sahib was released from jail with the prisoners. Many people welcomed him. And there was a big meeting. He gave an ultimatum to Pakistanis to marry or divorce. At the same time, Bazari made the People's Party cry. Johar Sahib was saying that I cried. He brought

his father-in-law. He said that if you are crazy, you will not join the People's Party. What happened to make Pakistan? Why do you form a party now? I will join by making conditions with the administration. He refused and forced them. His speech caused a stir. Kashmiris were claiming then explained to them. There was a revolution in Iran. There were riots of Shiite sectarianism. They wanted a revolution like Iran. At that time I went on Hajj. I was praying there. An Iranian Shiite was standing with me. I told them that our body is in Iran and our heart is in Pakistan. He took my hand and said that I am the director of propaganda. Wherever you are, unite the Sunni Shiites. Thwart riots Work for peace and unity, for the Ummah. So that's the equivalent of coming to the front. Now the United States is going to do the same all over the world. So I will pay you for sponsorship. My uncles said that Shia-Sunni riots should be stopped. This is jihad. There is a reward. Johar Sahib held a meeting. He was arrested for the first time. It was cold."

Since October 2017, Gilgit-Baltistan has seen monstrous fights against the Pakistani government's inconvenience of expenses in the area. The crucial contention progressed by occupants of Great Britain originates from the general rule that no expense ought to be required without adequate portrayal (Dad, 2018a). The dissent's developing scale constrained the GB government to annul all levies in the locale. This technique might have empowered the provincial government to control a public uprising in GB, yet it didn't reduce the general population's developing nerves about the area's liminal status inside Pakistan's commonwealth. The essential reasoning for holding GB in a liminal position inside the country's political design is its relationship with the Kashmir emergency. It is basic to underscore that GB is the country's just region that deliberately joined Pakistan in the wake of accomplishing freedom from the Dogra territory through military struggle. Whenever India requested of the UN in 1948, Pakistan singularly announced GB to be a piece of Kashmir without talking with local people. From that point forward, the area's status not entirely set in stone by the Kashmir question, to the detriment of individuals' political and sacred privileges. Thus, the state has started moving to give out morsels of power to the neighborhood political class, which is happy with these advantages and honors and has chosen not to see the basic issue of GB's status.

In interview with Advocate Nafees,

Either there is a lawsuit or there are charges, then the greatness of it continues to grow. First of all, there is no political activist who has not seen the police station. Anyone who hasn't seen the prison is a little scared. People come to see all these things. The political activist thinks that when he speaks of the rights of the people, the government considers it against its own interests. So there are charges against political activists. Prison is a school for political activists. When we get out of prison, we have patience, perseverance and a new greatness. Democracy is best revenge. It is our belief that when we fight for the rights of Gilgit-Baltistan, we will call it revenge. Because since 1947, political workers have declared the position of Gilgit-Baltistan as disputed. There were also movements in 1942. Which was once in our curriculum. All these conspiracies took place in the Punjab court. The rulers of Kashmir used to conspire there. They were trying to unite Gilgit-Baltistan in Kashmir. These efforts started from 1842. For about 50 years we were under the control of the Maharaja of Kashmir.

For about 50 years we were under British occupation. And we have been under the control of the Pakistani administration for more or less 75 years. So we think we have a unique identity within Gilgit-Baltistan. We are a nation, a civilization, a tradition of the region. The people living in the region have their own natural resources. So about these resources, about the people living here, about the concept of legislation, administration and judiciary, about modern democracy are not found. It is legislated exclusively in Pakistan and is implemented by a woman. So, we condemn this adoption of laws made by Pakistan Assembly. We believe that the people of Gilgit-Baltistan should be given autonomy till the resolution of the Kashmir dispute. It has three major state titles. Defence, currency, foreign affairs, Pakistan should have control over these three.

So that they will implement the same legislation within the people. Which will protect the production, tradition of our culture. So that we too are empowered so that we can protect our languages, cultures. We were committed to it before, and we are committed to it even after our release from prisons. Even now when we go into public, youth. So, we try to make people understand that. That we have a issue with Pakistan. If we are paying taxes, then the government is bound to spend on the people. When our GST is not being spent on us, let it rob us of our resources from above, then this is basically a attack on our rights.

After the settlement of Kashmir, who knows whether this region will remain with Pakistan or not. Or it may be independent. It will be seen then. But who has stopped them out of 75 not to build engineering university, medical college, and technical college here. There may be 10 universities in Azad Kashmir. There is nothing in Gilgit-Baltistan. This state of Pakistan is dishonest with us. We condemn it. We demand from the international civilized community that Pakistan is a signatory. The resolutions passed by the United States in 1948, 1949. In them he took administrative control. Arrangements meant that a foreign nation had evicted the Dogras at that time. So the annexation of Dogras was from India.

So the international community feared that India would not re-occupy the region. They are allowed to sit on the borders and protect us. We must be empowered in the rest of our affairs. Since this is not really the case, the whole world is told that Gilgit-Baltistan is an assembly, there is legislation. There is a Chief Minister, there is a Minister. This is all nonsense. It is controlled by the military. So let's observe the history of Pakistan from 1947 till now. So this is a failed state. So how will our civilization, the value of the people develop? So it is the aim of our political party to condemn this interference.

We demand this from the government of Pakistan and the administrative authority. That there should be an empowered assembly of local people. Which, of course, made the video an overnight sensation. The rest of our international routes should be opened. One important thing is that your research will come in handy. There is a census department here since 1947 but its report is hidden. Because 70 billion profit goes from here. The people of Gilgit-Baltistan have a right to this. They should be spent. Either eliminate this department and take it back. The basic right of 2.2 million people of Gilgit-Baltistan is that it is for profit or loss. They are not getting any information. Pakistan is dishonest with the people of this region.

The report of this department should be published. So that the world knows what is the economic position of this region. How much it earns, how much it spends. This is where our future youth will plan. To increase live stock and agriculture etc. It is the will of this nation. So is industrial royalty. Let the people of Gilgit-Baltistan know that the state of Pakistan has so much revenue for us. Put some of it in federal subjects and if the rest are given to the people of Gilgit-Baltistan then there will be progress. That is our demand."

The state's inclusion with the neighbourhood's political class has kept up with GB's liminality in Pakistan. Franz Fanon alludes to these districts as "zones of nonbeing," which he characterizes as "remarkably infertile and dried region and totally stripped declivity helpful for the introduction of genuine disturbance." The land's sterility has significant implications for individuals' political obviousness. It sublimates in the social and political areas, where individuals are happy with the pitiful scraps of force they have. The residents of GB are disinclined to facing a construction that denies their character. The zone of nonbeing, as characterized by Fanon, comprises of two characteristics: limbo and absolute nonappearance. GB totally encapsulates every one of these aspects. To be sure, it is the districts political and deciding class' weakness that keeps them from looking into the strife that is continuously immersing the individual, social, political, and social areas. To be significant and applicable, any political framework should effectively draw in people in their 'zone of being' by putting power in them. Bringing people under the constitution's degree might bring about the making of this zone of being. In the occasion of GB, the public authority is endeavouring to safeguard inhabitants as zombies in the zone of nonexistence instead of as residents in the zone of being. The gorge among power and the general population produces outrage, which at long last establishes a fortunate environment for insurgencies. Notwithstanding, the bone-dry and dry zone of nonbeing likewise delivers political administration insufficient and educated people's psyches dormant. Thus, despite the outside conditions being good, the genuine battle for political privileges can't be made. At the scholarly level, the GB's supposed savants have been not able to explain a cognizant account for laying out another social smaller (Gordon 2007).

The common agreement's deterioration shows itself in the fracture of governmental issues, society, and the self-image. Before the fracture of political discourse in the GB, both the individual and society were in disorder. This has had two consequences for the Gilgit-Baltistan's political scene. To start, it has broadened the liminal zone and denied individuals of their characters. Second, the liminal condition of individuals possessing the zone of nonbeing has given an open door to outer powers to force their characters and choices on the general population. The activity of the political oblivious' previously mentioned cycles can be seen in the further discontinuity of customary yet flexible personalities into the littlest conceivable character units. It is likewise clear in the nullification of an overall political reason relating to the United

Kingdom's sacred privileges. The national government's new choice to offer a sacred bundle to GB is a huge proof individuals' politically non-existent presence in Pakistan's power game plans and political framework. As indicated by papers, the government specialists dismissed solicitations to make GB the country's fifth region. As opposed to that, it decided to keep up with the area's the situation.

GB was denied portrayal in the National Assembly, the Senate, and other significant dynamic bodies "in light of the fact that to [AJK's] complaint." What is amazing about the choice is that an administration that professes to be vote based has focused on the resistance to AJK over the desires of most individuals. Shockingly, the Kashmiri administration keeps on pestering about individuals of Azad Jammu and Kashmir being dealt with inconsistent. In any case, with regards to GB, their mental similarity to the oppressor is clear. Consequently, the inquiry that emerges here is the reason has the equitably chosen legislature of GB been not able to persuade its own party in the national government to give the district protected status? Albeit the region has seen races for its always changing chosen get together - the Gilgit-Baltistan Legislative Assembly (GBLA) - throughout the previous twenty years, its administrators stay subordinate to their focal bosses.

In GB, it is a deep-rooted standard that the party in the middle normally wins races. This is the result of a territorial culture wherein government officials associated with public level gatherings anticipate liberality from the middle in return for their fringe zone of nonexistence. Once in power, they like to stick to the specialists directs to the detriment of well-known opinions. The wide abyss between the beliefs of the ongoing organization of GB and individuals in the district over tax assessment epitomizes the fringe power's problematic situation according to the strong centre. Rather than offering a drawn-out arrangement, both current and previous decision parties in the United Kingdom try to exploit public affections for political increase. Therefore, the very much past due issue of the area's status remains forever obscure. The demonstration of saving GB in interminable frailty for the unsolvable Kashmir emergency affects shock. What the decision class neglects is the framework's breaking down. As opposed to integrating the locale and its occupants into Pakistan's constitution, the framework is further dehumanizing and detaching them by consigning them to a zone of nonexistence.

As a sterile zone, the zone of nonbeing is unequipped for delivering dreams, correspondence, or equity. As opposed to that, it permits profound injuries to putrefy, denies individuals of their fantasies, plants conflict, and inundates people in murkiness. Partisan savagery, territorial divisions, parochialism, and monstrous fights are generally red lights for those in power. To reword Marcellus in Shakespeare's 'Hamlet,' something isn't right with the United Kingdom's ongoing political construction. Assuming that residents exhibit and dissent, it is the ideal opportunity for our chiefs to reflect. Remember that the fish is deteriorating from the head descending. Thus, the higher classes of governmental issues and the current framework in Gilgit-Baltistan are in disorder.

#### In interview with Comrade Aleem,

—We are unaware of what Islamabad wants in Gilgit-Baltistan. What happened to us after we went to jail opened our eyes. How religion is used here. What do we have to do with Kashmir issue? That's all we learned in prison. Politically, it was great for us. From this we understand the school. We cannot call Gilgit-Baltistan a nation. There are many nations in it. What are their problems? What is the attitude of Islamabad towards them? How is the centre running Gilgit-Baltistan? We have studied it better. The national question of Gilgit-Baltistan was not clear at first. When we come back from prison, it is very clear now. We can go to any platform and discuss it. At first we did not know what the problem of Gilgit-Baltistan was. What is our history with Kashmir? This greatness of ours has matured after imprisonment.

My message to the youth is that when it comes to the nation, we should not shy away from speaking the truth. It takes time to succeed in raising awareness."

#### Tahir Ali notes,

Gilgit-Baltistan has no law, no police station, and no judiciary. Here's the martial law. Is for show. And nothing. For 77 years, they have been enjoying the resources here. When a madman like me will come. So they will only make you retreat. You are a problem for us. It is their right and it is our right to talk. They make wrong lawsuits against us. Then they inflict atrocities on us. Then the court honourably acquits us. These are all cases of expression. So that people like us do not talk about their area. However, when we talk about the benefits of our area, then they will benefit. They do not understand this. There are thieves, robbers and corrupt people in the

government we are with. Someone ask us what you want. The world has now become a global village. There are so many ways to go from here. This land is ours. So we want something too. The will must be ours."

#### Israr ud Din says,

-And there were a lot of people who talked about the independence of Kashmir. Like Amanullah Khan is a very famous name. These people struggled a lot. Went to jails. People broke out of jail and got him out. So this is the democratic rights, their voice continued. And those who ruled here also tried to suppress these voices. Then out of Gilgit-Baltistan, our youth began to gather in Karachi and other cities. In which organizations were formed under the name of Canon etc. These are all organizations formed in 1960, 1970, 1980. People in colleges and universities have seen what democratic rights are. Then they raised their voices. There was no voice for human rights in Gilgit-Baltistan. When HRCP was formed in 1986, its delegation came from Lahore head office. The delegation first visited in 1992. I have met people. They compiled a report on the issues here. Then in 1994, 1998 and different periods when changes kept coming here. That's why Benazir Bhutto came here in 1994 to issue an LFO. For the first time, party-based elections were being held here.

So there are many ways to raise your voice. One way was to send reports to the HRCP. The other was that we used to go to these forums and raise our voices. The third was that we raised our voices with the locals. At the local level, people used to understand these things. So, in a way, our struggle for human rights began. So when we understand that this political party raises more voice for democratic rights. So naturally we formed an alliance with them. Where nationalist parties talked about human rights. We appreciated them. He also supported them. And we were in a way connected with the progressive parties. And they were in touch with us. I would like to mention the period from 2009 till now. During this time we started making reports with great enthusiasm."

# Chapter 4

## Impact on Gilgit-Baltistan

The Ghizer region of Gilgit-Baltistan has been a hot topic inside the nearby media, and one of the maximum famous subjects for students these days is the district's increasing tendency of suicides over the past decade and a 1/2. However, suicides do not occur exclusively in Ghizer. Additionally, suicides have been pronounced in other components of the vicinity. However, the majority of cases stay unreported. Suicides are a symptom of a spread of mental sicknesses. However, research and communication about suicides in Gilgit-Baltistan often overlook the greater issue of mental health. As a result, the reasons for the suicides are at high-quality deceptive and at worst illogical (Dad, 2018b). More troubling are the institutional and social practices which can be used in Gilgit-Baltistan to diagnose and treat mental infection. One of the dangers of a one-dimensional technique to knowledge a complicated phenomenon consisting of mental sickness and its manifestations – inclusive of suicides or schizophrenia, melancholy, hysteria, psychosis, and neuroses - is a failure to perceive causes and accurate faults inside treatment regimes. The time period regimes of treatment' refers to individuals, vocations, and agencies that assert the ability to treat mental disorder so one can preserve both the character and society sane. Their legitimacy is derived from the very social, institutional, and knowledge institutions that cause intellectual infection in society. When seen on this mild, the technique of recovery mental disease calls for greater interest than the 'patient.'

Israr ud Din says,

—So what was the effect that you were asking? Obviously, when you suppress the sound, the rest of the people automatically get scared. So it was a scary scene. We are talking about human rights. We are not afraid today. But even today we are stuck in a dilemma. If you have an FIR, you are useless. People like Baba Jan were kept in jails for 10 years. FIRs were also filed against the Public Action Committee. I briefly told you that when the voice came, they were suppressed. People who have been victimized. His struggle was negatively affected.

Absolutely, a lot of the things we used to do on the road are gone. That's why we're so entangled in lawsuits. Our economic situation is not good. Our jobs were also affected. I had to quit

journalism. I had to give up this job. Then my family suffered. Then there was the difference in our important human rights mission. They could not do such things openly. What we used to do. But our resolve did not diminish. It has increased. Because in difficult situations you can analyze things better. The people we worked with. It has come down a lot.

In ATA 1997, one such section is 11(E). What we call Schedule 4 is for the people who commit terrorism. Or they are inclined towards terrorism, they are isolated from the society and they are monitored. Whatever you do inside it. We will tell the police. When your name appears on this list. Then you will be sued. When terrorism was on the rise. It was made at that time. These operations started more after the APS incident.

We did not see any real terrorists in it. It was misused. This law was made for a good cause but was later misused while implementing it. Schedule 4 lists began to be made after 2015. It included political activists, students, journalists, and teachers and so on. The HRCP made special mention of them in its reports. When I spoke at a seminar in Islamabad. So the Dawn newspaper covered it. It was a seminar of international organization. Judge Shahbaz called me and said what nonsense you are doing against ATA. I said nonsense, you and your court are doing."

As in different parts of the world, modernism has stimulated the framework and remedy of intellectual contamination in Gilgit-Baltistan. However, instead of infusing contemporary disciplinary ideas into the remedy of intellectual contamination, modernity created fertile ground for the status quo of hybrid practices, establishments, and actors. This has a long way-achieving social and mental consequences. Traditionally, shamans and soothsayers assisted an character diagnosed as mentally unbalanced in re-establishing character equilibrium. Unlike in the gift duration, no longer all mentally disturbed people and sociopaths had been deemed unfavourable to Gilgit-social Baltistan's cloth and cultural ethos. Due to the truth that the vintage treatment device became primarily based on a shamanic cosmology, certain sorts of intellectual disturbance were assigned to fairies or natural spirits, while others have been labelled as being because of evil spirits. Thus, lunacy had metaphysical dimensions in shamanism. In its purest form, shamanism provided an indigenous idiom for cultural psychiatry. The terms people use in regular life to describe a specific country of thoughts attest to this. The shaman's function as healer is complex by way of his very own frenzy, if not utter lunacy. Nonetheless, he is not able to embody the senses and sensibilities that broaden from modernity's non-metaphysical placing.

For example, there is no indigenous term for melancholy or anxiety, but in the contemporary day, individuals use these terms to explain their mental kingdom and sectarian warfare.

Though shamanic practices for healing intellectual states have in large part perished, they may be however practiced by those living on the periphery of modernity. Today, pirs, millennial cults, sorcerers, monks, medical doctors, religious specialists, and psychologists have entered the talk over mental illness and sanity in Gilgit-Baltistan. These actors and establishments are competing for legitimacy. This is why the priesthood classifies shamanism as a heathen activity. On the alternative hand, nearby practitioners of present day medicine regard themselves as the only owners of the thoughts. They agree with that intellectual states are a made from physiology. A teen from a Hunza community who started out having bizarre thoughts became initially noted a shaman. After a while, his circle of relatives became obligated to bring him to a preacher who ruled shamanism to be incompatible with Islam. When the teenager's situation deteriorated, he was noted a psychiatrist in Karachi, however his family became not able to have enough money the prices. He was lower back to his village and entrusted to the care of a cult figure. The teenager in the long run committed suicide.

The objective of mentioning this situation is to demonstrate how the diverse gamers and establishments concerned in a single person's treatment have become the supply of mental discord. Rather than curing, they exacerbate the person's ailment. In Gilgit-Baltistan, those entities have assumed the position as guardians of the sane discourse. People have lost their capability for self-analysis due to the extinction of shamanic lexicon. As a end result, they have grow to be existentially mute, a nation wherein an person is confronted with considerable reports that profoundly adjust their external reality and have a profound effect on their subjectivity and senses, but they lack the words to explain them. This predisposes an person to mental crumble. To prevent an man or woman or network from collapsing psychologically, it is critical to offer voice via new social preparations and ontological safeguards.

Due to rapid improvement, all institutions and characters in the place have misplaced contact with themselves, society, and the globe, which includes spiritual figures, politicians, intellectuals, schoolteachers, and parents. The tragedy is that it's miles those misplaced souls who're 'charting' the future technology's route: the youngsters. This teens is unable to articulate their fact for the reason that state and society impose their personal beliefs on them. They are

denied the possibility to be themselves and instead adopt a character this is at odds with their self and ego situation. In a closed society, an alienated person is extra vulnerable to ontological insecurities. Other individuals submit to a together recognized kind of primordial sanity, but this form of sanity is incapable of accommodating the stories and sensations of a brand new technology. Thus, a transitional society suffers schizophrenia, that's exacerbated further by way of publicity to exogenous forces and ideas, while society turns into extra insulated out of fear of dropping its person due to external attack. This explains Gilgit's physical divisions along sectarian strains, as well as the developing xenophobia primarily based on valleys, regions, and languages.

In his seminal book, *The Divided Self*, Laing (1960) proposes an existential approach for recuperation. He feels that a psychologist must facilitate this intellectual rehabilitation. To regulate the thoughts, we should create an surroundings wherein the oppressed thoughts can also have a good time liberty and splendour. A constrained society ultimately degenerates into a jail. Thus, Gilgit-Baltistan is probably defined as a jail where diverse insanities war to broaden their very own logo of sanity. Due to a lack of vision for the destiny, the place is invariably dormant. A new lexicon has to emerge from existential reports of being here, on the way to be conceptualized so as to build new self- and social policies. There is an urgent need for a thought able to retaining the beyond, experiencing the prevailing, seeing the future, and forging a new route on the way to expand the horizons of society and the man or woman.

Interview with Ahsan Advocate exhibits on speaking about his implication,

—That they (institutions) blocked the manner. System malfunction vandalized and so forth. So the courts themselves gave us bail. Then make a case of blasphemy in opposition to me again. This is about 2018. 07 seven FIRs have been registered in exclusive police stations. There have been three FIRs in Gilgit and four in Baltistan. I had a personal dating with a proper-wing choose. He granted me bail in all cases. Then the lawyers additionally took a stand. Youth and activists of Baltistan also protested. Then attorneys additionally got here forward. It additionally occurred at the Pakistan level. At that point our senior became Akhtar Hussain who's now the Secretary General. So, taking non-public hobby in it, protests have been also staged in Sindh, Punjab, Baluchistan and KPK. Party companies additionally protested.

In this whilst our lawyers went. "We haven't any extra quarrels with him," he said. It usually speaks in opposition to the army. Get out of right here. It talks approximately resolutions that have nothing to do with the military. And right here we are talking approximately nearby government which is intolerable. So this changed into a deep conspiracy. So the 3 thugs who were given the three FIRs from right here had been given cash. Johar Sahib scolded him as to why he had pampered him. So he said that they provided me. In Jatiyar police station, a fee of Rs. 54000 changed into made.

So through the extremists they desired to dispose of the obstruction in their direction to demise. This turned into his time table. Then our pal's attorneys arrived. Fatwas had been organized on it. So our pals threatened him. Then inside the assembly with Agha Rahat again he understood things. He advised his followers that he had no quarrel together with her. And there may be every other schedule at the back of it. The count has cooled down. Otherwise, the SP who turned into from Punjab at that time had contacts with our attorneys. He stated that some miscreants went to his residence so what we have arrested him is for his safety.

The scenario became very critical. Our Israr who belongs to HRCP did not write R.A with Hazrat Usman in an article, then he said that he had insulted, and this helpless person turned into hiding in Lahore for 6 or seven months. He then settled the problem thru Qazi Nisar. There are issues in Ahl as-Sunnah. There also are some Shiites. There have been 15/sixteen FIRs in this background. No non-public quarrels. The form is cut, observed by means of the FIR. After that they go to prison. Then guy falls into terror. Reformists like Ishaq Sahib do not preserve this. The purpose of the country in accomplishing such FIR is that humans get scared and fearful. So, we are able to enchantment or give up. Gramsci stored on talking till the give up.

These matters are every day for people who are stuck with this form of thinking. My house turned into raided at 2/3 o'clock within the night, then I concealed in my neighbour's house. So, attorneys and buddies got here at the back of me and took me faraway from there, then 10/15 days later it became a bit less complicated again. Shafqat, who is also a political activist, got here to peer him. He stated, "I have talked to him. He has no trouble. I have taken care of him." They have softened. So allow us to also remember the fact that maybe the problem has cooled down and now there is no problem. But later the police came at 2:30 pm and raided us.

The kids in the house have become very nervous. My youngest daughter informed them to take off their footwear and are available inner. My children labored with first rate enthusiasm and did not lose heart. The environment of fear has a outstanding impact. If there is no aid from family and children. If human decisions and morale are damaged, then man compromises and offers."

Human civilization is tremendous from organic entities and animal kingdoms in that the previous can not be defined via manner of trendy legal guidelines, at the same time as the latter two are ruled with the aid of set up legal suggestions and instincts. Human societies can't be defined by means of steady legal guidelines due to the truth humans are able to constructing complicated social systems and mind. This distinction among human civilization and the animal state is what distinguishes a human man or woman as an animal of ideas in place of instincts. Ideas are essential for society's mental properly-being because of the fact they help residents to maintain off the malaise caused by a stagnant gadget. The fundamental query is this: how are mind generated? Ideas are pretty intangible manifestations of actual worldly reports. To apprehend them absolutely, it's miles vital to don't forget the conditions that supply upward thrust to unique mind mainly social and political contexts (Dad, 2018c).

This is to discover Gilgit-Baltistan indoors Pakistan's power shape and to assess the forms of mind and political attitudes that this type of system generates. Additionally, it'll help us in delving deeply into the political cognizance and diagnosing the actual deliver of the malaise plaguing society and politics. Gilgit-Baltistan has formerly been examined from political, economic, and social viewpoints; however no try has been made to investigate the person of the hyperlink among political hegemony and social psychology. Since 1947, whilst it modified into annexed through way of Pakistan, the territory has been held in permanent limbo with the aid of Pakistani governments. Its liminal country fostered the development of attention and thoughts that shape the political, social, and cultural landscapes, in addition to the mental mindscape.

Gilgit-modern-day-day Baltistan's statistics has been embroiled in a manner that has obliged the territory to undergo an eternal recurrence of the equal. Gilgit-Baltistan entered the modern technology in the 1830s, even as Sikhs and Dogras from Kashmir commenced invading and frequently subjugating severa princes with the tacit assist of the British Empire. The indigenous people have come to be subject to external laws and alien systems. Political alienation has taken on a ramification of office work at some stage in the colonial and postcolonial periods.

Gradually, estrangement spread throughout all spheres of lifestyles, which incorporates politics. The vicinity's political disenchantment has no longer proven itself in mass moves because of the nearby compradors' co-optation with the resource of the hegemonic equipment. Despite modifications in the titles of the systems that controlled Gilgit-Baltistan, the hegemonic structures' essential essence has remained unalterable. By imbuing political recognition with the colours of energy, the hegemonic equipment has succeeded in retaining a façade of political pleasure and containment. This system of improving consciousness to help the publish-colonial hegemonic gadget has a strong resemblance to colonial strategies that altered the primary nature of the coloniser's senses and sensibilities. In *Black Skin White Masks*, Fanon (1952) offers a mental and philosophical exam of colonialism's internal repercussions at the colonised. The colonial develops a want to be a carbon reproduction of his grasp due to his sturdy inferiority complexes. In different terms, the submissive desire to combine into the framework that has robbed them of their corporation.

In Gilgit-Baltistan, the domination infrastructure seeks to break the experience of social alienation thru depriving people of a collective mindset and instilling them with a false experience of strength. However, the experience of political alienation keeps festering silently. According to Fanon, each civilization has a "outlet for the discharge of the forces gathered in the shape of violence." Gilgit-politically Baltistan's oppressed man or woman sublimates himself through his circle of relatives, tribe, vicinity, religion, and community. In Gilgit-Baltistan, energy and authority are distributed now not handiest through governmental organs however moreover via roadways, marketplaces, faculties, rituals, religious regions, family shape, literature, and conduct. As a result of this palpable presence of strength in each the purpose and subjective geographical regions, the people of Gilgit-Baltistan have altered their mentality and submitted to authority for you to stay to tell the tale. Pervasive energy, it is probably assumed, penetrates non-public spheres as nicely — as seen via manner of the growing fashion of 'power weddings' in Gilgit-Baltistan.

In connection with Joachim Marcus' paintings at the development of families and agencies and their deviant behaviour, Fanon consents with Marcus' assertion that "like each other human behaviour, authority behaviour is observed out." Because strength performs this form of enormous function in families, tribes, faiths, and society, the political elegance in Gilgit-Baltistan

especially, and society in fashionable, prefers to forego collective will in favour of individual benefit. This additionally explains why seasoned politicians and elected representatives would possibly as an alternative have useful administrative jobs than characteristic the human being's voice. Antonio Gramsci asserts that the ruling elegance continues hegemony through political and ideological technique. It is a tactic that mixes coercion and consent. The nation is taken into consideration due to the fact the coercive pressure on this political schema, however civil society assists in accomplishing consent. After its leaders opted to combine the territory with Pakistan in November 1947, the Gilgit-Baltistan location embarked on a state-of-the-art course of entire popularity in the submit-colonial age. With time, the location has visible an growth in usa coercion and a decline in consent, because the federal government seeks to grow to be the territory's draw close through the use of monopolizing the political region.

#### In interview with Ahsan Advocate,

—Terrorism cases often go to politicians who talk about human rights. An act was first passed in 2002, but when Agha Zia was assassinated in 2005, there was a lot of sectarian killing as a result. People were killed selectively. This happened in front of us. Then many cases started in 2005 under the Terrorism Act. Then there was a huge crackdown in Gilgit. Three or four hundred people were arrested and brought to the investigation room. They were so tortured that they are now afraid to go out. They are very scared now. I met him in hospitals. He was a very strong man of one party. Was a retired DSP. He was accompanied by three or four other boys who were hospitalized. I went to inquire about their condition. I asked them if there was so much violence against you.

There is no case against you. Only on suspicion did you get arrested and released. You guys just give me the power of attorney I will sue them. I will sue them for damages. So they said, "We will consult with you in a couple of days and tell you." So I said, of course, I'm taking a risk, I have an offer for you guys. You guys be with me. So two weeks later he apologized to me. I said I was taking the trouble. So they were not political people, they were ordinary people.

So they change. The people of Gilgit do not join any political movement. While I am well aware that this is our movement in 1996/1997, this is what we formed in the name of Muttahida Qaumi Party. We have programmed on the platform on November 1, 1997. It featured young people

from Gilgit City. In this too we chanted slogans of freedom. But the act of terrorism that they did, then the illegal arrests that they made and the physical torture that they did, caused a lot of damage to our political movement. The young people who used to come at our invitation have also stopped coming now. Then the next generation is also not coming now. Because they have seen everything now. They used it as a weapon in the state. Because we had a lot of violence.

In comparison, there was no such repression and violence in Baluchistan. He asks why there is so much political awareness in Baluchistan. People go out there to protest. Protest. Go out for human rights, go out for political rights. Why doesn't all this happen in Gilgit? So the reason is that what I feel, I see. That is, they have suppressed them all with state power. There is no house from which no servant has been caught. So many have fled to Karachi. Are still running not coming back yet. This is one of the reasons why the people of Gilgit do not go out. Because there has been a lot of state repression. Then in 2010 this state repression happened on a large scale.

Happened during the PPP party era. Then more happened in the N-League era. There was a consultation meeting of college students and there was a crackdown. He was charged with terrorism. So I sent them a message. Don't compromise on challenging it. So they were so scared. They did not come to challenge. Then, through religious organizations, they moved toward compromise. Shia and Muslim organizations used to play a key role in this process of compromise, now they have also come forward. Sunni Shia pressure on the state is also high. Their religious wing is active. She is organizing. In some cases, they are forced to obey organizations. We have one-sidedness. We have arrests. The agenda that comes from them is implemented.

There is no question of taking anything. They have already made arrests. So because of what happened in 2011, a team came from Hunza. So when we were arrested, we sent a message through him to meet I.G. You invited me to come with you. There were councillors, some retired governors and so on. I said I will come on one condition. I will give I.G in the last message. If they do not stop the arrests, I will tell them, sir, this Gilgit is yours. Next time we will send everyone from Hunza. As a result, arrests will stop. ATA will also be removed. "No, we can't do that. We're going there to pray, to appeal," he said. Then I said I don't want to humiliate myself. You go again

Ahl-e-Sunnat and Shiites show a little resistance, but we have surrendered from the beginning. Two murders have been committed by the victims. Four have also been injured. The police station has also been set on fire. If the police station burns down, it is also a loss to the people. The state was not harmed. There was room for compromise. So there is resistance of the Ismaili community in Hunza. Hunza's problem is that there is religious leadership. I sent a message to those who were hiding in the pastures, in the mountains, to come back. It's summer, you guys have a peaceful sit-in. We will also come from here. Your arrests will also stop. And those who are locked inside will also be released. Their leaders sent a message that you should not go out at all.

You hide there. So obviously they won't listen to me. We will obey them. They never came out again. If they had not brokered it, some people would have come out. Seeing them, others would also come out. Because all the houses were affected. More than 100 people have been arrested. Someone was kept for two days and then released. Someone was kept for three days, then released. Their goal was to arrest more people and carry out night raids. Spreading terror among the people, keeping them away from political movement and intimidating them with state power. That was his mind and he succeeded in that. It was also facilitated by our representatives, religious institutions. Otherwise, not all the youth of Hunza is so weak. There is consciousness in people."

Since 1974, when the last princely nation of Hunza was dissolved, the inhabitants of Gilgit-Baltistan have regularly lost their autonomy thru diverse systems, programs, and instructions. Gilgit-these days Baltistan's released Gilgit-Baltistan Governance Order, 2018 is worse than the previous ones since it deprives the territory of whatever authority it formerly has. Rather than consulting the indigenous human beings, the brand-new order turned into imposed in a manner harking back to the imperial viceroy who dominated the Indian Subcontinent. All orders assert that they confer extra authority at the territory than earlier dispensations, but Gilgit-Baltistan gets neither de jure nor de facto authority to manipulate its own affairs. This tactic of managing the territory through coercive measures rather than political means has exacerbated the trouble similarly. It is naive to believe that administrative measures can treatment political malaise. Political voids, however, create monsters. The development of sectarian forces is a result of the

vicinity's political lack of confidence. If the subsequent government, too, continues a nation of eternal uncertainty, these dark forces will obliterate what little civil society and politics remain.

The War of Independence turned into fought on the way to positioned an stop to the colonial technology's battles. However, the put up-colonial length allowed for the emergence of a semblance of politics by using inducting a cadre of local politicians into the hole governance equipment. Due to the place's reliance at the primary government, political figures in the periphery have developed end up mouthpieces for his or her masters. By politically and existentially muting Gilgit-Baltistan, the kingdom equipment has blotted out the vicinity's society and politics. A politically impoverished and psychologically oppressed society which include Gilgit-Baltistan is incapable of giving birth to new ideas. Such a society affords fertile floor for the increase of dehumanizing orders and sanguinary beliefs.

Tahir Ali discloses about what happened in JIT,

+can write a whole book on it. It's too long. They were telling us to deviate from their opinion, ideology. This is a case for them. He will oppress you or whatever he wants. They have to solve the case. We went to college, university. We have never beaten with a single stick at school. Here we were showered with sticks. And oppression is a separate place."

# Chapter 5

## Gilgit-Baltistan's and the Political prisoners

Pashtun Tahafuz Movement (PTM) has given a new spirit of struggle and thoughtful discussion. While radicalization and violence posed an existential threat to Pakistan, they never sparked any real question, they alone determine to fight them, but PTM has rekindled our optimism that we can overcome these evils. Despite the hardships, young Pashtuns continue to face threats, and their struggles enjoy broad support and sympathy, as the recent protests in Karachi have shown. If provocation, arbitrary arrests, and raids on Pashtun rallies take place in cities like Lahore or Karachi, one has to wonder if it would be worse in FATA and Balochistan (Abbas, 2018).

#### Baba Jan reveals,

—They seem to be on top of our students these days. Who is studying He seems to be above the progressive nationalist and socialist here. This is the situation. Inside the jail, we, as political activists, used to be a political leader. The political activist who is given a place inside the jail with us is not given to us. We were treated worse than professional criminals. We also made many requests. When the authorities came to the jails, we told them. We were treated inhumanely in short prisons. We have been subjected to third degree brutal violence many times. They picked us up from jail. Until the political system here is fine."

This brings us to Gilgit-Baltistan (GB), a region on the northern fringes of Pakistan where dissidents have historically been treated harshly. Arbitrary arrests, imprisonment and terrorism charges are brought against those who raise the most basic concerns about the political or constitutional status of the region. The region continues to be denied access to the Pakistani justice system, creating a vacuum of justice, freedom and human rights. Political liberty is in a deplorable state, and stories of injustice are not allowed to escape the mountains of Great Britain, so unheard of. Continued attention in print and electronic media exacerbates GB's difficulties on the natural beauty of the area, which makes ordinary people and their problems less important to the rest of the country. The story of Gilgit's popular Baltistan blends scenic beauty, stunning lakes, mountains, the world's highest literacy rate and CPEC. One has to wonder if people and

their real concerns have ever been seen under this exotic façade. Prominent GB researcher Nosheen Ali called this a "depopulation" of the region.

In interview with Comrade Aleem,

It told DC that these people would come on the road. Because their argument is correct. However, they were ignored at the time. This tragedy happened later. Now it is a different matter why and what happened. After that we thought that this issue would be resolved by the civil administration here.

But the issue has been dragged out so long that its effects will last for generations. The question was asked by the administration to the youth to hide their mistake. Used inhumane treatment tactics. When this happened, the civil administration here, or the invisible forces, pushed it so hard that it made us terrorists. Our name was Hunza Taliban. Islamabad and the agencies wanted us to crush them badly. And don't raise any political voice in the next generation in Hunza. Even before this, whether it is a matter of rights or a matter of truth, the voice has been raised from Hunza. They were thinking that if we grind them then other people will be scared. But I don't think so. This case has created a lot of political awareness among the youth. We have studied Kashmir and Gilgit issues in jail.

There is no violence against me inside the jail. Prison is a society. Gilgit-Baltistan prison administration was not educated. There are different types of prisoners. Some children were in prison. I was asked to teach them.

And nothing happened. When we were transferred to Gako prison, the administration there was educated. She wanted something new. "We will set up schools here in the jail and teach the inmates," he said. They also gave me a PPR. I read it I said ok I will teach prisons. Many prisoners were educated. Some prisoners from other districts were illiterate. He wanted to read the Qur'an. We started Qur'an classes there. We started computer classes for the rest of the educated people. I used to teach them. The problem is that the government did not have enough budget to give us computers. We contacted an angeo. They really appreciated our plan.

They were very happy. He said that if you are doing so much development work then we will give you computers. In short, they gave us 5 computers. So the problem was that they were

threatened with why you provided them with computers. My intention was to teach a hardware course. But I only taught a three month course in MS office. I taught computer to 10 educated prisoners from distant districts. The Home Secretary also came to visit the jail. I asked him to allow us to read more. But he could not allow it. When we contacted an NGO, they came to see us and said that we can give you books, not computers. Because we have been threatened. These cases took place inside the jail. In 2011, I spent 4 months in jail in Gilgit-Baltistan. Ata was convicted. We stayed in it for 7 months. He was sentenced to 4 years and 7 months by the appellate court. Total 9 years is a few months."

In interview with Ahsan Advocate,

-mrd parties had an alliance called student action. I was also in it. I was also in their duties, meetings and demonstrations. Meanwhile, in 1983, there was an FIR in Liaquatabad police station in which we were arrested. There were many students in it. At that time, MRD had formed a legal act committee. Bailed us out.

Then in 1985 we were with him. In Gilgit we brought posters for distribution and putting up. There was a late president with us. Then the police came there. Then we went to Naseem Sharma. There was no crime in putting up posters. At that time there was also martial law. Then I put the link road in a Suzuki and said you go away. We were arrested at the City Police Station. They snatched all our posters and also cut the FIR. Then in 1986, I shifted from Karachi to here. At his request and with his advice, I still have his literature here.

What he had prepared for the formation of a broad-based national party. Under this, various people like Major Hussain Shah and others got together and formed a party. There were two or three parties in the name of Muttahida Qaumi Party. The Democratic Front also took place in it. There was a Kashmir National Party by the name of Major Hussain Shah. There were about 2000 youths gathered there for appointments. There was an issue. Then there was a quarrel between them. Then they opened fire and killed a boy and injured three or four. So they got angry. Coincidentally, we were here in the bazaar. This is the post office, GPO, we all sat on the wall. There were two and a half thousand people.

They were also joining whatever their sit-in was. The demand that you had. So while we were sitting, another relevant thing came up from behind, which is the directorate of education. Which

was not closed. It was open. The wall of the tehsil was connected with it. They set fire to the record room of cases in the tehsil here. When they got out of the fire, they started a sit-in in front of the post office in front of the people who were gathered below. Enraged, they all got out of control. They surrounded the house and went to the rest house. Then we tried to stop them. Then the siege continued to burn. Meanwhile, the administration imposed curfew. People did not allow curfews to be imposed.

The army did not leave. Then the night became dark. At seven or eight o'clock the people left slowly and then the curfews were enforced. At night they again filed FIR against us. So they arrested us at the time of early morning prayers. There were two FIRs and his case lasted for 14 years. When there are more accused in a case and not a single accused appears in the court, the court gives the next date. So there were more accused in this case. Never one, never another, never a third. So that case went on for 14 years. In the end we were acquitted by the Sessions Court. Provisions of rebellion and treason were also imposed. Later, 14 years later, we were acquitted. Then came the issue of Basha Dam. We protested at the airport square.

So we were arrested there again. I had twelve or thirteen other men. This is 2005/2006. My bail was rushed because the judge knew me. That's why I gave bail to others. In 2010/2011, the situation worsened again. All the victims were jailed and sentenced by the Terrorism Court. He swas also the president of the bar. Then his lawyers threatened him that we would close the court. That is why our warrant has been withdrawn. Thus the High Court acquitted us. So we were convicted again by the Supreme Court. Then we held a press conference. The judge was removed from the Sindh High Court for corruption. It was restored on the recommendation of Nawaz Sharif and cancelled my license. In the meantime, he kept making different crises. Different alliances kept coming.

Then an action committee was formed. We formed it in 2013. During this time we had two FIRs, one in Johar police station and one in Sri police station. We could not be arrested at that time because the movement was so strong. Then the courts themselves gave us bail."

In interview with Iftikhar,

-The 1999 case is still pending. Our partner is also involved in this. In 2011, a protest took place in Hunza at Atabad, in which one person was injured and his father died. We were protesting.

There was no place to bury his father. So we said we would bury him in front of the police station. Meanwhile, tear gas was fired from the police station. People got angry. The people were outraged under the auspices of the government. The police station was attacked. Police station and other properties were set on fire. Pamphlets were cut in 2011. The date was written in the pamphlet on August 11. The police station was burnt that day. There was no sign of the police. On August 18, I was arrested. He told everyone to come and arrest him.

But no one came. On August 19, we were brought to Gilgit from Manapin police station. On August 20, we were held incommunicado for two days. Ata took our judicial remand from the courts. I was physically tortured for 27 days. I was judged 27 days later. Religious conditions in Gilgit were very bad when he was imprisoned. I said I have to stay in Central Jail. I stayed Earlier in this case, 3 of us were judged. The next day, Salman and Irfan were judged. When we saw the situation inside the prison was very bad. Prisoners were treated very badly. To which we raised our voices. When we raised our voices on this, the real powers of Gilgit-Baltistan are as much as the jail staff and the local police.

Under his tutelage, religious riots broke out inside the jail. Religious riots continued throughout the night in 2012. Burn the siege inside the prison. In the morning 3 of us were called from my room. They questioned us. Then the SP called us. He first asked if you were a nationalist. I said I have a nation, so I am a nationalist. That's what happened. We were tortured. During which a finger of a servant was broken. There were head injuries. I had two broken ribs. Aamir's leg was already fractured. He later died of torture on the same legs. Ata pamphlets were cut on us in 2014. 6 days physical remand was given. After that, Baba Jan was granted bail. I was in prison until the last moment. And I was not guaranteed until the end.

In 2015, I was subjected to various forms of physical torture inside the prison. So I applied for Chilas Jail. I was taken to Chilas Jail. Then I was taken to Desert Prison. There I met the party members. So, I was taken to another prison. All the other accomplices were judged. That is why I was taken to Kakul Jail again. Attempts were made to torture him physically and mentally inside Kakul Jail. There were as many immoral prisoners as there were. He was treated differently. And the treatment of political prisoners was different. That is why I protested there. There, too, I was beaten, and the leaflet was cut. Then inside the prison we were more involved

in social activities. Work was done on computer centres, sewing etc. As many poor prisoners as there were. We were working on them. The Ismaili Council also began intervening."

Economic and political development occur concurrently, but in the case of the United Kingdom, the latter is conspicuously lacking. As the British people continue to fade into insignificance, persecution of human rights advocates, students, and political activists speaking for the region has escalated. Baba Jan's narrative, as a senior rights campaigner and political worker, is the most apt illustration of Great Britain's unequal political situation. His case serves as a harsh reminder of the region's sad condition of human rights, where an activist and political worker faced a life sentence for opposing injustice and state persecution.

## Baba Jan expressed similar concerns,

—These people have intensified their struggle. Attempts have been made to harm them financially. We have a lot of lawyers in front of us from about 1970 to 2000. The movement for legal rights with Johar Ali Khan. The Tehreek-e-Millat of Gilgit was the name of this party. Then came the revolution. There was a farmers' rally inside Nair against the local ruler. People have risked their lives in it. He has shed his blood for his rights. There was a big movement in 1970. As a result of the pressure of this movement, the black law was abolished in 1974 and at the same time the land system was abolished."

His biography begins with his campaign on behalf of the victims of the Attabad disaster—a catastrophic landslide in the Attabad Hunza valley that displaced up to 10,000 people. Numerous others were also impacted. Baba Jan began his quest for compensation for harmed families and organized protests to seek assistance. The protests took a catastrophic turn when police shot and killed two unarmed protesters: Afzal Baig, 22, and his father Sherullah Baig. In the aftermath, Baba Jan increased pressure on the government to investigate the protestors' extrajudicial executions and organized additional protests. Rather than conducting a thorough investigation into the shooting of unarmed protestors, the authorities charged Baba Jan and his fellow activists with breaking section 780-A of Pakistan's Anti-Terrorism Act (ATA). Baba Jan and two other activists, Ameer Khan and Iftikhar Hussain, have been sentenced to prison since then. Acquitted on spurious allegations, prosecuted in a dubious FIR, and tried in Gilgit's Anti-Terrorism Court

(ATC), these activists continue to wait for the day when GB will experience transparency and justice.

Baba Jan further said,

Even then our party had a joint decision. Our party still has a common position. There is a joint decision and we present that position. We have not changed anything in it. The same struggle continues with our climate. And it continued and will continue. There will be many difficulties for us and they do not give up and express their views in spite of the difficulties. We build our party and continue our struggle for redressal of grievances within Gilgit-Baltistan."

Baba Jan also ran in one of the GB Legislative Assembly's by-elections. Despite widespread on-the-ground support and a spirited campaign led by the region's youth, Baba Jan lost. Numerous individuals have raised concerns about the dubious conditions surrounding these elections.

—So that in this day and age this Assembly can build its own resources. There is such a huge natural downfall that it falls into the river and still no electricity is generated. Some places have 18 hours of load shedding while others have 20 hours. So this is the situation. All these problems will be solved by strengthening the people here politically. I think that the people and especially the rulers should give their rights to the people without wasting time. He should also transfer his rights to his assembly. For this it is necessary that Gilgit-Baltistan is a council and the Ministry of Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan Affairs should abolish it and transfer all the powers here. This is our party and our demand."

The media originally paid little attention to Baba Jan and his colleagues' arrest. Gilgit-controlled Baltistan's and muzzled local media went to great lengths to portray him as a traitor and working against the country's interests. Occasional journals and op-ed pieces continued to appear in the print media highlighting Baba Jan's case, but no noticeable coverage in the mainstream electronic media was ever achieved. The Awami Worker's Party and other communist parties' campaign and organized support have been so effective that international media sources have given Baba Jan's case fair coverage. Globally active human rights organizations have consistently pleaded for his release. Baba Jan's release has also been petitioned internationally by prominent Marxists and leftists, including David Graeber, Noam Chomsky, and Tariq Ali.

Despite blackout from mainstream media, social media played pivotal role in release of prisoners. For instance, Baba Jan said,

—The media will not be strong. So, no routine will be solved here. The good news is that we were tortured in prisons to serve as a warning sign. But the opposite happened. Many young people were connected to the corners of Gilgit-Baltistan. They will speak the truth. They started raising their voices for us. He did not belong to our party, and we never met him. All these people joined us and became part of us ideologically. This is a change. I will send a message to the rulers to give up the method of oppression. Since the movements are not suppressed. Revolution flourishes from the coke of oppression. Therefore, the rulers here should give the power to use the resources of the people to the elected assembly of the people instead of coercion."

The CPEC narrative of growth and the publicity surrounding this mega-project have sparked enormous interest in areas such as Gilgit-Baltistan. Nonetheless, state authorities appear to be uninterested in launching real political reforms in the region. The motto of growth is touted as a solution for GB's issues, while the situation of human rights and political liberties remain under attack. Economic and political development occur concurrently, but in the case of GB, the latter is conspicuously absent.

## Tahir Ali says,

—Those who run the state make decisions. What can the state give us? Reverse expression is prohibited. It is torturing people by arbitrarily prosecuting them, putting them in jails. The world needs highways. People are only watching CPEC. We can give way to 11 big countries. If the state does this, then why these provisions must be imposed on the people. If these provisions apply to us, then we should be hanged. Why do you leave us?"

# Chapter 6

#### **Poetic Activism**

Subalternity is a result of a social, class, political, and economic configuration that allows a certain class to maintain its hegemony over society while denying access to power to other groups. The term "subaltern" was coined by Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci in his magnum opus "Notes from Prison Book" to refer to those segments in society who are subservient to the ruling elite' hegemony. Peasants, labourers, and other people denied entry to hegemonic authority are examples of subaltern classes. As a result, their existential predicament relates to a society's power relations. Subalternity is raised in reference to subordinate social groups and individuals whose historical activity is suppressed, overlooked, misread, or 'in the edges' of hegemonic histories, discourses, and social structures. Subalternity, in particular, is a recurrent theme in a variety of interconnected intellectual endeavours that have presented varying interpretations of this issue. It began in the 1930s with the publication of Antonio Gramsci's Prison Notebooks and remarks on subalternity, which he wrote while imprisoned by the Italian fascist state shortly before his death. It has since developed throughout the following 85 years, inspiring Subaltern Studies as well as Postcolonial Studies.

The subaltern classes aren't united, and they don't have governmental or political authority. As a result, they stay on the periphery of economic and political growth. Because the economic, political, and constitutional domains, as well as history, work to maintain dominant groups' vested interests, subalterns continue to be underrepresented. Gilgit-Baltistan is in a subordinate position since it has been in Pakistan's constitutional limbo for the past 60 years and has been maintained outside the country's power structure. At the local level, sectarian factions have pushed its culture to the outskirts of society in order to gain hegemony over their parochial world view by undermining Gilgiti society's semiological universe.

After the old structures of governance and society were abolished, sectarian forces rose to prominence. With the break in Gilgit-historical Baltistan's continuity, meaning has vanished from people's lives, and conventional social organizations and setups have lost their raison d'être. The conventional setting and praxis were what gave social and cultural events meaning. The

current society of Gilgit-Baltistan is bereft of old certainty, and it is living with an existential void in its awareness. Due to a lack of alternative world views or frameworks, society has become an ideal target for obscurantist forces, who have filled the void with their ideology. These forces are diametrically opposed to Islam's local culture and heterodox traditions. They must minimize syncretic cultural space in order to gain greater room.

Intellectuals must deconstruct the dialectics and method operandi of ideologies that could be harmful to local culture in the long run in order to reject essentialist and puritan ideologies. Unfortunately, despite the obscurantist forces' subalternity of culture and the political setup's subalternity of society, the region's intelligentsia has failed to detect the psychopathology of power and theology in relation to Gilgit culture.

When it comes to understanding the connection between meaning and text, nature and institution, the hierarchies and dichotomies established by language, deconstruction can be considered as a tool to help. It is a method of philosophical and literary analysis drawn from the post-structuralist thinker Jacques Derrida's works. His work argues that meaning is not fixed but constantly changes and evolves over time and space. Additionally, he asserts that language is derived, meaning that words receive their meaning from many other words rather than through some objective reality. Derrida discusses binary oppositions and how meaning exists as an essentially unstable force while elucidating the dynamic character of meaning in language. Derrida illustrates the concept of deconstruction by criticizing Western philosophy's logo centrism and arguing that linguistic symbols must be considered independently of the concepts they reflect. Derrida invented the phrase "difference," which serves as the conceptual foundation for deconstruction theory. It refers to both a distinction and a practice of postponing, both of which contribute to our understanding of the meaning. We comprehend the definition of words in light of their relationship to the meanings of other words. For instance, happiness is defined as an emotion distinct from melancholy.

Ironically, local tradition has supplied a diagnostician of Gilgit's modern civilization in the form of Jan Ali in Shina dialect. Jan Ali is well-versed in the region's oral tradition. In traditional Shina poetry genres, he portrays current sensibilities and experiences. The convergence of traditional media vistas and modern sensibilities gives profound insights about Gilgit's society, ethics, culture, psyche, economics, and politics. Jan Ali comes from the craftsman caste, which

has historically been Gilgit's most marginalized community. This caste has maintained indigenous songs, oral tradition, artisans, technology, and information alive for millennia, despite social taboos against artistic endeavours in Gilgit.

The diasporic position of Gilgit-Baltistan in Pakistan's political and economic system, as well as power dialectics between culture, government, and religion, are reflected in Jan Ali's popular songs. He seeks out indicators of subaltern effort and emerging class identity that could be developed and schooled into real class awareness and effective political activity by unravelling the complexity of social, religious, political, and psychological agony and 'translating them into theoretical language and the components of historical life.' Antonio Gramci, a renowned Italian Marxist, declares this method to be the intellectual's responsibility. In a statement about his people's political helplessness, he said,

Jan Ali believes that 'his poetry is a vocal for bringing to light the buried agonies of humanity by his poetry,' which is the poet's genuine vocation. His poetical stipulations expose the society's false principles, where unequal progress has enabled select individuals to become wealthy overnight through deception and deception. The newly wealthy demonstrate their religious commitment by adopting outward signals - rituals and customs – in which the core of religion has been stripped away, leaving just the husk to be worshipped. Jan Ali regards religion's outward manifestations as a sham designed to conceal the ugliness of a corrupted soul. He has the audacity to reject meaningless rituals and symbolism. Jan Ali asserts:

Lo! A glass of wine nullifies my prayer

And your fasting becomes valid

By eating butter of bribe

For a cloak, you sell your here after

By illegally transferring a piece of land.

Gilgit-society Baltistan's has shifted over the previous three decades from a culture-based identity to a sectarian-based identity. Indigenous tradition is not sectarian, racial, or linguistically

exclusive. Jan Ali views culture as a potent tool for uniting disparate segments of society. Sectarian identity presents a significant threat to indigenous tradition, since it has a tendency to reject something that does not belong inside its framework. Sectarian groups seek to establish an unusual kind of Islam in Gilgit. Jan Ali views the sectarian slaughter in Gilgit as a covert war waged on Gilgit's cultural and political soil. The dominating class seized on the sectarian split in order to enact the colonial agenda of dominance and division. Jan Ali asserts:

Lo! What they have done to my beloved Gilgit,

Outsider elements get the peoples' throat slit,

By pelting indigenous populace against each other.

By sowing sectarian divisions among the indigenous community, obscurantist forces hope to capture the indigenous people's semiotic world. Since the semiotic universe is primarily inspired by oral culture, folk tales, shamanic, mythology, and oral histories, religious components struggle to render Shina language subordinate to sectarian agendas. Sectarian strife had a direct impact on places occupied by Shina speakers. Local wisdom is expressed in vernaculars. Sectarian movements rely heavily on the written word. Shina was essential in voicing dissent against the prevalence of a specific ideology and system that sanctifies and foments violence, respectively, in Gilgit's suffocating sectarian atmosphere.

Anayat-Baig asserts that,

By expelling love and longing, why you folks becoming brutes,

Why you are becoming nonchalant to one another,

Almighty has created you as human, so become humane,

Instead why you are turning Shia, Sunni and Ismaile

Again,

You have cramped each line,

And scuttled the conscience,

An eccentric ambiance and eerie ethos are prevailing,

Whereby the impoverished destiny is banned. 13

QafKaf says,

You coverted poverty, we drivan by fame

Understand the truth, but ignorance you feigned

I unconcerened with the conditions of the destitute

You remained friends only with killers

I asw your character, saw through pmpatedhonor

You have worn only the crown of lust and greed

Poet criticizes people who use extreme religious mechanism to achieve their goals in the name of religion, as well as those who use radical religious methods to reach their goals. For instance, QafKaf asserts

Oh the bearded characters of my city

Enslaved by the lust for gold, worshippers of Money

You looted whatever you could get your hands on

While preaching to us, the Fear of hell

About you the verse of God has beautifully stated

You are the evil, you are the envions, you will incur wroth

In every age you were the friend of iblees

In the murder of Shabir too was your hand

Your veridicks have killed so many enlightened ones

In every corner, you have spread hate and anoy in humans

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>AikAikLakirajPabandiaShagan...GiltairZamirajPabandiaShagain...AjabMaholk GiltarAjabHawakYayoun...GhareebTaqdirajTaqdirajPabandiaShagan.

Idols in your being, Allah on your tongue

Oh preacher your cheers will no longer sell

Humans today have woken up here

Who cares what you say, your presence is tiring

Numerous challenges of social justice cannot be resolved quickly, let alone within several years. Within that way, poetry's cathartic function becomes even more critical. Thus, perhaps poetry does not have a unique function. Rather than that, poetry is intended to accompany us through each level of social consciousness. This is demonstrated by poetry's multifaceted power to motivate us to action, illuminate previously forgotten narratives, provoke critical thought, or just allow us to experience our humanity.

Prima facie the rule of kingship has ended,

But its lackeys are reigning the people,

The honour and the voices of dissent,

Have vanished because of the subservient servants,

Your listening has turned into stone heart,

And, I squandered my mind yelling at you,

Your belly of greed has devoured you,

You have sold the remaining piece of your beloved land.

Your mind has been sealed,

Hence, the degrees of yours have gone under the drain,

Lo! Look at the gait of your pampered being,

That drowned in a drug of wine.

Never feel offended, empathetic I am with the land,

Incidentally, the word of heart slipped through my tongue,

Speaking truth has become torture for us,

Because of our tongue we have prepared our nemesis.

We brought in dalda from outside,

And sold our butter in market,

We sold our milk cow,

With it gone the benedictions.

Our wine cellars have disappeared,

And water mixed with spirits,

My life keep drowning and floating,

In the whirlpool of apprehensions.

My views have become throne in the yes,

Of the sellers of my land,

Faheem used to lay his life for truth,

For the land my neck was severed. 14

QafKaf asserts,

I read the writing on the pages of history

It is you who always created injustice

Poetry is a prominent form of art during rallies and protests because it is succinct and forceful. From the women's liberation movements to civil rights, poetry has been compelling enough to attract an audience in a city square and concise enough to garner positive publicity on social media. In the wake of media and political language aimed to obscure, mislead, or worse, the poet's role in speaking truth to power remains critical.

Anayat-Baig asserts that,

Maxims of the wise are realising infacts,

The exogenous are driving out my Indigenous folks,

While screaming they are sitting Gilgit on fire,

And my Gilgiti folks are watching it as bystanders.

Again,

## Conclusion

Victims' historical role in society is traced from their early involvement in responding to victimization to their near-complete exclusion from state responses to victimization in the contemporary era. The accountability process in Pakistan has become a vicious loop of political victimization and manipulation. The country has lacked an unbiased, consistent, and permanent system of accountability since its founding in 1947. In 1999, General Pervez Musharraf signed the National Accountability Ordinance (NAO), establishing the National Accountability Bureau (NAB). Since then, Pakistani governments have attempted to amend relevant legislation in order to strengthen the country's accountability system. Over time, accountability regimes have developed a variety of ways for achieving the same goal: the ruling class profiting from its power.

Gilgit-Baltistan (GB), in Pakistan's northwest, is a sparsely populated high-mountain region. It has the world's longest glaciers outside of the polar area, as well as the world's second highest mountain (K2) and four other eight-thousanders. The inhabitants of Gilgit Baltistan and the Kargil have deep religious, ethnic, and linguistic ties (occupied Kashmir). The Great Game alludes to a century-long battle between Russia and British India for control of Central Asian kingdoms, with the GB serving as a battleground. In April 1984, India launched a huge airborne operation known as Meghdoot to take control of strategic peaks. One of the Silk Roads connected Gilgit-Baltistan to China in the past. Shimshal and Hunza were connected by a river called the Muztagh. Tashkurgar was the start of another path that headed to Wakhan or Khunjerab.

Prior to independence, the United Kingdom was a part of India's State of Jammu and Kashmir, which was one of the country's major princely states. Recognizing the territory's geostrategic significance and fearing a probable Russian invasion from Central Asia, the British took direct action and established the 'Gilgit Agency' to take control of the region. Gilgit and Baltistan were divided into small kingdoms ruled by rajas and mirs prior to and during the Dogra dynasty (local rulers). Governor Ghansara Singh surrendered to Sub Maj Babar after significant struggle. The insurrection resulted in the freedom of the Dogra-controlled districts surrounding Gilgit. Because the territory lacked an organized indigenous militia, the Raja of Rondu drafted a letter inviting

the Gilgit Scouts to liberate Baltistan from Dogra Raj. For nearly a year in Baltistan, the local population battled alongside the Scouts against the Kashmir army, incurring a high number of losses. During the early years of the state, the topic of how to deal with GB was a cause of dispute. The region preserves its status as a disputed territory as a result of this link. In the United Kingdom, academics and political experts have the opposite viewpoint. What makes GB's situation more difficult is that, despite 73 years of independence, it has yet to achieve what it intended. During an interview with Indian media, Indian journalist Karan Thapar questioned Moeed Yusuf, the prime minister's national security adviser, on the PTI government's plan to grant GB provincial status.

Under sections 124-A, 123-A, and 34 of the Pakistan Penal Code, a First Information Report (FIR) has been filed in Cantt Police Station Gilgit against 19 nationalist political workers from Gilgit Baltistan. There is one Ahsan lawyer who has been named in a number of FIRs. Manzoor Khan has been involved in political activities in my KPK since 1976. Our judicial system, like our political system, is not protected by the Constitution. The rise in political victimization of democratic forces in Gilgit-Baltistan over the last few years is alarming. Dr. Zaman, an Awami Action Committee leader, was also arrested in Diamer last month for giving a speech at a public meeting in Chilas in which he criticized the local administration's discriminatory tactics. Gilgit-political Baltistan's leadership has a responsibility to protect the local people's economic rights by ensuring that legal procedures are followed. Notwithstanding the way that overall races for the Gilgit-Baltistan Legislative Assembly (GBLA) are a not too far off, the area's political first class misses the mark on time and ability to safeguard the interests of this little yet decisively significant locale that has turned into a jungle gym for the New Great Game's new players.

The development of opportunities and the enabling of nearby populaces to practice their central common and political freedoms ought to be essential for monetary turn of events. This should be possible by giving a level of the assessments procured on trade traffic and modern parks along the hall to the advancement of neighborhood networks inside the monetary zone. The social area is likewise a significant piece of the CPEC venture system. This might seem, by all accounts, to be a small hitch in China's well conceived plan for Gilgit-future, Baltistan's nevertheless it could turn into a blocked boundary to joint effort over the long haul, while additionally giving a place of refuge to powers needing to control China's extending impact in the locale. By and large,

Western nations have made enormous interests in friendly turn of events. This point has gone unrecognized by the Chinese.

The possibility of Gilgit-Baltistan (GB) turning into a territory of Pakistan has been around for some time. In Pakistan, the Gilgit Baltistan, and Azad Jammu and Kashmir, this misfortune has evoked a wide range of conclusions from different pieces of society. A rope interfaces Islamabad to this framework. Attacks into Baltistan by the Dogra ruler of Kashmir started during the 1830s, and by 1842, he had altogether vanquished the district. The Dogras added Gilgit after that. The Treaty of Amritsar, endorsed in 1846, was the principal consent to decide the personalities of various valleys of Gilgit and Baltistan, in light of provincial necessities and disdain for neighborhood reality. Gohar Aman and the lords of Hunza and Nagar repulsed the Dogra champions' most memorable work to overcome minor rulers. Gilgit-personality Baltistan's markers were made by nearby rulers' limits preceding the appearance of the Dogras and the British. In the last part of the nineteenth hundred years, unfamiliar soldiers vanquished the United Kingdom and laid out a brought together organization, which took the power of nearby rulers as well as changed character markers.

The British had complete control over the administration of Gilgit and Baltistan regiom, which was in stark contrast to the typical way of working inside and across principalities. The British were successful in giving local rulers administrative control within their zones of influence while keeping them submissive at the collective decision-making level. The accords and treaties of the colonial period were designed to maintain imperial rule by keeping indigenous people at bay. Gilgit-Baltistan was sold to Shah Hassan by the British during their occupation. We were occupied by the British for approximately 50 years. For more than 75 years, we have been under the supervision of the Pakistani government. Massive protests have erupted in Gilgit-Baltistan since October 2017 in response to the Pakistani government's imposition of levies in the territory. As a result, they will enact the same legislation among the people. Which will safeguard our culture's output and tradition. Who knows if this territory would remain with Pakistan if the Kashmir dispute is resolved?

As a result, the international community was concerned that India would abandon the region. They are allowed to protect us by sitting on the borders. That local people should be able to form a powerful assembly. GB's liminality in Pakistan has been maintained by the state's involvement

with the local political class. These areas are known as "zones of nonbeing," which are "uncommonly desolate and dried region[s] and totally exposed declivit [ies] helpful for the introduction of genuine commotion," as indicated by Franz Fanon. The deterioration of the common agreement is appeared in the discontinuity of legislative issues, society, and the self image. GB was denied portrayal in the National Assembly, the Senate, and other significant dynamic bodies "because of [AJK's] protest," as per a report. In the United Kingdom, it's undeniably true that the middle right party as a rule wins decisions. This is the aftereffect of a provincial culture where lawmakers associated with public level gatherings anticipate that the middle should be liberal in return for their non-presence in the fringe. The zone of nonbeing, as a sterile zone, is unequipped for creating dreams, correspondence, or equity. All things being equal, it permits profound injuries to putrefy, denies individuals of their fantasies, plants disunity, and encompasses individuals in haziness. For those in, strategic, influential places, sectarianism, territorial divisions, parochialism, and mass fights are for the most part warnings.

The Ghizer region of Gilgit-Baltistan has been a hotly debated issue in the neighborhood media, and quite possibly the most famous points among scholastics these day is the locale's increasing self destruction rate throughout the past ten years and a half. Suicides don't, be that as it may, happen solely in Ghizer. At the point when seen in this light, the recuperating of dysfunctional behavior requires more consideration than the 'patient.' Modernism has impacted the structure and treatment of psychological maladjustment in Gilgit-Baltistan, as it has in different areas of the planet. Rather than infusing current disciplinary thoughts into the treatment of dysfunctional behavior, innovation delivered a prolific environment for cross breed practices, organizations, and entertainers to arise. There is no native expression for misery or pressure, for instance, in spite of the fact that individuals utilize these articulations to depict their state of mind and partisan struggle in present day times. However shamanic customs for mental mending have generally vanished, some living outwardly of advancement keep on rehearsing them. All establishments and characters in the district, including strict specialists, government officials, savvy people, teachers, and guardians, have moved away from themselves, society, and the globe because of fast turn of events.

Human civilization differs from biological entities and animal kingdoms in that the former are not regulated by universal rules, whilst the latter two are. This is to determine where GilgitBaltistan fits into Pakistan's power structure and to examine the types of ideas and political attitudes that such a system produces. It will also aid us in diving deeper into political consciousness and determining the underlying basis of the societal and political malaise. Gilgit-modern Baltistan's history has been entangled in a cycle that has compelled the territory to repeat itself indefinitely. The domination infrastructure in Gilgit-Baltistan aims to eliminate the feeling of social alienation by robbing individuals of their communal perspective and infusing them with a false sense of authority. Fanon agrees with Joachim Marcus' argument that "authority conduct, like all other human behavior, is learnt" in relation to Marcus' work on the development of families and communities and their deviant behavior. The people of Gilgit-Baltistan have gradually lost their autonomy since 1974, when the last princely state of Hunza was dissolved, thanks to a variety of methods, packages, and orders. The War of Independence was fought to put an end to the battles of the colonial era. However, by inducting a cadre of local politicians into the hollow governance apparatus, the post-colonial period allowed for the formation of a semblance of politics.

Subalternity is a social, class, political, and economic structure that permits one class to maintain hegemony over society while denying other groups access to power. The lower classes are not united, and they lack governmental and political power. As a result, they are pushed to the margins of economic and political development. Sectarian factions have pushed Gilgiti society's semiological universe to the periphery of society in order to win hegemony over their parochial world view by destroying Gilgiti society's semiological universe. Sectarian forces grew to prominence after the old structures of governance and society were dismantled. To reject essentialist and puritan ideologies, intellectuals must analyze the dialectics and modus operandi of ideologies that may be destructive to local culture in the long run. Deconstruction can be regarded a method to aid in comprehending the relationship between meaning and text, nature and institution, and the hierarchies and dichotomies generated by language.

Derrida coined the term "difference," which is the intellectual underpinning of deconstruction theory. It relates to a distinction as well as a practice of deferring, both of which help us understand the meaning. We understand word definitions by considering how they relate to the meanings of other words. Happiness, for example, is distinguished from melancholy as an emotion. In the shape of Jan Ali in Shina dialect, local folklore has provided a diagnostician of

Gilgit's modern civilization. He depicts current perceptions and experiences in classic Shina poetry styles. Jan Ali's famous songs represent Gilgit-diasporic Baltistan's status in Pakistan's political and economic structure, as well as power dialectics between culture, government, and religion.

Jan Ali believes that "his poetry is a vocal for bringing to light the hidden agonies of humanity through his poetry," and that this is the poet's true calling. He has the guts to reject symbolism and pointless rituals. Gilgit-society Baltistan's identity has transitioned from a culture-based identity to a sectarian-based identity over the last three decades. Indigenous tradition is not exclusive in terms of sectarianism, race, or language. Jan Ali sees culture as a powerful instrument for bringing people together from different walks of life. Obscurantist forces want to capture the indigenous people's semiotic world by fostering sectarian conflicts among the indigenous community. Anayat-Baig shares this viewpoint. Poet attacks those who, in the guise of religion, employ severe religious mechanism to achieve their purposes, as well as those who, as Qaf Kaf argues, utilize radical religious means to achieve their goals. Numerous social justice issues cannot be remedied fast, let alone in a few years. The therapeutic function of poetry becomes even more important in this context. Because poetry is brief and powerful, it is a popular form of art at demonstrations and protests.

The political victimization in Gilgit-Baltistan have created problems for the people of the region and they are not allowed to even talk about it. This problem is creating anger and disturbance among the youth of Gilgit-Baltistan and government is taking this issue seriously. They should provide opportunities to solve this problems other than restricting them to not think about it. This suppression and suffocation can bring political movements which can lead them towards serious problems.

## References

Abida Begum (2012). -The Concept and perception of peace education in Gilgit Baltistan"

ARAB NEWS PAKISTAN. (2018, March 7). Pakistan Today: Pashteen seeks humanization of

Pashtuns. Arab News PK. https://www.arabnews.pk/node/1261256/press-review

Aziz Ali Dad, The News (News Paper 2016) – Subaltern Voice Jan-Ali" Baltistan".

Chohan, A.S (1997). Gilgit Agency 1877-1935 second reprint. Atlantic Publishers and Dist.

BIDDULPH, JOHN. 1880/1971. Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh. Graz: Akademische Druckund

CHAKRABARTY, DIPESH. (2000). Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical

Conciliation Resources: working together for peace. Burghley Yard, 106 Burghley roads DANI, AHMAD HASAN. 1989. *History of Northern Areas of Pakistan*. Islamabad: National *Difference*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Derrida, J. (1997). Deconstruction in a nutshell: A conversation with Jacques Derrida, with a new introduction. Fordham University Press.

Fanon, F. (1952). Black skin, white masks. Grove press.

Frembgen, J. W. (2006). The Battle of Nilt in 1891: Oral Traditions as Sources of History in Gordon, L. (2007). Through the hellish zone of nonbeing. *Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self-Knowledge*, 5, 5-12.

Gramsci, A. (2011). Prison Notebooks, Volumes 1-3.

Institute of Historical and Cultural Research.

Izhar Hunzai. "Conflict Dynamics in Gilgit Baltistan" United States institute of peace.

Laing, R. (1960). The divided self: An existential study in sanity and madness. Penguin UK.

London NE5 1AL United Kingdom.

McLuhan, N (2012). The Medium is Message. Media and cultural studies: Keywords, 100-07.

Martin Sokefeld. (2017) University of Basel Library —From Colonialism to Post Colonialism: Changing modes of domination in Northern Areas of

Nager. Karakoram in Transition: Culture, Development and Ecology in the Hunza Valley, 217.

Nosheen Ali (2012). "Poetry, Power, and Protest: Reimagining Muslim Nationhood in Northern

Nosheen Ali (2019). "Dillusional States" Feeling Rule and Development in Pakistan's Northern Frontier. Cambridge University, University printing house, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom.

Pakistan. Article in Comparative study of South Asia Africa and Middle East.

Pakistan: A comprehensive case study. Aga Khan University.

Pakistan"

Syed Waqas Ali and Taqi Akhunzada (Jan 2015) — Unheard voices: engaging youth of Gilgit Verlagsanstalt.

