

UNDECLARED WAR ON KASHMIR



Andhra Pradesh Civil Liberties Committee (APCLC)
Committee for Protection of Democratic Rights (CPDR)
Lok Shahi Hakk Sanghatana (LHS)
Organisation for Protection of Democratic Rights (OPDR)

PREFACE

In August 1991, APCLC and OPDR took the initiative to convene a national conference of all civil liberties and democratic rights organisations who had been working actively in their respective states. These organisations reviewed the democratic rights situation in the country in general and in states like Punjab, Assam and Jammu and Kashmir in particular. The conference also took note of a number of reports that had been published on the gross violations of human and democratic rights in the Kashmir Valley. It was decided to send a fact-finding team to Jammu and Kashmir, comprising representatives from various organisations, in order to make a first hand assessment of the situation prevailing there.

The team consisted of Radha D'Souza for the Committee for the Protection of Democratic Rights (CPDR), Bombay, Kancha Ilaiah for APCLC, Vinod Shetty for Lokshahi Hakh Sanghatana (LHS), Maharashtra, member All India Federation of Organisations For Democratic Rights (AIFOFR), and C. Bhaskar Rao and Nirmalananda Vatsayana for the Organisation for Protection of Democratic Rights (OPDR), Andhra Pradesh, member, AIFOFR. The team visited Jammu and Kashmir from November 14 to 20, 1991, and met a cross section of people. This report is based on these interviews, official records and medical records, and numerous petitions pending before judicial authorities.

A number of reports have already been published documenting human rights violations in the Kashmir Valley. (A list of such publications is set out in Annexure 'A') These publications cover the period up to 1990. In view of the limited resources available, the team restricted its investigations of human rights and democratic rights violations to the year 1991.

INTRODUCTION

The team interviewed doctors, lawyers, magistrates, sitting and retired judges, traders, petty shopkeepers, workers in small establishments, shikara owners, government servants, state officials, teachers etc. It also visited hospitals, areas under army crackdown, and refugee camps. Finally, it interviewed Mr. Girish Saxena, the Governor of the state.

The team was struck by the Kashmiri people's knowledge

of the history of Kashmir and of historical events relating to Kashmir.

There was surprising unanimity in the people's perception of post-1947 history. The roots of the movement in Kashmir lie in this perception. For this reason, it will be necessary to present the historical events leading to the present situation.

HISTORY

Prior to August 15, 1947, the Indian subcontinent was divided broadly into "British India", which was ruled directly by British, and the Princely states, of which the state of Jammu and Kashmir was one of the biggest. Seventy seven per cent of the state's population was Muslim. It was ruled by a Hindu King, Raja Hari Singh.

Religious allegiance formed the basis for India's partition in 1947. In a number of princely states-- as in the case of Jodhpur, Junagad and a number of other states--India held that the accession of the state should be decided on the basis of the will of the people. In the case of Kashmir, the Indian government accepted this principle, but adopted dilatory tactics in implementing it. The government of India's statement dated October 5, 1947, said:

""Any decision involving the fate of a large number of people must necessarily depend on the wishes of these people. This is the policy which the government of India accepts in its entirety and they are of the opinion that a dispute involving the fate of the people in a territory should be decided by a referendum and plebiscite of the people concerned. This is a method at once democratic, peaceful and just""

However, in the case of Kashmir, the government of India asked Maharaja Hari Singh to decide on the issue of accession to one of the two countries.

ACCESSION

Maharaja Harisingh had not yet decided upon the issue of accession or independence for the state between August 15 and October 26, 1947, before which the state was invaded by tribals from the North Western Frontier Region. Unable to fight back on his own, Maharaja Hari Singh sought India's assistance. India declined to help unless the king acceded the state to India. This

accession was to have been provisional, and temporary, until a plebiscite or referendum could be held. After the signing of the Instrument of Accession, the Indian government sent troops to Kashmir, and used this opportunity to enter Kashmir. However, the people rebelled against the signing of the Instrument of Accession. Hari Singh fled Kashmir soon after when the Kashmir had rebelled; the treaty of accession is called a treaty of a fleeing king.

However, the Pakistan government demanded a plebiscite, claiming that Kashmir should accede to Pakistan.

U N RESOLUTIONS

On January 1, 1948, India officially referred the matter to the United Nations Security Council. After discussion here, on January 20, 1948, a three-member commission (later increased to five) was established to investigate the facts of the matter. The resolution noted "....with satisfaction that both India and Pakistan desire that the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to Pakistan or India should be decided by a democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite". (Interestingly, by this time, India, Pakistan and the UN had dropped the third option -- of an independent Kashmiri nation). The commission was directed to proceed "with a view to facilitate taking of necessary measures both for restoration of peace and order and holding of plebiscite by co-operating with one another and with the commission".

On August 13, 1948, the UN Security Council passed a three part resolution: the first part relating to cessation of hostilities; the second part to demilitarisation by occupation forces, and the third to plebiscite. The UN commission held numerous meetings to finalise the holding of the plebiscite.

Even while the UN commission was mediating on the issue, the government of India admitted representatives of the state of Jammu and Kashmir into the constituent assembly. Thereafter, it adopted a constitution in which Article 370 incorporated provisions for provisional accession to India, in keeping with the treaty of accession signed between India and Maharaja Hari Singh on behalf of Jammu and Kashmir.

In a letter dated November 21, 1949, the secretary general of the external affairs ministry clarified India's stand:

"While the Constitution of India, which inter alia provided

for the relation of acceding states to the government of India, was under consideration, it would have been unfair to the government and the people of the state of Jammu and Kashmir to deny them the opportunity of participating in the discussion of that constitution. Such participation was intended to, and does not, in fact, alter the government of India's determination to abide, in the matter of accession, by the freely declared will of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. Should that will be against the state continuing to be part of India, if and when it comes to be expressed in a constitutional way, under conditions of peace and impartiality, the representation of the state in the Indian parliament would automatically cease and the provisions of the constitution of India that govern the relations of the state of Jammu and Kashmir with the union of India will also cease to operate".

During the Constituent Assembly debates on Article 370, Shri N. Gopalswami Ayyangar, who moved the adoption of the Article, said :

"In the first place there has been a war going on within the limits of Jammu and Kashmir. There was a cease-fire agreed to at the beginning of this year and that cease-fire is still on. But the conditions in the State are still abnormal. It is, therefore, necessary that the administration of the state should be geared to these unusual conditions until normal life is restored as in the case of other states. Part of the State is still in the hands of rebels and enemies. We are still entangled with the United Nations in regard to Jammu and Kashmir and it is not possible to say now when we shall be free from this entanglement. That can only take place when the Kashmir problem is satisfactorily settled. Again, the government of India have committed themselves to the people of Kashmir in certain respects. They have committed themselves to the position that an opportunity would be given to the people of the State to decide for themselves whether they will remain with the Republic or wish to go out of it. We are also committed to ascertaining the will of the people by means of a plebiscite provided that peaceful and normal conditions are restored and the impartiality of the plebiscite could be guaranteed. We have also agreed that the will of the people through the instrument of the Constituent Assembly will determine the Constitution of the State as well as the sphere of Union jurisdiction over the state.

"At present, the legislature which was known as the Praja Sabha in the State is dead. But neither that legislature nor the Constituent Assembly can be convoked or can function until complete peace comes to prevail in that state. We have, therefore, to deal with the government of the state which, as represented in its council of ministers, reflects the opinion of the largest political party in the state. Till a constituent assembly comes into being only an interim arrangement is possible and not an arrangement which could at once be brought into line with the arrangements existing in the case of other states. Now, if you remember the viewpoints that I have mentioned, it is an inevitable conclusion that, at the present moment, we could establish only an interim system. Article 306A is an attempt to establish such a system".

ARTICLE 370

Article 370 of the Constitution of India makes the following provisions with regard to the state of Jammu and Kashmir :

1. That Article 370 of the Constitution of India was intended to be a temporary provision in respect to the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

2. That the power of the Parliament to make laws for the state shall be limited to matters specified in the Instrument of Accession. The subjects specified in the Instrument of Accession were defence, external affairs and communications and any other matter with the concurrence of the Government of the State.

3. The provisions of the Indian constitution are applicable to the State only if it is in consultation with the government of the state. Article 370 (2) further provides that if the concurrence of the state government is to be taken before the constituent assembly for framing the constitution of the Jammu and Kashmir State is convened, then it would have to be placed before such assembly for its decision. Article 370 (3) further provides that the recommendation of the state assembly is necessary for the president of India to declare that Article 370 shall cease to be operative.

Thereafter, numerous amendments were made to Article 370, which increased the powers of the central government vis a vis the state of Jammu and Kashmir. By the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order, 1954, Article 253 of the Constitution was amended to provide that no decision be made

by the government of India without consent of the government of the state.

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR

The Jammu and Kashmir constituent assembly was formed on November 5, 1951, and on November 15, 1952, it adopted a constitution. The state of Jammu and Kashmir is the only state to have an independent constitution. According to this constitution the Sardar-e-Riyasat, who is elected to office by the assembly, is the head of the state. Section 92 of this constitution provides that in case of failure of the constitutional machinery, the Sardar-e-Riyasat has powers to issue proclamations for exercising the power of the government of the state.

The Jammu and Kashmir constitutional assembly accepted the provisions of article 370 as an interim and provisional arrangement before a plebiscite could be held. Article 356 of the Indian constitution also states that any reference to the constitution in reference to the state of Jammu and Kashmir means constitution of Jammu and Kashmir.

THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT EXTENDS ITS FEDERAL POWERS

After 1954, the government of India extended its federal powers to the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Ultimately, vide C.O. No. 93 of 1984, the union government amended Article 248 empowering the Indian parliament with executive powers to make laws with respect to the prevention of activities directed towards disclaiming, questioning or disrupting the sovereignty, territorial integrity of India, or bringing about secession of a part of territory of India from the union. These amendments were directly in conflict with the constitutional position under Article 370 and Article 356, which viewed the entire accession as a provisional and temporary event.

Under the original Jammu and Kashmir constitution, the Sardar-e-Riyasat could hold office only if he had resided in the state for a period of 25 years. By a constitutional amendment to the State Constitution in 1965, namely, the constitution of Jammu and Kashmir (Sixth Amendment) Act 1965, the provision was altered and any person who was a citizen of India and had

completed 30 years of age could be appointed as Governor of the State. In fact a constitutional amendment of 1965 introduced wide far reaching constitutional changes indirectly acceding to India powers which had not hitherto been acceded to under the Instrument of Accession. Together with making indirect roads into the independent state of Kashmir as envisaged in the Instrument of Accession numerous legislations came to be introduced which enabled the union of India to assume more executive and police powers in the state. Among them :

- * In July 1990, the government of India enacted the Armed forces (Jammu and Kashmir) Special Powers Ordinance, 1990, passed as an Act in September 1990.

- * On July 5, 1990, it passed the Jammu and Kashmir Disturbed Areas Act.

- * In 1991, the Incitement Offence Act was amended and made more stringent.

Under the Jammu and Kashmir Disturbed Area Act, 1990, the entire Kashmir valley has been declared as disturbed area. Under the Act, in the entire valley of Kashmir, any magistrate or police officer not below the rank of sub-inspector or head constable has a right to shoot any person who, according to him, is indulging in an act which may result in breach of public order or is acting in contravention of any law. He also has a right to destroy any shelter or structure which he believes is used as hide-out or for attacks. The Act also provides that no prosecution or legal proceedings can be instituted against police officials acting under the Armed Forces (Jammu and Kashmir) Special Powers Act in respect of anything done by him, except with previous sanction of the central government.

The Armed Forces (Jammu and Kashmir) Special Powers Act enables the Union of India to deploy armed forces in Kashmir. By that Act, any commissioned officer, non-commissioned officer or any other officer of the Armed Forces may fire upon, use force, or cause the death of any person who is acting in contravention of any law. The armed forces are also empowered to prevent activities disclaiming, questioning or disrupting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of India; activities bringing about cessation of a part of territory of India or causing insult to Indian national flag and Indian national anthem.

Under this Act, no prosecution, suit or legal proceedings can be instituted against any of the members of the armed forces acting under the Act, without previous sanction of the central government.

In a writ petition filed before the Jammu and Kashmir High Court, the Jammu and Kashmir People's Basic Right (Protection) Committee has challenged the constitutional competence of the Union of India to make laws for the state of Jammu and Kashmir, including the Disturbed Areas Act and the Armed Forces (Jammu and Kashmir) Special Powers Act.

Against this background, there is a widespread perception that, since 1947, the government of India has been dragging its feet on the plebiscite. The acquiring of special powers enabling it to take military action has meant the government of India no longer intends to respect its commitment to plebiscite and has decided to resolve the issue by the use of armed force.

ELECTIONS IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR

The government of India has justified its actions on the ground that the integration of Jammu and Kashmir in to India has been with the consent of the state. Against this, legal experts hold that the government of the state has no legal authority to transcend the basic structure of the Jammu and Kashmir constitution. But, beyond this, there is widespread concurrence on the point that elections in the state since 1947 were rigged and were never free and fair. One representative opinion comes from Bahauddin Faruqi, the ex-chief justice of the Jammu and Kashmir high court, who holds that all elections in Jammu and Kashmir, barring the 1977 elections, have been rigged. Such rigged elections had two effects : only those close to the ruling party in Delhi came to power, and the Kashmiri people were further alienated, as they were denied even the right to have their own representatives governing them.

Jayprakash Narayan, writing in the **Hindustan Times** on April 20, 1964, had this to say on elections in Kashmir :

"At this point two further slogans are raised: a) The people of Kashmir have already expressed their will at three general elections; b) if the people of Kashmir are allowed to express their will, it will be the beginning of the end of the Indian nation.

"Both, to my mind, are baseless slogans. The elections in

Kashmir after Sheikh Abdullah's arrest were neither fair nor free. If that has to be disproved, it can be done by an impartial inquiry and not just by official assertions. Delhi seems to believe that by auto-suggestion it can establish any fact it pleases."

"I may be lacking in patriotism or other virtues, but it has always seemed to me to be a lie to say that the people of Kashmir had already decided to integrate themselves with India. They might do so, but have not done so yet. Apart from the quality of the elections, the future of the state of Jammu and Kashmir was never made an electoral issue at any of them. If further proof was needed, it has come in the form of Sheikh Abdullah's emphatic views who, to put it at the least, is as representative of the people as any other Kashmiri leader."

"Lastly, if we are so sure of the verdict of the people, why are we so opposed to giving them another opportunity to reiterate it? The answer given is that this would start the process of disintegration of the country. Few things have been said in the course of this controversy more silly than this one. The assumption behind the argument is that the states of India are held together by force and not by the sentiment of a common nationality. It is an assumption that makes a mockery of the Indian nation and a tyrant of the Indian state".

The 1987 elections, however, marked a watershed in the politics of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. There was a universal perception, in the entire state, of large-scale rigging of the elections when Farooq Abdullah was returned to power, defeating the Muslim United Front, the origin of today's militant groups. A young sub-inspector (who had just returned from training in Madhya Pradesh and was) about to join the Jammu and Kashmir police told the team, "Had the elections taken place in a free and fair manner and the opposition government allowed to come to power, this situation would not have developed, because the opposition would have had to work within the framework of the constitution". Rashid, a shikara owner, states, "During election times, the rallies and processions were so big that it was very clear that the National Conference-Congress alliance would not come to power. Besides, in several constituencies, there was a general perception that the election results were manipulated".

By rigging the 1987 elections, the Indian government made it clear to militant Kashmiri organisations that they would never

be allowed to come to power through constitutional means; they would have to fight on the streets.

The results of the 1987 elections thus led to widespread democratic protests -- processions, public meetings and rallies. The government of India countered these protests with armed force. Since then, there has been an increasing use of armed force in tackling the Kashmir problem. In the people's perception, since all democratic avenues of protest were closed to them, militant organisations such as JKLF, KMLF and others have grown in influence and stature; since then there has been a number of new militant organisations and an increase in their activities.

MAIN REPORT

Since 1990, over two lakh armed forces -- which include the Central Reserve Police Force, the Border Security Force, the Indo-Tibetan Border Force and the army and intelligence forces - have been deployed in the valley. The population of the valley is 54 lakhs, which means that for every 27 Kashmiris, there is one army person. (The references in the report to army personnel, armed forces people, army people and security forces, are general and apply to any of these units).

In Jammu, everybody - hoteliers, bus conductors, drivers and shokeepers - warns you against going into the valley. Srinagar is like a war zone, swarming with armed forces personnel. Intensive security checks are carried out, by the different security forces, before and after the 2650 yard-long Jawahar Tunnel, which cuts off Kashmir from the rest of the state. The team was checked four times by different forces while entering the valley, and again while leaving. While returning to Jammu, we were paraded in front of a Maruti car with its head lights on. The checking included the use of sophisticated devices.

Srinagar has no street lights. On every 10 feet there is an armed forces personnel, and every 25 feet, a bunker. Armed vehicles with machine guns patrol the city constantly. By evening, an eerie darkness hangs over the town. The streets are desolate. By 5.30 p.m., the shops down their shutters, people scurry indoors and transport stops plying. Though on the whole, tourism contributes just 12 per cent to the state's revenue, the economy of Srinagar depends largely on tourism, which has virtually closed down. The once popular, bustling tourist city looks deserted.

INDISCRIMINATE ATTACKS

The rule of the army in Kashmir is such that security forces can indiscriminately attack men and women without fear of reprisal. The team met a large number of civilians who had been shot at or otherwise assaulted, in what seems to be a random manner, by armed forces. (The names of interviewees have been changed, in order to protect their identities). The fact that these people are not picked up and put through the formality of an arrest indicates that the army is not even pretending that there is any justification for their actions. Since it is waging war against an entire people, procedures such as recording arrests are just formalities, and interfere with their duties. Naturally, it is difficult to estimate the extent of legal violations.

Dr. Hamida, anaesthologist at the Bone and Joint Hospital, told the team that they received a minimum of two or three bullet injury cases daily. "It is routine. If by chance there are no bullet cases at the end of the day, it is a day to be remembered." Even while the team was at the hospital, they saw new cases of bullet injuries being admitted.

Dr. Hamida said that just two days before the team's visit, they had admitted a Gujjar woman from Watbal who had been gang raped by three armed forces men. "After they raped her, they shot her in the leg as she tried to escape. It took her three days to reach the hospital, by which time it was too late we could not do anything for her. In her dying declaration, she said ' Fouji' raped her. We could not make a complaint - for that we need details about which armed forces personnel, their names or at least where they were from. But she was illiterate.

Ahmed, 22, is a farmer in haigaon Sopor Tehsil, Dist. Baramulla: "On October 4, around midday, I was working on my fields when I saw army people crossing the fields and coming towards me. Naturally, I was afraid and tried to run. I was fired upon". The doctors told the team that as a result of the bullet wounds, Ahmed's right leg would have to be amputated above the knee.

Abdul, 25, was working as a casual labourer on the same field in Haigan. "I knew there was a crackdown in Tarzu (a nearby village). When the army people came to our field, I was afraid, because I knew people were being picked up at random. The

army people didn't ask any questions before firing, nor did they give any warning. I didn't file any complaint, because I know nothing ever happens to any complaint filed by the people." Doctors believe Abdul may be permanently incapacitated as a result of a leg wound.

Gulzar Ahmed, 18, works as a packer and lives in Pehelgaon Tehsil, Dist. anantnag. "On October 4, I boarded a bus to go to Bejbehara. When the bus reached Bejbehara, the passengers were not allowed to alight. They were taken to khandbal police station. there, the army personnel, once again without allowing the people to get off, asked the bus driver to drive away. When the bus started moving, they started firing. I could see that they were firing from both sides, so I rushed into the aisle. Some 10 to 15 people must have died in that firing. In the confusion, I fell on top of one of the injured men. I was injured both by the firing and the glass splinters. After they stopped firing, the army people got into the bus and dragged everyone out. They pulled out the man on whom I had fallen, and one army man stood on his chest. He died on the spot. The injured were taken to the military hospital, but the army personnel told us nobody would do anything for us. I was then left out when the S.P. of the Jammu and Kashmir traffic police brought me to this hospital." Gulzar Ahmed had fractured his right thigh, and had multiple injuries on his right and left thighs and arms, some caused by glass splinters.

Abdul Rahman, 60, is a farmer in Haigaon. "On October 4, around 5.30 p.m. I was working on the field when army men approached me, and without warning or even a question, they shot at me. I told them, shoot me one more time, and let me die at my age." The men then gave some injunction and left him on the field. He was brought home and then taken to the hospital by people from his village. Medical records state that the bullet entered from the back of his right leg, above the knee, and exited from the front, below the knee.

Ali Moharned Dar, 40, is a tanker driver in government service in Barzulla, Srinagar. "I loaded my tanker with water and was driving to deliver it at Maizur Nagar. There was a crackdown in the downtown area. I saw two BSF trucks behind me, with some 100-150 boys in them. I heard firing and before I knew what was happening, I was hit by a bullet." His right leg has been

wounded from behind; the bullet hit his scrotum. His left leg was also injured.

Mushtak Ahmed Khan, 20, a resident of Baramulla, was travelling by bus when they were fired upon by armed forces. "I saw them firing and rushed towards the aisle, when I was hit." The team saw that a bullet had entered his lower back, leaving a hole, 1 1/2 inches in diameter and then torn through his scrotum. There was also a big tear in his rectum. He had lost bladder control, because his bladder had also been affected. The doctors have operated on him, but several operations remain to be done. However, he will remain a paraplegic.

The Bone and Joint Hospital staff were themselves victims to such indiscriminate and random firing on people and places. On the morning of September 10, army people put up a bunker opposite the hospital wall, and stationed soldiers there, in firing position, facing the doctors' residential quarters, and the girls' hostel. The same day, shots were heard from a distance, and the soldiers started firing back. But the soldiers aimed towards the girls' hostel, though the gunfire was from another direction. Dr Nisar Ahmed Dar, an orthopaedic surgeon, was in his room studying for his examinations when he was hit by pieces of rubble from his wall. The next thing he knew, a bullet whizzed past his head. The firing continued for some time. Team members could see numerous bullet marks on the walls of the girls hostel and the doctors' residential quarters. Luckily the women were at work, so there were no casualties, though the water tank above the hostel was breached. Hospital authorities say they have lodged a complaint with the DIG. "We were informed that the soldiers did not know that the building across their bunker was a hospital, and now that they had been informed, there would be no firing in that direction in the future. But our press note on the episode was not published."

According to official figures, 539 people were killed in cross fire and random firing in 1990, 390 were killed from January 1 to September 30, 1991. According to official figures, 442 people were injured in cross fire and random firing between January 1 to September 30, 1991.

CRACKDOWNS

After the word "encounters" was introduced by armed forces during the Emergency, to describe the cold blooded murder of

those they wanted to get rid of, security forces in Jammu and Kashmir have added one more word to vocabulary of human rights diction- "crackdown". In a crackdown, security forces encircle an area and order the entire population of the locality to come out of their homes. The men and women are segregated and made to stand in separate places from morning to night. No communication of any sort is allowed. Military vehicles stop in front of the gathering and hooded men (mukhbeer) point out to people who are then picked up and taken to interrogation centres nearby. (they are transported in a particularly inhuman manner crouched in a truck under a tarpaulin, while the army people sit on top of them.) Invariably, the suspects are between the ages of 15 and 30. While the people in the locality are made to stand in the open, security forces search their houses in the absence of any house members. During the crackdown, no outsider can come into the area.

A crackdown can go on for several days; during this entire period, the people in the crackdown area are unable to go to work or their normal business. Children go without food or milk, adults are not even allowed to attend the call of nature for the whole day.

While the team was in Srinagar, it learnt of a crackdown that had taken place on October 4, in what is known as the downtown area. We visited the place on October 15, and interviewed nearly 100 people in the locality.

Says one of the residents of the area "Early in the morning of October 4, the military encircled the downtown area. People who had gone out to buy bread and milk were not allowed to return. The Imam of the Jamia Masjid was told to announce from the mosque that everyone should assemble in an open area. After they assembled, the women, and children below 10 years were sent home. The people were told that any man was found in the house would be shot at sight. We were made to squat, and told not to look to the left or right. We stayed there from 8 in the morning to 3 in the evening, without even a cup of tea. Everyone was made to pass a Gypsy stationed there carrying armed personnel and mukhbeers".

In the meantime, army personnel searched the people's homes, with only the women present. People reported that many clothes and valuables had been taken away by the army people. In fact a number of people reported widespread "appropriation"

of goods and personal belongings by army personnel during crackdowns.

In that crackdown, people were asked to gather in four different open areas. In all, 37 people were picked up and taken to interrogation centres. There were no proper records of these boys' arrests. On their release, they were given a slip of paper with the seal of the Jammu and Kashmir police which merely stated "Arrested and released on-". Thus, there were no records of their arrests or the charges on which they were picked up, from October 4 to the actual date of release. As for those who were not released, their whereabouts are not known.

The Bar Association of the Jammu and Kashmir high court has recorded 70 crackdowns between January 1 and June 10 1991, many of which went on for several days. Between July 15 and December 31 1990, it recorded 79 crackdowns in different parts of the state. (Their list is set out in Annexure B) The effect of these crackdowns is to terrorise the entire population, and harass them in the name of fighting terrorism.

CURFEWS

Curfews have become a regular feature of life in the valley. In Srinagar town, official curfew was from 10.p.m. to 7 a.m. However, by 5 p.m., the shops shut down, people get indoors, buses and rickshaws stop plying. Often, youths who are seen on the streets after this time are picked up and are interrogated on suspicion even though curfew has not yet begun. In fact, the curfew effectively begins by 5.30 p.m. The Bar Association of Jammu and Kashmir has recorded 39 official declarations of curfew between January 1 and May 31, 1991, ranging from 12 hours to 385 hours. A list of the periods under curfew in 1990 and 1991 is set out in Annexure 'C'. Besides obstructing their day to day working lives, regular curfews create an atmosphere of fear in the population.

TORTURE

The team met, and examined the medical records of, victims of brutal torture by armed forces personnel. A number of these took place on people picked up during crackdown. Ward No. 15 of the S.M.H.S. Hospital, Srinagar, has numerous victims of brutal torture.

Manjur Ahmed, 31, is from Palhalan Baramulla Dist. : "On

September 28, there was a crackdown in my area. We were asked to assemble at the school and were paraded before a major of the Dongra Regiment. I was removed from the parade and taken home. I was beaten with iron rods. "The marks of the beating were still visible when the team met him. "My penis was tied with cloth and set on fire. Then a bucket of water was brought in, and my head was put in the water. Someone sat on my back. A soldier had his booted foot on my neck. They cut wires from the house and gave me shocks from the domestic electrical connection. Someone brought in an iron rod, and inserted it into my rectum. They kept telling me to show them where the arms were. I am a shopkeeper, selling provisions and poultry. Before the crackdown, army people often visited my shop for provisions and other requirements. Finally, I was taken back to the school and told to return in the night. I had Rs. 3,000 with me, and Rs. 4,000 in the cupboard, but all the money was taken away, along with a watch and other belongings. Later, my family took me to the hospital as I was bleeding heavily. We were stopped on the way and a Jammu and Kashmir policeman escorted me to the hospital. I lodged a FIR with the police, but no action was taken.

"One of my neighbours, Mohammed Latif Mir, 27, a school teacher, was tortured in a similar manner, in the next room. When my family came back after the crackdown, they found the door was open. The house had been ransacked. Mohammed Latif was lying in a pool of blood, with his pyjama open. They sprinkled water on him and took him home, but he died that same night."

"In April also there had been a crackdown, and I was beaten given the roller treatment. But at the end of it all, there was nothing incriminating found against any of the people in the locality." Manjur Ahmed's medical records indicate pelvic perforation, traumatic perforation and tear of the rectal muscle. All the layers of the rectal wall are torn through. This is a very serious condition with many complications like peritonitis, haemorrhage, septicemia causing death.

Muzfer Mirza, 27, works as a temporary teacher in Tehsil Tral, Dist. Pulwama. "On October 4, a Friday, the mosques made an announcement for everybody in the locality to come out. The entire area was encircled and the crackdown began. The men and women were segregated, and the men were made to parade

before Gypsies which had tinted glasses, so that we could not see who was inside.

"Fifty-seven boys were picked up and taken in groups to different interrogation centres. I was in a group of 17. I was presented before an officer who looked at me, classified me as "border trained", and wrote 'B-24' on my palm. then we were divided into three groups-six, six and five. I was brought blindfolded to the courtyard of a house in the neighborhood. I was asked to admit that I was border trained if I admitted this, I would be let off. But I pleaded innocence. After a while some five or six army people started beating me. My hands and legs were tied, and I was given electric shocks- on my penis, my wrists and my arms at intervals of 10 minutes. After some time, my head was put into a bucket of water. I told them to come and search my house. I told them I had earlier been arrested by the BSF who certified that I was innocent, and I had this document at home, but they did not heed my appeal. Finally, they made me bend on my knees and held me while they put a one metre long metal rod in my rectum. I became unconscious."

Muzaffer's brother had also been detained in the crackdown. He was released at 6 p.m. when the crackdown ended. On his way home, he was told that Muzaffer was lying, unconscious, on the street. "I went with five-six other people and brought him home. Since curfew was on, we asked the army officers to let them take Muzaffer to the hospital. They told us, 'We have done this to finish him. It's no use taking him to the hospital. He will die in any case.' We picked him up on a charpoy and after the beat changed, carried him through bylanes and gullies, for about two km, where the area under crackdown ended. We then called an ambulance and brought him to hospital."

The injuries recorded are rent in the diaphragm, perforation of stomach, and rent in the thorax. The surgeons said that while operating on his lung, they found bile and stomach contents in the thorax. It was then that they realised that the steel rod had penetrated right through, perforating the intestine, the stomach, the diaphragm and the thorax. (The injuries were so severe as to warrant a colostomy or connection of the small intestine to an outside bag, bypassing the perforated rectum.) His arms and legs had wounds from repeated electric shocks. Doctors point out that these injuries cannot be caused by any pathological condition

(illness).

Muzaffer has gone through two major operations, and will need several more, but the doctors feel that even after these operations, there is no guarantee that he will survive, let alone lead a normal life.

Mohammed Faruq is in the carpet business. On October 4, he was on his way to namaz when the army asked him to return home and gather at the chowk, as there was a crackdown. He was made to parade before a Gypsy van. Only his old mother was at home. The army personnel searched his house several times, and took away numerous belongings, including shawls and two imported torches.

Ramesh, alias Rajkumar, stated that army persons threatened to burn him alive. "They asked me, 'Why are you still here, and on whose help are you living here?' I told them I could not go to Jammu with the other Hindus, as I was single, and was not entitled to any relief. I had gone to the Relief Commissioner, and he turned me down. So I came back to my house in the mohalla, and am earning my living by giving tuitions. The security forces were angry because I continued to live in the midst of Muslims. On the day of the crackdown, I was beaten and my house was raided, and Rs 2,000 - all the money I had - was taken away. The roof and walls of my house were broken".

Zahur Ahmed Mir is a storekeeper in the Food and Supplies Department. On the day of the crackdown, he was first made to sit on his haunches in the open ground; later he was blindfolded, shoved in a police van and taken to a nearby house which had been converted into an interrogation centre. "In the house, I could hear the army men discussing how many saris, and other articles each of the was taking. From the mention of the word 'sari', I could make out that this was a Kashmiri Pandit's house. Then we were put into a truck, we were made to sit on our haunches, the soldiers put a tarpaulin on top of us, and sat on top." (The purpose of this standard method of transporting people picked up for interrogation is that it looks as if the truck contains only army people.) "We were taken to a centre where I was beaten up till I fainted, each time I revived, I was beaten again. Then we were taken out to a pathway covered with stones, and made to roll on it, until my body started bleeding. All around me, I could hear people screaming. We were taken from one place to another.

Cell conditions were so terrible, and the torture continued for four to five days, till at the end of it, my chest is affected, my knee is permanently damaged, and I had severe diarrhoea. After five days, I was released." The team could see wounds on his back, legs and thighs. The slip given to him at the time of his release states only: "Arrested and released on 9.10.1991". It is signed by the superintendent of police, Police Control Room, Srinagar.

Javed Ahmed, 28, is in the shawl business. He was detained for 10 days and subjected to electric shocks and "roller treatment". The team could see injury marks all over his body, and electric wire marks on his ribs.

Pevez Ahmed Bhat, 20, is a carpet weaver. He was interrogated for 10 days, during which time electric shocks were administered. Wounds on both his legs were visible, and he appeared weak when the team visited him.

Abdul Hamid Shaikh, 19, is in the shawl business. He was subjected to what is known as the "moving chair treatment". The victim's legs are stretched apart by ropes and screws pulling in opposite directions. "The interrogators asked me if I had relations in Azad Kashmir. After one round of torture, they told me I would be given Rs two lakh and a job and sent abroad if I admitted to having crossed the border. They tied wires to my penis and gave electric shocks three times. The security personnel asked me to give them my sister. I was sent to hospital, but discharged without treatment." When the team met him, Abdul's legs were deformed and he could not walk. He had obviously been traumatised by his experiences.

Such stories were repeated with little variation by many other men between the ages of 20 and 29. They were all picked up and interrogated in a similar manner for 10 days before being released. All bore marks of injury on their bodies. Nothing incriminating had been found against any of them.

Often, in their "search operations", security forces can run amok. Numerous people complained of having been beaten in such raids. Nazir Ahmed Kaul, 30, a farmer in Gopalpura, Dist. Anantnag: "At 22.30 in the night, on October 4, paramilitary forces broke into houses in the village, and began to indiscriminately beat the residents with rifle butts. Our village has been repeatedly subjected to military raids. Both my legs are fractured above the

thigh." Along with Nazir, 10 more people had been badly injured and admitted into different hospitals.

Among the women was Khalet, 55-60, who was beaten with a rifle butt when she ran after the soldier pleading with them not to take her boy away. She had 17 stitches on her head.

Hazira, 40, was beaten with rifle butts when she protested for the same reason. She had four stitches, and also lost her teeth. She told the team, "Soldiers misbehaved with women. If they find anyone in burqa, they lift their veils, and sing lewd Hindi songs."

THE MEDICAL COMMUNITY UNDER ATTACK

The team interviewed a number of senior doctors in two hospitals, who said that they had been under tremendous pressure of work since 1990. "Daily we get five to 10 bullet injury or torture cases. In 1990, we got more injuries; this year there are fewer injuries but more people being brought in dead." they reported that they too were subject to crackdowns whenever they took place in their locality, even though they were senior doctors. One senior surgeon reported that many of the operations that they were performing, out of sheer necessity, on torture victims, were unprecedented in medical history. "Earlier I used to photograph the patients and their injuries, for academic interest. But I have stopped doing this out of fear of the army."

NO PROVISION FOR MEDICO-LEGAL CASE

The team found that none of the public hospitals in Srinagar had any desk for reporting medico-legal cases a normal requirement elsewhere in the country. As a result, there were no official records of bullet injury, or torture cases. "We are helpless, and resigned to the situation. We just give medical help to whatever case are brought to the hospital," said one doctor. There are some wards in both the Bone and Joint Hospital and the SMHS Hospital which are almost entirely occupied by victims of army firing or torture.

ILLEGAL DETENTION, AND DEATHS IN CUSTODY

The Bar Association of Jammu and Kashmir has recorded 34 cases of death during interrogation. The office bearers of the association estimate that at least 10,000 people are in custody, of which nearly 3,000 are detained under the Public Safety Act. They mention that they have noticed, in the course of their professional work, that the police register a number of very loosely

worded FIRS, which involve a large number of people. Wherever complaints were made about illegal detention, these people were roped into blanket FIRs. FIR Number 3, 4 and 5 of 1990, and FIRs 6 and 7 of 1991 were such blanket first information reports, involving hundreds of people. The association fears that more people could be involved. Their petitions for habeas corpus for illegal detention are rendered useless by such blanket FIRs.

Writ Petition No. 1733 of 1991, filed on September 24, 1991, by the people's Union for civil Liberties, has claimed that there are 1,800 detainees in Jammu and Kashmir. It has quoted a number of instances complaining of communalisation in Jammu Jail, and has documented a number of custody deaths, and sought the court's intervention, including investigation by judicial authorities. Another writ petition, No. 16210 of 1991, concerns habeas corpus involving 59 persons.

LEGAL NORMS IGNORED

The team spoke to a number of advocates besides the office bearers of the bar association. They complained that they were overburdened with work. In order to trace missing people, they have to file numerous habeas corpus petitions daily, so that the government was obliged to reveal the number of people arrested. The shortage of judges, and the fact that the court functioned primarily from Jammu, put additional burdens. High court orders were not followed by armed forces personnel. In habeas corpus petitions, the government invariably delayed filing its replies, thus delaying cases inordinately. Governor G.C. Saxena admitted to the team that there were delays in filing the replies.

The lawyers also complained that very few judges sat at Srinagar. Only two out of eight judges held court there in 1990; the others worked from Jammu. In March and April 1991. Two more judges came to Srinagar, but they later moved to Jammu. Advocates complained that litigants found it impossible to travel to Jammu on each hearing date, it meant one day's drive to Jammu, staying there for a night, attending court, staying the night thereafter and the following day's bus ride back. they thus required three days to attend one hearing.

REPRESSION ON PROFESSIONALS AND GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

The doctors, nurses and hospital staff complained that

hospitals had been subjected to regular searches and raids by army and paramilitary forces. Ambulance drivers, in particular, complained of harassment. The Bar Association of the Jammu and Kashmir High Court has recorded six cases of raids on hospitals and harassment of hospital staff. The doctors at the Bone and Joint Hospital also stated that when they received calls for help or attention, the hospital staff were often not allowed to pick up the dead or injured persons. This was particularly so when the ambulances were stopped outside the locality under crackdown.

HARASSMENT OF THE JUDICIARY

The advocates complained of harassment of advocates by armed forces, in the form of illegal detention and arrest. Even subordinate judiciary were not exempt from harassment. They cited the instances of G.N. Gohar, sessions judge, and M.M. Gande, subordinate judge, who were detained by the armed forces and subject to assault. The president of the bar association, Miya Abdul Quyoon, was arrested in Srinagar on February 14, 1991. The High Court quashed his detention order. However, even after bail was put up, he was not released, instead fresh detention orders were served under the Public Safety Act. Miya A.K. is a senior advocate of the Jammu and Kashmir Bar Association, recently detained in the Hiranagar Jail. The State Government has not filed any reply to the writ petition seeking his release.

Another advocate, Jhid Ali, was arrested on October 31, 1990. He was granted bail, but instead of releasing him, the government detained him under TADA for more than five months, which is against the provisions of the Act. Another advocate, Mohammed Yunis Bhat, has been similarly detained under the Public Safety Act. The Bar Association has recorded a number of such arrests of advocates. When asked about Miya Abdul Kayum's arrest, Governor Saxena said that Miya Abdul Kayum was the convenor of an organisation which he believed to be an umbrella organisation for terrorists.

On talking to officials, the team noted that in all matters of arrests, detentions and investigations, the Jammu and Kashmir police had been completely sidelined. A sub-inspector of Jammu and Kashmir police told the team that the Jammu and Kashmir police were all suspects in the eyes of the armed forces and that they had no voice in the areas under them.

STATE CIVIL SERVANTS HARASSED

The team met members of the federation of state government employees. The team found that there were concerted efforts on the part of the central government to harass civil servants from the Kashmir region at the state level, and the Jammu and Kashmir cadre at the national level.

In September 1990, some 10,000 state government employees signed an appeal to the government to stop armed forces atrocities. Four high level officials amongst the signatories were immediately issued show cause notices. There was a one-day token strike in June 1990 for the withdrawal of the show cause notices, but instead a large number of high ranking officials, including IAs officers, were transferred outside the state. This again added to the resentment.

The Employees' and Workers' Confederation, comprising 24 departmental associations and labour unions, came together to form an employees' co-ordination committee. The National Confederation of Gazetted Officers also joined the committee which organised dharnas, processions and meetings against the atrocities upon the people. The government terminated the service of the committee office bearers. Around 142 government employees had already been sacked between January and September 1990.

Against this background, the confederation of employees decided to go on an indefinite strike, which lasted from September 15th November 26, 1990. The strikers' demands were: 1) The re-instatement of the sacked five office bearers, 2) re-establishment of TADA courts in the Kashmir Valley (from Jammu, where it was difficult to attend hearings); 3) release of Dr. guru, an eminent surgeon from the Medical Institute, Soura, who had been detained at Delhi Airport; dialogue on the following points: 4) review of the cases of all dismissed employees, 5) setting up of a scrutiny committee to review cases of detained employees, 6) removal of at least 30% of the bunkers in the cities and towns, 7) restoration of the civil administration.

The government released Dr. Guru, reinstated the five dismissed employees, but did not shift TADA courts, or set up a scrutiny committee. The bunkers, in fact, were increased. The state government employees reported to the team that around 200 employees, including trade union activists and the leader of the high court employees association, are held under detention.

Around 367 employees have been dismissed, of which 180 are police personnel. As a result of these arrests, the high court employees association, the employees of the subordinate judiciary, as well as the bar association boycotted the swearing in ceremony of two High court judges.

The team also found that state officials were being sidelined. In an interview, Mohammed Yasin, deputy commissioner at Kupwara, stated that in the last two years, hundreds of people in the district were arrested and released in a battered condition. The district had been turned into a military headquarters and the normal safeguards provided under different laws were not available to the people. He told the team that during search operations, he had seen the security personnel mixing kerosene with the milk or rice, to render it unfit for consumption. He had lodged several complaints regarding the behaviour of the security personnel; Because of TADA, he was not allowed to exercise his powers as deputy commissioner, and no one was under his command any more. His clerks and officials were often picked up and detained by paramilitary force. He objected to the army going for searches at night. He told the army people that instead of raiding people's houses at night, if they are afraid of people escaping, they should encircle the area and wait until morning before entering people's houses. If this was not possible, the raiding party should be accompanied by a deputy commissioner or local magistrate.

Mohammed Yasin complained that security forces often fired indiscriminately and he had lodged numerous complaints about this to BSF and CRPF officers. (He pointed out that whenever he suspected any of the arrested of being connected to the militants, he had not lodged complaints.)

Mohammed Yasin was deputy commissioner of Kupwara, in June 1990, when a number of women were said to have been raped by security forces in Kunan Poshwara. A committee headed by Justice Tarkunde investigated the incident, and found the security forces guilty. Soon after the incident, villages approached Mohammed Yasin, and he lodged a complaint with the divisional commissioner who said that the civil administration was helpless in the matter, and told him to approach the area commander. He was informed by the area commander that the officer in charge of the operations had a distinguished career and could not be

accused of allowing his men to commit excesses. As soon as Mohammed Yasin registered a case on the incident, the station house officer was transferred, the enquiry was handed over to one Dilbagh Singh of the IPS cadre, and Mohammed Yasin himself was transferred. Mohammed Yasin said many army people told him that as a government officer, it was not correct of him to have complained.

In this context, it may also be stated that according to press reports, the chief secretary of Jammu and Kashmir declared, at a press conference, that no local officer should hold the post of deputy commissioner. In other words, the local people are not to be trusted.

KASHMIRI PANDIT REFUGEES IN SRINAGAR

The team members interviewed Kashmiri Pandits living in refugee camps in Jammu, as well as those living in Srinagar.

In Srinagar, Hridayanath Wanchoo, a leftist trade unionist, is a recognised leader in the city and one of the few Kashmiri Pandits who refused to leave the valley. "The struggle is ours also," he said. Wanchoo felt that there was a deliberate government policy to evacuate Kashmiri Pandits from the valley, and settle them at Jammu, in order to give the army a free hand in the valley. Pandits form a tiny minority of the valley's population (his figures were 1.35 lakh Hindus to 54 lakh Muslims).

Wanchoo narrated the sequence of events before the Pandits fled to Jammu. The Kashmiri Pandits in the valley were feeling that parties had been losing their hold, the government was taking a confrontationist attitude, and the militants' demands were becoming strong. Some Pandits working for government agencies were killed, and there were calls for people not to celebrate Republic Day. Along with government employees who were members of his trade union, Wanchoo personally met the then Governor, Jagmohan and urged him to create safe zones instead of evacuating the valley. Soon after he took charge as Governor.

When it became evident that the government was bent on evacuating the Pandits from the valley, Wanchoo went with a delegation (among whom were Mr Hagroo, advocate and convenor of Jammu and Kashmir Human Rights Organisation, Bahuddin Faruqi, ex-chief Justice of the state, Irinder Mohan and

The only Kashmir Pandit who continued to live in the mohalla in Srinagar informed the team that he was consistently harassed by the army for not leaving the valley; he could not go because he was not eligible for the Rs.1,000 relief, since he had no family. He faced no harassment from his neighbours, and earned his living by giving tuitions to children in the locality.

At the Jammu relief camp, the team members found that Kashmiri Pandit refugees also invariably began their account with a narration of history. But they would talk about the history of land relations in Kashmir. Everywhere, people told the team that Kashmiri Pandits had once been landlords, and the Muslims worked on their fields. The refugees told the team that the first land reforms in Kashmir were introduced in the early '50s. A senior Jammu and Kashmir state official confirmed this; Jammu and Kashmir was the only state which had implemented land reforms thoroughly and completely.

Badrinath Rishi, 51, a clerk in the education department. "In September 1989, there was a spate of killings in my district, Anantnag, among the killed were Tikalal Teplu, a retired judge, Phula Devi, Sananath Kaul Prime, Veerendra Prime, Yusuf Alwe, and Pandit Premnath Bhat, and advocate and president of the Hindu Prabandhak Committee, who played an important role in organising Hindus in the valley. In April 1990, six more people were killed in this district, among them were the father and brother of Ravinder Ravi, an AIR news writer. "As a result of the fear psychosis, we thought we couldn't live in the valley any more. I left Kashmir on May 4, 1990, and came to this camp. We locked our houses and handed over the keys to our Muslim neighbours, and have not gone there since." He stated that the government had already established such camps, and they were readily available to whoever came. He stated that there was no history of communal conflict in the valley; the Kashmiri Pandits are educated, and held most of the government jobs, whereas the Muslims were by and large illiterate, though over a period of time they became conscious about this fact and "there must have been some anger and anxiety, but we never felt there was tension in the society."

Bansilal, 35, medical assistant from district Anantnag: "On January 26, 1989, the militants' organisation gave a call that people should not illuminate their houses, temples or otherwise

celebrate Republic Day. After Jagmohan took over as Governor I decided to leave the valley." Why? "Two reasons: First, Jagmohan had made it clear to the Pandits in Kashmir that Kashmir had gone to a point of no return, and that the government could not provide protection to Kashmiri Pandits living in nooks and corners of villages, but it was willing to establish camps.

"Secondly, Kashmiri Pandits had once been landlords. Then, land reforms were implemented rigorously. Ninety per cent of the land was distributed to the landless, and we got no compensation. Sheikh Abdullah gave slow poison to the Kashmiri Pandits. So there was no option but to leave the valley. Our property is in the custody of our Muslim neighbours; there has been no violence against us."

Jagannath Kaul, 55, is a revenue patwari in Purigaon Village, Dist. Anantnag: "My house was burnt down, so was that of my brother's. In April 1990, a constable named Jagannath from the Jammu and Kashmir police force was killed. When I went to the district superintendent of police about the constable's cremation rites, I was told nobody could help it, and I should leave the village if I wanted to. The militants called for a social boycott of Kashmiri Pandits; they told the people not to come for any agricultural work, not to maintain any social relations. I decided to leave in the resulting fear psychosis.

Another person: "Around the middle of April 1990, all over town appeared posters and processions, with the slogan 'We want Freedom'. This made us decide to leave. We have been living in this government camp for 18 months, the condition of the tents is deteriorating, they are not repaired. The government relief guidelines work against the refugees. For example, if there is even one earning member, the entire family is deprived of relief. At home, the family runs on more than one income. Here, it is difficult to get jobs. Young people have no hope of employment. Servants, who do not have any family, are not getting government relief. There is also a large migrant labour force, from different parts of the state, and they are not getting employment in Jammu, nor are they paid compensation. The oppression by the armed forces in the valley is terrible."

Mrs. Sharma, an AIR singer, told the team that to her knowledge, neither militants nor any Kashmiri, had burnt down Pandits' houses. She wanted to go back home. She said that

militants never attacked people unless they had a specific grievance against them. My family and my property has never been attacked by Muslims."

Rekha, a college student at present studying in Jammu: "We were never threatened by militants; ordinarily, a Kashmiri Muslim would never do such a thing. We live in a predominantly Muslim area. Our neighbours asked us to stay back."

ATTACKS BY MILITANTS

The team made enquiries in the Kashmir valley about people's reactions to excesses committed by militants. There was a general perception that ordinary people were caught in the cross fire between the armed forces on the one hand, and the militants on the other. The people also stated that, in the name of combating militants, the armed forces were waging a war against the entire Kashmiri people, so that India could renege on its earlier constitutional and international commitments. The people stated that the militants excesses were nothing compared to those of the armed force. G.M. Untoo, professor of Geology, said: "I don't say militants have not made mistakes or engaged in excesses, but one who has lost his son or wife or daughter will not say that. It is possible that militants, being young, may do immature acts, but remove the bunkers, and then whom will the militants shoot?"

The team members specifically questioned people on well known actions by militants, such as the murder of vice-chancellor Mushir-ul Haq and the kidnapping of Rubaiya Sayeed. Most people stated that they were against the kidnapping of women, or the murder of learned men, or the killing of innocent people; no religion could condone such actions. A few replied that this was a war against the Indian army, and when every day Kashmiri people were being arrested, killed, when women were being raped by armed forces, a few kidnappings and killings by the militants were bound to take place, and were nothing in comparison.

INTERVIEW WITH THE GOVERNOR

The team met the Jammu and Kashmir Governor. G.C. Saxena, to discuss the democratic rights situation in the state. His comments reflect the government's attitude to the people's movement. He argued that innocent people were bound to get caught in the middle of a "proxy war", as he termed the Kashmiri

people's movement. The Kashmiri people's movement was against the Indian nation.

VIOLATION OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS:

Saxena admitted that hundreds of people were being arrested on suspicion and in a way, it was arbitrary, but added that the government had powers to do so under TADA. About taking over the powers of the state police, he replied that the Jammu and Kashmir police were unable to act, due to either fear of, or sympathy for, militants. Saxena also gave figures of arrests, seizure of arms, number of people killed, etc. (The official figures are compiled in Annexure.) He admitted that the government had not filed replies to many habeas corpus petitions, which require the government to produce the people named, if they are in its custody. The result is that prisoners languish indefinitely in the hands of the police. He held the advocates responsible for their situation saying that no advocate from the valley was willing to take up a government brief.

What about arrests without records? The team told the governor that they had met numerous men who had been arrested by the army, tortured for days in unofficial interrogation centres and then released through the Jammu and Kashmir police with a note saying only that they were released on a particular date. There is no record of when they were arrested. Saxena immediately phoned up an army official, asked him if the army was detaining people without records. After putting the phone down he told the team that the army had assured him that they kept records of all arrests.

Governor Saxena admitted that some deaths had taken place in custody, and there had been reports of security forces raping women. He stated that 30 criminal cases were filed against armed forces personnel so far but added that action taken on these cases would not be made public, for fear of demoralising the army.

Five thousand militants, or an entire population?: Mr. Saxena told the team that a proxy war was being fought by the militants, estimated to be around 5,000 in number. If the "proxy war" involved only 5,000 people, why was the population at large including professionals like doctors, lawyers, judges, the police, civil servants, and state government employees being picked up on suspicion? Were they all suspect in the eyes of the government?

And if so, how could it be called a "Proxy war" at the instance of 5,000 militant? The governor did not reply to the question.

"To stop the processions and rallies ...": The team asked the Governor what would happen if the armed forces were withdrawn from the valley. His reaction was: "Hundreds and thousands of people would come out on the streets, in processions and rallies." In other words, the armed forces were not there to "maintain law and order", but to prevent people from exercising their democratic right to protest. The team believes that there can be no justification for the violation of people's basic democratic rights, including the right of speech and expression, or the right to organise and protest.

No remedies against armed forces' atrocities: The team asked the Governor what remedies were available to the people who were aggrieved by any arbitrary or unjustified action of any armed forces personnel; whether there were any independent judicial or quasi judicial machinery provided for investigating such complaints, or whether any rules had been framed or a forum created where people could lodge such complaints. The team was told that there was no provision for such fora. However, there was a committee which screened all cases of arrests and freed anyone wrongly arrested.

The rule of law: There are international laws governing the conduct of armies during war, and civil laws governing the people during peacetime -- are there laws to punish army atrocities, and is there a forum in which citizens can complain against the armed forces?

The Governor's cryptic answer to this question was: "The rule of law envisages an environment where it can be followed."

The team believes that irrespective of the environment or circumstances, there can be no justification for violation of democratic and human rights either by the armed forces or by militant groups.

CONCLUSIONS

From its inquiries, the team arrived at the following conclusions:

- 1) The Kashmir issue is a political problem that cannot be resolved by military means. The suspension of democratic

rights and the deployment of armed forces to settle civil and political questions has resulted in the alienation of the people of Kashmir.

2) Extensive deployment of armed forces for controlling civil and political dissent, is communalising the armed forces which is a dangerous trend for the nation as a whole.

3) Political parties are taking advantage of the crisis to create communal divides among the population.

4) The solution to the Kashmir problem must be found in consultation with the will of the people of Kashmir.

5) Militant organisations must adhere to the basic norms of human rights and refrain from killings or attacks on non-combatants or violence against the civilian population.

On the basis of the people's grievances, the team proposes that the following measures be urgently undertaken:

a) The civil administration, and the democratic process, must be restored to the state.

b) The Kashmiri people must be allowed democratic and open avenues of protest, like rallies, meetings and hartals.

c) Armed forces, and army camps and bunkers, must be withdrawn from all civilian areas.

d) Armed forces should be prohibited from entering people's houses without proper warrants, and in the absence of male family members.

e) Crackdowns and curfews must be stopped.

f) All repressive laws such as TADA and the Disturbed Areas Act must be withdrawn. Censorship of the Press and the postal services should be stopped. All those detained under TADA and other preventive laws must be released. All those detained without trial must be released.

g) Centres and procedures must be set up whereby citizens can institute proceedings against armed forces personnel committing crimes.

h) All armed forces personnel found guilty of committing crimes must immediately be punished, and publicity must be given to this punishment, to deter future offenders.

i) All cases regarding detained Kashmiris should be heard in Srinagar so that the families are not harassed. The practice of holding detainees outside the state of Jammu and Kashmir should be stopped.

j) The houses and properties of Kashmiri Pandits who have left the valley, must be protected, and those which have been taken over by the armed forces must be returned to the owners. with compensation.

ANNEXURE 'A'

Reports published on Kashmir

- 1) Kashhmir Under Siege - Human Rights in India An Asia Watch Report, - May 1991.
- 2) Kashmir Cries for Justice - Basic Rights (Protection) Committee, Sirnagar, - July31, 1990.
- 3) Kashmir Situation Report, by Co-ordination Committee on Kashmir, - July 1991.
- 4) Report on Kashmir Situation, by PUCL, Citizens for Democracy, Radical Humanists Association and Manava Ekata Abhiyan.
- 5) India's War with Kashmir, a report by Committee for Initiative on Kashmir - March 1990.
- 6) Kashmir Embarrasment - A report by Committee for Initiative on Kashmir, - July 1990.

ANNEXURE 'B'

Curfew from 1-1-91 to 15-6-91

Date	Relaxation as per media	Curfew
1-1-91	Relaxation from 5 A.M to 6. P.M except Ali Kadal & Kawdara Areas of Srinagar Dist.	12 Hours
2-1-91 to 3-1-91	Relaxation from 5.30 A.M to 6.30P.M except in Soura and Down Town areas of Srinagar.	24 Hours
4-1-91 to 10-1-91	From 5 A.M to 6 P.M. except Bouri Kadal areas on 10-1-91.	77 Hours
11-1-91 to 19-1-91	From 5 A.M. to 7 P.M. except Islamabad, Batapora & Nowhatta areas of Dist. Srinagar	99 Hours
20-10-91	From 5 A.M. to 7 P.M.	12 Hours
21-1-91	do	12 Hours
22-1-91	From 5 A.M. to 7 P.M. except Sopore, Baramulla areas and in 10 Police Stations of Srinagar.	24 Hours
23-1-91	From 5 A.M. to 7 P.M. except Badshah Chowk and Misuma areas of Srinagar.	12 Hours
24-1-91 to 28-1-91	From 5 A.M to 7 P.M.	50 Hours
29-1-91	From 5 A.M. to 7 P.M except Islamabad.	12 Hours
30-1-91	From 5 A.M. to 7 P.M. except Badsha Chowk and Misuma of Srinagar.	12 Hours
31-1-91 to 5-3-91	From 5 A.M. to 7 P.M.	385 Hours
6-3-91	From 5 A.M. to 7 P.M except Sopore of Baramulla.	12 Hours
7-3-91 to 16-3-91	From 5 A.M. to 7 P.M	110 Hours

17-3-91 to 11-4-91	From 5 A.M. to 10 P.M.	182 Hours
12-4-91	No Relaxation	24 Hours
13-4-91 to 8-5-91	From 5 A.M. to 10 P.M.	182 Hours
9-5-91 to 10-5-91	No relaxation	48 Hours
11-5-91	From 8 A.M to 10 P.M	10 Hours
12-5-91	From 5 A.M. to 10 P.M. Curfew in Poonch	7 Hours
13-5-91	From 5 A.M. to 10 P.M. except Idgah, Nalamar and Narwara areas of Srinagar.	12 Hours
14-5-91	From 5 A.M to 10 P.M. except Idgah Narwara, Ganderpora and Nalamar areas of Srinagar.	24 Hours
15-5-91 to 17-5-91	From 5 A.M. to 10 P.M.	21 Hours
18-5-91 to 20-5-91	From 5 A.M. to 10 P.M. except Baramulla Distt.	36 Hours
21-5-91	From 5 A.M. to 10 P.M. except Sopore	12 Hours
22-5-91 to 31-5-91	From 5 A.M. to 10 P.M.	70 Hours
1-6-91 to 11-6-91	from 5 A.M to 10 P.M	77 Hours
12-6-91	No relaxation	24 Hours
13-6-91	Relaxation from 9 A.M to 12 Noon in 12 P/S of Srinagar.	21 Hours
14-6-91	Relaxation from 12 Noon to 3 P.M.	21 Hours
15-6-91	Relaxation from 8 A.M to 7 P.M	13 Hours

Compiled by the Bar Association of Jammu and Kashmir.

ANNEXURE 'C'

Details of the Crack-downs from 15-7-90 to 31-5-91

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|---------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 15-7-90 | Crack-down in Baramulla. |
| 30-7-90 | C.D. in Nagin, Soura and Khanayar areas of Srinagar. |
| 31-7-90 | C.D. in Sheedgunj, Kralakhud, Kothibagh areas of Srinagar. |
| 9-8-90 | C.D. in Haigham, Billagham, haritala, Panzipora, Hangiwera areas of Distt. Baramulla. |
| 10-8-90 | C.D. in Jammalata, Darishkadal, Nawabazar, Pathermasjid areas of Srinagar. |
| 11-8-90 | C.D. in panzipora areas of Distt. Kupwara. |
| 12-8-90 | C.D. in Naidkadal, Islamia College, Soura, Saidakadal & Safakadal areas of Srinagar. |
| 13-8-90 | C.D. in Islamabad and Baramulla towns in Kashmir. |
| 14-8-90 | C.D. in Handwara areas of Distt. Kupwara. |
| 16-8-90 | C.D. in Lolab, Wagura and Handwara areas of Distt. Kupwara. |
| 18-8-90 | C.D. in Aulucha Bagh areas of Srinagar. |
| 22-8-90 | C.D. in Islamabad areas of Kashmir. |
| 30-8-90 | C.D. in Sopore areas of Distt. Kupwara. |
| 5-9-90 | C.D. in Channapora of Distt. Badgam and Jamallatta areas of Distt. Srinagar. |
| 6-9-90 | C.D. in Nawabazar, Khanayar & Nawpora area of Srinagar. |
| 8-9-90 | C.D. in Nawakadal, Jamalatta, Wazapora & Rajurikadal areas of Distt. Srinagar. |
| 10-9-90 | C.D. in Soluna, Firdous Cinema Hawal side, Ganderbal and Nawshara areas of Distt. Srinagar and Pulwama areas of Dist. Pulwama. |
| 12-9-90 | C.D. in Habbakadal and Zainakadal areas of Srinagar. |
| 13-9-90 | C.D. in Buchwara and Dalgate areas of Distt. Srinagar. |
| 15-9-90 | C.D. in Saidakadal, Nawhatta areas of Srinagar Pampore and pulwama areas of Distt. Pulwama. |
| 17-9-90 | C.D. in Sopore and Baramulla Towns of Distt. Bala. |

Tral areas of Distt. Pulwama.

- 18-9-90 C.D. in Sopore and Some areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 20-9-90 C.D. in Sopore of Distt. Bala and Teilbal, Shalimar, Ganderbal, Gojwara, Lalbazar and Kathidarwaza areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 27-9-90 C.D. in Shopion of Distt. Pulwama, some areas of Distt. Baramulla & Rawalpura areas of Distt. Badgam.
- 28-9-90 C.D. in Rafiabad & Baramulla areas.
- 2-10-90 C.D. in Islamabad Distt. and Handwara of Distt. Kupwara.
- 7-10-90 C.D. in Idgah and Narwara areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 8-10-90 C.D. in Chattabal, Noorbagh and Nalamar road areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 10-10-90 C.D. in Rainawari, Nawhatta, M.R. Gunj and Safakadal areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 12-10-90 C.D. in Rambagh of Distt. Badgam and Baderwah Distt. Boda Jammu.
- 14-10-90 C.D. in Hawal of Srinagar and Awantipora areas of Distt. Pulwama.
- 15-10-90 C.D. in Mujahidmanzil. Qumarwari, Guzarbal, Mehman Mohilla, Nalbandpora, Safakadal, Bagyas, Chattabal Fethkadal, Sonamasjid, Urdubazar of Distt. Srinagar Sangrama and Rafiabad areas of Baramulla and Berwah of Distt. Badgam.
- 16-10-90 C.D. in Barzulla, Bhaghat, Sanatnagar areas of Distt. Badgam and Sangrama of Distt. Baramulla.
- 22-10-90 C.D. in Basantbagh and Habbakadak areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 23-10-90 C.D. in Buchwara, Kralakhud, Khanayar, Naidkadal, Nawhatta of Dist. Srinagar., for a period of 24 hours continuously from 23-10-90 to 24-10-90 upto 3 p.m. in last three areas.
- 26-10-90 C.D. in Sopore of Distt. Baramulla.
- 27-10-90 C.D. in Islamabad and Ghanthmulla areas of Baramulla.

- 30-10-90 C.D. in Baramulla, Soura and Ganderabal areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 31-10-90 C.D. in Sheedgunj, Gurubazar & Sanisadak of Distt. Srinagar and Dhalgham of Distt. islamabad.
- 1-11-90 C.D. in Berwah areas of Distt. Badgam.
- 2-11-90 C.D. in Saraigalla H.S.H. Street areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 5-11-90 C.D. in Saidakadal areas of Srinagar & Drughmulla areas of Distt. Kupwara.
- 7-11-90 C.D. in Pampore & Lethpora areas of Distt. Pulwama.
- 8-11-90 C.D. in Nawpora, Dal Interior, Rainawari, Ganderbal and Tulsibagh areas of Srinagar, Pampore of Pulwama and Rawalpura areas of Distt. Badgam.
- 9-11-90 C.D. in Seloo Sopore of Baramulla & Pampore of Pulwama.
- 10-11-90 C.D. in Chattabal, Karan Nagar & Shalimar areas of Distt. Srinagar & in some areas of Distt. Kupwara.
- 11-11-90 C.D. in Naisadak, Habbakadal, Basanthbagh & Kralakhud areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 12-11-90 C.D. in Nawhatta, Padshaibagh areas of Srinagar Lasjin & Suibugh areas of Distt. Badgam and Shopion of Distt. Pulwama.
- 13-11-90 C.D. in Sopore areas of Distt. Baramulla.
- 14-11-90 C.D. in Dalgate, Rainwari, Khanayar, Brain, Alikadak & Hawal areas of Distt. Srinagar
- 15-11-90 C.D. in Barzulla & Rawalpura areas of Distt. Badgam, Uri areas of Distt. Baramulla.
- 17-11-90 C.D. in Sopore of Bala, Lasipora of Pulwama & Ganderbal areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 18-11-90 C.D. in Safapora of Baramulla, Pampore, Lethapora & Ludhu areas of Distt. Pulwama.
- 19-11-90 C.D. in Pampore of Baramulla & Batmaloo areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 20--11-90 C.D. in Pattan, Magam areas of Baramulla and Batmaloo areas of Distt. Srinagar.

- 21-11-90 C.D. in Pattan Cheeksari, Sumbal Manasbal areas of Distt. Baramulla & Yarigund Berwah areas of Badgam.
- 22-11-90 C.D. in yarigund, Sheerghri of Distt. Badgam & Islamabad Distt.
- 23-11-90 C.D. in Some parts of Pulwama District.
- 24-11-90 C.D. in Machua & Baghmehtab areas of Distt. Badgam.
- 26-11-90 C.D. in Tengpora Sopore of Distt. Baramulla and some areas of Distt. Pulwama.
- 27-11-90 C.D. in Nishat & Narbal & Machua Old Badgam Dist.
- 28-11-90 C.D. in Rafia-A-Bad Sopore, Pattan & Bijhama Uri of Distt. Baramulla & Larod Srinagar.
- 29-11-90 C.D. in Habbakadal areas of Sgr. and some areas of Distt. pulwama.
- 1-12-90 C.D. in Nawshara, Ganderbal & Awanthbhawan areas of Distt. Srinagar and Berwah of Distt. Badgam.
- 3-12-90 C.D. in Nawhatta areas of Srinagar & Uri of Baramulla.
- 6-12-90 C.D. in Singhpora pattan of Distt. Baramulla.
- 7-12-90 C.D. in Shadipora Sumbal of Distt. Baramulla.
- 8-12-90 C.D. in Lar of Distt. Srinagar & some parts of Islamabad.
- 10-12-90 C.D. in Ganderbal, Kangan, Gojwara of Dist. Srinagar Tral of Dist. Pulwama & Manasbal of Dist. Bala.
- 12-12-90 C.D. in Naidyar areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 13-12-90 C.D. in Ganderbal areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 18-12-90 C.D. in about 12 areas of Srinagar Distt.
- 21-12-90 C.D. in Khrew & Karimabad of Pulwama Distt.
- 23-12-90 C.D. in Rajbagh & Wazirbagh of Distt. Srinagar and some areas of Distt. Islamabad.
- 24-12-90 C.D. in Islamabad Distt., Malpora, Narwah, Model Town Sonawari, Sumbal areas of Distt. Baramulla & Dalgate & Nawpora areas of Srinagar.
- 26-12-90 C.D. in Achabal areas of Distt. Islamabad.

- 28-12-90 C.D. in Some areas of Baramulla Distt., some areas of Pulwama Distt. some areas of Srinagar Distt. and some areas of Kupwara Distt.
- 29-12-90 C.D. in Gulshan & Baghyas areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 30-12-90 C.D. in Nawshara, Lalbazar, Awanthbhawan and Zoonimar areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 1-1-91 C.D. in Padshahibagh Chadura areas of Distt. Badgam.
- 2-1-91 C.D. in Down town areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 3-1-91 C.D. in Hawal areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 9-1-91 C.D. in Gojwara areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 10-1-91 C.D. in Fethkadal, Bohirikadal & Kanakahimula of Srinagar.
- 11-1-91 C.D. in Mehjoor Nagar & Rajbagh areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 12-1-91 C.D. in Rafiabab Sopore, Boniyar Singhpora of Baramulla, Natipora and Chanapora of Distt. Badgam, and Hazratbal and Darishkadal of Distt. Srinagar.
- 14-1-91 C.D. in Bohirikadal, Hawal, Pandrathen of Distt. Srinagar some areas of Distt. Kupwara & Singhpora of Bala.
- 15-1-91 C.D. in Khaja Bagh of Distt. Baramulla.
- 16-1-91 C.D. in Habbakadal areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 17-1-91 C.D. in Sopore of Baramulla & Machua of Badgam.
- 19-1-91 C.D. in Batapora of Islamabad Distt. & Nawhatta areas of Distt Srinagar.
- 22-1-91 C.D. in Narabal areas of Distt. Baramulla and Chanapora of Distt. Badgam.
- 23-1-91 C.D. in Misuma, Gawkadal & Basanthbagh of Distt Srinagar Hajin areas of Distt. Baramulla.
- 24-1-91 C.D. in Ladhu Pampore of distt. Pulwama & Bijbehara of Distt. Islamabad.
- 25-1-91 C.D. in Lalbazar of Srinagar Nawgam & Kanipora of Badgam, and Islamabad.
- 30-1-91 C.D. in Khanabal and Islamabad.

- 31-1-91 C.D. in Pampore of Distt. Pulwama.
- 7-1-91 C.D. in Kursu Rajbagh of Distt. Badgam.
- 10-2-91 C.D. in Saraibala areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 18-2-91 C.D. in Duru & Bijbehara of Distt. Islamabad.
- 21-2-91 C.D. in Keeri of Islamabad, Machua of Distt Badgam & Mashalimohlla Hawal areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 25-2-91 C.D. in Tengpora Nawakadal, Idgah, Rajurikadal & Narwarah of Srinagar & Sopore of Baramulla.
- 28-2-91 C.D. in Qazimohlla of Srinagar.
- 1-3-91 C.D. in Buchwara areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 2-3-91 C.D. in Sonawar and Chattabal areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 4-3-91 C.D. in Pulwama Distt., Islamabad Distt. & Serch operations in Baramulla.
- 5-3-91 C.D. in Islamabad Distt., Shopion of Pulwama Distt. Sopore of Baramulla Distt. & search operations in Bala.
- 6-3-91 Search operations in Shopion of Pulwama, Rambagh and Down Town areas of Srinagar.
- 7-3-91 C.D. in Sopore of Baramulla Distt. Aluchabagh & Batmaloo areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 8-3-91 C.D. in Bahudin Shaib & Nawhatta areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 12-3-91 C.D. in Sopore, Pattan & Sumbal Sonawari of Baramulla.
- 13-3-91 C.D. in Batengoo Sopore of Baramulla
- 15-3-91 C.D. in Shopion of Pulwama, Watlab Sopore of Baramulla.
- 16-3-91 C.D. in Nawpora, Khanayar & Ranawari of Srinagar Sopore, Tarzoo of Baramulla & Bijbehara of Islamabad Distt.
- 17-3-91 C.D. in Nawpora, Khanayar & Rinawari without break continued from 16-3-91 to 18-3-91 upto 4 P.M.
- 18-3-91 C.D. in Jamalatta, Nawabazar areas of Srinagar Shopion of Pulwama & Serch operations in Baramulla.

- 19-3-91 C.D. in Nawhatta areas of Srinagar Natipora Machua areas of Distt. Badgam.
- 20-3-91 C.D. in Sopore areas of Distt. Baramulla.
- 21-3-91 C.D. in Jamalatta, Nawabazar of Srinagar & Achabal of Islamabad.
- 23-3-91 C.D. in Nawabazar to Jamalatta & Batmaloo areas of Distt Srinagar.
- 24-3-91 C.D. in Batmaloo started and ended without break on 27-3-91 at 3 P.M.
- 27-3-91 C.D. in Tral areas of Distt. Pulwama.
- 28-3-91 C.D. in Chadura, Berwah of Distt. Badgam, Wheyan of Distt. Islamabad & some parts of Baramulla.
- 29-3-91 C.D. in Fetehkadal, Khankah & Kralapora of Srinagar.
- 1-4-91 C.D. in Chotabazar & Habbakadal areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 2-4-91 C.D. in Dalgate areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 3-4-91 C.D. in Habbakadal areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 4-4-91 C.D. in Basantbagh, Barbershah & Habbakadal areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 5-4-91 C.D. in Pampore Town of Distt. Pulwama.
- 8-4-91 C.D. in Ganderbal areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 9-4-91 C.D. in Bachpora, Soura, Magermalbagh & Saraibala areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 11-4-91 C.D. in Bachpora to Gulab-Bagh areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 18-4-91 C.D. in Wakhabal Younis of Distt. Baramulla.
- 20-4-91 C.D. in Pattan areas of Distt. Baramulla.
- 23-4-91 C.D. in Nawabazar areas of Distt. Srinagar.
- 1-5-91 C.D. in Shopion areas of Distt. Pulwama.
- 8-5-91 C.D. in Tral areas of Distt. Pulwama.
- 10-5-91 C.D. in Khanabal areas of Distt. Islamabad.
- 13-5-91 C.D. in Badgam Distt., Baramulla Distt., Tral of Distt. Pulwama & Ganderbal areas of Distt. Srinagar.

- 19-5-91 to C.D. in Charari shareef, Khansheib Chadura and
22-5-91 Distt; Badgam areas, continued without break till
morning 22-5-91.
- 24-5-91 C.D. in Sumbal areas of Distt. Baramulla.
- 31-5-91 C.D. in Sonawar and Pampore areas of District
Srinagar and Rafiabad of Baramulla.
- 1-6-91 C.D. continued in areas of Rafiabad and Nowpora
Sopore of Baramulla Distt.
- 3-6-91 to C.D. in areas of Distt. Baramulla.
6-6-91
- 7-6-91 C.D. in Pinjura Distt. Pulwama.
- 9-6-91 C.D. in areas of Pandrathen, Pampore, Pulwama
Distt.
- 10-6-91 C.D. in Chattabal, Srinagar Pandrathen Pampore
continued Aloosa Bandipora of Baramulla Distt.

For Copies:

DR. KANCHILAIAH
H.No. 1-9-34/4/C
Ramnagar
Hyderabad - 500 048.

C. SUDHAKAR
Marathipalem, Ongole,
Prakasham (Dist)
Andhra Pradesh.

RADHA D' SOUZA
17/A-11,
Brundavan Society,
Thane (West)
Maharashtra - 400 601.

VINOD SHETTY
8-Seadoll
54 Chimbai Road
Bandra (West)
Bombay - 50.