# **Original Paper**

# Kashmir from Barriers of Discomfort to Hope: A Case of

# Hurriyat Conference

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# Abstract

The State of Jammu and Kashmir has witnessed turmoil, political instability, social unrest, and discomfort not only during the independence movement but also after the signing of instrument of accession with the Union of India. It has also suffered a lot from the outcomes of some minor incidents during the contemporary period. There are divided and dynamic opinions that have emerged in the state for these underlying crises. The prime civil servants and most prestigious political leaders of the state attribute this development entirely to the state of retardation, whereas others transmit it to the shortage of the government policy to resolve the political aspirations of entities of this geographical area. It might even be a hot discussion whether or not peace emerges from development. There is no denial in the actual incontrovertible fact that the State of Jammu and Kashmir and its geographical area is blessed and bestowed with substantial human and natural resources. However, at an identical span, it is littered with lots of disturbances and lower development than other states which are economically less productive and insufficient in agricultural production. This study endeavors to explore those factors which have made the state handicapped and dependent teeming with disturbances.

# Keywords

hurriyat, instability, Kashmir, pellets, separatists, stone pelters, unemployment and unrest

#### **1. Introduction**

Kashmir is legendary throughout the globe for its natural and scenic beauty. The high snow-covered mountains, scenic spots, stunning valleys, rivers with cold water, engaging lakes, evergreen fields, dense forests, and delightful health resorts enhance its grandeur. These all-mesmerizing glimpses draw tourist attraction. Moreover, it is famous for its entirely different sorts of agricultural productions, such as fruits, vegetables, saffron, herbs, minerals, precious stones, and a variety of handicraft items including woolen carpets, shawls, and finely embroidered garments. During summer, one will fancy the sweetness of nature, trout fishing, the huge and little game watching, etc. During winter, the scenery of rising mountain peaks, athletics and sports played across snow slopes are usually enjoyed. Concerning the beauty of the geographical region, Amir Khusru, a very renowned persian poet, rejoices, *Agar firdaus bar-rue zaminast, hamiasto, haminasto, haminasto.* This means "If there is a heaven on earth, it's here, it's here". There is no denial in the incontrovertible fact that the unrest and instability ensuing in this region could be a major burning issue that was neglected from the inception, and it not only poses an enormous threat to India's security, it also gives rise to a challenge for India's foreign policy.

The popular proverb by Leo Tolstoy, "A spark neglected burns the house", justifies the situation of Kashmir very well. The solution to Jammu and Kashmir's instability and unrest has been ignored, and the emerging economic challenges have been neglected, and nobody takes serious note of it. It not only poses an enormous challenge for our country's democratic values, it is also a grave concern for its successful functioning. The key objective of the analysis is to explore the explanations and causes behind it and highlight it at the national and international level. Kashmir's geographical area or region is an attraction of varied historical sites and spiritual places. The annual Amarnath Yatra and the temple of Mata Vishnu Devi attract lakhs of tourists and even thousands of foreign guests who approach this natural heavenly body and this results in the generation of revenue in the region of Kashmir have declined due to the serious unrest for the past two decades. Throughout the peak tourist season particularly from April to August, the Kashmir region has a tendency to witness curfew, stone pelting, arrests, protests, and anti-India slogans. This study reveals the facts behind this instability and unrest in Kashmir. In addition, this also throws light on those agencies and parties who are inciting individuals to create disturbance and panic in this heavenly region.

#### 2. Scope of Objectives

The present study focuses to identify the role of the All Parties Hurriyat Conference with Kashmir unrest. It attempts to determine the reasons behind stone pelting and define the consequences of non-lethal weapons. Besides this, the study focuses on the investigation of the discontent of the people with the government and government forces. In addition, it analyses the factors associated with the high unemployment rate and makes a background study of various protesters.

### 3. Significance of the Study

The research findings explored in this article will benefit the government, policy makers, bureaucrats, security forces and common people in general, considering that the elimination of turbulence in Kashmir has a significant role for maintaining regional peace and for the stability of all the three parties, i.e., India, Pakistan, and the people of Kashmir. Out of these three parties, two are the most affected ones, firstly the people of the conflict-prone Kashmir (Ganguly, 1997, p. 39) and secondly, India by dint of Pakistan's anti-India policy and its regular support for terrorists.

The greater demand for the resolution on the conflict in Kashmir makes the research interesting and hence more scholars are entering into the field, thereby broadening the field. The research article will fully explore those unexplored facts or findings that other or past researchers were unable to find out. Thus, the study will focus on those challenges, which will be more beneficial and helpful for all.

#### 4. Research Methodology

The designated research area, being a wide-ranging one, always demands more sources of data and requires various research tools and techniques for the analysis of the research findings. The present study mainly relies on primary and secondary sources of data, interviews of the key informants, literature review, and observational method. Primary sources of data are related to the social and political unrest in Kashmir comprising the reports, releases and publications from government institutions, newspapers, and various reports of non-governmental organizations. The secondary sources of data comprise various published books and research articles, which support the primary data. Interviews were conducted with key informants who were lodged in various police stations on charges of stone pelting and arousing unrest. Other key informants involved during the process were CRPF Troops, J & K Police, Army Men, Station House Officers (SHO's) and other civil society heads. Participant observation method was used to access the background of the protesters and other key informants. The participant observation method necessitated wandering around those areas where clashes and stone pelting cases took place, besides visiting the police stations where various protesters were lodged. Collected data was analyzed in SPSS 22 version (Statistical Package for Social Science).

# 5. Theoretical Framework

The history of the jihadi groups in Jammu and Kashmir explored by Swami Praveen authenticates the course of their activities and their shifting character from 1947 to 2004. He first analyses the ideology and practices of Islamist terrorism as it changed and evolved from 1947-1948 onwards. He

consequently discusses the impact of the secret jihad on Indian policy making in Jammu and Kashmir, as well as its influence on political life within the state (Swami, 2006). Not only the Jihadist Movement that was traced by Swami Praveen, it was also the scholarly work of the Behera (2006), which provides an in-depth analysis of Kashmir history from pre-partition India to the contemporary situation. She provides an analysis of the philosophical underpinnings and the local, bilateral, and international dynamics of the key players involved in this conflict with the concluding portion focusing on the parameters, players, politics, and prognosis of the ongoing peace process in Kashmir (ibid.). The bringing out of the peculiarity of the conflict was termed essentially about sovereignty, by uncovering the layers of differences in the social and political fabric of the State. Linking the discontent of the Kashmiri youth, the trend of martyrdom and the surge in popularity of separatist political organizations in the early 1990's to authoritarian politics and repressive central control in the preceding decades (Bose, 2003). The Indian governments deliberately maintained in their official accounts that the signing took place before Indian troops that were sent to Kashmir to give legitimacy to their intervention. The contradictory versions of the "truth" of accession as accepted by India and Pakistan and how they determined their respective positions. The internal politics of Kashmir, the decline of the Dogras, and the rise of Sheikh Abdullah as the "Lion of Kashmir" got sudden change soon after the signing of the instrument of accession with the union of India (Schofield, 2003). Kashmir, a disputed territory and a contention of war between the union of India and Muslim republic of Pakistan, contains a huge Muslim majority population. Kashmiri Muslim subjects had become so immersed in defining the protest of Kashmir's Muslims against Hindus and the emergence of modern Muslim identity saw a rise. The problems of religion, politics, and protests in Kashmir also got an increase. Unfolding the subjectivity of estrangement in the consensus social history of Kashmir that Kashmir dispute is beyond the politics of identity and a political dispute between India and Pakistan (Kaul, 2011). Politics is being played with the innocent people of the state and greedy offers are being offered to them for the sake of political benefits. Fake promises are also made throughout electioneering and how later they are mistreated (Ganaie & Rupavath, 2017). During the Kashmir unrest of 2016, it was found that 55.18 % of the protesters, who form the 1st category, were below the age group of 20 years, 36 % of the protesters, who form the 2nd category, belonged to the age group from 21-40 years, and 8.66% of the protesters, who form the 3rd category, belonged to the age group of 41 years and above (Ganaie, 2017). The data revealed that majority of the participating agitators in protests belong to youth. The author has strong view that Kashmir instability and unrest is fully organised, managed and sponsored by the separatist leaders. They are the people who are subjects of the yearly expenditure of more than one hundred crores by the government on their hotel booking outside the state, travel, medical expenses, and security, etc. The author throws light also on the pellet guns issue in his research article in which he recommends the ban on the use of Pellet Guns and strongly suggests the use of other forms of Non-lethal weapons like Active Denial System (ADS) or like that of Microwave Weapons, Electrolaser, Pulsed Energy Projectile and Dazzler (Ganaie, 2017) (Note 1).

# 6. Kashmir Unrest: An Outline

After the birth of the Kashmir summer turbulence that arose in 2010 which had claimed the lives of 112 civilian protesters inclusive of some minors in that long lasting protest period with state police and other centrally deployed paramilitary forces. The 2010 state coalition government (National Conference and Congress) of Jammu and Kashmir headed by the Ex-Chief Minister Omar Abdullah in collaboration with the state's law and order enforcing agencies along with the Congress headed government at the centre had then deployed pellet guns as a "non-lethal weapon" (Note 2) measure to evade civilian fatalities or to reward the protesters with less harm. Neither confrontation was over at that time nor was it unimaginable in the future. The latest confrontation that has sparked the Kashmir once again after the killing of Hizbul Mujahidin Militant Burhan Wani. (Note 3) The entire region of Kashmir became crippled as soon as the news of gunning down of Hizbul Mujahidin (HM) commander militant Burhan Wani came out. (Note 4) All the mobile phone services, including prepaid, postpaid, broadband, and landline services, except the government operated BSNL network, were kept functional only on postpaid and broadband networks. BSNL mobile prepaid services were however partially disrupted because only outgoing calls were barred on them and incoming calls were always there for BSNL prepaid customers, and this had resulted inversely in an increase in the social unrest also.

### 6.1 Pellet Guns

Pellet gun is a form of non-lethal weapon or a type of gun used by the security forces for dispersing the protesters for maintaining the law and order on the soil, and this has been crowned as the crowd control tool. These are supposed to be effective at short ranges up to 500 yards and if they are fired from nearer points they are lethal and can cause too much damage. Currently, the pellet guns are manufactured at Ordinance Factory, Ishapore. The pellets guns are supposed to injure the individuals and to cause pain to them.

Pellets are loaded with lead. A cartridge of a pellet gun consists of few hundred pellets and once fired from guns they disperse in to a lot of numbers without following any definite path. Pellets are supposed to penetrate into soft area of the body and particularly eyes are one of the top affected areas. They cause a lot of damage to the tissues of the eyes.

# 6.2 Types of Pellets

According to the doctors of the government Shri Maharaja Hari Singh (SHMS) Hospital, pellets are of different types. Usually, they are round in shape like ball bearings. But recently the doctors from SHMS Hospital have found some pellets which were irregular in shape along with some type of sharp edged ones. These pellet guns have been in usage in the valley of Kashmir since the Omar Abdullah

controlled government. Whenever there are frequent mob protests, this modern form of Non-Lethal weapon is being put in place to destabilize or control the protesting mob. The combined use of the pellet guns both by the state police department and other centrally deployed forces has resulted in a lot of social unrest and damage to the civilians there. The losses have included from personal properties to civilian deaths. Those injured include minors also who were actively participating in stone pelting.

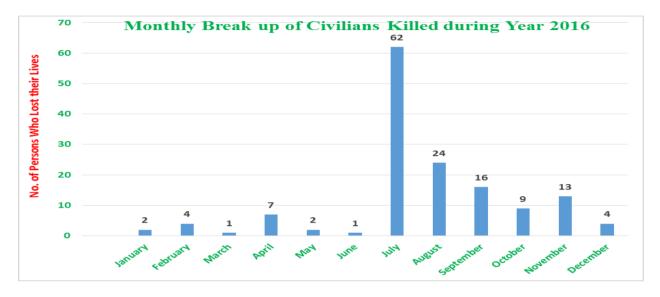


Figure 1. Month Wise Break up of Civilians Who Lost Their Lives during the Year 2016. (1st January to 31st December, 2016)

Data Source: Jammu Kashmir Coalition of Civil Society (JKCCS).

There was a remarkable increase in the death rates in 2016, whether they were armed forces, civilians, or militants. Out of the 383 people who lost their lives during 2016 Kashmir unrest, 145 were civilians. The above Figure 1 provides the data of those civilian killings on monthly basis. The data accessed from Jammu and Kashmir Coalition of Civil Society (JKCCS) shows that during the months from January to June 2016, a total of 2, 4, 1, 7, 2 and 1 civilians lost their lives in the months of January, February, March, April, May, and June respectively. (Note 5) From the month of July to December 2016, the death rate increased suddenly after the killing of the militant namely Burhan Wani in an encounter with the forces, and 62 people got killed during the month of July, 24 killed in August, 16 killed in September, 9 in October, 13 in November, and 4 in December.

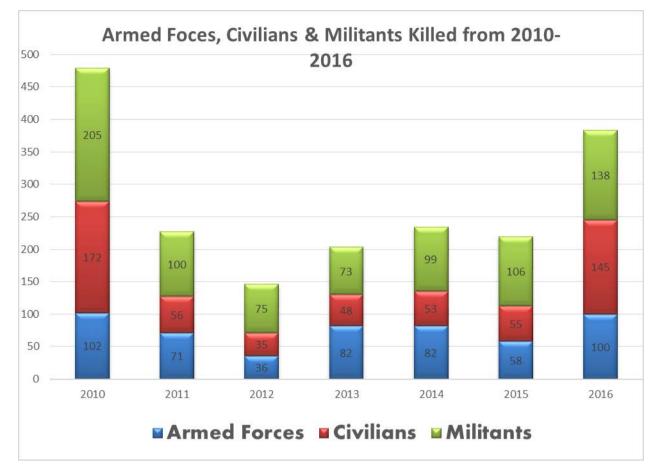


Figure 2. No. of Armed Forces, Civilians & Militants Killed from the Year 2010-2016 Data Source: Jammu Kashmir Coalition of Civil Society (JKCCS).

Compared to the previous few years, the year 2016 marks a swift increase in the number of deaths except the year 2010 which was the worst year in the decade. The above data showed in Figure 2 reveals the deaths sustained by the armed forces, civilians, and militants. The data reveals that a total of 479 deaths were reported in 2010 and out of these, 102 deaths were armed forces personnel, 172 were civilians and 205 were militants.

In 2011, the number of death was 227 out of which 71 people belonged to the armed forces, 56 were civilians, and 100 were militants.

In 2012, a total of 146 people had lost their lives out of which 36 belonged to the security forces, 35 were civilians, and 75 were militants.

In 2013, the number of deaths reported was 203 out of which 82 persons that got killed belonged to armed forces, 48 were civilians, and 73 killed were militants.

In 2014, the total deaths that were reported were 234 out of which 82 belonged to the armed forces, 53 were civilians, and 99 were militants.

In 2015, a total of 219 deaths were reported out of which 58 people belonged to the armed forces, 55 were civilians, and 106 were militants.

The year 2016 was also famous for the Kashmir unrest post the killing of Burhan Wani who was a popular local militant. There was a sudden increase in the number of deaths from both the civilians and the security forces. The security forces had also suffered a huge loss during the year 2016 in which 100 security force personnel lost their lives. In the year 2016, a total of 383 persons lost their lives, out of which 100 belonged to the armed forces, 145 were civilians, and 138 were militants. (Note 6) The above mentioned data shows that there has been an increase in the death rates, and it becomes quite evident that the year 2010 and 2016 saw a huge increase in the death rates. Besides the causalities to the armed forces and the civilians, there has been a huge loss to militants also. The data reveals that whenever there was turbulence or a law and order situation in Kashmir such as those of the two popular unrests in 2010 and 2016, there was an increase in the death rate of militants also. If the years 2010 and 2016 are analyzed in terms of deaths, it can be concluded that 479 deaths occurred in 2010 out of which an alarming total number of 205 were militants compared to 138 militants killed during the year 2016. In addition to this, the civilian deaths were also higher than that occurred in 2016 as they stood at 145 instead of 172 civilians killed in the year 2010. Apart from this, there was an increase in the loss of armed forces also. In 2010, the armed forces lost 102 of their colleagues and in 2016, the number stood at 100 which is relatively lesser than that occurred in the year 2010.

#### 6.3 All Parties Hurriyat Conference or Separatists

All Parties Hurriyat Conference (APHC) is a combination of around 26 religious, social, and political organizations which came into existence on 9th March 1993 as an influential political front to raise the cause of independence of Kashmir. The alliance has it supports rooted to Pakistan. The separatists of Kashmir hold an important place and have come to criticisms from various sectors. The government of India paid out 506 crore rupees on their security maintenance during the last five years or annually they are spending more than 100 crore rupees on their security maintenance. (Note 7) Apart from this, the expenditure on the Hurriyat leaders' hotel bills, medicine, and air tickets are borne by the government. In case these separatist leaders meet the Pakistani high commissioner located in Delhi, the expenditure incurred on it is added to the state's (J & K) account.

Syed Ali Shah Geelani's eldest son, Nayeem Geelani, is working as medical practitioner along with his wife in Rawalpindi of Pakistan. Geelani's second son, Zahoor Geelani, and his family live in New Delhi. His grandson, Izhaar Geelani, is working as a crew member of a private airliner in India, while his daughter Farhat Geelani is working as a teacher in Jeddah and her husband is an engineer there. The family members working outside Kashmir, whether in any other Indian state or in any other foreign country, has always been a controversial one. (Note 8) Not only Geelani is facing controversy on the abroad issue but on the other side of the separatist context Asiya Andrabi's eldest son, Muhammad bin

Qasim is also residing with his sister in Malaysia. Most of Asiya's relatives have shifted to Islamic republic of Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, England, and Malaysia. One of her nephews, Zulqarnain, is serving as a captain in Pakistan Army, and second nephew, Irtiyaz-un-Nabi, is working as an aeronautical engineer and lecturer at the International Islamic University, Islamabad. Asiya Andrabi was criticized by Dr. Darakshan Andrabi, her aide and the president of her party, the Socialistic Democratic Party of Jammu and Kashmir.

S. No.	Name of the Party	Leader				
1	Aawami Action Committee	Mirwaiz Umar Farooq				
2	Jammu & Kashmir Peoples Conference	Bilal Ghani Lone				
3	Anjamani Auqafi Jama Masjid	Mohammad Umar				
		Farooq				
4	Anjaman-e-Tablig-ul Islam	Syed Qasim Shah				
		Bukhari				
5	Ummat Islami	Qazi Ghulam				
		Mohammad Islamabad				
		Anantnag				
6	Peoples Political Party	Hilal Ahmed War				
	And for Azad Jammu and Kashmir in Pakistan chapter	Mian Muzaffar Shah				
7	Employees and Workers Confederation	Not Available				
8	Jammu Kashmir National Front	Nayeem Ahmed Khan				
9	All Jammu & Kashmir Employees Confederation	Ishtiaq Qadri				
10	Jamiate Ulama-E-Islam	Abdul Gani Azhari				
11	Jamiat-e-Hamdania	Moulana M. Yasin				
		Hamdani				
12	Jammu and Kashmir People's Conference	Abdul Ghani Lone till				
		2002 assassination				
13	Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (Note 10)	Muhammad Yasin Malik				
14	Jammu and Kashmir Human Rights Committee	Noor-Ul-Hassan				
15	Jammu and Kashmir People's Basic Rights (Protection)	Mufti Bahauddin Farouqi				
	Committee					
16	Liberation Council	Azhar Bhat				
17	Kashmir Bazme Tawheed	Tajamul Bhat				
18	Kashmir Bar Association	Zaroon bhat				

Table 1. Organizations of Hurriyat Conference (Note 9) and Their Members

19	Muslim Khawateen Markaz	Zaid Bhat			
20	Muslim Conference	Khokhar e aazam			
21	Tehreek-e-Huriati Kashmiri	Saqib Bhat			
22	People's League	Sheikh Yaqoob			
23	Peoples Political Party Hilal Ahmad War				
24	Imam Ahmad Raza Islamic Mission Rafeeq Ahmad Mir				
25	Saut-Ul-Aliya	Abdul Rashid Dawoodi			
26	Jammu and Kashmir People's Freedom League	Muhammad Farooq			
		Rehmani			

Data Source: Hurriyat Conference web.

# 6.4 Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front

The Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front, popularly tagged as JKLF, is a Kashmiri nationalist organization whose foundation was laid by Amanullah Khan and Maqbool Bhat. The organization is originally a militant wing that came from the Plebiscite Front (The plebiscite front in *Azad Kashmir* referred to as *Mahaz-i-Raishumari* was founded by Amanullah Khan in association with Abdul Khaliq Ansari and Maqbool Bhat in 1965). Until 1994, JKLF was an active terrorist organization (Note 11) and initially it established its branches in several cities and towns of the UK and also in other countries in Europe, the United States, and the Middle East. It had established its branch in Pakistan Administered Kashmir (*Azad Kashmir*) in the year 1982, and its branch in Indian administered Kashmir (*Azad Kashmir*) in the year 1982, and its branch in Indian administered Kashmir (*Azad Kashmir*) in the year 1982, and its branch in Indian administered Kashmir (*Azad Kashmir*) in the year 1982, and its branch in Indian administered Kashmir came up in the year 1987.

Under the leadership of Yasin Malik, the JKLF declared an indefinite ceasefire in the valley of Kashmir and pulled out all of its military wings. The organization had committed itself to the political struggle for the attainment of its objective of independence for the entire region of the princely State of Jammu and Kashmir. The JKLF believes in the secular and independent Kashmir which should be free from both India and Pakistan. JKLF has fragmented down into two fractions; one is led by Yasin Malik himself on the Indian side of Kashmir, whereas the second one is led by Amanullah Khan on the other side of the border that is Pakistan administered Kashmir.

### 6.5 Stone Pelting

Holding a special standing beneath the union of India, the State of Jammu and Kashmir is and has been an area of conflict since independence and therefore the separatist parties and alternative freedom fighting groups are launching new techniques and strategies for achieving their aims and objectives. Among the worst and consistently most disliked varieties of protest is that of "stone pelting" (*kani jung*), that has resulted and triggered a colossal injury and burden not only to the government machinery, it has also affected the opposite non-collaborating objects of the state. Within the recent times of geographical region of Kashmir, stone pelting has been used as the most provocative and most violent sort of agitation against violence in the state, and like brutal killings and fake encounters, it has been used as a tool for pressuring government and its affiliates for checking out numerous problems within the general community. Principally, the youths of the state are taking part in stone pelting, and they are strictly pelting stones or have been using different throwable objects or items on the security forces or other governmental agencies. Consequently, it precipitates violent clashes leading to injuries to each side, i.e., the stone pelters and the security forces. Sometimes, it causes severe causalities to both. Throughout the summer unrest of 2010, approximately one hundred and ten youths lost their lives and property value worth crores of rupees was damaged. This sort of unrest, instability, and violence has enclosed the whole of the Kashmir region primarily and has resulted in several causalities and human fatalities.

Most people think that stone pelting is the contemporary issue in the history which has been mostly influential for the past one decade, but it is not the same as per the historical facts. Stone pelting or *"kani jung"* in Kashmir is an older concept that has been used as a weapon to tackle the enemy opponents. It is rotted in the history. The stones were used as weapons in wars against the Mughals and, in addition to this, Kashmiris have been earning their daily livelihoods through stone carving. Besides this, it is believed that Kashmiri sculptors had mastered the art of carving images from the stones. They had expertise on making beautiful Hindu Gods and Goddesses. The ancient stones in Kashmir have played the most significant role in framing and at times changing the social and political discourse. The history of the roots of *kani jung* or stone pelting in Kashmir has been well documented since the 13th July 1931. The practice of pelting stones was abandoned for almost two decades due to the oozing out of the bullets from the automatic guns.

On 12th October 1942, Sheikh Abdullah was leading a crowd of National Conference (earlier Muslim Conference) workers with the purpose of abstaining Mirwaiz Yusuf Shah from delivering the Eid Sermon at Eidgah. On that occasion, both the sides resorted to stone pelting which resulted in injuries of more than hundred people. Not only this incident of stone pelting had occurred, but on 30th October in the same year, a National Conference worker was hustled by some of the party workers of the Muslim Conference men near Jamia Masjid, Srinagar. The information reached the national conference workers that it was Ali Darial who was behind the assault. On hearing this incident, both the sides resorted to heavy stone pelting on his house and dragged half of the signpost of Muslim student's union which was making the house most important.

During May 1944, the leader and the subsequent founder of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, visited Kashmir on a mutual invitation of National Conference and Muslim conference. The highway from Qazigund to Khanabal was decorated by National Conference with red buntings and flags. This act of National Conference was not digested by the members of Muslim Conference well and in the mean

time, they rushed to Qazigund to hoist green flags. A severe clash broke out there as these factions used knives and stones that resulted in injuries to lots of people. The National Conference workers led by Maqbool Sherwani (*Tehreek-e-Hurriyat Kashmir Rashid Taseer*) resorted to stone pelting on Jinnah at Baramullah in the last week of June. Same was avenged by the Muslim Conference workers next year by pelting stone on Pandit J. Nehru, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, and Maulana Azad when they visited Kashmir. These leaders were taken in a boat convoy from Chattabal to Lal Chowk. The people pelted stones and resorted to throwing shoes on the congress leaders near Zaina Kadal. Not only this, we have seen a frequent increase in stone pelting case since the past two decades. Who will forget three most popular unrests in the Kashmir, viz. 2008, 2009, 2010, and 2016? All these unrests have resulted in the deaths of civilians and major casualties to the security forces also.

During protests, stone pelting was used as a tool, and this has become a debatable one. There are different opinions regarding this, and one view is that they are paid for this work by some agents or agencies. In an interview (Note 12) with 6 Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) men, it was revealed that majority of them are unemployed and the rest are school dropouts, and even some of them are also drug addicts. Regarding the financial assistances paid to them, the CRPF personnel directly targeted the Hurriyat people and said that after being caught when they were heavily beaten up by the forces before handing them over to local police authorities, some of them revealed that they were paid agents, (Note 13) whose remunerations were varying from Rs. 500 to Rs. 800. (Note 14) While on the other hand, it was also observed that there are some employed persons who just for skipping from their duties were supporting these stone pelters so that they would enjoy holidays at home and would not have to go to office. (Note 15) During the observational method, it was also observed that mostly the employed ones are enjoying the protests always on account of full holidays but are waiting for the salaries to be credited. Jammu and Kashmir police say that they are in a process of booking more than 130 state government employees under the Public Safety Act (PSA) on charges of being directly or indirectly involved or instigating the Kashmir unrest 2016.

#### 6.6 Human Rights and Militancy

The State of Jammu and Kashmir since its beginning and primarily once the 1989 armed rebellion of foreign elements significantly with support from the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and Pakistani-based outfits mostly had cultivated in Kashmir the highest starting for human right abuses and later on into a terrorism affected state. There has been an outsized range of human right abuses including rape, murder, extra-judicial killings, missing reports of infinite persons, fake encounters, and others atrocities of human rights abuses. The National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) in conjunction with the State Human Rights Commission (SHRC), International Bodies and various governmental and non-governmental organizations along with numerous social teams are operating day and night for preserving, protecting, and safeguarding the human standards and are laying stress on human rights

violation, and also coping with insurgency connected operations within the state. One among the special features in preventing human rights abuses of those bodies is that, by dint of their stress management and massive pressure exerted on governmental bodies, they have become successful in obtaining the role of the native police. Within the current fashion, while coping with the insurgency connected operation with the terrorists, the native police is additionally created as a watching agency, so that the smallest amount of damage, and least harm to public and its property is done while encountering terror related operations and the pressure is also exerted on security forces to refrain from usage of massive force and power.

Human rights violation in the state has affected each and everyone whether directly or indirectly. Killings, disappearances, tortures, extra judicial killings, and fake encounters are some of the challenges. Almost 100,000 (Note 16) Kashmiri civilians have died and 10,000 people have disappeared during the last two decades. The Times of India had accessed Jammu and Kashmir government documents to find out the truth. Collected from January 1990 to April 2011, the records were comprehensive and provide deaths, disappearance, and also the circumstances leading to death. The data reveals that in the past 21 years, 43,460 people were killed in the Kashmir insurgency, out of which 21,323 were militants who belonged to foreign nations and local militant groups, 13226 were civilians killed by militants, 3642 civilians got killed by security forces, and 5369 were the policemen who were killed by the militants. Out of those 5369 killed security forces, 1500 were Kashmiri policemen.

In the state of Jammu and Kashmir, there has been a militant rise and militancy related violations are on rising mostly from the year 1989. Civilian killings in addition to the loss of security forces have been a long outstanding concern for the state and the central governments. The Table 2 below consists of different killings that have occurred from the year 1990 to 2001.

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	Total
No. of	4158	3765	4817	5247	5829	5938	5014	3420	2932	3071	3074	4522	51787
Incidents	Incidents												
Civilians	461	382	634	747	820	1031	1336	948	857	821	762	919	9718
Killed													
SFs	155	173	189	198	200	237	184	193	236	355	400	536	3056
Killed													
Terrorists	550	844	819	1310	1596	1332	1209	1075	999	1082	1520	2020	14356
Killed													

Table 2. Militant Activities in J & K State from 1990 to 2001

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Foreign	14	12	14	90	122	85	139	197	319	305	436	622	2355
Militants													
77911 1													

Killed

*Data Source*: Ministry of External Affair's (MEA) Fact Sheet on Jammu & Kashmir. Dated: 20th May 2002.

The above data accessed from the ministry of external affairs reveals that, from the period 1990 to December 2001, 51787 militancy incidents had taken place. During that period, 9,718 civilians were killed by the terrorists, 3,056 security force persons, a huge number of 14, 356 terrorists and 2, 355 foreign terrorists had lost their lives during that period.

The militants in Kashmir have not left any side undamaged, whether it is government building or public property. Most unworthy of all these are the burning of public properties like schools, hospitals, and bridges. Schools were burnt on large scale by these Pakistani supported terrorists.

Destruction Of Various Properties by Militants											
Year	Total	Govt.	Educational	Bridges	Hospital	Private House	Shops				
	Incidents	Buildings	Buildings								
1990	646	501	129	172	0	1242	202				
1991	391	45	24	24	0	819	83				
1992	564	65	57	28	0	2312	200				
1993	662	98	46	34	0	1110	400				
1994	606	172	119	46	4	666	162				
1995	688	127	133	16	2	1814	402				
1996	482	52	68	2	3	602	161				
1997	259	13	11	5	1	437	63				
1998	177	13	515	1	0	273	66				
1999	136	7	9	2	0	284	6				
2000	129	14	6	1	0	330	107				
2001	274	30	16	2	1	419	77				
Total	5014	1124	1113	333	11	10308	1929				

Table 3. Destroyed Properties by Militants in Kashmir from 1990 to 2001

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*Data Source*: Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) Fact Sheet on Jammu & Kashmir. Dated: 20th May 2002.

You cannot erase history and evidences speak about themselves. The data from the above table reveals that a total of 5014 number of incidents of property damage by militants had taken place from 1990 to

rs

2001. During this period, 1124 government buildings, 1113 educational buildings, 333 bridges, 11 hospitals, 10308 private houses, and 1929 shops were damaged by various terror outfits. The militants tried their best to damage public and governmental properties completely during that era in which militancy was on its peak in the valley of Kashmir.

	199	199	199	199	199	199	199	199	199	199	200	200	Tota
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	1	1
AK	199	316	426	313	313	302	320	274	210	162	188	201	3229
Rifles &	1	9	0	0	6	0	2	9	4	9	7	6	3
Pistols													
UMG's	77	130	164	142	127	67	84	64	71	28	21	10	985
Rocket	108	29	62	36	31	36	43	81	140	42	59	39	706
Launche													

Table 4. Arms and Ammunition Recovered by Security Forces from Militants from 1900 to 2001

*Data Source*: Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) Fact Sheet on Jammu & Kashmir. Dated: 20th May 2002.

Recovery of huge cache of arms and ammunition in the militancy affected valley is not a new trend, and lots of the arms and ammunitions have been recovered in Kashmir on the killing of these terrorists whether they were local or foreign based. A huge cache of AK Rifles, pistols, UMG's, rocket launchers of Pakistani and Chinese origin have been recovered in various search operations meant for counter insurgency. The data released by the ministry of external affairs reveal that from the period 1990 to 2001, a huge number of 32, 293 AK Rifles and pistols were recovered from the slain militants. 985 UMGs (Uber Machine Guns) were also recovered from the slain militants in addition to the recovery of 706 rocket launchers from the slain militants during that period.

#### 6.7 Article 370 of Indian Constitution

Article 370 of the Indian constitution is termed as a shield for the State of Jammu and Kashmir. It has been stressed from the very beginning of the state's existence and occurrence, and much more scope is given on its full existence and survival because the said article has been regarded as the protector of the state's autonomy. In one way or the other, article 370 has also become an impediment and one of the major obstacle in spreading the economic development and industrialization in the state. Industrial units and modern employment generation ways are absconding from the state due to this article 370 because it is not allowing these employment sources to work fully.

Drafted in Part XXI of the constitution of India, Article 370 is an article that grants special autonomous

status to Jammu and Kashmir. It has been a controversial one in news every time for being abolished. There are many different views and mostly politicians of the state are using it as an instrument of propaganda and are always trying to use it as a tool. Speaking of the article 370 is not a layman's work, and it needs a subject expert who can understand its consequences. The state's backwardness and remote isolatedness are not allowing it to develop fully in terms of industrialization.

The preamble and Article 3 of the constitution of Jammu and Kashmir state that the State of Jammu and Kashmir is and shall be an integral part of the union of India. (Note 17) The preamble of the constitution read as:

### "WE, THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR,

having solemnly resolved, in pursuance of the accession of this State to India which took place on the twenty-sixth day of October 1947, to further define the existing relationship of the State with the Union of India as an integral part thereof, and to secure to ourselves-

JUSTICE, social, economic and political;

LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith, and worship;

EQUALITY of status and of opportunity; and to promote among us all;

FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation;

IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY this seventeenth day of November 1956, do HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION" (Note 18).

As it is clearly written in the constitution of the state itself that it is and shall always be an integral part of India. Article 370 is the first impediment in the integration of nation and even during the emergency times under article 356 of the constitution of the India (Note 19) president can't declare emergency in the State of Jammu and Kashmir without the consent of the governor of the state who himself is an appointee of the president. In addition to this, under article 370 which is providing special status to Jammu and Kashmir, the central government of Indian union has no power to declare financial emergency in the State of Jammu and Kashmir under the article 360. In addition to this, the State of Jammu and Kashmir can refuse to build any cantonment on any other site allotted for the defense purposes. Thus, the article 370 is in some extent responsible for the state's under-development and there are lots of unemployed youth who cannot earn their daily wages due to lack of industries, other Multi-National Companies (MNC's), other corporates, and capitalists because the article 370 is preventing them from entering the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

# 6.8 Unemployment

In providing employment to its youths, the State of Jammu and Kashmir is one of the worst states in the north Indian side despite the state being resource rich and economically sound with abundant natural resources. The state has recorded a large number of unemployed educated youths who are regularly in search of jobs or some earnings. In most of the cases of unrest in the state, the presence of these jobless

youths has been found and in some or another ways. (Note 20)

Jammu and Kashmir is home to a large number of unemployed youths. In comparison with its four neighbouring states, Jammu and Kashmir has an unemployment rate of 5.3 percent, which is quite alarmingly high. As per the data revealed by the economic survey for the financial year 2011-2012 of various districts and employment counseling centers, 6.0 lakh unemployed youth had registered by the end of September 2011, and there may be many unemployed youth who still did not register themselves. The data reveals that 3, 21,562 unemployed youth had registered themselves in Kashmir region, while 2,80,285 unemployed youths had registered in Jammu region of the state. The unemployment phenomenon in the State of the Jammu and Kashmir has moved to the most distressing heights, and there is an addition in its rate every year due to the large increasing rate of educated unemployed youth. The State of Jammu and Kashmir has figured in the highest rank as compared with the other neighbouring states in northern India in a survey carried out by the labour bureau under the union ministry of labour and employment.

The State of Jammu and Kashmir has more unemployed youth in comparison with its neighbouring states that are placed in a much better position in terms of the unemployment youths. (Note 21) The data compiled by the NSS reveals in its 68th round that the State of Jammu and Kashmir had a high rate of unemployed youth rather than its neighbouring states. Table 5 below gives a clear picture of the unemployed youths in the State of Jammu and Kashmir and in the neighbouring states of Delhi, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, and Punjab.

Table 5. Unemployment Rate of Jammu and Kashmir in Comparison with Other Northern Neighbouring States and at National Level as Per the Sixty Eighth (68th) Round of NSS of Financial Year 2011-2012

State	Rural			Urban			Rural	Rural & Urban			
	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons		
J&K	2.7	16.16	3.9	4.7	25.6	7.8	3.2	20.2	4.9		
HP	1.8	1.8	1.8	2.1	11.0	4.2	1.8	2.2	2.0		
Punjab	2.3	6.1	2.6	2.8	5.1	3.1	2.5	5.6	2.8		
Haryana	2.6	4.2	2.8	4.0	5.6	4.2	3.1	4.8	3.2		
Delhi	9.4	0.0	7.8	3.4	4.8	3.6	3.9	4.3	4.7		
All India	2.1	2.9	2.3	3.2	6.6	3.8	2.4	3.7	2.7		

Data Source: National Sample Survey Office (NSSO) 68th Round.

The data analysis based on the Usual Principal Status (UPS) reveals that Jammu and Kashmir has the

highest rate of unemployment of 4.9% in comparison with its neighbouring states such as Delhi 4.7%, Haryana 3.2%, Himachal Pradesh 2.0%, and Punjab 2.8%, whereas the unemployment rate stands at 2.7% at the national level. The data on unemployment rate on females reveals that unemployment rate for males in the State of Jammu and Kashmir was 3.2% as compared to 20.2% that is quite alarming and high as compared with the neighbouring states of Delhi 4.3%, Haryana 4.8%, Himachal Pradesh 2.2%, and Punjab 5.6%. The Table.5 also shows that there is a huge gap of unemployment rate amongst the males and females in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The female rate is alarming at 20.2% against the national aggregate rate of unemployment for women which stands at 3.7%. In addition to this, the unemployment rate is more prevalent in urban areas rather than in rural areas which stands at 7.8% as against 3.9% in rural areas according to the 68<sup>th</sup> round of NSS.

#### 7. Results and Discussions

The State of Jammu and Kashmir continues to be a bone of contention between India and Pakistan, and this core issue needs to be resolved as soon as possible. As per the data, there has been an enormous increase in the militant killings whenever there is unrest like situation such as that in 2010 and 2016. The political game and political instability in the state needs to be settled first, and I have already discussed that during the 2010 Kashmir unrest, it was Omar Abdullah led government that introduced the pellet guns, and now they are questioning the current government when the situation is as same as that of 2010.

Those who were killed during the unrest were civilians commonly known as stone pelters. These were the ones who were fighting with the security forces deployed in the state. In an interview with Alpha (name changed), who was a postgraduate, whose Maruti Alto car was totally damaged by the protesters, and who himself sustained minor injuries, said, "The government's announcement felicitating them with jobs is questionable and if they go ahead with this, it should be then with certain conditions, such as of termination of their services and recovery of full salaries along with double interest rate incurred on their salaries in case they are again involved in stone pelting. What will they provide to those who resided as decent citizens and did not indulge in anti-governmental activities? This is not the way of getting Azadi and it is un-Islamic".

Pellet guns are the worst form of non-lethal weapons as they drain the victims both physically and economically. Those should be completely banned as they are dangerous to human life. If the security persons want to injure the protestors, they should fire them with the pellet guns below the level of head without killing them. There are other non-lethal weapons, and those can be used instead. I strongly suggest a gun which, at a time, can fire multiple bullets which will get penetrated into the protesters' body like needle so that they will lose consciousness and fall down for some time without getting killed so that the forces will catch them easily. As the third law of Newton states that every action has an

equal and opposite reaction, this formula is also applied here, and we find that the excessive use of force on civilians results in social unrest up to a greater extent. Nocturnal raids, the slapping of frequent Public Safety Acts, banning of telecommunication services except that of BSNL postpaid have added extra pain among the masses.

Soon after the news of gunning down of Hizbul Mujahideen commander, Burhan Wani, came out, the mobile phone services were snatched, and a strike call was announced by the separatists. Curfew was clamped there and it was prevalent up to months. Schools, higher educational institutions, business establishments, public transport inclusive of the popular train service in the valley along with other governmental and non-governmental services were off. Shortage of essential services badly struck the valley. The frequent protests and strikes levied a huge deficit on the economy of the valley because the backbone of the state is the agricultural sector, and the strikes hampered the transport of fruits, vegetables, and other agricultural products. On the other hand, the tourist sector which improved a lot for the last three years saw a total flop this time and resulted in a massive decline after the killing of Burhan Wani. The state's economy was recovering after the massive flood in the year 2014. The Kashmiri traders faced a loss of over 1000 crores during the first fifteen days of strike in Kashmir (Note 22). Closure of shops, other business establishments, petrol pumps, and other hubs of commercial activities led to a whopping loss of around Rs 6,400 crore rupees to the economic sector of the state in one and half months (Note 23) (*nearly 49 days after Burhan Wani's killing*).

### 8. Conclusion

In Jammu and Kashmir, the art of living principally in Kashmir division of the state has become miserable and most damaging due to the disturbance of the state, originating each from political or non-political, regional or non-regional, and national or international, in the present context has utterly become an unsafe place. The state has been susceptible to combativeness, human rights violations, and several other unlimited challenges. All the mechanisms of governmental agencies have become unsuccessful in tracking out this and locating the drawback of Kashmir. Lots of things need to be done not only at grass root level but also at secondary level alongside the national and international level. Firstly, the geographical drawback of the region has often kept Indian economy in debt mode and hard earned paid tax of the individuals constantly is being used on defense procurements, arms and ammunition, rather than defrayment in common welfare of the individuals and poor. Secondly, it has also ruined the state's economy and principally Kashmir division has been way behind as compared to Jammu region which is a smartly developed one. The economic sector of the state is usually disabled, and gun culture and armed rebellion along with people's unrest and continuous involvement in anti-governmental activities have created plenty of imbalances within the state. The state's special standing of the article 370 of the Indian constitution empowers special status and restricts the entry of

foreign or outside firms into the state. Due to this approach, the state is not advancing well in all economic sectors and also the youths who are involved in frequent and big battle are principally unemployed, with no sources of generating financial gain. If all the cooperative efforts and arrangements are considered in sorting out the native problems by generating a sizable amount of employments and establishing additional industrial units of regional and non-regional use, these frequent agitations will come down and things can improve considerably. These ways can directly have an effect on the behavior of the soul who is concerned in unlawful activities against the government and within no time, he can become a smart citizen and contribute to the development of the state as well.

Before concluding, I am closing with the poem of a very popular Kashmiri poet, Bahar Kashmiri, who has captured the plight of the Kashmiris in his poem written during the 1940's and has been quoted from the book Languages of Belonging: Islam, Regional Identity, and the Making of Kashmir.

"From all sides, I am assaulted,

The English, the Indians, the Afghans, the Pakistanis,

To whom should I complain, to whom should I tell my fate?

Capitalists, tyrants, oppressors, and friends, all want me to become their accomplice,

With whom should I agree, whom should I disagree with?

To whom should I complain, to whom should I tell my fate?

I am poor and downtrodden; whose side should I go?

If I agree with one, the second will be angry, the third will impale me on the sword and the fourth and fifth strangle me.

To whom should I complain, to whom should I tell my fate?" (Note 24)

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#### Notes

Note 1. Ganaie, N. A. (2017). Instability and Unrest in Kashmir: A Case from Barriers of Optimism to Pellets. International Journal of Modern Social Sciences. 6(1), 51-93.

Note 2. Non-lethal weapons also known as less lethal weapons and they have been designed to maintain the peace and order and quell the protesters with minimum injuries instead of killing them by lethal weapons.

Note 3. Burhan Muzaffar Wani or popularly tagged as Burhan Wani was a commander of Kashmir based Hizbul Mujahideen and was also called as the Hizbul Poster Boy by dint of his frequent activities of uploading and sharing of photos and videos of himself and other militant assistants on social networking site Facebook

Note 4. Burhan Wani, Hizbul poster boy, killed in encounter. The Hindu. Dated: 08th July 2016.

Note 5. Ganaie, N. A. (2017). Instability and Unrest in Kashmir: A Case from Barriers of Optimism to Pellets. International Journal of Modern Social Sciences. 6(1), 51-93.

Note 6. Ganaie, N. A. (2017). Instability and unrest in Kashmir: A case from barriers of optimism to Pellets. International Journal of Modern Social Sciences. 6(1), 51-93.

Note 7. "Kashmir's economy suffers body blow, Rs 6400 cr loss in 49 days." The Indian Express. 26th August, 2016.

Note 8. Have you seen Geelani's son throwing stones? Rediff News. 07th September, 2016.

Note 9. Hurriyat Conference or All Parties Hurriyat Conference has currently three fractions: One fraction led by Syed Ali Shah Geelani, Second Fraction led by Mirwaiz Umar Farooq and the third fraction of the Hurriyat is led by Shabir Shah, Azam Inquilabi and Nayeem Khan.

Note 10. Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) led by Yasin Malik is neither part of these any

fractions nor their ideology is matching with them.

Note 11. Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (7th August, 2003). Pakistan: Activities of the Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF); whether the JKLF practices forced recruitment, and if so, whether this is done in collaboration with the Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP). UNHCR. Retrieved 13<sup>th</sup> January 2017.

Note 12. Interview with six CRPF Personals on 4th December 2016. Time: 11:13 AM To 12: 10 PM at Police Station Shopian Premises, Near Hospital Road, Shopian.

Note 13. Interview with six CRPF Personals on 4th December 2016. Time: 11:13 AM To 12: 10 PM (*IST*) at Police Station Shopian Premises, Near Hospital Road, Shopian.

Note 14. Stone-pelting turns into a "lucrative business' in J & K. The Hindu. Dated 05th February 2010.

Note 15. Cops may book more than 100 govt. employees for Kashmir protests. Hindustan Times. Dated: 04<sup>th</sup> October 2016.

Note 16. State data refutes claim of 1 lakh killed in Kashmir. The Times of India. Dated: 20<sup>th</sup> June 2011.

Note 17. The Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir. Official website of Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly on National Informatics Centre, India. Retrieved 26 January, 2017, rom. http://jklegislativeassembly.nic.in/Costitution\_of\_J&K.pdf

Note 18. Preamble of Jammu and Kashmir. Official website of Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly on National Informatics Centre, India. Page No. 19. Retrieved 26, January 2017, from, http://jklegislativeassembly.nic.in/Costitution\_of\_J&K.pdf.

Note 19. Article 370: The untold story. Indian Defense Review. Dated: 27th December 2014.

Note 20. Unemployment a reason for surge in J&K violence? The times of India. Dated: 16th April 2016.

Note 21. JK has 6 lakh jobless youth. Greater Kashmir. Dated: 3rd March 2012

Note 22. Kashmir Trade Suffers Estimated 1,000 Crore Loss in 15 Days. Kashmir Observer. 25th July, 2016.

Note 23. "Kashmir's economy suffers body blow, Rs 6400 cr loss in 49 days." The Indian Express. 26th August, 2016.

Note 24. Zutshi, C. (2004). Languages of Belonging: Islam, Regional Identity, and the Making of Kashmir. Hurst and Company: London.

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# Terminology

**AFSPA:** Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) is an act of the parliament of India that was accepted on 11<sup>th</sup> September 1958. It is a law which consists of only six sections and empowers the Indian armed forces with the special powers in the declared disturbed areas. It is in use in seven states of India which have been declared as Naxal, Maoist, or militancy-prone areas. It is in force in the Indian states like Assam, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura, Manipur, and Jammu and Kashmir. It empowers the forces to carry out any search operation without consent and arrest without warrant. It also empowers the forces to fire upon any suspected person or persons and allows them to use other ways like usage of pellets once the warning of the armed forces is neglected. The act also empowers the forces to stop or search any vehicle or vessel.

**APHC (G):** All Parties Hurriyat Conference is headed by Syed Ali Shah Geelani, and it is an extremist group of the Hurriyat.

**APHC** (**M**): All Parties Hurriyat Conference is headed by Mir Waiz Molvi Umar Farooq, and this group is moderate in ideology.

**Eidgah:** Idgah or Eidgah is a term used in the South-Asian countries under Islamic culture for open-air gathering place which is bigger in size than normal ones for offering prayers of two Eid Festivals.

**Pellet Gun:** Popularly known as a pellet or also termed as an air gun is a non-spherical projectile designed to be fired with the help of air gun. Air pellets usually differ from bullets and shots that are used in firearms because of the pressures encountered. Once fired from the air guns, they do not follow any particular path and are spread in many directions. Pellets are loaded with lead, and once fired they disperse in large numbers. Pellet gun is officially a non-lethal weapon which is in use in the State of Jammu and Kashmir for crowd control.

**Public Safety Act:** PSA or Public Safety Act promulgated in 1978 (amended in 1987 & 1990) is a law that has been empowering the government of the state to detain any person without trial for two years under the alleged reasons for disrupting the public law and order or maintenance in the state.

#### Glossary

AFSPA: Armed Forces Special Powers Act.

APHC: All Parties Hurriyat Conference.

**BJP:** Bhartiya Janta Party.

**BSF:** Border Security Force.

**CPIM:** Communist Party of India-Marxist.

**CRPF:** Central Reserve Police Force.

DIG: Deputy Inspector General.

**DGP**: Director General of Police.

FIR: First Information Report.

HC: Hurriyat Conference.

**IGP:** Inspector General of Police.

**J&K:** Jammu and Kashmir.

JKP: Jammu and Kashmir Police.

JKLF: Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front.

KP's: Kashmiri Pandits.

MHA: Ministry of Home Affairs (Government of India).

MOD: Minister of Defense (Government of India).

MOS: Minister of State.

NC: National Conference.

NHRC: National Human Rights Commission.

**NSSO:** National Sample Survey Office.

**OS:** Operation Sadhbavna.

PDP: Peoples Democratic Party.

**RPC:** Jammu and Kashmir State Ranbir Penal Code, 1989 (virtually identical to Indian Penal Code, 1860).

RR: Rashtriya Rifles.

SHO: Station House Officer.

SHRC: State Human Rights Commission.

SOP: Standard Operating Procedure.

**SP:** Superintendent of Police.

SSP: Senior Superintendent of Police.

UMG: Uber Machine Gun.

UPS: Usual Principal Status.