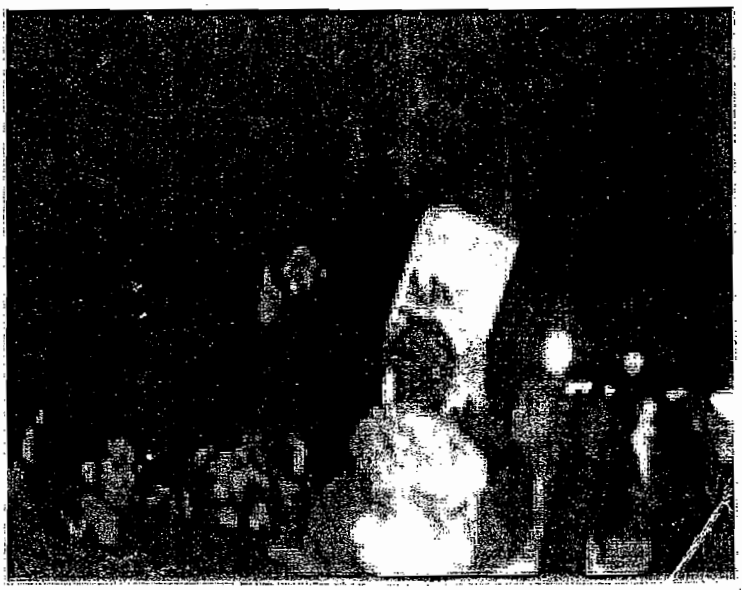
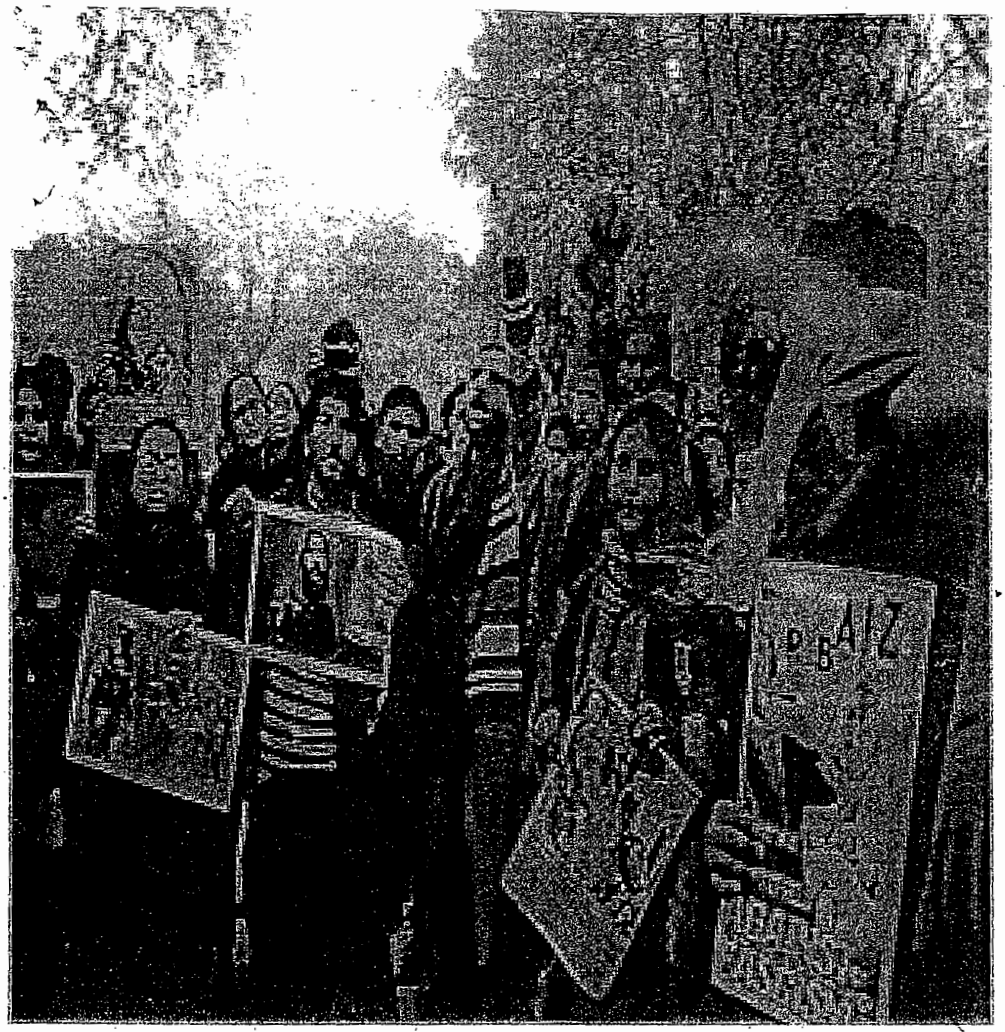
AISHWARYA ADHIKARI :-GSCASH representative from DSF (holding photo in hand).

GARGI ADHIKARI councillor of SIS from DSF.
CHETAN TYAGI from AISA is standing behind her.

UMAR KHALID (dsu), CHETAN TYAGI (asia) AND AISHWARYA ADHIKARI (dsf) @ Sabarmati Dhaba on 9th Feb.

KANHAIYA KUMAR President of JNUSU from AISF addressing the march of leftists at Ganga Bus Stop on 9th Feb.





UMAR KHALID & CHINTU :- EX-VICE PRESIDENT OF JNUSU FROM AISA

SHWETA RAJ
President of AISA-JNU and councilor of SLL&CS, JNU; holding picture (WE WANT FREEDOM FROM ARMY).

Centre for Comparative Politics and Political Theory

School of International Studies

invites you

organised by the Kamal Chenoy

to a talk

on

"Militarization and Current Events in Kashmir"

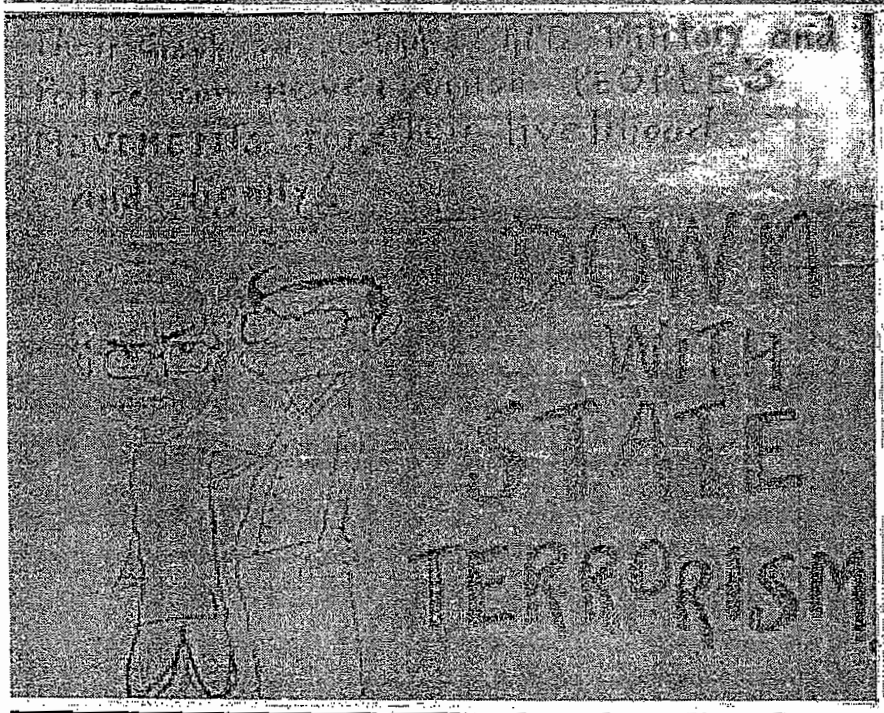
Speaker: Prof. Hamida Nayeem

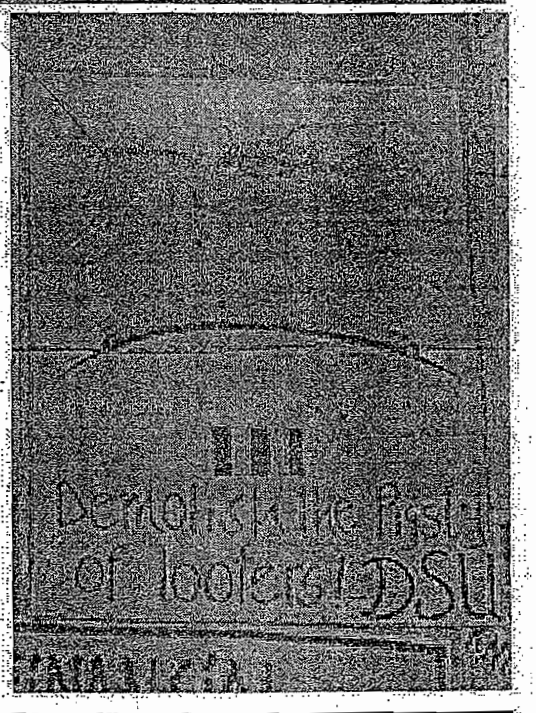
Date: 30th September 2011 (Friday)

Timings: 11 a.m.

Venue: 001, SIS Committee Room

All are cordially invited





Protest Against

Pathribal Case Closure

1ST FEB 2014, JANTAR MANTAR, NEW DELHI

Our Demands-

RE-OPEN PATHRIBAL CASE

GRANT SANCTION TO PROSECUTE CULPRITS

REPEAL AFSPA

(Jointly Organized By

SAVE SHARMILA SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN (SSSC), ALL INDIA STUDENTS ASSOCIATION (AISA),
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY STUDENT UNION (JNUSU), JAMIA STUDENTS SOLIDARITY FORUM (JSSF),
NEW SOCIALIST INITIATIVE (NSI), PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST POLITICS OF TERROR (PCPT)

Army Closure of Pathribal Fake Encounter Case:

Challenge Repeated Burials of Justice in the Mass Graves of Kashmir

AISA strongly condemns the shameful cover-up of the murder of innocent civilians in Pathribal in what was dubbed as a "joint operation" of the Kashmir police and the Indian Army. This is a shocking display of arrogance resulting from legal impunity accorded to the Indian Army under the draconian Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSA). Five innocent Kashmiris were picked up by the Indian Army and passed off as foreign terrorists responsible for the tragic Chhittisinghpora massacre in which scores of Kashmiri Sikhs were lined up and killed. While the CBI established through a probe that the bodies were those of locals and not of foreign terrorists as claimed by the Army, and that the so-called encounter was actually pre-meditated, cold-blooded murder, the Supreme Court held that the culprits could not be tried in a civilian court because of immunity under AFSPA. Although the AFSPA provides for a normal trial with prior permission from the government, this permission is never granted.

The Supreme Court had asked the army to either conduct a court-martial or allow trial in a normal court. The army, of course, chose the easy way out and conducted a hoax investigation in an army court. The victims' illiterate family members were asked to depose before an army court hundreds of kilometres away from Kashmir, in Jammu's Nagrota cantonment. What transpired in the name of trial was a travesty of justice. The DNA tests were initially forged, with samples from unknown persons used. However, when the actual DNA samples of relatives of the victims were used, they matched, thus proving that the bodies were those of local residents and not of foreign terrorists.

Friday, the 24th Jan 2014 will go down in history as yet another shameful day for democracy and human rights. In a shameful "verdict" the army concluded, after a hoax trial, that there was no prima facie evidence against the army men. This is despite the fact the CBI investigation had established the roles of Brigadier Ajay Saxena, Major Brijendra Pratap Singh, Major Sourabh Sharma, Major Amit Saxena and Subedar Idrees Khan in the mass-murder conspiracy. This is a travesty of justice, not only because five innocent Kashmiris were killed, but also because the "unidentified gunmen" who killed 35 Kashmiri Sikhs in Chhittisinghpora may be roaming free even today, possibly in uniform, with impunity. Why, after all, did Army need to plan out such an elaborate murder conspiracy days after the massacre of Kashmiri Sikhs took place?

This is not an isolated incident. Recently, the army "ordered court-martial against six of its men involved in the Machil fake encounter of 2010 in which three innocent Kashmiris were murdered. This is the encounter which triggered the 2010 protests in Kashmir. During the protests, a minor named Tufail Ahmad Mattoo was ruthlessly beaten up by the police and killed on the street while he was returning from tuition. Tufail was not even involved in the protest. His murder sparked months of protests in Kashmir in which 120 young people were killed and thousands maimed or injured. For all this, the army men get a "court martial"!

It is important to note that these are cases in which murder had been established through a probe. The infamous Kunan Poshpora mass-rape case is listed for final hearings in a district court in Kashmir on the 1st of February, 2014. However, Kashmiri people have lost all hope in such probes. The shameful conduct of the army in Kashmir weakens the very foundations of democracy rather than strengthening national integrity. Kashmiri people are being held captive by the use of these draconian laws which allow the armed forces to get away with rape, murder and forced disappearances.

aisa

Do Not Remove Till 1 Feb

Committee for Civil Rights

AZADI: THE ONLY WAY

Thursday - 21 October - 2pm-8pm

LTG AUDITORIUM, Copernicus Marg, Mandi House, New Delhi (Auditorium is near Mandi House Metro Station)

Speakers:

Gursharan Singh (Noted Dramatist, President, CRPP)
Dr. Sheikh Showkat Hussain (Professor of Law, KU)
Najeeb Mubarakbi (Assistant Editor, Economic Times)
S.A.R. Geelani (Professor DU, Working President CRPP)
Arundhati Roy (Writer and Activist)
Varvara Rao (Revolutionary Poet & Professor)
Justice A.S. Bains (Retd. Chief Justice, Punjab HC)
Shuddhabrata Sengupta (Artist and Writer)
Dr. N. Venuh (General Secretary, NPMHR)
Dr. Aparna (CPI [ML] New Democracy)
Amit Bhattacharya, (CRPP)
Sujato Bhadra, (APDR)
Kanwarpal Singh
Thiagu (Activist)
Malem (CPDM)

Bus will leave Ganga Dhaba at 12.30nm

Civil rights activist Gautam Navlakha detained and denied entry in Kashmir!

Code 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure Invoked to send him back from Srinagar!

Union Minister Farooq Abdullah also supports the detention!

Let's march on to resume and continue our peaceful protest march!

join

PROTEST DEMO

KHIDKIYAN GHERWALA!

Stop Killing and Insulting the Protesting People of Kashmir!

Resist the Attempts of the UPA and the State Government to Cover up Human Rights Violations in Kashmir!

AIRSF

PUBLIC MEETING

CONTESTING INDIAN NATIONALISM

Voices of Azadi From Kashmir

Speakers

Gautam Navlakha, PUDR

Kumar Sanjay Singh, University of Delhi

Prof. Nagari Babaiah, Human Rights Activist

23rd April,
Kaveri Mess,
9 pm

COORDINATION COMMITTEE FOR OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES (CCON)

fascist tactics of the Indian occupation of Kashmir it craftily bypasses the fundamental Indian state's historic betrayal of the agreement for self-determination. Far from addressing the question the report reduces "the woes of Kashmir" to the "emasculation of the substance of distinctive status enshrined in Article 370 of the Constitution of India.

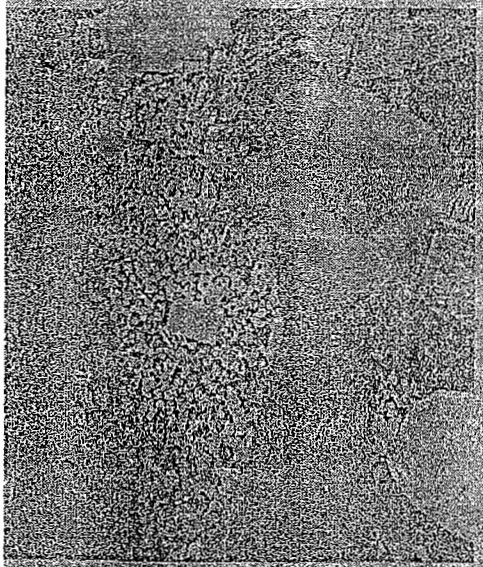
Article 370: A post-dated cheque. The interlocutors have suggested that adherence to Article 370 of the constitution in letter and spirit would ameliorate the "victimhood" of the people of Kashmir. But it is nothing more than wishful thinking or even trickery to expect that the "distinctive status" granted by Article 370 will be enough to assuage the most ardent aspirations for *Azaadi* that is ubiquitous today in Kashmir. Article 370 was a provisional arrangement as the government of India's stated position was to conduct a plebiscite to determine the future of Jammu and Kashmir. Accordingly, a White Paper on Jammu and Kashmir published by the government of India in 1948, authored by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, recorded: "In accepting the accession, the government of India made it clear that they would regard it as purely provisional until such time as the will of the people of the State could be ascertained." What was called a "Temporary arrangement to begin with, has become obsolete, redundant and irrelevant today after 60 years of bloody occupation. It is nothing but a post-dated cheque in a crashing bank. Kashmir is today seeks no "Special Status". They demand freedom.

This report like all its precursors is no more than a justification of India's unjust occupation. This, it states, "any proposed change that questions the sovereignty of India and disrupts its territorial integrity or compromises India's defence and larger, strategic economic interests cannot be entertained." While emphasizing the need to actualize Article 370, the attempt as outlined by the interlocutors however is to treacherously delete the word "Temporary" and replace it with "Special". The obvious purpose being to constitutionally ascribe a sense of permanence to the colonial status of Kashmir in line with the constitutional arrangements made with states like Nagaland, Assam, Manipur, Mizoram, Sikkim and so on. What the report celebrates here in the name of the immense "flexibility" of the Indian Constitution in its ability to "respond to the collective urges of the people", is in reality the brute force of bayonets that has historically maintained India as a prison house of different nationalities.

Liberation or Liberalization? The effort to integrate Kashmir further into the Indian dependency as a colony is further reflected in the interlocutors' insistence on bringing it within the fold of a "liberalizing India" at the service of Imperialism in a "globalizing world". It identifies the heavy State control over J&K's economy as a stumbling block and thereby envisages a free market that would facilitate direct exploitation of its resources by New Delhi. It pushes for SEZs and such other financial and fiscal incentives on the pattern of the north eastern states, in lines with the notorious Look East Policy that entails heightened exploitation through a thoroughly anti-people development perspective (for instance in the field of Hydel Power that is) grossly tilted to the benefit of the metropolis at the cost of the colony.

So, Kashmir needs no "Mobile Grievance Unit" as the interlocutors describe themselves. It needs no "healing touch" from the army. It needs no cross LoC trading. The interlocutors call AFSPA "more the symbol of the problem" than its cause." Instead of a call to revoke, they thereby have merely asked for a review of Disturbed Areas Act and AFSPA. Now, the "cause" of the problem is clearly the forcible occupation of Kashmir by India, and AFSPA in this context is not merely a "symbol", but a brutal instrument to actualize this occupation. So, such eye washes like review, judicial enquiry or release of stone pelters aimed at "containing the anger" are no longer going to be enough. The report proclaims that, "It is the future that should matter, not the past, burdened with a highly contentious historical baggage." Such empty words cannot cover up the past that is soaked in the native's blood, that is riddled with the army's bullets, that is marked with broken promises and oppression. It is an utterly significant past that signals towards only one solution, one future – *Azaadi*.

DON'T REMOVE TILL 7th JUNE



Kashmir needs to be a Political Issue, Not a Law and Order Problem

The Final Report submitted by the Group of Interlocutors for Jammu & Kashmir is a slap in the face of the people of Kashmir and a mockery of their struggle!

The Final Report submitted by the Group of Interlocutors for Jammu & Kashmir reeks of Indian state's big nation chauvinism!

Article 370 or 'Special Status' can no longer contain Kashmir's aspirations for freedom!

"If the oppressor's government can set up commissions of enquiry and of information daily if it wants to, in the eyes of the native, these commissions do not exist. ..in the colonies the native has always known that he need expect nothing from the other side. The settler's work is to make even dreams of liberty impossible for the native. The native's work is to imagine all possible methods for destroying the settler." — Frantz Fanon

The Group of Interlocutors comprising Radha Kumar, M M Ansari and D. Padgaonkar (Chairman) was hastily commissioned by the Indian state in the face of the historic outburst of popular anger that erupted in the valley in the summer of 2010 as the streets of Kashmir reverberated with the slogans of 'Go India Go Back!' The ruling classes in India saw it as the time to stage yet another drama in the name of "Roadmap to peace", "Confidence Building Measures" and "reconciliation". The final report of the Interlocutors was submitted last week to the Home Ministry curiously titled 'A New compact with the people of Jammu & Kashmir'. And like all such old "compacts" it begins with the farcical premise that "Jammu and Kashmir should continue to function as a single entity within the India Union". A premise that is in direct contravention of the robust assertions of the aspirations for self determination by the Kashmiri people including secession. Therefore, for all its rhetoric posturing and publicity, the report reproduces the same old discourse characteristic of big nation chauvinism and hence is worth nothing.

Sense of victimhood or an Aspiration for freedom? The report in the very outset declares "The political settlement we propose takes into full account the *deep sense of victimhood* prevalent in the Kashmir Valley. It surely deserves to be addressed with *great sensitivity*." But if one were to even take a cursory look into the 60 years of struggle or a glance into the summer of 2010 what one would find on the walls is no "deep sense of victimhood", but a cry for freedom from Indian occupation, a cry for *Azaadi*. Hence, after a lakh being murdered, thousands raped, countless voices crushed under the jackboots of 8 lakh Indian occupation forces - they don't want Indian state's "sensitivity" or *insaniyat*. WHAT THEY ASPIRE FOR IS FREEDOM. Not from what is referred to in the report as "religious extremism, ethnic or regional chauvinism and majoritarian conceits", neither just from "harsh laws" - but from Indian occupation.

The report narrates that "Here for 6 decades people have experienced what in their eyes constitute a systematic denial of their democratic rights. They have been witness to rigged elections, the dismissal of elected governments, and installation of pliant ones, the arrests of their popular leaders, the choking of dissenting voices through harsh laws, the detention of political prisoners without the due process of law, the failure to bring to book those guilty of violating human rights." In this context the

Public Meeting

Forced Disappearances.... 4000 Unmarked Graves.....

Life and Struggle Under AFSPA in Kashmir

speakers

Parveena Ahangar

founder and President of Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons (APDP), a relentless campaigninger against Enforced Disappearances in Jammu and Kashmir

Vrinda Grover

noted Supreme Court lawyer and Human Rights Activist

10 Nov

Kaveri Mess

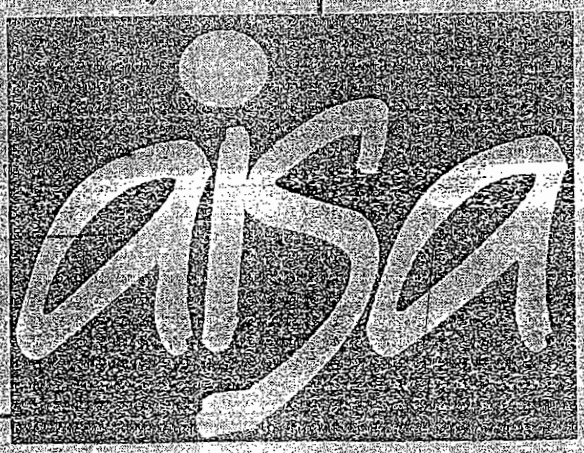
9.30pm

Film Screening

Where Have You Hidden My New Moon Crescent

by **Iffat Fatima** *Duration: 28 mins*

The film explores issues of memory, violence and a tribute to Mughal Mase and her relentless search for her only son Nazir Ahmed Teli, disappeared on September 1, 1990. Mughal Mase lived in Habba Kadal, Srinagar, Kashmir and was an active member of APDP.



A PLAY

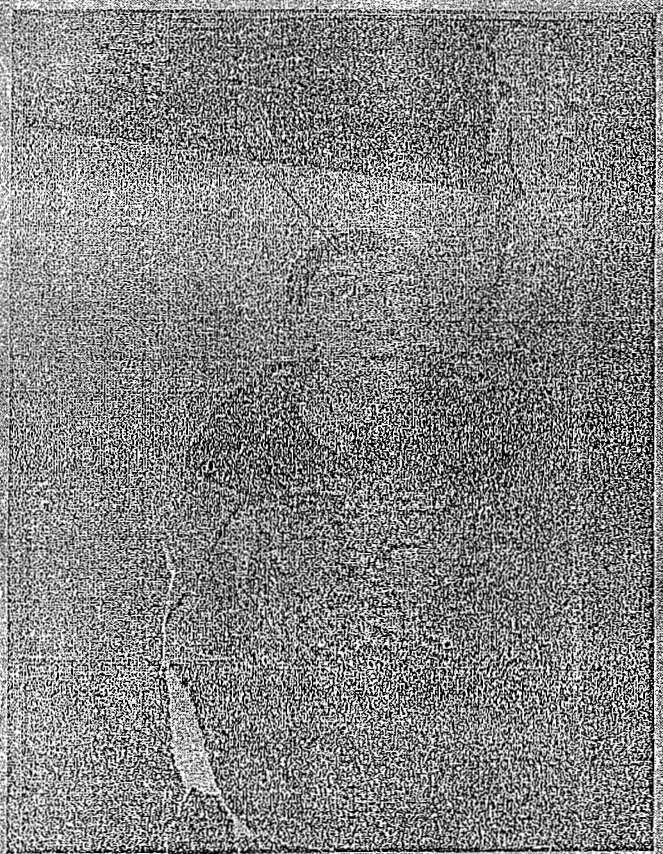
ON THE LIFE AND STRUGGLE OF
IROM SHARMILA AGAINST AFSPA

Le Mashale...

performed by

S.V.Ojas

theatre activist from Pune



Manipur: a heavenly land with rich culture and history and also a land of unrest; a land under the brutal control of the Indian military forces; a land which struggles for its own identity and democratic right to self determination. Manipur- a land adorned by strong women who bear torch...

Irom Sharmila Chanu- a daughter of this land- is one such woman. A poet and activist who by her dedication and self realization has become a living legend. This is her 10th year of hunger strike against exploitation of her and people by not just Indian army violence but also by mainland centric Indian politics. A physically frail but very strong in her dedication she has become an inspiration for the valley and non violent struggles all over. Her body is her weapon – and this realization has made her a milestone. As eminent writer Mahashweta Devi expresses- "the 21st century should be known by the dedication and struggle of Irom Sharmila."

"Le Mashale..." is the soliloquy in which Irom Sharmila narrates the anguish and aspiration of Manipur through its fables, dances and major incidences which transformed her life. The play talks about brutality unleashed on known and unknown Manoramas in the valley and the protest by determined women who do not mind their nudity over their struggle for justice. The play puts forth many questions raised by torch bearing women from the valley.

8 Dec Wednesday

Audi 5 PM

SAA

AISA

KASHMIR SOLIDARITY RALLY

JOIN THE RALLY TO Mark a strong voice of Protest against the recent Execution of Afzal Guru to satisfy the "collective conscience" of the Indian Society, by secretly hanging and burying him, and to stop protest against his murder, putting Kashmir under siege since then, with newspapers, emergency services, medical supplies all suspended for over a week. At least 4 people have been killed since then, and scores injured, and hundreds arrested. In the height of absurdity doctors were asked to make sure that 'no one dies' and 'do not declare the dead' and to ensure this 'dead bodies were put on ventilators'! The siege continues still, mostly unreported.

We appeal to everyone to join the Kashmir Solidarity Rally to show your solidarity with the struggle for Freedom in Kashmir, and refuse to be part of the 'collective conscience' for which Afzal was sent to the gallows!

FRIDAY 22nd February

#Onmonwards, #Onmondmde

We will go around campus with songs and slogans and assemble at ad-block to listen to speakers:

HAPPYMON JACOB
(Professor, SIS, JNU)

A.K. RAMAKRISHNAN
(Professor, SIS, JNU)

And students and writers with their Poetry of Protest:
MUZAFFAR KARIM, BASARAT HASSAN, MUZAMIL KARIM and others...

STUDENTS LEAGUE

DO NOT REMOVE TILL 23RD FEB

4,000 unidentified dead bodies buried in mass graves across Jammu!

The flames of national liberation in Kashmir shall sweep away the murderous Indian regime and all its stooges!!

he bodies would come anytime and burials were to be made without involving townsfolk for fear of provoking anti-India otests. They (the police) used to hand over bullet-ridden or disfigured bodies and tell me that they were militants killed the army in gunfights. I wrapped the heads in shrouds and buried them. But, they took a receipt of seven bodies. It s the first time I was witnessing such a horror. I broke down. Over a period of time, it appeared fishy and I started using heads only. I started asking questions and demanded the full body."

ese are the words of Sofi Aziz Joo, the local gravedigger in the Poonch district of Jammu who was handed ousands of unidentified bodies by the Indian mercenary forces. In yet another vindication of the horrors of e Indian occupation of Jammu & Kashmir, a group of journalists has unearthed the existence of 2717 ass graves in Poonch and another 1127 in Rajouri districts of Jammu. It is estimated that these graves ntain nearly 4,000 bodies. This comes only a month after the State Human Rights Commission revealed the istence of thousands of similar unmarked graves across North Kashmir. In fact that report was itself just a ver up operation, with figures far below the original, after a number of fact finding reports had brought to light hat is common knowledge in Kashmir - the existence of unmarked graves across the region wherein lie buried ousands of Kashmiris who have been either been killed in tortured to death in custody or in fake encounters.

e gravedigger pointed out how the bodies handed over to him were mutilated with their faces beyond cognition. At times he was given only heads with no other part of the body attached to it. All this atantly exemplifies how these people were tortured to death and then passed off as 'foreign militants'. The dian state even denied these martyrs a proper funeral. As the burials were completed amidst heavy police esence in the graveyard, no local was permitted to help in the burial for fear of their backlash.

mar Abdullah's 'Truth and Reconciliation Committee' has evoked enthusiasm amongst no one but mself. Omar Abdullah, the local stooge of the Indian expansionist forces in Kashmir, has again come out in full pport of the murderous and rapist Indian army. Denying the existence of mass graves once again, he has gone the extent of saying that calling them such would be a 'misnomer'! Even when mass graves were unearthed in rth Kashmir, he had denied the possibility of any immediate probe, knowing fully well that any delay would ake it redundant as chances of DNA extraction would reduce greatly. He instead proposed setting up a 'Truth d Reconciliation Committee'. The Kashmiris have seen enough of the subterfuges employed by the Indian ate in the form of probes and committees to be deceived by this new 'Truth and Reconcilliation Committee'.

e crimes of the Indian state in Kashmir have far surpassed even that of Pinochet's Chile. In the past two cades alone, more than 80,000 Kashmiris have been killed, many women raped, and thousands have simply 'disappeared' only to be later unearthed in mass graves. Draconian laws like AFSPA have provided complete punity to these killers. Kashmir right now continues to be the most militarized zone in the world with more than akh army personnel. However, despite the army, paramilitary, police and its numerous vigilante gangs, ar haunts not the people of Kashmir but the Indian ruling class and their local stooges. It is the fear of ving recognized that their military might fails to evoke any fear amongst the Kashmiris anymore. It is the fear of ving recognized that none of its overt and covert machinations can silence the rallying cry of *Azaadi*. It is the ar of having recognized that no amount of repression can crush the vision of an independent Kashmir. It is also e fear of the fact that its propaganda machinery fails to cut any ice amongst growing sections of Indians as they ve time and again come out in support of *Azaadi* of Kashmir, at times even few meters away from the rliament. Most of all, it is the fear of the growing unity amongst the Kashmiris and the revolutionary movement India. DSU salutes the valiant freedom fighters of Kashmir and urges all progressive and democratic people to and in complete solidarity with all the struggling nationalities for the right to self-determination *including* cession.

DO NOT REMOVE TILL 1ST OCTOBER

NEGOTIATING NAGALIM
OUTSIDE THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

The Nagas, from the earliest stage of their political struggle, have always sought non-violent means and political solution to sort out the political differences with the Government of India (GOI). They have strived for and continue to look for 'negotiated settlement' to the Indo-Naga problem. However, the GoI has not looked beyond the colonial method of using brutal force for domination, and arbitrarily imposed draconian law and military measures to crush the democratic aspirations of the Nagas. Thousands of Nagas have been killed, numerous women were sexually molested, and many villages destroyed in the name of maintaining 'law and order'. Nagas were compelled to take up arms to defend their rights and to maintain their political status of being a 'nation'. Otherwise, the Nagas have always looked towards maintaining cordial relationship with India. In the 1990s, the Indian military generals and some of the Indian leadership come to realize that the political issue could not be resolved by violent military repression to which political dialogue was sought. The GoI sent a lot of feelers to the Naga leadership which was positively responded by the Nagas. The GoI initially offered talks at the Governor's level, Intelligence's level, General's level and also Home Ministry's level but all were rejected by the NSCN. Finally, during the Prime Ministership of late P.V. Narasimha Rao, the GoI offered talks with the Nagas at the Prime Ministerial level for Unconditional Talks, which ensued since August 1, 1997.

Since then the political negotiations have been going on for more than nine years, but the GoI has backtracked on important issues and has not stood on its own commitments. Due to the delaying tactics of the Indian state the peace process has not made any concrete progress. Yet, the Nagas consider this peace process as the most opportune time to bring a lasting solution through peaceful means to the Indo-Naga political imbroglio. While the Nagas has shown positive gestures to a negotiated settlement, the GoI has not open-up enough space to concede the rightful political demands of the Nagas. Though the Indian Constitution provides democratic liberties to minorities, it does not actually allow them to exercise independent political will. What the Nagas seek is a different political identity, recognition of Nagas as a 'Nation', and the freedom to exercise their political rights for which the Constitution of India is too small and rigid to accommodate.

There are so many conflict situations around the world. Many of them have been recently resolved such as East Timor, Papua New Guinea etc. In order to resolve the Indo-Naga conflict, the Naga leadership has already proposed 'Special Federal Relationship' between Nagalim and India. The proposed relationship envisaged for the separate Naga Constitution, recognition of their Nationality, Territorial Integration, Joint-defense, and representation in UN etc. However, the GoI has so far not given any positive response and failed to spell out its concrete political formula on these substantive issues. The Government of India has always used the Constitution as a tool to subjugate the smaller nationalities and legitimize its imperialistic domination over them. The constitution has become a veil for the Indian state to cover up its real face from the outside world. But, the fact speaks that this is the same Constitution and Parliament that has enacted draconian laws like AFSPA, TADA, and POTA etc. Where does the solution to the Indo-Naga political problem lie, within or outside the Constitution of India? Tonight, we request all the students to join the POST-DINNER TALK on Constitution of India and Nagas' Political Aspiration.

Constitutions and Conflict Resolutions: Comparative Experiences

Speakers: Mr. Anthony Reagan, *Research Fellow and Constitutional Lawyer, Australian National University, and Legal advisor to National Socialist Council of Nagalim (NSCN)* **&**

Nandita Haksar, *Advocate, Supreme Court and Renowned Human Rights Activist*

Tonight, Sutlej Hostel Mess Hall, Time: 9:30 p.m. All are welcome!!!

NAGA STUDY FORUM, JNU

NAGA STUDY FORUM, JNU

Date: 13/02/06

ix Months Indo-Naga Ceasefire Extension: Time to Address the Rights of the Nagas nd the Security of India in Seriousness and Earnestness

he Ceasefire has been extended for another six months w.e.f. 1st of February 2006 after four days (28-31 Jan.) of ectic, heated and intensive discussions at a hotel in the Thai capital, Bangkok. The "Joint Statement" was signed by h. Muivah, from the Naga Representatives and K. Padmanabhaiah, from the Indian Government's Representatives n 31st Jan. the day on which the Ceasefire was suppose to be expired. "As both the Parties recognize that there has een insufficient progress in the talks it was decided to carry the political negotiations expeditiously forward taking ew initiatives" the "Joint Statement said. "It was also agreed to re-activate and make effective mechanisms to ddress all cease-fire issues including modifications of Ground Rules" stated the "Joint Statement". The "Joint tatement" further said that, "for the political negotiations to fructify both the Parties agreed to maintain a congenial tmosphere" during the Ceasefire period.

t was reported in the Medias that Ceasefire has been extended only after the Government of India has assured the agas of taking "positive steps" on the substantive issues including the politico-geographical unification of the Naga eople and their areas. People of different political, socio-cultural and religious persuasions have welcomed the easefire extension across the world. The Nagas had also cautiously welcomed the same due to the invisibility of ositive result and repeated ceasefire extension for the past eight and half years. The Indian Government was happy nd delighted about the extension of the Ceasefire. However, it is difficult to say that Nagas are really happy and elighted about the Ceasefire extension especially when the Indian State has all these years been insincere and laying delaying tactics on the political question. Now, that, both Sides have decided to extend the Ceasefire, what eeds to be done to fructify the political negotiations is the real challenge facing both the Entities within the Ceasefire imeframe.

n order the political negotiations to bear fruit both the Indian Government and the Nagas have to demonstrate elitical maturity and sincerity which would ultimately means respecting each other's historical and strategic oncerns. In light of the seriousness of the nature of the political issue, both sides need to necessarily take political ecision without further dilly-dallying the peace process. Lackadaisical approach has to be abandoned for the sake of he people's cry for peace with justice and truth. The Indian Government's tactics of imposing temporary solution would be a disastrous game as it has been amply proved by past Agreements and Accords not only against the Nagas ut the whole of North East. It is to be noted properly that the Nagas are not glory-hunters in so far as their struggle is oncern. The Nagas' struggle has been and is still waging for their inherent right to self-determination which is being lented by the colonial powers and the neo post-colonial powers in the Indian sub-continent. It is a movement of the eople as a distinct national against forced occupation and division of their contiguous NAGALIM (LIM means AND) without consent, knowledge and agreement. Until the advent of the colonial powers, the Nagas were living ndependently in their LIM contentedly without any interference from outside. That is why the GoI officially ecognized "the Unique History and Situation of the Nagas". On the basis of this History and Situation, a solution ssuring the rights of the Nagas and the security of India has become imperative for the political negotiations to ructify as stated in the "Joint Statement".

n this regard the former US President, Jimmy Carter's Letter of June 18 2005 written to Dr. Manmohan Singh, the M of India and the NSCN leaders is noteworthy. The last two sentences are reproduced below: "I encourage you to nove ahead with your conversations to present an acceptable solution that will assure the rights of the Naga people nd the security of India. Rosalyn and our colleagues at the Carter Center wish you success in reaching the "lasting nd honorable solution" you have worked so hard to accomplish." Many have expressed the importance and necessity of resolving the Indo-Naga political issue as this will subsequently help solve the problems in the North East. It is not out of place to mention here that for India's Look East Policy to be successful, the Indo-Naga political problem has to be first resolved. It is obvious that Nagalim is geo-strategically important centre for any future smooth trade and commercial transactions amongst the South East Asian countries. Th. Muivah had told Subir Bhaumik, BBC's Eastern India Correspondent in an exclusive interview at Bangkok on 3rd November 2005 that "the Indian leaders must know there can be no peace in the North East region unless the Nagas have a settlement, which takes care of their aspirations."

It could be concluded by saying that solving the Indo-Naga political issue with sincerity through political will to decide assuring the rights of the Nagas will not only strengthen the security of India but also the rest of South East Asia. India is secured politically, militarily and economically only when the Nagas are secured. Any future relationship between the Indian State and the Nagas should be based on mutual interests and reciprocity. The extended Ceasefire should not lose time on these crucial and important issues.

NAGA STUDY FORUM, JNU

"Territorial Integration of all the Naga Areas is legitimate and therefore Non-negotiable"

Dated : 13/11/2005

Many friends might be having certain reservations and doubts as to why integration of all the Naga areas is legitimate and therefore non-negotiable. But let us no more pretend ourselves on this vital issue. Such reservations and doubts is devoid of historical facts and roots which are tantamount to dehumanizing the Naga national struggle for free existence as a people. The present initiative will surely deeper the understanding of those reservationists on the fundamental issue as mentioned above. We must grasp the reality of the historical situation in which the Nagas were made to confront the present scenario. Until we are able to accept and theorize the independent existence of the Nagas before the advent of the colonialists we will never be able to appreciate and understand why integration is legitimate and therefore non-negotiable. To be able to call ourselves pilars of tomorrow we must not be carried away by an irrational wishful thinking and presumption about the issue. What we as students should do at best are to understand the reality of the unique history and situation of the Nagas as it is not as it ought to be. If we are going by the historical roots and foundations of the Nagas then the story is very clear and vivid. Let us go back to history for a proper guidance and direction so that we make no mistake and misadventure in course of our journey towards a civilized world. Let the history stand out its own uniqueness. Let us unveil the history from the hidden site so that the truth shines on us for we must not allow the darkness to prevail upon us any longer.

The history of the Nagas is full of blood and tears which is not of their own making. The history of independent existence of the people was contested by forces for their own interests. The Nagas were conquered and subsequently occupied through the use of power by the colonialists and the new post-colonial powers. The outcome of such occupation was none other than the division of the indigenous land of the Nagas. The colonial British were not the only Empire who had divided the Nagalim between the two Asian countries India and Burma but the two Asian countries i.e., India and Burma also responsible for the division of the Nagalim. All these acts have been done for the so called national interests of the colonial powers against the interest of and without the consent of the Nagas. This is the reason why the Nagas are in the states of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur and Nagaland in India and Burma. This is a bitter historical truth. And this is the reason why the Nagas are so bitter in their minds and hearts. Because of these colonial dominations and manipulations the indigenous Naga people had been territorially scattered and placed in different states and administrative units according to the wishes of the post-colonial States. The question is why the bigger powers have to divide smaller nation's land without the consent and knowledge of the people? Why the bigger powers have to force the Nagas to fall in line with them without much historical rights on their parts? What is to be learnt in the histories of the smaller nations are not respected by the bigger powers? The Nagas do not believe in forced union with any body since their ancient times. That is the reason why the Nagas resisted their land being occupied by the post-colonial States. It is in this context that we must ask questions to ourselves. Is it not right on the part of the Nagas to live together once again by coming under one political homeland? Is it wrong to say that territorial integration of all the Naga areas is legitimate and therefore non-negotiable? The answer is a big NO. The Nagas' aspiration to live together by integrating all the Naga areas is legitimate and non-negotiable because they are one people living in a contiguous geographical location since the ancient times till the colonial advent. The Nagas are not claiming others' land. Nagalim belongs to the Nagas and not to others.

And there will be no political solution without the territorial integraton of all the Nagas areas in the present Indo-Naga Political talks or in the future. This is very clear there is no confusion and doubts about it. This is historical and we will commit political crime if we try to distort the history of a people. Let us not fall into the trap of those who are ever ready to destroy the history and run from the truth they themselves know very well. We are not going to tolerate any evil designs of any force on earth. We are going to preserve and protect our rights at any cost. This must be kept in our minds to avoid any mistake and political crime that we may unsciously commit. Let there be peace with justice in our land. Let us strengthen the Indo-Naga political talks. Let no more blood shed between the conflicting parties. This is a high time the Government of India and the Nagas seek an honourable and acceptable political solution. Let the GoI be more sincere, transparent and honest in their approach towards finding a political solution with Nagas. If the GoI is to be committed politically then implementing the aspiration of the Nagas by integrating the Naga areas is a must in the coming days. This is the first step towards resolving Indo-Naga political conflict.

Issued by Co-ordinating Committee Members

NAGA STUDY FORUM, JNU

In order to implement the uniqueness of Nagas history, it is now inevitable that Government of India will have to reorganize the states of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, and Nagaland. It is also inevitable that Government of India has to broker a peaceful security relationship with the Nagas by evolving a political negotiation that is premised outside the Constitution of India. These historical facts, well beyond the politics of recognition, are best reconsidered if India wants to evolve a regional perspective beyond its claims through appeasement and pacification politics and military means.

What do the Nagas want? What are the Nagas fighting for? The Nagas have proved themselves for more than a century now that any parochial attempt to subjugate her people, through different means of war and appropriation, will be met with lethal resistance. The struggle for Nagas' right to self-determination, which includes Nagas' right to live and govern under one political umbrella, right to control over their own lands and resources, and to have sovereign powers to expedite any regional cooperation and harmony, has been, now, more than any other time, made explicitly very clear to the various political leaders of India.

The six-months visit of National Socialist Council of Nagalim (NSCN) Collective Leadership to India, at the invitation of Government of India and the Prime Minister of India, since December 2004, which resulted in diplomatic exchanges and political negotiations with all cross sections of Indian national political party leaders and, also, consultation with sections of Indian civil society and intellectuals, has not only put into perspective political matters of very great consequences in south/south east Asian theatre but has also indulge Indian leaders to have a comprehensive review of historical crimes the Indian state has committed against the Naga nation.

There is no wavering of opinion or the objective of the struggle, insofar as Nagas are concerned. The finest moment for a seizure of history is now posited into the court of Government of India. There can be no articulation far better than the right to live freely from any forms of cultural indignation and political suppression. The Naga leaders who have had made their willingness to politically resolve this longest and bloodiest South Asian warfare are now left with no option but to reconsider the peculiarity of political commitment and will from Government of India, and further evaluate the struggle closely, even if it is politics by other means.

The Naga Study Forum (JNU) invites the students' community of JNU, New Delhi, tonight, for the screening of interviews with NSCN leader, Mr. Th. Muivah, which publicly announces the positions of the Nagas and updates the political developments till date.

Screening of Interviews with **Mr. Th. Muivah**, General Secretary, **NSCN**, by **BBC World Hard Talk India** and **NDTV Walk the Talk**, followed by a discussion with panelist **Mr. Kekhrie Yhome**, Co-Convenor, Naga Peoples Movement for Human Rights.

Venue: **Tapti Hostel** Time: **9.30 p.m.** Date: **01 July, 2005**

NAGA STUDY FORUM, JNU

Prepare for peace if you want peace, because if you prepare for war, you will have war.

Eight years down the Indo-Naga political negotiation and peace process, which was brokered through the 1997 Ceasefire between NSCN and Government of India, nothing unusual or progressive has taken place. The periodic extension of Ceasefire since then, starting from 03 months to 06 months to one year is finally getting impatient – it is getting shortened.

The extension of another six months Ceasefire between the NSCN and Government of India, starting from 01 August, 2005, will be a period of intensive testing for impatience, political will and an ideal framework for redefining tactical rational choice games! The onus will be more towards the Government of India – the Nagas have made their positions sufficiently clear to the Indian political bigwigs and her civil society during the Ceasefire period. It was necessary – Indians are Indians – they don't know anything about Nagas and they have to be explained!

Taking the advantage of the six months ceasefire period – the confidence building measure that were developed will be put to test – whether it will end with war again, between Nagas and Indians, or whether it will garner political friendship and historical lessons between two nations – one big and the other small.

A re-continuation of Indo-Naga war, thereby making it sufficiently the longest terrible beauty for South Asia, will spell more lethal energies this time. The substantive accumulation of resources and the perennial energy of frustration – for a people to live as free and together – will create new textbooks on ethnicity, nationalism, peoples revolution, terrorism, and war machines... whichever conceptual engineering systems armchair think tanks like to imagine and legitimize. It will be said because national security will take precedence of human security again, and memory will be fighting against forgetting for a couple of generations again.

An honourable political settlement, recognizing the unique situation and history of the Nagas, will, however, bring South Asia and South East Asia closer – it will not promise el dorado as in the offered missives of grander regional bilateral cooperation like the ones regulated by Asian Development or World Banks, or Transnational Corporates. It will, rather, create trust amongst peoples – to live harmoniously, dependent to each other in good faith.

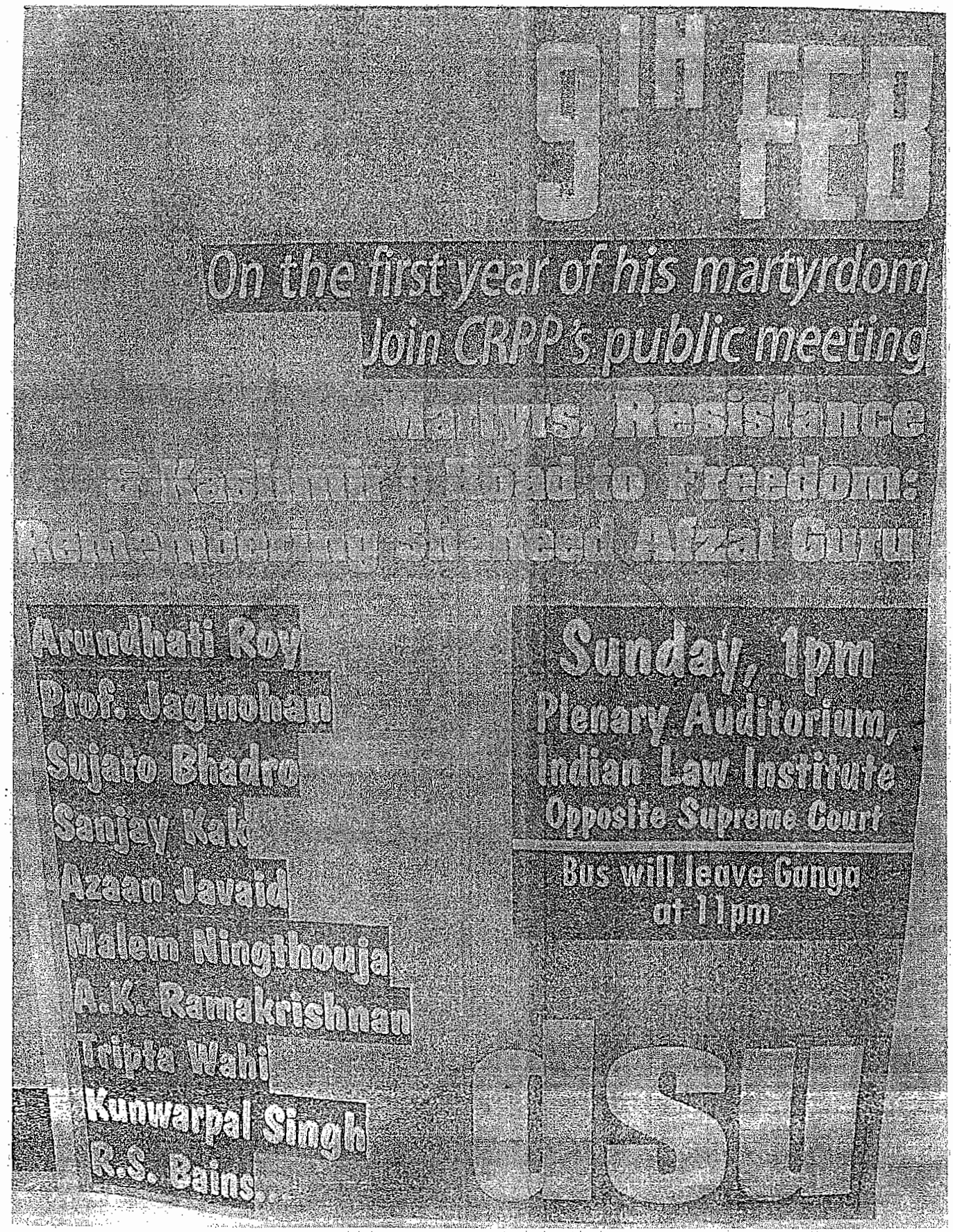
The Indo-Naga debacle, which has seen more than half century of transformation through the language of violence, calls for a better understanding and critical solidarity. It also demands a conscious effort to comprehend peoples aspiration and the terror of the state, often regulated in the name of all...

You are invited for a panel review talk tonight on

08 Years of Indo-Naga Ceasefire Agreement

Panelists: Neingulo Krome, General Secretary, Naga Hoho; Puni Mudoli, President, United Naga Council (UNC) Manipur; Nandita Haksar, Advocate, Supreme Court, India and Human Rights Activist; Seiba Kho John, Tribunal General, All Naga Students' Association Manipur (ANSAM).

Date: 01 Aug., 2005 **Venue:** Godavari Hostel Dining Room **Time:** 9:30 pm


On the first year of his martyrdom
Join CRPP's public meeting
Arundhati Roy
Prof. Jagmohan
Sujato Bhadro
Sanjay Kak
Azaan Javaid
Malem Ningthouja
A.K. Ramakrishnan
Gautam Wahi
Kunwarpal Singh
R.S. Bains
Sunday, 1pm
Plenary Auditorium,
Indian Law Institute
Opposite Supreme Court
Bus will leave Ganga
at 11pm

Martyrs, Resistance & Kashmir's Road to Freedom:

Remembering Shaheed Afzal Guru

on the first anniversary of his martyrdom

Arundhati Roy, Writer Activist

Prof. Jagmohan, nephew of Bhagat Singh

Sujato Bhadro, Vice-President, CRPP

Sanjay Kak, Filmmaker

Azaan Javaid, Journalist

Malem Ninghthouja, CPDK

A.K. Ramakrishnan, Professor, JNU

Tripta Wahi, Rtrd Professor of History, DU

Kunwarpal Singh, General Secretary, Dal Khalsa

R.S. Bains, Senior Advocate, Punjab-Haryana High Court

9th February, 1pm, Plenary Auditorium, Indian Law Institute

Bhagwan Das Road, Opposite Supreme Court of India, New Delhi.

ommittee for the Release of Political Prisoners [CRPP]

REMEMBERING SHAHEED MAQBOOL AND SHAHEED AFZAL

Wee hours of 9th Feb, 2013 shaheed Afzal Guru was hanged by the Indian state repeating what it did on 11th of Feb, 1984 when it hanged Shaheed Maqbool Bhat.

"The remains of our martyrs lie with India in trust." is written on the gravestones of their awaiting graves in martyr's graveyard at Idgah Srinagar.

dian State occupied Jammu Kashmir on 27th of October, 1947. It is now the sixty-sixth year of occupation which every erson of Jammu Kashmir experiences on a daily basis. This occupation is not only a military occupation but also controls ich and every aspect of the people's lives, be it politics, education, economy, media etc. Especially since 1989, when the opular uprising turned into an armed struggle for Azadi, massacres, killings, rape, torture, disappearances were ormalized for the people of Jammu Kashmir. The desire for occupation of Kashmir in the name of the so-called overeignty and integrity" of India and in the name of farcical "national security" has now percolated deep down the ollective conscience of the Indian state of which the people of Kashmir have always REFUSED TO BE A PART. Our refusal urts this collective conscience and the spilling of our blood satisfies it.

Generations of Kashmiris have consistently resisted the Indian occupation and expressed their resolve for the liberation of their homeland in the series of uprisings and civil disobedience movements since 1947. The 1989 uprising added a new chapter to our struggle for the Self-Determination of Kashmir. It announced the revival of mass mobilizations and the beginning of the armed revolt against the ugly Indian Occupation. While Indian Occupation forces and its collaborators in Kashmir attempted to cover India's Crimes against Humanity in Kashmir and made every attempt to hood wink the International community in recent past, the protest movements of 2008 and 2010 with the slogan 'Go India Go back' once again demonstrated the resilience and clarity of Kashmiri people vis-a-vis struggle against the Indian Occupation. Unnerved by the people's power, Indian state hanged Shaheed Afzal Guru on 9th February, 2013, in complete secrecy, while the Indian armed forces and the stooges of the Indian occupation in Kashmir clamped down a strict curfew in the entire region. Moreover, the whole legal process of framing Afzal Guru was conducted in a manner that clearly smacked of a political vendetta. After Afzal's hanging in the infamous Tihar Jail, he was buried right next to another Kashmiri martyr, Maqbool Bhat, who has inspired generations of Kashmiri to fight against the occupation and for the liberation of Jammu Kashmir.

As in the case of Shaheed Maqbool Bhat, Indian State refused to hand over the body of Shaheed Afzal Guru to the people of Kashmir. While the arrogance of the Indian State was clearly visible, what was also visible was the fragility of its power in Kashmir. As the Indian state buries Kashmiris in its jails, Kashmiris add empty graves to their graveyards.

On the occasion of the first anniversary of the hanging of Shaheed Afzal Guru, we salute the sacrifice and resilience of the people of Jammu Kashmir. The blood of martyrs gives strength to our resolve to fight for our freedom.

LONG LIVE MAQBOOL! LONG LIVE AFZAL, LONG LIVE AZADI!

On Saturday, 8th of February: Join DSU's MASHAAL JULOOS at 9:00 pm from Ganga Dhaba.

On Sunday, 9th of February: Attend the Public Meeting MARTYRS, RESISTANCE & KASHMIR'S ROAD TO FREEDOM: REMEMBERING SHAHEED AFZAL GURU organized by the Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners (CRPP) at 1:00 pm at the Plenary Auditorium, Indian Law Institute, Bhagwandas Road, Opposite Supreme Court.

[Bus will leave from Ganga Dhaba at 11:00 am]

DO NOT REMOVE TILL 12th FEB

STUDENTS' LEAGUE

SALUTATIONS TO SUBHASHCHANDRA BOSE

BORN ON 23RD JANUARY 1897 IN CUTTACK, ODISHA HE WAS ONE OF THE [illegible] MOTHERLAND [illegible] HE WENT ON [illegible] THE BRITISH FOR [illegible] IA BUT HE HAS [illegible] OTTEN. OFTEN [illegible] IN INDIAN HISTORY [illegible] BUT [illegible] D BY EVERY TRUE [illegible] SUBHASH BOSE [illegible] SERED TO TEACH THE [illegible] SSON IN MODERN [illegible] HICH STUNNED THE [illegible] REFUSED TO BECOME AN [illegible] UNDER THE BRITISH REGIME AND WENT ON TO RAISE AN ARMY, [illegible] AND FAUJ AND PETRIFIED THE BRITISH EMPIRE. HE REFUSED TO BE [illegible] THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND STOOD UP FOR THE SELF-[illegible] [illegible] 125TH BIRTH [illegible] ON ANNIVERSARY WE REMEMBER HIM AS [illegible] SS PATRIOTS WHO SACRIFICED EVERYTHING FOR THE [illegible] NDENCE. WE PAY OUR RESPECTS TO NETAJI SUBHAS [illegible] S LEGACY WILL CONTINUE TO INSPIRE US.

[illegible] TARAM! BHARAT MATA KI JAI!

[illegible] COUNTRY ON [illegible] ONE OF THE REFLE- [illegible] CAUSE OF OUR INDEPE [illegible] BOSE AND HOPE THAT HI- [illegible]

VANDE MA [illegible]

AMRUT

Don't Remove till 30th Ja [illegible]

came out with its report on Brakpora, indicting some police and CRPF personnel. Even these were not made public and its recommendations were not implemented.

Though Chattisingpora was completely blacked out from public memory, the demand for justice in the Pathribal case remained. Unable to contain this demand, the investigation of Pathribal was handed over to the CBI in February 2003. By 2006, even the CBI in the face of overwhelming evidence, was forced to come out with its report indicting five officers of the 7 Rashtriya Rifles. It charge-sheeted these personnel in the local court: Brigadier Ajay Saxena, Lt. Col. Brijendra Pratap Singh, Major Sourabh Sharma, Major Amit Saxena and Subedar Idrees Khan of staging a fake encounter, abduction, criminal conspiracy and evidence destruction. **Now it was the turn of the army itself to protect its own officials.** They appealed to the High Court and finally to the Supreme Court that the state government had no jurisdiction to punish the army as the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) was in force in the state. It took another six years for the Supreme Court to re-ascertain that the 5 killed in Pathribal were in fact "not foreign militants of the terrorist outfit LeT but innocent civilians. On the question of the whether the encounter was fake the SC simply passed the buck back to where it came from - that is the army's own court or court martial. In 2012. Last week, on January 23rd 2014, the army court gave its judgement stating that they found no evidence against the five army personnel involved in the Pathribal fake encounter. So after 12 years, the family members of those who were killed in Pathribal find themselves exactly the same spot from where they had begun their journey.

The military occupation of Kashmir provides the armed forces of the Indian state to maim, torture, kill and rape with impunity. After all, how can justice be expected when the occupation, killers and the judges are one and the same. Several courts and investigating agencies keep passing the buck to each other ultimately to exonerate the killers in uniform. In the case of Pathribal, the army acquitted its own men who had been found guilty by the CBI. However, it is the same CBI that gave a clean chit to the army in the rape and murder of Asiya and Neelofar in Shopian in 2009, and instead ridiculously claimed that two had drowned in ankle length water. Even the highest courts of this self-proclaimed world's largest democracy are no different. Afzal Guru, who was executed in a secretive hanging last year, was sentenced to death by the Supreme Court not on the basis of any evidence (which it itself accepted that it had none), but rather to satisfy what it termed as the "collective conscience" of the society. In the valley, the repressive measures employed by the Indian state to suppress the aspirations of the Kashmiri people can put even Pinochet or the torturers of Abu Ghraib to shame. Kashmir continues to remain the most militarized zone in the world with over a 8 lakh armed personnel and in the past two decades over a lakh have been killed, thousands of women raped, tens of thousands simply disappeared only to be rediscovered in mass graves years later while countless Kashmiris have been tortured and maimed. But all these machinations of the Indian state far from suppressing the struggles of the Kashmiri people for Azaadi has only forged further resolve and new solidarities. **DSU appeals to all progressive and democratic sections to unequivocally condemn the acquittal by the army of the killers of Pathribal and stand in solidarity with the fight of the Kashmiri people for their inalienable right to self-determination including the right to secede from the Indian Union.**

FREE KASHMIR!

DONT REMOVE TILL 2ND FEBRUARY

How many deaths will it take till we know,
That too many people have died,
The answer, my friend is blowing in the wind...

Condemn the Indian state's continued terror in Kashmir

Stand in solidarity with the Kashmiri people in their fight for their inalienable right to self-determination and Azadi against a brutal military occupation!

Five Kashmiri dead bodies that sustained more than 95% burns and had received an average of 5 bullets at the hands of the killer Rashtriya Rifles of the Indian Army 14 years ago are not numbers that merely pertain to the Pathribal massacre. They are the one of the many lightless lanes of the labyrinth called Indian 'democracy' (read military occupation) in Kashmir. In the past more than six decades, all the organs of this 'democracy' – from the police, paramilitary, army to the media, judiciary and even the so called 'elected representatives' - have all colluded to first torture, rape and kill countless Kashmiris and then justify all of it. The recent acquittal by the army of five of its own personnel who were responsible for the cold blooded massacre of 5 Kashmiris in Pathribal is simply another case which illustrates the workings of this state.

On the 20th of March, 2000, about 20 army men opened fire in Chattisinghpora village in Kashmir killing 36 Sikhs and claimed that it was the work of 'foreign terrorists' of Lashkar-e-Toiba. This happened when the then US president Bill Clinton was on a visit to India and the attack was shown as evidence of the threat of terrorism that India faced and the need for joint India-US efforts in the so called 'war against terror'. The Indian state through this orchestrated massacre of the Sikhs also sought to delegitimize the national liberation struggle in Kashmir by portraying it as an evidence of its 'communal' nature. Five days later, on the 25th of March the Rashtriya Rifles picked up five innocent Kashmiris from a neighbouring village Pathribal, shot them in cold blood, mutilated and burnt their bodies. It then reported to then Home Minister LK Advani that the 'terrorists' responsible for the Sikh massacre had been eliminated in a 'surgical operation'. Vehement protests broke out against the army for staging the so-called encounter demanding the exhumation of the bodies for examination and enquiry. In one of these protests at Brakpora on 3rd April attended by thousands of Kashmiris the CRPF opened fire killing 7 more and injuring 15. Because of the popular protests, the then Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah was forced to constitute an investigation and the responsibility for investigating all the three massacres (i.e. Chattisinghpora, Pathribal as well as Brakpora) was given to the Pandian Commission. However admonition in a weeks time from the then Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee on the suspicion around the army's involvement in the massacres at Chattisingpora and Pathribal led to their exclusion from the scope of the investigation. It was since then that the Commission was ordered to look into just the Brakpora killings. Meanwhile, the various organs of the state machinery, specially the media, spread the Gobblessian propaganda that LeT was responsible for the Chattisinchpora massacre. By Oct 27th, the Pandian Commission

Do not stand at my grave and cry;
I am not dead, I did not die.

remembering Afzal Guru

on the first year of his martyrdom

JOIN FEB 9 MARCH

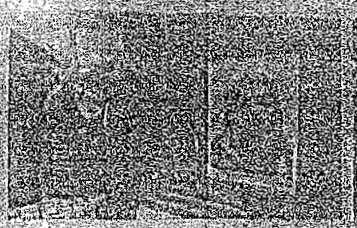
SATURDAY, 3PM FROM GANDA

On the first year of his martyrdom
Join CRPP's public meeting

Arundhati Roy
Prof. Jagmohan
Sujato Bhadra
Sanjay Kak
Aasim Javaid
Malem Ningthoja
A.R. Ramalingham
Teesta Wahi
Kanwalpal Singh
R.B. Bahuguna

Sunday, 1pm
Plenary Auditorium,
Indian Law Institute
Opposite Supreme Court

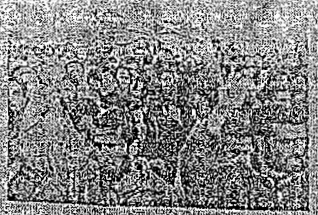
Bus will leave Ganga
at 11pm

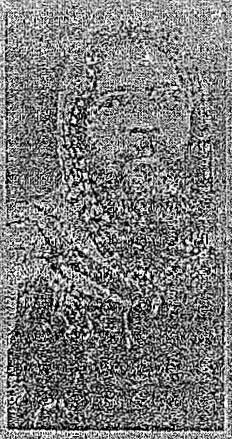


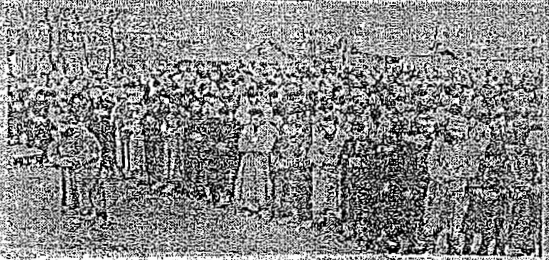
Martyrs, Resistance & Kashmir's Road to Freedom:

Remembering Shaheed Afzal Guru

on the first anniversary of his martyrdom







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Tripta Wahi,
Kunwarpal Singh,
R.S. Bains,

9th February, 1pm, Plenary Auditorium, Indian Law Institute

Bhagwan Das Road, Opposite Supreme Court of India, New Delhi

Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners [CRPP]

Amitabh Kundu <akundu.jnu@gmail.com>

Slanderous pestering in the interest

4 messages

Cyber Cell <cybercell.eow12@gmail.com>
To: akundu.jnu@gmail.com

Fri, Jan 31, 2014 at 3:30 PM

OFFICE OF THE JOINT COMMISSIONER OF POLICE, ECONOMIC OFFENCES WING, CRIME BRANCH, POLICE STATION MANDIR MARG COMPLEX, MANDIR MARG, NEW DELHI-01

Sir,

Your complaint (No. O-359/DCP/EOW dated 29.01.2014) has been forwarded to The Deputy Commissioner of Police, South District, Delhi vide Dispatch No. 754/Complaint. BR/DCP/EOW/Crime Branch, dated 31.01.2014. You may contact the concerned office for further enquiry/progress of your complaint.

INVESTIGATING OFFICER
EOW, CRIME BRANCH
011-23746753

Amitabh Kundu <akundu.jnu@gmail.com>
To: Cyber Cell <cybercell.eow12@gmail.com>

Sun, Feb 2, 2014 at 8:20 PM

Sir,
am grateful to you for registering the complaint
was hoping that perhaps with the lodging of the complaint with you, there would be some change in the
tensity of the slanderous campaigning. However no so that there has been intensification and a new
log naming me has been placed before a couple of hours.
his is my request to go the DSU blog in the internet and see the malicious propaganda for yourself
make a plea to urgently intervene before more damage is done to the honour and prestige of a university
acher who have had unblemished career at JNU for over 40 years.
egards,
urs Sincerely,
mitabh kundu
ted text hidden]

Amitabh Kundu <akundu.jnu@gmail.com>
Cyber Cell <cybercell.eow12@gmail.com>

Tue, Feb 4, 2014 at 7:46 AM

M. Executive Committee and interfere in the decision making on the Report of Vom. a case lodged with malafide intentions with the Committee for Gender Sensitization and Sexual Harrassment. The blogs can be easily downloaded from the internet by putting my name and that of Democratic Student Union (DSU).

This is to request you to kindly take appropriate actions in the matter to protect the dignity and self respect of a teacher in the university who has had an unblemished record of serving the university and different Ministries of the Government as members and chairperson of various Committees.

Regards

Yours faithfully

Submitted to
Mr Prem Kumar Gautam
CBI office

(AMITABH KUNDU)
Centre for Study of Regional Development
House No 66, New Campus
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi

To,
The Superintendent of Police
Cyber Crime Investigation Cell
I.G.O. Complex
New Delhi

The 1st January 2014

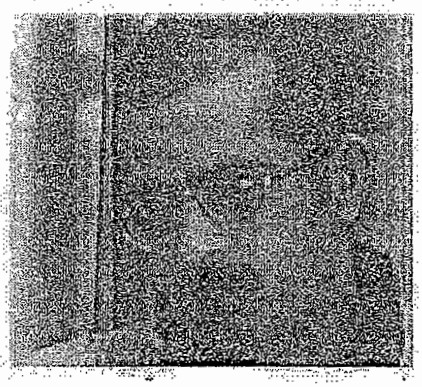
Sir,

I would like to follow up on the complaint lodged by my university (as informed by the chief Security officer) and myself personally, against defamatory blogs being put up by a group identified as Democratic Student Union (DSU), on a regular basis against the university administration Executive Council and myself. I have been under serious mental stress as the DSU group is carrying out the malicious campaign against me by maligning me. I despite the Vice Chancellor (V.C.) informing me that he has initiated actions to stop the illegal activities.

The blogs have been put up to pressurize

[PTO]

Afzal Guru's Hanging: A Year After



"...Afzal was not the mastermind or chief conspirator in the Parliament attack. He didn't personally commit murder or participate in the attack. Yet, he was sentenced to death for murder (Sec 302 of the Indian Penal Code), waging war against the state (Sec 121 and 121A), and criminal conspiracy (Sec 120A & B). The punishment is prima facie excessive and disproportionate." (Praful Bidwai, 2006)

Join Public Meeting

Denied Fair Trial, Hanged Without Evidence and Despite Reasonable Doubt

Speakers:

Gautam Navlakha (Human Rights Activist)

Mihir Srivastava (Journalist)

Anand Grover (Senior Lawyer)

9Feb Sunday

Tapti Mess

9.30 pm

JNUSU

and burying them in the snow, their comrades were otherwise engaged. Most of the commissioned officers were deployed at the 'interrogation centres' according to the army. Two kuthars (large barn like outbuildings for storing grain, fodder and cattle) within yards of each other, belonging to Asad Dar and the village numberdar (revenue official) Aziz Shah, and Abli Dar's home, on the main lane of Kunan's maze of winding alleys, were quickly commandeered and their lofts or rooms converted into make shift 'interrogation centers', while their compounds formed a holding space for the men. All three were provided with the same basic equipment – a bench fashioned out of planks of wood, a large wooden log, a bucket of chilli water, a couple of wires connected to a radio battery forming a crude live-circuit, assorted sticks and ropes, a few chairs, and somewhere to suspend the men from–but adaptations were made according to available resources and geography. For instance, in Asad Dar's yard through which the village stream ran, repeated dunking in its icy depths formed part of the standard procedure. At two of the compounds, Aziz Shah's and Abli Dar's where firewood was stored in the wood-shed a bonfire was lit, around which parka-clad soldiers chatted and drank, and villagers recovered from their water treatments. At Asad Dar's kuthar a tall, fair and somewhat chubby faced officer sat on a chair before a wireless set, giving orders and flashing his torchlight. Downstairs, in all three yards, men squatted or stood in the snow waiting for their possible turns on the equipment. Occasionally when they went up, they saw a neighbour or brother who was before them in line, slumped on the floor at the head of the stairs. Some like Salim Dar, whose brother was a surrendered militant, paid a visit to two of the three centers. He still walks on crutches as a result.

Names and identifying information has been changed to protect identities in both pieces

For the full article go to:

http://kafila.org/2014/01/30/kunan-poshpora-the-other-story-shrimoyee-nandini-ghosh/

rape victims. JKCCS had decided after some deliberation that if the police did not appear to be doing any investigations, they would themselves, aided by the new documents, attempt to rescue from oblivion the events of that night. Over the last three months, they have been engaged in a process of interviewing villagers, explaining to them what the police papers say, seeking clarifications, and attempting to piece together as coherent a narrative as possible given the constraints of resources, the lapses of memory, the reticence of rage, grief and repeated recounting, and the deaths of crucial witnesses. On 24th August 2013, I accompanied a team of human rights lawyers and researchers from JKCCS to the village of Kunan, on one of their visits. I was told that their interviews with those of the women who wished to speak was almost complete, and the day's planned interviews were mostly with men from the village. Previous conversations, as well as police statements showed that interrogation centres had been set up in the village during the operation, and witnesses referred to extreme and extensive torture of men, but this was not specifically recorded in the First Information Report, and formed no part of the official list of crimes that occurred that night, which consists of rape, house trespass and illegal confinement.

As in the police documents, Kunan Poshpora has become inscribed as a story of rape in Kashmir's public memory. But something else also happened that night. A crime so commonplace in that age of cordons and crackdowns that even the men who were its victims, barely thought to mention it, attending instead like the rest of us to the outrage of the raped women. As Ahmad Ameen put it, 'They let us go home after the crackdown, in the morning at about 9 am.' [Some men were bleeding, others were barely conscious and had to be carried. One man told us he crawled home on all fours]. 'That's when we realised what had happened. What they had done in every house. Then all hell broke lose.' Several of the men were somewhat laconic when the interviews began. 'Joh karte hai, wahi kiya', Rahim Dar said. 'They did what they do.' And indeed they had– with wood, water, electricity–those universal implements for the infliction of finely calibrated pain. JKCCS believes on the basis of preliminary conversations that between hundred to a hundred and twenty men from the two villages were tortured that night. A total of twelve men were interviewed during the course of the day I visited, by three teams of researchers. I think it was after the fourth time I heard mention of medical treatments for sexual dysfunction, that the true irony of the 'emasculation' metaphors that are so abundant in talk about the Kunan-Poshpora rapes dawned on me. What I often dismiss as misplaced patriarchal indignation had been repeatedly made flesh that night. 'Oh! Come on', I want to say aloud, every time I hear or read the words 'rape' 'our women' and 'impotency' in close proximity– 'It's NOT about you!', but this time it was. And it involved wires, needles and a portable DC battery.

A kind of unmooring from the realms of human language has characterised the description of the Kunan Poshpora rapes. District Magistrate S.M Yasin's report speaks of being unable to put down in 'black and white' the acts committed by the 'beasts' for instance, and the rape survivors themselves talk of the chaos of a toofaan, of foul smelling shaitaans apparating through their blackouts and dissassociated states as they lay in the dark. But, as I listened to the men, ranging in age from 90-year-old Lal Dar (68 at the time of the torture) to 40 year old Manzoor (18 in 1991) their torture seemed to bear a somewhat different relationship to language and the world. What happened to them was nailed to a scaffolding of banal bureaucratic and military terms—interrogation, information, identification, search, cordon, crackdown—and tethered to mundane physical objects and familiar places—buckets, logs and planks of wood, helmets, torchlights, batteries, wood sheds, barns, streams and trees. As the men spoke I began to picture that night, not as an endless orgy of a horde of rampaging beasts, but as a quiet and efficient military operation, carried out by trained men. Four companies of men from the 4th Rajputana Rifles, 68th Mountain Brigade commanded by a Colonel K.S. Dalal, in fact, as the army itself admits in police statements. Alpha and Delta Companies were deployed in the outer cordon, Bravo and Charlie in the search and interrogation. While teams of ten to twenty soldiers, sometimes headed by an officer who they were heard referring to as 'Sir', went on a systematic house to house search, rooting men out of their beds, demanding to be taken immediately to militants or hidden weapons, strip searching them

SANSAD

South Asian Network for Secularism and Democracy

Remembering mass rape and torture by Indian Army in Kashmir

January 23, 2014 South Asia Bulletin Chinmoy Banerjee

From *Kafila*

Kunan Poshpora – The Other Story : Shrimoyee Nandini Ghosh

JANUARY 20, 2014

by Nivedita Menon

This guest post by SHRIMOYEE NANDINI GHOSH is based on two essays about the men and women of Kunan Poshpora, that appeared in the Kashmir Reader dated 1 September 2013, and 13 January 2014.

Information and updates about the campaign for justice and truth for the survivors of Mass Rape and Torture in Kunan Poshpora are available at https://www.facebook.com/KunanposhporaCampaign.

Beneath the horrors of the mass rape committed by Indian troops in the twin villages that night in February 1991, lies the untold story of systematic torture of men, carried out by the same forces with the precision and deliberation of a planned military operation.

In June 2013, a Public Interest Litigation filed in the Jammu and Kashmir High Court, by fifty Srinagar based women, supported by human rights group Jammu and Kashmir Coalition of Civil society (JKCCS) had resulted in a Magisterial order for the further investigations of the mass and gang rape by Indian army personnel of the women of Kunan, and neighbouring hamlet Poshpora, in Kupwara District of North Kashmir on the night of February 23rd-24th 1991. The police, it appears from the lack of any remotely investigative activities in the villages to have done little if anything, by way of following the court order in the last six months. On 14 September, 2013 they asked for and were granted an additional three months time for further investigations, without notice to the survivors who are legally represented in the case.

However, the closure report, which police had failed to file for twenty – two years, and which had been presented before the Magistrate of Kupwara just weeks before the Public Interest Litigation, in March 2013, had yielded several important previously unavailable official documents. These included a hand drawn police map, a nominal roll of 125 army personnel (including several officers) who were admittedly part of the operation and in Kunan-Poshpora that night, statements from victims, witnesses and army men mentioning specific locations, times and incidents, and the official medical reports of some of the

Public Meeting:

THE RIGHT TO SELF DETERMINATION INCLUDING SECESSION: THE CASE OF KASHMIR

Speakers: **Sheikh Showkat Hussain**, *Kashmir University*
Najeeb Mubaraki, *Economic Times*
Jatindar Singh, *Punjab University*

TONIGHT, Kaveri Mess, 9.15 pm

The body long lost, the eyes shut in history,
The fingerprints of the traces lost in the dust of history,
Where did the flesh and the bones go?
Where did the eyes lose their shine?
The dreams once dreamt, the rhythm of life vanished,
Vanished is the existence, vanished from the very facing history
And they turned out to be history, the unspoken, the unnamed history.

— From a banner of 'Association of Parents of Disappeared People', Kashmir

The most militarized zone in the world, Kashmir stands for a nation with obliterated history and unthinkable state terror for the past more than 6 decades. The Indian ruling classes have always tried to portray Kashmir as an 'inalienable part of India'. They have consistently denied their internationally committed promise, and guaranteed by as many as 18 UNSC resolutions, to let the Kashmiri people exercise a plebiscite. Even geographical misrepresentation has not been spared, and India has been showcasing a false map to the world which erases the LoC that splits Kashmir territorially and administratively. Kashmir as a nation therefore remains occupied mostly by India and partly by Pakistan and China. Overshadowed by the jingoist sentiments whipped up through multiple means, research on Kashmir is highly censored and reporting grossly restricted. Even internationally reputed journalists like David Barsamian, filmmakers like Udi Aloni, scholars like Richard Shapiro have either been deported from Kashmir or denied visas lest they bring out the reality of the brutalities of the Indian occupation of Kashmir.

As opposed to the official 'history' repeated ad nauseam in statist accounts, Kashmir was never a part of India. Amongst the many obliterated facts regarding the history of J&K, one that stands out is the fact that even in August 1947 Kashmir did not accede to India. During the colonial period, it was one of the largest princely states among the 572 ruled by Hindu Dogra elite [feudal chieftains and princely overlords] through whom the British extended their control in the region. After the partition of the sub-continent into two separate two-nation states, it was once again the opinion of Maharaja Hari Singh (the last of such overlords), and not the people of Kashmir, which was instrumental in the accession of Kashmir to India. In fact Maharaja's previous PM Ram Chander Kak was removed by him on the advice of Gandhi as he supported independence. Same was the case with many other officials and intellectuals who preferred independence. Later Prem Nath Bazaz, a renowned Kashmiri Marxist intellectual, who supported accession to Pakistan on the grounds of cultural and geographical ties, was exiled by the Indian backed regime of Shiekh Abdullah. The extension of colonial control through this mechanism had resulted in intensified feudal exploitation in the region against which the people of Kashmir rose up in revolt several times. It was in the midst of one such revolt in 1947 that the Indian ruling classes very cavalierly extended their control to the region. In 1947, the residents of Poonch who formed a formidable regiment under the British Army were systematically unarmed by the Dogra state and massacred at a big level aided by the Indian army. Some 200,000 Muslims were killed and many more "disappeared" or were forced to migrate. It was then that these people, seeing no other means, attempted to liberate Kashmir from Dogra-Indian combine and rose up in an armed rebellion for independent Kashmir. Hari Singh sought military help from first the Raja of Patiala and then from India to suppress this rebellion known as the Poonch Rebellion. On 26 October, 1947, the Indian state's military forces entered Kashmir for the first time to suppress this rebellion *one day before the so-called 'accession' was signed*. Even at that time, the then Indian Prime Minister Nehru stated that the people of Kashmir would be given a right very soon to decide their future through a plebiscite. In a broadcast from New Delhi on 2nd November 1947, Nehru said, *"We have declared that the fate of Kashmir is ultimately to be decided by the people. That pledge we have given, and the Maharaja has supported it, not only to the people of Kashmir but to the world. We will not, and cannot back out of it. We are prepared when peace and law and order have been established to have a referendum held under international auspices like the United Nations. We want it to be a fair and just reference to the people, and we shall accept their verdict. I can imagine no fairer and juster offer."* (Govt. of India, White Paper on J&K, Delhi, 1948, p.77)

Ever since this forcible 'accession', the history of Kashmir is a history of false promises and repeated betrayals of the Kashmiri people's aspirations. In 1947, the Indian state installed the comprador government under Sheikh Abdullah and at the same time incorporated article 370 in the constitution to grant the Kashmiris some minimal autonomy as a substitute for plebiscite and self-determination. However, the developments there after even rendered this minimal autonomy invalid as the central government repeatedly intervened directly to stifle all voices of self-determination. Even its own loyalists like Sheikh Abdullah were not spared by Nehru and co. who arrested him for treason in 1953. After his arrest, the Indian state installed Ghulam Muhammad Bakshi who once in power declared Kashmir to be a *permanent* part of India. Successive rigged elections were held under the viral surveillance of the army in 1957 and 1962 with no opposition allowed. Sheikh Abdullah was finally released by Indira Gandhi in 1973 at the cost of a compromise deal with her to integrate Kashmir completely to India and the

P.T.O

offices of President and PM were renamed as Governor and CM. Sheikh Abdullah for his complete betrayal of the aspirations of the Kashmiris had to face the wrath of the Kashmiris whose collective anger by this time knew no bounds. Once again in 1983 another government was overthrown in a coup by the Indian state which this time around installed another puppet by the name of Ghulam Mohammad Shah. It was however the elections in 1987 which were the major turning point in the history of Kashmir's on-going struggle for freedom. Several candidates who contested the elections seeking the mandate for plebiscite under the banner of Muslim United Front (MUF) were thrown behind bars after they won those elections, and known loyalists like Farooq Abdullah installed in their place. In all these decades, it was the will of a select few compradors from Maharaja Hari Singh to Ghulam Mohammad Bakshi and Sheikh Abdullah and his clan and not the aspirations of the people that determined the history of the region. And all of these betrayals convinced the people by the late 1980s that there was no other way forward but to take the struggle to a more assertive and militant form, even if it means taking up arms.

The armed struggle for complete *Azaadi* from India erupted in Kashmir after all forms of peaceful struggles were repressed and ignored. The state repression by the Indian security forces also escalated to absolute fascist proportions. 800,000 paramilitary forces protected under the impunity of the draconian Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) was deployed in Kashmir. In the following two decades, 100,243 people have been murdered while many simply disappeared. At the end of 2010, more than 3000 bodies were unearthed from various unmarked mass graves spread around the valley containing bodies of people who were killed secretly by the army. However, the number of mass massacres perpetrated by the Indian army and para-military by open firing on people in Kashmir is mind boggling. Just to site a few glaring examples, on January 21 1990, 55 people were gunned down in Basanthbagh and Gawkadal in Srinagar by CRPF when 20,000 people came out in the streets to protest, defying curfew. Four days later on 25 January, 26 people were shot dead in Handwara town of Kupwara district. On May 21 in the same year, 70 people who were a part of a procession carrying the dead body of a prominent liberation leader were shot down near Islamia College of Srinagar. On 11th June 1991, the CRPF fired and killed 32 people in Chhotabazar Srinagar. On 6th January 1993, BSF killed and burnt alive 57 people in Sopore, and then razed down the whole town burning down a total of 72 structures. On 10 April, 1993, 47 people were burnt alive in Lal Chowk, Srinagar by BSF who razed more than 300 houses, shops and godowns. On 22 October, in Bijbehara BSF open fired on a procession killing 50 people. In 1998, once again on 8th August, 35 labourers were killed in Jammu by CRPF. In 2008, during the protests against land transfer to the Amarnath Yatra, the state killed 60 people including a senior Hurriyat Leader. In 2010, when people came out in the streets against the Indian occupation around 120 people, most of them youngster, were killed by the security forces. These are just few examples, the entire history of Kashmir is fraught with such brutal killings. More than 4000 women in Kashmir have been raped and molested by these occupation forces. On 23 February, 1991, around 80 women were gang raped by the Indian Army in Kunan and Poshpora villages. It is needless to say that the Indian state which actively orchestrated these massacres and rapes never booked a single perpetrator but kept giving them clean chits in the name of 'national security' and 'national integrity'. Unspeakable torture, parading in the name of checks and raids, kidnapping, detention and harassment of people, curfew and pervasive surveillance defines the daily lives in Kashmir. Several torture chambers exist across Kashmir, where despicable crimes are committed against people who are arrested or illegally detained. Kashmir remains the most militarized zone in the world (even more militarized than Iraq and Palestine), and the state which administers the world's largest military occupation cannot call itself a democracy.

In India such massacres, rapes and the continued occupation of Kashmir are hardly talked about. Along with obliterating the history of the occupation, the Indian state apparatus has also craftily garnered a completely false image of the Kashmiri struggle to justify its brutal occupations. In media and films, the Kashmiri people's struggle is shrewdly portrayed as the handiwork of a 'few foreign funded, Pakistan backed Islamic terrorists' who are trying to 'break the sovereignty and the integrity of the India'. The only 'concern' about Kashmir that is whipped up popularly among Indians by the communal fascist forces is the exodus of Kashmiri Pandits in 1989. What is not discussed even in this regard, is that this exodus was engineered by none other than the then Governor Jagmohan. Each and every parliamentary party also toe the same jingoist line of 'national security' and 'national integrity'. At best for some of these parties, especially the parliamentary pseudo-left [represented by CPI/AISF, CPM/SFI and CPI (ML) Liberation/AISA] what is 'disconcerting' is only the 'excesses' and violation of 'human rights' done by security forces under the impunity of AFSPA. Some of them do talk vaguely about 'democratic rights' and 'aspirations' while maintaining a calculated silence on what exactly is this democratic right. Are the Kashmiris fighting merely against state atrocities, and AFSPA, or are they also fighting for their historically denied right to self-determination? In their completely decontextualized discourse even about human right violations, most of the fundamental questions are side-lined. Why exactly does the state need to deploy 8 lakh armed personnel in the valley and why exactly does it need to provide impunity to its armed forces through AFSPA? It is because these armed forces have been deployed to crush the national-liberation struggle in Kashmir which continues to inspire the millions of people in the valley, despite all the state terror and brutalities. Every genuine Marxist-Leninist organization in history has firmly upheld this principle of people's democracy of supporting the right to self-determination of oppressed nationalities, which far exceeds the bourgeois 'liberals,' 'social democrats' & pseudo-Marxists who never get tired of talking about 'democracy' every time, but expose their majoritarian nationalism and chauvinism when it comes to this question.

DSU remains committed to the Leninist principle of standing by and strengthening the struggles of oppressed nationalities for national liberation, and their democratic right to choose their own collective destiny, even if that choice is for secession.

KASHMIR: INDIAN JUDICIARY WILL NOT PUNISH THE MURDEROUS INDIAN ARMY

The year 2000 is always remembered for its ever-fading incidence that took place especially the month of March. In this month after 22 years, an American President's visit to India explicitly announced the changes in the political and geographical alliances in the sub-continent regions that had taken place ever since the Cold War. Clinton visit was celebrated with all pride and pomp by India, terming it as a defeat of Pakistan's diplomatic relationship. Without any shame India announced it as a great victory in achieving the friendly relationship of the super power from its competitor in this sub-continent region. The same was even announced by the ruling class. There was boundless happiness to the corporate media and its joy had no limits. During this event, one evening on March 20th at Kashmir 17 armed men in the wearing Indian Army fatigues entered the village of Chattisinghpura of Anantnag District. It ordered the members of Sikh community to assemble at the entrance of village Gurudwara. All men and children assembled at the entrance of village Gurudwara. On the spur of the moment a gun fire was conducted on the unarmed civilians. 34 people were killed in this dreadful massacre. After this brutal massacre furiously the ruling political class and media complained it as Pakistan's conspiracy to attack India. Aftermath the massacre there was a wide spread propaganda stating Pakistan was enveys because of Clinton's trip to India entered into such cowardice attack. Immediately, the Government of India vowed that it would retaliate. On March 25, 2000 Indian army entered village at Pathribal at Anantnag District and it surrounded a small hut. Indian Army with all pride announced that members of the terrorist troop were attacked by the Indian army and during that attack five people were killed. America condemned this Chattisinghpura massacre said this attack was done by some unidentified group. Later in 2004, Bill Clinton in his autobiography 'My Life' has mentioned as "unidentified group". In the same year, Clinton's close associate Strobe Talbott in his book wrote Clinton did not believe that Pakistan had its hand in this Chattisinghpura massacre. Immediately, aftermath the Pathribal encounter people from the village entered into protest. The local population informed that the people who was attacked during the encounter were innocent civilians who belong to the same village they are not terrorist. Further, from March 21st to 24th March Indian army approximately took 17 members and those members were missing. Subsequent to this incident there was wide spread protest rising in Kashmir. Because of the rising protest by people of Kashmir, when the protest reached its heights, Kashmir Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah ordered for a probe. The corpus of the persons who were killed and the DNA samples of close relatives of the missing persons were collected and were sent for Forensic investigation to Kolkata and Hyderabad. After investigation and inquiry it was found that persons who were killed in the encounter on April 2002 and persons who were missing are not "foreign militants", they are innocent civilians belonging to the same village. Subsequently, on January 2003 CBI was appointed to investigate this fake encounter. Meanwhile, America refused to recognize and declare that Pakistan terrorists and ISI intelligence agency had its involvement in the Chattisinghpura Sikh Massacre. During these circumstances there was an unexpected turning point. Government of India announces two terrorists belonging to Lashkar-e-Taiba who were involved in attack were arrested by the Indian Army in the August 2000. Mohamed Suhail Malik, who was one of the terrorist arrested, gave an interview to New York Times in the month of December the very same year.

In the history of India a great wonder took place when an arrested Pakistani terrorist giving an interview to an American newspaper. During his interview he gave a confession that he belonged to Sialkot region and Lashkar organization has trained him for terrorist activity he along with his companion has intruded and has committed the Chattisinghpura Sikh Massacre. This story did not conclude here. A last turning point took place after 10 years. The Delhi High Court which was hearing the Chattisinghpura Sikh Massacre on 10th August, 2011 acquitted the two militants Mohamed Suhail Malik and Wasim Ahmed the co-accused who was arrested along with him stating that, they did not had any relation with the Massacre. Meanwhile, CBI which concluded its enquiry on Pathribal Fake Encounter gave a report stating that persons who were killed are innocent civilians and that was a fake encounter. Brigadier Ajay Saxena, Major Brijendra Pratap Singh, Major Saurabh Sharma, Major Amit Saxena and Subedar Idris Khan according to CBI these were the persons responsible to said fake encounter. Outcome of this truth made several human rights activist and some democratic organizations to get agitated. Before the Division Bench of the Supreme Court, the CBI placed its observation on the investigation and argued furnishing all the evidence. The outcome of its report was what has happened at Pathribal village was a cold-blooded murder. On June 2012, the Army which has foreseen the outcome of the proceeding requested a court-martial proceeding before the Supreme Court. On 23rd December 2013, the military tribunal disposed of the case stating the evidence recorded could not establish a prima facie case against any of the accused persons. One of the victim Abdul Rasheed Khan (Shakoor Ahmad Khan) whose father Juma Khan was killed in fake encounter says, "The very day when the Supreme Court denied the argument of CBI and transferred the case to Military Tribunal, we lost our confidence. But still we appeared with the thought because of non-appearance of witnesses the case should not get disposed off. We were well aware of the outcome of this decision. Any individual who rationally analyse the incident of the Indian Army can come to a conclusion that it is a cold-blooded murder. Any one can realize the injustice and the brutal act of the Army. This kind of brutality against the innocent civilians of Kashmir time now and then has led to frustration and turning them towards terrorism. This is because of the Government of India's atrocities in comparison with Pakistan's instigation.

Kashmiri people realized that Indian army is a murderous army and Indian justice system is nothing but a system of INJUSTICE. Support the RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION of Kashmiris including the right to accession.

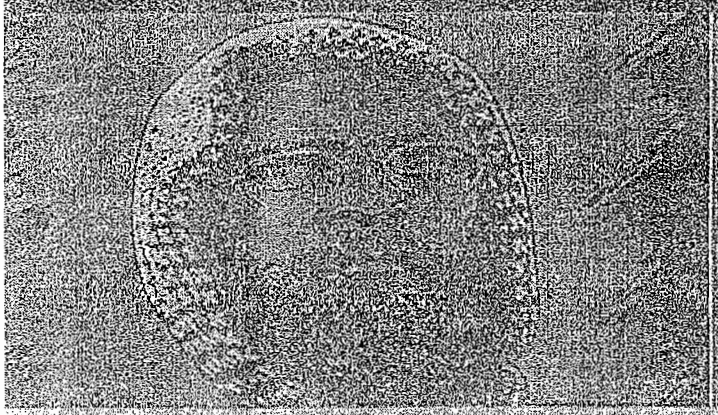
Contact: thenewmaterialists@gmail.com, http://thenewmaterialists.blogspot.in/

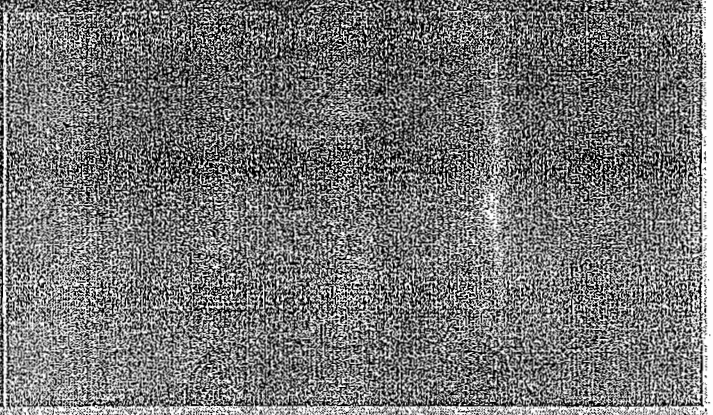
TNM

PLZ DONT REMOVE TILL 12th Feb, 2014

REMEMBERING SHAHEED MAQBOOL AND SHAHEED AFZAL

On the wee hours of 9th Feb, 2013 shaheed Afzal Guru was hanged by the Indian state repeating what it did on 11th of Feb, 1984 when it hanged Shaheed Maqbool Bhat. "The remains of our martyrs lie with India in trust!" is written on the gravestones of their awaiting graves in martyr's graveyard at Idgah Srinagar.





Indian State occupied Jammu Kashmir on 27th of October, 1947. It is now the sixty-sixth year of occupation which every person of Jammu Kashmir experiences on a daily basis. This occupation is not only a military occupation but also controls each and every aspect of the people's lives, be it politics, education, economy, media etc. Especially since 1989, when the popular uprising turned into an armed struggle for Azadi, massacres, killings, rape, torture, disappearances, were normalized for the people of Jammu Kashmir. The desire for occupation of Kashmir in the name of the so-called 'sovereignty and integrity' of India and in the name of farcical 'national security' has now percolated deep down the collective conscience of the Indian state of which the people of Kashmir have always REFUSED TO BE A PART. Our refusal hurts this collective conscience and the spilling of our blood satisfies it.

Generations of Kashmiris have consistently resisted the Indian occupation and expressed their resolve for the liberation of their homeland in the series of uprisings and civil disobedience movements since 1947. The 1989 uprising added a new chapter to our struggle for the Self-Determination of Kashmir. It announced the revival of mass mobilizations and the beginning of the armed revolt against the ugly Indian Occupation. While Indian Occupation forces and its collaborators in Kashmir attempted to cover India's Crimes Against Humanity in Kashmir and made every attempt to hood wink the International community, in recent past, the protest movements of 2008 and 2010 with the slogan 'Go India Go back' once again demonstrated the resilience and clarity of Kashmiri people Vis-à-vis struggle against the Indian Occupation. Unnerved by the people's power, Indian state hanged Shaheed Afzal Guru on 9th February, 2013, in complete secrecy, while the Indian armed forces and the stooges of the Indian occupation in Kashmir clamped down a strict curfew in the entire region. Moreover, the whole legal process of framing Afzal Guru was conducted in a manner that clearly smacked of a political vendetta. After Afzal's hanging in the infamous Tihar Jail, he was buried right next to another Kashmiri martyr, Maqbool Bhat, who has inspired generations of Kashmir to fight against the occupation and for the liberation of Jammu Kashmir.

As in the case of Shaheed Maqbool Bhat, Indian State refused to hand over the body of Shaheed Afzal Guru to the people of Kashmir. While the arrogance of the Indian State was clearly visible, what was also visible was the fragility of its power in Kashmir. As the Indian state buries Kashmiris in its jails, Kashmiris add empty graves to their graveyards.

On the occasion of the first anniversary of the hanging of Shaheed Afzal Guru, we salute the sacrifice and resilience of the people of Jammu Kashmir. The blood of martyrs gives strength to our resolve to fight for our freedom.

LONG LIVE MAQBOOL! LONG LIVE AFZAL, LONG LIVE AZADI!

On Saturday, 8th of February: Join DSU's MASHAAL JULOOS at 9:00 pm from Ganga Dhaba.

On Sunday, 9th of February: Attend the Public Meeting MARTYRS, RESISTANCE & KASHMIR'S ROAD TO FREEDOM: REMEMBERING SHAHEED AFZAL GURU organized by the Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners (CRPP) at 1:00 pm at the Plenary Auditorium, Indian Law Institute, Bhagwandas Road, Opposite Supreme Court.

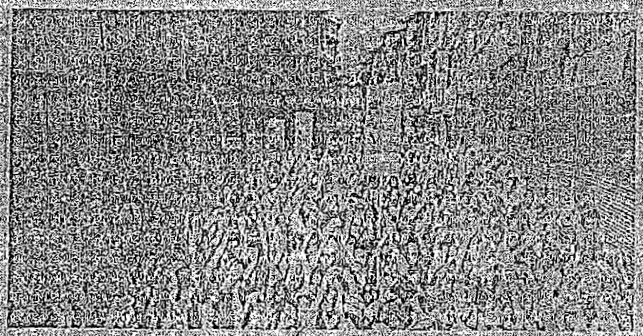
[Bus will leave from Ganga Dhaba at 11:00 am]

DO NOT REMOVE TILL 12TH FEB

STUDENTS' LEAGUE

Public meeting

The heroic upsurge of the Kashmiri people and the question of national liberation



Kaveri mess

11th September

(Wednesday)

9:30 pm

Sudha

Najee

special correspondent, Economic Tim

Suvaiit Yasee

Student,

Suddhabrata Senguptl

academician, SA

GN Saibal

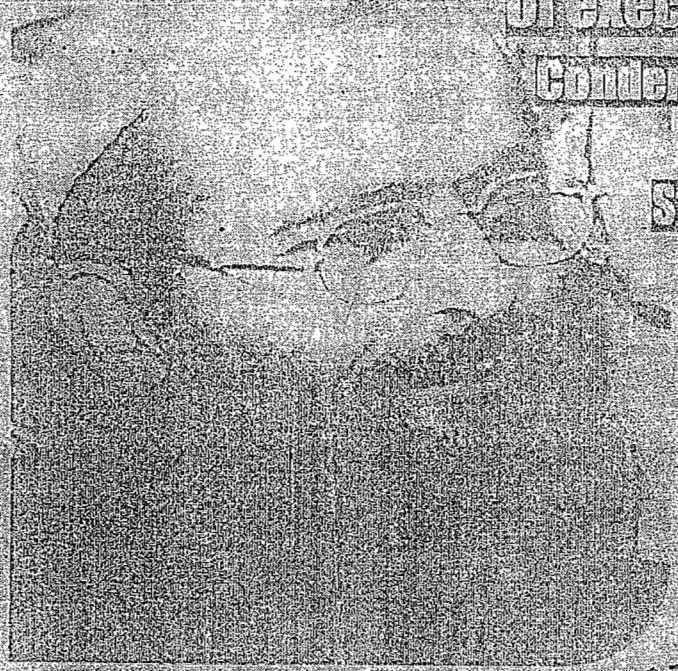
lecturer,

DSU

Condemns strongly the illegal act of Executing Mohd. Afzal Guru

Condemn and expose the violation of all procedures and law

Stand for our Right to protest & Freedom of expression



join CRPP's

Protest Dharna

4th March at 2pm

Speakers:

Rajinder Sachar

Sujato Bhadro

Kuldip Nayar

Amit Bhaduri

Vrinda Karat

Sumit Chakravarty

G. Parthasarathy

B.D. Sharma

Sanjay Kak

Madan Kashyap

Jharmalaan Sharma

P. Koya

S.Q.R Ilyas

Hafeez ur Rahman

Amit Bhattacharya

A.K. Ramakrishnan

Mohammed Ahmad

Sandeep Pandey

Pankaj Bisht

Suroj Ghosal

G.N. Saibaba

S.A.R. Geelani

Stand in solidarity with the national liberation struggle in Kashmir!

DSU

Join Public Meeting

One Noose Three Deaths: Afzal Guru, Justice, Knowledge

Reject the cowardice murder of Afzal Guru

Stand in solidarity with Afzal's family

Secretive Judicial Execution of Afzal Guru is alarming of multitudinous democracy

Congress has sacrificed Afzal Guru to satisfy the collective conscience of Saffron Brigade and its communal bogey, it is nothing but to hang justice itself and along with the possibility of knowledge of who were behind the conspiracy as Afzal Guru himself admitted.

'Police made me a scapegoat in order to mask their failure to find out the mastermind of Parliament attack. They have fooled the people. People still don't know whose idea was to attack Parliament. I was entrapped into the case by Special Task Force (STF) of Kashmir and implicated by Delhi Police Special Cell.'

Speakers

Nirmalangshu Mukherji, Department of Philosophy, DU

N D Pancholi, Social Activist, Lawyer and Counsel of Afzal Guru's Family

Kamal Mitra Chenoy, SIS

18th Feb 2013 (Monday)

9:30pm

Tagore Hall

AISF

16TH FEB SATURDAY

On The Execution of Afzal Guru

AND THE SITUATION IN KASHMIR

SPEAKERS

NANDITA HAKSAR
REPUTED LAWYER AND HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST

SEEMA MUSTAFA
CENTRE FOR POLICY ALTERNATIVES

DHANANJAY
South Asian University (Former JNUSU President)

9:00 pm
Kaveri Mess

DSF

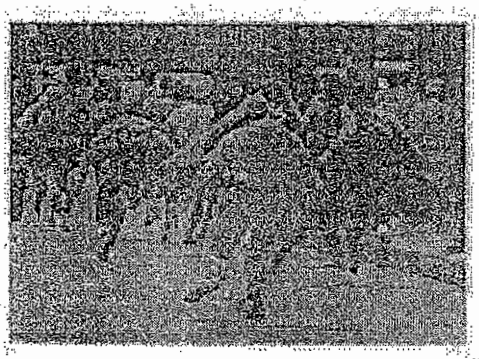
July 21, 2013

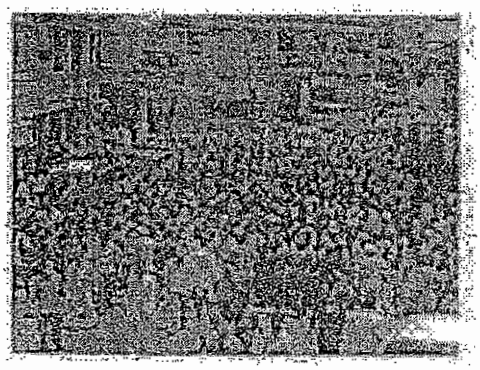
Condemn the massacre of protesters in the Ramban district of Jammu and Kashmir! Stand in solidarity with the masses of Jammu and Kashmir fighting for their self determination and Azadi!

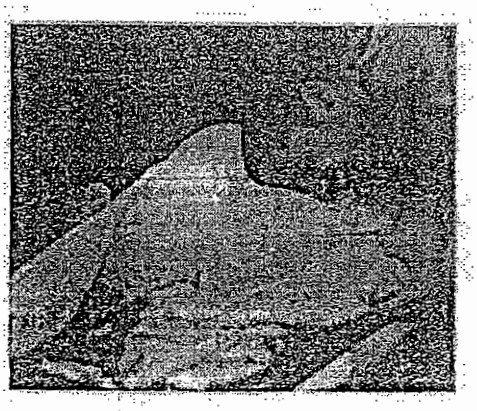
dsu

Nine people killed, more than 40 injured, by the murderous BSF of the occupying Indian army in Ramban, Kashmir!

Down with state terror and unbridled repression by the occupying mercenary Indian forces! Stand in solidarity with the masses of Kashmir fighting for their self-determination and *Azaadi*!!



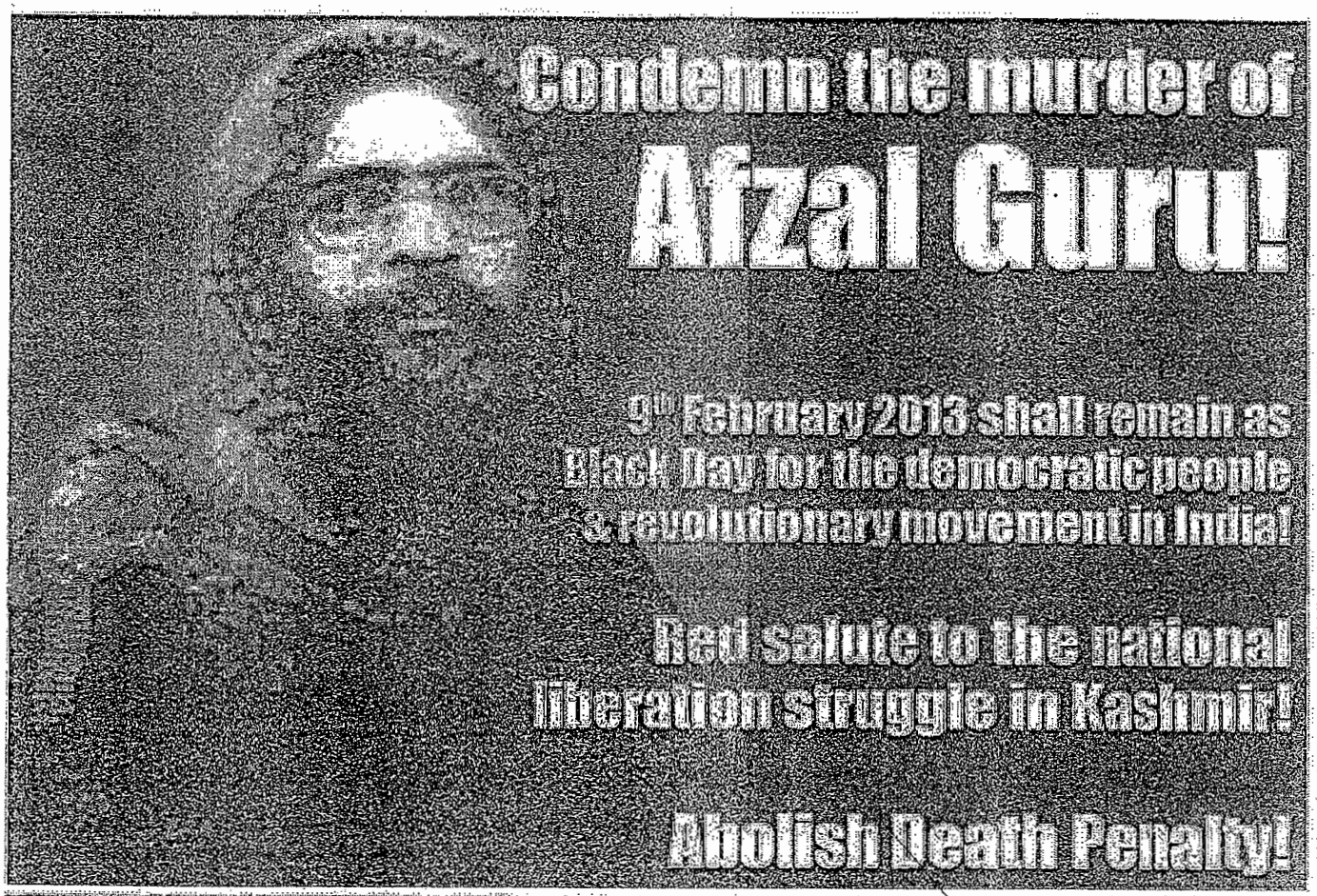




Nine people were murdered by the Border Security Forces in Ramban, in Kashmir yesterday, as the murderous forces open fired on a protesting mass. More than 40 people were injured, some of them critically. The people in Ramban were protesting as the same BSF goons had entered the local mosque previous night and manhandled the Imam who was leading the Taraweeh Namaz of the ongoing Ramzan. The communal forces also tore apart and desecrated the Quran. As the people gathered in thousands to protest against this atrocious incident around the BSF camp next morning, they simply took recourse to open firing and killed and injured the people.

Shedding crocodile's tears on this atrocious massacre by the Occupying army, the Indian state and its Kashmiri counterparts have immediately intensified the state repression. The whole valley has been put under curfew, mobile Internet services are blocked, Jammu Srinagar highway has been shut down and leaders of the Kashmir freedom struggle has immediately been put under house arrest! Media has been restricted to enter the region. Indian corporate media as usual is underplaying this atrocious massacre, safeguarding the army, even playing down the number of deaths.

Brutal repression by the Occupying Indian army is nothing new in Kashmir. In 2010, in a span of one year, more than 120 unarmed protesters were gunned down by the mercenary goons of Indian occupying forces. Murder, rape, curfew, torture, illegal detention, fake encounters, 'disappearances' have all become a part of daily life in Kashmir perpetrated by the occupying Indian state. But this naked repression only emboldens the people of Kashmir and their valiant fight for Independence! Let us stand in solidarity with their brave fight against repression and for freedom!

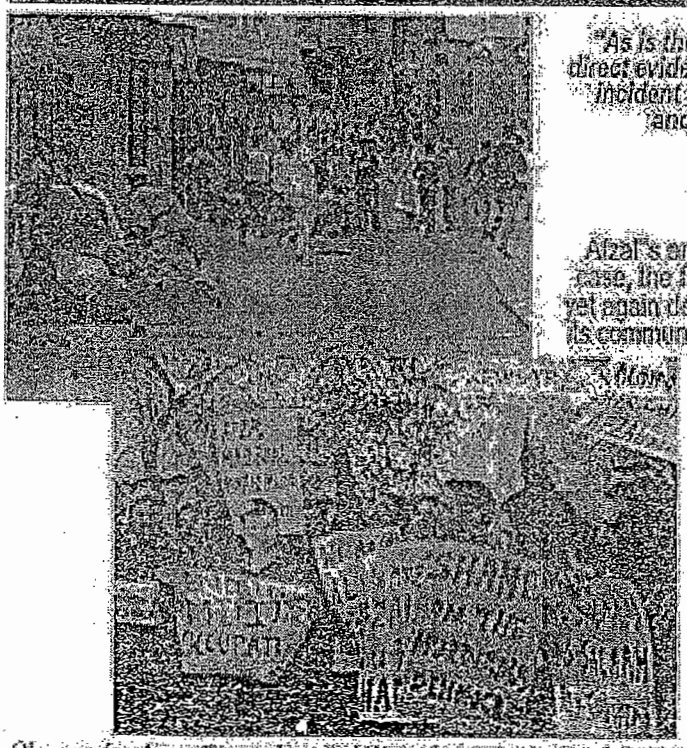


Condemn the murder of Afzal Guru!

9th February 2013 shall remain as Black Day for the democratic people & revolutionary movement in India!

Red salute to the national liberation struggle in Kashmir!

Abolish Death Penalty!



Slogans for Azaadi reverberated throughout the valley following Afzal's murder, amidst police firing and curfew across Kashmir. Despite violent disruption by the sangh hooligans under police patronage, the streets of Delhi also witnessed vibrant protests by democratic sections and students both from Kashmir & India.

"As is the case with most of the conspiracies, there is and could be no direct evidence of the agreement amounting to criminal conspiracy... The incident that resulted in huge casualties, had shaken the entire nation, and the collective conscience of the society will only be satisfied if capital punishment is awarded."
-Supreme Court on the verdict on Afzal Guru.

Afzal's arrest, framing on trumped up charges in the Parliament Attack case, the farce of a trial, and finally his surreptitious hanging all serve to yet again demonstrate the fascist face of the Indian state. It only satisfies its communal fascist conscience. Afzal's martyrdom, like that of Maqbool Bult and countless other Kashmiris, bear testimony to the brutal occupation of Kashmir by the Indian state. His body too, like Maqbool's was cowardly buried within the four walls of the jail. But such dastardly acts have never been able to bury the aspirations of the people of Kashmir for nationhood. Because...

"Martyrs are not buried, they are sown."

dsu

2. Farah Naqvi, Writer and Activist, Delhi
3. Harsh Mander, New Delhi
4. Admiral L Ramdas, Former Navy Chief
5. Lalitha Ramdas
6. Ashish Kothari, Kalpavriksh, Pune
7. Praful Bidwai, New Delhi
8. Kamal Mitra Chenoy, Professor, JNU
9. Anuradha Chenoy, Professor, JNU
10. V.S. Roy David, National Convener, National Adivasi Alliance
11. Ram Puniyani, EKTA, Mumbai
12. Achin Vanaik, former Dean of Social Sciences, Delhi University
13. Saktiman Ghosh, National Hawkers Federation, Kolkata
14. Gautam Bandyopadhyay, Nadi Ghati Morcha
15. Amar Kanwar, New Delhi
16. Amita Joseph, New Delhi
17. Gautam Navlakha, New Delhi
18. Anand Swaroop Verma, New Delhi
19. Sandeep Pandey, Socialist Party (India)
20. Anand Teltumbde, Mumbai
21. T Peter, National Fishworkers Forum
22. Vinod Raina, Alternatives Asia
23. Manisha Sethi, Jamia Teachers Solidarity Association (JTSA)
24. Adv Kamayani Bali Mahabal, Mumbai
25. Ranjana Padhi, People's Union for Democratic Rights - PUDR, New Delhi
26. Soumya Dutta, Bharat Jan Vigyan Jatha,
27. Anuradha Mittal, The Oakland Institute, USA
28. Pierre Rousset, Europe Solidaire Sans Frontières (ESSF), France
29. Tina Ebro, Asia Coordinator, Asia Europe Peoples Forum (AEPF), Philippines
30. Eric Toussaint, Committee for the Abolition of Third World Debt (CADTM), Belgium
31. Kalyani Menon Sen, New Delhi
32. Karuna Raina, Greenpeace India
33. Vijay Pratap, Socialist Front
34. Rayyan Hassan, NGO Forum on ADB, Philippines
35. Hemantha Withanage, Friends of the Earth, Sri Lanka
36. Ana Maria R. Nemenzo, KAMP -Campaign for a Life of Dignity for All, Philippines
37. Dr John Dayal, Member, National Integration Council, Government of India
38. Peoples' Solidarity Concerns-Bangalore
39. Maria Theresa Nera-Lauron, Peoples' Movement on Climate Change, Philippines
40. V. Thirunavukkarasu, Politbureau member, NSSP
41. Mick Armstrong, Socialist Alternative, Australia
42. Vasanth Kannabiran, Hyderabad
43. Dr. Malem Ningthouja, Campaign for Peace & Democracy India
44. Shabnam Hashmi, ANHAD, New Delhi
45. Nandini Sundar, New Delhi
46. National Trade Union Movement of Nepal, General Federation of Nepalese trade Unions (GEFONT-Nepal)
47. Babloo Loitongbam, Human Rights Alert, Imphal
48. P. Joseph Victor Raj, State Convener, Puducherry Environment Council (PUDENCO)
49. Arundhati Dhuru, National Alliance of People's Movements, Lucknow
50. Fr. Cedric Prakash sj, PRASHANT, Ahmedabad
51. Danielle Sabai, France
52. J. Vincent Manoharan, Chair – NFDLRM, New Delhi
53. Jubilee South - Asia/Pacific Movement on Debt and Development (JSAPMDD), Manila
54. Prof. A.K.Maleri, Distt. President, Association For Democratic Rights,

Statement on Home Ministry's autocratic actions against INSAF | INSAF V/S FCRA

We the undersigned are shocked and dismayed at the Government of India's action against INSAF, a national coalition of 700 people's movements, social action groups and progressive intellectuals with an active presence in 15 States of India. According to a communication from the Home Ministry dated 30th April 2013, the INSAF bank account has been frozen because its activities are "prejudicial to the public interest".

Over the last few years, INSAF has established its identity as a platform where independent and autonomous secular and democratic groups can come together in pursuit of their common aims of "protecting democracy, resisting iniquitous forms of globalisation and combating communalism". INSAF members have been in the forefront of democratic protests against religious fundamentalism and communal violence. INSAF has consistently highlighted and opposed violations of human rights irrespective of whether they are perpetrated by state agencies, corporations or political parties. INSAF is noteworthy for its rapid response to human rights violations in remote and isolated areas of the country, bringing them to the attention of other groups and networks as well as making visible their connections to and impact on wider social, political and economic processes.

INSAF has made important interventions in public debates on issues of national concern including land grabs by Indian companies in Africa, violations of technical and statutory norms in respect of mining, deforestation and nuclear energy generation projects, in the deployment of "black laws" such as AFSPA against human rights defenders and with respect to State violence against Dalits, Adivasis and minority religious groups.

Far from being "prejudicial to the national interest", INSAF's work has expanded the space for those affected by state policies thereby helping them to bring their issues to national attention and for those affected to claim their democratic right to intervene in and influence the course of national development.

INSAF has been among the most vocal critics of the recent changes in the legal and regulatory framework aimed at criminalising those who question the authority of the state or challenge its policies. INSAF has petitioned the Supreme Court to knock down the new FCRA Rules that give the government unchecked and unbridled powers to throttle the activities of organisations working for public causes by branding them "political" and blocking their access to foreign funds.

The INSAF petition highlights the draconian nature of Rule 3(4) which debars NGOs from "political actions". Under these Rules, the government arrogates to itself the power to take action against any group that habitually indulges in *bandhs*, hartals, *rasta roko*, *rail roko*, or *jail bharo* – all non-violent and democratic forms of protest and assertion that emerged from our freedom struggle and are now recognised around the world as legitimate forms of protest. This ridiculous rule can be used against almost any of the organisations that support rights-based mobilisation of practically any group – women, landless farmers, Adivasis and Dalits, students, minorities – irrespective of whether they are or are not aligned to any political party.

Ironically, action has been taken using powers under Section 13 of the new FCRA Act against the only organisation challenging the Home Ministry!

The action against INSAF is yet another attempt by the state to undermine the democratic process and dismantle Constitutional guarantees of rights and freedoms under the pretence of "national security" and "national interest". We stand with INSAF in asserting the Constitutional right of every citizen of India to participation in governance, which includes the right to question, challenge and oppose the policies of the state through peaceful, non-violent and democratic means.

1. S.P Udaykumar, People's Movement against Nuclear Energy - PMANE, Tamil Nadu

STATEMENT ON HOME MINISTRY'S AUTOCRATIC ACTIONS AGAINST INSAF

Statement on Home Ministry's autocratic actions against INSAF

Date: May 31, 2013

To,

Shri Manmohan Singh,
Prime Minister,
Government of India,
New Delhi.

Subject: Statement by eminent citizens and organisations seeking immediate review and withdrawal of order of Ministry of Home Affairs to suspend the FCRA account of Indian Social Action Forum (INSAF) and inquiry thereon

Dear Shri Manmohan Singh,

This is with reference to the suspension of the Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Act registration of Indian Social Action Forum (INSAF) by the Home Ministry's FCRA Department on its autocratic order dated April 30, 2013 (attached).

The attached "Statement on Home Ministry's autocratic actions against INSAF" has been signed by several prominent intellectuals, activists and NGOs. The statement condemns the actions against INSAF as "yet another attempt by the state to undermine the democratic process and dismantle Constitutional guarantees of rights and freedoms under the pretence of 'national security and national interest'. We stand with INSAF in asserting the Constitutional right of every citizen of India to participation in governance, which includes the right to question, challenge and oppose the policies of the state through peaceful, non-violent and democratic means."

In view of these observations, we urge you, government and the FCRA department of the Home Ministry to review and withdraw the order of suspension of the FCRA registration of Indian Social Action Forum (INSAF) and inquiry there on.

Your immediate reply and action in this regard will be highly appreciated.

Yours Sincerely,
Chitranjan Singh
General Secretary

Cc: 1. Shri Sushil Kumar Shinde, Union Minister, Home Affairs, Government of India
2. Shri Mullappally Ramachandran, Minister of State, Home Affairs, Government of India
3. Members, Parliamentary Committee on Home Affairs
4. Secretary, Home Affairs, Government of India
5. Joint Secretary (Foreigners), Home Affairs, Government of India
6. Director, FCRA, Home Affairs, Government of India

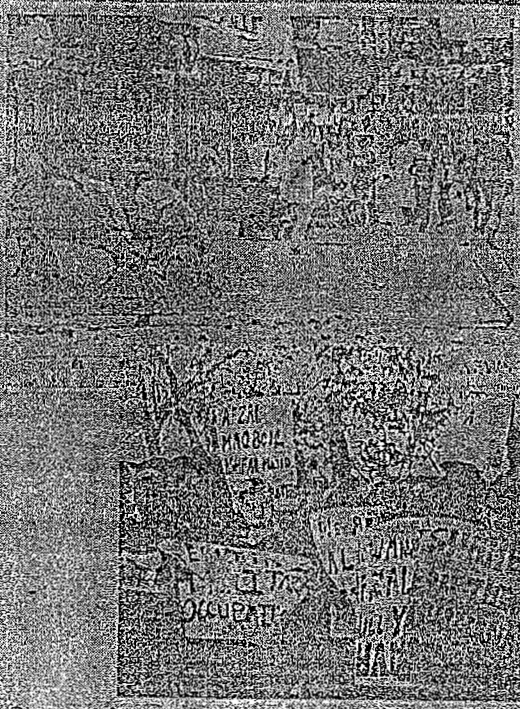
Statement

Condemn the murder of Afzal Guru

9th February 2013 shall remain a blot on the democratic record of this country and movement in India

Rise up to the national liberation struggle in Kashmir

Abolish Death Penalty



"As is the case with most of the conspiracies, there is and could be direct evidence of the agreement amounting to criminal conspiracy... The incident that resulted in huge casualties, had shaken the entire nati and the collective conscience of the society will only be satisf if capital punishment is award
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"Martyrs are not buried they are sown.

Slogans for *Azaadi* reverberated throughout the valley following Afzal's murder, amidst police firing and curfew across Kashmir. Despite violent disruption by the sangh hooligans under police patronage, the streets of Delhi also witnessed vibrant protests by democratic sections and students both from Kashmir & India.

DON'T REMOVE TILL 15TH FEBRUARY

Jammu and Kashmir. PUDR acknowledges that this is the first ever study in India which has broken the cover of anonymity which protects the perpetrators by raising the principle of 'individual criminal responsibility' which is well established under International Criminal Law starting with Nuremburg Trials and several UN tribunals.

Equally it raises the principle of Command Responsibility and principle of Joint Criminal Enterprise which too forms part of International Criminal Law. The Indian State 'authorizations' to armed forces to carry out every kind of operation often without adherence to laws and norms under draconian legislations such as AFSPA on the pretext of combating militant violence while simultaneously being in breach of bringing India's domestic laws in line with International Conventions such as against Torture, Enforced Disappearance and Genocide compounds the impunity extended to India's security forces because certain crimes are non-justiciable under Indian's domestic law.

The study exposes the state of impunity through a study of 214 cases, using information garnered from official State documents. The documents include FIRs, statements before police and/or magistrates, police final reports, High Court petitions, objections, other documents forming a part of the court record such as compliance reports, status report, judicial enquiries, SHRC documents from complaints to objections, police submissions and final orders, the documents in custody of the State itself arraign the armed forces and the police of culpability in specific crimes. But the study also supplements these documents with testimonies of victims and other witnesses.

The study successfully refutes the claim of the Indian state that commission of crimes is an aberration than policy. It indicts the Indian State for pursuing a policy which engenders the state of impunity by listing 500 individual perpetrators, which include 235 army personnel, 123 paramilitary personnel, 111 Jammu and Kashmir Police personnel and 31 Government backed militants/associates. The list of perpetrators includes 2 Major Generals, 3 Brigadiers, 9 Colonels, 3 Lt. Colonels, 78 Majors and 25 captains of the Indian army as well as 2 Additional Director Generals of central para-military forces, 2 DIGs and 12 commandants. It also indicts a DG of Police and a serving IG of police.

The study shows how State violence is institutionalized through a culture of institutional impunity to the state forces where the police, the judiciary and other organs of the government perpetuate the state of human rights violation. This has resulted in enforced and involuntary disappearance of an estimated 8000 persons, besides more than 70,000 deaths, and disclosures of more than 6000 unknown, unmarked and mass graves as of November 2012. There is hardly any prosecution and conviction of the perpetrators. The unwillingness of the Indian State is revealed in the mass grave issue where the Kashmir Home Department on 19 October, 2012 expressed inability to carry out DNA tests because there are no more than 15-16 recognised labs in the Government as well as Private Sector". And then turns the entire issue into a farce when they ask that the blood relative should indicate "with fair amount of certainty the exact location of the graveyard and the grave"!

The study highlight that the state structure specifically sanctions commission of crimes through provisions such as the system of cash incentives, awards and out of turn promotions for anti-militancy operations, and prioritzing for the victims, the system of monetary compensation over justice. The venerable Supreme Court has also ended up shielding criminals by upholding in the Pathribal fake encounter case denial of sanction for prosecution under AFSPA thereby raising yet another wall to protect the perpetrators.

The recent Universal Periodic Review by UN agency tasked with human rights, on India, revealed that Indian Government has rejected 67 recommendations out of 168 made by the committee which had among other things asked the Indian State to repeal AFSPA, and to ratify
and bring domestic laws in accordance with International Convention Against Torture, Enforced

Fighting neoliberalism in Bengal

Sanhati

- Editorial Statement
- Resources for Activists
- Journal
- Newsreel
- Pictures and Videos
- Links
- Contact Us

Delhi – "Impunity for Alleged Perpetrators and Quest for Justice in Jammu & Kashmir", PUDR – Jan 24

Peoples' Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR)

Cordially invites you

for a
Public Meeting/Discussion
On

"Impunity for Alleged Perpetrators and Quest for Justice in Jammu & Kashmir"
On the 24th Jan 2013, Thursday
Between 1pm—5pm at Gandhi Peace Foundation, New Delhi.

Speakers and Discussants:
Pervez Imroz, Arundhati Roy, Nivedita Menon, Karthik

Asish Gupta & D. Manjit
Secretaries, PUDR

People's Union for Democratic Rights
Press Statement

26th December 2013

Peoples Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR) welcomes the release of the study "Alleged Perpetrators" by the International Peoples' Tribunal on Human Rights and Justice in Indian-Administered Kashmir (IPTK) and Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons (APDP) on the culture of impunity ubiquitous in the state of

Condemn strongly the illegal act of executing Mohd. Afzal Guru!

Condemn and expose the violation of all procedures and law!

Stand for our Right to protest & Freedom of expression!

JOIN

Protest Dharna

at Jantar Mantar

4 March 2013, 2 pm

The illegal execution of Mohd. Afzal Guru has shocked the conscience of all the progressive, democratic people of the subcontinent. By now it is evident for every discerning mind that the claims of the central home minister and home secretary about procedures being followed before the execution have proven to be white lies. While cold calculations of electoral politics have made the Congress and BJP use Afzal Guru and his execution a political ploy to whip up jingoism in their favour the demand of his family to at least return his body—which is there in the jail manual—has also been finally rejected as the convenient logic is that law and order will be affected in Kashmir. Yes being a Kashmiri itself has become a 'law and order' problem for the Indian state!

Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners (CRPP)

Kunan Poshpora
Kashmir, 23 Feb 1991

The Horrific Episode of Mass Gangrape by Army and Shameful Cover-up by the State!

Do Not Forget! Do Not Forgive!

2 years ago, on 23 February 2013, a battalion of the 4th Rajputana Rifles of the Indian Army entered the village of Kunan Poshpora in Kupwara district of Kashmir late at night for a 'search and interrogation' operation. The men of the village were rounded up and kept in custody just outside the villages. At least 53 women – aged 13 to 80 years – were gang raped by the army for several hours together. According to the villagers the number is much higher. What is equally horrific about the Kunan Poshpora incident is the response of the ruling establishment, the media and successive governments. Kunan Poshpora will go down in history not just as an instance of brutal state repression and sexual assault, it will also be known as an ignominious cover up of state repression by the Indian government.

After this horrific incident, the Indian government, and later the Press Council of India claimed that the whole incident was a "well-concocted bundle of fabricated lies" and "a massive hoax orchestrated by militant groups and their sympathizers and mentors in Kashmir and abroad... for reinscribing Kashmir on the international agenda as a human rights issue". They claimed that the allegations were "grossly exaggerated or invented". This amazing 'conclusion' was reached after highly questionable 'investigations'. Mufti Baha-ud-Din Farooqi, Chief Justice of the High Court of Jammu and Kashmir, who led a fact-finding mission to Kunan Poshpora, has stated that in his 43 years on the bench "he had never seen a case in which normal investigative procedures were ignored as they were in this one". Several independent investigations and reputed international human rights organisations have publicly stated that the Indian government launched a "campaign to acquit the army of charges of human rights violations and discredit those who brought the charges".

Today, more than two decades after the horrific Kunan Poshpora incident, the issue of AFSPA, state repression and impunity to rapists in power are once more being discussed. **At a time when justice is denied in such a case in the name of 'protecting the morale' of the army – what is the Indian State then saying about the morale of Kashmiri women? Aren't these rapes then committed to break the morale of the Kashmiri people?**

In a signed response to an RTI application (Home/RTI/15/2012/1213) filed by Khurram Parvez, co-ordinator of J&K Coalition of Civil Society and a well known human rights activist in Kashmir, on the number of prosecutions sanctioned under AFSPA, the J&K Home Department simply stated that "no sanction for prosecution has been intimated by the Ministry of Home Affairs and Ministry of Defense to the State Government from 1990-2011 under the J&K Armed Forces Special Powers Act." No prosecution in 21 years. None. Not one.

Today, on the anniversary of the Kunan Poshpora gang rape, it is urgent for all democratic voices to once again demand justice for the survivors of this chilling incident and scrapping of the protective shield of AFSPA providing immunity to the army and security forces for such horrific crimes!

Do Not Remove Till 28 Feb

aiss.

The study successfully refutes the claim of the Indian state (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/States_and_territories_of_India) that commission of crimes is an aberration than policy. It indicts the Indian State for pursuing a policy which engenders the state of impunity by listing 500 individual perpetrators, which include 235 army personnel, 123 paramilitary personnel, 111 Jammu and Kashmir Police (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jammu_and_Kashmir_Police) personnel and 31 Government backed militants/associates. The list of perpetrators includes 2 Major Generals, 3 Brigadiers, 9 Colonels, 3 Lt. Colonels, 78 Majors and 25 captains of the Indian army (http://indianarmy.nic.in/) as well as 2 Additional Director Generals of central para-military forces, 2 DIGs and 12 commandants. It also indicts a DG of Police and a serving IG of police.

The study shows how State violence is institutionalized through a culture of institutional impunity to the state forces where the police, the judiciary and other organs of the government perpetuate the state of human rights violation. This has resulted in enforced and involuntary disappearance of an estimated 8000 persons, besides more than 70,000 deaths, and disclosures of more than 6000 unknown, unmarked and mass graves as of November 2012. There is hardly any prosecution and conviction of the perpetrators. The unwillingness of the Indian State is revealed in the mass grave issue where the Kashmir Home Department on 19 October, 2012 expressed inability to carry out DNA tests because there are no more than "15-16 recognised labs in the Government as well as Private Sector". And then turns the entire issue into a farce when they ask that the blood relative should indicate "with fair amount of certainty the exact location of the graveyard and the grave"!

The study highlight that the state structure specifically sanctions commission of crimes through provisions such as the system of cash incentives, awards and out of turn promotions for anti-militancy operations, and prioritizing for the victims the system of monetary compensation over justice. The venerable Supreme Court has also ended up shielding criminals by upholding in the Pathribal fake encounter case denial of sanction for prosecution under AFSPA thereby raising yet another wall to protect the perpetrators.

The recent Universal Periodic Review by UN agency tasked with human rights, on India, revealed that Indian Government (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government_of_India) has rejected 67 recommendations out of 168 made by the committee which had among other things asked the Indian State to repeal AFSPA, and to ratify and bring domestic laws in accordance with International Convention Against Torture (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_Convention_Against_Torture), Enforced Disappearance and Genocide. This blatant refusal by the Indian state currently engaged in taking its claim to a permanent seat in the UN Security Council only lends credence to the study which concluded by indicting India State and establishing that victims of armed conflicts stand little chance to get justice from Indian state institutions because they are themselves implicated in the perpetuation of impunity.

PUDR in extending solidarity with IPTK/APDP demands:

- Adherence to domestic and international obligations and punishment to all perpetrators of human rights violations in Jammu and Kashmir.
- Withdrawal of security related legislations that are in contravention of international humanitarian laws and norms.
- Ratification of Convention Against Torture, Convention Against Genocide and the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_Convention_for_the_Protection_of_All_Persons_from_Enforced_Disappearance) by the Government of India.

Asish Gupta and D. Manjit
(Secretaries)

Related articles

- A Review Of Human Rights In Jammu & Kashmir In 2012: JKCCS (http://kashmirsolidaritymumbai.wordpress.com/2013/01/06/a-review-of-human-rights-in-jammu-kashmir-in-2012-jkccs/) (kashmirsolidaritymumbai.wordpress.com)
- #Kashmir-Full report: Alleged Perpetrators – Stories of Impunity #APDP #IPTK #muststhare (http://kashmirsolidaritymumbai.wordpress.com/2012/12/06/kashmir-full-report-alleged-perpetrators-stories-of-impunity-apdp-iptk-muststhare/) (kashmirsolidaritymumbai.wordpress.com)
- Break The Silence for #Kashmir (http://kashmirsolidaritymumbai.wordpress.com/2012/12/08/break-teh-silence/) (kashmirsolidaritymumbai.wordpress.com)
- Silence On Rapes In #Kashmir #Vaw (http://kashmirsolidaritymumbai.wordpress.com/2013/01/04/silence-on-rapes-in-kashmir-vaw/) (kashmirsolidaritymumbai.wordpress.com)

Kashmir Solidarity Group, Mumbai

We Protest Human Rights Violations in Kashmir
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Invitation- Impunity for Alleged Perpetrators & Quest for Justice in Jammu and Kashmir @24Jan

Posted January 16, 2013 in Armed Forces Special Power Act, Conflict and Peace, Draconian Laws, Human Rights, Public Security Act, Right to Dissent, State Violence
Tags: Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act 1958, Forced disappearance, Human rights, India, Indian Army, Jammu, Kashmir, Kashmir-Jammu

Peoples' Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR)
Cordially invites you

for a
Public Meeting/Discussion
On
"Impunity for Alleged Perpetrators and Quest for Justice in Jammu & Kashmir"
On the 24th Jan 2013, Thursday
Between 1pm—5pm at Gandhi Peace Foundation, New Delhi.

Speakers and Discussants:
-Pervez Imroz, Arundhati Roy, Nivedita Menon, Karthik

Asish Gupta & D. Manjit
Secretaries, PUDR

(N.B: Please see the following statement of PUDR)

People's Union for Democratic Rights
Press Statement

PUDR welcomes study on 'Alleged Perpetrators' on the culture of impunity in Jammu & Kashmir. Peoples Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR) welcomes the release of the
study "Alleged Perpetrators" by the International Peoples' Tribunal on Human Rights (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_rights) and Justice in Indian-Administered Kashmir (http://maps.google.com/maps?ll=33.45,76.24&spn=1.0,1.0&q=33.45,76.24%20(Jammu%20and%20Kashmir)&t=h) (IPTK) and Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons (APDP) on the culture of impunity ubiquitous in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. PUDR acknowledges that this is the first ever study in India (http://maps.google.com/maps?ll=28.613333333333,77.208333333333&spn=10.0,10.0&q=28.613333333333,77.208333333333%20(India)&t=h) which has broken the cover of anonymity which protects the perpetrators by raising the principle of 'individual criminal responsibility' which is well established under International Criminal Law starting with Nuremburg Trials and several UN tribunals.

Equally it raises the principle of Command Responsibility and principle of Joint Criminal Enterprise which too forms part of International Criminal Law. The Indian State 'authorizations' to armed forces to carry out every kind of operation, often without adherence to laws and norms under draconian legislations such as AFSPA (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Armed_Forces_%28Special_Powers%29_Act%2C_1958) on the pretext of combating militant violence while simultaneously being in breach of bringing India's domestic laws in line with International Conventions such as against Torture, Enforced Disappearance and Genocide compounds the impunity extended to India's security forces because certain crimes are non-justiciable under Indian's domestic law.

The study exposes the state of impunity through a study of 214 cases, using information garnered from official State documents. The documents include FIRs, statements before police and / or magistrates, police final reports, High Court petitions, objections, other documents forming a part of the court record such as compliance reports, status report, judicial enquiries, SHRC documents from complaints to objections, police submissions and final orders; the documents in custody of the State itself arraign the armed forces and the police of culpability in specific crimes. But the study also supplements these documents with testimonies of victims and other witnesses.

171. Sheba George, Activist

172. Rukmini Sen, Senior Journalist

173. Pankaj Jha, Delhi University

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183. Richa Minocha, Jan Abhiyan Sansthan, Himachal Pradesh

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101. Dr. Aniruddh Deshpande, Department of History, University of Delhi
102. Prof. Amit Bhaduri, economist, Delhi.

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Counters

wife that her mercy petition had been rejected through speed post is a joke. What the state has done is not simply kill a convict. It has committed a fraud on the people by invalidating an entire body of jurisprudence and a category of rights enshrined in our Constitution.

And finally, the Indian State must explain why it displayed such urgency in executing Afzal before those others whose mercy petitions your office has earlier rejected.

Sd/

Manisha Sethi, Jamia Teachers' Solidarity Association
Ahmed Sohaib, Jamia Teachers' Solidarity Association
Sanghamitra Misra, Jamia Teachers' Solidarity Association
Atif Mehdi, Jamia Teachers' Solidarity Association
Ghazi Shahnawaz, Jamia Teachers' Solidarity Association
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Farah Farooqi, Jamia Teachers' Solidarity Association
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Prof. Alok Rai, Academic, Delhi
Dr. M. Vijayabaskar, Faculty, Madras Institute of Development Studies, Chennai
Darryl D'Monte, Mumbai
Shivam Vij, Journalist, Delhi
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Open Letter To President Of India On Afzal Guru's Hanging

By Concerned Citizens

13 February, 2013
Countercurrents.org

To,

The Hon'ble President of India

Respected Sir,

We write to you in deep anguish, despair but in outrage as well. Afzal Guru was hanged on Saturday (9th February 2013) in secrecy. We have been told – after the hanging – that on rejected the mercy petition filed by Guru's wife, Tabassum, on 3rd February. We believe that you made a grave error in rejecting the mercy petition. If you had perused the trial records and the lengthy documentation put together over the years by lawyers and civil rights activists, or even the Supreme Court judgement which sentenced Afzal to death, you would have known that his guilt was never established beyond reasonable doubt. The fact that the Court appointed as amicus curiae (friend of the court) a lawyer to whom Afzal had expressed no faith, the fact that he went legally unrepresented from the time of his arrest till the so-called confession, the fact that the court asked him to either accept the lawyer appointed by the Court or cross-examine the witness himself should surely have concerned you while considering his mercy petition.

His personal history of being a surrendered militant, of harassment and torture at the hands of STF, as well as his statement in open court that he had indeed enlisted Mohammad, one of the attackers on the Parliament, to find a house and obtain a car, the sum total of his involvement in the attack, but at the orders of his STF handlers, should have spurred a full-scale investigation into the incident. The citizens of this country do not know if one was ordered at all.

It is also a fact that the much-hyped investigation of the Parliament attack and its prosecution resulted in two full acquittals and conviction of another for concealing knowledge of the crime. It was almost as if there was a need to at least execute one death sentence so that the faith of the public / society in the efficacy of the prosecution and the judiciary and the legislature which represented the State would not be shaken. Surely this was not a case where even the government of the day was convinced of the guilt of Afzal, but treated it like a crisis that was far too important for all accused to be acquitted. We must remind you sir that the Supreme Court threw out the confessions of both Afzal and Shaukat, which obviously indicated that the investigation had been far from fair.

As in life, Afzal Guru was denied his legal rights in his death. Surely every convict whose mercy petition has been rejected by the President is entitled yet to a last resort. The convict has the constitutional right to file a judicial review or a curative petition in the High Court and the Supreme Court, to seek commutation of the death sentence. There exists veritable case law to support a convict's right to appeal on grounds that pendency of death penalty for years causes suffering and traumatic anxiety. We only cite the Constitution Bench of the Supreme Court which rightly held that "Undue long delay in execution of the sentence of death will entitle the condemned person to approach this Court under Article 32."

Under the law, Afzal Guru may have lived still despite your rejection of the mercy petition, had he, his family and lawyers been informed of the rejection of the mercy petition. But perhaps fearing precisely this, the state whose head you are, duly chose to execute him in secrecy. The killing was not a fait accompli – a natural culmination of the course of law, as it is being made out to be by the government and the media. In fact, Afzal Guru was cynically, callously and calculatedly denied access to judicial remedy that was due to him. His family was not informed, not only because the state has become unrecognizably cruel – which it has, but also because it did not want Afzal Guru to exercise his legal rights and possibly avert the execution. Informing the

MUST READ: Love Jihad and Demographic Fears ☆ Who Will Police The Police?

Citizens Statement on the Execution of Afzal Guru

FEBRUARY 10, 2013 10:52 PM 15 COMMENTS

We, concerned citizens from parts of India, are shocked by the secretive manner of the execution of Afzal Guru who was accused in the Parliament attack case and condemn the continued use of death penalty. We are also dismayed to know that his family members were not informed about the hanging and his body was not handed over to them as per colonial prison rules that should be revised immediately. As there are a number of doubts in his case regarding the evidence produced that was primarily circumstantial in nature and that he was not provided proper legal assistance at the trial stage, sentencing for life should have been the preferred option.

The timing of the execution with elections around the corner is giving rise to strong suspicion that this decision could have been guided not just by judicial considerations but also by political exigencies, and hence is a matter for concern for democratic traditions and civilized values of our society.

All acts of terror and criminality deserve exemplary punishment but death penalty should not be used as a punishment as we all recognize that the process of justice always contains the possibility of error and misjudgment. Hence all judicial decisions should have the scope for review and redress. Death Penalty has no such scope. Further, the choice of awarding life sentence or death penalty rests solely on the judge hearing the case. Thus the personal stand of different members of the judiciary can have crucial bearing on the judgment.

In the US, the state of taxes has the largest rate of death penalty and the largest number of lethal crimes. The history of capital punishment has shown that it does not have any deterrent effect on crime. And thus there is nothing in its favour. A number of countries across the world have already abolished death penalty. Larger and larger sections of democratic opinion in this country and all over the world have been demanding that Capital Punishment be removed from the statue books since it is cruel, violent and violates the sanctity of human life. We demand immediate steps to abolish the death penalty.

Admiral L. Ramdas- Ali Bagh
Mahesh Bhatt- Mumbai
Prof. Achin Vanaik- New Delhi
Prof. Rama Melkote- Hyderabad
Prof. Ritu Diwan- Mumbai
Dr. Sandeep Panday-Lucknow
Lalita Ramdas- Ali Bagh
Dr. Mazher Hussain- Hyderabad
Dr. Ram Puniyan – Mumbai
Prof. Kamal Mitra Chenoy- New Delhi
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Dr. Samata Roshni- Hyderabad
K. Sajaya – Hyderabad
Anuradha – Hyderabad
Ambica- Hyderabad
Jatin Desai- Mumbai
Jeevan Kumar- Hyderabad

Public talk
on
Impunity for Perpetrators: The basis of occupation in Jammu & Kashmir

The discussion will revolve around the contents of the recently released report by International Peoples' Tribunal for Human Rights and Justice in Indian Administered Kashmir (IPTK) and Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons (APDP). The report documents State violence and impunity in Jammu and Kashmir from 1989 till date, which by many estimates has resulted in the enforced disappearance of at least 8,000 people and more than 70,000 deaths, plus disclosures of more than 6,000 unknown, unmarked and mass graves as of 2012.

The report analyzes official state documents and testimonies in specific cases. It further names the people involved in perpetrating atrocities and analyzes their roles in the human rights violations in Jammu and Kashmir. It breaks the cover of anonymity which protects perpetrators by raising the principle of 'individual responsibility' which is well established under International Criminal Law starting with Nuremburg Trials and several UN tribunals.

The report lists 500 individual perpetrators, in relation to various crimes against humanity which include 235 army personnel, 123 paramilitary personnel, 111 Jammu and Kashmir Police personnel and 31 Government backed militants/associates. The list of perpetrators includes 2 Major Generals, 3 Brigadiers, 9 Colonels, 3 Lt. Colonels, 78 Majors and 25 captains of the Indian army as well as 2 Additional Director Generals of central para-military forces, 2 DiGs and 12 commandants. It also indicts a DG of Police and a serving IG of police.

STUDENTS LEAGUE

SPEAKERS

Kartik Murukutla

Has worked in Kashmir with the Coalition of Civil Society and has been a part of the team that prepared the IPTK/APDP report 'Alleged Perpetrators: Stories of Impunity in Jammu and Kashmir'. He was associated for five years with the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda.

Parvaiz Imroz

Human Rights Lawyer [Jammu Kashmir Coalition for Civil Society (JKCCS)/ Association of Parents for Disappeared persons (APDP)]

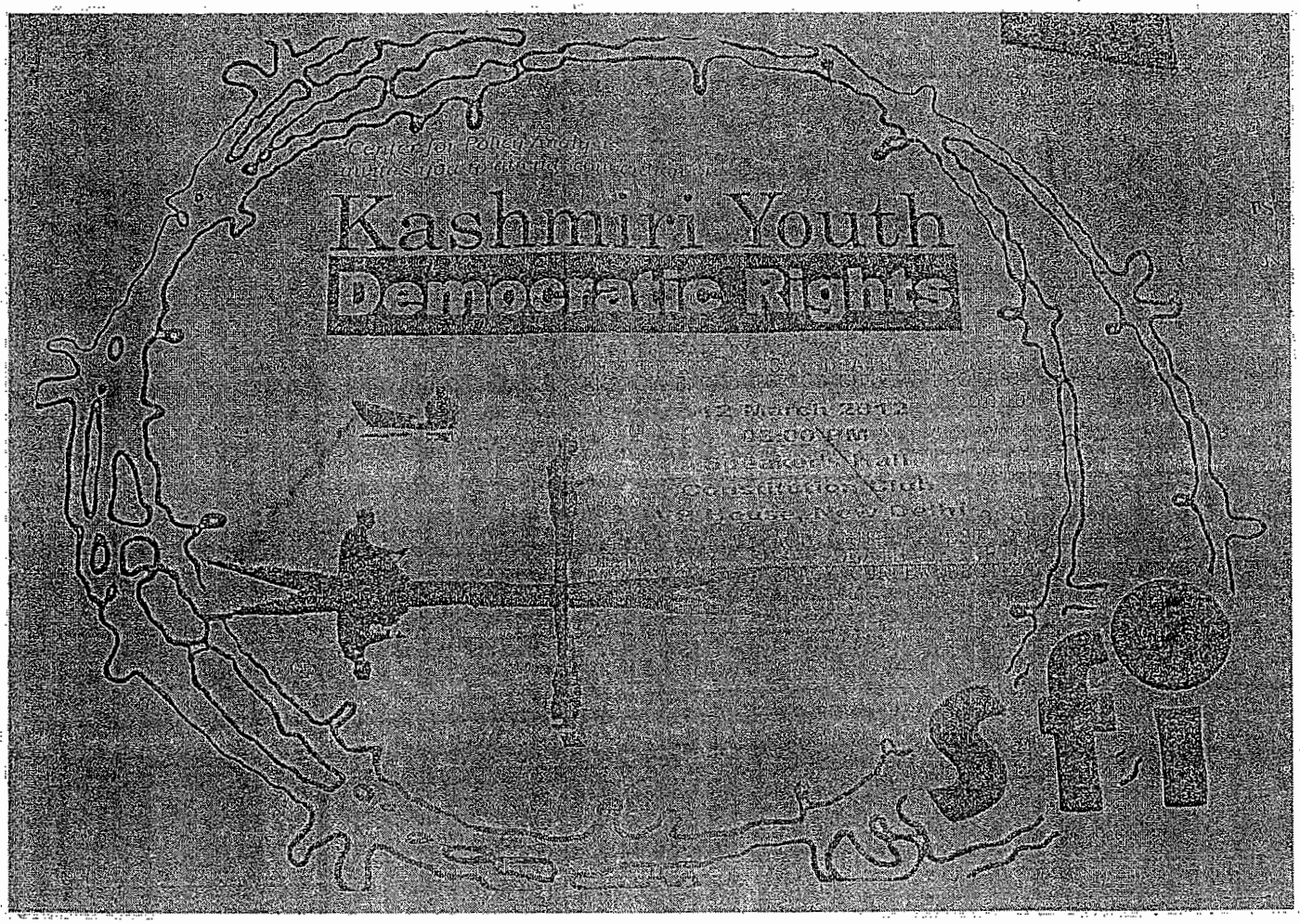
Gautam Navlakha

Editorial Consultant Economic and Political Weekly

WHEN:
9:30 pm, Thursday, 24th of January, 2013

WHERE:
Kaveri Hostel Mess, JNU

Dat Remove till 25th Jan


Kashmiri Youth
Democratic Rights

The Interlocutors Report

In this backdrop, the Ministry of Home Affairs commissioned three intellectuals to prepare a report which would form the basis of resolution of the Jammu and Kashmir issue. However, the report has nothing new or concrete to add to the already existing recommendations of various similar commissions. The fact that three persons with no political authority were entrusted with such an important enterprise led people to doubt the legitimacy of this report from the beginning, and brought to question the seriousness of the Indian State to move towards the resolution of the issue. It is not surprising that the report has found no takers amongst the stakeholders in the valley. Such an exercise has contributed to the already increasing cynicism in the valley.

The Road Ahead

Kashmir finds itself in a grave political situation. The democratic resolution of the Kashmir issue as well as addressing the democratic aspirations of the people of Kashmir at the earliest is of utmost importance. It has to be recognized that the Kashmir issue is political in essence, and various economic packages from the Indian State cannot be substitutes for concrete action towards resolving the issue. All shades of political opinion have to be given space in democratic dialogue on the issue. However, no meaningful dialogue cannot proceed unless a comprehensive demilitarization of the Valley is carried out and the fundamental rights of the Kashmiri people are guaranteed. Without this, all talk of various "Confidence Building Measures" remains a farce.

The Convention arrived at a set of urgent concerns which need to be acted upon on an immediate basis. These demands will constitute a common programme for united action in the coming days. Some of the principal demands amongst them are the following:

- Demilitarization of the valley, and the withdrawal of the draconian AFSPA and PSA.
- Trial and punishment of security personnel responsible for the deaths of young protestors in 2010. Immediate release of youth illegally detained in jail.
- Investigation by an impartial authority into all fake encounters and immediate action against those found guilty. Registration of cases of forced disappearances followed by investigation and action within a time frame.
- Immediate impartial investigation into the unmarked graves to establish the identities of those killed, and the culpability of those responsible for the murders.
- Investigation by an impartial authority of rape cases that still remain unresolved.
- Rehabilitation and compensation of the victims of human rights violations.
- Upholding the democratic rights of Kashmiris, including the right to dissent and providing democratic spaces for the same including free access to social media.
- Ensuring the right to form student unions in Kashmir to defend the rights and interests of the student community.
- Establishing mechanisms to protect Kashmiri students, outside of Kashmir, against discrimination and stigmatization.

Towards these ends, the convention resolved to form a Student – Youth Coordination Committee which would raise awareness about these issues and launch collective protest actions on the same. The Committee will consist of students and youth from both Jammu and Kashmir, as also other parts of the country. It will serve as a common platform for the expression and implementation of progressive opinion across the country on the political question of Jammu and Kashmir and the enormous travails faced by the people of the region. The SFI is a constituent member of the committee, and pledges to steadfastly take forward the struggle against the burning injustice, oppression and exploitation faced by the people of Jammu and Kashmir. We appeal to the JNU student community to stand in solidarity and unitedly rally behind the heroic quest of the Kashmiri people for justice, dignity and democracy.

SFI

(Do not Remove Till 15/06/2012)

Stand up for the Democratic Rights of the Kashmiri People

The Centre for Policy Analysis (CPA) organized a convention on the "Democratic Rights of the Kashmiri Youth" in Srinagar, on the 3rd of June 2012. This program was in continuation with another such convention held in Constitution Club, New Delhi earlier this year. The SFI was part of the 60 member contingent of students from Delhi University, Jamia Milia Islamia and Jawaharlal Nehru University who attended the convention. The convention provided a platform for dialogue between different shades of political opinion on the Kashmir issue, in order to arrive at a common programme for joint action by progressive groups across the country against the injustice and exploitation being faced by the people of Jammu and Kashmir. From JKLF's Yasin Malik to CPI(M)'s Yusuf Tarigami, and many activists, teachers, journalists, students and youth from Kashmir, put forth their views on the complex political situation faced by the people of the region.

Political Situation, Impacts of Militarization and Subversion of Democracy

Kashmir became part of the Indian Union in 1953, through a political compact under Article 370, which provided autonomy for the State of Jammu and Kashmir. However, the Indian State left no stone unturned to strangle any semblance of democracy and autonomy, by repeatedly rigging elections, dismissing democratically elected governments and imposing President's Rule in the State. The Valley, as a result, has been witness to decades of political turmoil and violence.

In 2010, thousands of Kashmiri youth, students and women took to the streets in protest. This was not merely a spontaneous outburst of anger against the killing of a young student or a result of the misadventures of "unemployed youth" – as was made out to be by the mainstream media - but a result of years of unimaginable repression faced by the Kashmiri people at the hands of the armed forces and the repeated betrayal by the Indian State, which failed to muster the required political will to resolve the Kashmir issue and address the genuine grievances of the Kashmiri population. The Indian state responded to these protests by killing hundreds of young unarmed protestors. According to the Indian State's own estimate there are less than 200 militants in the Valley. However despite this, around 6 lakh army personnel are deputed in the valley, making it the most militarized zone in the world. Moreover, the Army is aided by draconian laws like the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) and the Public Safety Act (PSA), which bestows them with the power to commit the worst kind of atrocities with impunity. There have been a spree of fake encounters and 2100 unmarked graves have been found, bringing to light the grotesque abuse of power indulged in by the armed forces.

The worst sufferers under such draconian law are the women in the Kashmiri Society, as is the case in any armed conflict. The Shopian rape case highlighted this barbarity. Many women students shared their experiences of facing harassment at the hands of the Armed Forces severely hampering their mobility and, thereby, their prospects of education and employment. The innumerable fake encounters and arbitrary arrests and detention of Kashmiri men has made the situation for those "half – widows" - the status of those whose husbands' whereabouts is unknown - even more difficult, as along with the economic hardships they face, they become victims of social stigmatization.

While such severe violations of basic human rights are committed by the State, there are no spaces or mechanisms for the democratic resolution of these matters, within the Kashmiri polity, exacerbating the already tense situation. Even basic tools for communications like the SMS are disabled, and using the social media – like facebook - to raise awareness about the situation is also not allowed, and its use is banned. Many commentators have also noted that there have been concerns regarding the pervasive rigging of elections undermining the democratic mandate of the people and tremendously compounding the misery and alienation of the people. Furthermore, all student unions in colleges are banned, and the students there have no recourse to the fundamental right to organize politically to defend their rights and safeguard their interests.

Join the Convention organised by

Centre for Policy Analysis

Kashmiri Youth and Democratic Rights

Speakers

Prashant Bhushan

Eminent Lawyer

Wajahat Habibullah

Chairperson, Minorities Commission

Youth Leaders from Kashmir

12 March 2012 3 PM

Speaker's Hall

Constitution Club

Rafi Marf, New Delhi

SFI

DSU

Stop the Fascist State Repression in Kashmir!

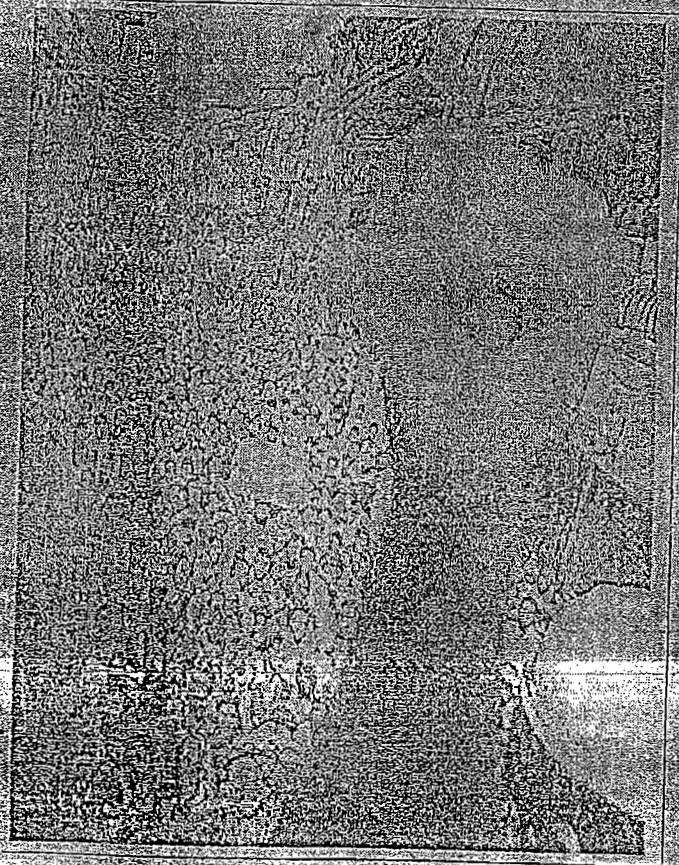
16 unarmed protestors killed in firing in last three weeks in the streets of Kashmir!

Indefinite Curfew imposed in the Valley to strangle the voices of the thousands taking to the streets!

Army moved in against Civilian protestors to crush the resistance of the people under the military jackboot!

But, Brute Force can never suppress the aspirations for *Azadi* of the people of Kashmir!

Stand by the people of Kashmir for their right to national self-determination!!



Protest March

called by the Students from Kashmir

on 9th July, Friday, Tomorrow at 9:30 pm from Ganga Dhaba

End the Ongoing Spiral of Violence in J&K!!

Condemn the Killing of Innocent Civilians!!

Shame on Failure of NC Govt. to control the situation!!

Oppose the UPA's flat-footedness and complacency in dealing with problems of the state!!

Join Protest Rally

Jammu&Kashmir House 9 July Tomorrow 11 am

Assemble at Ganga Bus Stop at 10 am

The situation in the Kashmir valley continues to be grim with the Union Government deciding to deploy the Army in Srinagar to maintain law and order yesterday. This deployment comes after a gap of 17 years following deaths of over a dozen people in Police and CRPF firing on protestors. The protests which began over killing of teenage boy in police firing have turned into a vicious cycle, with fresh deaths in firing on many protest demonstrations in the valley. After a lull for a couple of days, 5 people died in police firing on Tuesday, after which the decision to deploy the army has been taken. The most unfortunate part is that young people have been the victims of this high handed and insensitive behaviour of the police and central forces.

Both the State Government and the Central Government have failed to address the situation, which has only gone from bad to worse. So far the attitude has been to treat this as a pure law and order problem rather than seeking a meaningful solution to it. This attitude has once again promoted the feeling of alienation and anti-India sentiments in the valley. In the past also we have seen that there has been a complete apathy from the policy makers in New Delhi towards handling situation in the hill state. By failing to address serious situations like these through political and democratic means, the government only paves way for years of hard work and political processes to bring normalcy to the state of Jammu and Kashmir go futile. In the recent years, even when cross-border terrorism has been on a decline and peace has been returning to the valley, the government has only shown complacency rather than take measures to expedite the internal peace talks in the state and also win back the confidence of the Kashmiri people, especially youth, who are also faced with deprivation and lack of adequate opportunities, along with the sense of being discriminated.

Both the UPA Government and the National Conference Government in the state are to blame for this sorry state of affairs, where innocent lives are being lost and democracy has given way for a police state in the state. Rather than indulging in a blame game, both the state and the centre should immediately start negotiations and try to bring normalcy back. Adequate compensation must also be paid to the families of those killed in police firing.

It is important that democratic movements throughout the country raise their voices against the high handed attitude of the J&K government and the Centre and prevail upon the insensitive administrators to adopt a more sensitive and democratic approach to address the situation. ***The SFI appeals to the student community to join a protest demonstration in front of the Jammu and Kashmir House tomorrow to raise our voice against the manner in which force is being used to enforce normalcy in the state.***

Lenin, President, SFI-JNU P.K.Anand, Secretary, SFI-JNU

Statement of Protest

AZADI: THE ONLY WAY

Thursday 27th October 2pm-6pm

LTG AUDITORIUM, Copernicus Marg, Mandi House, New Delhi (Auditorium is near Mandi House Metro Station)

Organized by Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners (CRPP)

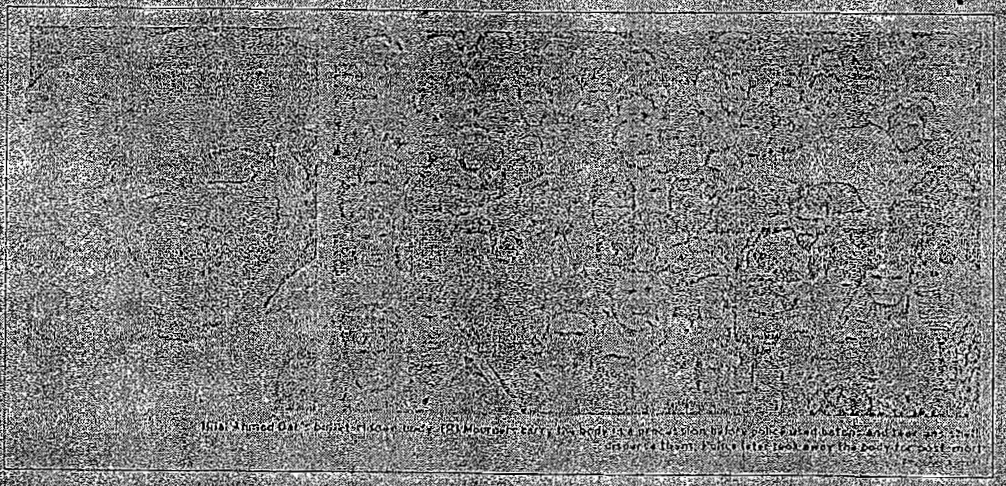
Speakers:

Gursharan Singh (Noted Dramatist, President, CRPP)
Dr. Sheikh Showkat Hussain (Professor of Law, KU)
Najeeb Mubarakki (Assistant Editor, Economic Times)
S.A.R. Geelani (Professor DU, Working President CRPP)
Arundhati Roy (Writer and Activist)
Varvara Rao (Revolutionary Poet & Professor)
Justice A.S. Bains (Retd. Chief Justice, Punjab HC)
Shuddhabrata Sengupta (Artist and Writer)
Dr. N. Venuh (General Secretary, NPMHR)
Dr. Aparna (CPI [ML] New Democracy)
Amit Bhattacharya, (CRPP)
Sujato Bhadra, (APDR)
Kanwarpal Singh
Thiagu (Activist)
Malem (CPDM)

DSU

Bus will leave Ganga Dhaba at 12.30pm

Another Cold Blooded Murder of Kashmiri Youth by Indian Army



Hilal Ahmad Dar - Dated 14 days ago (13) Mourners carry the body of a man, killed in alleged fake encounter before his burial at Aadiwan graveyard in Bandipora. Police later took away the body for post-mortem

The Indian state might propagate tall claims about peace having returned to Kashmir and a huge rush of tourists visiting the valley signifying 'normalcy' but the structural logic of the monster of forcible occupation, through which they control the area puts forth the reality every now and then.

Hilal Ahmad Dar, a 25-year-old man, soon to be married next month was tortured and shot dead by the Indian Army in north Kashmir's Bandipora district on Tuesday night. Hilal was a resident of Lalipora, Aaloosa, working in a private cement factory in Srinagar and was getting married next month. On the night of his murder he had decided to stay for nightlong prayers at Helmatpora mosque, according to local residents. Hilal was the oldest son of his parents and a lone earner in a poor family of six. Hilal was affiliated to Tableeghi Jamaat, an apolitical religious group and, according to his father Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din, had returned home from Srinagar six days ago.

In the morning, Hilal's bullet-ridden body was recovered in the forests of Ashtengo Retnar, nearly a kilometer from the Helmatpora mosque. Hilal sported a long beard and hair and the locals say that army killed him in a fake encounter after picking him up from Helmatpora. His hands seemed to have been tied before he was fired upon and his body bore torture marks suggesting that he was captured before his death.

The actual power holders in Kashmir, backed by legalized impunity in the form of AFSPA and other emergency laws, Indian Army stands tall in arrogance. "For us there is nothing to prove. It is clear. Army is a disciplined force and carries out operations with honesty and integrity," General Officer Commanding of the Army's 15 Corps Lt. General Om Prakash said to press. Army insists that they killed him in an encounter which ensued after they received information about the movement of militants in the area and they laid an ambush. But this time, even the police has refused to accept the Indian army's claim that the victim was a militant. Police say there was no record of Hilal's involvement in militancy.

Police said it's investigating the killing and has lodged a case of murder under FIR No. 143/2012 in this regard.

On Wednesday morning, as news about Hilal's killing spread in Bandipora, hundreds of people, including a large number of women, took to streets in protest chanting anti-India, anti-Army and pro-Freedom slogans. The assurance of a probe into the killing however failed to pacify the protesters, as the history of the fate of official probes is well known to people. While the armed forces used force, the protesters offered a stiff resistance and refused to bury the body. civilians have been injured as police used tear smoke shells and baton charge against the people.

Hilal's body was handed over to his family on Wednesday evening after the post-mortem. Thousands participated in his funeral prayers amidst slogans for freedom and prayers for Azadi.

STUDENTS LEAGUE

AZAADI: THE ONLY WAY AHEAD IN KASHMIR

Dr. Sheikh Showkat Hossain
Department of Law, Kashmir University
Varavara Rao, Revolutionary Poet

TONIGHT: 7.30 PM

TSU

19 people killed in Kashmir, several hundreds injured

But brute forces can never suppress the aspiration of the masses for *Azaadi*!

"We shall heal our wounds, collect our dead and continue fighting" – Mao

Yesterday, as the Indian Cabinet Committee on Security was sitting and "deliberating" on how much of 'relaxation' if at all, can be granted to the draconian AFSPA in Kashmir, their mercenary forces back in Kashmir were mercilessly firing on the masses across the valley. By the time those stooges of imperialism finished their meaningless deliberation to once again decide on nothing, 19 people in the valley were already killed, more than 200 injured, many of them critically. Since June this year, Kashmir witnessed the bloodiest day yesterday, with the total death toll going up to 89 since June.

From the day of Eid the people in the valley are valiantly protesting. The deaf Indian state and its corporate media stooges fail to hear the unambiguous call for *Azaadi* that is reverberating most strongly across the valley, especially since the last four months. Yesterday the protests intensified as the news came of the Quran being burnt in USA. Across the valley, in both North and South Kashmir, people took out marches where thousands of people participated. And across the valley the brutal security forces, both CRPF and BSF fired indiscriminately on these peaceful unarmed people. At least seven persons including a class seventh student and a woman were killed in violent clashes in Budgam while over 60 people were injured, 23 of them critically. At least five people were killed and 65 others injured, when police and the CRPF personals opened fire on the protesters in the Tangmarg area of North Kashmir. One person was killed and 30 others were injured as police and CRPF open fired at several places in Sandipore in North Kashmir. A 14 year boy was killed and two others injured after the forces and police resorted to unprovoked firing in Islamabad. Four persons were killed and at least 100 injured when police and CRPF men opened fire and resorted to intense teargas shelling on the protestors at various places in South Kashmir. In the afternoon in Khanabal area of the township another teenager went missing after he jumped into the river Jhelum while being chased away by the forces near Khanabal bridge. The doctors at Budgam, Srinagar and other places confirmed that the deceased and the injured had all sustained injuries above their waist, which proves that these were targeted firing with the intension to kill and not to disperse the crowd. The security forces and the Ikhwanis turned SoGs, fired repeatedly on funeral processions at various places injuring many others. Strict curfew was clamped on Srinagar, Islamabad, Pulwama, Kulgam, Bijbehara, Kakpora and many other places but people defied curfew everywhere to take out marches on the streets.

The Indian ruling class has no answers other than intensified brutal state repression to this unprecedented mass upsurge in Kashmir. The historical response of the Indian ruling class and their comprador stooges in Kashmir is one of betrayal and ruthless repression. The international commitment by them back in 1950s to hold an unbiased plebiscite in the valley was repeatedly duped. In lieu of the promised plebiscite what was granted was partial autonomy in the name of article 370. Even that is subsequently has been severely flouted with the massive militarization of the valley with the presence of around 8 lakh armed forces that have complete impunity with the draconian Armed Forces Special Powers Act. The AFSPA empowers the army and para-military to shoot at sight, shoot at suspicion, arrest without warrant, conduct random crackdowns in the name of checks and raids, detain people for unlimited period without charge sheet, torture people in the name of 'interrogation', and so on. All pretensions of 'world's largest democracy' have always tumbled in Kashmir. What we have seen for the past sixty years only tantamount to forceful military occupation of an oppressed nationality which is fighting tooth and nail for its freedom. More than 70,000 people have been killed by the security forces so far, 30,000 more have 'disappeared' only to be found in the recently unearthed mass graves! Sexual violence has remained one of the major weapons in the hands of the coward Indian forces and more than thousand women have been raped by them. A recently released video shows how four Kashmiri youth are being paraded naked by the security forces replicating the scenes at Abu Ghraib or Guantanamo!

The Indian ruling classes are now deliberately 'confused' and undecided over their course of action on Kashmir. The Communal fascist BJP in no uncertain terms wants AFSPA to be tightened, military repression intensified over the protesting masses of Kashmir and the article 370 be scrapped. The pseudo-Left CPM who always ignored the genuine aspiration of the Kashmiris and blatantly branded their struggles as ISI-funded 'Islamic Fundamentalism', is shamelessly bargaining for giving a human face to AFSPA! They do not want AFSPA to be repealed but temporarily revoked from some areas. The CPM with their warped understanding of history is now talking about 'autonomy' to Jammu and Kashmir. They should remember that autonomy was always on papers granted in article 370 which has been blatantly and repeatedly flouted by the Indian state and the parliamentary pseudo-Left remained as mute spectators tacitly registering their support to such treachery. The Congress and its Kashmiri stooge Omar Abdullah think 'relaxing' some clauses of AFSPA coupled with some 'economic packages' can silence this historic mass upsurge. All of them are being blind fools!

Because the people in Kashmir are neither confused nor undecided. In thousands they are defying curfews, facing the bullets of the Indian forces and yet marching ahead with one slogan: *azaadi*! They are not fighting for any 'partial autonomy' anymore, but for Independence; they are not craving for rubbish 'economic packages', but for national liberation. The willfully blind and deaf Indian parliament might not recognize their genuine struggle, but we the common masses of India must stand in unconditional support with these heroic people who are fighting the most genuine freedom struggle in South Asia and also in the entire world!

In Solidarity with

Srinagar to Jantar Mantar

Save Democracy

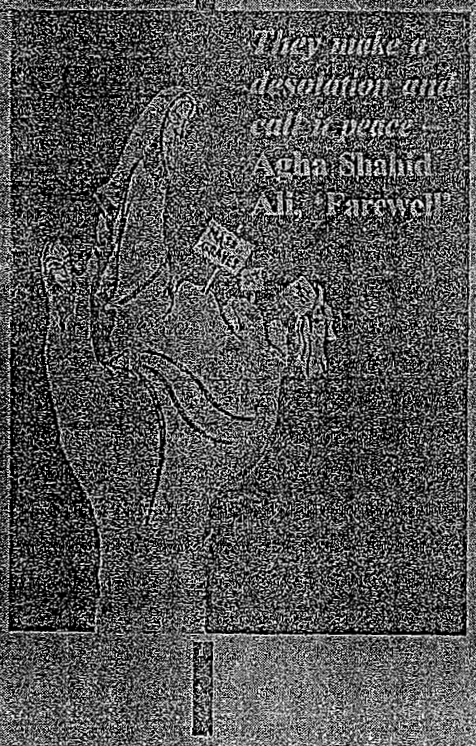
Repeal AFSPA

Jan Kar Wan

which is reaching Delhi on 19 Oct 2011

join

Public Meeting and Interaction with the Participants in the Jan Kar Wan



Mass graves discovered in Kashmir

It's official now: thousands of disappeared Kashmiri civilians did not vanish into thin air or across the border. They lie buried in unmarked mass graves – the victims of custodial murders by security forces in the Valley.

A probe by the Kashmir State Human Rights Commission (SHRC) establishes that more than 2,000 bodies lie in 38 unmarked graves in northern Kashmir.

For the people of Kashmir, this is not a sensational discovery. They can only feel a grim sense of public vindication of what they have long been experiencing. The Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons, in March 2008, released a report, 'Facts Underground', that pointed to the presence of the unmarked graves. The SHRC enquiry was launched in response to the APDP campaign.

In 2009, a report of the International People's Tribunal (IPTK) on Human Rights and Justice documented 2,700 unknown, unmarked, and mass graves.

Now the SHRC has stated that, beyond doubt, "2156 bullet-ridden bodies have been found in 38 mass graves. Many of these were handed over by police to locals for burial as 'unidentified militants'." The SHRC report accepts that "There is every probability that these unidentified graves may contain bodies of enforced disappearances." In light of these findings, the SHRC has ordered a "fair, wide investigation including exhumation of the bodies, DNA profiling and matching with relatives of disappeared people, and lodging of FIRs."

Some of the bodies were defaced, 20 were charred and five only had skulls remaining; 13 of the graves contained more than one body each. The report also suggests that "to stop the misuse of powers under AFSPA (Armed Forces Special Powers Act) and Disturbed Areas Act, it is necessary that wherever anybody is killed – whether he is a militant or an innocent civilian – his or her identification profile including DNA profile should be maintained properly." This suggestion itself is an admission of how the draconian AFSPA is being used – as a license to murder civilians and maintain a reign of terror over the people in the areas where it is deployed.

The APDP estimates that around 10,000 people 'disappeared' during the last couple of decades. In some of the cases, where the disappeared persons had been picked up by police or army officials, conclusive evidence led the families pursuing the matter and probes were even ordered against the concerned security officials. But such enquiries mostly came to naught. They were led by Parveena Ahangar, whose son went missing in police custody 17 years ago. She has called for international human rights groups and Indian authorities to identify the people buried in the mass graves.

The families of the disappeared seek closure for the terrible uncertainty and pain they have endured. They also seek justice and punishment for the unconscionable murders, by Indian security forces, of their loved ones.

It is imperative that an unbiased drive to identify the bodies be launched before there is any chance of destruction or further decay of the evidence. As ordered by the SHRC, FIRs must be lodged in the case of all disappeared persons, and pursued at a fast track.

In the unmarked mass graves lie buried the dark reality of civilian life in Kashmir under military jackboots. They are a stark reminder that every Kashmiri family lives in terror of their loved one 'vanishing' after being picked up arbitrarily by security forces. This state of terror can end only when the rights of Kashmiris to decide their future is respected and a political solution acceptable to the Kashmiri people sought and found.

1.9.11

Unmask the facts of Indian occupation of Kashmir

Stand in solidarity with the Kashmiri people

The 64 years of Indian occupation of Kashmir have been synonymous with death, destruction and pillage. In a glaring testimony to the gruesome brutalities of the Indian state in Kashmir, the recent report of the J&K State Human Rights Commission revealed the existence of 2156 bullet ridden bodies in 38 unmarked mass graves in the districts of Baramulla, Bandipore, Handwara and Kupwara. This excludes 574 bodies that were buried as unidentified but later identified as those of locals. All these bodies had earlier been handed over to the locals by the police for burial by classifying them as unidentified militants killed in gunfight. However in a vindication of what the Kashmiri people have been saying for years, the probe admits that these graves contain the dead bodies of enforced disappearances of people who were tortured/executed in custody. Many of these bodies were defaced and some were even chained pointing towards the use of torture before their execution.

For the people of Kashmir, the state report however does not come as a surprise. A number of reports have time and again pointed to the existence of such graves all over the valley, so much so that it had become difficult for the state machinery to deny anymore. The pro-azaadi leadership of Kashmir has pointed out how it is morally bankrupt to cover up such killings that the State Human Rights Commission has now come out with its own report, with figures far less than the original. Pointing to the active complicity of the Indian state in the "disappearances" and the killings, they have already pointed to the meaninglessness of any state initiated probe into the matter.

The Indian state is not even making any pretence of providing justice. The puppet chief minister Omar Abdullah has categorically denied the possibility of any kind of immediate probe into the matter, knowing well that the elapse in time will make any probe later redundant as the chances of DNA extraction would reduce greatly. What he instead wants is the setting up of a *truth and reconciliation* committee. The people of Kashmir and the democratic and progressive people elsewhere do not need any such spurious committees to ascertain the crimes of Indian state in Kashmir. Right from the historically denied right to self determination for the past 64 years to the more than 30,000 killings, thousands of disappearances, the presence of 8 lakh armed personnel, fake encounters, mass torture chambers are facts that cannot be reconciled with. The comprador ruling elite of Kashmir and their Indian masters might want the people to reconcile with their demand for *azaadi*, but for the people of Kashmir the right to self determination including secession is non-negotiable. The absurdity of any so-called form of political intervention which reduces the entire question of Kashmir to mere human rights violation limits itself to demand justice from parties actively complicit in the genocide of Kashmiris.

The history of Kashmir is not merely one of state repression, it is also one of the indomitable spirit of the Kashmiri people in their struggle for freedom. The Kashmiri people are today fighting one of the most valiant liberation struggles and all democratic people should stand in solidarity with them.

Centre for Comparative Politics and Political Theory

School of International Studies

invites you

to a talk

on

"Militarization and Current Events in Kashmir"

Speaker: Prof. Hamida Nayeem

Date: 30th September 2011 (Friday)

Timings: 11 a.m.

Venue: 001, SIS Committee Room

All are cordially invited

tribes in India.

December 16, 2013, the third day, comprised of four sessions. The third day comprised of four sessions. The first session was on 'Environment, Housing and Displacement and the response of the NHRC'. The second session was on 'Health Rights and the response of the NHRC'. The third session was on 'Child Rights and the response of NHRC' and the final session was on 'Disability and the response of the NHRC'.

In the first session, on 'Environment, Housing and Displacement and the response of NHRC', Ms. Medha Patkar spoke on the overall situation of housing and displacement in India and the role played by the NHRC. Ms. Shivani Chaudhary spoke on 'Land grab and displacement'. Mr. Simpreet Singh spoke on Urban Housing and Displacement. Mr. Rohit Prajapati spoke on development and environmental destruction, and how they are living under constant threat of the State. Mr. Mahesh Pandya spoke on the environmental destruction specific to Gujarat.

In the second session on Health Rights and the response of NHRC, Mr. Binayak Sen spoke on healthcare as a right and access for the rural poor and the reponse of NHRC. Satya Sagar spoke on Public Health and the role of NHRC. Anand Rai spoke on Clinical Trial cases and the response of NHRC. Ms. Jashodhara Dasgupta spoke on Maternal health.

In the third session on Child rights and the role of NHRC, Ms. Bharti Ali spoke on Trafficking, forced labour and sex work and Adv. Anant Kumar Asthana spoke on Protecting Child rights: an evaluation of NCPCR and NHRC.

In the final session on Disability and response of NHRC, Mr. Santosh Rungta spoke on the overall situation of disability vis a vis NHRC and Mr. Anil Aneja spoke on Physical disability and their rights.

chnarendra is based in Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh, India, and is a Reporter for Allvoices.

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Suhas Chakma on complaints handling mechanism of the NHRC, Mr. Henri Tiphagne on the appointment and selection process in the NHRC. The most pressing issues of our times, i.e. Right to Food, Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity, and Death Penalty were spoken by Mr. Harsh Mander, Adv. Arvind Narain and Adv. Colin Gonsalves respectively.

In the second session on 'Police Encounter, Custodial torture, custodial death and the response of NHRC' Mr. Lenin Raghuvanshi addressed the section on Police abuse and torture in Uttar Pradesh, Ms. Sudha Bhardwaj spoke on the overall situation of Armed killings and torture, Adv. Navkiran Singh spoke on the Punjab Cremation Case and Babloo Loitongbam addressed the session on Armed Forces Special Powers Act and the situation of Manipur. Mr. Kirity Roy addressed the session BSF killings and torture in West Bengal while Parveena Athangar spoke about the very significant issue of disappearances in Kashmir.

The second day comprised of five sessions. The first session was on the pressing issue of the 'Attack of human rights defenders and response of NHRC, the right to association, expression and assembly'. The second session was 'Communalism and the intervention by NHRC'. The third session was on 'Violation of women's rights and the response of NHRC'; the fourth session was 'on Dalit issues and the response of NHRC' and the final session was on 'Tribal Rights and the Response of the NHRC'.

In the first session on 'Attack on Human Rights Defenders', Venkatesh spoke on the attack on RTI activists. Shamim Modi spoke on the torture and false cases against human rights defenders citing her own case as well. B.V Sitaram spoke on the police torture and registration of false cases against defenders, citing his own case to corroborate the issue. Anil Chowdhury addressed the section on the attack on NGOs.

In the second session on 'Communalism and the intervention by NHRC', Mr. Gagan Sethi spoke on the effective role of NHRC in its intervention in the Gujarat riots 2002 case, under the chairmanship of Justice Verma. Mr. John Dayal spoke on the Kandhamal riots 2007-2008 and the lack of attention or action by the NHRC. Mr. P.B D'sa spoke about the Mangalore Violence of 2008 and the conspicuous absence of the NHRC in intervening in the issue. Afroze Alam elaborated the Batla House Encounter case and how the NHRC simply endorsed the report of the Additional Commissioner of Police, instead of conducting its own enquiry and taking an independent stand on this very suspicious case which clearly had a conflict of interest for the Delhi police.

The third session on Violation of Women's Rights and the Response of NHRC was addressed by Ms. Annie Raja. The fourth session on dalit issues and the reponse of NHRC, the section on 'Access to basic rights and justice' was addressed by SDJM Prasad. Mr. Bezwada Wilson spoke on the practice of untouchability, Mr. P.L Mimroth spoke about the atrocities against Dalits.

In the fourth session on 'Tribal rights and the response of NHRC', the section on False cases against tribals in Central India was addressed by Mr. Himanshu Kumar, the section on Mining issues and Forest rights was addressed by Mr. Sreedhar. Ms. Ningreichon Tungshang spoke about the tribal issues in North-east India. Mr. Mayank Sinha spoke on Nomadic and De-notified

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Independent People's Tribunal on the Functioning of National Human Rights Commission concluded

An Independent Peoples' Tribunal was jointly organised by Human Rights Law Network, All India Network of NGOs and Individuals working with National / State Human Rights Institutions, Human Rights Alert, Vanvasi Chetna Ashram, Paryavaran Suraksha Samiti, South India Cell for Human Rights Education and Monitoring, Banglar Manabadhikar Suraksha Mancha (MASUM), People's Vigilance Committee on Human Rights, Human Rights Advocacy and Research Foundation and Asian NGO *Network* on National Human Rights Institutions (ANNI) on the functioning of the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) on December 14, 15 & 16, 2013 in New Delhi.

This was being organised on the occasion of the 20 years of Paris Principles [1993], 20 years of the Protection of Human Rights Act [1993] and 20 years of the Vienna Conference [1993]. The Jury was chaired by Justice (Retd.) Hosbet Suresh, and comprised Justice (Retd.) Surendra Bhargav, , Justice (Retd.) W A Shishak, , Justice (Retd.) K Sukumaran, , Mr. Yambem Laba, , Prof. Babu Mathews, [Professor, National Law University, New Delhi], Prof. Kamal Chenoy, [Professor, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi], Prof. Anuradha Chenoy, [Professor, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi], Prof. Vimal Thorat, .

It's been 20 years since the formation of National Human Rights Commission (NHRC). The NHRC was constituted under the Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993, for the protection and promotion of human rights in India. The first day comprised of three sessions. The first session was on 'NHRC's compliance to UN standards', the second session on 'Police encounter, custodial torture, custodial death and the response of the NHRC', and the third session on 'Killings and torture by armed forces and the response of the NHRC'. The second day comprised of five sessions.

The first session was on 'Attack on human rights defenders and response of NHRC', the second session on 'Communalism and Response of NHRC', the third session was on 'Violation of Womens Rights and Responses of NHRC', the fourth session was on 'Dalit Issues and the Response of NHRC', and the fifth session was on 'Tribal Rights and the Response of NHRC'. The third day again comprised of four sessions. The first session was on 'Environment, housing and displacement and the response of NHRC', the second session on 'Health rights and response of NHRC', the third session on 'Child rights and the response of NHRC', and the fourth session 'Disability and the response of NHRC'. We patiently listed in each session to a series of expert testimonies followed by depositions from victims of different violations who had approached the NHRC at different points of time.

In the first session on 'NHRC's compliance to UN International standards' Adv. Prashant Bhushan addressed on ' Relevance of corruption charges within NHRC, Adv Colin Gonsalves on the Independence of NHRC and the NHRC; Ms. Maja Daruwala on Core Groups in NHRC; Dr. Mohini Giri on the role of deemed members in the NHRC; Prof YSR Murthy on staffing, accessibility and infrastructure of the NHRC; Prof K. Murali on District Human Rights Courts; Mr.

"Truth never damages a cause that is just"

CPA as part of its ongoing Kashmir discourse invited a few select persons from Delhi and Kashmir to discuss the formation of a Delhi-Srinagar working group of civil society representatives and a concrete plan of action taking into account the present circumstances in Jammu and Kashmir.

The all day meeting was held at the CPA office on Friday, October 28, 2011. The discussions were intense with a free and fair exchange of views between the participants. The afternoon session was attended by senior politicians including CPI(M) general secretary Prakash Karat, Lok Janshakti party president Ram Vilas Paswan, Rashtriya Lok Dal leader Shahid Siddiqui and Welfare Party leader SQR Ilyas who assured the participants of their support.

The Working Group is intended to closely monitor developments in Jammu and Kashmir, and organize interventions in the form of press conferences, delegations, statements, public meetings as and when required. The meeting decided to focus on three major issues in the coming months.

1. De-militarization. The participants noted that there was no need for the deployment of the Army in the state and it should be removed to the borders and the barracks.

2. Withdrawal of AFSPA, Public Safety Act and all draconian laws that have made life a virtual prison for the Kashmiris. The meeting took the view that the government was not going to withdraw AFSPA and the so called changes in the PSA were cosmetic.

3. Immediate enquiry and action into the issues of unmarked graves, enforced disappearances and custodial deaths.

The plan of action that will be announced later envisages joint action between Parliamentarians and civil society. It will be initiated during the forthcoming winter session of Parliament.

The Working Group includes:

Delhi:

1. Justice Rajinder Sachar (former PUCL president)

2. Kuldip Nayar (former Rajya Sabha MP and veteran journalist)

3. Prashant Bhushan (Eminent lawyer)

4. Professor Kamal Chenoy (Jawaharlal Nehru University)

5. Prabir Purkayastha (Delhi Science Forum)

6. Zaheeruddin Khan (Editor Siyasat, Hyderabad)

7. Shastri Ramachandran (Journalist)

8. Professor Aruradha Chenoy (Jawaharlal Nehru University and Trustee, CPA)

9. Professor Mohan Rao (JNU)

10. Srinivasan Ramani (Economic and Political Weekly)

11. Seema Mustafa (Journalist and Director, CPA)

M. Wajahat Habibullah attended the meeting. Being part of the government he cannot join the working group but will remain in an advisory role.

Kashmir:

1. Professor Gul Wani (Kashmir University)

2. Shujaat Bukhari (Journalist)

3. Sanjay Tikku (Kashmir Sangharsh Samiti)

4. Zafar Choudhary (Editor, Epilogue)

5. Hameeda Nayeem (Educationist and activist)

6. Iftikhar Gilani (Senior journalist)

7. Hakeem Irfan

A few names will be added as some persons were not in town and we are waiting for their return to confirm their participation in future events.

Click here to go back

Two-day International Kashmir conference begins in Muzaffarabad

Pak PM says Kashmir key to regional peace
Monday, May 23

Pakistan Prime Minister Syed Yousuf Raza Gilani on Monday said regional peace cannot be guaranteed until the core Kashmir issue with India is resolved.

Syed Yousuf Gilani was addressing the inaugural session of two-day International Kashmir conference in Muzaffarabad, the capital of Azad Kashmir.

"Unless this core issue (Kashmir) is resolved, the dream of peace and harmony in the region cannot come true," Gilani said.

Gilani asked peace-loving nations to come forward to help resolve the Kashmir issue, which he contended had jeopardized peace efforts in the region.

He noted the need for acknowledging the Kashmiris' right to self-determination in line with UN resolutions.

Kashmiris were being "subjected to mental and physical torture", he claimed.

"No significant development can take place in South Asia unless this core issue is resolved," he said.

Gilani said people of Jammu and Kashmir suffered a lot and world must come forward to settle this issue once for all.

Gillani pledged that Pakistan will continue to provide moral, political and diplomatic support to the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

Gilani also favoured the continuation of the dialogue between Pakistan and India for resolving the Kashmir issue.

The Kashmir conference was also addressed by Prime Minister of AJK Sardar Attique Ahmad Khan , President Raja Zulkarnain, Minister for Kashmir Affairs Manzoor Watoo and Executive Director Kashmir American Council Dr Gh Nabi Fai while the Chairman Hurriyat Conference (G) Syed Ali addressed the moot via Internet from Srinagar.

It is pertinent to mention that first time such a conference was organized in which participants from the both sides of Line of Control (LoC) were present. The second session of the conference will start at City Campus University of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Muzaffarabad where speakers will discuss and share their views on Kashmir dispute.

Prominent academicians, journalists, political activists, scholars and thinkers from India, Pakistan, and both parts of Jammu and Kashmir are participating in the conference. Some prominent names include General Talat Masood, Arif Kamal, Shaheen Akhtar, Dr Siddique Wahid, Dr Shujaat Bukhari, Rita Manchanda, Murtaza Shibli, Anuradha Bhasin, Anuradha Chenoy, Nadira Mirza, Ejaz A Khan, Farid Malik, Z G Mohammad, Nazir A Shawl, Nisar Hamdani, Javed Bashir, Z U Khan, Javed Hayat, Kamal Chenoy, Seema Mustafa and Zafar Chowdhary.

Hindu, 31/03/2012

Hindu 31-3-2012

Fai sentenced after admitting links to ISI

Narayan Lakshman

WASHINGTON: In a closely-watched case Ghulam Nabi Fai (62), a former Director of Kashmiri American Council (KAC) who pleaded guilty of allegations that he failed to reveal his links to certain intelligence elements in Pakistan, was sentenced to two years in prison in a District Court in Eastern District of Virginia.

Announcing the sentence, which was surprisingly lower than the full five years that the court could have theoretically imposed upon him on the charge of concealing material facts about those links from the U.S. government, Judge Liam O'Grady said Fai would also face three years of supervised release.

In addition to the concealment of information charge, Fai, a U.S. citizen, was accused of conspiracy and tax violations in connection with a "decades-long scheme to conceal the transfer of at least $3.5 million from the government of Pakistan to fund his lobbying efforts in America related to Kashmir," the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) noted.

Under Fai, the KAC was ostensibly run by Kashmiris, financed by Americans, and dedicated to raising the level of knowledge in the U.S. about the struggle of the Kashmiri people for self-determination. However, court filings suggested that in fact the KAC was in receipt of shadowy tranches of funds from Pakistani officials, allegedly including the Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate.

The DOJ emphasised that Fai admitted in court that from 1990 until about July 18, documents, to the same effect.

According to court documents, Fai accepted the transfer of such money to the KAC from the ISI and the government of Pakistan through his co-defendant Zaheer Ahmad and middleman Ahmad later reimbursed these donors for their purported donations to the KAC, the DOJ added.

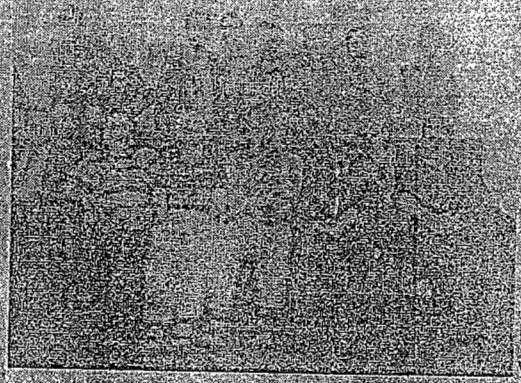
Sounding triumphant after Friday's sentencing, U.S. Attorney MacBride said, "Mr. Fai spent 20 years operating the Kashmiri American Council as a front for Pakistani intelligence. He lied to the Justice Department, the IRS and many political leaders throughout the U.S. as he pushed the ISI's propaganda on Kashmir." Back in December, Fai pleaded guilty to both counts of the criminal information.

The sentencing comes at a sensitive time for U.S.-Pakistan relations, even as Islamabad reviews its ties with Washington in the wake of a downward spiral in bilateral relations that accelerated since last year's killing of Osama bin Laden by U.S. marines on Pakistani soil.

Matters took a turn for the worse in November, when shooting by NATO led to the killing of 24 Pakistani soldiers in Mohmand near the Afghan border. After that episode, Pakistan closed down a vital NATO supply route and denied the U.S. any further access to an important air base in Shamsi in Baluchistan. Meanwhile, drone strikes through most of last year led to growing anti-Americanism in Pakistan.

The Fai case outcome may not fuel the

party to the dispute.



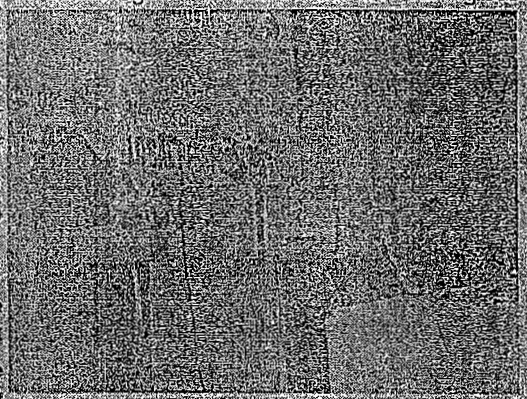
APHC-G convener Ghulam Muhammad Safi said Kashmiris want peace but peace with dignity and honor. He said no country whatsoever has the right to decide the fate of Kashmir saying that it were the people of Kashmir who were granted the right to determine the political future through a free, fair and impartial plebiscite. Terming unity as key to success Safi agreed that there were some weaknesses in Kashmiri leadership and hoped that time was not far when we will have one leadership and one agenda.

APHC (M) representative Faiz Naqashbandi said that the implementation of the UN resolutions on Kashmir was the best way to settle Kashmir issue. He said that Kashmiri leadership believes that tripartite talks could lead to a peaceful settlement of the issue. Professor Habib-ur-Rehman, the Vice-Chancellor of Azad Kashmir University thanked the distinguished delegates for attending the conference. Professor Raja Naseem Akhtar, the Program Chairman, expressed his satisfaction for the positive contribution of the delegates during the two-days international Kashmir conference.

Prominent academicians, journalists, political activists, scholars and thinkers from India, Pakistan, and both parts of Jammu and Kashmir participated in the conference. Some prominent names include Dr. Hilmi Ozev, Amb. Arif Kamal, Dr. Shaheen Akhtar, Dr Siddique Wahid, Mr. Shujaat Bukhari, Ms. Rita Manchanda, Mr. Murtaza Shibli, Ms. Anuradha Bhasin, Prof. Anuradha Chenoy, Dr. Mohammad Khan, Justice Majeed Malik, Dr. Nadira Mirza, Dr. Ejaz A Khan, Dr. Farid Malik, Mr. Z G Mohammad, Prof. Nazir A Shawl, Dr. Nisar Hamdani, Dr. Javed Bashir, Dr. ZU Khan, Dr. Javed Hayat, Prof. Kamal Chenoy, Ms. Seema Mustafa, Mr. Zafar Chowdhary, Mr. Tahir Aziz, Mr. Ghulam Mohmmad Safi, Mr. Faiz Naqashabndi and others.

region. Both Pakistan and India can achieve new levels of prosperity and can play stronger roles together for the furtherance of international peace and security and regional welfare once this dispute is settled", he added.

In his video message, Syed Ali Geelani, Chairman, All Parties Hurriyet Conference (APHC) urged the Government of Pakistan to stand by its principled stance on Kashmir. He thanked the people of Pakistan and Azad Kashmir for lending all out support to Kashmir cause. Highlighting Kashmiris' sacrifices he said that the people of Jammu and Kashmir have rendered unprecedented sacrifices to get their cherished goal. He said that Kashmiris were not averse to talks but talks must be meaningful, result-oriented and Kashmir-centric. He said that unless India accepts the centrality of the core issue of Kashmir, getting engaged in a dialogue with India was a meaningless and futile exercise.



Professor Nazir A. Shawl, the Executive Director of Justice Foundation/Kashmir Center said, "The history of the state of Jammu and Kashmir reveals that its people have never given up their claim to the right to self-determination."

"The entire State of Jammu Kashmir, he said, "is a disputed territory. India and Pakistan need to recognize the heterogeneous character of Jammu and Kashmir and help towards starting an intra and inter state dialogue for a greater consensus."

Regarding the media's role and Kashmir dispute, Greater Kashmir columnist Z G Muhammad said, "Had Indian media presented Kashmir issue in its right perspective, political leadership in India could have thought differently as far as Kashmir issue is concerned". He said that today, there were many saner and sincere voices in the Indian media but one can't really deny the fact that the media had played overall a "dubious role" regarding Kashmir and had wrongly supported the policies of the government. Recalling the Kunan Posh Pora mass rape incident, Zahid said, "Indian media camouflaged the whole story rather than exposing the culprits involved in the heinous crime."

However he stated that there were big names in Indian media and the civil society like Arundhati Roy, Seema Mustafa and several others who took the lead and did not hesitate to call a spade a spade. He said that same was the case with Pakistani media. "Nobody even challenged Musharraf's 4-point formula and the media toed his line", he said.

Professor Kamal Chenoy said that improving and expanding people to people dialogue repealing of "black laws," ensuring the basic fundamental rights of Kashmiri people and engaging political as well as the civil society at different levels can really help to move down to peace in the region. Chenoy out rightly denounced the "draconian laws" prevalent in the state.

Chenoy said that Kashmir is an international problem and could be resolved provided the concerned parties to the dispute demonstrate magnanimity and flexibility. He was of the view that status-quo was not acceptable to the people of Kashmir and therefore an out of the box political arrangement was must to address the issue. "Azadi" he said is demand of the people of Jammu and Kashmir and what shape does it take is a big question to answer at the moment".

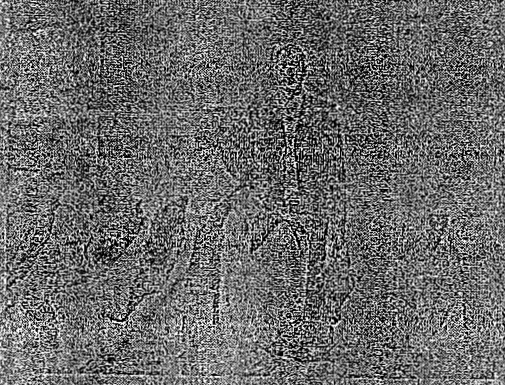
Veteran Kashmiri leader and a known jurist and Justice (retired) Majeed Malik said that Kashmir was not only an issue of the people of Kashmir but it is an issue between India and Pakistan. He said that Simla Agreement reduced the scope of Kashmir issue making it a bilateral issue between India and Pakistan. Bilateralism he said had unfortunately eliminated the role of Kashmiris though they happen to be the principal

Universal Declaration of Human Rights and applied countless times to the settlement of many international disputes.

The concept, Fai said played significant part in settling border disputes after World War I and attained greater importance after the Second World War. Quoting Article 1.2 of the UN charter he said that the principle of equal rights and self-determination was set as criterion to forge friendly relations amongst the nations.

Fai said, "The principle of self-determination and the maintenance of international peace and security are inseparable. The denial of this right to self-determination to the people of Kashmir has brought two neighboring countries in South Asia – India and Pakistan –to the brink of nuclear catastrophe."

He said that since the establishment of India and Pakistan as sovereign states, Jammu and Kashmir was not part of the territory of either, "the two countries entered into an agreement to allow its people to exercise their right of self-determination under impartial auspices and in conditions free from coercion from either side. An intra-Kashmiri dialogue between the leadership of all regions and all religions of the State of Jammu & Kashmir to find a common ground to help resolve the issue of Kashmir is long over due, Fai said.



"There is no international dispute which is not complex, if there is an interest in a settlement, the complexity becomes a motivating factor. If there is no interest, then it becomes an instrument of passivity and inaction", he added. "The settlement of Kashmir is achievable if pragmatic and realistic strategy is established to help set a stage to put the Kashmir issue on the road to a settlement." "The resolution of Kashmir is possible if all parties to the dispute – the Governments of India and Pakistan and the people of Kashmir show some flexibility, make some sacrifices and modify their stand," Fai concluded.

The Federal minister for Kashmir Affairs and Gilgit Baltistan, Mian Manzoor Watto said that India and Pakistan cannot afford another war as the two countries have fought two wars in the past. He urged the Government of India to respect the UN resolutions and grant Kashmiris the internationally pledged right to settle the issue peacefully. Referring to the sacrifices of the people of Jammu and Kashmir he said that the incumbent democratic dispensation in Islamabad couldn't ignore aspirations of Kashmiri people.

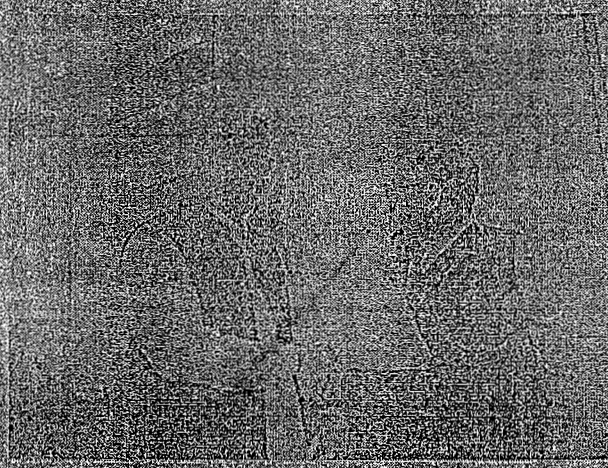
Raja Zulqarnain Khan, the President of Azad Kashmir said, "Kashmir is not a territorial dispute, it is about the fundamental rights of millions of Kashmiris." The unresolved dispute, he said, was the main reason of the lack of economic development in South Asia. He was of the view that a peaceful settlement of the decades long dispute could usher an era of peace, prosperity and economic development.

The Prime Minister of Azad Kashmir, Sardar Attique Ahmed Khan said India's 'intransigence and unrealistic approach' was a main hurdle in the way of peace. India had always backed out of its commitments, which he said was the main reason that Kashmir issue was hanging around for several years. Kashmiris want a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the problem. He however maintained that India and Pakistan could achieve new levels of economic prosperity provided the core issue of Kashmir was resolved peacefully.

Sardar Attique has cautioned that there existed no other option than "reaching a peaceful solution to the Kashmir dispute" as both Pakistan and India were nuclear powers in the same neighborhood of South Asia. "A viable solution that ensures satisfaction of Kashmiri aspirations can prove a harbinger of durable peace in this

Kashmiri American Council

Resolution of Kashmir Holds Key to Peace & Security in South Asia: PM Gillani



Muzaffarabd, Azad Kashmir, May 28, 2011: "Finding out an amicable solution to the core issue of Kashmir, lasting peace and economic prosperity in the whole region of South Asia is absolutely interlinked", said Mr. Syed Yousuf Raza Gilani, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, while addressing the two-day International conference on Kashmir here, which was organized by the Azad Kashmir University and attended by the eminent delegates from India, Pakistan, Turkey, Europe and both sides of the Cease-fire Line. Prime Minister Gilani said Kashmir dispute is not only affecting India and Pakistan but also destabilizing the war-ridden Afghanistan. "Pakistan is a peace loving country and wants peace with all its neighbors, however peace in the sub-continent is unattainable without finding a solution to Kashmir issue," and "Pakistan believes in talks and having solved the Jammu and Kashmir dispute both India and Pakistan can prove to be the good markets of the world," he said.

India and Pakistan have resumed the dialogue and the process should go on so that the core issue of Kashmir could be settled amicably in accordance with Kashmiris' aspirations in line with the UN charter and UN resolutions. "Resolution of Kashmir holds key to socio-economic development, peace and security in the region", he added.

Speaking on the occasion, Dr. Ghulam Nabi Fai, Executive Director, Kashmir American Council/Kashmir Center said, that the self-determination of the people is a basic principal and essence of the UN charter which has been reaffirmed in the

Sixth International Kashmir Conference

Wednesday, 21 June 2006 02:00

Dr. Ghulam Nabi Fai, Executive Director of Kashmiri American Council/ Kashmir Center has announced that the Association of Humanitarian Lawyers and the Kashmiri American Council/ Kashmir Center, Washington, D.C. are organizing their "Sixth International Kashmir Peace Conference" entitled, "South Asian Stability Post President Bush's Visit" with the following sub-themes, "Kashmir: New Hopes and Aspirations"; "Is Self-Governance a means towards Self-Determination?" "Demilitarization: First step towards setting a stage for settlement" and "Kashmir: Human Rights Dimension."

Dr. Fai mentioned that the conference will be held on July 20th & 21st, 2006 at the Capitol Hill, Washington, D.C. The primary objective of this conference is to explore collaboration amongst Indians, Pakistanis, and Kashmiris in order to forge a consensus to resolve the 59-year-old Kashmir issue. All the previous conferences held thus far had been successful, and we managed to attract a diverse array of international intellectuals, diplomats, and scholars from these three groups.

This year's conference comes at a crucial point in South Asian history after President George W. Bush had concluded a historical visit to South Asia in March 2006. It is important to note that firstly, President Bush had remarked that any solution to Kashmir problem must be acceptable not only to India and Pakistan but also to "those living within Kashmir". Secondly, both the Prime Minister of India, Dr. Manmohan Singh, and the President of Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf, have candidly voiced their eagerness to address the Kashmir issue. It is our hope that the two leaders and their governments will fully recognize that there can be no "peaceful negotiated settlement" without the full and active participation of Kashmiris living on both sides of the Ceasefire Line as well as the Kashmiris living in the diaspora.

Dr. Fai elaborated that while we acknowledge the initiatives undertaken towards Confidence Building Measures (CBM's) in the form of the resumption of the bus service between Srinagar and Muzaffarabad to be indeed an important development, we nevertheless regard it as but one step on the long journey towards a just settlement of the Kashmir problem.

The admission to the conference is free but registration is required. Those intrested to attend should write to kashmirconference@yahoo.com or gnfai2003@yahoo.com

Following speakers are confirmed: Mr. Bharat Bhushan, Editor, Daily Telegraph; Professor Kamal Chenoy, Jawahar Lal Nehru University; Mr. Ved Bhasin, Chairman, Jammu Kashmir Press Association; Mr. Gautam Navlakha, Journalist, New Delhi; Ms. Anuradha Jamwal, Editor-in-Chief, Kashmir times; Mr. Gohar Ayub Khan, former Foreign Minister of Pakistan; Amb. Teresita Schaffer; Prof. Robert Wirsing; Sardar Anwar Khan, President, Azad Kashmir; Dr. Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, Qaid-e-Azam University; Professor Nazir Shawl, London; Barrister Majeed Tramboo, Brussels; Amb. Yusuf Buch; Mr. Kumar Wanchoo; Dr. Ghulam N. Mir; Ms. Marjan Lucas, The Hague; Mr. Lars Rise, Oslo; Mr. Ali Khan, Oslo; Mr. Mowahid H. Shah; Sardar Attique Ahmed khan; Mr. Talaat Hussain, Aaj Television; Amb. Ali Durrani; Prof. Ashraf Saraf; Dr. Mumtaz Ahmad; Mr. Hyder Syed; Ms. Karen Parker; Amb. John McDonald; Dr. Angana Chatterji.

Forfeiture of the proceeds of the conspiracy to act as an unregistered foreign agent is authorized upon conviction by Title 18, United States Code, Section 981(a)(1)(C) and Title 28, United States Code, Section 2461(c).

FURTHER THIS AFFIANT SAYETH NOT.

Sarah Webb Linden
Special Agent, Federal Bureau of Investigation

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN to before me on July 18, 2011.

/s/Thomas Rawles Jones, Jr.

Thomas Rawles Jones, Jr.
United States Magistrate Judge

128. On March 31, 2011, Fai told Ahmad that he needed checks, and requested that Ahmad call Straw Donor G, Straw Donor H, Straw Donor K, "New York", or "anybody else." I believe Fai used the term "New York" to refer to Straw Donor B.

129. On April 7, 2011, Fai advised Ahmad that he would be traveling to Turkey and requested that Ahmad send $15,000 to Fai via a contact in Istanbul.

130. On April 7, 2011, Butt wrote an email to Fai saying, "Likely to meet with friend Doctor today for need full." Fai responded the next day by writing "Doctor Sahib already informed me that Aspirin was the right medicine which has been delivered." The next day, Butt wrote back, "Go as per the advice of doctor, but keep the dose low." I believe that Fai and Butt were using coded language to discuss Fai's financial transactions with Ahmad, and that Butt was warning Fai not to spend (or request) too much money.

Conclusion

131. Based on the foregoing, there is probable cause to believe that, from in or about 1995 and continuing until the present date, in the Eastern District of Virginia and elsewhere, Syed Ghulam Nabi Fai and Zaheer Ahmad did unlawfully and knowingly conspire with each other and with others to (1) act as an agent of a foreign principal without registering with the Attorney General, in violation of Title 22, United States Code, Section 612; and (2) falsify, conceal, and cover up material facts they had a duty to disclose by tricks, schemes, and devices, in matters within the jurisdiction of agencies of the executive branch of the Government of the United States, in violation of Title 18, United States Code, Section 1001, all in violation of Title 18, United States Code, Section 371.

Documents for the later years detailed budgets of $455,000 for 2001, $490,000 for 2005, and $719,000 for 2006. Each of the budgets allotted between $80,000 and $100,000 for campaign contributions to members of Congress, as well as significant sums for conferences, seminars, opinion pieces to be distributed to newspapers, and Congressional trips to Kashmir. As described below, I know that Fai provided similar documents to his handlers in 2008 and 2009. As a result, I believe that the documents retained by Fai from 1999, 2000, 2001, 2005, and 2006 were copies of documents that Fai also provided to his handlers.

2. Seized Balance Sheets Reflecting Receipts from and through Ahmad

33. Court-authorized physical searches of Fai's residence and storage facility revealed 22 letters written by Fai to Ahmad on a near-monthly basis between December 2003 and April 2006. Those letters contained balance sheets accounting for the monies Fai had received to date during that fiscal year, the identity of the individuals who had sent him money and how much, and the amount Ahmad still needed to send to Fai. They reflect that Ahmad was to transmit approximately $314,500 to Fai in 2003; in 2004, 2005, and 2006, the totals were $505,000, $525,000 and $447,000, respectively. The total amount of money accounted for by the balance sheets during the 29-month period is approximately $1,375,479. I believe that these monies constitute the payments that Fai received from the Government of Pakistan in accordance with his budget requests.

B. 1996 - 2006 Documents, Strategy, and Budgets

1. KAC's Budgets and Activities

55. A document located in the searches reflects that, on September 9, 1996, Abdullah provided Fai with detailed instructions for the conduct of KAC's activities. They included nine items describing how KAC's information should be distributed, and on what KAC's informational activities should be focused. Another document reflected Fai's response to Abdullah the next day with respect to each of the nine items specified by Abdullah.

56. In the course of executing the searches, investigators found the "1999 Strategy Document for the Kashmiri-American Council, Washington, D.C. USA" and documents with similar titles for 2000, 2001, 2005, and 2006. These documents described KAC's plans to provide information to Executive Branch officials, use Congress to highlight the issue of Kashmir, offset the Indian lobby, and increase political pressure on both the U.S. Administration and the Government of India. For example, the strategy document for the year 2000 stated that KAC's three top objectives were to (1) persuade the administration that self-determination in Kashmir would advance the national interests of the United States; (2) influence Congress, with the House International Relations and the Senate Foreign Relations Committees being the centerpieces of KAC's advocacy effort; and (3) capture media attention to influence debate on Kashmir, including by staging creative events that draw the press corps to the issue of Kashmir.

57. The Strategy Document for 2000 detailed KAC's budget requirements for that year to be $490,000, including $80,000 for contributions to members of Congress, $100,000 for a conference, $60,000 for seminars, $50,000 for opinion pieces to be distributed to newspapers across the country, and $30,000 to organize a Congressional trip to Kashmir. The Strategy

in New York on July 8, 2009. My review of telephone records shows that Khan called Fai numerous times from the same phone number that Ahmad had for Khan. Moreover, Khan and Butt both referred to Ahmad in conversations with Fai, either calling him "the doctor" or "Zaheer."

26. I believe that Fai has received approximately $500,000 to $700,000 per year from the Government of Pakistan, and that the Government of Pakistan has funded Fai's operations through Ahmad. As further discussed below, I believe that the Government of Pakistan money is routed to Fai through Ahmad and a network of other individuals connected to Ahmad. I believe that much of this money is provided to Fai through contacts of Ahmad in the United States because Ahmad lives in Pakistan and is rarely in the United States. The evidence shows that Ahmad arranges for his contacts in the United States to provide money to Fai in return for repayment of those amounts in Pakistan. I believe that these other individuals assist Ahmad in routing money to Fai because doing so ostensibly enables them to take tax deductions for the amounts that they transfer to the KAC as charitable deductions. I estimate that the total amount transmitted from the Government of Pakistan through Ahmad and his funding network to Fai and the KAC since the mid-1990s is at least $4,000,000.

27. My review of Fai's banking records from approximately January 2005 through March 2011, obtained from various financial institutions, indicated that while the KAC does receive some legitimate donations, the majority of its receipts each year comes from a small network of individuals who are closely associated with Ahmad. Based on records obtained during the physical search of the KAC office, this network has been in place and funding the KAC since at least 1993. These individuals include:

5. When I describe a telephone call or an email message below, I know of it through court-ordered electronic surveillance and/or records obtained from internet service providers. Many of these telephone calls and emails took place between correspondents in different time zones. As a result, when I specify that a communication occurred on a specific date, it should be construed that the communication occurred "on or about" the date specified.

Background

6. The Inter-Services Intelligence Agency ("ISI") is a part of the Government of Pakistan and is Pakistan's military intelligence service.

7. The Kashmiri American Council ("KAC") is a non-governmental organization located at 1411 16th Street, Suite 420, in Washington, D.C. The KAC was founded in 1990 and also goes by the name "Kashmir Center." It is one of three "Kashmir Centers" that this investigation revealed are run by elements of the Government of Pakistan; the others are the Justice Foundation/Kashmir Centre located in London, England, run by Nazir Ahmad Shawl, and the Kashmir Centre - European Union, located in Brussels, Belgium, and run by Abdul Majeed Tramboo. In its educational materials, the KAC describes itself as a "not-for-profit organization" dedicated to raising the level of knowledge in the United States about the struggle of the Kashmiri people for self-determination." The director of the KAC is Syed Ghulam Nabi Fai ("Fai"), who often works out of his home in Fairfax, Virginia.

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[1] As set forth below, this investigation has revealed that elements of the Government of Pakistan, including the ISI, have been directly involved with the activities of defendant Fai and that Fai has acted at the direction and with the financial support of those elements of the Government of Pakistan, including the ISI. Hereinafter, when I refer to the "Government of Pakistan," I am referring to those elements, which include the ISI.

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE

EASTERN DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA

Alexandria Division

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	)	
	)	
v.	)	No. 1:11 mj 558
	)	
SYED GHULAM NABEEAL	)	
	)	
and	)	
	)	
ZAHEER AHMAD,	)	

AFFIDAVIT

I, Sarah Webb Linden, after being duly sworn, depose and state as follows:

1. I am a Special Agent with the Federal Bureau of Investigation ("FBI"), United States Department of Justice. I have been employed by the FBI for approximately thirteen years, during which time I have been assigned to the Counterterrorism Division, the San Francisco Field Office, and the Washington Field Office ("WFO"). I have been assigned to a counterterrorism squad at WFO for the past seven years. I have received instruction and training, along with investigative experience, in methods of investigation relating to identifying terrorist activity directed against the United States, as well as in identifying the support network for terrorists who seek to target the interests of the United States and its allies. In the course of conducting or participating in criminal investigations, I have been involved in interviewing and debriefing witnesses and informants; conducting physical surveillance; tracing and analyzing internet protocol addresses; analyzing telephone pen registers; collecting and analyzing evidence; and preparing and executing search warrants.

AO 91 (Rev. 08/09) Criminal Complaint

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

for the

Eastern District of Virginia

JUL 18 2011

CLERK, U.S. DISTRICT COURT
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA

United States of America

v.

Syed Ghulam Nabi Fai
and
Zaheer Ahmad

Case No. 1:11MJ352

Defendant(s)

CRIMINAL COMPLAINT

I, the complainant in this case, state that the following is true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

On or about the date(s) of between 1995 and July 18, 2011 in the county of Fairfax in the Eastern District of Virginia, the defendant(s) violated:

Code Section	*Offense Description*
18 USC 371 22 U.S.C. 612 18 U.S.C. 1001	conspiracy to act as an agent of a foreign principal without registering with the Attorney General, and to falsify, conceal, and cover up material by tricks, schemes, and devices, in matters within the jurisdiction of agencies of the executive branch of the Government of the United States
18 U.S.C. 981(a)(1)(C) and 28 U.S.C. 2461(c)	Forfeiture

This criminal complaint is based on these facts:

See Attached Affidavit

☑ Continued on the attached sheet.

Complainant's signature

Sarah Webb Linden, Special Agent, FBI

Printed name and title

Sworn to before me and signed in my presence.

Date: 07/18/2011

Judge's signature

/s/Thomas Rawles Jones, Jr.

City and state: Alexandria, Virginia

Thomas Rawles Jones, Jr., U.S. Magistrate Judge

Printed name and title

5 December 2010

The Curbing of Democratic Voices in the Name of 'Sedition' will not Stop the Aspirations of Azadi !

Delhi police, recently has filed an FIR against pro-Azadi Kashmiri leader Sayiad Ali Shah Geelani, writer and activist Arundhati Roy, Dr Sheikh Showkat Hossain- Head of the department of Law faculty in Kashmir University and DR. SAR Geelani, lecturer from DU on charges of Sedition. Based on their speeches in a convention, "AZADI- The Only Way" held in Delhi on 21st October they have been booked under various sections for breaching peace, unlawful activity, inciting groups etc. In this historic convention all the speakers who were representatives from various other struggling nationalities as well as intellectuals, writers and activists from India, most resolutely articulated the unequivocal call for Azaadi as the only solution acceptable to the struggling people of Kashmir. After the convention, Chidambaram-led fascist Indian ruling classes were hand in gloves to register a case against the speakers in the convention. However Congress-led UPA government took a step back in apprehension of strong protest from Kashmiri people and other democratic, progressive sections of Indian masses, in the wake of their imperialist master Obama's visit. However, recently the court ordered Police to file a case against speakers in view of direct evidences of cognizable offence.

Corrupt, anti-democratic and biased character of Indian judiciary is in full display. judiciary and police have always been loyal servant to Indian corporate-ruling class. After months, not a single arrest has been made in relation commonwealth game's fund siphoning or 2G spectrum scam. After more than fifty years, high court's order in Babri masjid case has done nothing, but to justify outrageous demand of RSS-BJP and legalise their communal fascist agenda. Therefore it is not surprising that court never bothered to instruct police to take any action against vigilante gangs of Roots in Kashmir, Panun Kashmir and ABVP who tried repeatedly, although in vain, to disrupt the convention by vandalising the venue, abusing and attacking speakers with their vulgar jingoism. In Kashmir of course, no court has intervened when thousands of murderers in Army uniform killed, raped thousands of civilians protesters.

If anybody violates law, breach peace in the name of law and order that is Indian army and the fascist Indian state. In Kashmir itself in last few months more than 110 people, including children and women have been killed by the army. Declared as a disturbed area, almost whole Kashmir is under curfew for months still. The FIR against the speakers of the convention is yet another attempt by the ruling class to scuttle any dissent or voice of resistance on the issue of Kashmir's self-determination. This is nothing but the fascist repressive model formulated by US-Israel in their so called 'counter-insurgency' operations or 'war against terror'. In the name of 'security threats' thousands of encounter killings, indiscriminate arrests, torture, rape in police custody, cold-blooded murders by para-military and state-sponsored vigilante groups in Kashmir, North-East, Telengana, central adivasi regions of India etc. has been a common practice of the so called 'biggest democracy of the world'. The corporate media turns its back on these glaring facts and parrots this politics of lies and deceit. Termed as hard-liner, anti-Indian and pro-Pakistan, media fails to mention again and again that SAS Geelani never disagreed with a possibility for a 'dialogue' with Indian state. Rather it is the Indian state which offered nothing but a deaf-ear to Geelani and Kashmiri people when they made the most democratic demand of releasing political prisoners, withdrawing army, draconian law from Kashmir. What constitution allows Indian state to kill people in one hand; and on the other hand talk about peaceful constitutional framework to solve 'kashmiri problem'? The farce of India democracy and illusion of peace that Indian state has to offer has long been exposed to Kashmiri people.

The speakers in the convention did nothing but spoke on behalf of the Kashmiri people; stood in solidarity with their just demand of right to self determination. The convention read out loud and clear for Indians in India, what is written on the walls of Kashmir --- "Go India, Go Back". Indian state might want to silence these voices with its repressive organs; Indian media might build on the illusion of 'peaceful/beautiful' valley; but the truth remains with the aspiring fighting masses. No amount of repression can deny just demand of Kashmiris for Azadi, fighting masses of India for their land, livelihood and dignity. Colonizing, Brahminical, fascist Indian state will be de

October 25, 2010

Condemn the detention & house arrest of SAS Geelani by the fascist Indian state! The curbing of democratic voices in the name of 'sedition' will not stop the aspirations of Azaadi !

Syed Ali Shah Geelani, the uncompromising and much respected pro-Azaadi leader of Kashmir had attended a historic convention in Delhi on the 22nd of October titled 'Azadi: The only way' that most evidently has thoroughly unsettled the ruling class and the Indian state machinery. In the convention Geelani most resolutely articulated his unequivocal call for *Azaadi* as the *only* solution acceptable to the struggling people of Kashmir. Geelani had shared the stage with representatives from the various other struggling nationalities as well as intellectuals, writers and activists from India. **On his return to Srinagar from New Delhi, SAS Geelani was detained yesterday at the airport and later was whisked away by the security forces as he was about to address the huge crowd that had gathered at the airport. He has thereafter been swiftly again put under house arrest by the threatened Indian state.** The home ministry, as Chidambaram had earlier indicated, has also given a go ahead to Delhi police to register a case against Geelani as well as against other participants for giving 'seditious' speeches in the meeting. These speakers had basically articulated their unanimous support to the Kashmiri people's aspirations for self-determination and Azaadi. The very next day of the meeting BJP leader Arun Jaitely had raised the matter in the Rajya Sabha asking for action to be taken against the speakers prompting the home ministry to act. The home ministry ofcourse will never take any action against their own vigilante gangs of Roots in Kashmir, Panun Kashmir and ABVP who tried repeatedly, although in vain, to disrupt the meeting by vandalising the venue, abusing and attacking speakers with their vulgar jingoism.

Like in Kashmir too, Indian state rather than taking any action against the murderers in uniform has continued to brutally murder more and more non-violent protesters. Fashioned around US-ISRAEL model of counter-insurgency encounter killings, indiscriminate arrests, torture, rape in police custody, thousands of killings by para-military and state-sponsored vigilante groups in North-East, Telengana, central adivasi regions of India etc. has been a common practice of the so called 'biggest democracy of the world'. In Kashmir itself in last three months 111 people, including children and women have been killed by the army. Declared as a disturbed area, almost whole Kashmir is under curfew for months now. The detainment of Geelani and Delhi police's preparation to register cases against other speakers in the convention is in the same line. Any democratic, pro-people voices voicing genuine demands are first labelled by the corporate media as 'terrorists'/'security threat' etc. to generate grounds for crushing them. While SAS Geelani's most democratic demands like releasing political prisoners, withdrawing army etc to start a dialogue met with deaf ears; the sending of three 'interlocutors' to listen to kashmiri people's demand alongside increasing the armed forces to resolve the "Kashmir problem" is nothing but another farce of the Indian govt. On the one hand it offers 'talks' and on the other hand it acts in the most undemocratic and fascist manner. The recent encounter killing of CPI (Maoist) spoke-person, Azad who was supposed to head the peace talk is a most similar case in point.

The repression unleashed by the Indian state is its desperate attempt to crush the heroic struggle of the Kashmiris for their just demand of 'right to self-determination'. But the writing is loud and clear on the walls of Kashmir. Slogans like 'Go India Go Back' and *'hum kya chahte? Azaadi'* are echoing in the streets of the valley every single day! The deaf Indian state might try to silence it, its corporate media lackeys might try to ignore the reality but this is what the millions of Kashmiris are saying in unison. No might of the colonizing Indian state can dominate this unflinching aspiration of the Kashmiri masses. It is the united fight of other oppressed nationalities along with the oppressed masses in India which is going to defeat this fascist brahminical state and its oppression. Standing in solidarity with the struggle for Azad Kashmir, we strongly condemn the house arrest of SAS Geelani and demand immediate upliftment of it.

...AND THE TIGER CRIED FOR ASIFA AND ASWAN

...AND THE TIGER CRIED FOR ASIFA AND ASWAN

...AND THE TIGER CRIED FOR ASIFA AND ASWAN

Signature Campaign and Poster Exhibition:

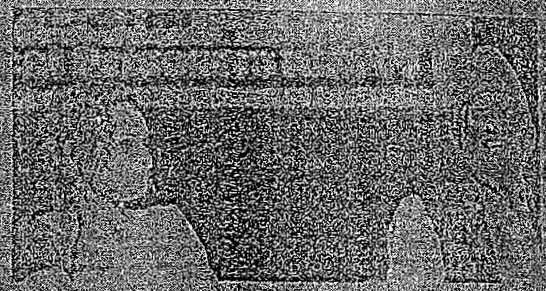
From 6pm, 11 Dec. 2010, Ganga Dhaba

From 10am, 12 Dec. 2010, JNU Library

6/11/2010

The curbing of democratic voices in the name of 'sedition' will not stop the aspirations of *Azaadi*

Delhi police recently has filed an FIR against pro-Azadi Kashmiri leader Syed Ali Shah Geelani, writer and activist Arundhati Roy, Dr Sheikh Showkat Hussain, Head of the department of Law faculty in Kashmir University and DR. SAR Geelani, lecturer from DU on charges of sedition. Based on their speeches in a convention, "AZADI: The Only Way" held in Delhi on 21st October they have been booked under various sections for breaching peace, unlawful activity, inciting groups etc. In this historic convention all the speakers who were representatives from various the struggling nationalities as well as intellectuals, writers and activists from India, most resolutely articulated the unequivocal call for *Azaadi* as the *only* solution acceptable to the struggling people of Kashmir. After the convention Chidambaram led fascist Indian ruling classes were desperate to register a case against the speakers in the convention. However Congress led UPA government took a step back in apprehension of strong protest from Kashmiri people and other democratic progressive sections of Indian masses in the wake of their imperialist master Obama's visit. However recently the court ordered Police to file a case against speakers in view of direct evidences of cognizable offence.



Corrupt, anti-democratic and biased character of Indian judiciary is in full display. Judiciary and police have always been loyal servant to Indian corporate ruling class. After months not a single arrest has been made in relation commonwealth game's fund siphoning of 2G spectrum Scam. Babri masjid case has done nothing, but to ratify the illegal acts of RSS-BJP and legalise their communal fascist agenda. Therefore it is not surprising that it never bothered to instruct police to take any action against vigilante gangs of Ram Sena, Bajrang Dal, Kashmiri Pandit, Kashmir and ABVP who tried repeatedly, although in vain, to disrupt the conference by physically attacking the venue, abusing and attacking speakers with their vulgar jingoism. In Kashmir of course the courts intervened when thousands of murderers in Army uniform killed, raped thousands of unarmed civilians.

If anybody violates law, breach peace in the name of law and order that is India, army and the fascist Indian state. In Kashmir itself in last few months more than 110 people including children and women have been killed by the army. Declared as disturbed area, almost whole Kashmir is under curfew for months still. The FIR against the speakers of the convention is yet another attempt by the ruling class to scuttle any dissent or voice of resistance on the issue of Kashmir's self-determination. This is nothing but the fascist repressive model formulated by US-Israel in the so called counter insurgency operations or war against terror. In the name of security threats thousands of executive killings, indiscriminate arrests, torture, rape in police custody, cold-blooded murders by paramilitary and state sponsored vigilante groups in Kashmir, North-East, Telengana, central adivasi regions of India etc has been a common practice of the so called biggest democracy of the world. The corporate media turns its back on these glaring facts and parrots this politics of lies and deceit. Terms as naxalite, anti-Indian and pro-Pakistan media talks to mention again and again that SAR Geelani never disagreed with a possibility for a dialogue with Indian state. Rather it is the Indian state which offered nothing but turned a deaf ear to Geelani and Kashmiri people when they made the most democratic demand of release of political prisoners, withdrawal army, draconian law from Kashmir. What constitution allows a democratic state to kill people in one hand, and on the other hand talk about peaceful constitutional framework to solve Kashmir problem? The farce of India democracy and illusion of peace that Indian state has to offer has long been exposed to Kashmiri people.

The speakers in the convention did nothing but spoke on behalf of the Kashmiri people, stood in solidarity with their just demand of right to self-determination. This convention rendered loud and clear for Indians in India, what is written on the walls of Kashmir – "Go India, Go back". Indian state might want to silence these voices with its repressive organs, Indian media might build on the illusion of peace in the natural Valley, but the truth remains with the despised fighting masses. No amount of repression can deny just demand of Kashmiris for Azadi. Nothing missed in India for liberty and freedom, livelihood and dignity. Colonizing, Brahminical, fascist India state will be defeated by the united struggle of oppressed nationalities and oppressed section of Indian people.

Resist Unabated State Terror Against the Heroic Upsurge of the Kashmiri People!
Resist Intimidatory Tactics To Silence the Voice of the Kashmiri Students!!

[illegible] records to [illegible] the streets of Kashmir in big numbers of brave Kashmiri youth. Since June 11, [illegible] with remarkable courage and resilience in the face of brutal repression meted out to them by the state with [illegible] and unabated protests, this time against the [illegible] in which the paramilitary ordinary citizens and [illegible] particularly youth and students – which has forced Kashmir again to become visible to the whole country. In stark contrast to the efforts by media and the state to portray the protests as "sponsored by militants".

The UPA Government's response to months of blood-letting by security forces was several months of virtual silence – followed by the Home Minister's repeated insinuations that the protests are motivated by militants and that the stone-pelters are 'hired' by terrorists. An obedient corporate media like by and large [illegible] the UPA's much delayed response promised "more economic packages and on the basis of [illegible] such efforts and outcomes can be considered if there is [illegible]".

In Kashmir, this approach to "investment", "economic packages" and the promise of jobs can assuage the deep wounds of a whole people. It only if there is some increase of fake encounters and such human rights violations [illegible] the AFSPA stepped up, and the military shadow lifted from civilian life in the Valley, by withdrawing [illegible] some measure of the burden. And above all, there must be [illegible] political dialogue, but only with Kashmiri leaders [illegible] with the people of Kashmir.

To make 'consensus' a pre-condition for addressing the political issues in Kashmir is blatantly dishonest since it is well known that the communal forces and BJP will never agree to any such dialogue. Meanwhile the [illegible] offer to amend AFSPA has been met by a chorus of hawkish opposition by Army generals and the like. [illegible] unfortunate that Left forces should come on with a half-hearted and feeble response. The SUCI has released a poster on Kashmir that talks of a "spiral of violence." Does this mean that they are equating people's protests with the naked state terror in Kashmir? CPI(M) General Secretary Prakash Karat, [illegible] is only demanding for amendment of AFSPA "to remove certain draconian provisions" and withdrawal of [illegible] from Srinagar and certain other civilian areas given the significant decrease in militant activities, misuse of the AFSPA is rampant in these areas." He has also appealed "to release all young people who have been arrested and [illegible] if they are not facing any serious charges." Why such half-heartedness?

- Only recently, in Bandipora, a man returning home in the evening was shot dead by security forces who later claimed they mistook him for a militant. Is it not the draconian AFSPA which allows security forces to shoot on 'suspicion' and justify such cold-blooded murder? Justifying AFSPA in theory and allowing it to remain in areas where "militancy" still exists, amounts to justifying the killing of innocent civilians in these areas. The AFSPA in toto is draconian because it implies suspension of civil liberties and 'special' powers and concessions for army in 'affected' areas – merely 'amending' it cannot rid it of this draconian character.
- In the past few months, stone-pelting youth have been arrested in hundreds and charged with Section 121 of the IPC (waging war against the State) – a charge that equates these youth with terrorists. In other words they all have "serious charges" – *albeit false charges* – against them. What is the point in stating that only those youth be released who do not have "serious charges" against them?

AIUSA also condemns the intimidatory tactics deployed in recent public meetings against Kashmiri students who sought to ask questions and express their natural anguish and anger. Such suppression of democratic space and intimidation of dissenting voices is a shame to the [illegible] and must be resisted.

Anuradha Bhasin Executive Editor, Kashmir Times
Jyotsna Kapur Assoc. Professor, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.
Dinu Roy Environmentalist, Hazard Centre, Delhi
Kamal Mitra Chenoy Professor, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi
Ujjwal Kumar Singh Professor, Delhi University, Delhi.
Mahua Sarkar Assoc. Professor, Binghampton University, SUNY
Arvind Narrain Lawyer, Alternative Law Forum
Rebecca M. John Lawyer, Delhi
Amita Baviskar Associate Professor, Institute of Economic Growth
Sarada Balagopalan Associate Fellow, CSDS
Kaushik Ghosh Assistant Professor, University of Texas, Austin

(Issued in November 2010)

the Jammu and Kashmir Public Safety Act and the Disturbed Areas Act continue to facilitate human rights abuses in the valley. The hysterical cry to enforce the rule of law in the case of the Azadi seminar contrasts with the long silence about the widespread and systematic human rights violations in Kashmir. By allowing the speakers of
the Azadi seminar to be censored, the government hopes to maintain its silence on Kashmir.

We therefore demand that the government take full cognizance of the continuing violation of human rights in the valley, make the security forces fully accountable so that the guilty can be prosecuted and punished. We demand that the democratic right to free speech and expression is upheld and every citizen in this country, including the speakers of the Azadi seminar, is given full protection from any attempt to impose legal or extra-legal censorship.

Signatories:

Vrinda Grover Lawyer, Delhi
Sholmi Ghosh Professor, Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi
Nivedita Menon Professor, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi
Amar Kanwar Filmmaker & Artist, Delhi
Ranjani Mazumdar, Associate Professor, Jawaharlal Nehru University
Aditya Nigam Fellow, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies
Dayanita Singh Photographer, Delhi
Urvashi Butalia Writer and Publisher, Delhi
Lawrence Liang Alternative Law Forum, Bangalore
Sabeena Gadihoke Associate Professor, Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi
Saba Dewan Independent Filmmaker
Aparna Sen Filmmaker and Actress, Kolkata
Kalyan Ray Author and Professor, Morris College, USA.
Joya Chatterji Historian, Trinity College, University of Cambridge, UK.
Lakshmi Subramaniam Professor, Centre for Social Sciences, Kolkata
Kajri Jain Asst. Professor, University of Toronto, Toronto.
Kunal Ray Historian, Professor, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi
Kamala Visweshwaran Professor of Anthropology, University of Texas, Austin
Shikha Jhingan Asst. Professor, Lady Shri Ram College, Delhi University, Delhi.
Anjali Monteiro Professor, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai.
Kalyani Menon-Sen Researcher & Independent Activist, Gurgaon
Uma Chakravarty Historian (Retired Professor, Delhi University) Delhi
KP Jayshankar Professor, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai.
Pamela Philipose Journalist & Director, Womens Feature Service
Harsh Mandar Writer and Activist
Gauhar Raza Filmmaker & Poet, Delhi
Anuradha Chenoy Professor, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi
Shabnam Hashmi Social Activist, Anhad
Neeraj Malik Associate Professor, Indraprastha College, Delhi University
Javed Malick Retired Professor, Delhi University
Madhu Bhaduri Former, IFS Officer

Kashmir Solidarity Network
FREEDOM JUSTICE DEMOCRACY

Demand to Uphold Free Speech and Expression: PUBLIC STATEMENT

Posted on November 2, 2010

WE condemn the demand of the BJP to "take the strongest possible action" against Arundhati Roy for her "seditious comments" at the seminar, "Azadi- The only way" held in New Delhi, October 21, 2010. There is recorded evidence to prove that the views expressed by her are not new and have also been made by innumerable others before and after her. If Arundhati Roy or Syed Ali Shah Geelani (or any other speaker from that seminar) is to be arrested for what they have said, then by the same logic a number of us would have to be imprisoned not to mention the entire population of Kashmir.

The concept of 'sedition' is archaic and has no place in a modern democratic imagination. Perhaps for this reason the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constitution did not include "sedition" among the "reasonable restrictions" to Article 19(1) (a). In 1962, the Supreme Court (Kedar Nath Singh vs. the State of Bihar) read down Section 124A IPC to argue that only a call to violence or armed rebellion qualified to be considered as 'sedition'. The same Judgement reiterated the importance of not allowing the provision to interfere with the Right to Free Speech and Expression. As the present controversy proves, the Supreme Court's worst fears have been confirmed. The Bajrang Dal's threat that they will hound Arundhati Roy like M.F Hussain provides further confirmation that 'sedition' will now be the new pretext for censorship. When the British charged Gandhi with sedition, he famously said, "Sedition in law is a deliberate crime but it appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen." Expressing dissent about thenation-state and re-imagining its future is certainly the right of every citizen if not the "highest duty".

We would like to point out that the disruption of the meeting and the allegations of 'sedition' is part of a well orchestrated campaign. The right wing elements who disrupted the Azadi meeting were working in tandem with certain media channels who flouted all norms of professional journalism to create hysteria. In what appears to be an instance of 'paid news', a certain national news channel started a one-sided campaign against "splittists" and the "sedition industry" within hours of the meeting being held. The 'report' only focused on two speakers and their supposed "seditious" utterances.

It is understandable that the BJP, in an attempt to deflect attention from the Ajmer Blast case, should indulge in hyper-jingoism but it is most unfortunate that the UPA, while deciding not to press charges of sedition against the speakers, did not assert their right to free speech and expression. Their silence on this matter has only emboldened groups like the Bajrang Dal who now want to take matters into their own hands.

This is perhaps expected from a government that has sought to suppress all dissent in the valley through brute force. Between June and October 2010, 111 people have been killed by security forces and this includes young boys who were not even participating in the protests. Countless have been maimed and injured by bullet injuries while many have been blinded by the catapults with marble shots used by the CRPF. For over two decades now, the armed and security forces have been committing extra-judicial killings, torture, disappearances and rape with impunity. Draconian legislations like the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act,

DEMAND JUSTICE FOR NEELOFAR AND ASIYA!!

STAND IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF KASHMIR FOR THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST INDIAN OCCUPATION, REPRESSION AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE!!

Even as the Jammu and Kashmir has been in turmoil yet again, with continued repression by the Indian armed forces prolong its forcible occupation of the region, cases of rape and killings perpetrated by them remain unresolved. One incident is that of Shopian. Asiya Jaan and her sister-in-law Neelofar Jaan left home in the evening of 29 May 2009 but not return. Their bodies were later recovered from the banks of Rambiara Nullah on the morning of 30 of May 2009 in same spot that a search party including the local police had searched till the early hours of 30th May.

Amidst the failure of the local police to bring the culprits to justice and pronouncements of the Union Home Minister giv clean chit to the armed forces before the Parliament, it was decided on September 17, 2009 to hand over the case f Special Investigation Team to the CBI. The CBI, however, built an extra-judicial case and used the media extensiv make all earlier investigations in the case seem motivated or incompetent. Some of the news leaks were simply fanta like finding an intact hymen in a body buried for four months and so deny rape, like finding diatoms of Rambiara to show the women died of drowning in the waters of an ankle-deep Nullah, or like accusing the gynaecologist of substituting her vaginal swab in the place of those taken from the victims.

The CBI concluded that the women died from 'accidental drowning'. Its report is based upon the autopsy conduct September 2009 by forensic experts of AIIMS after exhumation of the buried bodies. The CBI inquiry is mired in the uncertain and contested medical claims of the AIIMS team, allegations of intimidation of many of the witnesses and representatives, and destruction of evidence, the dubious role of many government agencies, incompetence and la transparency. It filed supplementary charge-sheets against the State prosecutors, doctors, advocates for the compla advocates demanding justice and the family members of the women.

The CBI report states that there was no rape, no murder, and that the implicated and suspended policemen were inn The report does not explain how the bodies of the two women were invisible to the search party the whole nigh appeared suddenly at dawn how these young women drowned in a shallow Nullah where no deaths have taken place e of eyewitnesses' accounts that Neelofar's body was wet only from one side nor how the hymen can be found intact that buried for four months. CBI did not collect any forensic evidence from the site, did not cordon it, did not register the cas guilty armed personnel have not been punished; rather, the four suspended policemen have been reinstated. The ch not made public the findings of the Special Investigation Team. This calls into serious question the credibility of th Report which has simply tried to bury the case and convinced no one. It was another attempt by the Indian state agencies to cover-up and brush aside the criminal suppression of the national liberation movement of the Kashmiris an aspiration for Azadi, by especially using violence against women such as rape, torture, molestation, etc. The nee expose the hoax of the Indian state's claim to be the largest democracy in the world' when it comes to its repres oppressed sections of the society, be it women, tribals, dalits, Muslims, national minorities, and so on. Join a programme called by organisations Women against Sexual violence and State Repression (WSS), Committee A Violence on Women (CAVOW), Saheli and others against the CBI cover-up of the Shopian case.

!!JUSTICE DELAYED IS JUSTICE DENIED!!

!!EQUALITY BEFORE LAW!!

JOIN

CANDLE LIGHT EVENT ON 16 DEC 10 AM

IN FRONT OF CBI OFFICE, CGO COMPLEX, LODHI ROAD, NEW DELHI

Signature Campaign and Poster Exhibition:

From 6pm, 11 Dec. 2010, Ganga Dhaba

From 10am, 12 Dec. 2010, JNU Library

WSS

24/10/10

Condemn the detention & house arrest of SAS Geelani by the fascist Indian state!

The curbing of democratic voices in the name of 'sedition' will not stop the aspirations of *Azaadi*!

Syed Ali Shah Geelani, the uncompromising and much respected pro-Azaadi leader of Kashmir had attended a historic convention in Delhi on the 22nd of October titled 'Azadi: The only way' that most evidently has thoroughly unsettled the ruling class and the Indian state machinery. In the convention Geelani most resolutely articulated his unequivocal call for *Azaadi* as the *only* solution acceptable to the struggling people of Kashmir. Geelani had shared the stage with representatives from the various other struggling nationalities as well as intellectuals, writers and activists from India. On his return to Srinagar from New Delhi, SAS Geelani was detained yesterday at the airport and later was whisked away by the security forces as he was about to address the huge crowd that had gathered at the airport. He has thereafter been swiftly again put under house arrest by the threatened Indian state. The home ministry as Chidambaram had earlier indicated, has also given a go ahead to Delhi police to register a case against Geelani as well as against other participants for giving 'seditious' speeches in the 'meeting'. These speakers had basically articulated their unanimous support to the Kashmiri people's aspirations for self-determination and Azaadi. The very next day of the meeting BJP leader Arun Jaitely had raised the matter in the Rajya Sabha asking for action to be taken against the speakers prompting the home ministry to act. The home ministry of course will never take any action against their own vigilante gangs of Roots in Kashmir, Panun Kashmir and ABVP who tried, repeatedly, although in vain, to disrupt the meeting by vandalising the venue, abusing and attacking speakers with their vulgar jingoism.

Like in Kashmir too, Indian state rather than taking any action against the murderers in uniform has continued to brutally murder more and more non-violent protesters. Fashioned around US-ISRAEL model of counter-insurgency encounter killings, indiscriminate arrests, torture, rape in police custody, thousands of killings by para-military and state-sponsored vigilante groups in North-East, Telengana, central adivasi regions of India etc. has been a common practice of the so called biggest democracy of the world. In Kashmir itself in last three months 111 people, including children and women have been killed by the army. Declared as a disturbed area, almost whole Kashmir is under curfew for months now. The detainment of Geelani and Delhi police's preparation to register cases against other speakers in the convention is in the same line. Any democratic, pro-people voices voicing genuine demands are first labelled by the corporate media as 'terrorists'/'security threat' etc. to generate grounds for crushing them. While SAS Geelani's most democratic demands like releasing political prisoners, withdrawing army etc to start a dialogue met with deaf ears, the sending of three 'interlocutors' to listen to kashmiri people's demand alongside increasing the armed forces to resolve the 'Kashmir problem' is nothing but another farce of the Indian govt. On the one hand it offers 'talks' and on the other hand it acts in the most undemocratic and fascist manner. The recent encounter killing of CPI(Maoist) spoke person, Azad who was supposed to head the peace talk is a most similar case in point.

The repression unleashed by the Indian state is its desperate attempt to crush the heroic struggle of the Kashmiris for their just demand of 'right to self-determination'. But the writing is loud and clear on the walls of Kashmir. Slogans like 'Go India Go Back' and *'hum kya chahte? Azaadi'* are echoing in the streets of the valley every single day! The deaf Indian state might try to silence it, its corporate media lackeys might try to ignore the reality but this is what the millions of Kashmiris are saying in unison. No might of the colonizing Indian state can dominate this unflinching aspiration of the Kashmiri masses. It is the united fight of other oppressed nationalities along with the oppressed masses in India which is going to defeat this fascist brahminical state and its oppression. Standing in solidarity with the struggle for Azad Kashmir, we strongly condemn the house arrest of SAS Geelani and demand immediate upliftment of it.

that even Kashmiri facebook users are hounded up by the police and interrogated. In recent protests more than 60 people have been killed and hundreds have been wounded. Almost every family in Kashmir has faced direct oppression at some level or other at the hands of the Indian state.

At this juncture, it is necessary to take the Kashmiri issue far and wide across India. It is all the more important for the other oppressed nationalities to come together and fight and expose the reactionary Indian state. With these objectives, Periyar Dravidar Kazhagam (PDK) and some other progressive parties held a dharna in Chennai on 13th Aug. against the Indian state's atrocities in Kashmir and in support of the Kashmiri struggle. Many of the activists, including PDK president Kolathur Mani, were arrested. The arrested were denied bail on the pretext that if this kind of protests were allowed in Tamil Nadu, it would sabotage India's agenda and strengthen the 'Kashmiri separatists'.

The demonstrators placed the following four demands to the Indian govt.:

1) India should stop its war on the Kashmiri people
2) AFSPA should be scrapped immediately
3) The Indian army should be withdrawn from Kashmir
4) Talks should be initiated on the rights of the Kashmiris to self-determination

As early as 1956, when the then Indian govt. was trying project the image of 'one India' at all costs, Periyar stood by the right of the Kashmiris to self-determination, recognizing them as a unique national formation. But Karunanidhi, who shamelessly claims to uphold the Periyar legacy, is cracking down on all democratic voices supporting various national liberation struggles. As the situation stands in Tamil Nadu, anyone speaking in support of the Eelam Tamils or protesting against the racist Sri Lankan state are arrested under ridiculous charges, including the draconian NSA. The arrest of the activists who voiced their support of the Kashmiri struggle clearly shows the fascist nature of the Indian state and its stooge, the DMK govt.

Clearly, the Indian state is worried about various nationalities uniting on a common issue! And its nervousness is visible among the 'Indian patriots' in the campus too. Condemning the arrest of the activists and expressing our support to the Kashmiri struggle, DTSU had brought out posters on 13th August. All of the posters were torn that very night by ABVP-NTF goons. This was followed by a rally where jingoist and communally provocative slogans were raised. It is a shame that they were allowed to do such acts of hooliganism with the support of the security. They involved in such monkey antics earlier too in April in the context of the cultural meeting of the JNU Forum Against War on People. This assault on campus democracy cannot be tolerated and these junior fascists need to be fought at all levels.

But the mentality of these jumpers is the "secular and democratic basis of the Indian state" (Refer SFI's poster of 14th Aug.). If an orgy of loot, rape and murder is what constitutes Indian 'secularism' and 'democracy' the Kashmiris are far better without it. It should be clear to any progressive, least of all a Marxist, that there can be no benevolent occupying army. And no state which deploys its army to crush the genuine demands of a nationality using communal propaganda as and when necessary, can be a secular democratic state. Contrary to propaganda by state agents, supporting the Kashmir struggle is a necessity for the other oppressed sections in India. The Kashmiri movement is not alien but complementary to the people's revolutionary struggle in the subcontinent in that all such struggles are being waged against the same class of oppressors.

Lenin says that "it is impossible to fight for the socialist international revolution against imperialism unless the right of nations to self-determination is recognized". The opposition of SFI-CPM to self-determination of the Kashmiris, their parroting of the reactionary argument of the so called 'Pakistani involvement' and the concomitant attempts to undermine and negate the conscious demands of the Kashmiri people for Azadi is nothing but a plain expression of their social-chauvinist politics, aptly described by Lenin as the defence of the privileges of one's own bourgeoisie to pillage and plunder. CPM's historical stance on other nationality struggles like Tamil Eelam, North-Eastern states is well known. Their hobnobbing with majoritarian-chauvinist forces like JVP of Sri Lanka until recently, their support of Operation Blue Star which led to the massacre of hundreds of Sikh civilians, their use of AFSPA in Tripura shows the color of their 'internationalism' – a variant of saffron.

16th August, 2010

Delhi Tamil Students Union

STAND IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE KASHMIRI DEMAND FOR AZADI!
OPPOSE THE FASCIST INDIAN STATE AND THE ABVP-YFE LUMPENS!
EXPOSE THE SOCIAL-CHAUVINIST SFI-CPM AND ITS DELIBERATE DISTORTION OF THE KASHMIRI STRUGGLE!

"The children of all the enslaved nations in the world not only have to suffer the oppression and suppression by tyrants but also have to fight shoulder to shoulder for freedom."

-Shaheed-e-Kashmir Maqbool Bhat

WHAT INDIA DID TO KASHMIR: A BRIEF HISTORY OF BLOOD AND BETRAYAL

On 27 October 1947, Mountbatten wrote to the then Kashmiri Maharaja that the accession of Kashmir should be ratified by a 'reference to the people'. Where did it happen?

On 2 November 1947, Nehru promised "not only to the people of Kashmir but to the world ... to hold a referendum under international auspices such as the United Nations" to allow the Kashmiri people to determine their future. What happened next?

In January 1948, the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan was formed in order to conduct a plebiscite that would determine Kashmir's status.

Between 1948 and 1957, the Security Council repeatedly passed resolutions calling for the dispute to be settled in accordance with the 'will of the Kashmiri people through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite.'

From 17 November 1952, Article 370 which gave limited autonomy to Kashmir was meant to be enforced.

But, right from 1953, Indian government successfully curbed even the very little 'freedoms' meant to be provided through Article 370. This it did through force, intimidation, blackmail and other cheap anti-working class tactics, thereby ensuring that only puppets of Delhi could rule in Kashmir. Mass uprisings in the valley began to take place, which were suppressed through brutal methods. Kashmir started to become a police state.

In 1956, Nehru swallowed his own promise, stating in the parliament that plebiscite in Kashmir is 'a dead issue'.

From 1957, all elections in Kashmir were mere 'mockeries' of democracy. Any politician or activist even referring to Nehru's 'promise' to the Kashmiri people or anyone falling out of favour with the centre was arrested. The continuation of such a situation, for long, increasingly contributed to the disillusionment of the Kashmiri people with India.

In 1987's March elections, a formation called 'Muslim United Front', which was opposed to the excessive interference of New Delhi, opposed the ruling stooge parties of Kashmir. The elections were rigged and the youth associated with the MUF were ruthlessly targeted by the Indian police and intelligence.

In 1989, realizing the futility of electoral politics to express their legitimate grievances, many youth took up the path of armed struggle for national liberation.

In January 1990, massive demonstrations for Azadi broke out in various parts of Kashmir. In March, the Indian army carried out a massacre of unarmed, peaceful demonstrators in Zakura and Tengpora.

In July 1990, the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA), a draconian, illegal provision that gives unlimited powers to the army, was enforced in Kashmir. Ever since then, the Kashmiris became prisoners in their own homes. Bloody massacres of Sopore, Gawakdal, Bijbiachara and many others could occur unchecked.

Now, Kashmir stands as a crude joke of the 'world's largest democracy'. It is one of the biggest militarized zones in the world. With over 4 lakh soldiers deployed to control a population of about 50 lakh, the state Kashmir is a military garrison. Over 90,000 people have been killed since 1989. Over 9000 women have been raped by the armed forces - a 2005 report of Doctors Without Borders shows that over 11% of Kashmiri women have faced some form of sexual abuse in their lives. There are regular crackdowns and arrests of pro-freedom activists and politicians. There is no media freedom and journalists are targeted on a regular basis. The fascist terror state

Condemn the Killing of 12 People in Yesterday's Police Firing in Kashmir

...and a band of children run through the streets ... without fear, like children should ... Pain has ...

An anti-terrorist drive of the US combined with the ever-increasing state brutality of Indian security forces took to ... lives in Kashmir. For weeks, a pastor in the US had been threatening to burn the Quran, holy text of Islam in a ... campaign started with terrorism and told the religion and ... people responsible for 9/11. Eventually he called off ... publication but not without sowing the seeds of anti-Muslim ... an incident like that. Over the next few days and ... violence in the Quran burning action in Kashmir. Curfew ... a few ... people came on communications and the ... of ... people. All the media at that time ... news was explosive ... of violent protests ... and the security forces instead ... negotiate sensitively with such a protest, reacted ... with ... and killed 21 people. All 21 were ... in the ... strongest terms this abhorrent and wanton killing that ... the toll of those killed in firing by security forces ... in Kashmir in the past 3 months to 80.

... Since 2010, the Kashmiri people have shown numerable ... courage and fortitude in the face of brutal repression ... resulted in a long series of protests. We stand in ... and appeal to this sustained resistance – in which ... the participation of old, young, women and even children ... particularly significant – which has forced Kashmir's pain ... to become visible to Indians at large – in spite of ... the attempts by media and the State to portray the pro... tests as sponsored by militants.

... The UPA Government's response to mounting public ... anger, initially in the form of severe, month-long curfew ... followed by the Home Minister's unabashed ... stance that the protests are motivated by militants and ... that the police bullets are fired by terrorists. An all-party ... delegation led by Sitaram Yechury and comprising ... MPs had delayed response, promised various confidence ... measures and on the key political question, has said that ... autonomy can be considered "if there is a consensus".

... In Kashmir, there is no talk of consensus – only public ... pacification and the promise of jobs. Can this change the ... course in Kashmir? Perhaps this only if justice is done ... to those who have gone before and such human roads to ... reconciliation. Laws like AFSPA are scrapped and the military ... occupation is ended in the Valley by withdrawal of troops ... from some measure of trust be built. And above all, there ... must be unconditional political dialogue not only with ... Kashmiri leaders but with the people of Kashmir.

To make "consensus" a precondition for addressing the political issues in Kashmir is blatantly dishonest – since it is well known that the communal forces and BJP will never agree to any such dialogue. Meanwhile the UPA Govt is unable to amend AFSPA has seen many ... of half-hearted opposition by Army generals and the like.

In this situation it is deeply unfortunate that some left ... parties should come out with a half-hearted and feeble ... defense of the SFL In the context of Kashmir routinely talks ... of the 'spirit of violence'. Does this mean that they are ... equating people's protests with the naked state terror ... in Kashmir? The CPI(M) has called for amendment of ... AFSPA – to remove certain draconian provisions and the ... withdrawal of the Disturbed Areas Act from Srinagar and certain ... other civilian areas given the significant decrease in militant ... activities – to make the use of the AFSPA redundant in those ... areas. It has also appealed to release all young people who ... have been arrested or detained, if they are not facing serious ... criminal charges.

... In the past few months, stone-pelting youth have been arrested in hundreds and charged with Section 121 of the IPC (waging war against the State) – a charge that equates these youth with terrorists. In other words, they all have 'serious charges' – also the emergency ... against them. What is the point of saying that only those youth be released who do not have 'serious charges' against them?

... The AFSPA in toto is draconian because it implies suspension of civil liberties and Special Powers and connives state/army in unbridled excesses – merely amending it does not do away with its draconian character. Justifying AFSPA on the theory that civilian life remains in areas where military still exists amounts to justifying the killing of innocent civilians in those areas.

AISA calls for unequivocal condemnation of the unabated state brutality in Kashmir and an end to the rule by bullets and batons, curfew and encounters! The govt at the state and the centre must reverse their prolonged policy of betrayal and broken promises, respect the democratic rights of the Kashmiri people and listen to their voices and aspirations!

Speak Out Against:

Massive Corruption With Public Money, Exploitation of Workers and Eviction of Poor in the Name of Commonwealth Games!

Shame on The Compromises With Country's Wealth and People's Livelihood for Celebrating a Colonial Legacy!

Join a Massive DHARNA & Protest Rally! [illegible] on Feb 2nd

... As Delhi gears up to host the Commonwealth Games, behind the official fanfare lies the ugly truth: a story of massive corruption, substandard infrastructure, exploitation of workers, displacement of the poor, reckless corporatization and environmental degradation. The officially stated expense on the commonwealth games stands at Rs 29,000 crores – several times more than its original estimated budget of Rs 655 crore, while several unofficial estimates put the actual expenditure at more than Rs 85,000crores. It has similarly been estimated that the entire expenditure for the 12-day event could have controlled child mortality of poor children and housing for the poor for an entire year! The extravaganza includes heads like a helium balloon worth Rs 40 crore and Rs 45 crore spent on 'study tours' by 200 politicians and officials to Melbourne, Beijing and London (after which they did not however submit any report to improve the CWG). [illegible]

The heroic upsurge of the Kashmiri people and the question of National Liberation.

Speakers: Nadeem (Economic Times), Swati Vasecharan (JNU), Sudhanava Sengupta (ISA), G. Sammanna

6th 930 PM TONIGHT KAVERI MESS

In South Kashmir's Islamabad town, a nine year old boy was killed in an unprovoked firing, many where injured by tear gas shells in the protest that followed. In Sri Nagar police fired at a group of youth playing carom, critically injuring the nephew of JKLF chairman Yasin Malik, again an instance of unprovoked firing, leading to spontaneous protests. In Sherbagh police and CRPF unable to face the protestors barged into the Maternity and pediatric hospital beating up the attendants as well as patients. In Pulwama town, protest broke out at Kakpora, Chatapora, Delipora, Malikpora, Pichoo leaving three persons injured. Thousands of people took to roads where they offered prayers, blocking the main highway and took out a march. In north Kashmir, five people including a 50 year old woman were injured, resulting in day long clashes in the main town Bandipora. **All these are not incidents over days or weeks but a few incidents from few places on a single day in Kashmir.**

And that is the reality of every single day in Kashmir now. There are such protests every day, in every street. The people break the curfew every day to take out marches. The marches are attended by thousands, and even lakhs of people. Men, women children march alike and each protestor in Kashmir are categorically clear in the message they want to send across to the oppressive Indian state that had occupied the valley for six decades now: "***Ladke Lenge Azaadi***". In the last 81 days 65 people have been killed by the CRPF and police (the 65th being a nine year boy Irshad Ahmad Parray) that only resulted in more people joining the protests. The number of injured have crossed thousands now but the determination and the will of the people of Kashmir has only been strengthened. Even in this month of Ramzan, despite keeping fast in the daytime, people have come to the streets in thousands and no amount of force could crush the will and determination of the Kashmiris for freedom.

The ruling class of India which has willfully portrayed the issue of Kashmir in a wrong light is now on the back foot. Irrespective of the colors of their flags all parliamentary parties have proved their chauvinist nature by always misrepresenting the issue of Kashmir as a "law and order problem" in which "Pakistan backed Islamic fundamentalist are trying to disintegrate India". They never even agree to recognize the question of national liberation of Kashmir. They deliberately erase the aspiration for right to self-determination of the Kashmiri people although this is right that is guaranteed on papers in the constitution and the Indian state has made international commitment way back in the 1950s only to leave it unfulfilled till date. **When the movement for *Azaadi* erupted in the late 1980's in the form of armed struggle after decades of peaceful struggle were ignored, the Indian state resorted to fascist means to crush the uprising.** In the subsequent two decades, more than 70,000 have been killed, many women raped, and thousands have simply disappeared. Draconian laws like the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) have provided complete impunity to these killers. A recent fact finding report revealed the existence of more than 27,000 unmarked graves that had around 30,000 unidentified dead bodies. **The Indian state in all these years kept insisting that they are ready for a peaceful solution through dialogue on all issues only if they left the path of armed struggle. Well in the last two years not a single CRPF has been killed in Kashmir.** There has rather been huge mobilization of people, mass protests and resolute resistance where the youth are fighting the armed CRPF with nothing but their courage and stones. This has become a huge cause of concern for the Indian ruling class who can no more justify their repression on grounds of fighting 'terrorists'. Therefore, Lt. Col. Jaiswal, recently in the most absurd and heinous manner, branded these peaceful mass protests as '*agitational* terrorism'. In this latest phase of relentless struggle the Indian ruling class too is caught in the wrong foot. Thus all the parliamentary parties including the pseudo-left CPM are trying to push for 'economic packages' to put an end to the protest. It is a typical manner in which historically, colonizers have always tried to bargain with the colonized to bypass the real issue of freedom. **The fascist Indian state and its cronies must understand that the people in Kashmir are not fighting for 'better livelihood'. They are fighting for their denied nationhood and independence!**

Unfortunately the common masses of India, under the influence of the corporate media and their Goebblesian propaganda do not always understand the anger and the real concern of the Kashmiris. It is not a spontaneous anger against the trigger happy police and CRPF, but it is the anger against decades of extreme oppression and years of continuous betrayal by the colonizers in India. The Kashmiris are fighting for their denied freedom. Like the Palestinian Intifada they are fighting the mighty Indian state and its military. They are not going to surrender any more to oppression and false promises.

Let us stand in complete solidarity with the heroic upsurge of these brave men, women and children of Kashmir who are fighting the most genuine struggle for national liberation right now.

CONVENTION ON KASHMIR

Speakers:

Gurusharan Singh, noted dramatist & President CRPP

Vara Vara Rao, revolutionary poet

Retd Justice AS Bains

Arundhati Roy, writer

Sheikh Showbat Hussain, Law Faculty, University of Kashmir

N Venuh, NPMHR

Thiagu

Amit Bhattacharyya

Malem, CPDM

Sujato Bhadra, APDR

Shuddhabrata Sengupta, SARAI

Aparna, IFTU

Kanwarpal Singh

SAR Geelani

VENUE:
LTG AUDITORIUM,
MANDI HOUSE
NEW DELHI

DATE:
21-10-2010
THURSDAY

TIME:
2PM-8PM

COMMITTEE FOR THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS (CRPP)

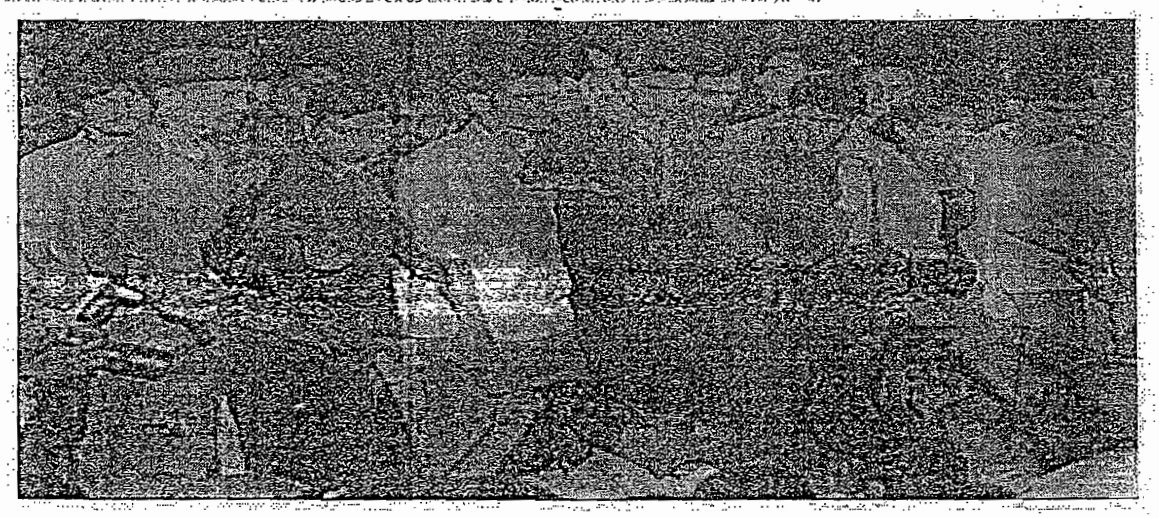
Contact: 9810081228, 9971187081

the convention from its successful completion, the Sangh-giroh has today gone to the parliament demanding a clampdown on all democratic spaces and platforms of solidarity among the people of India and Kashmir.

From June this year, Kashmir has witnessed one of the largest mass mobilizations against the Indian occupation. People of Kashmir have come out on the streets in tens of thousands braving the teargas, bullets and batons of the armed forces. With nothing but courage in their hearts and stones in their hands, the youth, men, women and even children of Kashmir continue to defy curfew and relentlessly uphold their aspiration of *Azaadi*. Since June this year, 111 Kashmiris including two children have been brutally shot dead by the police and CRPF. Neither the Indian ruling class nor the corporate media are ready to hear this clarion call of the people of Kashmir. The response of the Indian state to this mass upsurge has yet again been bullets and brute force first, followed by sham committees and promises of 'dialogue'. A delegation of parliamentary parties who are directly responsible for ordering the killings in Kashmir visited the Valley in the pretext of discussions. All that the Indian state could come up with following this much-hyped visit was to appoint a committee of 'interlocutors' who will further 'interact' with people in Kashmir to recommend some measures for reconciliation. This shows the complete lack of commitment of the Indian state to the settlement of the Kashmir dispute.

The people of Kashmir have proposed a five-point charter of demand to the Indian state, which asked for : 1. acceptance of the disputed nature of the territory of Jammu and Kashmir, 2. repeal of AFSPA and other black laws, 3. release of political detainees and prisoners, 4. withdrawal of the armed forces and 5. punishment of those police officers and armed men guilty of taking life in the past few months. The fascist Indian state is yet to respond to these demands. What they came up instead is an '8 point formula' which basically included 'economic packages'. The Indian state is not ready to withdraw Indian Army or even review the draconian AFSPA. And all that the Indian state is doing is to delay any dialogue with the people in Kashmir and in the meantime employ more force to crush the movement of the people. It is not ready to accept Kashmir as even a dispute for that will bring out all ugly facts which are forcibly buried in the past. The unfulfillment of the promise for plebiscite in United Nations in 1952, the prolonged suppression of peaceful movement till 1980s, the imprisonment of elected representatives in 1989, the presence of 8 lakh armed forces, the draconian AFSPA and PSA, the 70,000 people killed, the thousands who have simply 'disappeared', the thousand of rapes, the torture centers, the fake encounters, the crackdowns, the mass graves, the massacres ... do we need more evidence of the real status of Kashmir, which was never an 'integral part of India'.

We do not need any more 'interlocution' to *hear* what the people of Kashmir are saying. The writing is loud and clear on the walls of Kashmir. Slogans like 'Go India Go Back' and '*hum kya chahte? Azaadi*' are echoing in the streets of the valley every single day! The deaf Indian state might try to silence it, its corporate media lackeys might try to ignore the reality but this is what the millions of Kashmiris are saying in unison. No might of the colonizing Indian state can dominate this unflinching aspiration of the Kashmiri masses. It is the united fight of other oppressed nationalities along with the oppressed masses in India which can defeat this fascist brahminical state and its oppression.



A human-chain being formed by Kashmiri youth, students and organizers to shield the speakers from the *sanghi* hooligans who made a failed attempt to disrupt the historic meeting.

in February 2003. By 2006, even the CBI in the face of overwhelming evidence, was forced to come out with its report indicting five officers of the 7 Rashtriya Rifles. It charge-sheeted these personnel in the local court: Brigadier Ajay Saxena, Lt. Col. Brijendra Pratap Singh, Major Sourabh Sharma, Major Amit Saxena and Subedar Idrees Khan of staging a fake encounter, abduction, criminal conspiracy and evidence destruction. Now it was the turn of the army itself to protect its own officials. They appealed to the High Court and finally to the Supreme Court that the state government had no jurisdiction to punish the army as the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) was in force in the state. It took another six years for the Supreme Court to re-ascertain that the 5 killed in Pathribal were in fact "not foreign militants of the terrorist outfit LeT" but innocent civilians. On the question of the whether the encounter was fake the SC simply passed the buck back to where it came from - that is the army's own court or court martial in 2012. Last week, on January 23rd 2014, the army court gave its judgement stating that they found no evidence against the five army personnel involved in the Pathribal fake encounter. So after 12 years, the family members of those who were killed in Pathribal find themselves exactly the same spot from where they had begun their journey.

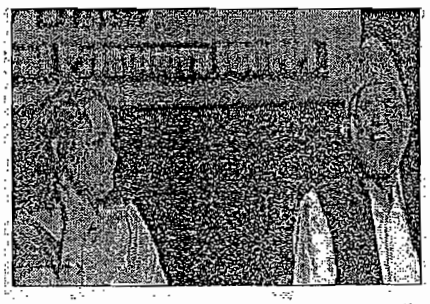
The military occupation of Kashmir provides the armed forces of the Indian state to maim, torture, kill and rape with impunity. After all, how can justice be expected when the occupation, killers and the judges are one and the same. Several courts and investigating agencies keep passing the buck to each other ultimately to exonerate the killers in uniform. In the case of Pathribal, the army acquitted its own men who had been found guilty by the CBI. However, it is the same CBI that gave a clean chit to the army in the rape and murder of Asiya and Neelofar in Shopian in 2009, and instead ridiculously claimed that two had drowned in ankle length water. Even the highest courts of this self-proclaimed world's largest democracy are no different. Afzal Guru, who was executed in a secretive hanging last year, was sentenced to death by the Supreme Court, not on the basis of any evidence (which it itself accepted that it had none), but rather to satisfy what it termed as the 'collective conscience' of the society. In the valley, the repressive measures employed by the Indian state to suppress the aspirations of the Kashmiri people can put even Pinochet or the torturers of Abu Ghraib to shame. Kashmir continues to remain the most militarized zone in the world with over a 8 lakh armed personnel and in the past two decades over a lakh have been killed, thousands of women raped, tens of thousands simply disappeared only to be rediscovered in mass graves years later while countless Kashmiris have been tortured and maimed. But all these machinations of the Indian state far from suppressing the struggles of the Kashmiri people for Azaadi has only forged further resolve and new solidarities. DSU appeals to all progressive and democratic sections to unequivocally condemn the acquittal by the army of the killers of Pathribal and stand in solidarity with the fight of the Kashmiri people for their inalienable right to self-determination including the right to secede from the Indian Union.

FREE KASHMIR!

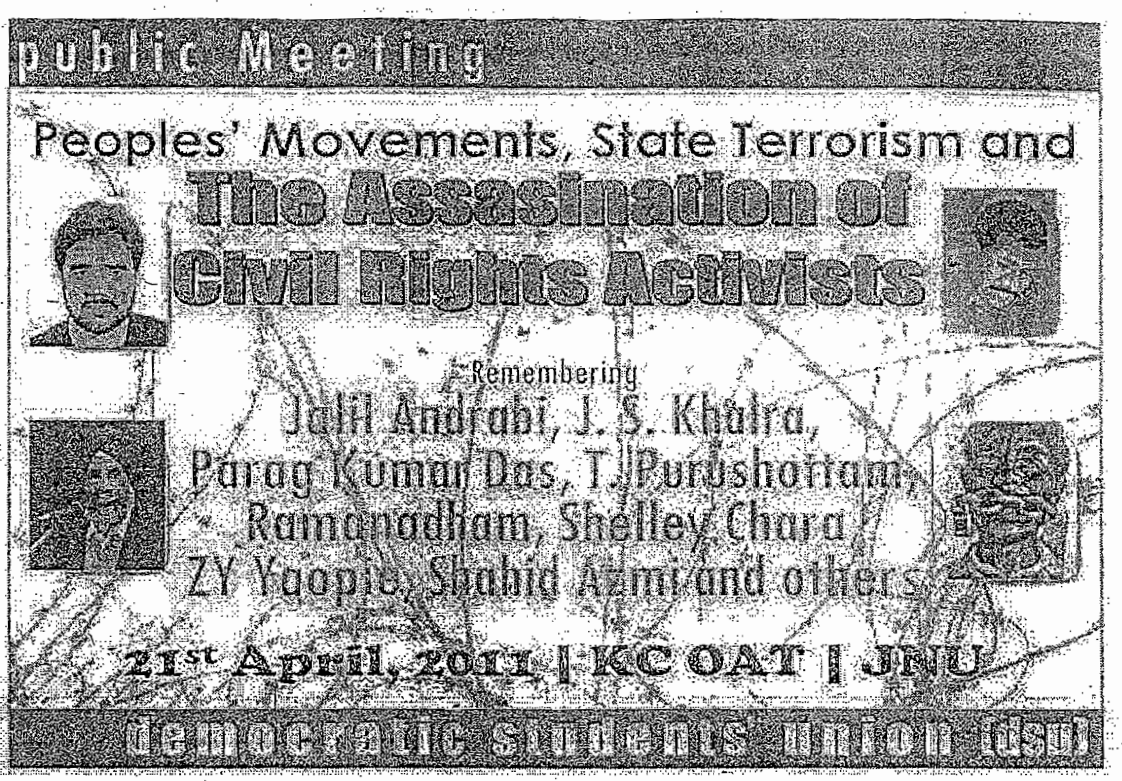
October 23, 2010

AZAADI: THE ONLY WAY AHEAD IN KASHMIR

Arundhati Roy & SAS Geelani on the dias in the historic public meeting on 'AZADI: The only way!' 22nd October 2010 in LTG auditorium (Delhi)



Yesterday in a historic convention in LTG Auditorium, Mandi House, many voices representing various peoples' movements of South Asia reverberated to collectively assert that Azaadi is the only way ahead for Kashmir. Along with the prominent speakers from Kashmir, the struggling nationalities of Manipur, Nagalim, Punjab, Tamil Nadu, as well as activists, writers, intellectuals from India hailed the heroic struggle of the people of Kashmir for their denied self-determination, the aspiration for justice and dignity. The communal-fascist lumpen brigade of RSS, ABVP and Panun Kashmir repeatedly tried to disrupt the proceedings, create a ruckus and assault the speakers on the dais, but were successfully resisted by the audience present there. The convention extended an overwhelming support to the ongoing movement against the occupation by the Indian armed forces, and the inalienable right of the Kashmiri's right to self-determination, including secession from India. Once again, the corporate media today carried more of the news of the disruption with its general misinformation campaign, while purposefully erasing the solidarity which was reasserted in the assembly. The media neither cared to report about the deliberations at the convention, nor about the spirit of unity among the oppressed peoples of Kashmir, India and other persecuted nationalities of South Asia. Far from a truthful reporting of the various views kept in the meeting, the Hindu-fundamentalist Indian corporate media demanded the booking of the organizers and speakers under charges of sedition! At the same time, having failed to stop



January 27, 2014

Condemn the acquittal by the killer Indian army of the murderers of Pathribal! Stand in solidarity with the Kashmiri people in their fight for their inalienable right to self-determination and Azadi against a brutal military occupation!

How many deaths will it take till we know,
that too many people have died.
The answer my friend is blowing in the wind.

Five Kashmiri dead bodies that sustained more than 95% burns and had received an average of 5 bullets at the hands of the killer Rashtriya Rifles of the Indian Army 14 years ago are not numbers that merely pertain to the Pathribal massacre. They are the one of the many lightless lanes of the labyrinth called Indian 'democracy' (read military occupation) in Kashmir. In the past more than six decades, all the organs of this 'democracy' - from the police, paramilitary, army to the media, judiciary and even the so called 'elected' representatives - have all colluded to first torture, rape and kill countless Kashmiris and then justify all of it. The recent acquittal by the army of five of its own personnel who were responsible for the cold blooded massacre of 5 kashmiris in Pathribal is simply another case which illustrates the workings of this state.

On the 20th of March, 2000, about 20 army men opened fire in Chattisinghpora village in Kashmir killing 36 Sikhs and claimed that it was the work of 'foreign terrorists' of Lashkar-e-Toiba. This happened when the then US president Bill Clinton was on a visit to India and the attack was shown as evidence of the 'threat' of terrorism that India faced and the need for joint India-US efforts in the so called 'war against terror'. The Indian state through this orchestrated massacre of the Sikhs also sought to delegitimize the national liberation struggle in Kashmir by portraying it as an evidence of its 'communal' nature. Five days later, on the 25th of March the Rashtriya Rifles picked up five innocent Kashmiris from a neighbouring village Pathribal, shot them in cold blood, mutilated and burnt their bodies. It then reported to then Home Minister LK Advani that the 'terrorists' responsible for the Sikh massacre had been eliminated in a 'surgical operation'. Vehement protests broke out against the army for staging the so-called encounter demanding the exhumation of the bodies for examination and enquiry. In one of these protests at Brakpora on 3rd April attended by thousands of Kashmiris the CRPF opened fire killing 7 more and injuring 15. Because of the popular protests, the then Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah was forced to constitute an investigation and the responsibility for investigating all the three massacres (i.e. Chattisinghpora, Pathribal as well as Brakpora) was given to the Pandian Commission. However admonition in a week's time from the then Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee on the suspicion around the army's involvement in the massacres at Chattisingpora and Pathribal led to their exclusion from the scope of the investigation. It was since then that the Commission was ordered to look into just the Brakpora killings. Meanwhile, the various organs of the state machinery, specially the media, spread the Gobblessian propaganda that LeT was responsible for the Chattisinghpora massacre. By Oct 27th, the Pandian Commission came out with its report on Brakpora, indicting some police and CRPF personnel. Even these were not made public and its recommendations were not implemented.

Though Chattisingpora was completely blacked out from public memory, the demand for justice in the Pathribal case remained. Unable to contain this demand, the investigation of Pathribal was handed over to the CBI

led to false charges being filed and often to violence. Human rights defenders in Andhra Pradesh claim that police in the state keep armed opposition groups in check by sponsoring former members of these groups who attack their former colleagues, in a similar manner to security forces in Jammu and Kashmir and Assam. T. Purushottam and many other members of his organization argued that the Naxalite movement is a socio-economic and political movement, and not a 'law-and-order problem' as claimed by the government. But the government, instead of addressing with the movement politically, unleashed brutal state repression and is still continuing the same policy of silencing the voices of the people in the name of countering Maoism/Naxalism. As a consequence many activists belonging to APCLC were targeted. T. Purushottam was attacked by a group of men wielding knives and swords on 23 November 2000 as an act of revenge for the killing of a Congress MLA by the Naxalites. His throat was slit and was stabbed several times by these goons, killing him instantly. Other civil rights activists too received threat-calls who identified themselves as the 'Green Tigers', 'Narsi Cobras', 'Telangana Tigers', etc. All these gangs were in the pay of the notorious Andhra police, who used them to eliminate or intimidate democratic rights activists. In spite of such extreme state repression, APCLC and other organisations have continued to work in order to fulfill the tasks for which T Purushottam and his fellow workers have sacrificed their lives.

T. Purushottam had kept alive the tradition of fighting for the finest sensibilities of a democratic polity of his able predecessors like Dr. Ramanadham, Nara Prabhakar Reddy etc. Dr. Ramanadham was a people's doctor who always looked for the roots of any disease in the overall well being of the commoner. And this made him understand his profession better from the narrow confines of the medical text and the lure of a lucrative practice. It is this sense of ethics and principles that made him leave his job and start a children's clinic in the late 60s. The social and political in Dr. Ramanadham made him initiate the first unit of APCLC in Warangal in 1974. The institutionalized repression of the Emergency saw Ramanadham and his friends being arrested. After the lifting of the emergency, APCLC further got active with the able initiative of the likes of Ramanadham. From the usual elite/middle class trappings of any civil liberties movement Dr. Ramanadham could transform APCLC into a people's organization. It was in 1985 after the killing of SI Yadagiri at Kazipet police station by people allegedly belonging to the Naxalite movement [CPI (ML) (PW)], in a planned assault, the police went on a rampage beating up everyone in the clinic of Dr. Ramanadham only to shoot him dead later at point blank. Nara Prabhakar Reddy a people's lawyer took the mantle from Dr. Ramanadham to revive the APCLC in Warangal. And sooner than later the efforts of N. Prabhakar Reddy bore fruition as he and the APCLC could successfully get bail for hundreds of youth under TADA. On 7 December 1991 Nara Prabhakar Reddy was also shot dead by the notorious police at his residence. But braving all such acts of the State repressive machine the APCLC has been able to flow against the tide of fascist repression of the Andhra Pradesh government.

Friends, we have recounted only a few of the many stories that are untold. But there are also stories which are not known to many of us. The longest and the relentless heroic struggle of the Nagas for Nagalim—like all their fellow comrades among other peoples—also have their stories of martyrdom of civil rights activists belonging to the Naga People's Movement for Human Rights (NPMHR). Formed during the high tide of the struggle for National Self-Determination in the late 70s in response to the increasing atrocities on the people by the Indian armed forces under AFSPA the NPMHR brought the voice of the hitherto unheard stories of the Nagas to the vast sections of the people of the subcontinent. Joint fact finding missions with organizations like the APCLC, APDR, CPDR, PUDR, MASS etc., made possible the question of National Self-Determination becoming one of the central facet of democratic rights discourse in the continent. And in this process some of the activists that have laid down the lives was Shelley Chara and ZV Yaopie a lawyer and a civil rights activist, by 'unidentified assailants' ably supported by the state in this region.

It is important that we remember them, the best from their people, who could brave the fascist repression of the state while at the same time holding the ramparts for the most oppressed, exploited and discriminated. This was not easy for them as they on the one hand fought the state's browbeating policies to maim and wipe out any form of resistance while at the same time defending the right of the wretched to rebel, in whatever form deemed dignifying for them. Through them we learn the hard earned victories of the progressive democratic rights movement, through intense debate and polemic, about taking the vital questions of any class/caste/nationality based people's movements to the larger, wider section of the polity as an exercise in educating the masses and also learning from the process of learning. These are also people's heroes who have stood the lure of the human rights industry flush with imperialist funds out to sell the morals of people's protests for a fast buck. All of them had tremendous faith in the immense potentialities of the masses. And through their involvement with the people's movements armed or otherwise they were acutely aware of the vital role that these movements had in democratizing the society and polity. Without these movements, they were of the opinion, the role of the democratic/civil rights movements would have been immaterial and fruitless. It is this glorious tradition set by these civil libertarians—in the process sacrificing their lives—that have drawn sharp lines of demarcation between genuine people's movements and those who are at the payroll of imperialism manufacturing dissent. The gravest danger of any people's movement getting usurped by the interest of the status quo that would want the present system strife with inequalities of all nature—class/caste/region/nationality/gender—to continue and perpetuate itself is through the interface that the human rights industry provide. And it is precisely fighting uncompromisingly against this that all these people had laid down their lives. Today when the civil society and the vast sections of the progressive, democratic people of the subcontinent are buoyed by the bail order given to Dr. Binayak Sen by the Supreme Court one need to carry the struggle forward with the full realization that it is only a small respite offered by a State aware of the rising protests and discontentment among the people, albeit, bracing itself for the next tide of repression.

the 'missing' people of Punjab, whom the police officially claimed of having no knowledge, but secretly disposed of the bodies to hide the evidence of their crimes. J.S. Khalra struggled to reclaim the 'unclaimed' bodies and to break the wall of silence that protected the police from the retribution of their own crimes. With the mounting documentation of police atrocities, the pressure on him by the police too built up. The Taran-Taran Senior Superintendent of Police threatened him by declaring that if Khalra did not stop his activities he too would join the ranks of missing persons and unclaimed corpses. As he was preparing to move the court against threats to his life, Punjab police personnel abducted him from outside his house on September 6, 1995. He was last seen alive in Sarhal. Since then there was no news of J. S. Khalra, though it is believed that the police did carry out their threat, and murdered him. No trace of his death was left by his murders in uniform. Democratic rights groups have been demanding that J. S. Khalra be produced. A habeas-corpus petition too bore no result. Since his death and the protests by civil rights organizations, the case relating to his disappearance and the cremation of the 'unclaimed' bodies has been handed over to the CBI. The CBI has conclusively shown that an extraordinarily large number of unclaimed bodies have indeed been cremated at the Amritsar cremation grounds, numbering about a thousand. Some policemen have been suspended and charged with murder. Yet there are hundreds of cremation grounds in Punjab, this being only the tip of the iceberg. The disappearance of human rights activist Jaswant Singh Khalra took a new turn with the sole witness who claims to have witnessed the murder of the activist, alleging that he had seen former Punjab Police Director-General of Police K.P.S. Gill go into a room in which Khalra was being kept at Manawala in Taran Taran. This goes to show that the top officials of Punjab police and the Indian state were directly involved in the conspiracy to kill J. S. Khalra. But all of them have evaded punishment. In fact, J. S. Khalra's murder has been set up as an example for other democratic rights activists who dare to expose the atrocities of the state. Even J.S. Dhillon, the chairman of the Human Rights Wing, and its vice chairman Amrik Singh have been threatened by the police with dire consequence. However, in his death too J. S. Khalra has remained an inspiration for the people of the subcontinent as a resolute voice of democratic rights – including the right of the people of Punjab to self-determination.

Parag Das was strongly drawn towards the democratic rights movement of Asom, which led him to embrace journalism as a weapon for justice after resigning his lucrative job as the manager of Guwahati Stock Exchange. Initially he wrote columns for Sentinel, an English language daily before starting the weekly newsmagazine *Budhbar* as started addressing in the basic questions of the Assamese people. In a short time, *Budhbar* became a popular medium for highlighting the political and economic oppression of the people of the region by the Indian ruling classes. He extensively wrote addressing the basic questions confronting the people of Asom and supporting the movement for self-determination. He also encouraged a group of dedicated young journalists who travelled around Assam and exposed the repressive acts of Indian armed forces. For his forthright political views Parag Das was arrested twice under TADA and was kept in jail for months. Once the state closed down *Budhbar*, he moved to become the editor of the weekly *Aghan*, and then the working editor of the Assamese dalily *Asomiya Pratidin*. Moreover, Parag Das and his co-journalists antagonized the ruling classes by exposing many cases of widespread corruption in government departments. In the wake of Operation Bajrang and Operation Rhino by the Indian Army against the ULFA, Parag Das played a key role in the formation of Manab Adhikar Sangram Samiti (MASS) in 1991, the foremost democratic rights organisation of Asom, and became its General Secretary. Against immense odds MASS extensively documented custodial deaths, rapes, and fake encounters perpetrated by the Indian armed forces. It brought to light instances of 19 deaths, 7 rapes and molestations committed by the state's forces. 120 cases of illegal detention and torture as well as 63 cases of indiscriminate assault on the villagers were reported by MASS in the first month of Operation Rhino itself. It also exposed the active role of the Indian state in inciting the communal riots at Barpeta. His books arguing for the independence of Asom and of the North-East, on independent economic policy etc are still considered to be path-breaking works. Parag Das actively worked towards forming a coordination of democratic rights organizations in the North-East. This became a reality with the formation of North Eastern Centre OHR on 23 February 1996, of which he was elected as the Secretary General. All these activities had earned him the wrath of the Indian state. On 19 May 1996, as he was returning home after picking up his child from school, he was shot dead by a gang of surrendered ULFA cadres at the instruction of the Indian state. Though brutally executed by the state for standing up for freedom, democracy and justice, Parag Das has become one of the most respected and fondly-remembered names for the people of the region.

Shahid Azmi was one of the most daring people's lawyers that Mumbai had seen that too at a time when the hysteria of the so-called war against terror was at its peak. He was the last recourse for the incarcerated Muslims framed in several cases especially the blast cases in Malegaon. Himself arrested under TADA at the age of 16 Shahid knew more than anyone what it meant to be charged under a draconian law like TADA. This motivated him to read law and by the time he was acquitted by the court Shahid had made his mind to give his life for the defence of the oppressed and humiliated. And at the age of 32 he had earned the reputation of one of the most brilliant lawyers in Mumbai who had withstood the threats to his life and had torn to shreds many a manufactured 'evidence' produced by a communally motivated police. It was this courage and conviction that gave him the wrath of the establishment and he was shot dead at his chamber in Taxi men's colony, Kurla East on 11 February 2010 by unknown assailants. At this time he was handling the defence of one of the co-accused in the 26/11 case named Fahim Ansari.

T. Purushottam was the Joint Secretary of Andhra Pradesh Civil Liberties Committee (APCLC). The Andhra Pradesh government and its notorious police force have consistently targeted members of the APCLC and other civil rights organizations, alleging them to be close to the CPI(ML) People's War. Human rights defenders are often branded as members of armed groups in areas of armed conflict in India. This has stigmatised many human rights groups, and has

HAFEEZUR RAHMAN
PANKAJ BISHT
PROF. AMIT BHATTACHARYYA
GN SAIBABA
SANDEEP PANDEY
SAROJ GIRI
MOHD AHMAD & OTHERS

Condemn strongly the illegal act of executing Mohd. Afzal Guru!
Condemn and expose the violation of all procedures and law!
Stand for our Right to Protest and Freedom of Expression!
JOIN PROTEST DHARNA AT JANTAR MANTAR, 4 MARCH 2013, 2 PM

INVITATION

The illegal execution of Mohd. Afzal Guru has shocked the conscience of all the progressive, democratic people of the subcontinent. By now it is evident for every discerning mind that the claims of the central home minister and home secretary about procedures being followed before the execution have proven to be white lies. None of his family members were aware of this decision of the Government of India. It is mandatory on the side of the government to inform the petitioners who had filed the clemency petition. Afzal's wife Tabassum had filed a clemency petition demanding justice for her husband who never throughout the trial got an opportunity to defend himself and demand justice. She had in that petition even traced his early days in Kashmir and how he was continually being harassed and tortured by the notorious STF of J&K. She showed in that petition how the ordeal has still been continuing in the life of her husband and their family in their quest for justice. The fact remains that neither Tabassum nor any of her family members have been informed about the rejection of this petition. The much publicised letter send to the family by the jail authorities turned out to be a cruel joke.

It is absolutely necessary that once a clemency petition is rejected the petitioner should be informed so that s/he can take recourse to other provisions that are guaranteed by the judiciary of India. There are provisions for judicial review which are quite exhaustive. This is evident in the petition moved by Prof. Devinder Pal Singh Bhullar in the Supreme Court, which is being heard, regarding the inordinate delay in the execution of death sentence. Similarly the accused in the Rajiv Gandhi case also have moved the Supreme Court regarding the inordinate delay in the execution of death sentence for more than two years. There are case laws in the apex court wherein pronounced delay in the execution of death sentence is in itself grounds for converting the same into life. That the Government of India under the Congress government has even subverted the Supreme Court in clandestinely executing the death sentence bemoans the real fascist nature of this government which has scant regards for its own judiciary and law.

But the brazen manner in which the Home Minister talked about the need to have secret executions so as to deny such crucial provisions and procedures in saving a life—especially in the case of Mohd. Afzal Guru—betrayed all the pretensions of the largest democracy as is claimed about India. The glorification of such secret executions as the only way to fight what is claimed to be 'terrorism' forecloses all possibilities of checks and balances that are vital and central to the propagation of civility, accountability and compassion in the institutions that are the pillars of a democratic country. While cold calculations of electoral politics have made the Congress and BJP use Afzal Guru and his execution a political ploy to whip up jingoism in their favour the demand of his family to at least return his body—which is there in the jail manual—has also been finally rejected as the convenient logic is that 'law and order' will be affected in Jammu & Kashmir. Yes being a Kashmiri itself has become a 'law and order' problem for the Indian state!

As more and more legal luminaries, civil libertarians, human rights groups and various sections of the freedom loving people of the subcontinent and the world have unequivocally condemned this dastardly act of illegal execution of Mohd. Afzal Guru the Government of India has let loose the police and paramilitary hand in glove with the Hindu communal fascist gangs to gag on the widespread indignation pouring out from the masses of the people in the subcontinent. Cases are being slapped one after the other on the protesting people while the ruffians of the Hindu communal fascist gangs are left scot free to beat up protesters, harass women—pulling their Hijab or threatening to rape them.

After having alienated the masses of the people and even the middle class through their anti-people, pro-market policies resulting in widespread miseries for the working people the ruling class parties have lost their face and credibility and hence this desperate, brazen display of competitive jingoism on the life of someone who from the day one had never a chance to defend himself properly. Against the clandestine execution of the death sentence of Mr. Afzal Guru violating all procedures and the law, against the despetate attempts of the ruling class parties like Congress and the BJP to stoke the frenzy of jingoism, for the right to freedom of expression and association of the protesting people we invite all freedom loving people to join a protest dharna at Jantar Mantar on 4 March 2013 from 2 PM onwards.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS
Contact: 9810081228, 9810149990

even allowed o offer Friday prayers. As far as Kashmir issue is concerned, he said, people are being oppressed and humiliated for 65 years and they will keep fighting against the forcible occupation of Kashmir by the Indian state.

Prof. Koya (Vice President, Popular Front of India & CRPP), observed that by hanging anyone to death, the state commits a crime. We are not against the illegal execution of Afzal Guru. We are against the legal execution of Afzal. We know fundamentaly all such murders are illegal. Murder by a state is itself a political act – whether in India, Saudi Arabia or US... He further poined out that despite the maintenance of one million Indian security personnel protest and anger is slowly coming out in Kashmir. While pointing out that the underprivileged are always send to the gallows he further asked: How many people were hangel when 8000 people were gassed in Bhopal, when 2000 were hacked in nelli, when 3000 were killed in the streets of Ahmedabad, nobody was hanged.

Prof. Harigopal (prominent social scientist and civil libertarian) said that when they talk of "sentiment" was the sentiment of the people of Kashmir taken into consideration considering the SC still considers Kashmir as part of India? He said that in India the popular morality is dangerously over-riding constitutional morality. Ambedkar had said constitutional morality is more important than popular morality. In a country where the heinous caste system exists, what can be the public morality in India? Rule of law is important in a democracy. But in no way it means rule by law. AFSPA, TADA, POTA are not rule of law but rule by law.

He added there lies a connection between the 9% rate of growth and Afzal's killing. Where there is so much inequality, poverty, unemployment, unrest is legitimate. And if the response of the state is terrorizing the people who are fighting for their inalienable rights, for justice with more and more draconian rules, then people will fight back. He strongly criticized the media for the jingoism that they indulged in while reporting on the hanging of Afzal. He further pointed ou that the vast sections of the corporate media are instigating the public. If the media does not take into account the rights of the people, then it is a suicide. If you create support for Modi, for the state's so-called development agenda, for hanging somebody - all of this is anti-people, he reiterated. And if we have to change the society then hanging only criminalizes it further. It does not help. For a better society we must fight against death penalty.

Rajkishore (RDF) lamented that it is shameful, that SC itself says that there is no direct evidence, and takes refuge in the so-called 'collective conscience'. Some blind communal lumpen's conscience cannot be the collective conscience of the nation. Today the demand is to abolish death penalty across the world. That fight is continuing and we must join. In today's parliamentary system of loot and plunder of the people there is nothing called justice. The legitimate demand of his family and the people of Kashmir for his body to be returned must be honoured. We must fight against this unjust system. No system gives freedom by itself. We must snatch it away from the ruling classes. For that we have to face our oppressors.

Com. Aparna (CPI (ML) (New Democracy), pointed out that we must remember, that in the Bhopal case, when collective conscience of this country wanted punishment of Anderson, the SC refrained from giving any verdict. Further she observed that the 'collective conscience' can justify hanging someone is an imposition on the people of India. We must understand that this history of hanging can be traced back to the British colonial rule as they employed this repressive strategy to murderously rule the people of the Indian subcontinent.

Pankaj Bisht (Editor Samayantar) said that no civilized society can give death sentence. Crime cannot be stopped through giving death sentences. Keeping aside political prisoners like afzal, not even a single middle class has ever been hanged. Every crime is related to the society it exists in, so the attempt should be to change society. Every passing day our state is trying to brutalize the society – for each and everything we are demanding ... even the Supreme Court is referring to collective conscience – as if the collective conscience is becoming blood thirsty. So death penalty must be stopped.

Hafiz Mansur Ali Khan (Gen Secretary, Social Democratic Party, India), said that from the point of view of his party, the person who leaves this world his family has right over his body. They have a legitimate legal right over his body. My party supports their demand for returning Afzal's body.

100 criminals may be left, but not even one innocent should be punoished. Further, justice means that even a person who has gone wrong should be punished in a way that he rectifies himself. But death penalty does not give the person any chance to rectify.

Apart from these Javed Wani (Azadi Group [UP]), Veera Satyadas (Republican Panthers, Maharashtra), Raghu Nath (APCLC), Gurmeet Singh & others also spoke condemning hanging of Afzal.

From the stage of this Protest Dharna, in the spirit of the demands articulated by the speakers and the slogans of the protestors, CRPP reiterates its demands: Justice to Afzal Guru; Justice to the people of Jammu & Kashmir & Justice to all political prisoners.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS
from the dharna
Syed Ali Shah Geelani

JOIN PROTEST DHARNA AT JANTAR MANTAR, 4 MARCH 2013, 2 PM
SPEAKERS:
JUSTICE RAJINDER SACHAR
SUJATO BHADRA
PROF. JAGMOHAN
PROF. AMIT BHADURI
ARUNDHATI ROY
BD SHARMA
SUMIT CHAKRAVARTY
VARA VARA RAO
PROF. G HARAGOPAL
PROF. AK RAMAKRISHNAN
ASHOK BHOWMICK
SAR GEELANI
PROF. P KOYA
SANJAY KAK
MADAN KASHYAP
DR. SQR ILYAS

Public Talk · By Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners - CRPP

Speakers:
Arundhati Roy, Writer Activist
Prof. Jagmohan, nephew of Bhagat Singh
Sujato Bhadro, Vice-President, CRPP
Manoranjan Mohanty, Rtrd Professor, Department of Political Science, DU
Saroj Giri, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, DU
A.K. Ramakrishnan, Professor, Centre for West Asian Studies, JNU
Sanjay Kak, Filmmaker
Azaan Javaid, Journalist
Malem Ningthouja, Campaign for Peace and Democrccy, Manipur (CPDM)
Tripta Wahi, Rtrd Professor of History, DU
Kunwarpal Singh, General Secretary, Dal Khalsa
R.S. Bains, Senior Advocate, Punjab-Haryana High Court
and others...

On the morning of 9th February 2013, the Indian State secretly hanged Shaheed Afzal Guru, while Kashmir was put under strict curfew the night before, to satisfy the so-called "collective conscience of the (Indian) society".
Afzal's murder only added to the list of hundreds of thousands of Martyrs who have laid down their lives for the cause of Kashmir's Freedom Struggle. Afzal was the second person to be hanged and buried in Delhi's Tihar Jail, after Maqbool Bhat, who was executed on the 11th of February 1984.
The world has seen that Kashmir did not forget Maqbool. Kashmir will never forget Afzal, and neither any of its known and unknown Martyrs. Rather, the sacrifice has only strengthened the people's resolve to resist the brutal occupation of their land with renewed zeal.
Afzal is Maqbool to Us.
Coming Sunday, 9th of February 2014, which is the first anniversary of Afzal Guru's Martyrdom, CRPP invites you to a public meeting at the Plenary Auditorium, Indian Law Institute, Bhagwan Das Road, Opposite Supreme Court of India, New Delhi. The meeting will start 1:00 pm onwards.

Press Statement: FROM THE PROTEST DHARNA AT JANTAR MANTAR, 4 MARCH 2013, 2 PM

March 4, 2013 at 11:27pm

Condemn strongly the illegal act of executing Mohd. Afzal Guru!
Condemn and expose the violation of all procedures and law!
Stand for our Right to Protest and Freedom of Expression!

On the 4th of March 2013 the Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners (CRPP) observed a Protest Dharna at Jantar Mantar strongly condemning the illegal act of executing Mohd. Afzal Guru and exposing the blatant violation of all procedures of law in this execution. It was also to stand for our right to protest and freedom of expression. Representatives from various states of India such as Bihar, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand as well as the oppressed nationalities of North East and Kashmir gathered in the Dharna. Amidst slogans and songs of protest, the students of Kashmir and India in unison condemned the brutal killing of Afzal and demanded Kashmir's *Azadi*. The arrival of Syed Ali Shah Geelani at the protest venue was greeted with vibrant sloganeering. All speakers severely condemned the hanging of Afzal and unequivocally demanded the abolition of death penalty and all other draconian laws being imposed on the people of both Kashmir and India fighting for justice, freedom and equality.

Sujato Bhadro (prominent civil libertarian and vice president CRPP) condemned the heinous execution of both political and so called non-political prisoners. As a principle he condemned capital punishment as it is nothing but a clear premeditated murder by the state. It is the inherent discrimination within an unequal society that creates criminals. The society cannot murder them and wash off their hands. He condemned the flouting of all legal procedures in Afzal's killing, he also demanded re-trial of Afzal's case and of the case file in the so-called attack against Indian parliament.

Sumit Chakravarthy (Editor Mainstream) said Afzal's hanging was not just an attack on Kashmir, but most importantly it was an attack on Indian democracy. He said to kill Afzal was a political decision and there was no law involved. This was a product of political rivalry between Congress and BJP for competitive jingoist nationalism. Not a single voice was raised within the parliament because from the right to left, all worried that they will lose out on vote bank politics. We must extend our solidarity with the people of Kashmir. It is only thereby that we can defend democracy. He added that the martyrdom of Afzal, for all the democracy loving people of India should remain an example.

Amit Bhattacharyya (Secretary General CRPP) said that the 99% in India's jail are from lower caste, minorities, adivasis, and all other oppressed masses who are fighting for justice and their rights. While on other hand, the murders and crimes been committed everyday by Army/CRPF are not even booked. He asked the "collective conscience" of which nation was satisfied by hanging Afzal. Is it a Hindu nation? Does it not include minorities or oppressed?

Syed Ali Shah Geelani (Chairman Tehreek-e- Hurriyat) said that absolute power corrupts and blinds people. But history tells us that whenever this happens, resistance wins. The people of J&K are fighting for many years for their inalienable right for freedom. More than 6 lakhs have been martyred, and we are being killed even now. Maqbool Bhatt was killed in 1984 in Tihar, and now Afzal. We have clear evidences that he was not involved in the parliament attack. He was framed, and not even a chance to defend himself. The judge who gave this judgement himself accepted that law is not supporting, but we still want to hang Afzal to satisfy the sentiment, and conscience of the people. This is a judicial murder. He was not even allowed to meet his family member before he was hanged which is guaranteed by law. They are now demanding his body. A Kashmiri student studying in Hyderabad who had offered prayers for Afzal was thereafter found dead in his room. Now they are saying that he has committed suicide. It is a conspiracy through which they killed him. While talking about the highhandedness of Delhi police, he said, he was kept under house arrest for 19 days since Afzal's hanging, at his Malviya Nagar residence and was not

Capital punishment is nothing but a judicially-orchestrated elimination of political dissidents. The fascist tactics of execution have been used time and again to set an 'example' or to 'teach a lesson' to the people who dare to challenge the might of the Indian state. The history of Indian state since the transfer of power is replete with numerous such instances of political executions and hangings to crush peoples' struggles, reminding us of the days of the British Raj. Much like the murder of Bhagat Singh being branded as a "terrorist" by the British, Maqbool Butt, one of the prominent freedom fighters of Kashmir, was executed in 1984 as a warning to the entire Kashmiri nation who raised the legitimate demand of Azadi. Similarly, in the cases of Perarivaran, Santhan, Murugan - Devinder Singh Bhullar – Bhai Jagtar Singh, Bhai Balwant Singh - Jiten Marandi - Afzal Guru, SAR Geelani – apart from the gross flouting of legal procedures and farcical trial, what connects all of them is the same desperation of the Indian state to resort to capital punishment in order to eliminate a political dissident, to silence political dissent. While some among them have been summarily executed, few have been acquitted owing to peoples' pressure, while others still languish on death row. Time and again death penalty is awarded only to either people from the most oppressed sections of the society or to the revolutionaries and the struggling masses who challenge the oppression and exploitation of the powers that be.

A killer state has no right to kill in the name of 'democracy'. Under the same judicial system, Brahmeshwar Mukhia, the notorious killer of 277 dalit was easily given bail and walked out of prison scot free. Mahendra Karma, the main architect of Salwa Judum had never ever been booked under law and held positions of power. In this country mass killers and main figures behind orchestrated massacres and pogroms like Bal Thackerey or Narendra Modi are never ever booked under any law, but are hailed as national heroes in their life and death. It is a state that cold-bloodedly murders revolutionaries as also civil right activists, executes custodial killings, kills thousands in fake encounters and disappearances in Kashmir & north-east, orchestrates the brutal witch-hunt of minorities, and unleashes its army over the tribals. This murderous state has no right to kill masquerading itself in the name of "people's conscience" or "democracy". In our country there exists a gross inequality between a privileged few (read the ruling classes & its apologists) and the aspirations of the millions who live and die on the "wrong side" of the system. As long as this socio-economic disparity exists, voices shall continue to be raised against this oppressive system. And the answer for this lies only in the revolutionary transformation of the society, not in the noose or summary executions, draconian laws or incarcerations. **All progressive and democratic voices should thereby stand opposed to Death Penalty.**

Martyrs are not buried, they are sown! Oppose the fascist repression by the Indian State on the People of Kashmir! Stand in solidarity with the Azadi of Kashmir!!

The 64 years of Indian occupation of Kashmir have been synonymous with death, destruction and pillage. **In a glaring testimony to the gruesome brutalities of the Indian state in Kashmir, the recent report of the J&K State Human Rights Commission revealed the existence of 2156 bullet ridden bodies in 38 mass unmarked graves in the districts of Baramulla, Bandipore, Handwara and Kupwara.** This excludes 574 bodies that were buried as unidentified but later identified as those of locals. All these bodies had earlier been handed over to the locals by the police for burial by classifying them as 'unidentified militants' killed in gunfire. However, in a vindication of what the Kashmiri people have been saying for years, the probe admits that these graves contain the dead bodies of enforced disappearances of people who were later executed in custody. Many of these bodies were defaced and some were even charred pointing towards the use of torture before their execution.

For the people of Kashmir, the state report however does not come as a surprise. A number of reports have time and again pointed to the existence of mass graves all over the valley, so much so that it had become difficult for the state to deny it anymore. The pro-azaadi leadership of Kashmir has pointed out how it is precisely to cover up such killings that the State Human Rights Commission has now come out with its own report, with figures far less than the original. Pointing to the active complicity of the Indian state in the 'disappearances' and the killings, they have already pointed to the meaninglessness of any state initiated probe into the matter.

The Indian state is not even making any pretence of providing justice. The puppet chief minister Omar Abdullah has categorically denied the possibility of any kind of immediate probe into the matter, knowing well that the elapse in time will make any probe later redundant as the chances of DNA extraction would reduce greatly. What he instead wants is the setting up of a *'truth and reconciliation'* committee. The people of Kashmir and the democratic and progressive people elsewhere do not need any such spurious committees to ascertain the crimes of Indian state in Kashmir. Right from the historically denied right to self determination for the past 64 years, to the more than 80,000 killings, thousands of 'disappearances', the presence of 8 lakh armed personnel, fake encounters, rapes, torture chambers are facts that cannot be 'reconciled' with. The comprador ruling elite of Kashmir and their Indian masters might want the people to 'reconcile' with their demand for *azaadi*, but for the people of Kashmir the political right to self determination including secession is non-negotiable. On the other hand, the absurdity of NGO-ised form of political intervention which reduces the entire question of Kashmir to mere human rights violation limits is such that it limits itself to demanding 'justice' from parties actively complicit in the genocide of Kashmiris.

The history of Kashmir is not merely one of state repression, it is also one of the indomitable spirit of the Kashmiri people in their struggle for freedom. The Kashmiri people are today fighting one of the most valiant liberation struggles and all democratic people should stand in solidarity with them.

Sunday, February 9, 2014, 1:00pm

MARTYRS, RESISTANCE & KASHMIR'S ROAD TO FREEDOM: REMEMBERING SHAHEED AFZAL GURU

and it continues to do so now in the name of 'fighting terror'. According to the 35th report of the Law Commission on death penalty there were 1,422 executions in 16 states between 1953 and 1963 alone. It is estimated that the number of those executed after 1947 is over 4,300. The Indian state has the highest number of custodial killings in the world. Between 2001 and 2009 alone, 1184 people have been killed in custody in India, while 90% have died within 48 hours after being taken into police custody. This figure however does not include the thousands of extra-judicial killings in fake 'encounters' and custodial deaths. Moreover, the Indian state has given complete immunity to its killers in uniform through laws like AFSPA, DAA, UAPA, NSA and other draconian laws.

Be it the cold-blooded murder of CPI (Maoist) spokesperson Azad and thousands of revolutionaries, killing of hundreds of civil liberties activists, unaccounted number of fake encounters and 'disappearances' in Kashmir, witch-hunt of the minorities, use of Salwa Judum, paramilitary and the army against the adivasis, or the death sentence to Perarivalan, Santhan and Murugan – all are part of the state's plan to wipe out dissent in one way or the other. State violence is the essence of the semi-feudal, semi-colonial structure of India. While on the one hand, post-1947 India has seen deepening disparities and widening gap between the rich and poor fettered by the morass of the caste system, it has also seen the emergence of militant movements on fundamental questions of land, livelihood, national liberation and dignity. All these movements have been a direct challenge to the feudal-comprador bureaucratic ruling classes that have held the economy and the society backward. History is witness to the fact that no amount of state repression in its myriad forms has been able to suppress the militant and revolutionary struggles of the people. While we demand the abolition of capital punishment and the unconditional release of ALL political prisoners, it is only by strengthening the revolutionary movement that we can put an end to all kinds of judicial and the extra-judicial killings and repression in all other forms.

February 18, 2013

Fascist noose and a Hangman 'Democracy': Resist the Indian state's judicially orchestrated elimination of political dissent!

"..what a state of society is that which knows of no better instrument for its own defense than the hangman." - Marx

Oh Enemy
One fine morning in the
wee hours
After tying behind the back
The hands that fought for sunrise
After blindfolding the eyes
That looked for sunrise
After putting the noose
around the throat
That spoke for sunrise
You turn that side
Only to find the sky blood red
In that crimson lap
Someone's eyes have just opened.
- Varavara Rao

The Indian state is right now in its worst ever killing spree. Putting people mercilessly in the gallows and killing them in cold blood! The secret hanging of Afzal Guru has once again brought to the fore the barbaric practice of death penalty which the Indian state continues with, even after a great majority of countries have abolished it. Death penalty gives the state complete impunity to kill and is the worst form of cold-blooded judicial murder. While 140 countries in the world have abolished death penalty, as per the records of the National Crimes Records Bureau (NCRB), in India according to the Ministry of Home Affairs, a total of 1,455 convicts or an average of 132.27 convicts per year were sentenced to death penalty during 2001 to 2011. Death penalty, which the Indian state claims that it applies only in the "rarest of rare" case, is in actuality a routine tool in the hand of the ruling classes to browbeat and intimidate the oppressed and struggling masses. It is estimated that the number of those executed after 1947 is over 4,300.

Now after executing Afzal, the Indian state continues with its killing spree and has rejected the mercy petition of Simon, Meesakara Mathayan, Bilavendran and Gnanaprakasam who were a member of Veerappan's gang and had spent 18 years in jail already. The state had sat on their mercy petition for nine long years before rejecting it finally. In their case the state even more cruelly has merely communicated the execution orders orally and has given nothing in written. All the four convicts are above 60 years old, with the senior-most being 70. The decision to execute these old men who have spent nearly two decades in jail, display the violent retributive & vengeful character that Indian judicial system has acquired.

Along with continuing with this barbaric system, the Indian state off late has gone a step further in making it a clandestine affair. So the Indian state's cowardice goes hand in hand with its ruthlessness. Both Ajmal Kasab and Afzal Guru, contrary to the legal provisions and previous practices, were informed of the rejection of their petition and the news of their execution right before they were about to be killed. In Afzal Guru's case his family, who was the petitioner for clemency was not even informed about the imminent execution. This denied Afzal a chance of judicial intervention after the rejection of mercy petition. The Supreme Court intervened after the President rejected the mercy petition of Devinder Singh Bhullar, the Guwahati High Court had intervened after Mahendra Nath Das's petition was rejected and the Chennai High Court intervened after the mercy petition of Perarivaran, Saanthan and Murugan were rejected. But in accordance of the Indian state's self styled fascist tactics, people are now being executed secretively in the dark of the night that prevents any kind of further legal and political battle to thwart such barbaric attempts. Especially after the state was forced to backtrack even after declaring the date of execution for Perarivaran, Saanthan and Murugan owing to huge public outcry in 2011, they have adopted this tactics of cowardly secret executions.

Pakistan as well as Burma bordering India, Sri Lanka the island nation, Nepal, Bhutan and later Bangladesh are all in tandem with the setting up of Semi-colonies as per the dynamic set in motion by the Post World War II arrangement among the imperialist powers. All these newly carved out countries had been the battle ground of several emerging nationalities. In the early 1940s the subcontinent was a burning cauldron of political aspirations of various peoples—demand for Sindhi Homeland, demand for Sikh homeland, the struggle of the Pashtoons, the people of Jammu & Kashmir struggling against their oppressive Dogra ruler, the peoples of the North East such as the Nagas, Manipuris declaring their own independent sovereign nations, the demand of self-determination of the people of Asom etc. Further down the Santhals were demanding their own homeland; the Bhojpuri movement, the Aan question all had unfolded as genuine aspirations of the masses. Without doubt it would have been difficult for the transformation from a colony to semi-colony had all these aspirations been met with. The lure of a single market held hostage by the new rulers—the feudal-comprador combine—was the way out for imperialism using the conspiracy of the Hindu-Muslim 'divide' as the basis for the newly formed countries, India and Pakistan.

More than sixty years hence the subcontinent is still a prison house of oppressed nationalities and their aspirations for liberation. As mentioned above, many of these regions that come under the geographical location that we know as India today have been forcefully held as an 'integral part' of India through armed occupation. And this occupation is made possible through the imposition of various draconian laws and the blatant violations of basic human rights of the people perpetrated in the name of Counter-terrorism. With the aggressive implementation of the policies of Liberalisation-Privatisation-Globalisation, the rigour of the dynamic of combined and uneven development resulting in deepening tentacles of exploitation and oppression have only resulted in the sharpening of the political aspirations of these peoples. Moreover, the heightened levels of exploitation of imperialist-led development have resulted in the emergence of new nationalities with fresh demands of their Right to Self-determination, including secession.

At the same time, Indian state in the interest of imperialist capital and feudal-comprador bourgeoisie combine has launched Operation Green Hunt to crush the growing peoples' movement within India. Such designs of the state to suppress peoples' movements are not new. State violence is the essence and last resort of the semi-feudal and semi-colonial structure of India. While on the one hand Post-47 India witnessed struggles for National Self Determination, the deepening disparities and widening gap between the rich and poor fettered by the morass of the caste system also saw the emergence of movements for livelihood, land and dignity. All these movements were a direct challenge to the feudal-comprador bureaucrat combine that had held the economy and the society backward. The spark of Naxalbari in the 60s raised all these contradictions as the fundamental obstacles for the peoples of the subcontinent to realize their freedoms. Many a student-intellectual-academic-writer-journalist who raised the question of brutal injustice in the form of inequality, discrimination, mistreatment as inherent problems in the edifice of the Indian state faced the brunt of the Indian state in the form of disappearance, fake encounters etc. And people who have exposed the Indian State's atrocities and challenged its very structure by demanding what belongs to the people have always been silenced by the very Indian state. Hundreds of civil rights activists have been murdered by the Indian state in cold blood. At a time when the state is intensifying its repressive machinery against all voices of dissent, we remember some such activists who were martyred in their struggle for demanding justice for the people.

Jalil Andrabi was a lawyer in Srinagar High Court, and a well known Civil Liberties activist of Kashmir. He was instrumental in documenting and exposing heinous acts of repression by the Indian army, paramilitary and police forces in Kashmir. His uncompromising struggle to seek justice for the targets of false encounters, rapes, torture, illegal detention, 'disappearance' and other forms of repression is intimately connected with the violence that was directed at him. His untiring activitism had become a thorn in the eyes of the Indian expansionists. Within two weeks after he spoke at the International Seminar on the Nationality Question organized by All India Peoples' Resistance Forum (AIPRF) in February 1996 in Delhi, Andrabi was abducted and killed by the Indian armed forces. He was picked up by the Army on 9 March, tortured for days and his body thrown on the banks of the Jhelum, which was discovered on 29 March. His killers are scot-free even today, protected by the Indian state and its legal system. and not because of some technical lags, but because of the open collusion of Indian state, sections of judiciary, the police and intelligence with the military. Andrabi declared in the seminar *"I would briefly try to give the humanitarian aspect of the Kashmir issue as the problem of denial of fundamental human rights. You all know that self determination is a fundamental human right. It is non derogative human right that no country under any circumstance can suspend. Self determination has been accepted the UN as a fundamental human right since 1950 by virtue of that right they can freely determine their political future"*. Andrabi dedicated his life to seek justice for the Kashmiris – and above all their democratic right to an independent, free and sovereign nation-state for Kashmir – a demand that the forces of the status-quo in India have so far refused to yield to.

Jaswant Singh Khalra was the General Secretary of the Human Rights wing of Shiromani Akali Dal. He was involved in a campaign to highlight the plight of thousands of people who 'disappeared' after being arrested by the Punjab police in the 1980s and early 1990s in the context of Khalistan movement. He collected evidence that conclusively proved that Punjab police was burning dead bodies to hide the evidence of extra-judicial killings, whether through torture in police custody or in staged encounters. He collected documentary evidence including cremation-ground records showing an extraordinarily and suspiciously high number of 'unidentified' bodies along with damning evidence that the police deliberately tried to hide the identity of the dead persons and even made false entries in the records to obscure the circumstances of their murder. The bodies burnt at the cremation ground were those of people who had been picked up by the police for interrogation, and who had died in custody, often due to brutal torture. These were the bodies of

Shariq was left in the police custody of the Kishtwar police. As journalists were not even allowed to be part of the court proceedings, Abid Hussain was remanded to NIA's custody till 5th October while Aamir has been sent to judicial custody.

The entire course of 'investigations' have once again brought out the communal fascist character of the Indian state. What else they have once again brought to the fore is **the rat race** that ensues between different investigative departments to come up with their own versions, each more 'true' than the previous. So for one, it is the work of the non-existent Indian Mujahideen to avenge the Batla House 'encounter', while for NIA it is the work of the Dhaka based HuJI to avenge the death sentence given to Afzal Guru! In both the cases, by ripping up what it terms as the collective conscience' of the people, what the Indian state seeks to obscure is how in each of the two cases – be it the fake encounter at Batla House or false implication of Afzal Guru, all the institutions of the state, be it the police, judiciary or the media, worked in collision to manufacture evidence and implicate and execute innocent Muslim youth.

What these agencies will never bring to the fore is the involvement of the Hindu fascists in these attacks. The media's follow up to the blast has been once again extremely shameful and has remained wilfully silent on the possibility of the Hindu fascist forces behind this attack. One has not forgotten the chilling confessions made by Aseemanand last year which clearly exposed the involvement of the sangh giroh in the Ajemr sharif, mecca Masjid, Malegaon, Samjhauta Express or Nanded blast. What this systematic brutalisation and witch hunt of the Muslims vindicates once again is how it is not just the domain of the Sangh and the ruling class in totality is Hindu fundamentalist in nature. **On the other hand, the attack on Kashmiri youth yet again is another attempt on the part of the Indian ruling class to silence the voice for Azadi.** But Kashmiris have braved all this and much more valiantly for the past 60 years in their struggle for Azadi. The false cases, arrests, torture, disappearances, fake encounters and all the military might of the Indian state can never suppress the struggle for Azadi of Kashmir.

Not empty rhetorical slogans of 'secularism' or 'communal peace and harmony', but a united resilient struggle of the oppressed masses along with the ongoing revolutionary movement can only challenge and defeat this brahminical communal fascist-expansionist state and it is only by strengthening the ongoing revolutionary movement that we can put an end to this.

September 7, 2011

DSU Public Meeting: Abolition of Death Penalty & the Struggle for Justice

6 September 2011

Public Meeting:

ABOLITION OF DEATH PENALTY & THE STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE

Speakers: Varavara Rao (Revolutionary Poet)
A.K. Ramakrishnan (Professor, SIS, JNU)

9:30pm | 6 September
TONIGHT | Kaveri Mess

Faced with a mass upsurge of the people of Tamil Nadu, the execution of Perarivalan, Saanthan and Murugan which fixed for 9 September, had to be stayed for eight weeks by the Madras High Court on 30 August. Thousands of students, lawyers, professionals poured out on the streets against the hanging of the three, falsely implicated in the Rajiv Gandhi assassination case and wrongly imprisoned for nearly 20 years. Over 10,000 people gathered outside the High Court to protest against the death penalty. Three women lawyers sat on an indefinite hunger strike, trains were blocked at various places including Salem, Kovai, Vellore and Chennai, district collectors of Salem and Kovai were barricaded in their office by hundreds of law students, protest demonstrations, rallies and meetings were organized all over the state. Senkodi, a woman lawyer unfortunately self immolated herself in front of the Tahsildar's office in Kanchevaram against the execution order and later succumbed to injuries on the way to the hospital. The protests were followed by intense crackdown by the state on the people, and hundreds of them were arrested and illegally detained for long durations.

Immediately after the High Court stayed the hanging by citing 'inordinate and inexplainable' delay in disposing the petition of the three to the President, the Tamil Nadu Assembly adopted a resolution asking for the commutation of the death sentence. However, the Assembly resolution has no legal binding on the case and is merely an act of political gimmick to pacify and deceive the widespread public outcry that erupted across Tamil Nadu. Jayalalitha claims that the state government is powerless with regard to commuting the death sentence. This is a deliberate lie. **Any sentence, including the death penalty can be commuted if the state's cabinet passes a resolution and sends it to the governor, which he or she is obliged to accept. Only such a resolution would be legally binding and effective in quashing the death sentence.** The reluctance of the Jayalalitha-led AIDMK government to pass a cabinet resolution once again highlights their ruling-class opportunism, while shedding crocodile's tears under pressure from mass protests. Though the court's stay order is a step in the right direction, the continued injustice meted out to the three condemned prisoners cannot be ensured unless they are freed from prisons without any further delay.

Capital punishment is nothing but a judicially orchestrated elimination of political dissidents. Fascist tactics of execution have been used time and again to set an example or to teach a lesson to the people who dare to challenge the might of the Indian state. The history of Indian state since the transfer of power is replete with numerous such instances of political executions and hangings to crush peoples' struggles, reminding us of the days of the British Raj. Maqbool Butt, one of the prominent freedom fighters of Kashmir, was executed in 1984 to eliminate not only a political dissident, but as a warning to the entire Kashmiri nation who raised the demand of Azadi. Today, Perarivalan, Saanthan, Murugan, Afzal Guru, Devinder Singh Bullar, Jagtar Singh Hawara, Balwar Singh, Jiten Marandi and many others have been condemned to death by the courts and were also subjected to the worst forms of torture at the hands of the police. The same state and its judiciary grants bail to Brahmeswar Singh, the landlord and founder of the 'upper'-caste Ranveer Sena, also the mastermind of Laxmanpur Bathe, Mianpur, Bathanitola and a series of massacres involving the brutal killings of at least 277 dalits. The current desperation of the Indian state to hang the three persons falsely implicated in the Rajiv Gandhi assassination case is also not difficult to understand. Actively complicit for the past many decades in crushing the movement for independent Eelam, the Indian state today wants to extend another gesture of support to the murderous Rajapaksya regime by hanging the three.

Capital punishment is one more tool of repression in the hands of the Indian state. The self proclaimed 'world's largest democracy' justified death penalty when it was challenged in 1983 by stating that 'hanging does not involve torture, barbarity, humiliation or degradation'.

On August 8th 2012, the Kolkata High Court in a landmark judgment granted nine activists arrested by the notorious National Investigation Agency (NIA), the status of political prisoners. A month before this, these activists who were booked under the draconian UAPA had appealed to the court for the same. Immediately after this judgment both the NIA and centre has come out strongly against the judgment and are planning to appeal against the verdict. The MHA too, immediately brought out a statement against the said verdict, saying that such a status to 'hardened criminals' waging war against the state will become a wrong precedence and that this would affect the morale of the security forces who "sacrifice their lives fighting these anti-national elements".

International law however distinguishes between offences committed out of personal motives and those committed for achieving collective political goals. Since World War II, the war crime tribunals have established in the international community that gross violations of humanitarian law have been common in times of war and therefore advocated immunity for prisoners of war. The argument behind was that war results because two political entities or ideologies clash, and not due to motivations for personal gain but by collective goals. Though this has been adopted as a common standard in war tribunals, most countries of the world today, flout these covenants for imperialist interests. Thus, neither the Indian Penal Code nor the CRPC recognizes offences of political nature. It is due to some relatively pro-people judges that there have been some progressive judgments which has gone beyond the legal framework that today the Kolkata high court grounded the current judgment on. There have been various definitions and interpretation of who is a political prisoner, and what can be classified as political offence. Broadly, the term denotes any individual or group who commits any crime including criminal offences like murder, by following a particular ideology with a political motive devoid of personal greed or animosity. The above mentioned judgment extends this definition to waging war against the state and being members of banned organization is also a political offence.

In the South Asian context, the entrenched semi-colonial nature of the state makes the might of the imperialist order even more ruthless. The Indian state for example, has since its very inception after the transfer of power deprived its people of basic minimum of resources and opportunities and has now, at the behest of big corporate houses turned on to a new chapter of aggravated violence and extreme exploitation against the people who live in abject poverty and unimaginable hardships in the country in the garb of so-called *development* and Liberalization-Privatisation-Globalisation. Resisting this inhuman and state, a wave of peoples' movements can be witnessed in the sub-continent, which are anti-displacement, anti-feudal, anti-caste and patriarchy, movements for land and livelihood, anti-big dams and SEZs, movements for national liberation by oppressed nationalities etc. The resistance of the people come from different world view, contrasting ideologies challenging the logic of so-called progress espoused by a state and ruling class that has completely capitulated itself to imperialist masters. In this scenario, tactics such as 'war on terror' on Islam or Muslims, unlawful incarceration of Kashmiri people by framing them in bomb blast cases, abducting and killing people from Kashmir and North east to make them 'disappear', torturing 'Maoists' in the name of fighting 'the greatest internal security threat', are gross violations of human rights of these masses fighting for life, justice and dignity. And it is in this backdrop, that the case for recognition of political prisoners status, or its consistent scuttling by the judiciary needs to be pitched.

The atrocious response of the state to this judgment comes with no surprise. Giving the status of political prisoners and accepting political offence would directly mean that the policy of the state is anti- people and undemocratic, it would mean that the state recognizes the fact that these people are imprisoned for their political conviction for the betterment of the life of the oppressed masses and not for any *criminal* offence. It would be then answerable, even by its own law, to the inhuman tortures faced by the political prisoners, the hundreds cold blooded murders that it has committed in the name of 'encounters'. It would have to live its worst nightmare – giving legitimacy to the struggles of the Dalits, Tribals, Muslims, Kashmiris, North eastern states and other oppressed sections of the society and the Maoists whom this fascist Indian state preys on every day with complete impunity.

Thousands of people right now are languishing in the various jails of India, Kashmir and the North East under atrocious conditions. India tops the list in the entire world for highest number of deaths in custody. Torture, murder of prisoners and inhuman living conditions within prisons are the sordid reality of these thousands of people who have been either framed or arrested for standing up against a system that is utterly oppressive, unjust, unequal and even inhuman. Everyone within a prison deserves to live with basic humanity and political prisoners in particular must be given a special status that they deserve. It is for this basic political right that the progressive and democratic forces in the country must unite and raise their voices.

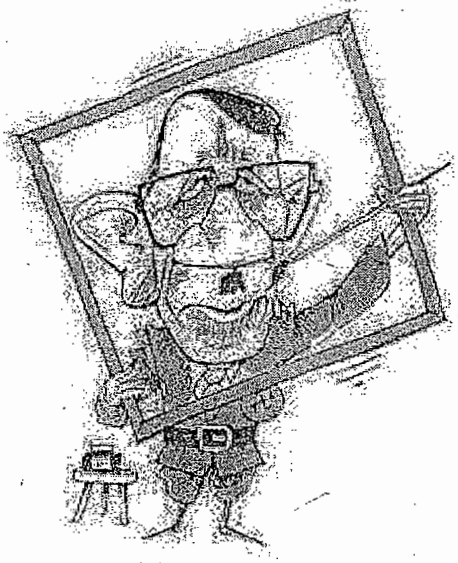
September 28, 2011

Expose and defeat the Indian state's nefarious designs to implicate Kashmiri youth in the Delhi High Court Blast!!

Hours after the bomb blast at the Delhi High Court on 7th September, the Indian 'investigative' agencies began the witch-hunt of Muslims that has become usual after every such bomb blast. Random arrests and illegal detentions were made the next day onwards from different parts of India and Kashmir. A 14-year-old boy from Jharkhand was arrested by the West Bengal police; two people were arrested from Kolkata by the West Bengal police; the Rajasthan Police detained two Jammu and Kashmir residents from Alwar district; four former district unit chiefs of the Student Islamic Movement of India were picked up from Mumbai. Over 60 people were detained by NIA for different durations in Kishtwar for 'questioning', and three of them, 19 year old Aamir Abbas Dev, 16 year old Abid Hussain and 14 year old Shariq Ahmed were finally 'officially' arrested after illegal confinement for a couple of days. Aamir's brother has also been detained by the police.

The people of Kishtwar have erupted in protest against the arbitrary arrests, detentions and torture. Expressing concern specially over the targeting of minors and school going children, the people of Kishtwar lodged strong protests in different parts. As reports of torture poured in, many came out on the streets and gheraoed the police station. Kishtwar also observed a complete shutdown on the 12th of September against the continuing detentions and harassment. In the face of huge protests against the false arrests and branding, the police and the NIA surreptitiously whisked away the two of them, Aamir and Abid, during night to Jammu from where they were flown to Delhi, while

- Bal Thackeray in an interview to India Today in 1984



One need not delve into classified police documents or do a sting operation to extract what Bal Thackeray stood for his entire life. All his views, like an *upright* and an *honest* fascist have always been expressed openly to the media or in public rallies with utter belligerence and pride. Thackeray never made any qualms about his hate mongering against the Muslims, his love for Hitler, his call for *Hindu* suicide bombers, his jingoism against workers from other states. And never did he ever sugar coat his rabid communal, jingoist, chauvinistic agenda. He was always very clear in his words and intentions all through his life. And this always had the complete backing of the Indian state and all the parliamentary parties.

Thackeray's list of enemies was a long one – a list which he and his *sena* identified and with complete impunity from the Indian state butchered in broad daylight. And this list includes all the oppressed masses be it the workers, dalits, Muslims or the oppressed nationalities like the people of Kashmir. Whenever these oppressed masses have asserted and fought back, Bal Thackeray's vigilante Sena has faithfully reached to crush them. It started in 1969 with the killing of 69 people from Karnataka in what were the first organized killings by the Shiv Sena. In 1970 he proudly (and once again openly) congratulated his boys for successfully murdering Krishna Desai, a popular trade union leader from CPI. From the 1970's, Thackeray and his sena played the role of the most faithful agent of the Bombay industrialists in violently breaking working class movements. Little wonder then that in his funeral Rahul Bajaj, the chairperson of Bajaj Auto fondly remembered how Thackeray helped him in sorting out some worker related dispute! As for his role in the organized pogroms against the Muslims, it is too well known and has been indicted by various reports. His pompous flaunting of "Marathi manoos" gave full support to his equally belligerent and lumpen nephew's agenda of 'Rebuilding Maharashtra' by cleansing it of the people from Bihar and UP. He and his army was also behind the various incidents of lynching and humiliating dalits.

Thackeray and his Sena is in reality the Indian state's underbelly of communal-fascism and Hindu majoritarianism – one which it has softly nurtured and carefully covered with the shrouds of so called parliamentary democracy and liberal pretentions of secularism. The Indian state has always provided complete impunity to Thackeray and his likes. Despite his belligerent speeches, open hate mongering or his role in organised pogroms against Muslims, he was never even charge sheeted. The media which went berserk eulogising the Hitler admiring Thackeray, never for once spoke about how he had engineered pogroms, propounded hatred, challenged that the Sri Krishna Committee members will be burnt alive, talked about shooting down human rights activists with sten gun, had the dreams of "wiping out Kashmir" and so on. After his death, the state funeral that was honoured upon him and the unending obituaries fondly remembering his 'straight-forwardness' and 'services' to the nation only reflects how notwithstanding the party in power, the colour of the Indian state remains saffron! After all the Indian state was only officially acknowledging his relentless services to its fascist and anti-people agenda which Thackeray served all through his life.

When many progressive sections were heaving a sigh of relief at the death of this murderer, the Maharasthra police enforced a complete shutdown in Maharasthra, advised people to stay indoors and even declared a high alert to make way for Thackeray's corpse. Amazed at all this, a 21 year old Muslim girl simply made the *mistake* of expressing her outrage on a social networking site – a comment which one of her friends liked. What followed was just a small example of how our 'liberal/secular democracy' works – scores of Shiv Sainiks vandalized her uncle's clinic and she along with her friend were arrested. They were released only next day after signing a bail bond of Rs.15,000 each and still have to report to the local police station till the "enquiry" goes on against them! While many of us have been enraged at this act, but for a state which tops in custodial killings and where thousands of Muslim youth are languishing in jails on false charges, when an all-out war has been declared on the struggling masses of central and eastern India, Shaheen Dhada's arrest is probably a negligible incident.

Thackeray's life, deeds and now the paraphernalia around his death all reveal the fascist, anti-people character of the Indian state. The strongest ally of imperialism has always been fascism, and the Indian state which has completely capitulated in front of the imperialist forces needs the Thackerays, Modis and the Togadias to further its machinations on the people. All the foundations of the Indian state has been built on the graves of the oppressed masses – be it the workers, peasants, Muslim minorities, dalits, adivasis or the oppressed nationalities. Today when all these people are facing the constant wrath of the various *senas* propped by the Indian state and its imperialist masters, what is required is a revolutionary unity amongst all the oppressed to strike back at the fascists by overhauling the current oppressive social order and building a new society that will be free from all kinds of oppression.

December 27, 2012

The Struggle for the Status for Political Prisoners: The Recent Kolkata High Court Judgment and its Implications of the People's Movement

protests broke out in. In Pattan town five bridges: Cement bridge, Azad guni bridge, Khanpora bridge, Gulnar bridge and SRTC foot bridge were blocked to prevent protests. But foiling all efforts of the state, massive protests rocked the valley and Jammu and other areas. The people raised pro-freedom slogans and demanded immediate action against the murderers. The state forces, as usual resorted to more repression and more than 50 people have been injured today in various places in the protests. The Indian corporate media is maintaining a criminal role in underplaying the massacre perpetrated by the BSF in Ramban. While sticking to the number of deaths to the official army hand outs, their only concern seems to be the halting of Amarnath Yatra which has been suspended. This too has not been because of the protests, but because of the huge deployment of the armed forces, something they conveniently silence to vilify these protests.

The Ramban massacre perpetrated by the Indian paramilitary is no mere "excess", or just another "violation of human right". Every such instance of brutality by the armed forces of India – Army, Rashtriya Rifles, CRPF or the BSF – and their very presence is because of the forcible occupation of Jammu and Kashmir by the Indian state. The unfulfillment of the promise for Plebiscite made in the United Nations in 1952, the prolonged suppression of peaceful movement till 1980s, the imprisonment of elected representatives in 1989, the presence of 8 lakh armed forces, or even the thousands of rapes, murder and disappearances are all indicators of how Jammu and Kashmir has being forcibly annexed by the expansionist Indian state. The thousand of rapes, torture centers, illegal detention, kidnapping, fake encounters, crackdowns, and massacres like in Ramban all bears brutal testimony of this ugly occupation. It has however, not been one a one sided tale of oppression, and the people of Kashmir have been valiantly fighting for their freedom against the occupation. The over stretched efforts of the puppet ruling class within Kashmir, the repression, the vitroilic media campaigns have never deterred these valiant fighters. **Massacres such as that in Ramban only strengthens the resolve of the masses in Jammu and Kashmir to carry on this fight until they get freedom from Indian occupation. It is now up to the progressive and democratic sections of the Indian society to show their complete solidarity with the fight of the Kashmiri people for their inalienable right to self determination *including* the right to secede from the Indian union.**

May 23, 2013

Condemn the authoritarian denial of the right to protest to 150 Kashmiri families in Jantar Mantar & the arrest of Yasin Malik by the Indian State! Denounce the denial of the right to hold press conference in solidarity with thepeople of Kashmir by the Press Club of India at the behest of the Indian state!

"Today, while Jantar Mantar has been shut for the democratic right to protest, now even the Press Club of India has been shut to our fundamental right to freedom of expression. The Press, which is supposed to be the fourth pillar of democracy, has fallen prey to the control of

Indian State, its Police force and the right wing."

-Vara Vara Rao

In display of its undemocratic a id increasingly fascist tactics, the Indian state yesterday disallowed 150 Kashmiris from exercising their democratic right to stage a two-day hunger strike at Jantar Mantar. Alongside, the Indian state with vicious promptness arrested Yasin Malik and took him into 'preventive custody' who had come to participate in the protest of the Kashmiri families. Each of these families have one or more of their family members who have either been targets of forced disappearances or have been languishing in Indian jails for decades for the 'crime' of fighting for their inalienable right to self-determination. Not only were their democratic right to protest and their demand the for the release of the political prisoners denied, these families were also harassed, heckled, threatened with arrest, surrounded and detained by the Police in Jamia Nagar.

Protesting this draconian move, the Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners [CRPP] called for a press conference in the Press Club India. But the same fascist tactic of silencing repeated itself as under the clear instructions of the Indian State, the Press Club officials (themselves journalists) canceled the booking for the Press Conference at the last minute. The officials branded the program as 'anti-national' which again is the language of the Indian State to justify the suppression of all dissenting voices. This is the first time the Press Club of India canceled such an event at the venue in the name of 'protecting sentiments' of the hindu right wing communal jingoist nationalism. Further, the officials, along with the Delhi Police and right wing organizations gathered at the venue, bodily pushed and heckled Vara Vara Rao and others attending the Press Conference. Aam Aadmi Party cadres were seen holding placards wearing party-caps along with other right wing organisations. Once again we see the clear collusion of the Indian State, its police, its press and the right wing forces to brand the genuine struggle for Azaadi of the people of Kashmir as "terrorism".

The families also included that of Maqbul Butt's as they raised the legitimate demand for the bodies of Butt and Afzal Guru that have been kept behind the high walls of Tihar jail. So behind all the sound and fury, the jack boots and the draconian laws, the Indian state is plagued by the fear of even the bodies of the people's martyrs as the idea they fought for would certainly outlive their hangmen.

November 21, 2012

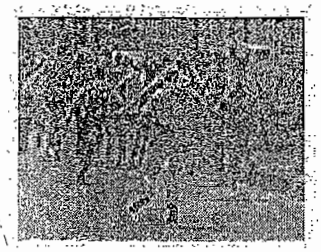
The demon, his death and the drama: Bal Thackeray and the ridiculous farce of democracy and secularism in India!

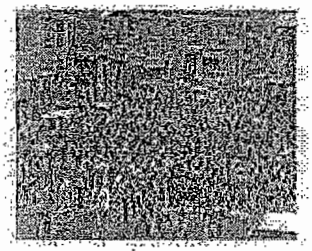
"They [Muslims] are spreading like a cancer and should be operated on like a cancer. The... country should be saved from the Muslims and the police should support them [Hindu Maha Sangh] in their struggle..."

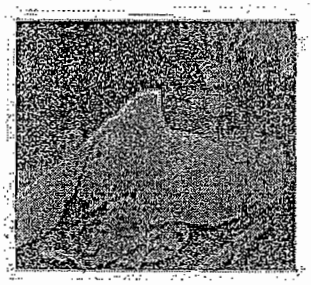
Nine people killed, more than 40 injured, by the murderous BSF of the occupying Indian army in Ramban, Kashmir!

Down with state terror and unbridled repression by the occupying mercenary Indian forces!

Stand in solidarity with the masses of Kashmir fighting for their self-determination and *Azaadi*!!!







Nine people were murdered by the Border Security Forces in Ramban, in Kashmir yesterday, as the murderous forces open fired on a protesting mass. More than 40 people were injured, some of them critically. The people in Ramban were protesting as the same BSF goons had entered the local mosque previous night and manhandled the imam who was leading the Taraweeh Namaz of the ongoing Ramzan. The communal forces also tore apart and desecrated the Quran. As the people gathered in thousands to protest against this atrocious incident around the BSF camp next morning, they simply took recourse to open firing and killed and injured the people.

Shedding crocodile's tears on this atrocious massacre by the occupying army, the Indian state and its Kashmiri counterparts have immediately intensified the state repression. The whole valley has been put under curfew, mobile internet services are blocked, Jammu Srinagar highway has been shut down and leaders of the Kashmir freedom struggle has immediately been put under house arrest! Media has been restricted to enter the region. Indian corporate media as usual is underplaying this atrocious massacre, safeguarding the army, even playing down the number of deaths.

Brutal repression by the occupying Indian army is nothing new in Kashmir. In 2010, in a span of one year, more than 120 unarmed protesters were gunned down by the mercenary goons of Indian occupying forces. Murder, rape, curfew, torture, illegal detention, fake encounters, disappearances, have all become a part of daily life in Kashmir perpetrated by the occupying Indian state. But this naked repression only emboldens the people of Kashmir and their valiant fight for independence! Let us stand in solidarity with their brave fight against repression and for freedom!

July 21, 2013

Condemn the bloody massacre of protesters in Ramban district of Jammu and Kashmir by the mercenaries of the Indian state! History is testimony to the fact that such acts of repression have never been able to break the resolve of the people in their fight for freedom and dignity!

On the night of 17th July, in the Jimbalan area of Village Dharam in Ramban, Jammu and Kashmir, a group of BSF men barged in the hall of a local *Madrasa* and after manhandling the imam and severely beating up a seventeen year old boy, they started vandalizing it. Alleging this Madrassa shelters 'militants', they ordered that the Tarawee namaz which takes place in Ramzan be stopped and tore down books, including the Quran. The communal nature of the mercenary gangs of the occupying Indian state is well known. This is not the first time they have disrespected the religious beliefs of the Kashmiri people. When the next day the local people gathered in protest asking for punishment of the BSF criminals, more BSF goons came out of their camp and opened fire at the protestors. The exact number of those killed in the ensuing firing is yet unknown. The corporate media has been categorically instructed to keep the count at four. Some local reporters however, who did dare to go to Ramban, have confirmed of having seen at least nine bodies and the count is rising. According to eye witnesses, Manzoor Ahmed, a college professor was squarely shot in the head from behind, while he was addressing the crowd. More than seventy people have been injured and many of them are still battling for their lives. **In a word, what happened in Ramban is nothing short of a state orchestrated massacre.**

What happened after the massacre is even more atrocious. While the entire Jammu and Kashmir has erupted in massive protests, the state Indian state has responded with intensified repression. Curfew has been clamped down in all major parts of Jammu and Kashmir to prevent protests. The Jammu-Kashmir highway and the Jawahar Tunnel has been blocked by the army. But defying curfew people have poured out in the streets in huge numbers. In Doda, Rajaouri, Kurhama, Kargil, Pattan, Pathalan, Baramullah, Anantnag, Phulawama, Shopian, Kulgam, and many other places, huge protests took place. In Srinagar town itself, despite complete curfew and massive presence of police, CRPF and other para-military forces with sophisticated weapons and riot gears, huge

When the Indian state murdered Afzal Guru in the most clandestine manner, it intended to send a chilling message to the Kashmiri people struggling for national liberation and also hoped to forestall the demands of justice for Afzal Guru and his family that came from all progressive and democratic sections of the Indian society. Much to the chagrin of the Indian State the people of both Kashmir and India rose up against the barbaric act. The State on its part responded with characteristic brutality. Protests in various parts of the country were suppressed, dissidents beaten up, threatened and, detained or arrested while curfew was imposed in Kashmir.

Kamran, a Kashmiri who was a PhD scholar at EFLU, Hyderabad and, who was at the forefront of some of such protests, was persecuted by the university administration and the police and ultimately driven to his death. On the one hand, the administration and police version said that the student committed suicide because he was distressed by a quarrel whereas Kashmiris allege that he was tortured and harassed while in police custody. Only an independent fact-finding committee as the students of EFLU have demanded can establish the truth behind Kamran's death. However in its attempts to cover up the turn of events that led to the death of Kamran, the EFLU administration has refused to include student representatives in any committee on the pretext that an elected students union does not exist. More shamefully after his death, the administration has started spreading baseless slander and character assassination of Kamran. EFLU's Vice Chancellor on **Mudassir** recordsaid, without an iota of evidence to substantiate his claims, that Kamran had sexually abused his roommate! The students of EFLU have since been agitating for justice and demanding that those guilty of the harassment be brought to the book. Meanwhile, Kashmir saw a two-day shutdown as a mark of protest against Kamran's death.

On Tuesday, the Rashtriya Rifles ransacked the houses of the people of Baramulla who were observing the second day of shutdown. When the people of Baramulla came out on the streets to protest against this persecution as well as in their continued demand to bring back the remains of Azal Guru to Kashmir, the troops of the 46th battalion opened fire, killing a 24-year-old Tahir Ahmed Sofi on the spot. Sofi's death was hardly a bolt from the blue. A few days ago, two protesters drowned to death while fleeing from the security forces near Sumbal in north Kashmir. In the last twenty years, the Indian occupation of Kashmir has led to the death of more than 70,000 people, besides numerous rapes and enforced 'dissappearances'.

State oppression has long been a routine in Kashmir, the Northeast and Central India but so has the valiant struggle that the people have been waging against the state. The murder of Afzal, Kamran and Sofi is not just indicative of the state's ruthlessness but is also revealing of its fear of the people it tramples. The future is a harbinger of the realisation of the dreams that hundreds of millions have dared to see. It can only usher a dawn where the masses have freedom from all forms of oppression. **DSU appeals to all progressive and democratic sections to condemn the continued persecution of Kashmiris both in Kashmir and India and to stand in solidarity with the Kashmiri national liberation struggle.**

Killings, Persecution & Army Occupation can never suppress the Kashmiri national liberation struggle!

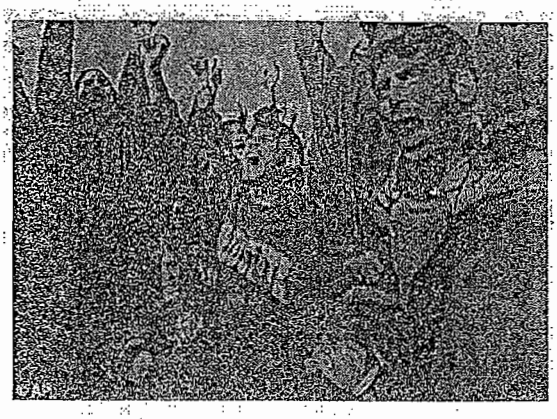
July 21, 2013

Condemn the massacre of protesters in the Ramban district of Jammu and Kashmir! Stand in solidarity with the masses of Jammu and Kashmir fighting for their self determination and Azadi!

the implementation of justice Verma Committee Recommendations or justice at large. The spirited protests that took place in the streets in Delhi was a spontaneous outburst against a brutal rape. That eclectic crowd of protesters also braved ruthless state repression in their pursuit for justice for the girl. The idea of justice was not uniform across the spectrum of these protests nor were they united in their demands. Rabid right wing elements tried to push their reactionary agenda of death penalty, increased policing etc. in the protests while, NGOs tried to wield their opportunist and reformist politics. Yet the protests also reflected the genuine anger of the people against a system where such instances of extreme violence on women take place on a daily basis in the country. Only an organized and militant struggle that challenges and ultimately vouches to smash this brahmanical, communal and patriarchal system can end all the forms of oppression and injustice. It is the fighting women of revolutionary movement who are not only fighting valiantly against this brutal state for their *jal-jangal-zamin*, dignity and livelihood but is also trying to form a new society devoid of all oppression and inequality will ultimately fight this patriarchal state and society. It is only through a strong alliance with all these oppressed section and nationalities along with the participation of Dalit women, women from minority communities and all other progressive women that the struggle against existing moralist and murderous "collective consciousness" of our society can be carried forward which would smash patriarchy and ensure freedom and justice.

March 16, 2012

Condemn the murder of Kashmiri youth at Lasser, Baramulla! Stand by the people of Kashmir in their heroic battle for Azadi!!



In yet another enraging as well as tragic incident, the army, the mercenaries of the Indian state, shot dead a Kashmiri youth named, Ashiq Hussain Rather, a 22 year old youth at Lasser village of Baramulla. He had rushed out of his house after his younger sister, Shugufta, screamed in panic on spotting soldiers on the premises of their house. He was killed on the spot by the notorious Rashtriya Rifles. "The soldiers gunned down Ashiq without any provocation and tried pushing us indoors. But they ran away when a crowd gathered and we raised a hue and cry," Mudassir Ahmad, Rather's relative, said.

According to the defense spokesperson's account, the army intelligence was reported regarding the presence of "terrorists" in the village, based on which a column of 32 Rashtriya rifles along with the police launched a joint operation that cordoned off the village. This supposedly "sparked panic" among the victim's family members and, "Amid the confusion that ensued, a soldier *accidentally fired his weapon*." The GOC, Wani and the DGP also of course *confirmed that the death was accidental*. And so it was ascertained that it was merely *an accidental discharge of a weapon in the hands of a Rashtriya Rifles soldier* that resulted in Ashiq Hussian's death. Yet another military court inquiry along with magisterial inquiry has been ordered, as after each such kill, apparently "*to prevent recurrence of such events*." They soon will furnish some more inconclusive reports while the mercenary perpetrators continue to be in the hunt as usual with impunity.

The biggest impunity for the 8 lakh Indian army and para-military stationed in Kashmir is the occupation. **And this of course, is no accident.** It is the 60 year old bloody occupation maintained through brute force with one army personnel for every six Kashmiri in the world's most militarized zone – and *not just* some laws like AFSPA – that bolsters this impunity. In fact draconian laws like the AFSPA are only to clear the hurdles for this brutal regime. So, even the CISF (that is not deployed for so called 'counter-insurgency') can invoke it to extract bail for its five personnel who shot dead Altaf Ahmad Sood, a 12th class student, in Baramulla on 2nd January when people of the area were protesting against the shortage of power. The thousands of skeletons in the mass graves, the 80,000 disappeared, the countless killed in the valley under the fascist occupation and the death of Ashiq Hussain or Sood – none are accidents. They are part of the systematic inhumanization and brutalization of a colony under the jackboot of its rulers.

But this however has failed to crush or even blunt the aspirations of Azaadi in the people of Kashmir. With every martyrdom, the aspirations for national self-determination have only rekindled as the streets in the valley have reverberated with slogans for Azaadi. And so with the death of Ashiq Hussain too, the locals, including women and children, took to the streets in protest. The mourning villagers guarded the body throughout the night, shouting slogans for Azaadi. On Saturday morning, the villagers laid the body on a stretcher and kept it on the Baramulla-Kupwara road at Lasser, demanding that the guilty be punished. Hundreds of villagers from adjacent villages participated in the mourning and protest. Fearful of this collective assertion and protest, finally the police lathicharged and lobbed teargas shells to forcibly disperse them.

Punish the mercenaries of the Indian state!

March 29, 2013

Resist the attempts to cover-up the mysterious death of Mudassir Kamran by EFLU Administration! Condemn firing on protestors in Kashmir by Rashtriya Rifles killing Tahir Sofi!

Mudassir Kamran

there are all legal measures to shield these illegal actions done under the cover of the AFSPA in Kashmir and North-east, PSA (Kashmir), the Disturbed Areas Act (DAA) etc. Draconian laws like Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) grants enormous powers to the security forces, to search, arrest, detain or shoot-to-kill anyone on the basis of suspicion-of course all in the name of 'maintaining public order' in so called 'disturbed areas'. The abuse of power by security forces has resulted in incidents of arbitrary detention, torture, rape, molestation, harrasement and killing. It also protects military personnel responsible for serious crimes from prosecution, creating a pervasive culture of impunity.

The people of Kashmir have long been subjected to terror, abuse and brutality of the Indian security forces. The armed occupation of the valley is the biggest method of the Indian state of controlling the popular aspirations of the people for self-determination. The people of the valley have consistently fought against state repression and occupation. The Shopian rape and murder case has pushed people to the brink of tolerance of state and army's violence and has again made them come out on the streets in large numbers to demand justice and independence of Kashmir.

March 29, 2013

Liberation of women requires a revolutionary social transformation & Revolutionary social transformation cannot take place without liberation of women!

Following the spate of large scale protests against the brutal gang rape of a paramedic student in a moving bus in Delhi and her subsequent death, the Indian government appointed the Justice Verma Committee to look into the amendment of criminal laws regarding rape and sexual violence to 'ensure speedy trials and justice'. the progressive nature of the report which raised very pertinent issues challenging the basic patriarchal approach of the IPC which defines rape as 'outraging the modesty of a woman' was immediately lashed at by the Hindu majoritian Indian state and its continuing feudal morality with a government ordinance.

The report specifically asserts that rape is not an instance of sexual penetration driven by passion, but a systemic and patriarchal assertion of power that attacks the autonomy of a woman. It challenges the distinction made by the IPC between rape inside marriages and outside of it. It strongly rejects the regressive assumption that marriage means unconditional consent, usually from the woman's side within a society like ours, for sexual acts. The chauvinist morality of the IPC is all the more visible when it seems to legitimize unwarranted sexual advances made by a man to the woman he is/was married to by deeming it less culpable. This is only reflective of deeply enrooted patriarchal relations of our existing social structures which time and again refuse to acknowledge the autonomy of a woman and merely reduces her into a sexual body that should either be 'habituated to sex' or remain a chaste upholder of feudal morality. The Verma Committee Report recognizes marital rape as a violation of the emotional integrity of the woman involved. It also recognizes the atrocious implications of the practice of the two finger test on complainants of rape which involves the physical examination of the expansion of vaginal muscles by inserting two fingers into her body. Such an insensitive practice indicates how patriarchy is structurally institutionalized even within medical practices whereby checking if a complainant is *habituated* to sex inadvertently leads to a moral judgment of that person's character thus trivializing the magnitude of a sexual offense. The report states that all forms of sexual advances or perpetration without the consent of a woman is tantamount to rape.

The Verma Committee report emphasizes the draconian and oppressive nature of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act which provides unreserved impunity to army and military personnel in regions like Kashmir and Manipur. It recommends the withdrawal of the special requirement of a sanction from the central government for the prosecution of armed forces personnel when a sexual crime is alleged against him. Today, we remember the appalling incident of the mass rape of more than 53 women in the village of Kunan Poshpora in Kupwara district of Kashmir by the Indian army on 23rd February 1991 and the rape and heinous murders of Asiya and Nilofar in Shopian and Manorama in Manipur. Under the garb of the security provided by the State through Operation Green Hunt in the regions of Chattisgarh, Telengana and other bordering areas, the countless inhuman atrocities committed by military forces and police officials upon Adivasis women increase by the day. It is the increased structural impunity sanctioned by the State to the military forces which renders the people of these regions incapable of even demanding preliminary justice. What regular and systemized execution of sexual crimes on women in these areas reveal is the ugly face of a truly vindictive patriarchal state at work which uses sexual assault as a vulgar means to display and assert its brutal power.

The government's utter disregard for the recommendations and its immediate attempts to sabotage the same, is not an exceptional incident of betrayal by the oppressive Indian State. After all, it is the same State which has actively orchestrated or remains complicit in the brutal rape and murder of thousands of women across various regions, be it Gujarat in 2002 or the systematic perpetration of sexual violence by the armed forces in Kashmir, North-East, and central and eastern India or brutal instances of sexual assault on Dalit, adivasi and minority women in alarming numbers. It is the same state which actively promotes and patronizes the khap panchayats and their moralist diktats on women. The government's ordinance which scuttles the Verma Committee report is therefore no surprise. All of this directly point towards a more fundamental problem, that which links the question of gender directly with the nature of the Indian State. Let us not jump guns to assume that concrete judicial reforms alone would ensure speedy justice. Not only would judicial reforms be systematically appropriated by the feudal Indian State, but it would also be rendered powerless against its machinery as is evident in the government's ordinance on the Justice Verma Committee Report which refuses to penalise marital rape and repeal the impudent manifestations of AFSPA.

The inextricable alliance between patriarchal structures of society and the oppressive nature of this State and its functionaries is apparent. In that scenario merely 'watching over parliament' which executes all the anti-people policies of the state and is the prime source of oppression unleashed on the people can never ensure either

compromises of the ruling class in Kashmir with that in India has always perpetuated the Indian occupation of Kashmir. These compromises of the entrenched ruling agents of Kashmir can never be equated with the aspirations of common Kashmiri people. The mass protests of the Kashmiris, especially in the recent past, be it the current ongoing protest, or the last anti-Amarnath shrine land transfer movement two years back, has always brought out anti-India and pro-azaadi slogans, which all parliamentary parties in India have ignored. Whether the Kashmiri people want to remain with India or want to secede from the Indian Union will be decided by the Kashmiri people themselves and not by anyone else.

The genuine anger of the Kashmiris against the forceful occupation by India is once again evident in their current massive mobilization. Their unequivocal aspirations for azaadi, their courage to fight the armed forces even without arms always look 'foreign funded' to the Indian ruling class ranging from the communal fascist BJP and Congress to the social fascist CPM. This only shows their latent and mortal fear to accept that the masses of Kashmir do have a political will determined by their objective and subjective experiences of the harsh realities of persistent state repression and denial of basic rights. That the people of Kashmir have kept their aspirations for independence alive and have been fighting for decades relentlessly and refusing to surrender despite the most brutal state repression is a cause of concern to all ruling parties in India. They justify the occupation of Kashmir by demonizing the genuine struggle of the Kashmiris for freedom as 'Islamic and fundamentalist' while remaining criminally quiet about the innumerable crimes of the Indian state. They justify attack on Kashmiris on the pretext of 'tackling armed insurgency' but remain completely silent on how the Kashmiris were constantly betrayed for over four decades before the armed uprising erupted. The armed struggle was only a result of the suppression of the rights of the Kashmiris and brutal policies of the Indian state which choked all voices of dissent by banning democratic mass organisations and protest and repeatedly fired upon peaceful processions. Even now, it has not thought twice before turning on the army against unarmed protesters.

The people of Kashmir currently in thousands are defying the curfew and the shoot-at-sight orders. Like the Palestinian Intifada they are facing the mighty Indian military with nothing but their courage and stones. These brave men and women also inspire the democratic people in India with their immense courage to fight on and not to surrender in front of brute forces, till they get their independence.

JOIN PROTEST MARCH
from GANGA DHABA 6th August 2010, 9.30pm
&
NIGHT VIGIL at Jantar Mantar,
7th August, from 5.30 pm

June 26, 2009

Rape as instrument of oppression: Down with the use of systematic sexual violence against Kashmiri women! Punish the guilty in the Shopian rape case!

North East, Kashmir, Gujarat, Orissa, Chengara, Nandigram, Lalgarh....be it the Communal-Fascist BJP or Social-Fascist CPM, Sexual violence has been the weapon of choice in the state's repressive arsenal, whatever may parliamentary party in power be. Women become the most vulnerable targets of violence during war, communal violence or military occupation. That is the reason why, even in movements of the landless peasants, Dalits and Tribals, women forms the most militant section of a struggling population. In Nandigram, Singur, Lalgarh or anywhere else where land was being grabbed or the state and ruling parties has unleashed its violence upon the people, women were seen taking the lead in the struggle against it. Sexual violence has become the best weapon for the state to crush this surging tide of rebellion. Rape is used as an instrument of subjugation. The names of Tapasi Mallick and Manorama Devi are still fresh in our memories. The rape of adivasi women in Bastar by the state forces or the notorious Salwa Judum that has unleashed a reign of terror through rape and other forms of sexual assault, demonstrates the particular vulnerability of women. Similarly the Sri Lankan armed forces have been accused for decades for systematic violence of Tamil women.

The case of the rape and murder of two women in Shopian in Kashmir on May 29 by the security forces has again exposed the real face of the Indian state. This is the same state that is now yelling for 'law and order' situation in Lalgarh, the place where the CPM goons/Harmads in nexus with police/CRPF has been sexually assaulting women and other since a long time. In this Shopian dual rape and murder case, the state government initially denied any incident of rape, but later medical reports established that women were gangraped by 15-18 men. That the Jammu and Kashmir state administration and police was involved in a cover-up and destruction of evidence in the Shopian cases has been proved even by the state-appointed judicial commission. The commission report describes in detail the involvement of all state officials right from the police officials to the medical officers in hushing-up the case and passing it off as accidental death by drowning. The government was forced to take some action following massive protests in Shopian and across the state. But the culprits have not yet been caught due to the destruction of substantial evidence by the police and district officials, and the guilty officials too have not been punished sufficiently. The people in Kashmir have yet again come out to protest in large numbers demanding punishment against the culprits, but more importantly demanding the repeal of AFSPA, and an end to the terror of security forces. It is only because of the mounting protests and public outrage that the state government woke up after its week-long silence and was forced to order an enquiry. It was the collective public anger that forced the police to register a case of murder and rape, which it had refused to do till now.

This particular incident of rape is one among the many that take place on regular basis in the Kashmir that has been militarized and occupied by Indian security forces. In both Kashmir and the Northeast, time and again cases of abuse by the troops have come to light, but the state has never punished them for their crimes. According to a 1994 UN report, there were 882 rape cases by the security forces in Kashmir between 1990-92. According to Indian National Human Rights Commission, there were 1,039 cases of human rights violations (which include, rapes, terrorizing, abduction & killing of innocent women, children and youngsters & communal violence) by the security forces from 1990-1999, an average of 109 per year. These are just the official figures. The real numbers must be even higher as most of the cases go unreported out of sheer fear. As we know

in the wake of their imperialist master Obama's visit. However, recently the court ordered Police to file a case against speakers in view of direct evidences of cognizable offence.

Corrupt, anti-democratic and biased character of Indian judiciary is in full display, judiciary and police have always been loyal servant to Indian corporate-ruling class. After months, not a single arrest has been made in relation commonwealth game's fund siphoning or 2G spectrum scam. After more than fifty years, high court's order in Babri masjid case has done nothing, but to justify outrageous demand of RSS-BJP and legalise their communal fascist agenda. Therefore it is not surprising that court never bothered to instruct police to take any action against vigilante gangs of Roots in Kashmir, Panun Kashmir and ABVP who tried repeatedly, although in vain, to disrupt the convention by vandalising the venue, abusing and attacking speakers with their vulgar jingoism. In Kashmir of course, no court has intervened when thousands of murderers in Army uniform killed, raped thousands of civilians protesters.

If anybody violates law, breach peace in the name of law and order that is Indian army and the fascist Indian state. In Kashmir itself in last few months more than 110 people, including children and women have been killed by the army. Declared as a disturbed area, almost whole Kashmir is under curfew for months still. The FIR against the speakers of the convention is yet another attempt by the ruling class to scuttle any dissent or voice of resistance on the issue of Kashmir's self-determination. This is nothing but the fascist repressive model formulated by US-Israel in their so called 'counter-insurgency' operations or 'war against terror'. In the name of 'security threats' thousands of encounter killings, indiscriminate arrests, torture, rape in police custody, cold-blooded murders by para-military and state-sponsored vigilante groups in Kashmir, North-East, Telengana, central adivasi regions of India etc. has been a common practice of the so called 'biggest democracy of the world'. The corporate media turns its back on these glaring facts and parrots this politics of lies and deceit. Termed as hard-liner, anti-Indian and pro-Pakistan, media fails to mention again and again that SAS Geelani never disagreed with a possibility for a 'dialogue' with Indian state. Rather it is the Indian state which offered nothing but a deaf-ear to Geelani and Kashmiri people when they made the most democratic demand of releasing political prisoners, withdrawing army, draconian law from Kashmir. What constitution allows Indian state to kill people in one hand, and on the other hand talk about peaceful constitutional framework to solve 'kashmiri problem'? The farce of India democracy and illusion of peace that Indian state has to offer has long been exposed to Kashmiri people.

The speakers in the convention did nothing, but spoke on behalf of the Kashmiri people; stood in solidarity with their just demand of right to self determination. The convention read out loud and clear for Indians in India, what is written on the walls of Kashmir --- "Go India, Go Back". Indian state might want to silence these voices with its repressive organs, Indian media might build on the illusion of 'peaceful/beautiful' valley, but the truth remains with the aspiring fighting masses. No amount of repression can deny just demand of Kashmiris for Azadi, fighting masses of India for their land, livelihood and dignity. Colonizing, Brahminical, fascist Indian state will be de

August 7, 2010

Oppose the Military Occupation and Ongoing State Terror in Kashmir by the Indian State and its Armed Forces! Stand by the People of Kashmir for Their Right to Self-Determination & Azaadi !

Way back in March 14, 1950, UN Resolution 80 Concerning The India-Pakistan Question stated, "Commending the Governments of India and Pakistan for their statesman like action in reaching the agreements embodied in the United Nations Commission's Resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949 for a cease-fire, for the demilitarization of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and for the determination of its final disposition in accordance with the will of the people through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite". This till date remains an international commitment yet to be fulfilled. Indian state particularly has repeatedly evaded the question of plebiscite by the Kashmiri people to determine their nationhood. Ever since the blatantly rigged polls of 1987, when elected representatives of the people were put in prison and puppets of New Delhi were put in power, Kashmir has remained the most militarized zone in the world and its people have faced most brutal state repression and long standing military occupation. Elections in this valley have rather become military exercises since then. There are more than 8 lakh army and CRPF personnel stationed in the valley. It is not an army to fight any militants; it is an army of occupation. The UN too has remained silent even after the current massive onslaught on the Kashmiri people by the Indian army.

In the latest spate of attacks by the Indian armed forces, more than 45 civilians have been killed, which mainly include youngsters. More than two hundred people have been critically injured. But state-repression is nothing new to the Kashmiris. More than 70,000 people have been killed by the police and the CRPF so far . Thousands of women have been raped by the security forces. The mass graves where 30,000 bodies of the ones who have 'disappeared' were buried were recently exposed. Draconian laws like AFSPA , UAPA and PESA have not only vested unlimited power to the army but also provide complete impunity to these killers. The daily harassment which every Kashmiri is forced to go through, the impossibility of normal mobility across the valley, the regular attacks by the CRPF and the parading of people in the names of 'checks and raids', the 'disappearances' of people, the fake encounters, the suspicion with which any common Kashmiri is treated anywhere in India reflects how the people of the valley have always been treated as colonial subjects by the Indian mainstream. Almost the entire civil administration in the valley is now in the hands of CRPF and even the judgments of the civil courts are not binding upon the army or the police. In the latest spate of attacks teenagers, women and children were indiscriminately fired on. The mass mobilization of people across the valley was termed 'agitational terrorism' by the army to justify these latest brutalities by the security forces. And the incorrigible Chidambaram commended his troops for 'showing restraint in firing'. The CRPF can not be booked for firing at unarmed masses including children, women and old people because after all they were maintaining law and order! This is how they have always protected 'law' and maintained 'order' in the valley, by sheer brutal force.

The Kashmiri people were never given a chance to formally express what they want. Historically and systematically right from the transfer of power, their right to plebiscite and self-determination has been denied to the people of Kashmir. The

As one protester put it recently "I would love to join peaceful protests. But they don't let us gather together, not even for shouting slogans and expressing anger."

Kashmir has always been portrayed in mainstream media as a problem of 'law and order'. The entrenched Indian media has always chosen to parrot the Goebblesian lies of the state. On the issue of Kashmir particularly it has remained brazenly pro-state and has never cared to probe into the aspirations of the Kashmiri people. Kashmir has been reported as the ground zero of the 'Pakistan backed Islamist terrorist organizations' who are 'anti Indian' and 'pro-Pakistan'. In this story weaved by 'liberal', so called 'secular' media what has largely gone missing, with very few exceptions, is the relentless struggle of the Kashmiri people for right to self-determination, their angry protest against the fascist state brutalities, discrimination as a citizen in the name of governance and so on. In line with its imperialist masters, the Indian state has resorted to the Israel-US styled killing of the innocent people and branding them as 'terrorists' or firing on peaceful protests. This as the 'war on terror' have been reported by the mainstream media unquestionably in order to garner popular support for the state which is denying Kashmiri people their democratic right to self-determination for decades.

On the other hand, the portrayal of the question of Kashmir by the Indian civil society and some of our 'progressive' comrades as merely one of human rights violations is an opportunist betrayal of the struggle that the Kashmiri people have waged in the face of most brutal from of repression and state terror. To raise mere demands like 'withdraw the army' or 'revoke AFSPA' is an illusory statement unless one addresses the root cause of the Kashmir question. And that is the historically denied right to national self determination of the Kashmiri people, it is a question of Azadi. That is why there is such a massive presence of the occupying Indian army and impunity provided to it through laws like AFSPA. Even as the Indian state and its apologists continue to laud itself as being the 'world's largest democracy', the presence of 8 lakh army personnel in the valley, making it the world's most militarized zone totally betrays such claims. A country that continues to administer the world's largest military occupation can not continue to call itself a democracy. The progressive and democratic forces in India must therefore oppose this forceful occupation of the Kashmir valley by the Indian state and stand in full solidarity with the people of Kashmir in their fight for nationhood and freedom.

April 27, 2011

Public Meeting: Peoples' Movements, State Terrorism and the Assasination of Civil Rights Activists

Post World War II, with the emergence of US imperialism as the dominating power, the Indian subcontinent witnessed the re-division of the erstwhile colonies as per the needs of the imperialist powers, the Red Corridor of India and

not incidents over days or weeks but a few incidents from few places on a single day in Kashmir.

And that is the reality of every single day in Kashmir now. There are such protests every day, in every street. The people break the curfew every day to take out marches. The marches are attended by thousands and even lakhs of people. Men, women children march alike and each protestor in Kashmir are categorically clear in the message they want to send across to the oppressive Indian state that had occupied the valley for six decades now: ***"Ladke Lenge Azaadi"***. In the last 81 days 65 people have been killed by the CRPF and police (the 65th being a nine year boy Irshad Ahmad Parray) that only resulted in more people joining the protests. The number of injured have crossed thousands now but the determination and the will of the people of Kashmir has only been strengthened. Even in this month of Ramzan, despite keeping fast in the daytime, people have come to the streets in thousands and no amount of force could crush the will and determination of the Kashmiris for freedom.

The ruling class of India which has willfully portrayed the issue of Kashmir in a wrong light is now on the back foot. Irrespective of the colors of their flags all parliamentary parties have proved their chauvinist nature by always misrepresenting the issue of Kashmir as a "law and order problem" in which 'Pakistan backed Islamic fundamentalist are trying to disintegrate India'. They never even agree to recognize the question of national liberation of Kashmir. They deliberately erase the aspiration for right to self-determination of the Kashmiri people although this is right that is guaranteed on papers in the constitution and the Indian state has made international commitment way back in the 1950s only to leave it unfulfilled till date. **When the movement for *Azaadi* erupted in the late 1980's in the form of armed struggle after decades of peaceful struggle were ignored, the Indian state resorted to fascist means to crush the uprising.** In the subsequent two decades, more than 70,000 have been killed, many women raped, and thousands have simply 'disappeared'. Draconian laws like the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) have provided complete impunity to these killers. A recent fact finding report revealed the existence of more than 27,000 unmarked graves that had around 30,000 unidentified dead bodies. The Indian state in all these years kept insisting that they are ready for a peaceful solution through dialogue on all issues only if they left the path of armed struggle. **Well in the last two years not a single CRPF has been killed in Kashmir.** There has rather been huge mobilization of people, mass protests and resolute resistance where the youth are fighting the armed CRPF with nothing but their courage and stones. This has become a huge cause of concern for the Indian ruling class who can no more justify their repression on grounds of fighting 'terrorists'. Therefore, Lt. Col. Jaiswal, recently in the most absurd and heinous manner, branded these peaceful mass protests as *'agitational* terrorism'. In this latest phase of relentless struggle the Indian ruling class too is caught in the wrong foot. Thus all the parliamentary parties including the pseudo-left CPM are trying to push for 'economic packages' to put an end to the protest. It is a typical manner in which historically, colonizers have always tried to bargain with the colonized to bypass the real issue of freedom. **The fascist Indian state and its cronies must understand that the people in Kashmir are not fighting for 'better livelihood'. They are fighting for their denied nationhood and independence!**

Unfortunately the common masses of India, under the influence of the corporate media and their Goebblesian propaganda do not always understand the anger and the real concern of the Kashmiris. It is not a spontaneous anger against the trigger happy police and CRPF, but it is the anger against, decades of extreme oppression and years of continuous betrayal by the colonizers in India. The Kashmiris are fighting for their denied freedom. Like the Palestinian Intifada they are fighting the mighty Indian state and its military. They are not going to surrender any more to oppression and false promises.

Let us stand in complete solidarity with the heroic upsurge of these brave men, women and children of Kashmir who are fighting the most genuine struggle for national liberation right now.

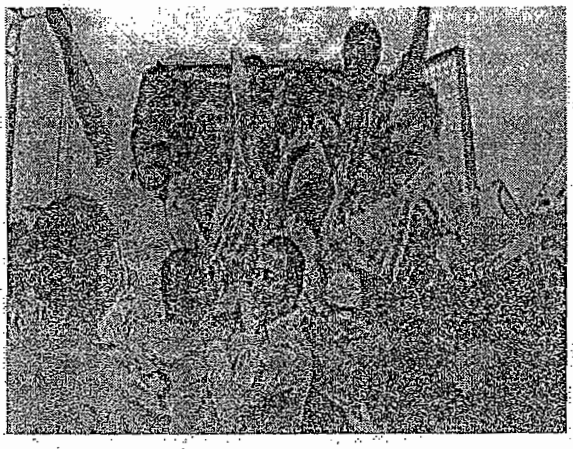
December 28, 2010

The Curbing of Democratic Voices in the Name of 'Sedition' will not Stop the Aspirations of Azadi !

5 December 2010

Delhi police, recently has filed an FIR against pro-Azadi Kashmiri leader Sayiad Ali Shah Geelani, writer and activist Arundhati Roy, Dr Sheikh Showkat Hossain- Head of the department of Law faculty in Kashmir University and DR. SAR Geelani, lecturer from DU on charges of Sedition. Based on their speeches in a convention, "AZADI- The Only Way" held in Delhi on 21st October they have been booked under various sections for breaching peace, unlawful activity, inciting groups etc. In this historic convention all the speakers who were representatives from various other struggling nationalities as well as intellectuals, writers and activists from India, most resolutely articulated the unequivocal call for Azaadi as the only solution acceptable to the struggling people of Kashmir. After the convention, Chidambaram-led fascist Indian ruling classes were hand in gloves to register a case against the speakers in the convention. However Congress-led UPA government took a step back in apprehension of strong protest from Kashmiri people and other democratic, progressive sections of Indian masses

Another Kashmiri Woman Raped by the Indian Army! Oppose Sexual Violence on the Women of Kashmir fighting for Azadi!



Kashmir in the past few days has seen thousands of people taking to the streets and staging demonstrations against the rape of a 30 year old woman by the mercenary forces of the Indian state. On 19th of July, a 30 year old woman from the Gujjardara Manzgam village in Kulgam district area of South Kashmir was abducted by Indian Army personnel, taken to a nearby hutment and gang-raped repeatedly for two days on gunpoint. She was found unconscious, lying near a stream on the 21 July. As the valley witnessed shutdown for the third consecutive day against the incident, the Indian state has once again resorted to brute force against the protestors. Hundreds of people staging massive pro-freedom demonstrations were teargassed and lathi-charged by the CRPF. An undeclared emergency is imposed in many parts of Kashmir, mobility of the people has been curtailed, and more than a dozen civilians have been injured. Pro-freedom leadership has also been put under house arrest.

The Indian state has once again gone into a denial mode, shielding the perpetrators. Despite the initial 'assurance' by the puppet chief minister Omar Abdullah of action against the guilty army personnel, the army has refused to comply with the investigations. They have even gone to the extent of insidiously trying to prove the woman as 'mentally disturbed'. The house of the victim has been converted into a police camp with more than 40 policemen guarding it. The assaulted woman is not allowed to meet any visitors or journalists. In an act of intimidation and further humiliation, police have released a video clip of the victim.

All this is not new to the people of Kashmir. Sexual violence on the women of Kashmir has been systematically and deliberately used by the Indian state or its armed forces in an attempt to crush the morale of the people. A 1994 United Nations publication (E/CN.4/1995/42) says that, "during 1992 alone, 882 women were gang-raped by Indian security forces in Jammu and Kashmir". Two years ago in Shopian, two women –one of them pregnant– were raped and murdered by the Indian army. The Indian state even then had shielded the personnel responsible for the act, denying rape or murder and instead asserted that the women had drowned in ankle-deep water and that too just outside the army camp! Even the doctor who confirmed the incidence of rape was suspended from the hospital and charge-sheeted. From Kushnanposhpora to Shopian to now Kulgam, rape has been systematically used as a weapon of war by the Indian state in Kashmir. The relatives of the victim thus have already pointed out to the meaninglessness of any investigation.

The people of Kashmir have faced the worst forms of state repression in the past more than six decades of their freedom struggle against Indian occupation. Their nation has been occupied and converted into the biggest prison on earth with more than 8 lakh army personnel who shoot, maim and rape with impunity thanks to draconian laws like AFSPA. They have lost 70,000 fellow Kashmiris, thousands of them have simply 'disappeared' only to be unearthed years later in mass graves, their women have been raped by the Indian state's mercenaries. But despite the all the brutalities and the army rule, Kashmir has refused to bow down before the Indian state. People have braved curfews and shoot-at sight orders with nothing but their courage and a vision for an independent Kashmir which no repression can deny. DSU stands in solidarity with and offers its red salutes to the freedom struggle of Kashmir.

October 17, 2010

The heroic upsurge of the Kashmiri people and the question of National liberation

In South Kashmir's Islamabad town, a nine year old boy was killed in an unprovoked firing, many where injured by tear gas shells in the protest that followed. In Sri Nagar, police fired at a group of youth playing carom, critically injuring the nephew of JKLF chairman Yasin Malik, again an instance of unprovoked firing, leading to spontaneous protests. In Sherbagh police and CRPF unable to face the protestors barged into the Maternity and pediatric hospital beating up the attendants as well as patients. In Pulwama town, protest broke out at Kakpora, Chatapora, Delipora, Malikpora, Pichoo leaving three persons injured. Thousands of people took to roads, where they offered prayers, blocking the main highway and took out a march. In north Kashmir, five people including a 50 year old woman were injured, resulting in day long clashes in the main town Bandipora. **All these are**

Liberation or Liberalization? The effort to integrate Kashmir further into the Indian dependency as a colony is further reflected in the interlocutors' insistence on bringing it within the fold of a "liberalizing India" at the service of Imperialism in a "globalizing world". It identifies the "heavy State-control" over J&K's economy as a stumbling block and thereby envisages a free market that would facilitate direct exploitation of its resources by New Delhi. It pushes for SEZs and such other "financial and fiscal incentives on the pattern of the north eastern states" in lines with the notorious Look East Policy that entails heightened exploitation through a thoroughly anti-people development perspective (for instance in the field of Hydel Power that is) grossly tilted to the benefit of the metropolis at the cost of the colony.

So, Kashmir needs no "Mobile Grievance Unit" as the interlocutors describe themselves. It needs no "healing touch" from the army. It needs no cross LoC trading. The interlocutors call AFSPA "more the symbol of the problem, than its cause." Instead of a call to revoke, they thereby have merely asked for a review of Disturbed Areas Act and AFSPA. Now, the "cause" of the problem is clearly the forcible occupation of Kashmir by India, and AFSPA in this context is not merely a "symbol", but a brutal instrument to actualize this occupation. So, such eye washes like review, judicial enquiry or release of stone pelters aimed at "containing the anger" are no longer going to be enough. The report proclaims that, "It is the future that should matter, not the past, burdened with a highly contentious historical baggage." Such empty words cannot cover up the past that is soaked in the native's blood, that is riddled with the army's bullets, that is marked with broken promises and oppression. It is an utterly significant past that signals towards only one solution, one future - *Azaadi*.

August 30, 2011

Martyrs are not buried, they are sown! Oppose the fascist repression by the Indian State on the People of Kashmir! Stand in solidarity with the Azadi of Kashmir!!

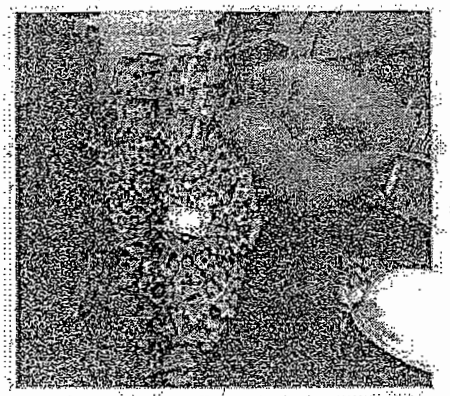
The 64 years of Indian occupation of Kashmir have been synonymous with death, destruction and pillage. **In a glaring testimony to the gruesome brutalities of the Indian state in Kashmir, the recent report of the J&K State Human Rights Commission revealed the existence of 2156 bullet ridden bodies in 38 mass unmarked graves in the districts of Baramulla, Bandipore, Handwara and Kupwara.** This excludes 574 bodies that were buried as unidentified but later identified as those of locals. All these bodies had earlier been handed over to the locals by the police for burial by classifying them as 'unidentified militants' killed in gunfire. However, in a vindication of what the Kashmiri people have been saying for years, the probe admits that these graves contain the dead bodies of enforced disappearances of people who were later executed in custody. Many of these bodies were defaced and some were even charred pointing towards the use of torture before their execution.

For the people of Kashmir, the state report however does not come as a surprise. A number of reports have time and again pointed to the existence of mass graves all over the valley, so much so that it had become difficult for the state to deny it anymore. The pro-azaadi leadership of Kashmir has pointed out how it is precisely to cover up such killings that the State Human Rights Commission has now come out with its own report, with figures far less than the original. Pointing to the active complicity of the Indian state in the 'disappearances' and the killings, they have already pointed to the meaninglessness of any state initiated probe into the matter.

The Indian state is not even making any pretence of providing justice. The puppet chief minister Omar Abdullah has categorically denied the possibility of any kind of immediate probe into the matter, knowing well that the elapse in time will make any probe later redundant as the chances of DNA extraction would reduce greatly. What he instead wants is the setting up of a '*truth and reconciliation*' committee. The people of Kashmir and the democratic and progressive people elsewhere do not need any such spurious committees to ascertain the crimes of Indian state in Kashmir. Right from the historically denied right to self determination for the past 64 years, to the more than 80,000 killings, thousands of 'disappearances', the presence of 8 lakh armed personnel, fake encounters, rapes, torture chambers are facts that cannot be 'reconciled' with. The comprador ruling elite of Kashmir and their Indian masters, might want the people to 'reconcile' with their demand for *azaadi*, but for the people of Kashmir the political right to self determination including secession is non-negotiable. On the other hand, the absurdity of NGO-ised form of political intervention which reduces the entire question of Kashmir to mere human rights violation limits is such that it limits itself to demanding 'justice' from parties actively complicit in the genocide of Kashmiris.

The history of Kashmir is not merely one of state repression, it is also one of the indomitable spirit of the Kashmiri people in their struggle for freedom. The Kashmiri people are today fighting one of the most valiant liberation struggles and all democratic people should stand in solidarity with them.

August 27, 2011



Kashmir needs no "sensitivity", Kashmir demands *Azaadi*!

The Final Report submitted by the Group of Interlocutors for J&K reeks of Indian state's big nation chauvinism!

Article 370 or 'Special Status' can no longer contain Kashmir's aspirations for freedom!

"The oppressor's government can set up commissions of enquiry and of information daily if it wants to; in the eyes of the native, these commissions do not exist. In the colonies the native has always known that he need expect nothing from the other side. The settler's work is to make even dreams of liberty impossible for the native. The native's work is to imagine all possible methods for destroying the settler." – Frantz Fanon.

The Group of Interlocutors comprising Radha Kumar, M.M. Ansari and D. Padgaonkar (Chairman) had been hastily commissioned by the Indian state in the face of the historic outburst of popular anger that erupted in the valley in the summer of 2010 as the streets of Kashmir reverberated with the slogans of "Go India Go Back!" The ruling classes in India saw it as the time to stage yet another drama in the name of "Roadmap to peace", "Confidence Building Measures" and "reconciliation". The final report of the Interlocutors was submitted last week to the Home Ministry curiously titled 'A New compact with the people of Jammu & Kashmir'. And like all such old "compacts", it begins with the farcical premise that "Jammu and Kashmir should continue to function as a single entity within the India Union". A premise, that is in direct contravention of the robust assertions of the aspirations for self determination by the Kashmiri people including secession. Therefore, for all its rhetoric posturing and publicity, the report reproduces the same old discourse characteristic of big nation chauvinism and hence is worth nothing.

Sense of victimhood or an Aspiration for freedom? The report in the very outset declares: "The political settlement we propose takes into full account the *deep sense of victimhood* prevalent in the Kashmir Valley. It surely deserves to be addressed with *great sensitivity*." But if one were to even take a cursory look into the 60 years of struggle or a glance into the summer of 2010 what one would find on the walls is no "deep sense of victimhood", but a cry for freedom from Indian occupation, a cry for *Azaadi*. Hence, after a lakh being murdered, thousands raped, countless voices crushed under the jackboots of 8 lakh Indian occupation forces – they don't want Indian state's "sensitivity" or "*insaaf*". WHAT THEY ASPIRE FOR IS FREEDOM. Nor from what is referred to in the report as "religious extremism, ethnic or regional chauvinism and majoritarian conceits", neither just from "harsh laws", - but from Indian occupation. The report narrates that "Here for 6 decades people have experienced what in their eyes constitute a systematic denial of their democratic rights. They have been witness to rigged elections, the dismissal of elected governments, and installation of pliant ones, the arrests of their popular leaders, the choking of dissenting voices through harsh laws, the detention of political prisoners without the due process of law, the failure to bring to book those guilty of violating human rights." In this cursory citing of the fascist tactics of the Indian occupation of Kashmir it craftily bypasses the fundamental question, i.e. the Indian state's historic betrayal of the agreement for self-determination. Far from addressing this central question the report reduces "the woes of Kashmir" to the "emasculation of the substance of the distinctive status enshrined in Article 370 of the Constitution of India."

Article 370: A post-dated cheque. The interlocutors have suggested that adherence to Article 370 of the constitution in letter and spirit would ameliorate the "victimhood" of the people of Kashmir. But it is nothing more than wishful thinking or even trickery to expect that the "distinctive status" granted by Article 370 will be enough to assuage the most ardent aspirations for *Azaadi* that is ubiquitous today in Kashmir. Article 370 was a provisional arrangement as the government of India's stated position was to conduct a plebiscite to determine the future of Jammu and Kashmir. Accordingly, a White Paper on Jammu and Kashmir published by the government of India in 1948, authored by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, recorded: "In accepting the accession, the government of India made it clear that they would regard it as purely provisional until such time as the will of the people of the State could be ascertained." What was called a 'Temporary' arrangement to begin with, has become obsolete, redundant and irrelevant today after 60 years of bloody occupation. It is nothing but a post-dated cheque in a crashing bank. Kashmiris today seeks no 'Special' status. They demand freedom.

This report, like all its precursors is no more than a justification of India's unjust occupation. Thus, it states, "any proposed change that questions the sovereignty of India and disrupts its territorial integrity or compromises India's defence and larger, strategic economic interests cannot be entertained." While emphasizing the need to actualize Article 370, the attempt as outlined by the interlocutors however is to treacherously delete the word 'Temporary' and replace it with 'Special'. The obvious purpose being to constitutionally ascribe a sense of permanence to the colonial status of Kashmir much in line with the constitutional arrangements made with states like Nagalim, Assam, Manipur, Mizoram, Sikkim and so on. What the report celebrates here in the name of the immense flexibility" of the Indian Constitution in its ability to "respond to the collective urges of the people", is in reality the brute force of bayonets that has historically maintained India as a prison-house of different nationalities.

covered up. Army personnel shoot, rape, maim with impunity thanks to the draconian laws like the Armed Forces Special Powers Act, PSA, Disturbed Areas Act. An army official recently justified all these measures calling them necessary and argued against soldiers being "dragged" to the courts as it would hit the "troop morale". There is such a heavy concentration of armed forces that around 8,00,000 soldiers are fighting supposedly 150 militants! Any semblance of democracy remains a far cry in the valley with the army calling all the shots.

We must demand the punishment of army personnel responsible for the fake encounter, and condemn the draconian measures taken against the protesters. The people of the valley have militantly fought against state repression and Indian occupation of their homeland. We must uncompromisingly stand in support of the struggle of Kashmiris for self-determination and Azadi.

October 5, 2011

4,000 unidentified dead bodies buried in mass graves across Jammu! Oppose the Indian Occupation of Kashmir! The flames of national liberation in Kashmir shall sweep away the murderous Indian regime and all its stooges!!

"The bodies would come anytime and burials were to be made without involving townsfolk for fear of provoking anti-India protests. They (the police) used to hand over bullet-ridden or disfigured bodies and tell me that they were militants killed by the army in gunfights... I wrapped the heads in shrouds and buried them. But, they took a receipt of seven bodies... It was the first time I was witnessing such a horror. I broke down... Over a period of time, it appeared fishy and I started refusing heads only. I started asking questions and demanded the full body."

These are the words of Sofi Aziz Joo, the local gravedigger in the Poonch district of Jammu who was handed thousands of unidentified bodies by the Indian mercenary forces. In yet another vindication of the horrors of the Indian occupation of Jammu & Kashmir, a group of journalists has unearthed the existence of 2717 mass graves in Poonch and another 1127 in Rajouri districts of Jammu. It is estimated that these graves contain nearly 4,000 bodies. This comes only a month after the State Human Rights Commission revealed the existence of thousands of similar unmarked graves across North Kashmir. In fact that report was itself just a cover up operation, with figures far below the original, after a number of fact finding reports had brought to light what is common knowledge in Kashmir – the existence of unmarked graves across the region wherein lie buried thousands of Kashmiris who have been either been killed in tortured to death in custody or in fake encounters.

The gravedigger pointed out how the bodies handed over to him were mutilated with their faces beyond recognition. At times he was given only heads with no other part of the body attached to it. All this blatantly exemplifies how these people were tortured to death and then passed off as 'foreign militants'. The Indian state even denied these martyrs a proper funeral. As the burials were completed amidst heavy police presence in the graveyard, no local was permitted to help in the burial for fear of their backlash.

Omar Abdullah's 'Truth and Reconciliation Committee' has evoked enthusiasm amongst no one but himself. Omar Abdullah, the local stooge of the Indian expansionist forces in Kashmir, has again come out in full support of the murderous and rapist Indian army. Denying the existence of mass graves once again, he has gone to the extent of saying that calling them such would be a 'misnomer'! Even when mass graves were unearthed in North Kashmir, he had denied the possibility of any immediate probe, knowing fully well that any delay would make it redundant as chances of DNA extraction would reduce greatly. He instead proposed setting up a 'Truth and Reconciliation Committee'. The Kashmiris have seen enough of the subterfuges employed by the Indian state in the form of probes and committees to be deceived by this new 'Truth and Reconcilliation Committee'.

The crimes of the Indian state in Kashmir have far surpassed even that of Pinochet's Chile. In the past two decades alone, more than 80,000 Kashmiris have been killed, many women raped, and thousands have simply 'disappeared' only to be later unearthed in mass graves. Draconian laws like AFSPA have provided complete impunity to these killers. Kashmir right now continues to be the most militarized zone in the world with more than 8 lakh army personnel. However, despite the army, paramilitary, police and its numerous vigilante gangs, fear haunts not the people of Kashmir but the Indian ruling class and their local stooges. It is the fear of having recognized that their military might fails to evoke any fear amongst the Kashmiris anymore. It is the fear of having recognized that none of its overt and covert machinations can silence the rallying cry of *Azaadi*. It is the fear of having recognized that no amount of repression can crush the vision of an independent Kashmir. It is also the fear of the fact that its propaganda machinery fails to cut any ice amongst growing sections of Indians as they have time and again come out in support of *Azaadi* of Kashmir, at times even few meters away from the Parliament. Most of all, it is the fear of the growing unity amongst the Kashmiris and the revolutionary movement in India. DSU salutes the valiant freedom fighters of Kashmir and urges all progressive and democratic people to stand in complete solidarity with all the struggling nationalities for the right to self-determination *including* secession.

June 3, 2012

The Final Report submitted by the Group of Interlocutors for J&K reeks of Indian state's big nation chauvinism! Article 370 or 'Special Status' can no longer contain Kashmir's aspirations for freedom!

'Menacing Muslim Kashmir'? There are certain very simple but significant facts that we are never told our rulers and their lackeys in the media, for there is always the danger that we might put two and two together and ask some tough questions. We are told that the movement in Kashmir is a bunch of die-hard Islamists. We are never told that there are about 50,000 Sikhs and over 10,000 Pandits living in Kashmir, all state subjects. Or, that there are about 300,000 non-local skilled and unskilled Hindu laborers in the valley. And over 10,000 Hindu students are enrolled in colleges in Kashmir. Is it not significant to note that while Jammu and other parts of India have been gripped by communal frenzy, not a single incident of communal discord was reported from inside the Kashmir valley, supposedly the hotbed of crazed Islamic fundamentalists? Can we overlook the fact that more than five lakh pilgrims visited Amarnath shrine this season with the assistance of local Kashmiris, a record number so far?

In what is supposedly and predominantly a "Muslim Kashmir", the Kashmiri Pandit Sangharsh Samiti (an organsiation of Kashmiri Pandits residing in Kashmir still), has articulated its opposition to the transfer of land to non-state subjects, condemned the economic blockade and also pledged support to the call of 'Muzaffarabad chalo'. Mr. Tikoo, chief of the KPSS has also issued statements condemning the communal agenda of the RSS and other communal bodies such as Panun Kashmir (an organization of Kashmiri pundits with close links to the RSS brigade). Several Sikh bodies have also opposed the transfer on grounds that it violates article 370. Kashmiri Sikhs took out a procession in Srinagar in support of the demand for an independent Kashmir and also supporting the Muzaffarabad March. Representatives of both communities have come out in support of the Hurriyat's demand that the Muzaffarabad trade route be opened up.

A problem with countering right wing propaganda is that one is forced, again and again to reiterate the obvious in the face of white lies. The agitation in Kashmir is against the illegal and unjust land transfer, against the terrorism of the Indian state. It is not against the Amarnath yatra, or the Hindus in Jammu or Kashmir or anywhere else. In the midst of RSS claims that Hindus, their pilgrimages and religious sentiments are under attack, the yatra this year (as every year before this!) has concluded peacefully. The number of pilgrims, higher than ever before, was 5 ½ lakhs. The cave that is the site of pilgrimage was first discovered by a Muslim shepherd and for over a century the pilgrimage was overseen and facilitated by the family of the shepherd. All the workers at the site are Muslim. They have not withdrawn their services or caused any trouble. The SASB was constituted a mere 8 years ago. Prior to that, Kashmiri Muslims have been custodians of the shrine and the yatra for 150 years, that is long before the Advanis and Raj Nath Singhs of this world were even born. The pilgrims themselves have reported no instance of harassment by the local Muslims. In fact, while the lawyers in Jammu were busy spreading hate, the Bar Association of Kashmir collected funds and started a community kitchen for the yatris. Nothing has happened to warrant the paranoia that the Sangh Parivar's has generated. But to say that is really begging the question, for Right wing paranoia, especially of the Hindu fascist kind, is always unwarranted. It is not difficult to understand, therefore, when after brutally suppressed and killed through the use of superior force of the Indian State, the common Kashmiris feel that they are forced to live in an alien country, their own country being subjugated by an occupation force. The call for *Azad Kashmir* therefore is again resonating throughout the valley, and anyone who stands up for the rights of the oppressed, must also stand up for and support the inalienable right of the Kashmiris for self-determination, for a separate and independent country. **The Amarnath shrine controversy has once again demonstrated the aspiration of the Kashmiris to be free from national oppression, and for *azadi*.**

June 2, 2010

Punish the Indian Army personnel responsible for the fake encounter of 3 Kashmiri youths!

Kashmir has witnessed massive protests in the last few days against the cold-blooded murder of three Kashmiri youths by the Indian Army in the last week of April. Thousands of people from Nadihal and adjoining villages in Baramulla district came out protesting with the exhumed bodies of three youngsters who had 'gone missing' last month. As has been suspected by the people of Kashmir, the three were killed in cold blood and passed off as 'Pakistani militants' by the Army. The Army on 30th of April claimed that it had foiled an infiltration bid from across the border by these 'unidentified militants'. The army also claimed to have recovered five AK-47 rifles and Pakistani currency from them. However, according to the locals and their families the three- Shahzad Ahmed (22), Riyaz Ahmad (22) and Mohammad Shafi (23) of village Nadihaal of Rafiabad were abducted from their village on April 27 and later killed. The murky details of the case are now slowly coming to light and an Army Major, two Subedar Majors and a sepoy along with jawans of the Territorial Army have been found guilty of murder and criminal conspiracy by a state police enquiry. The arrested persons told the interrogators that one Major Singh was involved in the encounter and paid them Rs. 50,000 each for getting civilians who could be shown as militants. In the subsequent crackdown on the protesters, over a dozen have been injured and many more arrested. Many pro freedom leaders including Syed Ali Shah Geelani have been arrested in an attempt to dampen the protests. A call for observing a general shutdown against the visit of the Sonia Gandhi has also been given.

This comes a year after the Shopian incident, where two women -one of them pregnant- were raped and murdered by the personnel of Indian army. The state government and the central government had subsequently shielded the personnel responsible for the act and denied that there was a rape or murder and instead said that the women drowned in the drain which had just ankle-deep water outside the army camp! Even the doctor who confirmed the incidence of rape was suspended from the hospital and charge sheeted.

This is not new to the history of Kashmir which has seen thousands of such cases in its decades-struggle for freedom from oppressive Indian occupation. Over the past 20 years, the Indian state's fascist war in Kashmir has taken more than 70,000 lives, thousands have simply 'disappeared', thousands of women have been raped and widowed. The valley has been systematically turned into a graveyard for Kashmiris, with torture chambers, check points, army camps and bunkers. Th state has filled the valley with spies, SPOs, vigilante gangs, funded NGOs, and embedded journalists in order to continue its brutal suppression of Kashmir's aspiration for national self-determination. According to the Indian National Human Rights Commission, there were 1,039 cases of human rights violations, including, rapes, terrorizing, abduction & killing of women, children and youngsters and communally motivated violence by the security forces from 1990-1999, an average of 109 per year. These are just the official figures and the real numbers would be even higher as most of the cases go unreported or

August 27, 2008

The Horrors of Indian Occupation of Kashmir

*"We are 82 per cent and our money is spent on sending you sh**it eating guys!... Get it right, you cut b****, you will be decimated gradually for this heinous act against majority Hindus that provide you with food! What is your contribution otherwise, you vermin?"*

(Sic)- Hate mail posted online following protests in Kashmir against the land transfer.

Kashmiri journalists writing about the Amarnath land transfer have received much hate mail for the past two months, of which the above quote is an example. The hate mail has been telling them, among the usual volley of abuse, that they have no right to live in India. If the people writing these mails knew the first thing about Kashmir, they would know that these journalists and their people would be only too happy to not live in India! **That is precisely what the Kashmiri people have been struggling for, for decades now: the right to self-determination, the right to have a separate nation.** This also precisely why the Indian state has spared no efforts or expense in an attempt to crush them.

The controversy surrounding the land transfer has become yet another occasion for the Indian state to unleash terror on the Kashmiri nation. Atrocities committed by the Indian state machinery are commonplace in Kashmir. Over the last two months, many have been killed and injured. Official estimates (faithfully carried by the bourgeois media in India) of people killed over the past two months hover around 10-15 and supposedly about a 100 have been injured. The Kashmiri press and reports from people involved in the Kashmir movement place the death toll at a minimum of 50, with 30 people killed on the day of the March to Muzaffarabad itself. The number injured is at least 500. The Indian press has blacked out the reports that the Indian Army has been firing, lathi-charging and even tear gassing inside hospitals that house the wounded protestors. The media has also avoided reporting the daily harassment faced by ordinary Kashmiri people during the curfews: physical assaults, molestation, random house searches and arrests.

Thanks to Black laws such as the Disturbed Areas Act and the Armed Forces Special Powers Act, the Indian Army has unlimited powers inside Kashmir without any fear of legal consequence. The firing and cold blooded murder of 30 people by the army on the day of the Muzaffarabad March is not punishable under law, for the army was only trying to maintain law and order! The army cannot be taken to task for the fact that they attacked hospitals housing the wounded (many of whom were half dead anyway), firing, lathi-charging and tear gassing the wards; they were only fighting 'terrorism'. The army will not be asked to answer for any of the brutalities over the last two months (or the decades before that); the army was only defending the interests of a nation that is supposedly ours. Where already in the valley there is 1 Indian soldier for every 7 Kashmiris, troop deployment has increased with even more expected on the days to come. On the question of land itself, the Indian army has forcibly occupied 87,000 kanals of agricultural and residential land, pushing people out of their homes and off their fields. None of this is spectacular. **For the ordinary Kashmiri, it's all in a day's struggle. For the Indian State, it's all in a day's terror.**

The immediate point of contention is the transfer of land to the Shri Amarnath Shrine Board. Surrounded by distorted information, we are perhaps unable to see what is really the issue. The need of the hour is to examine the facts of the matter. **The land in question is about 800 kanals of land in Kashmir.** This land was transferred by Mehbooba Mufti's government to the Shri Amarnath Shrine Board (SASB). This was opposed by the people of Kashmir for two reasons primarily. The SASB is made up of non-state subjects, meaning that the people on the board are not subjects of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Under article 370, designed to provide some minimum autonomy to the region, non-state subjects cannot own immovable property in the state. This transfer was seen by Kashmiris as, and indeed it is, an attack on the autonomy of the region, one more step towards compromising what little autonomy article 370 guaranteed. Also, a part of the land is forest land and the transfer is in violation of the 5th Schedule which prohibits the transfer of forest land to private individuals or the use of forest land for any commercial purpose. The rest of the land is owned by villagers or is community land. In the sub-continent, there is no such thing as fallow land; all land provides livelihood whether as agricultural land or grazing land for pastoral communities such as the Gujjars and Bakarwals. Local villagers, claiming ownership of at least 200 kanals of the disputed land are contemplating filing a PIL demanding that their land be restored to them.

Following widespread protests in Kashmir, there was talk of the order being cancelled. At this point, the RSS came into action, cobbled together a wide coalition under the name Shri Amarnath Yatra Sangharsh Samiti (SAYSS). The RSS has successfully cashed in on the commonsensical anti-Kashmir sentiment in Jammu. It is widely believed in Jammu that Kashmir has 'developed' at the cost of Jammu. The fact is that in every sense of the word Kashmir is as underdeveloped as Jammu if not worse; unemployment is rife, education, healthcare and other civic amenities are as degenerated as in Jammu. Ironically, of all the money that the SAYSS imagines is pumped into Kashmir about 60% is spent on the Army, bureaucracy and other state machinery to maintain 'law and order'. This is a cruel joke indeed! The Kashmiri people are resented for supposedly spending the very money that is used to kill, maim and brutalise them.

During this 'mass movement' as the SAYSS claims it to be, many atrocities have been committed in Jammu aiming to cripple the economy of the Kashmir valley. **The economic blockade of the Kashmir valley led to severe shortages of essential commodities** and fruits growers alone reported a loss of 60 crore rupees by the end of July. The huts of poor Muslims (mostly Gujjars, who are the poorest and most exploited section in all of Jammu and Kashmir) were burnt down like in Jordian, Akhnoor, Poonch, Rajouri and Samba areas of Jammu. A mob of Samiti activists carrying spears and trishuls forced 250 gujjar families out of their homes in Akhnoor and Bisnah alone. Women were molested, houses burned down as the police watched silently. The situation in these areas is described by local progressive activists as 'dangon ka mahol'. Scores of people, mostly Gujjars, Kashmiri drivers, and turban-less Sikhs mistaken for Muslims have been brutally assaulted, and some were even lynched (the similarity to the post-9/11 racist backlash in America is striking...).

The biased reporting in the media in Jammu and the rest of India has only complimented this reactionary violence, as also the state violence inside the valley. The unrest in Jammu is being portrayed as the 'natural', 'spontaneous' regional/communal response to the uprising in Kashmir against the land transfer. The role of the organized Hindu fundamentalists is being downplayed. What is shown to the world is a Menacing Muslim Kashmir vs. a Downtrodden Hindu Jammu. While the presence of a communal element cannot be denied, it must be remembered that this is primarily and most significantly a question of regional autonomy and that the communal element has been grafted onto it by a shrewd intervention of the fascist Hindu right.

March 16, 2012

Support the Liberation Struggles of the Oppressed Nationalities!

Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution – Mao Tse-tung

Indian state's continued war on the people and nationalities: Not many people in Indian are aware that the military strategies and tactics adopted by the Indian armed forces to crush the national liberation struggle of the Mizos from 1966 to 1986 was much in common with the ones used by the US on the Vietnamese people during the same time. In February 1966, the Indian air force bombed Aizawl and other centres of the Indian occupation forces liberated by the guerrilla fighters of the Mizo National Front. Apart from destroying thousands of houses and murdering many hundreds of Mizos through aerial bombardments, Indian state carried out the policy of 'strategic hamleting' in Mizoram – a technique which was invented and widely used by the US Army in Vietnam. Much like the Salwa Judum camps of Chhattisgarh where adivasis are forcibly kept confined after displacing them from their villages in order to cut them off from the revolutionary movement, in Mizoram hundreds of villages were destroyed and the inhabitants were forcefully clustered into camps controlled by the Indian army. During these twenty years, the Mizos suffered the worst forms of state terror and brutality perpetrated by the Indian army, paramilitary and the air force. Fake encounters, rape, burning of villages, destruction of crops and property of the people, torture, custodial deaths became the order of the day – all because the Mizos demanded their right to self-determination and independence from Indian occupation.

Though it was the first occasion when Air Force was used by the Indian state on people whom it considers to be its own citizens, this was not the first time that Indian state has used its military might to suppress the democratic aspirations of the people in the subcontinent. We must not forget that the Indian army was used against the people participating in Telangana armed insurrection during 1946-51 and also to crush the Naxalbari uprising of 1967-72. The rulers of India used its army to suppress under its jackboots the demand of the Sikhs to form a separate Khalistan in the early 1980s. An independent princely state like Manipur was incorporated into the Indian union in October 1949 by using coercion and the might of the Indian armed forces, rather than allowing the people to democratically decide their political destiny. But such authoritarian measures of the Indian state have failed to extinguish the struggle of the Manipuri people to recover their lost independence. From 1964 till the present, an armed struggle for national liberation is being waged by the people of Manipur, facing severe repression exemplified by the rape and murder of Thangjam Manorama by the Indian army in 2004.

Kashmir was forcibly occupied by India in 1947, and since then is under the army rule. The Indian state never honoured the promise it made of a UN supervised referendum whereby the people of Kashmir would decide whether they form an independent Kashmir, merged with Pakistan or unite with India. To quell the Kashmiri people's aspiration for *azadi* and to instil in them a sense of fear, Indian state wanted to set an example by hanging Maqbool Butt, a Kashmiri freedom fighter, in February 1984. However, rather than deterring the Kashmiris, the unjust murder and martyrdom of Maqbool Butt inspired them to take the struggle for *azadi* to a higher form – the phase of armed national liberation struggle. Nearly a hundred thousand people have lost their lives at the hands of the Indian occupation army till date. Like any other oppressed people of the subcontinent who have stood up for their rights against the Indian state, the Kashmiris too have undergone untold sufferings, including constantly living under brutal army repression, murder of freedom fighters and civilians, fake encounters, forced 'disappearances', physical and psychological torture, rape, destruction of the national economy, stifling of freedom of expression and dissent, and so one. There is no sign that having committed dastardly crimes of such proportions to keep Kashmir forcibly in the Indian union, the present Indian state will on its own allow the people of Kashmir a chance to exercise their right to self-determination.

Even on occasions when the people of various oppressed nationalities have declared their popular will to form free and independent countries of their own, the Indian ruling classes have never respected their democratic decision. For instance, in May 1951 the Nagas conducted a referendum to decide the political future of their nation, and 99% of the Nagas voted in favour of forming an independent and sovereign Nagaland. However, Indian state's refusal to recognise their democratic aspirations and its use of coercive power to keep the Nagas under Indian hegemonic rule led to the armed liberation movement led by the Naga National Council from 1952. From 1975, National Socialist Council of Nagalim (NSCN) has spearheaded the Naga self-determination movement through armed struggle against the Indian occupation forces. The Indian rulers considered the political struggle of the Nagas primarily as a 'law-and-order problem', and have tried all means to deny them freedom. During the mutual ceasefire and political talks with the Nagas from 1997 till today, the Indian state has used delay tactics and the colonial divide-and-rule policy with the only aim of forcing the Nagas to give up their demand. The ceasefire agreement and the mutually-agreed guidelines of the talks are being regularly flouted by the Indian government, the collective leadership of the Nagas are being kept virtually under house-arrest and even imprisoned on frivolous charges, as in the case of Anthony Shimrey, the head of foreign affairs of the NSCN. Indian state has also tried to criminalise the Naga movement and to portray NSCN as a 'terrorist' group. Thus in the garb of peace, Indian state has been waging a relentless war on the Naga people over the last fourteen years.

Indian Union is a colonial formation, a prison-house of nationalities established through the use of force and intimidation, not with consent and popular will. If the two hundred years of colonial rule marks the forcible integration of many independent nationalities like the Assamese to the Indian union, 1947 marks the territorial division of many other nationalities – Kashmiris, Sikhs, Nagas, Mizos, Bengalis, etc., which have been artificially separated by international boundaries. The continued Indian occupation of Kashmir, Nagalim, Manipur and Assam, or its war on the people of central and eastern India under 'Operation Green Hunt' shows that the army is the cornerstone of political power of the Indian state, neither popular will nor the principles of democracy. This national oppression is maintained by the Indian ruling classes for continuing the semi-feudal semi-colonial system of extraction and exploitation of peoples' resources. This is not the question of mere violation of 'human rights' as it is often reduced to be. More than that, it is the violation and denial of the collective political rights of the people. By imposing its regressive logic of 'national integration' etc. on the students, the draconian Lyngdoh guidelines wish us to legitimise this denial by the Indian state, and to overlook the historical crimes it has committed against oppressed nationalities. It is only by resolutely fighting against Lyngdoh that we can extend our true solidarity to the peoples and nations fighting for their liberation.

March 26, 2012

Oppose fascist Indian state's brutal occupation of Kashmir! Booked under draconian Public Safety Act, 22-year old youth died in police custody!

Sajad Ahmad, a twenty-two year old youth from Northern Kashmir, Sopore, died last Thursday in police custody. In November, last year, he was detained by the Special Operation Group (SGO) under Public Security Act (PSA). He was subject to inhuman torture in police lockup leaving him in a critical condition with life risk. He was then hospitalized for almost fifteen days. As soon as his condition became stable he was again detained and kept in the police lockup for twenty days without any specific charge whatsoever. Then he was moved to sub-district prison in Burramulla and subsequently to District jail of Kupwara. Gulam Nabi Dar, the father of the deceased, reported that due to continuing mental and physical torture by the SOG in jail, Sajad's condition became serious yet again. Jail authorities showed no concern to Sajad's worsening physical condition, forcing the family to go to the court. Despite court's order, the police however continued their deliberate negligence, in the end causing Sajad's death.

The police and concerned authority, *as usual*, have already denied charges of negligence and torture of any form. At the same time, they have parroted their usual 'script' of conducting enquiries and taking immediate action against police personnel, if found guilty. We all know none will be found guilty ever in such 'never-to-be' conducted enquiries. Even if any enquiry happens, as in the case of gang rape of fifty women in Kunan Poshpora or the Shopian rape and murder case, the Indian state and entire ruling class machinery will gang up to give complete protection to their mercenaries i.e. Army, paramilitary and the police in Kashmir.

Draconian laws, like PSA or AFPSA, ensure that blood thirsty Indian army, SOG or police hunt down with complete impunity and brutally silence the protesting people of Kashmir. Under PSA anybody can be detained on the basis of mere suspicion or on a preemptive basis and then can be kept for a period of two years in jails without any trial whatsoever. Hundreds of political activists, protesting youths and even minors have been detained under PSA and then were forced to accept false charges framed against them. Rolling over rollers on thighs, indiscriminate hitting with rifle butts, electrocuting private parts and other forms of sexual exploitation are some of the measures that the self proclaimed 'world's largest democracy' employs in Kashmir to stifle the voices of Azadi. Needless to say, with most cases remaining unreported, many more have succumbed to such custodial torture like Sajjad.

With people's resistance intensifying against such mass murders and the incessant call of *Azadi* reverberating across the valley, Indian state and its ruling classes is in deep crisis. Expectedly their response has been to intensify the fascist repression. **Condemning Sajad's custodial death in strongest possible words, DSU calls upon progressive section of this country to oppose fascist Indian state's occupation of Kashmir and stand in solidarity with people's democratic demand of the right to self-determination including the right to secede.**

October 5, 2011

Some questions to AISA on AFSPA!

In the pamphlet dated 11/9/2011, on AFSPA, AISA wrote:

"AFSPA was introduced in the name of countering 'terrorist' activity. It is now more than fifty years since AFSPA has been enforced, and there is no evidence that AFSPA has been successful in its stated aim either in the North East or in Jammu & Kashmir".

• So in AISA's opinion the national liberation movements that are going on in Kashmir and in various other places in the North East are basically terrorist movements, which the AFSPA, unlike its 'stated aim' has failed to curb! Is that how AISA look at the heroic movement of the people fighting for their dignity and denied nationhood?

• Before condemning AFSPA one should first demand the removal of the heavy deployment of armed forces from Kashmir and North East to whom AFSPA has been providing impunity. In yesterday's pamphlet or before, AISA hardly talks about the removal of lakhs of armed forces who are using AFSPA to kill, torture, detain or rape people. Is talking about 'repealing AFSPA', without demanding the removal of the armed forces going to change anything in either Kashmir or North East? Do they fancy that the ruthless armed forces will overnight turn 'humane' if AFSPA is repealed?

• Again, merely condemning AFSPA or talking about 'human rights' violations caused because of it, is just a sham when one does not recognize as to why it had been imposed in the first place. The huge contingents of merciless mercenary forces with complete legal impunity to kill have been deployed in Kashmir and North East to crush the genuine movement of the people in these places who are waging a heroic struggle for their national liberation. India has historically occupied these nations by force and has unleashed a reign of terror to crush these movements. AFSPA is just a 'legal' sanction to that state terror. AISA, just like an NGO, has deliberately avoided recognizing or taking a position on supporting the right to self-determination including the right to secession of these oppressed nationalities. Isn't it utter hypocrisy and opportunism on the part of AISA to call itself Marxist-Leninist on one hand and maintain a criminal silence on the movement for Azaadi and self-determination including the right to secession?

•Down with the draconian AFSPA!

•Remove the armed occupation forces from Kashmir and North-East!

•Long live the heroic resistance for nationality and self-determination!

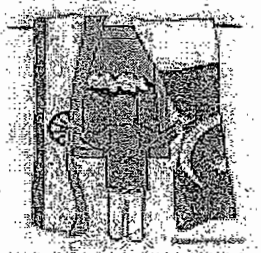
Each and every flag black flag that came up in the Kashmir University to protest the visit of Pranab Mukherjee screamed what the Kashmiris have been saying for more than half a century. The black flags and badges symbolized the determined fight of the Kashmiris against Indian occupation and for their right to self-determination including the right to secede from the Indian union. Kashmir right now remains the most militarized zone in the world and the crimes of the Indian state in Kashmir have surpassed even that of Pinochet's Chile. The struggle of the Kashmiris for this basic democratic right to decide their own collective future and destiny has been met with all the military might of the Indian state. But all the brute force of the Indian state, with the overt and covert assistance of its imperialist masters has not been able to crush the aspirations of the Kashmiris. The current protests of the KUSU once again exemplifies this. **DSU appeals to all progressive & democratic sections to stand in solidarity with the people of Kashmir in their fight for self-determination *including* secession.**

July 16, 2010

Expose SFI-CPI(M)'s anti-Marxist and Chauvinist Position on Kashmir! Stand by the Kashmiri People's Struggle for National Self-Determination, including Secession!

"A socialist of any of the oppressor nations who does not recognise and does not struggle for the right of the oppressed nations to self determination, i.e., secession, is in reality a chauvinist, not a socialist."

- LENIN



In the pamphlet issued on the 10th of July, SFI has attacked DSU's position on Kashmir as 'opportunist', 'irresponsible', 'erroneous', even 'pro-militancy' and 'pro-secessionist', without first clearly placing DSU's understanding on the question, or even their own! **Far from castigating DSU, what SFI has successfully achieved is to lay bare its own reactionary, anti Marxist-Leninist and national-chauvinist ideological bankruptcy on the highly important question of oppressed nationalities.** DSU remains committed to the Leninist principle of standing by and strengthening the struggles of oppressed nationalities for national liberation, and their democratic right to choose their own collective destiny even if that choice is for national independence through secession. Every genuine Marxist organisation in history has firmly upheld this principle of people's democracy, which far exceeds the bourgeois liberals', social democrats' and 'Marxists' who never gets tired of talking 'democracy' in every instance, but exposes their majoritarian nationalism and chauvinism of an oppressor in practice. If SFI cares to look back at history, they will find that it is this hypocrisy that the Bolsheviks fought against in European 'socialists' of the First International almost a hundred years back, and it was the constitution of the USSR, which for the first time in history enshrined the right of the national minorities to self-determination, including the right to secede. All the 'liberal and democratic' constitutions, including that of India, appear in poor light when it comes to recognizing this truly democratic right.

The fact that SFI and CPI(M) still plies the old trade of the revisionists and reactionaries who have plagued the International Communist Movement, and which was repeatedly exposed and rejected by Marxist-Leninists, is no news to us. They have long abandoned Marxism and has transformed into social-fascists, trampling and crushing the struggles of the oppressed people wherever the CPI(M) is in power, be it the movements of the peasants and workers in Bengal and Kerala, the liberation movement of the Tripuris in the state of Tripura, or the separate statehood movement in Darjeeling. They have never shied away from unleashing state repression wherever their political power was challenged, be it the Naxalite movement in 1970s and '72s, or the movements against land-grab and state terror in Singur, Nandigram, Lalgarh, Chengara, using the combine force of army, paramilitary, police and harmads and by silencing political dissent by employing draconian laws like AFSPA and UAPA, etc. Where they are not in power, the CPI(M) has supported the repressive measures of their ruling class partners in crushing people's movements from Kashmir to Tamil Eelam to Dandakaranya.

For CPI(M) and SFI, Kashmir is nothing but a 'problem'! It does not matter to them that it is a problem only for the Indian ruling classes. They do not recognise that for Kashmiris it is a non-negotiable democratic aspiration, for which close to a hundred thousand people have laid down their lives at the hands of the Indian state's fascist armed apparatus. They protest against "the continuing violence in the Kashmir Valley", without identifying the reasons for this daily violence or its perpetrators. What they simply want is for 'normalcy' to return, the normalcy of continuous Indian occupation, of everyday repression of the Indian Army, the brutal silencing of the call for Azadi to eternity. This 'normalcy' is disturbed and becomes a problem when the people of Kashmir militantly resist this unrelenting occupation of their homeland, and the crimes committed by the Indians, whether be in the army, bureaucracy or judiciary with impunity. That is why they complain in their pamphlet that the state government "has proved itself quite incapable of dealing with the situation". Probably they want the National Conference government to take a leaf out of CPI(M)'s book in 'dealing with mass struggles!

Though SFI mutters vaguely about the "democratic rights", "sentiments" and "aspirations" of the Kashmiris, they maintain a calculated silence on what exactly is this aspiration and sentiment. Are the Kashmiris merely fighting for a right to be free from state's atrocities and AFSPA, or for their right to protest and expression? Only the hypocrites like SFI and CPI(M) can pretend to ignore that this right is nothing but the right to national self-determination, for Azadi. It is the hypocrisy, political bankruptcy and utter opportunism of SFI and CPI(M) which compels them to undermine this struggle by terming it as 'terrorism', 'anti-national' 'insurgency', thereby justifying the Indian occupation of Kashmir like any other ruling class parliamentary party, including BJP. In the same vein, in the national liberation struggle of the Iraqi, Afghan or Palestinian people resisting imperialism and occupation led by Al Qaida, Taliban or Hamas, they only see 'Islamic fundamentalists' and 'jihadists', much like their Sanghi ruling class counterparts. The difference between the social-fascists and the communal-fascists is after all not as big as they want it to appear!

want; SFI on the other hand, much like the puppet chief minister of Kashmir, wants a partial revocation of AFSPA! However, the Kashmiri people have seen enough of stooges of the Indian state to even take these two spent, irrelevant forces seriously. The flames of liberation struggle in Kashmir shall wipe out all these stooges of the Indian state, and all Marxists, as Comrade Charu Mazumdar pointed out, should stand in solidarity with the valiant fighters of Kashmir.

DSU Public Meeting

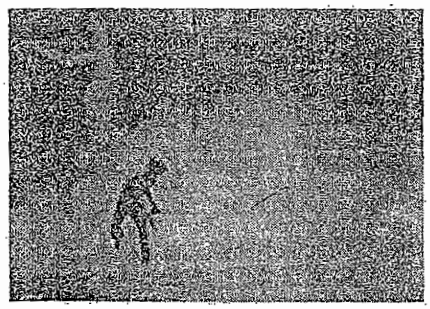
Not AFSPA but Azadi is the Central Question in Kashmir!

Speaker: Dr. Sheikh Showkat Hussein

Dept. of Law, Kashmir University

9.30pm | 13th November | Kaveri Mess | JNU

July 10, 2010



Demand a Stop to the Fascist Repression by the Indian State on the People of Kashmir! Lets Stand with the People of Kashmir in their Struggle for Azadi!

Ay zalimon, ay jabiron...Kashmir hamara chhor do! (Oh oppressors, oh wicked ones...leave our Kashmir!)

- A slogan raised on the streets of Kashmir

The people of Kashmir have risen once again against state repression and for their right to national self determination. Despite all the brutalities and the heavy deployment of the army and the paramilitary forces, the Indian state has been unable to prevent thousands of Kashmiris from pouring out in the streets. In the last few weeks, 16 youth including a woman, have lost their lives while protesting at the hands of firing by the police and CRPF in Anantnag, Sopore and Srinagar. In the most recent spate of killings, a 17 year old youth was abducted by the police and tortured to death on 6th July. When in protest people from Gungbung, Tengpora and Batamaloo joined his family for a peaceful sit in at the Srinagar-Baramulla highway demanding the whereabouts of the boy, CRPF fired tear gas shells to disperse the protesters. Later the body of the boy was found lying in a nearby stream. The protests subsequently intensified across the valley and three more unarmed civilians were gunned down taking the total tally of number of people killed to 16 including a nine year old boy, the number of injured have crossed hundred. In the past few days, the freedom of press has also been severely constrained and reporters and journalists have also been repeatedly beaten up. An indefinite curfew has now been imposed in the valley. The army has also been now been deployed to restore 'normalcy'! The government has also clamped down on mobile services in the valley while severe restrictions have also been put on the movement of the people in the valley with the army calling all the shots. Pro-freedom leaders including Syed Ali Shah Geelani have been arrested and charged under Public Safety Act.

When the movement for Azadi erupted in the late 1980's in the form of armed struggle after decades of peaceful struggle were ignored, the Indian state resorted to fascist means to crush the uprising. In the subsequent two decades, more than 70,000 have been killed, many women raped, and thousands have simply 'disappeared'. Draconian laws like the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) have provided complete impunity to these killers. A recent fact finding report revealed the existence of more than 27,000 unmarked graves that had around 30,000 unidentified dead bodies. The Indian state initially portrayed the freedom fighters in Kashmir as 'Pakistani terrorists' to manufacture consent for the brutal suppression. They kept insisting that they are ready for a peaceful solution through dialogue on all issues only if they left the path of armed struggle. The Indian state faced in the past few years with the massive mobilization of people in non-violent struggles has now been caught on the wrong foot. It has become a huge cause of concern for the Indian ruling class who can no more justify their repression on grounds of fighting 'terrorists'. Therefore, Lt. Col. Jaiswal, an army colonel, recently in the most absurd and heinous manner, commented that 'agitational terrorism' is the cause of most concern in the valley. The CRPF therefore is opening fire on these fighting yet unarmed masses, on the meaningless pretext of 'provocation and self-defense'. During the massive movement in 2008 against the Amarnath Land Transfer, the Indian state shot down more than 60 people including a senior Hurriyat leader. These protesters are once again been portrayed by the state and its media agents as a handful hired agents working at the behest of forces across the border. Nothing can be a more brazen and shameful depiction of genuine mass anger and protests by people who have been repressed in the most brutal ways since the past few decades by the Indian state. The question of stone throwing is being blown out of proportions with the establishment and media portraying it as if the CRPF is firing in 'self defence'. What is happening is exactly the opposite. When the CRPF is firing on peaceful sit-ins and protests, what else do they expect?

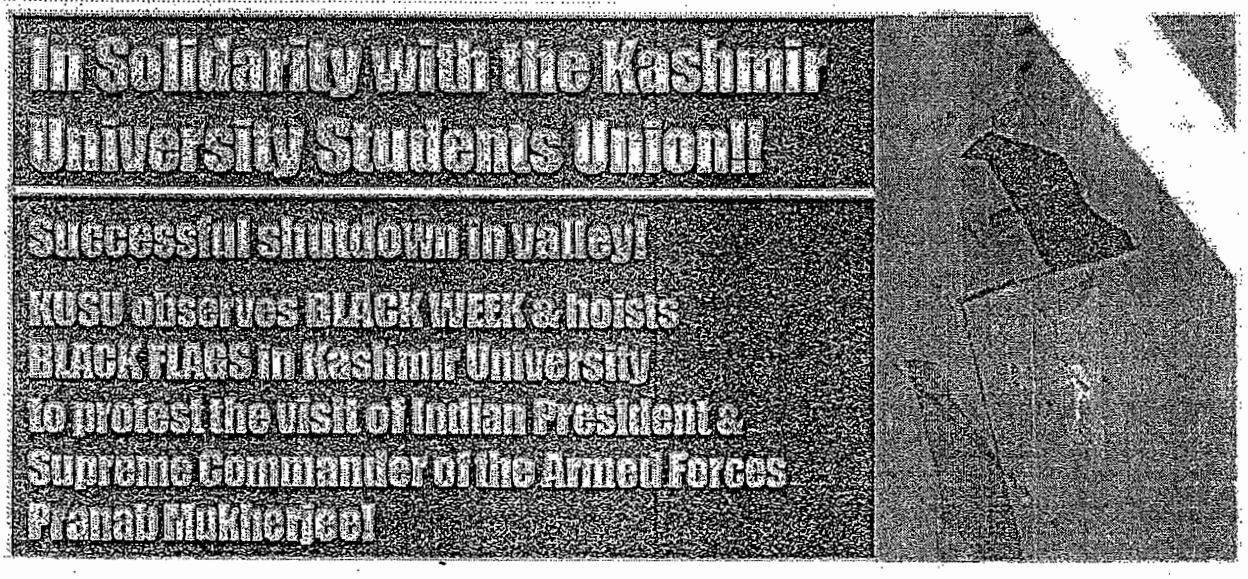
month, a ruling class engineered communal clashes in Kishtwar, in the same Jammu region, has claimed lives of at least three people, while more than twenty were injured. The curfew imposed in the region continues till date.

How it all started: On the day of Eid, as a rally of people, was moving towards the local mosque to offer Eid Namaz, two right-wing hooligans, barged into it on a motorbike and started an altercation with the people. Soon the Personal Security Officers of BJP leaders and the members of the notorious Village Defence Committee (VDC) started firing in the air. In the ensuing clash the members of Bajrang Dal and the VDC started a rampage, burning shops and attacking houses. A huge mob of BJP goons even gheraoed the bungalow in which, Sajjad Ahmed Kichloo, the Minister of Home for State had taken shelter. The police and CRPF, which fires straight away at protesting people in Kashmir, whenever they protest, as usual remained mute spectators as the Bajrang Dal and VDC goons who repeatedly attacked people and property of the Muslim community.

The VDC have been preparing grounds for these attacks for months. The VDC is a quasi legal armed band of goons who have been propped up by the state admittedly to 'quell militancy'. In reality this armed militia formed by the state is an extra-judicial gang, formed with local recruits, including the notorious *ikhwanis* or surrendered militants that have been appointed to counter the swelling movement for freedom and self-determination in Jammu and Kashmir. More than 25,000 people are working as VDC in various districts of Jammu and Kashmir. Armed with sophisticated weapons these VDC is a notorious gang, which is directly guided and aided by the *sangh parivar*. A few months few VDC thugs raped a minor girl from the muslim community. They used their sanctioned guns to intimidate the girl and later her family to prevent them from filing a police complaint. Later owing to huge protests, two VDC goons, Ranjit kumar and Sanjit Singh were arrested by the police. This was followed by the arrest of Shiv Krishna Sharma, alias Sonu, who had become notorious for faking encounters. On 29th July, a sixteen year old boy Shamin Ahmed Lone of Noutaas, Doda was killed by the VDC. In Kishtwar, as per government record, 96.5% of the VDC members are non-muslims and the sangh parivar work in tandem with most of these armed gang propped up by the state. In Last few weeks, while Ramzan was going on, masked men in Kishtwar region was regularly targeting muslim households, by pelting stones at night and even burning property of muslim communities.

Contrary to the media-hyped and state-propagated myth, the call for *azaadi* and movement for freedom of Kashmir is not restricted in the Valley alone. The surge of protests that took place in Doda, kishtwar, Rajouri, Kargil and other places after the Ramban killing decisively showed that. **In Kishtwar too, on the day of Eid, people raised slogans of Azaadi and asserted their right to self-determination. So it became imperative for the occupying Indian state to engineer this communal polarity to quell greater unity of the masses for their resolute movement for right to self-determination including secession.** Earlier also, the state and the communal-fascist sangh parivar had engineered similar communal divide and clashes among people in 2007 around the *Amarnath Yatra*. Such machinations of the state and use of the death squads like VDC, are old tricks in the book by occupying forces who are desperate to smash the valiant struggle of the people of Jammu and Kashmir for their freedom. All such crooked attempts by the state notwithstanding, the resolve of the fighting masses for their freedom are only getting strengthened every passing day.

September 28, 2012
In Solidarity with the Kashmir University Students Union!!



Black flags were hoisted in the Kashmir University, at the call of the *banned* Kashmir University Students Union, to protest the visit of Pranab Mukherjee. KUSU also gave a successful call for a 'black week' and the valley witnessed a complete shutdown to protest the visit of the Supreme Commander of the Indian armed forces. In the past few days Kashmir University had been turned into a garrison with sharp shooters, specially trained commandos and dozens of paramilitary troopers posted in the university to prepare for the President's visit. The servile university authorities even gave the information of the students to the intelligence supposedly to save themselves of any 'embarrassment' at the time of the President's visit. **But despite all the attempts of the Indian state to browbeat the students into not protesting against the President's visit, the students successfully hoisted the flags at numerous places.** The mercenaries of the Indian state quickly got into action to save themselves of the 'embarrassment', but the flags and the defiance they symbolized could be seen across the university.

coercion tactics by the STF in making him 'confess', but none of those were considered till he was finally executed. Nor the leads that Afzal provided about the role of various STF officials were ever probed in by the investigating agencies or the media.

Being a former surrendered militant, Afzal was also the most vulnerable. As someone who had once dared to join the armed rebellion called by JKLF after the judicial murder of Maqbool Butt and the rampant rigging and imprisonment of elected representatives of Kashmir in 1989, Afzal found it impossible to live a normal life even after he surrendered. He was constantly harassed and tortured by the BSF and STF and had to pay them regular bribe. Before the parliament attack, he was picked from his shop and taken to the notorious torture center of Humhama-Budgam. There after being tortured for six days he was finally released after he was forced to pay a bribe of one lakh rupees. His wife sold her jewelleries and his scooter to get the money. Inspector Davinder Singh of the STF thereafter ordered Afzal to take Mohammad (one of the slain attackers of parliament) to Delhi and help him rent a room. Afzal himself told the media later that he did not even know that person, why he was going to Delhi and that he complied with the STF's orders only to escape the torture that would follow if he refused. Beyond this one act which Afzal was forced to do under the directions of the STF he had NO connections to the parliament attack. No one till now knows the identity of the five attackers except their names. Right after the attackers names were made public, S.M. Sangari, the Police Commissioner of Thane sought a clarification from J&K police, after identifying one of the four slain militants who were killed in parliament, as Abu Hamza, someone who the thane police had arrested in early December in 2001 and handed over to J&K police along with three others. Sangari kept reiterating about the whereabouts of the militants he had handed over, but he was never answered. The roles of inspector Davinder Singh and notorious "encounter specialist" Rajbir Singh who orchestrated Afzal's media confession after carrying out atrocious torture on him was also never probed. The police maintained that Afzal and Showkat were in touch with Gazi Baba, over two phone numbers, but never produced call records which could have been obvious evidences to prove their claims. **Such loopholes, open ended claims, enforced confessions, circumstantial evidences were all that made up the case against Afzal!** So much so that even the Supreme Court was forced to bank upon only the spurious and frivolous ground of 'satisfying collective conscience' before upholding his execution.

Afzal and his family have been cheated in his death as well! Afzal was executed in utter secrecy and the news of the rejection of his mercy petition or even his impending execution was neither told to him nor to his family or lawyers. It is however mandatory for the government to inform the petitioner (in this case Tabassum) if the clemency petition is rejected. There are exhaustive provisions of judicial reviews of such rejection and anybody in the gallows are entitled to such a right. For example, Devinder Pal Singh Bhullar who is also under death row in Tihar Jail had moved a petition in the Supreme Court to look into the matter of the delay in the execution of death sentence. There are case laws in the apex court wherein pronounced delay in the execution of death sentence is in itself grounds for converting the same into life. The court had appointed Mr. Ram Jethmalani as the amicus curiae in this case and was hearing the petition. But for Afzal after spending 12 years in prison after being framed "law did not take its course" and he was rabidly denied of such existing legal provisions to fight a last battle for justice and truth.

Currently Afzal's wife and son are fighting a battle to bring his body back to Kashmir. They have bravely rejected Indian government's charitable offer to come in a state sponsored trip to offer Fateha Namaz in his grave inside Tihar and have rather demanded he should be buried in Kashmir! In Kashmir and various places in India and the world people have held memorial and protest meetings for Afzal. The people of Kashmir have even dug an open grave in the Martyr's graveyard in Kashmir to bury him. There has been a heavy deployment of police in the graveyard ever since and the Indian police like a petty thief stole his engraved epitaph to quickly replace it with a painted replica following a huge outcry of protests. Such is the Indian state's fear of the collective strength of the Kashmiri people!

DSU stands in full solidarity with demands of Afzal's family and the valiant people of Kashmir. We refuse to share the "collective conscience" of this killer brahmanical communal fascist state and its killer policies. We refuse to share in the name of "nationalism", the onus of genocides, mass murder, capital punishment, army atrocities, forced disappearances, torture, illegal arrests, rape and harassment that the Indian armed forces carry out everyday in Kashmir, North East, central and eastern India.

To the fascist Indian ruling class we reply with the words of Nazim Hikmet. Yes, I am a traitor, if you are a patriot/if you are a defender of our homeland/I am a traitor to my homeland, I am a traitor to my country/If patriotism is your farms/if the valuables in your safes and your bank accounts is patriotism/if patriotism is dying from hunger by the side of the road/if patriotism is trembling in the cold like a cur and shivering from malaria in the summer/if sucking our scarlet blood in your factories is patriotism,

if patriotism is the claws of your village lords/if patriotism is the catechism, if patriotism is the police club/if your allocations and your salaries are patriotism/if patriotism is American bases, American bombs, and American missiles/if patriotism is not escaping from our stinking black-minded ignorance/then I am a traitor/Write it over three columns, in a pitch-black screaming streamer/

NAZIM HIKMET IS CONTINUING TO BE A TRAITOR STILL!

September 23, 2013

Condemn the communal war mongering in Kishtwar, by the occupying Indian state in Jammu and Kashmir!

A month back, the gruesome killings of at least nine people and injuring of many others, took place in Ramban near the Jammu region of Jammu and Kashmir. Assertive protests erupted all across the Kashmir valley and Jammu that condemned the targeted killing of unarmed people and people once again protested demanding their inalienable right of *Azaadi*. People across religions joined in the protests against the Ramban killings. Predictably, within a

Therefore the "collective conscience" which is manufactured by police and the media do not belong to the oppressed masses of the country.

But as comrade Charu Majumdar said, "The coming era is not only an era of great struggles but also of great victories". And in the coming times the united struggle of the oppressed masses of this sub-continent will bring about freedom for Kashmir as well as real freedom for India. The Indian state murdered Shaheed Maqbool Butt in 1984 with the hope that the movement for Azadi in Kashmir will be suppressed forever. But the movement intensified and became more militant and radical. The murder of Afzal too is only going to make the people of Kashmir more resolute and determined in the battle for freedom. No amount of suppression and cowardly acts like the murder of Afzal Guru will be able to suppress the valiant fight of the people of Kashmir for their right to self-determination including the right to secede from the Indian union.

February 16, 2013

Return Afzal's Body to his family and to his countrymen!
The judicial murder of Afzal will only intensify Kashmir's struggle for Azadi!!

Protest in Delhi, 15th February 2013

When ABVP brings a poster with an appeal 'No Politics Please, See Afzal's case from a legal prism', they are just echoing the desperation of their ruling class masters. As if law is devoid of any politics and as if put strictly within the "legal prism" the Indian ruling class can be absolved of the cold-blooded judicial murder of Afzal Guru, that took place on the early morning of 9th of February within Tihar. They know they can't stop the public outcry against this cold-blooded, well planned murder which was the culmination of an orchestrated case, and therefore they have adopted all sorts of fascist draconian tactics to throttle the voices of protest. Kashmir is under siege for six continuous days with unbroken curfew since the murder of Afzal took place. The SMS, cable network and internet service has all been withdrawn from all over the valley and media is under worst kind of gag. Except the government news channel all other channels have been suspended, and not a single local Kashmiri daily, including Kashmir Reader, Greater Kashmir, Kashmir Rising and local Urdu dailies are allowed to be circulated. Despite all this repression, assertive protests defying curfew and the fascist diktats are taking place all across Kashmir and India and the police as usual have open fired on the protesters killing 3 including a pregnant woman and 13 year old child! The J&K state government issued an atrocious instruction to the doctors of SKIMS to not declare deaths of protesters, even if they die! In Delhi and Dehradun, Shiv-Sena/RSS goons were violently unleashed on protesting students before the police arrested the protesters. Similar attempts to throttle protests took place in Hyderabad, various places in Kerala and Bangalore.

The Indian state's attempt to clamp down on the voices of protest and attempts to raise questions on the murder of Afzal is the continuation of the cover up they have been manipulating of the Parliament attack case of 2002 as well as of the murderous occupation of Kashmir. Afzal's life and death bears not only the ugliest scars of its jingoism, manufactured hyper-nationalism, brazen illegal activities of various 'intelligence agencies' working in tandem, implicating innocent people in rabid false cases, use of torture and 'police confessions', use of draconian laws like POTA and UAPA, but also its continuation with the medieval practice of capital punishment. In a nutshell the secretly executed and hurriedly buried body of Afzal Guru embodies all the evidences that Indian democracy is a farce. How public institutions including the Supreme Court can be randomly evoked against people to issue orders of executions and murders after putting aside all evidences that contradicts such efforts. How the Indian parliament which is only a seat of exploitation of the most oppressed masses not only fails to raise a single protest against such heinous state sponsored murder but rather cheers in unison. For every parliamentary party, from the communal fascist sangh parivar to the pseudo-left social fascist CPM, the 'law has taken its own course' in Afzal's execution!

The truth behind Afzal's life and death however puts forward a completely different picture, where just like Kashmir under occupation, 'Law' has no place. According to the constant police and faithfully parroted versions of the media Afzal stands portrayed as the 'mastermind' and therefore main accused behind the parliament attack case of 13th December, 2001, when five (or was it six?) militants very easily drove inside the Indian parliament house in a car packed with explosives and open fired on policemen killing eight of them and a gardener. All the militants were killed too in the ensuing gun battle. On 15th of December the Delhi Police Special Cell declared they have cracked the case and arrested Afzal, his cousin Showkat Guru, Prof. SAR Geelani of DU and Showkat's wife Afsan. The lower trial court gave death sentence to Afzal, Showkat and Geelani. The legal battle that ensued was one of the most challenging ones of the country's history. None of the POTA charges stood the test of judicial scrutiny, and the entire argument of the police was based on 'confessions' which even the Supreme Court called 'unreliable'. Eventually the Supreme Court was forced to acquit Geelani and Afsan while commuting Showkat's sentence to ten years of imprisonment. As for Afzal, the Supreme Court upheld that he did not belong to any 'terror outfit' at the time of the attack and there is no direct evidence to prove his involvement, set aside his confessions and all the so-called evidences are circumstantial. Yet the Apex Court upheld the death penalty simply to satisfy the 'Collective Conscience' of the society. Among all the implicated people, Afzal was least represented in the law court. All evidences against him were treated as tenable as no one but himself disputed those. At the most crucial stage of the case when witnesses are cross examined, evidences are provided and arguments are laid, Afzal did not have a single lawyer who will represent his case and challenge the public prosecution. He was subject to a most unjust 'media trial' where he was made to confess his 'guilt' before the media, while his brother was taken into custody and he was threatened with the death of his family by the STF! In later stages both Afzal and his wife Tabassum wrote to various lawyers, media and even to the President of India about the brutal torture and heinous

that till Kashmiris' call for Azadi echoes in the valley, Indian state not only would rape, maim, loot, burn, massacre the valley but if required would murder them in the name of justice and democracy too. But no amount of repression will ever be able to crush the fight of the people of Kashmir for their right to self determination including the right to secede from the Indian union. DSU condemns in strongest possible words the murder of Afzal. and calls upon students to join today's protest march, at 9.30 PM at ganga dhaba against murder of Afzal Guru, police and Sangh giroh's assault on the protesters and illegal detention of S.A. R Geelani and other activists.

February 10, 2013

Cowardly acts like the murder of Afzal Guru can never suppress the flames of Azadi in Kashmir! Long Live the Kashmiri National Liberation Struggle!!

Yesterday in a highly secretive and cowardly act Afzal Guru was hanged to death by the Indian state after being kept in jail for more than twelve years. Even his wife and son were not informed of his impending death and the rejection of the mercy petition. They were thus blatantly denied of the scope to explore the provisions of judicial review, which are the basic rights of a petitioner whose clemency petition has been rejected. Afzal was denied his last rites and the state which is clearly scared even of his dead body hurriedly buried it inside Tihar jail. The preparations for his execution were already under way and the valley of Kashmir was first fortified from the previous evening, and since morning an *indefinite* curfew was imposed. However, none of these could deter the people from protesting against this cowardly murder. A huge number of people poured out in the valley, and in subsequent police firing several people were injured. Protests broke out in different parts of India and the police and the RSS goons (the two work in tandem) cracked down on them. SAR Geelani was illegally arrested in the morning by the sleuths of the Special Cell, and revolutionary writer Varavara Rao was arrested from Hyderabad to stop them from protesting. As the state crackdown intensified in Kashmir and on the protesters, the entire spectrum of Indian ruling class along with the Sanghi lumpens and a venomous corporate media celebrated in unity. The social fascist CPM could not be left behind, and echoed its right wing counterparts as Sitaram Yechury proclaimed that "law has taken its course" and a long pending issue concluded! None of them talked about the brazen travesty of justice that scarred Afzal in life and death.

The Indian state always dealt with Afzal with absolute deceit and fraudulence. Afzal, a surrendered militant was coerced and tortured repeatedly by the Indian army and the Special Operation Group to become their informer. On his refusal to become an informer, he was regularly harassed, assigned tasks by the army, tortured whenever he refused to and was finally implicated in the parliament Attack case along with SAR Geelani, Showkat Guru and Afsan Guru. After his arrest, he was subjected to the most brutal form of torture. The torture that Afzal went through to extract his 'confession' brings out how the tall talk of democracy and constitutional rights in this country is an outright farce. The officers of the special cell of the Delhi Police hung him upside down naked, he was kept in freezing water in December, petrol was poured into his anus, electric shocks were given on his private parts and the officers of the Special Cell even urinated into his mouth and sexually assaulted him. In a violation of all forms of law and journalistic ethics, the 'confessions' forced from him in police custody were completely reproduced by the bloodthirsty corporate media which ran a vitriolic campaign against Afzal, Geelani, Showkat and Afsan. When Afzal later recounted his ordeal and the circumstances in which the 'confessions' were extracted or his statements about the role of the SOG and STF in the parliament attack, the media remained cruelly oblivious to it. They also made no attempts of "investigative journalism" to probe into the role of STF and SOG in using the surrendered militants to carry out various covert operations which Afzal exposed. It was enough for the media that the notorious Special Cell had arrested Afzal, and thus *he deserved to die*. All this was before his formal trial had even begun! In the mockery that followed in the name of a trial, Afzal was denied even a lawyer. The state appointed lawyer provided to 'defend' him did not meet him in person one single time. Despite this, the prosecution could not furnish even an iota of credible evidence to prove their ludicrous claims. Even the acquittal of the others by the High Court and the Supreme Court due to a sustained legal and political battle by large section of progressive and democratic forces. Eventually, both the High Court and the Supreme Court set aside the police confessions in Afzal's case citing lapses and violations of procedural safeguards, commuted Showkat's sentence to ten years of imprisonment while acquitting Geelani and Afsan. But in the most shameful manner, the Supreme Court ultimately upheld the death sentence for Afzal, not on the basis of any evidence or witness, which it itself accepted it had none, but rather on a supposed 'collective conscience' of the nation! *"As is the case with most of the conspiracies, there is and could be no direct evidence of the agreement amounting to criminal conspiracy... The incident, which resulted in heavy casualties, had shaken the entire nation, and the collective conscience of the society will only be satisfied if capital punishment is awarded to the offender"* –were the exact words of this atrocious judgment. The ruling class could not accept the complete defeat of its fraudulent stories and Afzal became a scapegoat in one of the worst cover up operations in the recent past.

Whose collective conscience are they talking about? The lies and falsities furnished by the brutal state and its mercenary police, army and notorious special cells, marketed by the corporate media with their sensational lies and rabid falsities do not belong to the oppressed masses of this country. It is rather the collective conscience of the Hindu fascist ruling classes. All parliamentary parties, from Congress to BJP to the pseudo left CPM form part of this collective whose conscience has been *finally* satisfied with Afzal's murder. This is the same collective which is complicit in the forcible occupation of Kashmir, murder of over a lakh people in Kashmir, the rapes of thousands of women, disappearances and mass graves. The Indian state and its mercenary forces in Kashmir murder, torture, abduct people and kill them in fake encounters, rape women and men, carry out most gruesome tortures in their 'torture centers'. Curfew is slapped on the public life regularly, whole villages and neighbourhoods are paraded in the name of crackdown. Cell phones, media and social media are regularly controlled. Today itself the printed edition of a pro-people newspaper "Kashmir Reader" was seized by the police and stopped from being circulated. The same forces are united in their repression of people in India too. The same army and the paramilitary which the valiant people of Kashmir have been fighting against is today repressing the struggling masses of this country too.

April 13, 2013

Of Forced Occupations, Fake Encounters & State Appointed Committees! Stand by the right to self-determination of the people of Manipur, the entire North East & Kashmir!

Our fight is against the Indian State machinery and not the Indian people ... We don't trust the Indian government. New Delhi has been using peace talks as a weapon to divide and destroy small nationalities in the Indo-Burma region... I and my colleagues for one believe that India will have to eventually give up its claim on the North-East. Me and my colleagues may or may not see it coming in our life time, but the struggle will continue as long as it takes."

- Former Chairman of United National Liberation Front, now in custody of the Indian state

"The oppressor's government can set up commissions of enquiry and of information daily, in the eyes of the native, these commissions do not exist. ...in the colonies the native has always known that he need expect nothing from the other side. The settler's work is to make even dreams of liberty impossible for the native. The native's work is to imagine all possible methods for destroying the settler." – Frantz Fanon

The skeletons stowed away by the Indian State in its cupboard have tumbled out on more than a few occasions, even as it tries very hard to hide its brutal and unjust occupation of various nationalities in the North-East under the garb of 'peace' & 'development'. The Supreme Court appointed 3 member committee to probe allegations of fake encounters in Manipur expressed 'stunned outrage' at the handiwork of the Indian armed forces in killing seven civilians, including a 12-year-old, between March 2009 and April 2010. The committee was set up by the Supreme Court to hear a PIL filed to investigate 1,528 fake encounters carried out by the State Police and security forces between May 1979 and May 2012. While the SC appointed committee articulates its profuse anguish at this 'discovery', it quite expectedly refuses to look at the history of brutal occupation of Manipur by the Indian state. It is the denial of the sovereignty of Manipur, its unjust occupation and forcible integration that is being continually and legitimately resisted by the people of Manipur by all means - from 15th October 1949 when Sardar Patel forcibly 'integrated' the Manipuri nation into India, and brushed aside in a stroke a history of valiant resistance against British colonialism of a free people, their sovereignty and aspiration for nationhood. And this day – 15th October – is still observed in entire Manipur as anti-merger day. It is to crush this struggle for the right to self-determination that the armed forces have been given complete license to subjugate through terror. But even after investigating into these killings, recognizing these as cold-blooded fake-encounters, and lamenting the same, the committee yet again concludes: ***"Manipur has to be fully integrated with the country. You keep a state alienated for 10-15 years and such things will occur."*** **A full circle, and a new lease for terror and occupation.**

The 1,528 fake encounters are just the tip of the iceberg. The Indian machinery has brutally oppressed millions of people fighting in Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura, Manipur and Kashmir for their right to self-determination, butchering tens of thousands over several decades. The memories of the bombing of Aizawl by the Indian Air Force in 1966, of the Tera Bazaar massacre in Manipur, the mass graves in Kashmir and the continuing forced disappearances, rapes and inhuman torture in various other parts of the Northeast cannot be wished away. And in the same breath we cannot forget the uncompromising and militant resistance by the people of Manipur, the heroic fight of its youth and the assertion of its women marching naked braving the rapist Indian Army.

The answer that the question here begets is not merely the revocation of a few laws or ensuring that certain 'guidelines' are followed. The laws exist precisely because the nature of the state machinery requires them to exist in order to ensure subjugation. So while we condemn the countless fake-encounters, demand justice, and oppose such draconian laws like the AFSPA, we must not do so without addressing the primary question of the inalienable right to self-determination of various nationalities. **DSU appeals to all progressive and democratic sections to stand in solidarity with the people of North East as well as Kashmir for their right to self-determination *including* the right to secede from the Indian Union.**

February 10, 2013

Condemn the cold blooded murder of Afzal Guru! Indian state's dastardly acts can never suppress the flames of Azadi in Kashmir!!

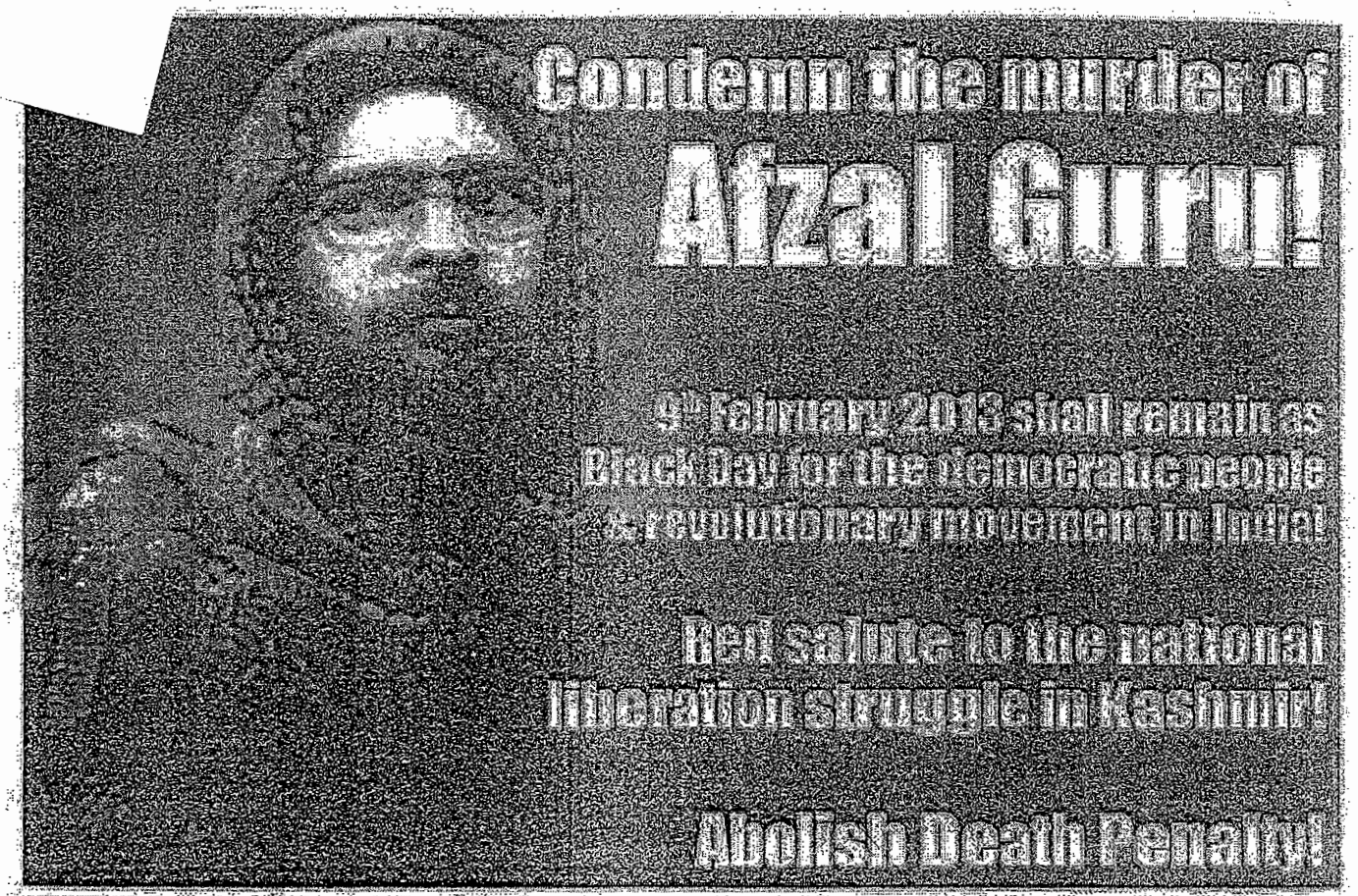
"As is the case with most of the conspiracies, there is and could be no direct evidence of the agreement amounting to criminal conspiracy...The incident, which resulted in heavy casualties, had shaken the entire nation, and the collective conscience of the society will only be satisfied if capital punishment is awarded" --- Supreme Court on the verdict of Afzal Guru case

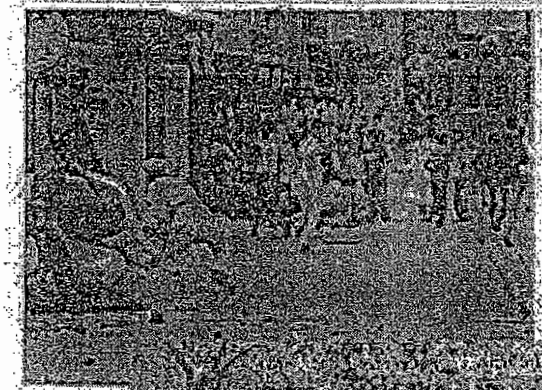
Today morning, Afzal Guru was murdered by the Indian state. In the wee hours of the morning in an extremely covert operation he was hanged and then subsequently buried. Afzal, a Kashmiri national, was arrested in December, 2001 along with other three Kashmiris --- S.A.R Geelani, Shaukat Hussain Guru, and his wife Afsan Guru --- on trumped up charges for their alleged involvement in parliament attack case. The subsequent legal drama that followed brought out how the judicial process in India does not rely on evidence or witnesses but rather on forced confessions and supposedly the 'collective conscience' of the society. He was brutally tortured, never had a lawyer, and also subjected to media trial which declared him guilty even before the trial began. Supreme Court had to admit there was no evidence against Afzal. But for Indian state which has been at war with the Kashmiri people for the past 65 years needed a 'soldier' to hang so that its communal fascist conscience can be satisfied.

'Collective conscience', manufactured by India's communal ruling classes, however had to be upheld at any cost. And UPA-led Indian state precisely did this while pretending to be oblivious about thousands of Kashmiris. The fact that in the wake of Afzal's 'hanging', Indian state fortified Kashmir night before, but still hundreds of protesters marched down the valley, bears witness to it. Indian state in return has unleashed its brutal force and then slapped a curfew. The Indian state has even refused to return his body, which bears witness to the fear of the Indian state of the collective strength of the Kashmiri people. Afzal's killing is a clear terror strategy of an expansionist state, which wants to perpetuate its occupation in Kashmir. It was a threat

2013

Condemn the murder of Afzal Guru by the fascist Indian state!





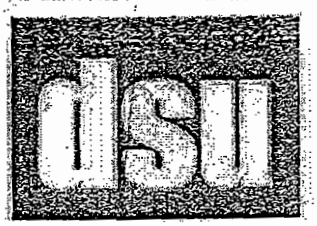
"As is the case with most of the conspiracies, there is and could be no direct evidence of the agreement amounting to criminal conspiracy... The incident that resulted in huge casualties, and shaken the entire nation, and the collective conscience of the society will only be satisfied if capital punishment is awarded.

-- Supreme Court on the verdict on Afzal Guru

Afzal's arrest, framing on trumped up charges in the Parliament Attack case, the farce of a trial, and finally his surreptitious hanging all serve to yet again demonstrate the fascist face of the Indian state. It only satisfies its communal fascist conscience. Afzal's martyrdom, like that of Maqbool Bhat and countless other Kashmiris, bear testimony to the brutal occupation of Kashmir by the Indian state. His body too, like Maqbool's was cowardly buried within the four walls of the jail. But such dastardly acts have never been able to bury the aspirations of the people of Kashmir for nationhood. Because...

"Martyrs are not buried, they are sown."

Slogans for Azaadi reverberated throughout the valley following Afzal's murder, amidst police firing and curfew across Kashmir. Despite violent disruption by the sangh hooligans under police patronage, the streets of Delhi also witnessed vibrant protests by democratic sections and students both from Kashmir & India.



October 25, 2010

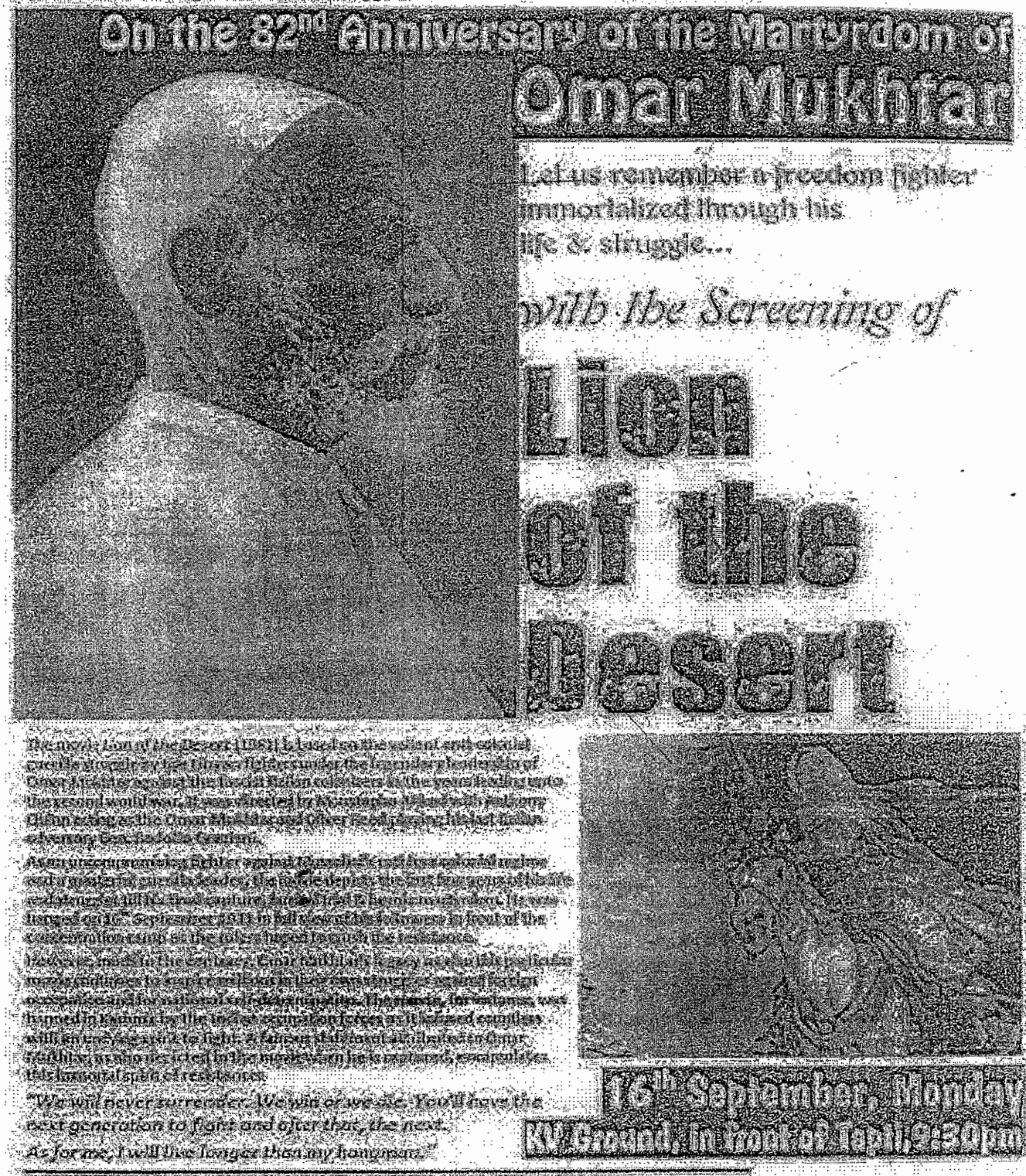
Condemn the detention & house arrest of SAS Geelani by the fascist Indian state! The curbing of democratic voices in the name of 'sedition' will not stop the aspirations of Azaadi !

Syed Ali Shah Geelani, the uncompromising and much respected pro-Azaadi leader of Kashmir had attended a historic convention in Delhi on the 22nd of October titled 'Azadi: The only way' that most evidently has thoroughly unsettled the ruling class and the Indian state machinery. In the convention Geelani most resolutely articulated his unequivocal call for *Azaadi* as the *only* solution acceptable to the struggling people of Kashmir. Geelani had shared the stage with representatives from the various other struggling nationalities as well as intellectuals, writers and activists from India. On his return to Srinagar from New Delhi, SAS Geelani was detained yesterday at the airport and later was whisked away by the security forces as he was about to address the huge crowd that had gathered at the airport. He has thereafter been swiftly again put under house arrest by the threatened Indian state. The home ministry, as Chidambaram had earlier indicated, has also given a go ahead to Delhi police to register a case against Geelani as well as against other participants for giving 'seditious' speeches in the meeting. These speakers had basically articulated their unanimous support to the Kashmiri people's aspirations for self-determination and Azaadi. The very next day of the meeting BJP leader Arun Jaitely had raised the matter in the Rajya Sabha asking for action to be taken against the speakers prompting the home ministry to act. The home ministry ofcourse will never take any action against their own vigilante gangs of Roots in Kashmir, Panun Kashmir and ABVP who tried repeatedly, although in vain, to disrupt the meeting by vandalising the venue, abusing and attacking speakers with their vulgar jingoism.

Like in Kashmir too, Indian state rather than taking any action against the murderers in uniform has continued to brutally murder more and more non-violent protesters. Fashioned around US-ISRAEL model of counter-insurgency encounter killings, indiscriminate arrests, torture, rape in police custody, thousands of killings by para-military and state-sponsored vigilante groups in North-East, Telengana, central adivasi regions of India etc. has been a common practice of the so called 'biggest democracy of the world'. In Kashmir itself in last three months 111 people, including children and women have been killed by the army. Declared as a disturbed area, almost whole Kashmir is under curfew for months now. The detainment of Geelani and Delhi police's preparation to register cases against other speakers in the convention is in the same line. Any democratic, pro-people voices voicing genuine demands are first labelled by the corporate media as 'terrorists'/'security threat' etc. to generate grounds for crushing them. While SAS Geelani's most democratic demands like releasing political prisoners, withdrawing army etc to start a dialogue met with deaf ears; the sending of three 'interlocutors' to listen to kashmiri people's demand alongside increasing the armed forces to resolve the 'Kashmir problem' is nothing but another farce of the Indian govt. On the one hand it offers 'talks' and on the other hand it acts in the most undemocratic and fascist manner. The recent encounter killing of CPI(Maoist) spoke-person, Azad who was supposed to head the peace talk is a most similar case in point.

The repression unleashed by the Indian state is its desperate attempt to crush the heroic struggle of the Kashmiris for their just demand of 'right to self-determination'. But the writing is loud and clear on the walls of Kashmir. Slogans like 'Go India Go Back' and *'hum kya chahte? Azaadi'* are echoing in the streets of the valley every single day! The deaf Indian state might try to silence it, its corporate media lackeys might try to ignore the reality but this is what the millions of Kashmiris are saying in unison. No might of the colonizing Indian state can dominate this unflinching aspiration of the Kashmiri masses. It is the united fight of other oppressed nationalities along with the oppressed masses in India which is going to defeat this fascist brahminical state and its oppression. Standing in solidarity with the struggle for Azad Kashmir, we strongly condemn the house arrest of SAS Geelani and demand immediate upliftment of it.

On the 82nd anniversary of the matyrdom of Omar Mukhtar...let us remember a freedom fighter immortalized through his life and struggle..



Countries want independence, Nations want liberation, and the people want Revolution. - Mao

Fight against the imperialist aggression in Syria, Egypt, Iraq & across the globe!

dsu

"We will never surrender. We win or we die. You'll have the next generation to fight and after that, the next. As for me, I will live longer than my hangman." These words are attributed to Omar Mukhtar, the legendary Libyan freedom fighter who led a guerrilla struggle against the Italian fascist forces. Libya, at that time, was an important colonial possession of Italy and to preserve which Mussolini and co. sent the most brutal military colonels along with extremely sophisticated weapons and armoury. Any indigenous resistance was to be ferociously crushed, guerrilla fighters were to be massacred and collective punishment inflicted upon entire villages by razing them to ground. It was in this context that Omar Mukhtar and his guerrilla army bravely fought back the Italians, pushing back their army cantonments and liberating several areas from their clutches. As a result of a betrayal, he was wounded in one of the gun battles and captured by the Italian military on 11th September 1931. His trial was concluded within *just* 3 days and on 14th September the courts of fascist Italy decried death sentence for him. The orders were carried out on 16th September publicly and he was hanged in front of his supporters in a concentration camp. The public spectacle of his hanging was supposed to serve as a deterrent for others to follow in his path. But, both in his lifetime and after his martyrdom Omar Mukhtar enthused several people to join the resistance against the occupation of their homeland and Italy was finally forced to flee from Libya a few years later.

However, the forces that Omar Mukhtar bravely fought against have not been given a final death blow yet. After the end of World War II, US imperialism supplanted the old imperialist forces and emerged as the dominant force in the world. In its aim for a territorial re-division of the world, it has combined older forms of colonialism with newer strategies of control and domination. So while Vietnam, Iraq, Afghanistan were directly occupied by the US forces, the sovereignty of several other countries has been violated through covert means. From Argentina, Chile, Haiti, Iran, Pakistan, Egypt and countless other countries, democratically elected governments were toppled in US engineered coups and replaced with brutal military dictatorships to ensure a free flow of super-profits. In many countries, such as Indonesia and Philippines thousands of revolutionary communists who have fought uncompromisingly against this imperialist plunder have been massacred. In the Indian subcontinent too faced with the struggles of adivasis, oppressed castes, peasants, workers and several nationalities that was spreading far and wide in the 1940s, British colonialism (later replaced by US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism) to maintain its interests transferred power to a comprador-feudal class that it had nurtured over more than previous half a century. Ever since the transfer of power, this ruling class has served the interests of the imperialist powers - be it through large scale projects that serve the comprador bourgeoisie while displacing thousands from their homes, or the disastrous imperialist policies of industrialization (as in Bhopal), through closure of numerous mills and factories as well as forcible occupation of several nationalities in Kashmir and North East. The current phase of Liberalization-Privatization-Globalisation is only the most naked manifestation of the grip of imperialism over the Indian sub-continent which has continued right from the colonial period.

The fascist tactics of repression employed by the imperialist forces have remained the same from Omar Mukhtar's time. People are still being collectively 'punished' for their refusal to surrender to this imperialist plunder – be it through aerial bombings and drone attacks in Afghanistan, Iraq, south western frontier of Pakistan (and now the threat looms large over Syria), bulldozing of houses in Palestine, genocidal extermination of the Tamil population in Ealam, through mass rapes and massacres in Kashmir and North East and the continual razing down of adivasi villages deep in the forests of Chattisgarh, Odhisha, Jharkhand, Maharashthra, West Bengal, etc. As part of the so called war on terror, (which in reality is nothing but plain imperialist aggression) hundreds of Muslims are framed as 'terrorists', inflicted brutal tortures upon and in some cases even murdered in cold blood. This extremely unequal and unjust social order requires the use of such coercion, violence and repression to maintain and perpetuate itself.

However in the midst of all the brutalization and repression, the resistance of the people has not just remained a glaring reality as in Omar Mukhtar's time but has intensified. The guerrillas under Ho Chi Minh forced the *mighty* US army to flee from Vietnam a few decades ago. And today once again, the US is searching for pretexts to withdraw from Afghanistan and Iraq because of the fight of the Iraqi and the Afghan people. In our country also, the resistance of the people has scaled new heights. The Maoist led revolutionary movement has not just been able to stop the several mining deals from being implemented in the mineral rich tracts of central and eastern India but has also built up a truly democratic alternative to the current system. Lenin defined the present era as an era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. As the worst ever imperialist crisis since the 1930s deepens, the task of every revolutionary communist is to work amongst the masses, organize them and covert this period into a revolutionary crisis for the imperialist forces and their pliant states. Omar Mukhtar, immortalized by his valiant struggles, continues to instil fear amongst the ruling classes while inspiring the fighting forces all across the world. The Indian state banned this movie in Kashmir in 1980s at the time when the freedom movement simmered in the valley. But if all the military might of imperialist powers has been unable to crush genuine people's struggles, such censorship is certainly bound to end with the same abject failure.

November 1, 2013

March 29, 2012

Condemn the fascist assault on Syed Ali Shah Geelani, the unflinching voice of Azaadi for Kashmir!

"Such acts cannot cow down a just and genuine struggle.." Geelani addressing the protesting students in Kashmir over phone from New Delhi.

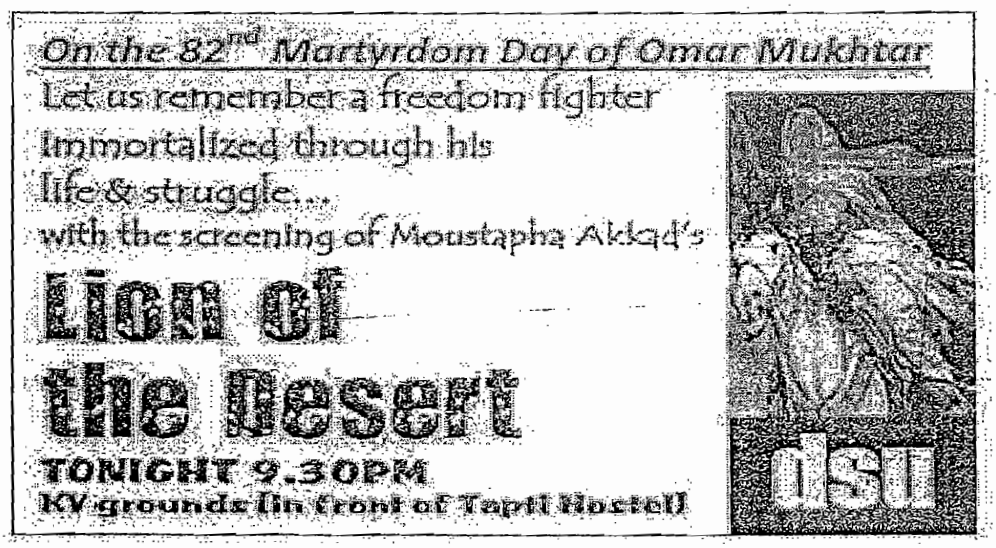
On Monday, 26th March 2012, Syed Ali Shah Geelani, the chairman of Tehreek-e-Hurriyat and an unwavering voice of the aspirations for self-determination of Kashmir was assaulted by the state-sponsored notorious fascist outfits Bhagat Singh Kranti Sena (BSKS) & ABVP. Around 15-20 goons from BSKS led by right wing mascot Tejender Singh Bagga attacked this 84 year old senior leader and most popular voice for Azadi when he came to address a gathering organized by the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS) in Delhi. He was surrounded, physically manhandled and abused. Tejender Singh Bagga even attempted to hurl a shoe at him. His *karakuli* (or the traditional Kashmiri cap) was thrown away.

This appalling and atrocious act has been condemned by pro-Azaadi democratic and progressive forces across the world. In Kashmir large gatherings have vehemently protested such indignation and insult hurled upon their beloved leader. Despite the virtual ban on any protest gatherings tantamount to imposition of section 144, the students of Kashmir University braving security threats came out in large numbers in a rally and sit -in in support of Geelani condemning the heinous act. "This is a heinous and condemnable act. We are up against an intolerant India. We students are behind him and no one should dare to insult him. It was a coward and shameful act." said a student on the condition of anonymity, fearing police action.

Outfits like the Bhagat Singh Kranti Sena are not "non-state actors" as some people would like to put it. These trusted mercenary goons operate under the express directions of the ruling classes in the state. While in Kashmir it is the more than 6 lakh Indian army that attempts to crush the indomitable aspirations for freedom, here in Delhi it is outfits like BSKS that try to suppress the same. They are thereby deployed with complete impunity to disrupt, delegitimize, intimidate and assault in every such democratic gathering that dares to challenge the fascist designs of the state. These are the same forces that attempted to vandalize the Azadi Conference in Delhi in April 2010 that was labeled as "seditious" by the state. Whether meetings addressed by Arundhati Roy, Prashant Bhushan or Geelani, these paid goons try to rouffle all voices that stand in solidarity with the people fighting for self-determination or for their jal-jangal-zameen braving the state for a revolutionary transformation of society. But as Geelani articulated, "Such acts cannot cow down a just and genuine struggle."

November 10, 2013

On the 82nd anniversary of the matyrdom of Omar Mukhtar...let us remember a freedom fighter immortalized through his life and struggle...



November 14, 2011

DSU Public Meeting: Not AFSPA but Azadi is the Central Question in Kashmir!

The recent excavation of series of mass graves in Kashmir was yet another bone chilling and unrefutable evidence of the horrors of the army occupation of the valley by India. It once again sparked off protests and pitched debates internationally. The charred, tortured, mutilated bodies of people who have 'disappeared', ruthlessly dumped in those pits, were mute yet eloquent evidences of the horrors with which every single Kashmiri is forced to survive under the occupation. Put into the backfoot in the face of the uncompromising struggle of the Kashmiri people, the Indian ruling class and its Kashmiri agents are forced to make some 'concessions' to quell the newly pitched debates and protests. Conveniently they have located AFSPA, the draconian law that provides complete impunity to the horrible Indian army, as the problem. The propaganda that this discourse around AFSPA seeks to create is that the army and para-military, otherwise good, have done some 'excesses' taking advantage of this act. However, they are not talking about repealing AFSPA. That remains out of question! They are projecting AFSPA as redundant in some areas and therefore it can be 'relaxed'. No one suggests withdrawal of troops from Kashmir too. Because that will bring us to the fundamental question of why such massive presence of armed forces is there in Kashmir in the first place? Everyone is aware of the reason behind it. Jammu and Kashmir has been forcefully occupied by India since 1947. To fortify this occupation the valley has been turned into the most militarized zone of the entire world. The Kashmiris, right from the beginning, have never accepted this unjust and brutal occupation and have been fighting tooth and nail against it. To quell and suppress their heroic fight for independence, the number of Indian forces multiplied and AFSPA became a *necessity* for the forces and the ruling class. To see AFSPA as the central problem in Kashmir is simply to put the cart before the horse. It is simply another smokescreen to cover the REAL issue, which is the historically denied and militarily suppressed independence of Kashmir!

It is not AFSPA but the occupation of Kashmir by India which is providing the main impunity to the bloody Indian army in Kashmir. Historically world over the occupying forces always sustain their coercive rule through brute forces. In Kashmir and North East, AFSPA has given unlimited power to the army to ruthlessly suppress all attempts of strike back by the people. But the army has been sent there to secure the occupation with the consent and active execution by the entire ruling class of India. And time and again we have seen the ruling class machinery safeguard all acts of miscreants and brutality of the armed forces. The innumerous illegal torture chambers in Kashmir run by the same armed forces are not unknown to the Indian ruling class or their Kashmiri counterparts. The routine 'crackdowns' in the villages, the daily harassment of people, the severe restriction on mobility, the fake encounters, the tortures, the rapes, the murders, the 'disappearances' are all done with the active support and complicity of the same ruling classes. In Kunan Poshpara around 50 women were gang raped by the army in front of the men who were tied up. It led into an international outcry of protests but the judiciary and the entire ruling class machinery ganged up to give complete clean-chit to the rapists. Same story was repeated in Shopian where the ruling class version suggested that Asiya and Nilofer were not raped and killed by the army but had drowned in a knee-deep canal! In every case of grenade attacks on civilians, the people of Kashmir routinely have alleged that the armed forces are behind it. But the ruling class versions, faithfully parroted in the corporate media, hold 'militants' responsible for the attacks. It is simply impossible in Kashmir to lodge any case against the atrocities of the armed forces, not because of AFSPA but because the state machinery squarely refuse to acknowledge atrocities. Everything is 'legitimized' by the occupation. Will all this change if AFSPA is merely 'relaxed' from some areas?

Each and every parliamentary party in India has been complicit in the ruthless occupation of Kashmir. For all of them Kashmir is an 'integral part of India'. And for all of them the movement for Azadi in Kashmir is Pakistan backed 'Islamic' movement which must be suppressed for the sake of 'national integrity and security' of India. By portraying the debate such, what they completely displace out of the picture is how historically Indian forces occupied Kashmir through subterfuge, deceit and military strength. Way back in 1948, the first Indian Prime Minister Nehru himself had spoken in favour of a plebiscite in Kashmir. However, such promises, specially in the context of Kashmir have always been meant to be broken by the Indian ruling classes. 'Democracy' remains a fry cry in Kashmir, and a country which administers the world's largest military occupation cannot continue to call it such. One cannot forget the completely rigged 1987 elections, in which Kashmiri patriots were replaced by Indian puppets.

The Kashmiris, however, have not remained passive victims of Indian repression. To cast them such would be to elude their uncompromising struggle for Azadi, which right now has drawn sharp lines between their friends and enemies. In the campus also, these lines are sharply drawn and the two pseudo-left organizations, SFI and AISA stand completely opposed to the right of the Kashmiri people to self determination *including* the right to secede. In the past few days, the campus has seen these two organizations trying to offer 'perspectives' on Kashmir in the light of this 'renewed' debate. While AISA, notorious for not taking positions on any people's movement, wants a political solution acceptable to the Kashmiri people to be 'found and sought', as if there is STILL any unclarity as to what the Kashmiris

A platform for the victims

According to Harsh Dobhal of HRLN, the Tribunal was organized with an aim to "provide a platform to the victims of the on going armed conflict in Kashmir."

The Tribunal heard testimonies from 37 victims and their family members, which included the victims of custodial killings, enforced disappearance, rape cases and those of unprovoked firings. It also heard testimonies/statements from experts, journalists and academicians who have followed these violations of human rights.

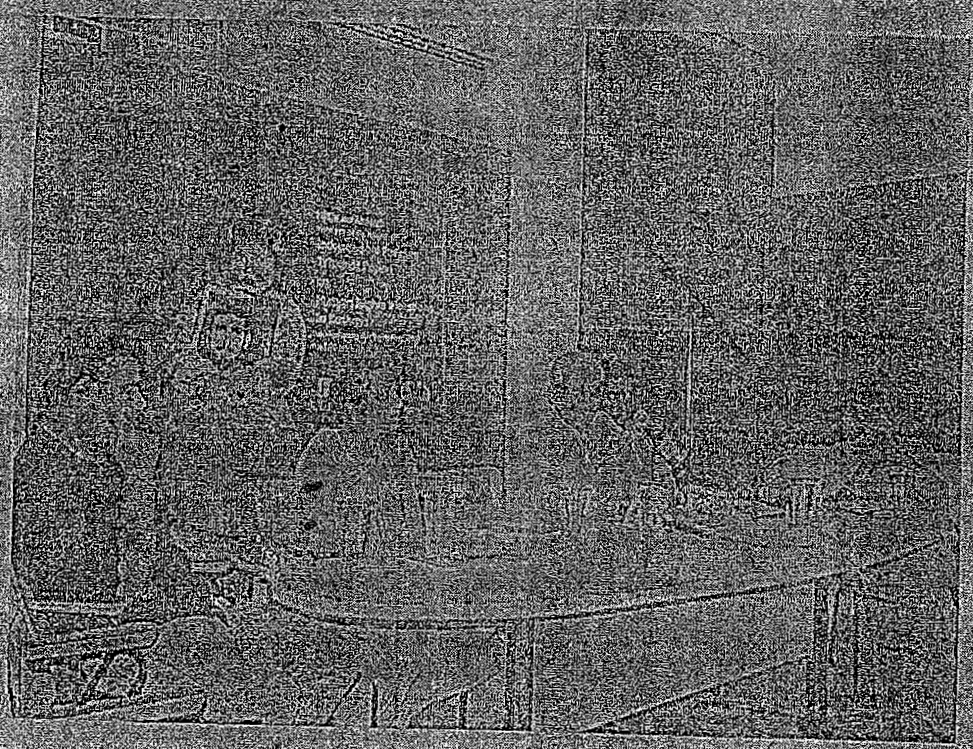
The idea was to "highlight the suffering of all such victims and formulate certain suggestions/recommendations in order to minimize the use of force against the common man in the name of national security by the security agencies."

Gross violations of Indian Laws

The Tribunal found that all the crimes which were brought before its notice are not only violations against the Geneva Conventions but also are also violations against the Indian Penal Code and Indian Civil Laws.

SHRC without any power to act

Ironically the State Human Rights Commission (SHRC) has no power to investigate paramilitary and military excesses, though it does have the power to request investigation reports of the enquiry by the paramilitary and the military forces. According to the Tribunal, the SHRC has failed to exercise its powers proactively to provide justice to the victims.



Justice Suresh addressing the media, Harsh Dobhal (extreme right). [TCN Photo]

Recommendations

Establish special judicial authority The Tribunal has recommended establishing a special judicial authority which can make an independent and thorough inquiry into all allegations of human rights violations, including disappearances, custodial killings, rape, torture, fake encounters and other excesses of the security forces.

Minimize army men from the valley

At present there is a huge concentration of military and paramilitary forces in the state of J&K, which is disproportionate to the civilian population and is also making civil administration ineffective in many matters. So the government of India should immediate steps to minimize the number of these forces in order to bring relief to the civilian population.

Withdraw AFSPA from Kashmir: Independent People's Tribunal

twocircles.net/2010sep07withdraw_afspa_kashmir_independent_people%E2%80%99s_tribunal.html

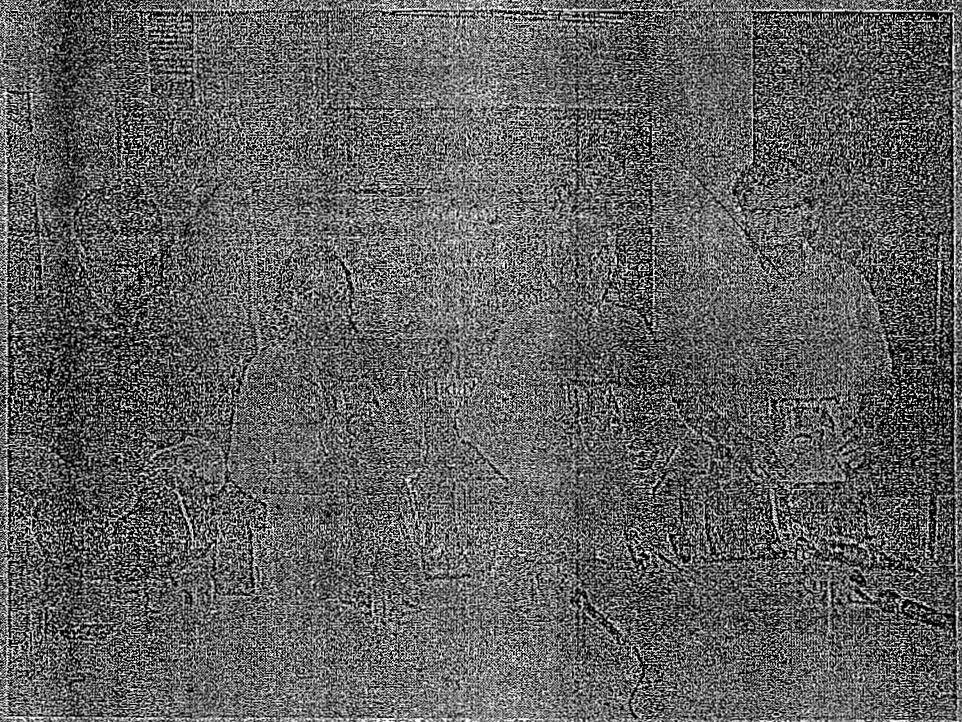
By, Md. Ali, TwoCircles.net

New Delhi: 'The controversial Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act should be withdrawn from Jammu and Kashmir, even the Public Safety Act and other anti-terror laws should correspond to the provisions of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), which India has ratified' this is one of the recommendations of the Independent People's Tribunal (IPT) on Human Rights Violations in Kashmir, in its report.

Incarcerated land and People

Titled, "Kashmir: Incarcerated land and People" the report was released on September 8, 2010. Releasing the report, Justice H Suresh, former Judge, Bombay High Court, pointed out that draconian laws like POTA, TADA and AFSPA have never been able to eliminate terrorism but yes they become an excuse for tremendous human rights violations in several parts of the country.

'One of the aims of the Tribunal was to instill confidence among the victims, that we care about them and they are not alone in this', said Professor Kamal Mitra Chenoy, Jawaharlal Nehru University, who is also a member of the Tribunal.



From R to L Professor Kamal Mitra Chenoy, Justice H Suresh, Professor Anuradha Chenoy and Tanweer releasing the Report. [TCN Photo]

HRLN and ANHAD Initiative

In order to access the human rights violation in J&K, an IPT was initiated by Human Rights Law Network (HRLN) and Act Now for Harmony and Democracy (ANHAD) and held in Srinagar on February 20-21, 2010.

Members of the IPT

Justice H Suresh, former Judge, Bombay High Court, Justice Malay Sengupta, former Acting CJ, Sikkim High Court, Professor Kamal Mitra Chenoy, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Dr. Nusrat Andrabi, former principal, Government Women's College, Srinagar, Professor Anuradha Chenoy, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi and Shujaat Bukhari, senior journalist, Srinagar are in the Tribunal.

AISA

Nov 2, 2010: Irom Sharmila Completes 10 Years of Fast Unto Death!

Salute the Indomitable Spirit of Resistance and Solidarity with the Struggle to Repeal AFSPA!

2/11/10 Scrap AFSPA: From North-East to Kashmir, Resist State Repression!

This day marks ten years since Irom Sharmila began her protest against the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA). It also marks a decade of her detention by the Indian state. The state treats her as though she is guilty of a crime. Her party chargesheet charges her with 'attempting to commit suicide'. But for all those who struggle against oppression and for justice, Sharmila remains an icon beyond death or despair.

On 1 November 2000, the Assam Rifles replied to bombings by an insurgent group by gunning down ten innocent civilians at a bus stop in Malom in Manipur. The next day, Sharmila began her fast with a single demand: Repeal AFSPA! For ten years now, this fast has remained unbroken. She has not eaten anything nor drunk a single drop of water. If she remains alive, it is because of the force inserted down her nose. The state continues to react in complete defiance of the demand to repeal AFSPA.

The Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958 is a draconian legislation, derived from colonial era, that grants the state and military agencies special powers to arrest, detain and even kill people on mere suspicion. It is worthwhile reading this Act just to see how blatantly it spells out its provisions.

- AFSPA can be imposed in any area that the Central Government in consultation with the Governor declares as 'disturbed', although what constitutes a 'disturbed area' remains undefined.
- Here, any commissioned officer, warrant officer, non-commissioned officer or any other person of equivalent rank in the Armed Forces is given the license to kill on the assumption that this may be necessary to 'maintain public order'.
- He needs no warrant if he wishes to arrest any person on grounds of 'reasonable suspicion' who 'has committed or is about to commit' an offence and can enter and search any premises to make such arrests.
- Worse still, any legal or judicial proceedings against any personnel are prohibited without the sanction of the Central Government.

On the ground where AFSPA prevails, there exists not the rule of law, but a state of exception. Disappearances, custodial killings, fake encounters, torture, rape and arbitrary detention, all these comprise the reality of AFSPA's standard procedure established by law.

In 1958, when the Union Home Minister introduced the law, he assured Parliament that it would be in operation only for 6 months. But those six months have stretched for an eternity, and acts like AFSPA have become part of the culture of impunity the components of rule. AFSPA is in force in the entire region of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur (except 7 assembly constituencies), Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura. In 1990, it was extended to Jammu and Kashmir. Recently, in its anti-Maoist offensive, the UPA Government suggested extending AFSPA across the country in newly declared 'disturbed' areas.

Although AFSPA exists in blatant violation of all covenants of human rights, we are repeatedly told that it is necessary to 'deploy armed forces to function in disturbed areas' without such powers. Allegiance to AFSPA comes not only from right-wing forces like the Congress and the BJP, but also from the CPI(M), which, while making pro-people noises about 'humanising' it, also implements it in Tripura where it rules.

Occasionally, there are made calls for a review of AFSPA or for it to be watered down. But these are usually half-hearted efforts, or else they speak with a dangerously delayed tongue. The Government of India's Committee to Review the Armed Forces Special Powers Act, headed by Justice Jeevan Reddy, advocated the 'repeal of AFSPA', but also suggested the inclusion of some of its most draconian provisions in the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act. Similarly, in 2006, Manmohan Singh spoke of amending AFSPA to make it more 'humane'. But they are still unaware of the amendments proposed. On the ground, AFSPA remains in force, and now plays to enforce state terror, the 'enforced disappearance' model.

- In July 2004, the Assam Rifles arrested 32-year-old Thangjam Manorama from her house, raped her, brutalized her and then dumped the body five days later. 40 Manipuri women (mothers) protested naked in front of the Kangla Fort with a banner reading 'Indian Army Rape Us'. The state sentenced them to three months in prison.
- Five years later, on 23 July 2009, an unarmed 27-year-old, Chongtham Sanjit, was shot dead by the Manipur police in a fake 'encounter'. The images of his death captured by a photographer and published by *Tehelka* exposed the state's lie, but it remained undeterred. An innocent bystander, Rubina Devi, five months pregnant and accompanied by her young son, was also killed in the shootout.
- In May 2009, Asiya Jan and Nilofar, two young women were raped and murdered allegedly by security personnel in Kashmir, despite protests that paralyzed the state. The culprits remain free.

Protests make people take note of deaths that would otherwise remain statistics, but in regions where AFSPA is in operation democracy dies everyday. In the shadow of the gun, the innumerable loot of these regions takes place, a loot that began in colonial times and continues even today. AFSPA has done little to curb insurgency, rather it has bred a seething resentment: in 1980, there were only four insurgent groups in Manipur, today there are 40. In the blood-soaked history of the North Eastern states and Kashmir, repealing AFSPA is an essential prerequisite for justice, democracy and peace.

Today, AISA salutes the strength of Sharmila's spirit and the commitment of all those who despite living under AFSPA refuse to be cowed down. We salute all those who continue to raise the demand for democracy and self-determination, for the fundamental rights that must be ensured to all who live in a democracy.

Vismay, Vice President, AISA, JNU Vishal Kumar, Jt. Secy., AISA, JNU

union or the State police.

Calls upon the people of India to support the ongoing campaign for the repeal of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act and resist the increasing militarization of democratic spaces.

Endorsed by:

All India Progressive Women's Association (AIPWA)

All India Students' Association (AISA)

All Twipra Indigenous and Minority Association (ATIMA)

Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons (Kashmir)

Boro Women Justice Forum (BWJF)

Campaign For Peace & Democracy (Manipur) (CPDM)

Centre for Law Development (CLD), Srinagar

Human Rights Alert (HRA)

Indian Social Action Forum (INSAF)

Indigenous Women Forum for Northeast India (IWFNEI)

Jammu & Kashmir Trade Union Centre (JKTUC)

Karbi Nimso Chingthur Asong (KNCA)

Manipur Students' Association Delhi (MSAD)

Muslim Khawateen Markaz (MKM) Kashmir

Naga People's Movement for Human Rights (NPMHR)

Naga Women's Union, Manipur (NWUM)

New Trade Union Initiative (NTUI)

Northeast Women Network (NEW-Net)

Sahell Women's Resource Centre

Samindar Karbi Amei (SKA)

The Other Media (TOM)

Voluntary Health Association of Assam (VHAA)

Women in Governance (WinG)

Individuals:

Nivedita Menon, Professor, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi

Shafat N. Ahmad, Kashmir

Prof. Uma Chakravarti, University of Delhi

PEOPLE'S ALLIANCE FOR THE REPEAL OF AFSPA

People's Alliance for the Repeal of AFSPA

RESOLUTION

14 November 2009, New Delhi

We the civil society groups from Jammu and Kashmir and the North East affected by militarization and Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) and other organizations in solidarity, having come together from 12 to 14 November 2009 at New Delhi and deliberated on the issues of AFSPA,

Taking cognizance of the prolonged imposition of the Act in one part or the other since 1958 and its adverse impact on the democratic rights of the peoples of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura and Jammu and Kashmir,

Concerned that AFSPA continues to be the most potent repressive tool of the Indian state that empowers even a non commissioned officer of the armed forces of union to kill on mere suspicion and provide legal immunity from prosecution, thereby causing untold misery and agony among the peoples of the affected regions,

Concerned over the importance being given to AFSPA on the part of the state in the context of the increasing militarization of the society in the sub-continent especially after 9/11 and the growing communalization of the polity in India as a whole,

Concerned over the way the media is reporting incidents of violence in J&K and the North-East by and large ignoring the assault on human rights by the guardians of law and order and broadly endorsing, in the name of 'national security', those policies of the state that militate against democratic norms and humanitarian principles.

Noting that this Act has led to gross civil and political rights violations including enforced disappearances, extra-judicial execution, torture, inhuman and degrading treatment, rape and other forms of sexual violence against women, arbitrary arrest and detention,

Further noting that the imposition of AFSPA also has severe economic, social and cultural cost including erosion of civil administration, lack of access to education, basic health care, destruction of properties and sources of livelihood, and environmental destruction,

Further noting that the continuation of the 'disturbed area' status under the AFSPA in many part of the country is illegal in view of the violation of the mandatory six monthly periodic review directed by Supreme Court in its 1997 Judgment.

Further noting that the climate of impunity entrenched in these areas have led to the complete failure of the Rule of Law including non-registration of cases against the armed forces, and even if the few cases where investigations are completed the criminal prosecution is pending for want of sanction from the Central Government on the application send by the State governments,

Recalling the Government of India's own B.P. Jeevan Reddy Committee (2005), Administrative Reforms Commission headed by Veerappan Moily (2007) and Working Group on Confidence-Building Measures in Jammu and Kashmir headed by Mohammad Hamid Ansari (2007) have all recommended the repeal of AFSPA,

Further recalling that different committees and commissions set up by different State Governments into specific incidents of violence have also acknowledged the unbridled power the security forces enjoys under AFSPA,

Emphasizing that the regions where AFSPA has been imposed, there exist suppressed democratic aspiration of people and the prolonged imposition of AFSPA has resulted in deepening the cycle of violence, repealing AFSPA will open up the necessary democratic space for addressing the root causes of the political discontent.

Therefore the collective unanimously

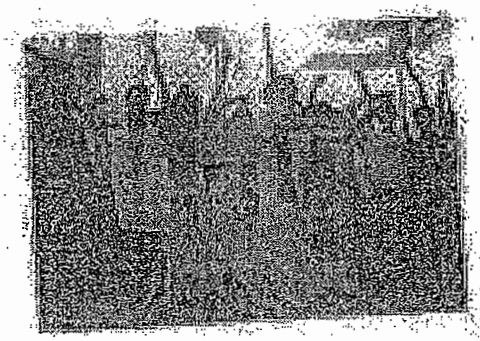
Calls upon the Government of India

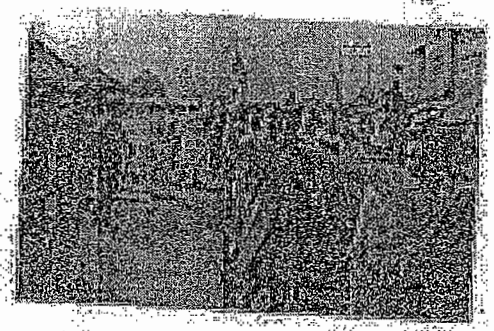
1. To repeal immediately

- The Armed Forces (Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura) Special Powers Act, 1958 (as amended in 1972), and
- The Jammu and Kashmir Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1990

2. To refrain from inserting any part of the Acts into any other legislation granting unbridled powers to the armed forces of the

Public Meeting





Incendiary Flames in Jammu & Kashmir

Speakers:

Com. Nilotpal Basu,
Leader, CPI(M)

M. K. Bhadrakumar,
Former Diplomat

Periyar Mess
24th Aug, '08 (Sunday)
9:30 pm

SFI

Forum for People's Right, JNU

Date: 24/03/07

Indian state police forces unleashed brutal terror act against the N-E student protestors

We are deeply appalled to learn the incident of unleashing brutal terror attack by the Delhi police and the Rapid Action Force against the democratic protest of students from the North East in Delhi at Jantar Mantar on Friday, the 23rd March, 2007. The rally was a protest march against the Indian state apathy towards the issues of 'land mines' and 'displacement of villagers' in Chandel district of Manipur. We condemn in the strongest terms against such state violence upon the democratic expression of dissent. It is extremely disturbing that 128 students including 40 women were detained in the Parliament Street Police Station without being provided with any basic amenities. In the course of this indiscriminate lathi charge and shelling of Tear Gas, 17 students including 4 women were seriously injured and had to be hospitalized. One of the student leaders had his jaw dislocated and had serious internal bleeding. Many of the protestors were beaten up with iron bars which caused critical head injuries and broken legs and arms. Women were manhandled and sexually molested by the Indian state police forces. The police also confiscated the handycam and mobile phones of the student protestors. Many passers by who did not take part in the protest were also randomly court arrested on the basis of ethnic profiling. Moreover, racist abuses were hurled at the protestors by the police, saying "You Chinese go back!" Such an act of state violence and racial prejudice not only violates the basic norms of human rights but also exposes the hypocracy of the Indian democracy.

The state atrocities once again remind us of the continuing military crackdown on the various peoples' movements in the North East, Kashmir and elsewhere. The North East and Kashmir have become the classic example of the Indian state's experiments through torture, rape, grouping of villages, burning down of houses, granaries, maiming and killing of innocent civilians. These experiments have lasted for more than 50 years. And we are pretty certain that this obnoxious policy of tortures, rapes, atrocities, killings etc. will continue even in the future simply because the Indian state policy have not changed in the context of these regions. The best policy of the Indian state for the North East has been none other than massive military crackdown and the lopsided developmental packages. This is, in other words, 'Stick and Carrot' policy. This is not different from the aged old colonial 'Divide and Rule' policy. Now, there is an increased budget allocation to fight against the so called 'insurgency' movements in these regions. We have failed to understand the reason as to why the Government of India is still non-committal to repeal the law which licensed the army to shoot to kill on mere suspicion. The main reason why the political problems in the North East and elsewhere have not been solved until yesterday is because of the reluctance of the Indian state to understand root causes of conflicts. It is well nigh impossible to treat the political problems with the military measures and other adhoc packages. Until the Indian state policy changes vis-a-vis the political context and problems, the talk of the possibility of ending conflicts only remains a rhetoric and lip-service in the true sense of the term.

It is in the backdrop of this insensitive state perpetrated violence against the students that we call upon the student community in general and the JNUSU to condemn the incident. It is high time for the student community to take cognizance of the issues and problems and seriously start debating and discussion of the same for immediate redressal by the concerned authorities of the Government of India.

Issued by:
Moses Kharbithai and Muanlal Hangshing, Convenors, FPR

AISA

Debate on Muslim Census in Armd Forces: 18.2.06
Isn't Transparency A Better Guarantee of Secularism and Democracy?

The request by the High Level Committee headed by Justice Sachar for statistics of Muslim representation in the Armed Forces has generated an outcry - by the Army authorities as well as by right-wing political groups. The hue and cry is that the request amounts to an attempt to communalise the nationalist institution of the Army. Will a census of Muslim/SC/ST/ women in the armed forces foster divisive and anti-national sentiment? Or will such records ensure that the nation remains alert about preventing and correcting discriminatory practices in our national institutions?

Let us consider the issues and facts:

- The Chief of Army Staff claimed, self-righteously, that the Army recruits purely on merit and does not seek or keep information on the religious origins of soldiers. Is this true? Not quite. The Army does, in fact, collect such information on the application forms published and issued in the press by the Armed Forces, there *is* a column entitled 'Religion', which means that the Army *does* know and possess records of the religious profile of its soldiers.

- Further, the Army continues to maintain certain colonial traditions of regiments based on 'traditional', 'martial' communities: Gorkha Regiment, Sikh Regiment, Rajputana Regiment, etc. Why is this practice not considered 'anti-national' and against the 'nationalist spirit'? The Army itself has often approvingly provided the information that Gorkhas from Nepal constitute 6% of the entire Army. If such information can be maintained and made public about the Gorkhas, who are paradoxically, not even Indian citizens, what is so dangerous about providing information about Muslim representation, or that of SC/STs and women?

Reports about racial discrimination against African-American blacks as well as gender discrimination against women in the US Army abound. Is there evidence that there is similar discrimination on communal lines in the Indian armed forces?

- Sheikh Abdullah, the first post-Independence CM of Kashmir, wrote: *"I was taken aback when a secret circular came to my attention that directed recruitment officers not to enlist Muslims in the Army. I asked Gen. K.M. Cariappa why Kargil Muslims were not recruited, to which he replied that their loyalty to India was suspect!"* (translated from *Aish e Chinar*, Sheikh Abdullah, 1985). Cariappa, a former Army Commander-in-Chief, writing in the RSS mouthpiece *Organiser* on Independence Day, 1964, justified ill-feeling by a large percentage of the majority as being "understandable" since Muslim *"loyalty seems to be primarily to Pakistan."* These prejudices were aired despite ample evidence that Muslim soldiers had fought in large numbers and died in wars against Pakistan.

- Did the prejudice against Muslims, and the tendency to suspect their loyalty change after 50 years? Not much. Many Kashmiri Muslims died fighting in the Indian Army, and many Muslim porters too died giving support to the Indian Army in difficult terrain, during the Kargil war of 1999. Despite this, one senior Army officer, Maj. Gen. V.N. Budhwar, wanted Muslim villagers evicted from the Turtok area along the LOC in Kargil. (see Praveen Swami on the Kargil Conflict, *Frontline*, 31 July-13 August, 1999).

- A handout issued by the Army in Jammu on April 2001 declared: *'No vacancy for Muslims and tradesmen'!*

- A former Adjutant General, Lt. Gen. M. L. Chhibber, also declared that Muslims themselves are responsible for the low levels of Muslim recruitment, since *"Muslims would rather fight for Allah and not for the country"*. (Omar Khalidi, *Khaki and Ethnic Violence in India*, Three Essays Collective, 2003, p.14). This stereotypical allegation is belied by the fact that according to Army sources themselves, "thousands of Kashmiris" participated in an Army recruitment drive (see *HT*, April 4, 2002).

- Former Chief of Naval Staff, Admiral Vishnu Bhagwat stated that *"There are hardly any Muslim officers in the Navy and none of them hold posts of any consequence."* Don't we recall how, in 1998, Bhagwat himself was dismissed from his post after his subordinate alleged that his wife Niloufer was "half-Muslim"?

Cariappa's tradition of strong *Hindutva* links in the Army also continues.

- The Army forbids Friday prayers and forbids Muslim soldiers from keeping beards, but Sikh soldiers are permitted to retain their beards and turbans!

- Gen. B. C. Joshi, Chief of Army Staff, exhorted his troops to "follow the Path of Dharma and the principles enshrined in the Vedas". (*India News*, 15 July, 1993). Rear Admiral Vijay Shankar announced that new naval cadets would be supplied with the Ramayana for classroom exercises. (*Indian Express*, April 13, 2001). Former Chief Gen. V. P. Malik encouraged the practice of inviting Shiv Sena supremo Bal Thackeray and editor of RSS' *Organiser*, Tarun Vijay, to attend military events. VHP is also in the habit of distributing *rakhis* as well as anti-Christian, anti-Muslim hate literature to the Armed Forces. (Khalidi, p.28). In August 1998, Lt. Gen. Budhwar provided logistical support to the RSS-sponsored *Sindhu Darshan* festival in Leh. And on 31 May, 1999, Defence Minister George Fernandes took Army Officers to brief the BJP National Executive! On 14 December 1999, Minister of State for Defence, Bachi Singh Rawat declared that soldiers would be indoctrinated with RSS philosophy and RSS *swayamsevaks* could be recruited into the Army! (Khalidi, p.39).

Clearly, the above facts reveal an unfortunately high degree of anti-Muslim prejudice amongst Army personnel. Further, there is the fact that Muslims are shockingly under-represented in *most* institutions – their educational and employment statistics are close to that of Dalits. For the UPA Government to buckle down before RSS-BJP jingoism and withdraw the move to get statistics on Muslim representation in the Armed forces is highly unfortunate. Evidence of Army discrimination against women was revealed in the way in which the Army court-martialled and witch-hunted a woman soldier who complained of sexual harassment. We need to monitor the representation, not just of Muslims, but of all marginalised groups, including women, in *all* institutions. The Armed Forces cannot claim to be above public scrutiny. The scope of such scrutiny should not be confined to ensuring just representation alone, but also to check and eliminate anti-secular attitudes in the Armed Forces. This is very important in the context that the Army is often called to intervene in situations of communal riots and genocide.

sd/- Sandeep Singh, VP, AISA, JNU sd/- Awadhesh, Gen. Secy., AISA, JNU

ALL INDIA STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION (AISA)

4.8.05

Geelani's Acquittal by SC is A Victory Of The Democratic Movement Against Witch-hunt By POTA!

AISA hails the Supreme Court verdict exonerating the falsely accused DU lecturer SAR Geelani in the Parliament Attack case. The acquittal of Geelani and Ahsan Guru is a major victory for and vindication of the massive campaign conducted by teachers and students of DU as well as various democratic individuals, against the witch-hunt of innocent people in the Parliament Attack case. This campaign was bravely conducted in the face of a vicious chauvinistic attack from rightist forces. When the Save Geelani campaign first began, even the DUTA led by the CPI(M) front DTF did not join it, demanding Geelani's suspension from his college instead. However, as the campaign gained ground, broad Left and liberal forces joined it in increasing numbers – resulting in Geelani's acquittal by the High Court, overturning the POTA Court verdict of a death sentence. Recall that last year, Geelani's visit to JNU campus was greeted by violence by the ABVP. Geelani recently survived a murderous attack on his life – following which the police treated him and his friends as accused rather than victims!

The false accusation against Geelani and others points to a massive conspiracy and cover up, the finger of suspicion points clearly to the then BJP-led NDA Government. There are several unanswered questions regarding the attack on Parliament:

- Five attackers were killed on the spot by security personnel, and Advani was quick to declare that they looked like Pakistanis. But till date, the identity of those five has not been established. Why?
- Shaukat Guru and Afzal, accused along with Geelani, are both surrendered militants. We all know that surrendered militants are closely watched by the police and intelligence. How, under this surveillance, did they get away with planning and executing the attack on Parliament? Does it seem likely that these surrendered militants could do so – without knowledge and approval from those in power?
- Afzal's confession was extracted under POTA – this confession is the only piece of evidence on the basis of which his death sentence has been upheld. Wasn't Geelani also tortured and told to confess under POTA? How much weight should be given to Afzal's single confession extracted under POTA? Afzal's conviction is based on thin evidence – and should be held back until the whole truth about the Parliament Attack is revealed.
- Doesn't the nation deserve to know who is really guilty for the Parliament Attack? Who is guilty for the frame-up of Geelani and other innocents? Who is behind the attack on Geelani's life last year?

Now, it is time to demand that an independent enquiry be constituted to reveal the truth about the attack on Parliament, the conspiracy that preceded it and the cover up and frame-up that followed it.

sd/- Awadhesh Gen. Secy., AISA, JNU

sd/- Sandeep Singh, Jt. Secy., AISA, JNU

All India Students' Association(AISA)

31/10/04

IInd Election Public Meeting

Speakers: Mona Das, Satya Venkata Siddhardha Kr. D., Awadhesh Kr. Tripathi, Sanjeev Kumar

Guest Speaker: Ramji Rai, editor Samkaleen Janmat, Member Central Committee CPI(ML)

Followed by **[illegible]**

Ganpat Mess **31.10.04 (Tonight)** **9:30pm**

North-East, Kashmir, ...Indian State At War With Our Own People!

In the 57 years of Independent India, people in large parts of India have never breathed the air of freedom; they have always lived under the shadow of the gun in what's virtually military rule. ABVP's "Patriotism Week" had displayed a series of films of the "Gadar-Border" variety. What has been the real face of the Indian State – that of a noble Sunny Deol in military uniform battling terrorists at the border, or that of the Assam Rifles personnel who routinely rape and kill women, and "disappear" youth in Kashmir and the North East?

In the 50 years of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (1958), innumerable women have been raped by the Army. Rarely has anyone been prosecuted for such offences, and the rest of the country too remains in the dark about such atrocities in this region. Isn't it a shame that the blindness of India's rulers to the assaults on the dignity of North East womanhood could be challenged only by women who protested naked before the Assam Rifles Headquarters? What "cultural nationalism", which democracy in the world has required women to go naked in order to protest?

Many versions of the AFSPA in the North East and in Kashmir – which gives the Army the "right" to kill people on suspicion – have been introduced in the name of combating "terrorism". But the fact is that in the half century since these draconian Acts were introduced, the number of insurgent groups in these regions has multiplied. The real aim of such Acts has been to intimidate and crush the aspirations of the people of these regions.

AFSPA was first imposed in the North East in Nagaland in 1953 – the 1958 version came later, and soon this Act embraced whole districts all over the North East. The North East has witnessed several historic movements against the systematic discrimination, economic deprivation and state terror before and after Indian independence. During colonial rule, the entire rice production of the valleys of Manipur was exported, causing severe shortages in the local market – the all-women Nupilan Movement was launched against this exploitation. The Naga movement for Human Rights has a long and brave history of struggle. In the infamous Oinam Massacre in 1987, the Assam Rifles personnel, as part of "Operation Bluebird", moved down villagers, killing people including women and babies. Activists who protested were jailed and tortured, but the repression sparked off massive protest movements. In the Heirangoithong Massacre (1984), 13 spectators of a volley ball match were arbitrarily killed by the CRPF; in the RMC Massacre (1995), 9 civilians including a medical student were killed inside the hospital premise by the CRPF.

Bullets and black laws are one aspect of the discrimination against the people of the North East, the other aspect is that of the denial of cultural identity. A leading Indian daily actually carried a photo of Vietnamese monks, with the caption, "Students from the North East". In Delhi and other parts of India, students from these regions are subjected to racist abuse and are treated as "Others".

Obviously, the "cultural nationalism" of the North East stands in open defence of repressive laws in Kashmir and the North East, and also stands for cultural homogenisation of the people of these regions. But, in this entire bloody history of State Repression, the ruling Congress too has played an infamous leading role. Even today, Assam Chief Minister Tarun Gogoi is one of the most ardent advocates of the AFSPA, and has advocated "more troops, more copters", as well as FBI "help" in the North East. Mr. Gogoi and his Congress Party need to be told: "Shame on you for supporting this Act, which is an enemy of the entire North East! You can bring more troops, copters and imperialist FBI agents to the North East, but the real question is, why can't you bring democracy, equality and dignity, which is what the struggling people of the North East are demanding?"

Unfortunately, even the SFI's parent party CPI(M) has displayed its double standards on draconian laws by supporting the AFSPA. The CPI(M)'s Tripura CM, Manik Sarkar, has not only imposed the AFSPA in 27 out of 52 *thanas* in his state, he has trotted out the same excuses for continuance of this Act as his friends in the Congress. In the Tripura State Assembly, he announced the CPI(M) Politburo's position that the AFSPA was necessary for the unity and integrity of the country, and advised the Manipur CM not to "relent to pressure" to withdraw the Act.

Friends, Memory is the weapon of the people against the forgetfulness imposed by the rulers. Today, when the communal ABVP woos us in the name of "nationalism", let's remind them of the Gujarat genocide. The SP of Bhavnagar has exposed how the Modi Govt. instructed him not to act against Hindu rioters, implying that the police should kill Muslims instead. In the JNUSU elections, let's teach these killers a lesson.

Today, on the anniversary of the Congress-sponsored, RSS-backed anti-Sikh pogrom in 1984, let's tell the NSUI – Yes, it's true, some kill their way to power.

Like Rajiv Gandhi, who, on becoming PM, defended the pogrom as a natural "reaction" to Indira Gandhi's killing, saying, "When a big tree falls, the earth shakes".

Or, like Narendra Modi, who invoked Newton's law to defend the Gujarat genocide.

Let's assert the tragic memory of the State Repression in the North East and Kashmir and the history of the brave resistance to it, and call shame on those who defend the draconian killer laws like AFSPA.

Let's make the JNUSU a consistent voice of support for the thousands of people struggling for liberty, dignity and equality, and a force of solidarity for the struggles for justice of victims of genocide and state repression.

Central Panel	SSS	SLL&CS	SIS	Sri Center for Sanskrit Studies
President Mona Das	Ajoy Ashirwad Mahaprashasta	Ganga Sahay Meena	Jaffar Ali Khan	Revish Kr. Choudhary
Vice President Satya Venkata Siddhardha Kr.D.	Avinash Gautam	Hafiz Md. Imran	Maisnam Chanu Liklainu	
Gen. Secy. Awadhesh Kr. Tripathi	Harshita Chaudhary	Mandeep Boro	*(Likki)*	
Jt. Secy. Sanjeev Kumar	Jitendra Ram	Sundeep Kr. Saroha	Sanjay Kr. Hazara	
	Vikram Singh	Tyler Walker Williams	Seema S.	

Dhiraj Kr. Nite, *Convenor, Central Campaign Committee, AISA, JNU*

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
Office of the Dean of Students

Circular

01-05-2000

The incident of 29th night is unfortunate and regrettable. An Indo-Pak mushaira was organised by JNUSU in the open air theatre near shopping centre of the JNU. It was a well atended function. A number of poets from Delhi and two poets from Pakistan came to participate. The mushaira started very well. After the lady poet from Pakistan finished her recitation, one could see commotion at the back, followed by a scuffle as the students realised that the three persons standing there were outsiders. The situation aggravated as one of them was brandishing a revolver. The area police was immediately informed but by that time these persons got injured in the scuffle with the students crowd.

On enquiry from the security gate next day, it was found that they entered the campus at 11.20 p.m. and made the entry of their vehicle in the register and also enquired about the venue of the mushaira. Apparently, they came and stood at the back where scuffle started. It was also found from the enquiry that two of them are defence personnel and one is a doctor. The violence of any kind even caused by intense provocation, is not desirable on a campus which is known for its liberal atmosphere providing sufficient scope for discussion and dialogue to resolve differences.

The campus has witnessed a lot of tension during the last one month and JNU administration/ Security Department is on its heads to reduce the tension and panic to re-assure security to the JNU residents. In my earlier circular dated 17.4.2000, I have urged upon the students to abjure violence and not to take the law into their own hands. This tendency of violence is counter-productive and reduces the space for discussion, debates, deliberation and dissent for peaceful resolution of problems.

The JNU students are highly educated segment and this should get reflected in their actions even though there is provocation. The JNU administration, on its part, has initiated steps to revamp the security in the campus. I expect from students, at large, a more mature behaviour in future and if any one is erred, he/she should immediately lodge a complaint with the Security Department of JNU.

In the melee the Security consultant has lost his purse and nobody has yet returned it. I request anyone who finds the purse to return to the Security Consultant.

I, on behalf of the Vice-Chancellor and on my own behalf urge upon the students not to indulge in violence not to take the law in their own hands and respect the law of land.

M.H.QURESHI

Muhammed Abdus Salam Foundation

(For the Establishment of Computer and Technical Training Centres in Third World Countries)
Headquarter: 151, Gladstone Park Gardens, LONDON NW2 6RN (U.K.)
Telephone: 0181-450 2989 Fax: 0181-450 1031

India Office: 271, Risaldaran, SIKANDRABAD, U.P., Pin Code 203205, Distt. Buland Shahr
Phone: +91-5735-3123

(Please Reply to India Office only)

Prevadit: Professor Dr. Muhammad Abdus Salam, *Nobel Laureate*
Secretary General: Muhammed Naim Ullah, London
Chief Functionary: Prof. A.M. Khusro (India)
Co-ordinator for the Third World Countries: Dr. Azher Farooqui, India

Your Reference: Our Reference: Date:

25th Oct. 96

Dear Sir,

Hope you will be familiar with Muhammed Abdus Salam (MAS) Foundation. It was established in London in 1993 and is headed personally by Prof. Abdus Salam (Nobel Prize winner for theoretical physics) as its Founding President. The MAS-Foundation had had initially allocated an amount of Rs. 800 million (80 crores) for its Indian Branch in order to advance and assist those institutes which are working towards academic furtherance of minority communities in India. Recently this amount has been raised to 1000 million.

As the Indian Chapter of the MAS Foundation was registered in New Delhi on January 2, 1996, the Foundation will have to wait for three years to become eligible to getting registration under Foreign Contribution & Regulation Act (FCRA) of India. That is why the office-bearers of the MAS Foundation have decided to provide help and monetary assistance to the already existing institutes until it gets enrolled in India to get the funds transferred from the London HQ and establish its own institutes.

Through this letter I request you to propose the names of such institutes as (in your opinion) are seriously concerned with the educational problems (and their remedy) of the minority communities and are really in need of financial assistance.

Expecting an early response and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

(Muhammed Naim Ullah)
Secretary General

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067

BADAL GHANA CHAKRAVORTY
M.A. (Indiana Bloomington, U.S.A.)
Ph.D. (J.N.U., New Delhi)
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR
DEPARTMENT OF GERMAN

Res. 6965096
1213, NEW CAMPUS,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY,
NEW DELHI-110067.

With this end in view another seminar on Kashmir was slated on 6 February (Tuesday) by PESU at 2p.m. (zerox copy attached). There was a tell-tale coincidance between general strike in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in support of the terrorists on 5 February and the proposed seminar on 6 February in J.N.U. A sustained, orchestrated, virulent propaganda has been unleashed against our security forces by the anti-nationals at the bidding of their Pakistani masters. The same elements are in league with the imperialist designs of America. America is desperately trying to secure a permanent military presence in the valley in order to monitor, control, manipulate and dominate the destiny of all the countries in the region of Central Asia in pursuit of American national interest. All patriotic forces must resolutely foil this conspiracy to dismember India.

Madam Registrar, I am writing these lines more in anguish than in anger. J.N.U., financed by national exchequer, is being massively misused, with total impunity, as a spring-board to launch a heinous sabotage for another partition of India. Please alert the appropriate intelligence agencies of the Ministry of Home Affairs to constantly monitor, record, update and prepare a comprehensive list of all anti-national elements. This list should be meticulously stored in the computer so that these elements are debarred from any government or non-govt appointments as arch saboteurs against the state, out to wreck the country from within and dismember it into pieces.

Jawaharlal Nehru University was founded in memory of Nehru. It has no business to function as a monument to Mohammad Ali-Jinnah.

I will appreciate a swift response from you,

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,

(BADAL GHANA CHAKRAVORTY)

Copy to:

1. Vice-Chancellor
2. Rector
3. Teacher-Colleagues

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067

BADAL CHANA CHAKRAVORTY
M.A. (Indiana Bloomington, U.S.A.)
Ph.D. (J.N.U., New Delhi)
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR
DEPARTMENT OF GERMAN

Res. : 6965096
13-J, NEW CAMPUS,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067.

7.2.96

To
The Registrar,
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110 0067.

(Through Proper Channel)

Subject: Rampant anti-national activities of the agents of Pakistan on J.N.U. campus.

Madam Registrar,

This has reference to the Academic Council Meeting held on 21 December 95, chaired by the Vice-Chancellor. I had raised the above issue and was asked by the Vice-Chancellor to write to you for follow-up action at your end.

The agents of Pakistan have become vigorously assertive on the issue of Kashmir in recent times. The valley of Kashmir, following total physical liquidation of all the non-Muslims, has practically become an all-Muslim territory. This has emboldened the agents of Pakistan on the J.N.U. campus to intensify their vicious campaign for a full-scale secession of Kashmir from India. A seminar was held on 15 November (Zerox copy attached) where a full-throated declaration was made for another partition of India. According to my information, armed terrorists, staying as guests in Aravali and Gomti, were present with arms hidden on their person. Some terrorists are staying as unauthorised occupants in different hostels even today. Kindly press I.B. into immediate action.

Once again the campus is awash with poster campaign by PISU (financed by Islamic terrorists from Pakistan) asking for withdrawal of the army from Kashmir (copy enclosed) so that Kashmir can fully become an Islamic State outside the territorial jurisdiction of India. Pakistani agents are brazenly endorsing the infamous 2-Nation Theory of Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

WITHDRAW ARMY RULE FROM KASHMIR

The issue of Kashmir is being viewed by various forces in various ways, depicting their political convictions. Right from 1947, the democratic aspirations of the people of Kashmir have been suppressed by the Govts. of both India and Pakistan. All the ruling class parties have supported this in some way or other. All efforts have been made to give communal color to this political problem. Even those who do not speak on communal lines are supporter of this suppression in the name of national integration. Most of them try to project it as an unsettled dispute of partition, which can be settled by India and Pakistan totally discounting the people of Kashmir.

Right from then, the land of Kashmir has seen rising struggle of the people to uphold their national identity and democratic rights. Consequently they have been subjected to continuous repression. Kashmir had been the most attractive tourist place in the country, which used to earn big revenues for the Indian Govt. Saffron and almonds farming flourished here. Despite huge revenues generated by these, very little attention had been paid to the development work in Kashmir. People of the valley have always been crying for jobs and facilities like electrification, proper education and medical facility etc. Particularly after puppets like Farooq Abdullah had assumed power, people's discontent has increased further as they saw no future for them. Indian rulers reacted with more severe repression. This has resulted in constant disruption of the normal life of people. Today the entire state has been handed over to Army. Abuses by of all the people of Kashmir, bashing up of the people, specially the youth (not that children and aged are spared) on any false pretext, molestation of women including rape, gang rape and all other kind of atrocities are not uncommon for Kashmiri people. Many a stories of this plight of the people are not even told, yet little is thought about them by us. There is a state of war in the valley, and the fact that Indian Army, which is the fourth largest army in the world has failed to suppress the struggle of Kashmiris speaks enough about the public base of the issue. Indian Govt. is still trying to more oppression in the garb of saving the country. They want to protect a piece of land but annihilate the natives. After all what is a nation? Land, trees, mountains or its people? Can any one of us allow such atrocities on any pretext on ourselves or any other part of the country? Will we tolerate the burning down of historic shrines and cities by the army as was the case in Cherar e Sharief? The entire functioning of Indian Army in Kashmir is as of an occupation army and not the way an army would deal with citizens of their own country.

Due to constant fascist rule of the army, the education of the students has been disrupted to a very grave extent. Curfews, marshal laws etc. has made normal life and free movement very difficult and has resulted in virtual closure of all the educational institutes. Those who can afford, are going to different parts of the India for this. But those who cannot, are forced to remain uneducated. Similarly as most of the business is closed, tourism has reduced to nil. Even the already earning ones are going out of the job leave apart giving jobs to new youth. The youth is actually facing unprecedented unemployment and abysmal conditions of life, apart from being a special target of repression.

Some forces are even blatantly proclaiming that this is what should happen. They want to take control of the business in Kashmir and reduce them to "*Red Indians*". Some other forces say the same thing but mildly. But no one is bothered about the people of Kashmir. They support this oppression in the name of suppression of subversive activities, national integration etc. but these very forces have absolutely no hesitation or rather are more than keen to sell out the country to foreign capital for hefty commissions. In the name of liberalization they are privatizing and commercializing the vital sectors like education and health putting it away from the reach of the common people. Their sense of patriotism does not bother when they eat away the public money in scams after scams right from Bofors to *Hawala*.

The struggle of Kashmir is that of national liberation. They must have a right to determine their own fate in a fearless atmosphere. We must view this struggle as a part of democratic and progressive struggle people of the country. As we always endeavor to fight oppression, suppression of democratic rights of the people, we must support the struggle and demand that the oppressive Indian Army and other para-military forces be immediately withdrawn from the valley and those guilty of crimes against the people must be punished. Without this the civil and human rights of the people of Kashmir can not be restored. They must also be allowed the right of self determination.

Come for a Seminar on this on Feb. 6, 1996, Tue. in SSS-I Committee Room, JNU, New Delhi.

PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRATIC STUDENTS' UNION (PDSU)
28, Sabarmati Hostel, JNU, New Delhi 110 067

Seminar subversion at Jawaharlal Nehru University

KASHMIR SENTINEL
Jammu
16-31 January 1964

By Sonali Vinayak

There is a pigeonhole into which speakers on Kashmir can be put. We have what may be called journalist Aroon Shourie calls the "opinion factory" on Kashmir. And then there are the Kashmir analysts, the liberals crying hoarse about how the terrorists in the valley are suffering from cross-border infiltrations or we have secessionists of the Lilaraksha Narayan variety who raise the hackneyed issue of Kashmir's accession in their regular disenchanted seminars to foment pro-Pak solidarity. They are the intellectual mercenaries.

On January 15-19, 1964 such a seminar was held at Jawaharlal Nehru University under the aegis of the South Asian Forum for Peoples Initiative. Seizing the initiative was Azad Kashmir's Azam Inqulabi leader of Operation Balloon fame. Apart from Inqulabi's presence in the seminar as a delegate from Pakistan, there were two other Pakistanis who were in the seminar as observers. One of them was a Pakistani journalist who was also a correspondent of the Pakistan Times. The other was a Pakistani student who was also a correspondent of the Pakistan Times. The other was a Pakistani student who was also a correspondent of the Pakistan Times.

It is to the credit of the Pandits present there and to the Panun Kashmir, a leading organisation of the Kashmiri Pandits that they did not break up the seminar and create disorder in spite of the provocation. Jagmohan, Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir told the audience in the inaugural address that he was only pointing out the threats of the Indians and Jammuites.

Pakistan's Inqulabi and Azad Kashmir's Azad Inqulabi while the President of the forum mentioned above repeatedly referred to the secessionist movement. Not only the Pandits but the Kashmiri Muslims were also hurt by the speeches of Inqulabi which he delivered in the Kashmiri language as well as Urdu. Inqulabi's speech was full of communal hatred. He said that the Kashmiri Pandits have come to the Indian Union to exploit the Kashmiri Muslims. He said that the Kashmiri Pandits have come to the Indian Union to exploit the Kashmiri Muslims. He said that the Kashmiri Pandits have come to the Indian Union to exploit the Kashmiri Muslims.

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Inqulabi's speech was full of communal hatred. He said that the Kashmiri Pandits have come to the Indian Union to exploit the Kashmiri Muslims. He said that the Kashmiri Pandits have come to the Indian Union to exploit the Kashmiri Muslims. He said that the Kashmiri Pandits have come to the Indian Union to exploit the Kashmiri Muslims.

While our intellectuals spend time and effort opening channels of communication where regional issues have given the standard solutions, the victims on the fringe increase by leaps and bounds. The blame for mounting disillusionment lies at the doorstep of the Indian Government. As the Sushila Dhar Directive IPKA said, some intelligentsia have joined the secessionists.

Giving patronage to subversive ideas has become a style with Indian Government officials, intellectuals and media. Hope for democracy is bleak in Kashmir unless such misplaced activists are replaced as a breeding ground for ideas. Otherwise the genocide unleashed by the terrorists in Kashmir will continue. The Pandits will spend the New Year in tented camps, the jammuites will search for a bomb in every corner, the Indian soldier will spend cycling the freezing night behind his sandbags.

WELCOME TO KARWAN E AMN O TARAQQI

KARWAN E AMN O TARAQQI

Dr. Anand Kumar
(President)

Sushmita Bhadra
(Secretary General)

Dr. Sandhya Saraogi (Advocate, Supreme Court)
Dr. P. Subodh
Dr. Susheela Bhan
Prof. Riaz Punjabi
Prof. M.H. Qureshi
Prof. Imtiaz Ahmed
Shri Yusuf Tarigami
Prof. Kalyan Bahadur
Dr. Sabir Ali
Dr. Kayum Chaudhary
Dr. Asghar Ali Engineer
Dr. Javed Alam
Dr. Ram Puniyani
Dr. Ghulam Yazdani
Dr. Ashok Agrawal
Dr. Ram Dayal Munda
Dr. Mohan Rao
Dr. Vinod Raina
Dr. Ram Puniyani
Dr. Javed Alam
Dr. Sabir Ali
Dr. Kayum Chaudhary
Dr. Asghar Ali Engineer
Dr. Ram Dayal Munda
Dr. Mohan Rao
Dr. Vinod Raina

Delhi Declaration

Delhi Declaration

A group of concerned citizens from Pakistan and India have initiated a process of discussions to build up a movement for peace and democracy in the sub-continent. The first formal discussion was held in Lahore, Pakistan, on 2 September 1994 (Declaration and list of participants attached). The second discussion was held on 25 and 26 November 1994, at which the following participated.

Members of Pakistan team:

Dr. Mubashir Hasan, Prof. Haroon Ahmed, Ms. Beena Sarwar, Mr. Madeeha Gohar and Mr. Karamat Ali.

Members of Indian team:

S/Sh. Nirmal Mukerji, Prof. Dinesh Mohan, Mr. Sumanta Banerji, Mr. Gautam Navlakha, Mr. Tapan Bose, Ms. Kamla Bhasin, Mr. Preeta Sen Gupta, Mr. Achin Vanaik, Dr. Kartik Mitra, Chenoy, Dr. Aquadha Chenoy, Ms. Rita Manchanda, Ms. Amrita Chachhi, Mr. Smitu Kothari, Mr. T. Peregadayalan.

The group believes that:

1. The policies of confrontation between India and Pakistan has failed to achieve benefits of any kind for the people of both countries.
2. The people of both countries increasingly want genuine peace and friendship and would like their respective governments to honour their wishes.
3. Peace between the two countries will help in reducing communal and ethnic tension in the sub-continent.
4. Peace in the sub-continent will help the South Asian region to progress economically and socially, especially in the face of the new economic order.
5. Governments of Pakistan and India must agree to an unconditional forward parleying immediately without yielding to any third party pressures. A democratic solution to the Kashmir dispute is essential for promoting peace in the sub-continent.

The group has decided to organise the following activities to promote the cause of peace and democracy:

1. Organisation of a People's Convention on Peace and Democracy in New Delhi on 24-25 February 1995. The convention will be attended by around one hundred representatives each from India and Pakistan.
2. Propagation of information on activities promoting peace and democracy in both countries.
3. Release of pamphlets containing writings of Pakistani and Indian authors concerning intolerance, religious bigotry, sectoral violence, discrimination against minorities and disadvantaged sections of society, militarization, undemocratic governance and the Kashmir dispute.
4. Exchange of artists, scientists and technologists.
5. To create an atmosphere of peace to induce the governments of India and Pakistan to enter into meaningful negotiations for peace and democracy.
6. To make the governments aware that the people of both countries do not want war and want to live in an atmosphere of peace and friendship.

S/Sh. Mr. Nirmal Mukerjee
Co-Chairperson Joint Preparatory Committee (India)

S/Sh. Dr. Mubashir Hasan
Co-Chairperson Joint Preparatory Committee (Pakistan)

The representatives of the undermentioned organisations and individuals have endorsed this statement and pledged their support to the people's convention on Peace and Democracy.

1. Satyendra Ranjan (PUCL)
2. Shamsul Islam (Friend of Nishant Natya Manch)
3. Mohanbir Samaddar (Institute of Asian Studies)
4. Jaya Shrivastava (ANKUR)
5. Syeda Hameed
6. Farida Khan
7. Anuradha M. Chenoy (CITU)
8. Rajen Mathew Thomas
9. Kamala Prasad (AITUC)
10. Arvind Kumar Mishra
11. Archendu Roy (AICCTU)
12. K.K. Niyogi
13. Suhasini Mulay
14. Suman Sahai
15. Aryam Singh
16. Abdul Majeed
17. [illegible]

The Delhi Police has also arrested one Shambhu Sayal Sharma @ Guptaji for his involvement in 'Hawala' transaction business. He converted foreign exchange and delivered an amount of Rs.16.27 lakhs in three instalments to Shahabuddin Gori during January and February this year. Shambhu Dayal disclosed that he had handled transactions of about Rs.3.5 crores since his induction in this racket.

Ashfaq Hussain Lone, when arrested, was found in possession of incriminating documents as well. One of the documents recovered was a letter from Mohd.Yusuf Shah @ Salah-u-ddin,patron HUM, operating from Pakistan brought personally from him by Shahabuddin Gori from Pakistan on March 17. In this letter, Salah-u-ddin has given directions to Master Ahsan Dar,Commander-in-Chief of outlawed HUM in Kashmir about future terrorist plans. The other two documents were letters from Shahabuddin Gori himself, one of which is addressed to Masood Nizami,Editor, Taqbir-e-Nau,Srinagar and the other to Firdaus Kirmani(Hizb-e-Islami). In these letters the game plan for expanding their subversive network was delineated.

Ashfaq Hussain Lone converted this amount into bank drafts of Rs.50,000/- to Rs.1 lakh in the name of 22 persons in Kashmir. All these bank drafts totalling Rs.15.5 lakhs and a cash amount of Rs.50,000/- were recovered at the instance of the accused Ashfaq Hussain Lone on March 26,1991.

Investigations have been carried out strictly in accordance with the law. Over the past few days an inspired and orchestrated effort has been made, by circulating false and motivated allegations. The aim being to thwart the investigations by misguiding organisations and student leaders both within and without the country. This by itself is indicative of the reach and nefarious nature of the conspirators.

Press Release by Commissioner of Police, Delhi

MAJOR INTERNATIONAL RACKET OF FUNDING MILITANCY IN J&K BUSTED

New Delhi, dated 10.4.1991

The Delhi Police has uncovered a major international conspiracy involving persons based in UK, Canada, USA, Nepal and working at the behest of elements in Pakistan, of funding militancy in J&K.

The Delhi Police arrested Ashfaq Hussain Lone, a top ranking operator of the banned Hizb-ul-Mujahideen, in Delhi and Sahabuddin Gori, a JNU student using the cover of a Human Rights activists. Gori was acting as a conduit for funds and communications with terrorists in Kashmir. Rs.16.25 lakhs and incriminating documents have been recovered. The money and the documents were intended to be delivered to terrorists in the Valley for expanding their subversive activities.

At the time of Gori's arrest, Pakistani currency Rs.570/- was also recovered. Both Ashfaq Lone and Shahabuddin Gori were arrested in Crime No.53 u/s 3-4 TADA(P) and Sec. 8 TEPRA PS Chandni Mahal dated 25.3.91. They were produced before Chief Metropolitan Magistrate and remanded to police custody.

Gori was medically examined in the Safdarjang Hospital on 5.4.91 as directed by the Court as it was alleged that he was subjected to torture. The Medical report showed that the allegations were totally incorrect and the Hon'ble Court was pleased to remand the accused further for 11 days to police custody to conduct the investigations on 9.4.91.

The police also made a search of premises of Shahabuddin Gori in Kaveri Hostel, JNU, New Delhi, in presence of the accused and concerned university authorities. Recoveries made included Rs.24,000/- in cash and some more documents. A king-pin in the racket, Shahbuddin Gori, a long time Jamaat-e-Islami activist, was working in the South Asian Human Rights Documentation Centre, New Delhi. Gori under the cover of his Human Rights assignment frequently visited Srinagar and various parts of the Valley and contacted JEI leaders and leaders of banned Hizbul Mujahideen. He acted as a courier between banned Hizbul Mujahideen and its Pakistan-based patron Mohd. Yusuf Shah @ Salah-u-ddin. He has also maintained surreptitious contacts with some foreign missions based in Delhi.

During his visit to Pakistan in late February, 1991 he had meetings with Mohd. Yusuf Shah @ Salah-u-ddin, patron Hizbul Mujahideen, Qazi Hussain Ahmed (Amir Pak JEI) and Dr Ayub Thakur (of JEI, UK) who had specially come to Pakistan to have parleys with him.

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without any fear. In fact the string of anti-India activities in international fora including the UN Human Rights Council, European Parliament, US Congress, UK House of Commons and by foreign NGOs particularly Amnesty International, Freedom House etc. is closely tied to these JNU dons who actually provide the base materials for their foreign mentors. The main goal of their activities is to attack Indian sovereignty in Kashmir, North-East, keep the Indian state in a destabilised state through Naxal, Maoist violence, secessionist movements. They are actively recruiting young minds in JNU campus and elsewhere by addicting them to night parties/revelries, alcoholism and cash payments to carry forward their agenda through mass campaigns, strikes etc. They also ensure that their young M.Phil/PhD students are placed in comfortable jobs in institutions like IDSA, Indian Council of World Affairs, National Security Council Secretariat, NTRO, Universities, think tanks and NGOs to propagate their ideology of hate, secessionism and terrorism in the mask of liberalism, democracy and freedom.

The Government of India and its agencies particularly the Intelligence Bureau, RAW, Enforcement Directorate need to hold a time bound enquiry into the nefarious and seditious activities of these few JNU academics. Pending such enquiry, these persons (Prof. Kamal Mitra Chenoy, Prof. Anuradha Chenoy, Prof. Ayesha Kidwai, and Prof. Nivedita Menon) be immediately suspended from the service of JNU and their passports be seized. These few persons who have polluted the work culture of big institutions like JNU need to be arrested and punished under law. Besides, the national institutions like Indian Council of Social Research, Indian Council of Historical Research, Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses, Indian Council of World Affairs, NTRO, Teen Murti, Delhi University etc. be cleansed and purged of these anti-national and secessionist elements.

martyrdom of Maqbool Bhat and Afzal Guru. Recently on 9 February 2014 a huge *Mashal* procession was organized in JNU campus in the evening by Prof. Ayesha Kidwai, Prof. Anuradha Chenory and Prof. Kamal Mitra Chenoy through their front organizations (DSU, AISA). These three faculty members have recruited over a hundred students (for instance Ms. Deepti Tamang, Ms. Priyadarshini, Rauf, Umar Khalid, Iqbal Majeed Bhat, Dawa Sherpa, Rona Wilson, Syed Mohammad Raqib, Shehla Rashid Shora, Bano Jyotsna Lahiri, Ashutosh, Rajan Jha are the most vocal slogan raisers) and activists by feeding them with funds, alcohol and other facilities like placements in various NGOs, civil society groups, institutes that are run in India with the funding of Ford Foundation, foreign agencies, Action Aid, Oxfam etc. Angana Chatterjee (who visited Kashmir and prepared a report on Mass Graves and Enforced Disappearances at the behest of Pakistan and who was later deported from Kashmir by the Government of India), Ghulam Nabi Fai (who was arrested by the FBI, USA for using Pak funds), Gautam Navlakha, Arundhati Roy, S. A. R. Geelani, Parvez Imroz, Mrs. Parveena Ahangar, Mr. Showkat Hussan –all known Kashmiri separatists, Teesta Setelvad and other known anti-India activists have been working along with Prof. Kamal Chenoy, Prof. Anuradha Chenoy, Prof. Nivedita Menon and Prof. Ayesha Kidwai in such misdemeanours. They have been signatories to a petition to President of India against the execution of Afzal Guru, (Copy of the petition is enclosed for ready reference). Copies of statements of Prof. Kamal Chenoy and Prof. Anuradha Chenoy demanding self- determination for Kashmiris in their speeches at the conferences organized by Ghulam Nabi Fai in USA and Muzaffarabad (POK) are also enclosed for ready reference.

It is clear beyond doubt (on the basis of enclosed documentary evidence) that a few academics of JNU particularly Prof. Ayesha Kidwai, Prof. Kamal Mitra Chenoy, Prof. Anuradha Chenoy, Prof. Nivedita Menon have been misusing the JNU and their coveted position of senior teachers in the University for propagating secessionism in Kashmir and North-East, legitimizing and rationalizing terrorist activities in these states, stoking the fires of hate and anti-national sentiments by organizing seminars, lectures, issuing pamphlets, posters, publications and *nukkad nataks* ,rallies, demonstrations, sit ins ,hunger strikes and strikes in JNU for several years

repeal of AFPSA, defaming India by exaggerating Indian atrocities in Kashmir and North-East, raising the issue of mass graves and disappearances in Kashmir. The main slogan of DSU is *Azadi* (independence) for Kashmir, *Ladke lenge Azadi*. (Please see the posters/statements of DSU littered through JNU campus and also some clips of their speeches, demonstrations etc). Prof. Amitabh Kundu, a senior professor of JNU filed a complaint with the Superintendent of Police, Crime Branch, CGOI Complex, New Delhi on 31-1-2014 asking for urgent enquiry into the activities of DSU .(Copy of his complaint and the acknowledgment of Joint Commr. of Police, Crime Branch, Mandir Marg, New Delhi dated 31-1-2014 are enclosed for ready reference).

12. On 5 March 2011, Arundhati Roy and Prof. Amit Bhaduri of JNU addressed a meeting *Operation Green Hunt* in JNU organized by JNU Forum against War on People, in which national emblem was publicly trampled under the boot. This matter was also raised in Rajya Sabha on 9 March 2011 .DSU also uses 3 pigs in place of three lions of the national emblem in its posters throughout the JNU campus. (copies of the posters denigrating the national emblem and the MP's question in Rajya Sabha are enclosed for ready reference).

13. When JNU Forum against War on People was banned from organizing any activities in the JNU campus, Prof. Kamal Mitra Chenoy, Prof. Anuradha Chenoy and Prof. Ayesha Kidwai sat on dharna/hunger strike before the JNU administrative block disrupting normal work of the University, in protest against such ban. And now this Forum has started its activities again. This Forum publicly organised a dance party/revelry in front of Godavari dhaba to celebrate the massacre of 76 CRPF jawans in Dhantewada in 2011.

14. Indian national flag and national emblem are being routinely trampled and denigrated in the JNU Campus (Copies of posters enclosed). On 25 August 2011 some students tore the national flag in Tapti hostel, with the JNU administration being a mute spectator. The case is still lingering in Vasant Vihar police station. Besides, a poster of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose celebrating Netaji's Jayanti on 23 January 2014 was torn apart. (copy of the torn poster enclosed).

15. Of late the focus of DSU, AISA etc. has been to highlight the cause of *Azadi* (indpendence) for Kashmir, mass graves and enforced disappearances,

6. One Mohammad Naim Ullah, Secretary General of Mohammed Abdus Salam Foundation, London stayed in and operated from JNU Campus in October 1996 ostensibly to open a branch of this Foundation in October 1996, but actually to disburse Rs. 800 million to influence the Muslim voters in assembly elections in Uttar Pradesh. He was working on behalf of Pakistani agencies. (Copy of his letter dated 25 October 1996 is enclosed.)

7. On 29 April 2000 an Indo-Pak *Mushaira* was organized in JNU campus, ostensibly as a poetic event, but actually to malign and belittle Indian victory in the Kargil war of 1999. Two army majors (in civilian dress) who were visiting their friends in JNU were witness to such pro-Pakistan slogans. The two army majors, who had just fought in the Kargil heights against Pakistan reacted to such slogans and got beaten up by the student's mob instigated by anti-national elements in JNU. The issue became a major controversy, but was hushed up.

8. Soon after the hijacking of Indian Airlines plane to Kandhar in December 1999 by the Pak terrorists, Prof. Anuradha Chenoy of JNU publicly accused Indian agencies of organizing this hijacking in order to defame Pakistan internationally. Her Zee TV interview/clip was telecast repeatedly by Pakistan to put India in a tight spot. Prof. Chenoy has been an open and virulent supporter of Pakistan sponsored terrorists in Kashmir. She has participated in G. N. Fai's seminars in USA and Muzaffarabad (POK).

9. Prof. Anuradha Chenoy, Prof. Kamal Chenoy (both of JNU), Gautam Navlakha, Achin Vinaik, Rita Manchanda, Teesta Setelvad have been the kingpins of the Pak sponsored activities against India related to Kashmir, North-East, Naxals etc.

10. Naga Study Forum has been organizing several meetings to project the activities of the National Socialist Council of Nagalim (NSCN) which has been fighting for a sovereign Nagaland after its secession from India. (See the Posters of Naga Study Forum in JNU for ready reference).

11. Democratic Students Union (DSU) which is spearheaded and funded by Pakistan through Prof. Ayesha Kidwai and Prof. Anuradha Chenoy (of JNU) has been since 2007 in the forefront of undermining Indian sovereignty over Kashmir, legitimizing secessionist movements in Kashmir and the North-East,

3. Several anti-India fronts/NGOs like JUGNU, SAWERA, All India Students Association(AISA), Forum for Federal India, Progressive Democratic Students Union(PDSU), South Asian Forum for People's Initiatives, JNU Forum Against War on People, Democratic Students Union(DSU), Students for Resistance(SFR), Coordination Committee for Oppressed Nationalities(CCON), Naga Study Forum, Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners (CRPP),Students' League, Campus Front of India, The New Materialists(TNM), Popular Front of India, Forum For Freedom, Forum for People's Right, All India Students Federation (AISF), Pakistan-India People's Forum for Peace and Democracy, Feminist Collective, Revolutionary Cultural Front, People's Alliance for the Repeal of AFPSA, Delhi Tamil Students Union, Centre for Policy Analysis (Prof. Anuradha Chenoy) etc. have been floated and operated from JNU campus. Prof. Kamal Mitra Chenoy, Prof. Anuradha Chenoy, Prof. Ayesha Kidwai, Prof. Nivedita Menon, Prof. A. K. Ramakrishnan, Prof. Madhu Sahni ,who indulge in such activities at the behest of hostile foreign agencies, are the main brain behind these activities. They have become Frankstein monster in the JNU campus as they have created a sort of terrorizing influence over the silent majority of teachers and students.

4. On 15 November 1995 the South Asian Forum for People's Initiative organized a symposium at JNU on Kashmir. Azam Inquilabi, a well known terrorist and self styled Chief of Operation Balakot used the JNU platform to advocate secession of Kashmir. (A copy of the proceedings of this symposium as was published in *Kashmir Sentinel* on 16-31 January 1996 is enclosed). The guest speakers included Kashmiri terrorists who stayed at JNU Aravali guest house.

5. PDSU, which operated from Sabarmati Hostel, JNU organized on 6 February 1996 another seminar on Kashmir to coincide with state sponsored strike in Pakistan in support of Kashmiri terrorists. This seminar was addressed by known India-baiters. A sustained, well orchestrated and virulent propaganda was thus unleashed in JNU against India. Prof. Badal Ghana Chakravorty of Centre for German Studies, JNU who raised this issue in his signed letter to Registrar of JNU on 7-2-1996 later left JNU campus as a very disillusioned person. (copy enclosed)

Jawaharlal Nehru University

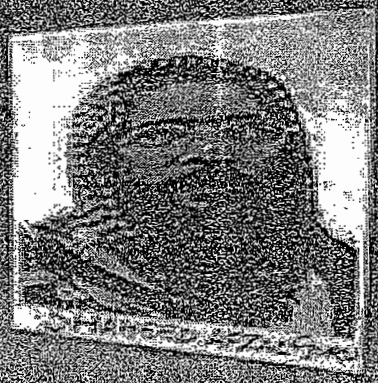
The Den of Secessionism and Terrorism

Attention is hereby invited to the serious seditious activities that have been going on in India's prestigious Jawaharlal Nehru University, which was established in 1969 as an advanced academic institution to foster national integration, composite culture, international understanding, scientific temper and to present an Indo-centric view of world affairs. It is a matter of serious concern that some JNU academics masquerading as liberals and feminists have been engaged in nefarious and anti-national activities of maligning India publicly through their statements, lectures, publications and extra-academic activities of their NGOs which receive liberal funding from foreign hostile agencies. The problem is compounded by the fact that these very few academics brainwash and recruit the guillible and academically weak students into their fold in order to use them as cannon fodder in various rallies, demonstrations etc. organized by them both in and outside the JNU campus. The University has thus become a den of subversive activities by these few JNU dons who are rationalizing the agenda of terrorism and secessionism in Kashmir, North-East and Maoist infested belt. These incidents in JNU have stifled and suffocated the silent majority of JNUites - teachers, students and staff, who feel threatened in performing their day to day academic activities. The following facts are revealing and speak for themselves:

1. Shahbud Din Gauri, who was a registered student of JNU and resident of Kaveri hostel, was a Pakistani agent and the lynchpin of Jain hawala scandal. His active involvement in terrorist activities in Kashmir and his association with ISI activities was proved by Delhi Police which busted this racket in early 1991.Shahabud Din was using the JNU campus as a safe hideout for his seditious activities. (Please see Delhi Police Commissioner's Press Release dated 10-4-1991 –copy enclosed).

2. John Cockerill, a Canadian national, who studied and stayed in JNU campus, used JNU as a base for his anti-Indian activities in Kashmir. He was guided and supported in his task by Prof. Kamal Mitra Chenoy and Prof. Anuradha Chenoy, both in the School of International Studies. For this very reason, Cockerill was later expelled from India by the Government of India.

Do not stand at my grave and cry,
I am not dead, I did not die...



remembering Afzal Guru

on the first year of his martyrdom

8TH FEB

MASHAL JULOOS

9TH FEB

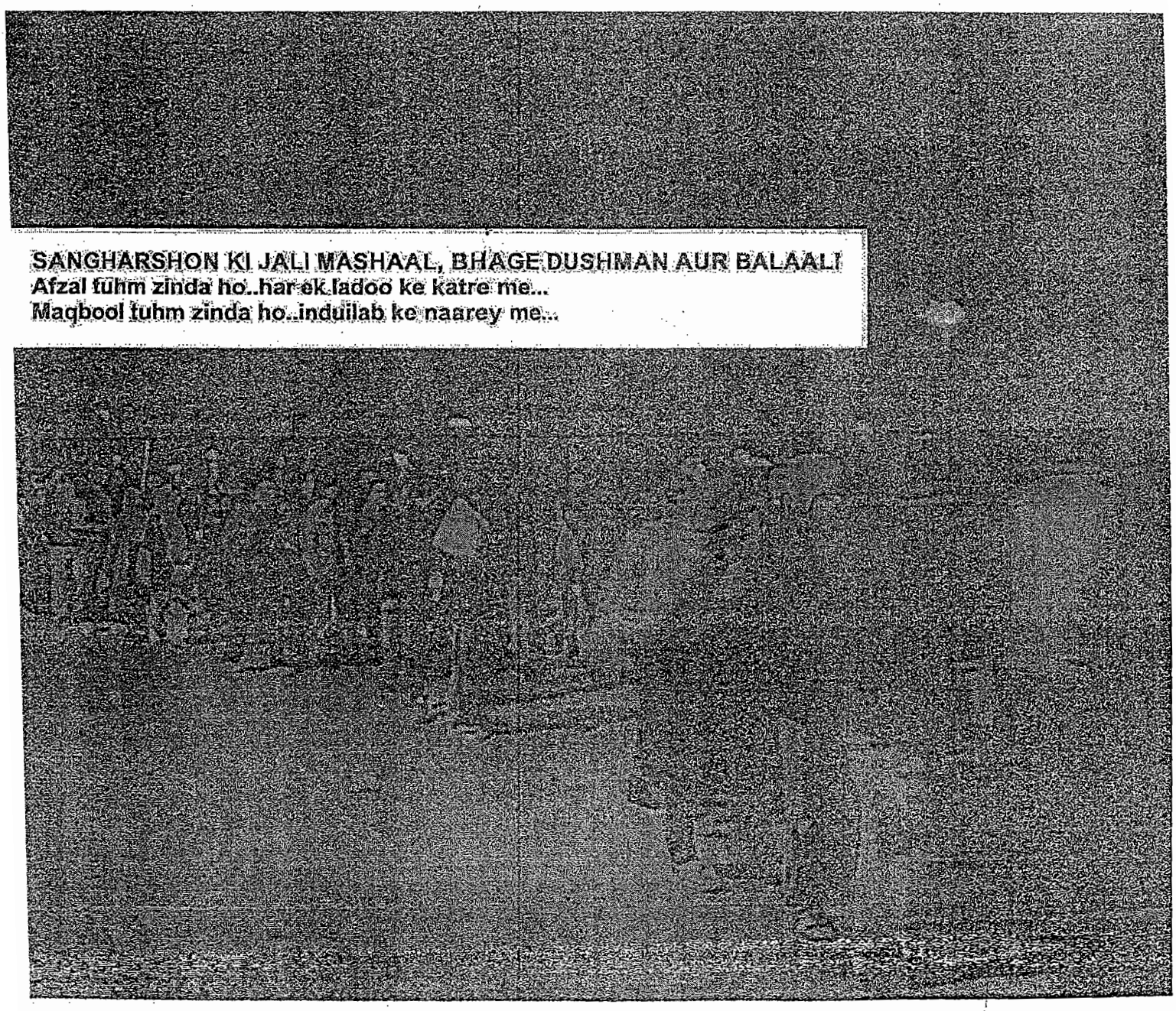
dsu

16th Unit Conference

Stop Communal Stereotyping and Witch-Hunt of Minorities!

Jawaharlal Nehru University

The Den of Secessionism and Terrorism



JNU Students demonstrating