

**Jagmohan:
In
The Eyes
Of
His Compatriots**

with the compliments of

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Kashmir: A Moral Issue

Ashok Mitra

The Daily Telegraph

Calcutta, India

May 16, 1990.

Jagmohan and round-the clock curfews and the most intensive combing operations by the Army accompanied by shootings and killings and detentions without trial can at most enable us to hold on to Kashmir in the physical sense. But these modalities, which yield results for today, could also provide the ground for fear that we might run the risk of losing irretrievably the battle for the Kashmiri mind. Whether we like to admit the fact or not, the conditions are one of insurgency in Kashmir; not even a minuscule faction of the population in the Valley is currently in a mood to continue the political connection with the Indian Union. Because of the operations undertaken over the past four months, the situation has actually worsened. As the rigorous of the curfew have mounted, more young people have either been shot or picked up for interrogation by the Army, and stories of official excesses' have spread like wild fire, revulsion toward the Indian Union has grown even more intense.

...We may still manage to keep Kashmir in shackles. How do we escape from the moral problem though? There is one pseudo-secular argument aired with some vigour in defence of our official stand over Kashmir which richly deserves to be instantly demolished. We must, it is said, hold on to Kashmir by hook or crook, for, should the Valley be lost, Hindu fundamentalism in the country will raise its head, it will begin to spit fire, and, seething with dark anger at the dispossession of Kashmir, it will make a target of the life and property of our one hundred million and odd Muslim compatriots: this is a frightening argument, for it wants to give formal recognition to the doctrine 'of the hostage'. Short of verbiage, it really amounts to the following: in case Kashmir leaves India, the Hindu fanatics will in retribution try to liquidate the nations' Muslim minorities; we cannot allow that to happen, so Kashmir has to be retained by us, if necessary by force. The argument is false on at least two counts. First, the issue in Kashmir is neither communal nor religious, it is one of nationalism seeking to assert its dignity. Second, secularism cannot be a conditional attitude. Whether Kashmir stays or goes is an issue which, in the final analysis, concerns the fundamentalist who want to drag our country back into the dark morass of medievalism is a separate

clear-cut issue of principle; that fight has to be without compromise, and it must not be made into an alibi for abdicating from our moral commitments elsewhere.

Kashmir: A Deep-rooted Alienation

Dr. N.Y.Dole

A Dialogue team on behalf of Rashtra Seva Dal (RSD) was sent to Jammu and Kashmir during the first half of April 1990.

Economic and Political Weekly, Bombay, India

May 5, 1990.

...Governor Jagmohan has today become a symbol of ruthless suppression of legitimate aspirations of the people in the Valley. His continuation in the office is responsible for the discord between Hindus and Muslims. The Hindu population by and large respect Jagmohan but Muslims throughout the state dislike him. The image of the governor is that of the a suppressor. Either he should try to change his image or the government of India should transfer him. As his own life is in danger he cannot move about as freely in the valley as he could during his first tenure.

When para-military forces are given full freedom there are bound to be excesses and atrocities. During encounters, arrests, checks and searches innocent men and women suffer. Those who suffer injustice at the hands of para-military forces have no means of obtaining justice. This creates bitterness, frustration and anti-India feelings.

Kashmir: "Shadows of Death"

Harinder Baweja

India Today

July 31, 1990

Everywhere there's pain. There's darkness everywhere. The Valley had lost its magic, its mystique. It stretches like a pale shadow of its familiar verdant and joyful self. Summertime was, when its people welcomed droves

of tourists and sent truckfulls of fruit to distant destinations. This summer, too, they're busy: counting the dead. They display and eerie defiance. A people learning to live with death.

Lal Chowk is Srinagar's nerve-center. Once, in summer hundreds of tourists flocked here. Today Lal Chowk presents the silence of the graveyard. The shops rarely open. They smell musty.

...Each day brings another confrontation, another ambush, a few more dead, a lot more hatred. And the shadows of death lengthen menacingly.

Srinagar Today is Dead City

Syed Shahabuddin

Member Parliament and

President

Insaf Party

New Delhi April 14, 1990

Srinagar today is dead city, a city under siege, a city under occupation, whose people have been under curfew for practically 3 months. In indiscriminate search and arrest, hundreds have been killed and detained. Denied means of livelihood and tourism being at a standstill, many people are penniless. Meat and vegetables are not available; rice is in diminishing supply. Some are on the brink of starvation. There is an acute shortage of medicines. Essential services like electric supply and telephone are erratic. Radio and TV are closed down. Postal and banking services do not exist. Public transport has ceased to ply.

The Insaf Party is of the view that Governor Jagmohan is the chosen instrument of the BJP to implement its diabolical plan for aggravating and exploiting the Kashmir situation for demolishing the Secular State and establishing the Hindu Rashtra.

...In pursuance of this plan, Governor Jagmohan is trying to starve and shoot the people of the valley into submission, silence and even non-Muslim from the valley by promoting a fear psychosis and by spreading reports of an unending crackdown and has put the rest of the people of the valley under house arrest.

What is Happening in Kashmir'

Excerpts from Kashmir: Rhetoric and Reality, All India Revolutionary Students Federation, Karnataka, India

August, 1990.

...In accordance with the declaration, Indian government deployed huge military and paramilitary troops who are wreaking havoc in Kashmir. Beginning with the appointment of Jagmohan as the governor in January this year, not a single day passed in Kashmir Valley without gun fire at some place or the other. After hundreds of killings and thousands of arrests, Kashmir today presents the look of a country devastated by enemy occupation.

...Meanwhile the repression being carried out became greatly intensified with the advent of Jagmohan who soon became a man everybody love to hate. The paramilitary forces he brought along with him plunged the valley in a pool of blood. People did not stop protesting even amidst repression. In a curfew defying procession taken out in Srinagar against illegal searching, attacks and abductions of youth, nearly 20,000 people participated. The procession was fired upon at Basant Bagh resulting in killing of two hundred unarmed people including women and children. The very next day, another hundred were killed in firing on another protest march of 30,000 people in Maisuma. Nearly half a million people marched to the United nations Office in Srinagar on March 1st. It was peaceful demonstration demanding independence. But it was surrounded by CRPF who mercilessly shot dead hundreds of people.

...The genocide going on in Kashmir will make any civilized country hang its head in shame. People are being subjected to most horrendous ordeal. Entering every house forcibly in the name of searching, destroying everything in the houses, molesting women, etc. have become daily occurrences.

Army Cracks Down in Kashmir

India Abroad

March 9, 1990.

...For about two weeks, the capitol city of Srinagar and several other parts of Kashmir were under virtual siege as the Muslim population rose in mass protest against what it called Indian dominance.

The processions were joined by hundreds of thousands of people from all over Kashmir, making a beeline to the local office of the United Nations Military Observers Group, seeking the intervention of the world body for implementation of its resolution passed back in 1949 and calling for a plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir.

...According to one U.N.Observor, more than two million Kashmiris demonstrated during this period and the number of memorandums, submitted exceed 400.

...However, this policy came to an abrupt end on March 1 when the Indian Army opened fire on two pro-independence processions at different places in Srinagar. Though officially it was declared that "only 17 people had died in the two incidents," unofficially the figure was double this figure.

...They also point out that the incidents took place only a day after Governor Jagmohan returned from New Delhi, where he had rushed for consultations with the government.

Stop Repression, Start Dialogue

Dipankar Bhattacharya, Organizing Secretary General, Indian People's Front

June 21, 1990.

Everywhere we went we saw tell-tale signs of ruthless state repression. Everybody we met greeted us with agonizing accounts of the harrowing experience they have undergone in the 127 days long reign of terror of Mr. Jagmohan from 19th January to 25 May. We have no words to condemn this fascist brutality. We are now still more convinced that the former Governor-cum-present Rajya Sabha MP must immediately be put to trial for all his

criminal acts in Kashmir. This is important not only for the purpose of resumption of the political process in the State, but also for the preservation of the very sanctity of all our democratic institutions and values.

We are also highly disturbed to find that there has hardly been any change in the Govt's Kashmir Policy and its execution under the new Governor. The old scenario of incessant curfew, ruthless raids, torturous interrogations, molestation and rape of women, illegal detention, custodial deaths and 'encounter' killings continue unabated. And with no let-up in repression, there can be and is absolutely no move towards any restoration of the political process.

Try Jagmohan

The Insaf party Resolution, New Delhi, India

June 9, 1990.

The 'Insaf Party' appeals to the PUCL, PUDR, the Independent Initiative, the Initiative on Kashmir and the secular forces in all political parties to join hands in defending the human, fundamental and democratic rights of people of the valley, in demanding highpower judicial probe in the massacres and other allegations of massive violations of human rights, in setting up a People's Tribunal to try Mr. Jagmohan for crimes against the people, in hpholding the secular order and strengthening its foundations and in mobilizing the people of Democracy and Secularism which alone can, if at all, regenerate a civilized polity in the valley, based not only on the acquiescence but the free will of the people;.

Kashmir: Case for Self-Determination

Mino Masani

Dalit Voice, Bangalore, India

August 1, 1990.

The state of Jammu and Kashmir was never a part of India. Lord Mountbatten gave the Maharaja of Kashmir the option to join either India or Pakistan. Led by Sheikh Abdullah the Muslims of Kashmir persuaded the

Maharaja to accede to India on the strength of a solemn promise that the accession would be subject to plebiscite.

...It is all very well to send Jagmohan as Governor and start shooting. The first result of this repression is a revolt of the Kashmir police, who have alleged atrocities committed by the Indian Armed Forces on the people of Kashmir. So, now we have only an army of occupation to rely on. It is possible by brutal terrorism to suppress a national urge for freedom, but for how long? Don't recent events in Eastern Europe have a lesson for our government?

Kashmir For Kashmiris

Justice V.M. Tarkunde

Chairman

Committee for Initiative on Kashmir

Radical Humanist, New Delhi, India.

March, 1990.

A humanist can have doubt that the people of Kashmir should have the right of self-determination. Kashmir has been the main cause of the antagonism...between India and Pakistan...India has been diverting a considerable part of its resources in maintaining an army in Jammu and Kashmir and in granting subsidies in various forms to the people of that state. Two costly wars have been waged between India and Pakistan during the post-independence period. Because of mutual distrust, disproportionate military expenditure has been incurred by both the countries at the cost of resources which could have been utilized for economic betterment. An early solution of the Kashmir problem will be of great benefit to the peoples of both India and Pakistan. A grant of plebiscite to the people of the Kashmir Valley is the obvious solution.