



DEMOCIDE AND PERSECUTION IN INDIAN OCCUPIED JAMMU & KASHMIR

PART I

**PREPARED BY:
LEGAL FORUM FOR KASHMIR - LFK**



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Cover Image: A man holds the lock of central office of Jamaat-e-Islami which was sealed by Indian Administration in Srinagar, Kashmir on March 07, 2019. More than 300 leaders and activists of the Jamaat-e-Islami organization, including its top leadership have been arrested by Indian Occupying Forces since the crackdown began in February 2019.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

01	About Report
02	History
03	Ideology
04	Organizational Structure of Jamaat-e-Islami Jammu and Kashmir
05	The Initial Years
06	Growth and Consolidation of JeI-JK
07	Jamaat-e-Islami J&K (1975 to 1979)
08	JEI- A counter to hegemony of NC
09	Emergence of Ikhwan and Extra Judicial Killings of Jamaat Members
11	Testimony : Ghulam Mohammad R/O: Bijbehara
12	Testimony: Abdul Razaq Mir of Bachroo Kulgam
13	Testimony: Abdul Khaliq Wani R/O Madwan Bandipora
25	Ban on Jamaat
27	Conclusion

ABOUT REPORT

Jamaat-e-Islami - A socio-politico-religious organization in the Indian sub-continent was founded by Syed Abul Aala Maududi in 1941 in Lahore. Though Jamaat-e-Islami Jammu and Kashmir has ideological similarities with Jamaat-e-Islami India and Pakistan, but maintains a separate constitution and different modus operandi on account of the disputed nature of Jammu and Kashmir. Jamaat since its inception challenged the political hegemony of India and launched political awareness campaigns within the state. Sheikh Abdullah extended the emergency declared in India by the Indira Gandhi regime to J&K in 1975 and banned Jamaat and schools run by it. Jamaat detested Shaikh Abdullah's move to end the plebiscite front and opposed the Indira-Abdullah accord. Jamaat challenged Abdullah by contesting against him and his party in 1977's parliamentary elections. This culminated in a conspiracy hatched against Jamaat on the occasion of Bhutto's hanging in Pakistan in April 1979. The property of Jamaat members, worth crores, was damaged by state-backed mobs.

Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir under the banner of Muslim United Front in 1987, of which Jamaat was the major faction, decided to contest assembly elections that were marred by mass-scale rigging. The rigged result subsequently led to initiation of armed resistance against the Indian occupation.

Government forces and government militia (Ikhwan) in a bid to wipe out Jamaat decided to go for a " Catch and Kill operation." which is the worst example of statesponsored terrorism.

This study analyzes the violence perpetrated against Jamaat-e-Islami Jammu and Kashmir in different phases and will analyze how arrest, torture, and murder were used as tools of political violence by the state apparatus against Jamaat.

This fact-finding report has documented 43 testimonies of the Jamaat-e-Islami members who were subjected to 'Atrocity crimes' by the Indian occupying authorities in IOJK during the 1990s. This report has also documented the 1979 state-backed mob violence against Jamaat through interviews as well as by examining the available documentation.

The researchers were not able to carry out any interviews to document the contemporary wave of repression because of the heightened vigil, surveillance, and fear of being hounded by the Indian agencies.

HISTORY

Jamaat-e-Islami or Tehreek-e-Islami is a socio-political organization in South-Asia that subscribes to political Islam and has ideological concurrence with many other groups in other regions. It was founded in Lahore by Syed Maududi in 1941. There are separate chapters of Jamaat in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Jammu and Kashmir. Jamaat-e-Islami Jammu and Kashmir has followed a distinct path from Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan and Jamaat-e-Islami Hind. Due to the emergence of the Kashmir crisis soon after the partition of the Indian sub-continent, Jamaat-e-Islami Jammu and Kashmir chose a separate working methodology keeping in view the prevailing situations and political atmosphere of disputed Jammu and Kashmir.

Jamaat-e-Islami had its sympathizers in the state of Jammu and Kashmir even before it took an organizational shape in pre-partition India. Maulana Maududi's Tarjumanul Qu'ran had reached the state of Jammu and Kashmir and some people both in Jammu and Kashmir provinces had been deeply influenced by his writings. In the Jammu region Chaudhry Mohammad Shafi and Abdul Wadood Chauhan were among the founding members. Even if there were some Jamaat sympathizers in Kashmir province like, Maulana Saad-ud-Din Tarabali, Dr Ghulam Rasool, Maulana Gh Ahmad Ahrar, but it took two more years for these people to organize and establish the basis of Jamaat-e-Islami in Kashmir province. It was in the beginning of 1946 that a unit of Jamaat-e-Islami came into being, in the Kashmir valley with Maulana Saad-ud-Din Tarabali as its first unit head.

IDEOLOGY

The Jamaat-e-Islami Jammu & Kashmir shares a common ideological framework with branches of Jamaat elsewhere, based on the writings of Maulana Maududi. The main focus of Jamaat-e-Islami Jammu & Kashmir is Iqamat-e-Din (Establishment of Islam). Jamaat sees 'Din' (Islam) as a complete code of life covering all aspects of a Muslim's personal life as well as collective existence, which includes beliefs, rituals, moral values, economy, social fabric and politics. No human sphere of life is considered outside the guidance of Islam and Din. For Islam to be enforced in its entirety, it is necessary for Muslims to struggle for the establishment of an Islamic State, ruled by the Islamic rules. Jamaat ideology considers conventional Democracy to be un-Islamic, western style secularism, and similarly the separation of religion and politics is condemned.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF JAMAAT-E-ISLAMI JAMMU AND KASHMIR

The Jamaat-e-Islami J&K (JeI-JK) follows a consultative method of functioning, headed by the president (Amir-i-Jamaat) and a Central Advisory Council (Markazi-Majlis-i-Shoura), who are elected by the council of representatives (Markazi-Majlis-i-Numaindgan). The Amir and the members of the Central Advisory Council are chosen by the members of the Council of representatives of Jamaat-e-Islami J&K. The Council of Representatives (Markazi-Majlis-i-Numaindgan), which can be described as an electoral college of Jamaat-e-Islami Jammu and Kashmir is directly elected by the members of Jamaat-e-Islami Jammu and Kashmir (Arkaan-i-Jamaat). Amir-i-Jamaat and Central Advisory Council hold office accordingly for a three-year term.

The organizational structure of the central level leadership of JeI-JK is replicated at the lower levels. The next level of command and authority is administrative district. At District level JeI-JK has a district Amir (Amir-i-Zillah), a district advisory council and a district secretary (Qaim-i-Zillah). The JeI-JK has a similar setup at Tehsil level and finally at the local (Village) level, where it has a system of basic units (Halqa). The local unit is headed by local Amir (Amir-i-Halqa) and has a unit advisory council.

THE INITIAL YEARS

The first all India Ijtemah of Jamaat-e-Islami which was held in Pathankot in 1945 was attended by Maulana Saad-ud-Din, Qari Saif-ud-Din, Dr Ghulam Rasool Abdullah and Maulana Ghulam Ahmad Ahrar from Kashmir. It was decided after coming back from this Ijtemah that Jamaat should begin organizing itself in a planned manner in J&K. Maulana Saad-ud-din was choosen as its first Amir. The Jamaat now began holding regular weekly meetings in Historical Jamia Masjid Srinagar and soon a study center was opened in Nawab Bazar at Syed Mohammad Shafi's home, where Islamic literature including that of Maulana Maududi was kept for reading and public distribution. Shortly after that the first large organized Ijtemah was held in Srinagar in 1946 in said reading room in which 70 to 100 people from all across the valley made their participation. After establishment of these early units in Kashmir and Jammu, Jamaat's work broadened. The activities that were taking place in individual capacities at local levels upgraded to provincial level and Jamaat took an organized shape on state level and started its functioning for Iqamat-i-Din. Jamaat expanded its work to different fields of day to day life. From preaching religion to social service and education to politics, Jamaat actively participated in shaping the future of Jammu and Kashmir State.

GROWTH AND CONSOLIDATION OF JEI-JK

With Partition of Indian sub-continent, two new nations were born India and Pakistan. Maulana Maududi shifted his base from Pathankot to Lahore. In the same year war broke out between India and Pakistan over J&K. Jamaat activists supported Kashmir's accession to Pakistan. An increasing number of people mostly educated, young students and middle class people began being attracted to JeI-JK at this time. The years 1947-1952 saw the setting up of first Jamaat schools and building up of other institutions[1]. "Azan" party's official newspaper was issued in 1948, firstly as monthly and then as a weekly.

Till 1952 Jamaat was working under the constitution of Jamaat-e-Islami Hind, but owing to the disputed nature of the state Jamaat drafted its own constitution which was passed and accepted in November 1953. In November 1953, member's convention of Jamaat was held at Srinagar in which the new constitution was finalized and passed unanimously. According to this newly passed constitution, there is no difference in the main goal of Jamaat-e-Islami Jammu and Kashmir in comparison with the constitutions of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan and Jamaat-e-Islami Hind but JeI-JK decided to change its modus operandi keeping in view the dispute of Jammu and Kashmir State. Maulana Sadudin was once again elected as Amir for the new organization in a special Ijtemah which was held in Barzullah Srinagar in October 1954. In 1957, JeI-JK expanded its work in Jammu province for which Maulana Ahrar made an extensive tour to the Jammu province. Jamaat raised funds for organizational works which were generated from donations, and from mau'uda (a promised sum by the members and sympathizers of Jamaat) paid by the members. By 1970's the Jamaat-e-Islami Jammu and Kashmir emerged as a powerful force with a large number of active members spread all across the state.

Indira Gandhi declared a state of emergency in India in 1975. Sheikh Abdullah tactfully imported this emergency to the state of Jammu and Kashmir through an ordinance to crush his political opponents with Jamaat being at the top of this list. As a result, the JeI-JK was declared a banned organization. Its offices were sealed, its leaders thrown into prison and a large number of its schools (more than 100) forcibly closed down, on the grounds of allegedly 'spreading communal hatred', a charge that JeI-JK vehemently denied. All five assembly members of JeI-JK were imprisoned with hundreds of other Jamaat supporters and activists. The ban on the JeI-JK was lifted two years later.

[1] 1988 Jamaat had over hundred schools , enrolling 15,302 boys and 9525 girls and employing over 1070 teachers. In 2016 , more than 80,000 students were enrolled in schools Falah-e-Aam trust.

JAMAAT-E-ISLAMI J&K (1975 TO 1979)

After the ban was lifted from JeI-JK in 1977 it decided to contest state assembly elections. It was seen as a very tough and challenging task to contest elections those days against the National Conference of Sheikh Abdullah which had recently been revived as a client regime of New Delhi. The 1970s were a period of consolidation and gradual growth for the JeIJK's political strength and influence. The organization suffered a temporary setback in 1979, when, on April 4 of that year, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was hanged in Pakistan. But through conspiracy in Kashmir, the hanging was used against JeI-JK by its political opponents, particularly by the Sheikh-led state government (National Conference), communists, and anti-muslim elements of the valley. Radio Kashmir Srinagar in its news bulletin announced that that JeI-JK's District office in Islamabad had been burnt down by the masses. This news became a rallying announcement for the Communists, Congressmen, and workers of the National Conference to loot and plunder the belongings of Jamaat activists.

Massive rioting was witnessed all over Kashmir, and JeI-JK offices and houses of its members were made special targets of attack.

JeI-JK ideologue, Qari Saif ud din, while blaming the National conference and vested interests said: "Respectable maulvis (maulviyan-i-karam) issued fatawa declaring that the day of the Battle of Badr' had once again arrived, and, [they declared]: 'Just as in the field of Badr the property of the enemies was considered as the spoils of war (mal-i-ganimat), so, too, the property of the followers of Maududi is permissible (halal) to you. This is not looting and plundering. Jihad, this is jihad!.'" [Tarikh, 1991].

It was estimated that in the three days of rioting, property worth some 400 million rupees belonging to the JeI-JK and its members had been destroyed or looted." Two of its members were killed, one in Arwani (Abdur Raheem) and another in Tujjar Sharief (Mohammad Akbar Lone). 26 mosques, more than 651 libraries, 45 schools, 1245 houses, 338 shops, 70 orchards, and 24 offices were among the belonging of JeIJK that were destroyed [Tarikh, 1991, p:214-220].

JEI- A COUNTER TO HEGEMONY OF NC

The ideological difference between JeI-JK and NC has been the main factor for their confrontation. The relations between JeI-JK and NC were satisfactory if not cordial before 1968. The first major confrontation between JeI-JK and Sheikh Abdullah occurred, when the latter convened a Kashmiri people's Convention in Srinagar on October 15, 1968, to discuss what he called, a long-standing Kashmir issue. The second such convention was convened in the second week of June 1970. Political leaders of various ideologies and commitments attended this convention, and JeI-JK was represented by Qari Saif ud Din. Sheikh Abdullah wanted the convention to adopt a resolution that the future set-up of Kashmir should be on pseudo-secular lines, but, the use of the word 'secular democracy' in the resolution was opposed by the Jamaat representative. All except Qari Saif ud Din accepted the resolution.

The 1975 Indra-Sheikh Accord further added to the confrontation between the two organizations. JeI-JK termed the accord a betrayal of the aspirations of the people of J&K. JeI-JK in a statement termed that when India accepted Kashmir as a dispute in the United Nations and the Shimla Agreement as well, then it had no right to make negotiations with any single person for the solution of the dispute. The solution to this problem lies only in the tripartite talks between India, Pakistan, and the people of J&K [Tarikh, 1991, p: 344].

Sheikh Abdullah proved to be a great hindrance to the growth and activities of JeI-JK. This tussle was carried forward by his successor Farooq Abdullah as well. He adopted the same approach towards JeI-JK and accused them of being anti-national and anti-secular.

EMERGENCE OF IKHWAN AND EXTRA JUDICIAL KILLINGS OF JAMAAT MEMBERS

After Sheikh Abdullah's deceitful accord [1975] with Indira Gandhi and the subsequent Farooq-Rajiv accord [1986], there was a grave resentment against Sheikh Dynasty and the majority Muslim population in Jammu and Kashmir did not approve of, what Sheikhs had done. This resentment resulted in bringing all the political opponents of Sheikh Dynasty on a single platform of Muslim United Front (MUF), Jamaat-e-Islami being prominent among them. Once the assembly elections were announced, Jamaat-e-Islami led by Ghulam Mohammad Bhat, Ummat-e-Islami led by Dr Qazi Nisar Ahmad, Ittihad-ul-Muslimeen led by Shia leader Maulvi Abbas Ansari and others came together to form Muslim United Front (MUF). The amalgam placed its candidates across the length and breadth of the state, more especially in Kashmir province. Fearing the defeat of its loyals, Indian state with the help of its state machinery went for a mass rigging of the elections. This fraud in the name of electoral and democratic process played a pivotal role in negatively influencing the psyche of the masses in general and the youth in particular. With the shrinking of space for political resistance in mind these youth decided to wage an armed rebellion against Indian rule in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Prominent among the armed groups was Hizb-ul-Mujahideen headed by Syed Mohammad Yusuf Shah alias Syed Salah-ud-Din, who had contested the 1987 Assembly elections from Amirakadal constituency of Srinagar city.

In the year 1995 a renegade group/counter-insurgent militia known as Ikhwan was created by Indian state. The idea was to get rid of Jamaat-e-Islami, which was considered to be the main driving force behind armed rebellion in the state. The armed renegades would call themselves as Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen (Ikhwani's). The formation and working of Ikhwan and other counter insurgency militias hired by Indian Agencies has well documented in a report by JKCCS which describes the emergence of Ikhwan as:

“After unsuccessfully attempting to combat the armed militancy using regular forces, the Indian State trained and armed private militias which were funded, controlled and commanded by army authorities.”

This report looks closely at the functioning of two such armed government mercenary groups/factions- the Ikhwanul Muslimeen and the Muslim Mujahideen (MM).

Ikhwan and MM were the main two private militias which were hired by Government and Indian agencies to wash out Jamaat-e-Islami from ground. People associated with Jamaat were arrested, tortured and then killed by Ikhwan's and MM operatives. 70 basic members (Arkaan-e-Jamaat) were killed and forcibly disappeared only in four districts of South Kashmir (Islamabad, Kulgam, Pulwama, Shopian). Associates of Jamaat were being killed and State Government was patronizing this political violence in the name of counter insurgency operations. Pro India political organizations, particularly regional party National Conference was willing to wipe out Jamaat from ground so that their political opponent is taught a lesson. Almost 300 basic members (Arkan-eJamaat) and 2000 sympathizers of Jamaat-e-Islami Jammu and Kashmir were extra judicially killed by Ikhwan and MM during the period of 1994 to 1998. Some of the case studies based on the fact findings are included as the part of this study.

TESTIMONY: GHULAM MOHAMMAD R/O: BIJBEHARA

Ghulam Mohammad, a retired government employee, who has been associated with Jamaat-e-Islami Jammu and Kashmir since his childhood is a local leader of Jamaat from Bijbehara, village in South Kashmir being among the founding units of JeI-JK in South Kashmir was burnt to ashes in April 1979. Ghulam recounts the ordeal as:

“In April 1979 a conspiracy was hatched against Jamaat-e-Islami Jammu and Kashmir in which the properties of Jamaat associates were looted and torched. Arwani village in South Kashmir was the main target of rioters. They (rioters) came from all the four sides of our village and surrounded Arwani from all sides. We resisted the rioters on all fronts but their numbers swelled up with every passing minute. Ultimately the rioters succeeded in entering the village and they looted and torched the whole village of Arwani Bijbehara. That is the darkest day of Kashmir’s history. The rioters burned the copies of Al-Qur’an, books on the life of Prophet (PBUH) and other Islamic literature. They even asked for the record of school run by Jamaat in our village and also demanded to handover the sign board of school which had Kalimah written on it, which was declined by the village elders. The rioters torched our whole village and killed one associate of Jamaat (Abdur Raheem) in our village, while the state machinery was witnessing this whole looting and plunder as a mute spectator. State Government that time was well informed about everything that happened in our village on 4th of April 1979, but they still did nothing to stop the rioters. It seemed that they were ordered by higher ups to close eyes from everything that was happening around.”

Recovering from the temporary set-back that JeI-JK had faced by the events of 1979, it decided to organise an International Seerat Conference at Srinagar on 30 May 1980 A.D. Among the dignitaries of the Conference included Imam of Ka’aba Sheikh Muhammad Bin Abdullah Bin Sabeel. There were guests also from some other Countries like UAE, Kuwait, Iran, Saudi Arabia etc. The conference was held in Gole Bagh Srinagar. State government created obstacles in the conduct of Seerat Conference but, despite all the hurdles and impediments Jamaat succeeded in conducting the conference [Ibid: 221-225].

TESTIMONY: ABDUL RAZAQ MIR OF BACHROO KULGAM

Abdul Razaq Mir of Bachroo Kulgam, a member (Rukn-e-Jamaat) of Jamaat-e-Islami Jammu and Kashmir and member of state assembly, was a famous businessman and politician from South Kashmir's Kulgam district. After his association with Jamaat, he fought assembly elections thrice and emerged victorious on two times and lost against his rival once. For the first he contested assembly elections in 1972 and won from Kulgam constituency. In 1977 he contested from Homshalibug constituency and lost against Abdul Salam Dewa of National Conference. When Jamaat in 1987, with other Muslim parties contested elections under MUF banner, Abdul Razaq Mir contested from Kulgam assembly constituency and emerged as victorious with four other successful men from Jamaat throughout the valley. Due to mass rigging in 1987 elections armed struggle broke out in Jammu and Kashmir and subsequently governor rule was imposed and state assembly was dissolved by Jagmohan. Mir was killed by Ikhwan operatives in November 1995, in broad day light.

Former leader of Jamaat-e-Islami Jammu and Kashmir and close friend of Mir, Shaikh Mohammad Hassan recounted the incident as: "In morning that day (21 November 1995), he (Abdul Razaq Mir) met me in his native village Bachroo Kulgam. Just after he left me and walked towards the main road, he saw Ikhwanis had arrested his brother Ali Mohammad Mir instead of him. He told them, I am Abdul Razaq Mir, release my brother. They (Ikhwanis) arrested him and took him to Kulgam Town. He was paraded barefoot in whole Kulgam market. When he was being dragged barefooted in the market (where most of his business was spread and everyone there knew him), he was shouting to people loudly, "oh people of Kulgam, don't fear and bear witness that I am Abdul Razaq Mir resident of Bachroo Kulgam. My only sin is that I am associated with Jamaat-e-Islami Jammu and Kashmir, that's why I am being dragged barefooted." When people began to surround around him, Ikhwanis shot him dead mercilessly in open market"

Since Abdul Razaq Mir's murder no investigation has been carried out to bring his murderers to justice. Mir is an open example of political violence carried out by state and its mercenaries against its political and ideological rivals in Jammu and Kashmir.

TESTIMONY: ABDUL KHALIQ WANI R/O MADWAN BANDIPORA

Abdul Khaliq Wani S/O Ghulam Qadir Wani R/O Madwan Bandipora, a Jamaat member (Rukn-e-Jamaat). He was working in a Jamaat run school as Headmaster in Safapora Bandipora. He had completed his master's degree in Arabic Language and Literature at Kashmir University. He had got associated with jamaat at his early age and after completion of his studies he didn't opt for a government job, instead preferred to work in Jamaat run schools under the banner of Falah-e-Aam trust Jammu and Kashmir. At the time of his killing he was working as principal at Safapora school of Jamaat-e-Islami.

Sajad Ahmad recounted the incident as: "It was 6th June 1993, a local Ikhwan operative (Manzoor Naubati) was killed by militants in our vicinity. I remember it clearly, that day he was at home. He had gone to our orchard for some work. It was evening, sun was about to set.

Some local Ikhwani operatives (a. Usman Majeed, presently MLA Bandipora who has contested election on Indian National Congress's ticket, b. Abdul Rehman Parray alias Nikke Shal, c. Nazir Ahmad Kochak alias Mumtaz working with Indian Army now, d. Maqbool alias Magge Seeri, e. Dilawar, now an active member and worker of National Conference JK) came to our village and arrested him from orchard. On hearing the news of Ikhwans in our village I also rushed to our orchard. They captured him in orchard and took him to one side of village (where High School Madwan is today located) and shot him dead. This whole event, from his capture to kill, happened with 10 to 12 minutes only and I was witnessing this whole scene with my own eyes. I am witness to this incident of extra judicial murder. Local police launched an FIR in the matter against some unknown gunmen but I am myself witness that he was killed by Ikhwan operatives of our area. I decided to register case against the murderers in State Human Rights Commission in 2016. The state High Court has ordered to reopen the case for further investigation.

The following table documents some of the killings and Enforced disappearances of Jamaat members

S.NO	Name	Residence	Profession	Age at the time of killing/ Enforced Disappearance	Date of killing/ Enforced Disappearance	Inferences from Testimonies of families/Eyewitnesses/Agencies involved in killing
1	Abdul Gani Sheikh	Dialgam, Islamabad	Government Teacher	55	January 30, 1991	<p>Arrested by army from his home. Killed in Fake encounter along with his brother in law outside his house. Along with Gani, they also took his brother-in-law, Bashir Ahmad Magray. That day, Magray had come from neighbouring Lallan village to see his sister. Then 25, Magray was also the lone bread earner of his family. He was a tailor. The same night, army also knocked at the doors of Najars. Almost in the same manner, they took Abdul Rahim Najar. Then 37, Najar, a professional carpenter. The next day, three headless bodies were recovered. But the hands of Abdul Rahim Najar and Bashir Ahmad Magray were also chopped off</p>
2	Abdul Gani Wani aka A G Zangalpori	Zangalpora Devsar Kulgam	Government teacher M A political Science	55	1996	Ikhwan /Government Militia Killed him outside his home, in-front of family
3	Ghulam Ahmad Wani	Ajas Sonawari Bandipora	Retired Government Employee	65	15-16th May 1995	Arrested by Ikhwan /Government Militia from his home. He was tortured and then fired upon, his body was later dumped in Brar Bandipora

4	Abdul Khaliq Dar	Chandpora Bijbehara	Headmaster, Government Girls higher secondary school, Sallar Pahalgam	52	November 3, 1995	Arrested multiple times by BSF srigufwara camp and army camp Sallar Pahalgam. Arrested in a crackdown launched by Army and Ikhwan /Government Militia. Tortured and killed. Body found in Paibuk Mattan
5	Abdul Khaliq Wani	Madwan Sonawari Bandipora	Teacher at FAT-Islamia Model School, Safapora MA Arabic	47	June 6, 1993	Ikhwan /Government Militia kidnapped him from his orchard, took him in the peripheries of village and killed him within minutes of his kidnapping
6	Abdur Rashid Mir	Brakpora Islambabad	Teacher FAT	45	August 26, 1996	The deceased alongwith his wife had gone to offer condolences in his neighborhood. Upon returning Ikhwan /Government Militia kidnapped him and one of his relatives Gul Muhammad. They also beat up his children and other family members. Both he and his relative were killed within the village. The killers resorted to heavy firing, creating fear and panic in whole village, so much so that no one came out to even gather his body. His wife had to carry his body on a cart singlehandedly
7	Abdul Samad Bhat	Katrasoo	Government Employee at Government High School, Ara Kulgam	45	March 16 -19th March, 1996	Ikhwan /Government Militia kidnapped him from Government High School Ara Kulgam on 16th March 1996 and killed him. His body was recovered on 19th March 1996
8	Ghulam Rasool Padder	Nowgam Shangus, Islamabad	Farmer	35	December 11, 1994	Kidnapped by army, later killed and body dumped

9	Abdul Sattar Wani	Kangan Ganderbal	Tailor	64	November 17, 1990	26 Assam Regiment in search operation arrested him from his home on 15th November and even though locals had protested his arrest. The army quelled the protest with force and took him to Gund Kangan Camp , whereby he was tortured for two days. His dead body was thrown in nearby Nallah near army camp and showered with bullets His body bore clear marks of torture
10	Abdul Khaliq Mir	Churath, Kulgam	Businessman	41	November 17, 1998	Army and Ikhwan /Government Militia had been arresting him regularly. His house was tortured by Ikhwan /Government Militia. On 17th November 1998 as he boarded a public transport vehicle for his home. Ikwans had already boarded it too. On way they stopped the vehicle and got hold of him. As they were trying to kill him, a fellow passenger namely Ghulam Mohiudduin raised his voice in protest. He was showered with bullets in return. Soon they killed Khaliq Mir as well
11	Abdur Rashid Mantoo	Buchroo Kulgam	Forester at State Forest Commission	38	November 22, 1996	Ikhwan /Government Militia arrested him from his home and later killed him in fields of nearby village
12	Mohammad Ramzan Bhat	Katerasoo Kulgam	Shopkeeper	56	6-7th August 1996	Kidnapped and later killed by Ikhwan/ Government Militia

13	Advocate Mohd Sultan Bhat	Khirram Bijbehara	Lawyer	52	14-15th August 1996	Advocate Mohd Sultan Bhat had fled to Srinagar from his ancestral village after he was harassed regularly by the local army camp as well as Ikhwan /Government Militia. He visited his home seldom. On the fateful night army of Sirhama camp as well as Srigufwara Camp along with Ikhwan /Government Militia arrested him from his home and then killed him. His body was later found in nearby Beevora Village
14	Mohd Ramzan Wani	Naibugh, Tral	MA B.Ed. from Kashmir University	65	June 13, 1998	Arrested from his temporary residence in Shalimar Srinagar along-with his son and son-in law. Tortured briefly by Police at Shalimar Residence. Then killed in a fake /orchestrated encounter at Hyderpora Bye-pass Srinagar
15	Dr Mahmood Parray	Dialgam Islamabad	Doctor/ District Health Officer /MBBS	42	November 22, 1995	On 22nd November 1995, while Dr Mahmood was on way back from Hospital to see an acquaintance. A group of Ikhwan/ Government Militia kidnapped him from Iqbal Market Islamabad and took him to nearby camp. Soon he was tied to an Electric-pole in the market and killed. Locals and acquaintances who tried to rush to him where fired upon too. People were stopped from attending his funeral. Even people who would go to their home for mourning were stopped and beaten up. His Son, namely Khalid, an MBBS student in Bangalore was also later arrested and tortured. He was arrested again in 2001 by army and tortured

16	Hakim Abdur Rashid Farhat	Palhallan Pattan Baramullah	Government Teacher	52	November 29, 1995	Hakim Abdur Rashid had fled his residence and shifted temporarily to Bemina Srinagar as army and Ikhwan had wrecked havoc in the area. On 28th November he was arrested by of Ikhwan /Government Militia from his temporary residence in Bemina Srinagar and later killed. His body was found near Parimpora Bye-pass
17	Ghulam Hassan Sofi	Seer Hamdan, Islamabad	Pharmacist	65	1st july -2nd July 1995	Ghulam Hassan Sofi had been arrested , harassed and tortured by a local CRPF camp . An officer namely Raju Ranjan would often harass him. On the fateful night government forces raided his home and arrested him. They even fired multiple rounds so as to stop the neighbors from resisting. His whereabouts remain untraced and unknown. His family lodged FIR's in local police station – Mattan as well. A witness namely Yousuf who was also arrested, upon his release had also revealed that Sofi was in the custody of CRPF. However Yousuf was also killed later by government forces
18	Ghulam Mohammad Bhat	Nowgam Shangus Islamabad		60	March 7, 1996	He was arrested in 1995 as well by army camp-1RR , located in Khanabal. He was arrested by Government Militia of Shehlipora Dialgam camp. He was killed and body dumped at Achabal

19	Ghulam Mohammad Bhat	Damhal Khuspora Doru	Retired Government Employee	60	March 27, 1997	Arrested by Government Militia/ MM and killed. He was walking towards Government high school Breenti Dialgam alongwith his one year old granddaughter, daughter, daughter in law and some other relative. MM (Muslim Mujahideen) /Government Militia camp at Shehlipora Dialgam got hold of him and killed him in the paddy fields
20	Ghulam Mohiudduin Ahangar	Achbal Islamabad	Government Employee in Agriculture Department	50	November 1, 2004	He was arrested by IRR when he had gone to buy medicines for himself in Islamabad town. He was subsequently tortured and killed in a staged encounter, body dumped at Achabal
21	Ghulam Rasool Malik	Shaltoo Shopian	Retired Government Employee	72	November 11, 1998	He had been time and again subjected to harassment by state agencies including Government Militia/ Ikhwan. He was threatened to leave Jamaat-e-Islami. A day before he had gone to meet Syed Ali Shah Geelani in Srinagar. On 11th November three Ikhwans/Government Militia barged into his house and had an argument with him, afterwards shot him 14 times. During day army had cordoned the village and had been enquiring details of GR Malik
22	Sheikh Mohiudduin	Palhallan Pattan Baramulla	Government Teacher	53	June 25, 1999	His home would often be raided by army at night, due to his affiliation with Jamaat Due to this he would often go to an acquaintance's place in evening. On the fateful evening as he was leaving his home, Government Militia fired multiple rounds at him and he succumbed on the spot

23	Ghulam Hassan Lone	Brah Bandina Pulwama	Teacher	44	January 8, 1996	He was tortured multiple times by army and Ikhwan/ Government Militia. On 2nd January 1996 he was arrested by Ikhwan/ Government Militia. He was released after 6 days after severe torture. As his family was taking him home, some Ikhwan stopped the tractor that they he and his family had boarded on way back to his home. They took him down and fired at him multiple times
24	Ghulam Mohiudduin Parray	Hajin Bandipora	Lecturer Economics MA Economics	42	September 21, 1992	He had been arrested multiple times by army and police. Army would often raid his home due to his affiliation with Jamaat
25	Mohd Ismael Bhat	Arwani Bijbehara	Farmer	65	25-26th February 1997	In Arwani Bijbehara many people affiliated with Jamaat had fled as Ikhwan had wrecked havoc in the area. Bhat was approached by Jamaat leaders to take over as the local caretaker of jamaat, and despite reluctance in past, he accepted completely aware about the repercussions. On the eve of Eid , he collected alms and distributed it among the poor and destitute. This was an act of defiance then. Within three days he was arrested from his home and killed by Ikhwan/ Government Militia
26	Ghulam Mohammand Pal	Dadsaroo Tral	MA Urdu	52	February 7, 1999	He was arrested by SOG and 193 Battalion of BSF at Chanapora Srinagar where he was temporarily putting up as he and his family was being harassed by state agencies already. He was taken to Bachoo Tral and killed in a fake encounter

27	Malik Basheer Ahmad	Meer maidain Dooru, Islamabad	Government Teacher	60	November 2, 1995	He was arrested along with other member of the Jamaat-e-Islami by Ikhwan/ Government Militia, while as the other member was released . He was taken to Ashajipora, Islamabad market, and asked to shout that he was immediately quitting Jamaat-e Islami, and also asked to get the same published in newspapers. However he refused to utter the same, stating his thirty year affiliation with organization. He was asked to move and was shot multiple times. He was taken to hospital but breathed his last on way to hospital
28	Master Afzal Malik	Lamad Kulgam	Government Teacher	63	3rd-4th August 1997	Arrested from his home by Ikhwan/Government Militia and shot dead. A witness later narrated to his family that when Malik got to know that he would be killed, he voiced his last wish, to offer Namaz (Prayers) and to be shot at while facing Qibla. However after listening to this the Government mercenaries fired multiple rounds at him and killed him
29	Mohd Akbar Mughal	Kamar, Kapran, Islamabad	Government Teacher	58	September 23, 1994	Killed by Army
30	Sanaullah Ganie	Bijbehara, SICOP road	Government Teacher MA, M.Ed.	60	February 7, 1999	He was arrested by army, when he was on way back from Masjid to home. Thereafter he was subjected to enforced disappearance. Some unofficial sources confirmed to his family that like many others he was killed and buried in Srigufwara army camp

31	Mohammad Maqbool Das	Waghama, Bijbehara	Employee at State Forest Corporation	42	April 19, 1994	<p>He was arrested by the army based at Srigufwara camp.</p> <p>He was wearing his departmental store uniform at the time of the arrest. He was taken to the camp and till now, there are no whereabouts of him. He was thus subjected to enforced disappearance. However, locals allege that like others he was killed and buried in the premises of Srigufwara camp</p>
32	Mohammad Sakhi Rather	Ajas Sonawari Bandipora	Teacher	45	May 30, 2000	<p>He and his family had been harassed before as well. In 1995 their house was torched as well. On 28th May 2000 he was kidnapped by Ikhwan/ Government Militia, in Shalteng Srinagar, where he had gone for some work. He was tortured for two days in Hajin Bandipora Camp and subsequently killed on 30th May</p>
33	Ali Mohammad Bhat	Tarigam Kulgam	Shopkeeper	60	28-29th June 1994	<p>On the intervening night of 28th and 29th June 1994, Bhat was sleeping inside a room at his home. Army fired at his family as well</p>
34	Malik Nisar Ahmad Shah	Malikpora Verinag	Shopkeeper	35	July 20, 1990	<p>He was arrested by 53 Battallion CRPF (based in verinag Garden) on 1st July and released. But on 20th July he was arrested again and subjected to enforced disappearance. According to unconfirmed reports he was tortured in SICOP camp Bijbehara , and then shifted to Army hospital Srinagar. But remained untraced even as family lodged a case in SHRC</p>

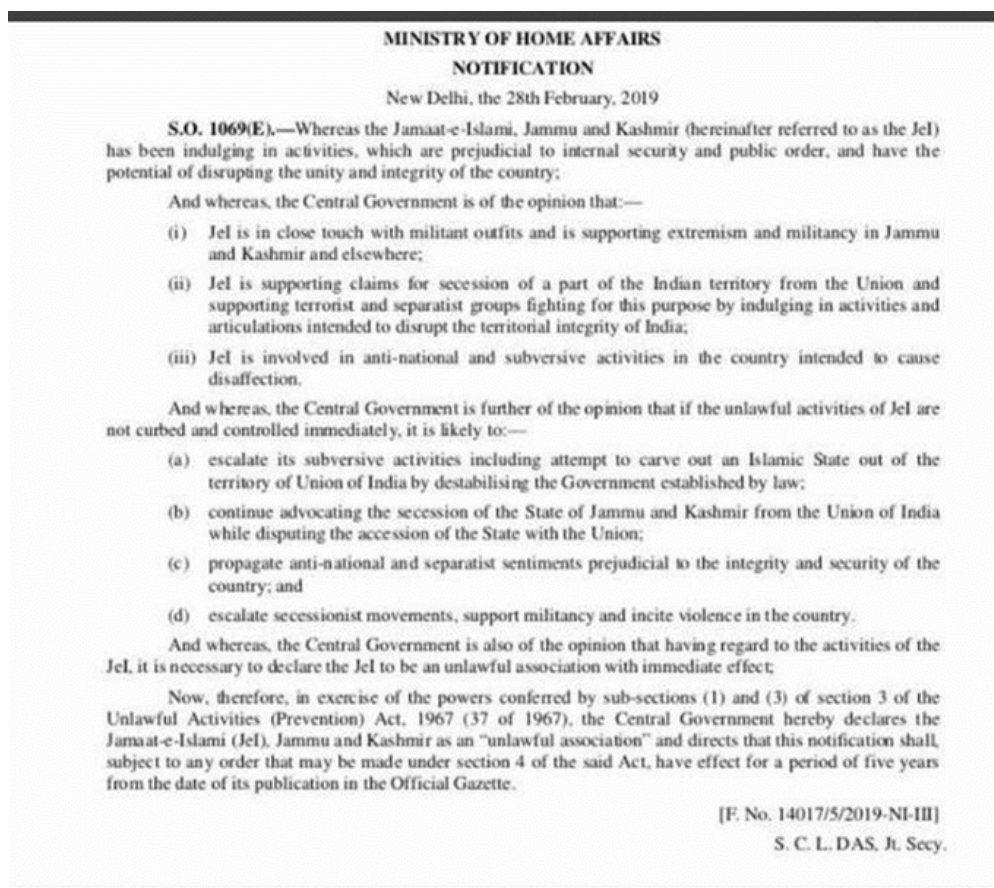
35	Nazir Ahmad Malik	Chitergul, roon, Tehsil Breng	Government Teacher at Government High School Larnoo	52	November 15, 1995	<p>He was arrested by Ikhwan based in vailoo Kokernag camp in the intervening night of 13-14th November. He was shifted to Shehlipora Achabal Ikhwan Camp and killed. His body was found near the Shehlipora camp</p>
36	Yousuf Mohd Paddar	Nunwani Padderpora Islamabad	Teacher	51	August 27, 1995	<p>He was arrested by Ikhwan and Army from his home on 26th August 1995. Many among the Ikhwan had been his students. So they knew him well. He was taken to Shehlipora Ikhwan camp and tortured severely. His body bore signs of torture. His body had been burnt as well. On 27th August his dead-body was recovered from Achabal Main Chowk</p>
37	Nazir Ahmad Naik	Zainpora Shopian	Teacher	48	26th July -27th June 1994	<p>He was arrested by the army of Babapora camp on the intervening night of 26th -27th July. He had visited the nearby martyrs' graveyard in the evening to carry out the patchwork of the three graves of youth who had been martyred a month ago. He also led the evening prayers. At night the locals heard 4 gunshots around 2 a.m. In the morning his bullet-ridden body was recovered by local police and later handed over to locals</p>
38	Abdul Kareem Bhat	Chuwa Sonawari	Government Teacher	52	1994	<p>He was kidnapped by local Ikhwan from his home and killed outside his home</p>
39	Peer Mohammad Naseem	Batagund Veerigund	Government Teacher	45		<p>Killed by army</p>

40	Munshi Ghulam Nabi Dar	Redwani Kulgam	Government Employee Irrigation Department	39	July 9, 1994	<p>He had been harassed continuously many times by Government agencies. On 9th July army entered the village and began to fire indiscriminately at his house.</p> <p>Later army carried a crackdown operation whereby all villagers were gathered. He was arrested in-front of everyone. As some locals resisted his arrest, the army major of Frisal Camp popularly known as Major Imran, openly said that he belonged to Jamaat-e-Islami and that the annihilation of Jamaat was instrumental for counter insurgency.</p> <p>He was thus detained for many days, his family was denied a meeting with him in Frisal camp. Later three months after his body was handed over to his family. His family members identified torture marks, as well as the fact that he had been killed many days before the body was finally handed over</p>
41	Mohammad Shaban Najar	Buchoo Kulgam	Junior Agriculture Assistant	57	25-26th August 1997	Killed by Ikhwan/Army
42	Mohammad Yousuf Bhat	Panew Kulgam	Government Teacher	45	22nd September 1998	Killed by Ikhwan/Army
43	Mohammad Yousuf Bhat	Katrasoo Kulgam	Government Teacher	50	6th -7th August 1996	Killed by Ikhwan/Army

From the above table it is clear that the Indian state and its machinery was hell bent in exterminating jamaat from Kashmir. The Indian army and other state agencies – the Ikhwan - MM, Jammu and Kashmir Police, SOG (Special operations Group), CRPF and STF have been the main perpetrators of the crimes against Jamaat. Ikhwan - MM were created as a special militia against Jamaat and its members and sympathizers.

BAN ON JAMAAT

During the intervening night of February 22-23, 2019, the police carried out a crackdown on Jamaat cadres and arrested 300 across the valley, including its chief Abdul Hamid Fayaz and Advocate Zahid Ali. On 28th February 2019 Indian state banned Jamaat-e-Islami J&K as “an unlawful association” under Section 3 of the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967. Many members and sympathizers of Jamaat were arrested and booked under PSA. It was not however the first time that Jamaat had been banned. Jamaat was banned twice in the past, first in 1975 by the Indira Gandhi government on recommendations of the Sheikh Abdullah-led state government. The ban was lifted in 1977. It was again banned in 1990 under the Jammu & Kashmir Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1983.



The arrests of Jamaat members and sympathizers have continued. UAPA has continuously been invoked. The SIA (State Investigation Agency) and the J&K Police have attached 124 properties, including land and buildings, situated at 86 locations across the J&K belonging to Jamaat and its members up-till June 2023.

On November 2, 2022, at least 11 properties belonging to Jamaat-e-Islami were notified and subsequently confiscated by District Magistrate of Anantnag after a recommendation was made to the court by SIA. On 19th December, 2022 the J&K State Investigation Agency (SIA) attached 11 properties of Jamaat-e-Islami in Kashmir Valley. Of the 11 properties, three were attached in Baramulla, two in Kupwara, one in Baramulla, and five in Ganderbal.

Many family members of Jamaat members and jamaat sympathizers were also denied travel documents. Passports of many people with even remote affiliation with Jamaat were impounded. Furthermore, government employees whose family members were affiliated directly or indirectly with Jamaat were terminated from their employment. The CID department of Jammu and Kashmir Police has clearly been instructed to not give employment clearance to anyone with even remote connection to Jamaat. During the course of compiling this report, the researchers came across several young people who had been denied employment as they or their family members had association with Jamaat. Some of them had been looking for employment in other countries but they have been denied passports as well. A few of them despite having a valid passport, are reluctant to travel as their names have been updated in –“No Flying List” and are barred from travelling. The demonization of Jamaat is such that, many pro-state media outlets have been labeling it as a “terror outfit”.

As this report is being compiled, majority of Jamaat members are languishing in jails.

CONCLUSION

Jamaat-e-Islami Jammu and Kashmir since early fifties started participating in the political affairs of Jammu and Kashmir. Jamaat leadership since partition was well aware about the different dimensions of Kashmir issue. Jamaat people were politically conscious and opposed to India's nefarious designs in Kashmir, hence they tried to raise awareness among people of Jammu and Kashmir. Jamaat thought it was its moral obligation to confront Sheikh Abdullah otherwise it would authenticate his political stand. This confrontation took an ugly turn when Jamaat decided to take on Sheikh Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Beigh in the by-elections of 1977. Soon after the election results were declared, within hours Sheikh Abdullah imposed ban on the Jamaat-e-Islami Jammu and Kashmir. Jamaat leadership and active members were arrested and more than 100 schools run by Jamaat across the state were closed down. Sheikh Abdullah in turn imposed a blanket ban on Jamaat by arresting its leaders. In April 1979, National conference cadre under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah resorted to alleged loot and plunder of Jamaat properties as the state merely acted as a spectator.

In 1980's Abdullah and his successor Farooq Abdullah used state power to suppress Jamaat for giving National Conference a tough political ground across the Jammu and Kashmir state. The mass rigging of 1987, as claimed by many political activists, journalists and observers, in assembly elections proved that Indian state with its installed political leadership in Jammu and Kashmir suppressed MUF (Muslim United Front) to keep them away from the corridors of power. The formation of private militias (Ikhwan and Muslim Mujahideen) in early 90's was aimed as a part of political violence against Jamaat and its ideology under the garb of counter insurgency. The project of mass killing of Jamaat members and enforced disappearances of Jamaat men was a politically motivated action.

The actions of Ikhwan and Muslim Mujahideen of 1990's are proof and clear evidence that Jamaat for being politically conscious organization became the victim of political violence in Jammu and Kashmir. In fact the very creation of counter-insurgent militia was done for the purpose of decimating and uprooting Jamaat. There was coercion by political parties in power (particularly NC) and Indian state sponsored militias like Ikhwan, against Jamaat with clear political ends. There are evidences at every instance of Kashmir politics since 1947, that events of political violence have been recorded against Jamaat with clear political goal of keeping intact the status quo of Kashmir, denying Kashmiris basic political and social rights,

dismantling the Self-determination movement and disturbing organized resistance in Kashmir. The members of Jamaat-e-Islami Jammu and Kashmir were subjected to torture, arrests, bans, and killings on different times of history, in 1975, 1979, 1987, 1990's and continue to face severe repression from Indian state.

The ideological strength of Jamaat, its location in the social fabric of Kashmir, its ability to lead the political struggle and its ability to build structures and institutions, has put it on loggerheads with Indian state.



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