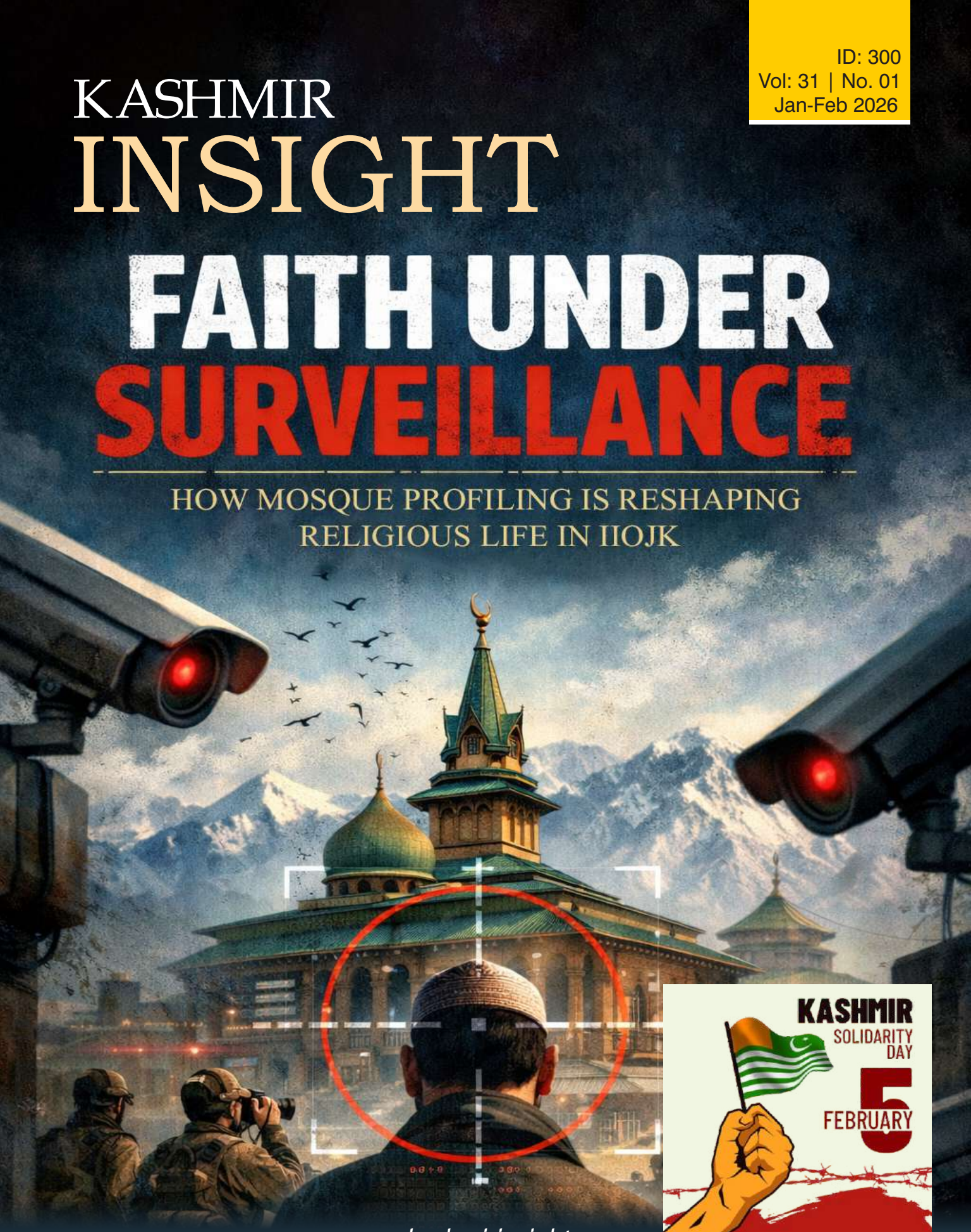
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KASHMIR INSIGHT

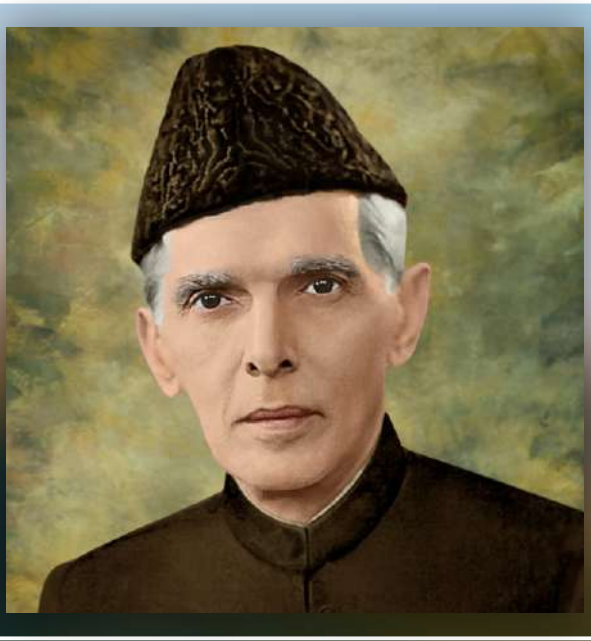
FAITH UNDER SURVEILLANCE

HOW MOSQUE PROFILING IS RESHAPING RELIGIOUS LIFE IN IIOJK



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KASHMIR IS THE JUGULAR VEIN OF PAKISTAN



"Kashmir is the jugular vein of Pakistan and no nation or country would tolerate its jugular vein remains under the sword of the enemy".

QUAID-E-AZAM MUHAMMAD ALI JINNAH,
Pakistan's First Governor General during his stay in Ziarat 1948

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ATROCITIES BY INDIAN TROOPS

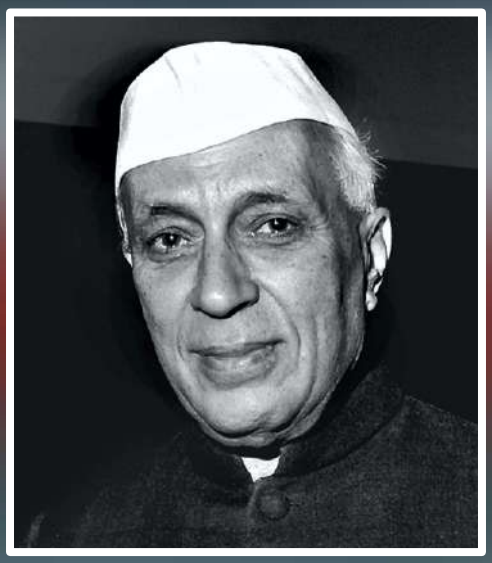
January 1989 to January 31, 2026

Total Killings*	96,483
Custodial Killings	7,411
Civilians Arrested	180,080
Structures Destroyed/Damaged	110,562
Women Widowed	22,991
Children Orphaned	108,007
Women Gangraped/Molested	11,269

** Including custodial killings*

Source: Kashmir Media Service (www.kmsnews.org)

REMINDER TO INDIA



"…. where the State has not acceded to that Dominion whose majority community is the same as State's, the question whether State has finally acceded to one or other Dominion should be ascertained by reference to the will of people".

INDIAN PRIME MINISTER JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Telegram to Pakistan Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan November 8, 1947)

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KASHMIR INSIGHT
JAN - FEB 2026

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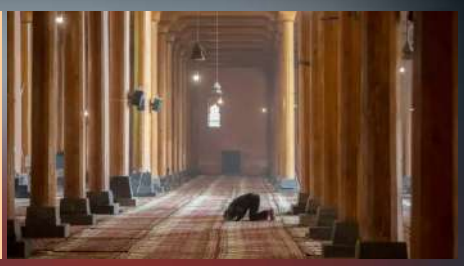
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The Peril of Demographic Engineering

The Kashmir Valley stands at a precarious juncture, where political expediency risks eclipsing human dignity, social cohesion, and the very foundations of peace. Recent disclosures by BJP leader Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo confirm what many Kashmiris have long feared: the Indian state is pursuing policies aimed at "balancing" the occupied Kashmir overwhelmingly Muslim population by settling large numbers of Hindus from outside. In a region historically exceeding 98 percent Muslim, such demographic engineering is not mere political rhetoric—it is a strategic manoeuvre with profound implications for regional stability and the social fabric of Kashmir.

This approach mirrors settler-colonial paradigms, reducing citizens to statistics and treating identity as a problem to be solved rather than a right to be respected. Proposals to carve out Union Territories or segregated enclaves for displaced Kashmiri Pandits risk reproducing segregationist policies seen in other conflict zones, with catastrophic consequences for intercommunal trust. History shows that manipulating demographics invariably inflames grievances, deepens polarization, and prolongs conflict.

The displacement of the Kashmiri Pandit community is a tragedy that demands recognition. Yet it cannot justify the systemic marginalization of the Muslim majority or the forced re-engineering of demographics. Millions of Kashmiris have been displaced over decades of conflict, including during the partition-era migrations of 1947, as well as the upheavals of 1965, 1971, and post-1990 exoduses. Justice cannot be achieved through population manipulation; it requires policies that restore rights, dignity, and agency to all communities affected by conflict.

International law is explicit in prohibiting such practices. Article 7 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) guarantees every individual the right to self-determination, while Article 2 of the Geneva Convention (IV) on Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War prohibits the forced transfer or displacement of populations. The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court classifies acts intended to alter the demographic composition of a population as crimes against humanity. By engineering the Valley's population, India risks breaching these binding international norms, threatening not only Kashmiris' rights but also the broader legal order governing occupied territories.

Framing Kashmir's future in demographic terms undermines prospects for genuine reconciliation. Sustainable peace requires rebuilding trust, safeguarding political and human rights, and enabling communities to reclaim their rightful place in a pluralistic society. The Valley's resilience lies in its diversity; artificial population balances risk turning Kashmir into a combustible social laboratory, akin to Gaza or other partitioned territories, where decades of coexistence is rendered meaningless.

The United Nations Security Council resolutions on Kashmir remain the only legitimate framework for resolving the dispute. They affirm the right of the Kashmiri people to self-determination and must not be disregarded. Only a credible, participatory process that respects human and political rights can restore social cohesion, protect minority communities, and avert ghettos and enclaves that institutionalize separation.

The international community's muted response is equally alarming. Despite decades of documented abuses, demographic manipulation, and human rights violations, global powers have largely adopted a posture of strategic silence, subordinating principles to geopolitical interests. This indifference emboldens policies that exacerbate instability and erode the moral credibility of international law. It is imperative that the global community move beyond rhetoric, applying consistent pressure to uphold human rights, protect civilians, and ensure accountability. Kashmir is not merely a regional issue; it is a litmus test for the enforcement of international norms.

In a region scarred by historical grievances, the rhetoric of "population balancing" is more than reckless—it is an accelerant of instability. Policy must pivot from coercion to care, from engineering demographics to safeguarding rights, and from zero-sum calculations to restoring trust. Anything less risks consigning Kashmir to another cycle of unrest, where identity becomes a battleground and peace remains a distant aspiration. The world cannot remain a passive spectator while a community's right to self-determination is methodically undermined.

COVER STORY

FAITH UNDER SURVEILLANCE

HOW MOSQUE PROFILING IS RESHAPING RELIGIOUS LIFE IN IIOJK

Across the Kashmir Valley, a quiet but consequential administrative exercise has triggered one of the most significant debates on civil liberties and religious freedom in recent years. Police authorities have begun collecting extensive institutional and personal data from mosques, madrassas, clerics, and mosque management committees, an initiative officials describe as a security-linked administrative measure. Critics, however, argue that the scale and exclusivity of the data collection signal a deeper transformation: the conversion of religious spaces into monitored zones within an already heavily securitised region.



A KASHMIRI MAN OFFERS PRAYER INSIDE SRINAGAR'S JAMIA MASJID (FILE PHOTO)

A VALLEY-WIDE DATA COLLECTION DRIVE

Reports published by The Indian Express, Al Jazeera, Deccan Chronicle, and Kashmir Life confirm that detailed proformas have been circulated across districts in Indian-illegally occupied Jammu and Kashmir (IIOJK) seeking comprehensive information about religious institutions. The forms request institutional data such as sectarian affiliation, construction details, seating capacity, funding sources, land ownership, and monthly budgets.

Alongside institutional details, personal information is sought from clerics and mosque committee members, including identification numbers (Aadhaar, PAN, voter ID), passport information, travel history, mobile numbers, email accounts, and social-media profiles. Some forms also request financial information such as bank account details and expenditure records, while certain reports note requests for technical identifiers linked to mobile devices.

As per Times of India reporting on Kashmir religious infrastructure, the Kashmir Valley is estimated to contain approximately 7,000–7,500 mosques and seminaries, meaning the number of individuals potentially affected by a valley-wide profiling initiative could reach tens of thousands when clerics, staff members, and committee personnel are included. Authorities have not released official figures indicating how many institutions or individuals have been covered so far, nor

CATEGORY	DETAILS ASKED FOR	SOURCE / VERIFICATION
Mosque/ Madrasa institutional data	Sect/ideology, construction cost, seating capacity, funding sources, land ownership, monthly budget	Indian Express, Deccan Chronicle reports (Khushal e Kashmir)
Clergy/ Management personal data	Names, mobile numbers, social media handles, email, passport details, travel history	(Al Jazeera)
Identity & official ID details	Aadhaar, PAN, voter ID, driving license numbers	(Deccan Chronicle)
Financial data	Bank accounts, ATM/credit card info, income/expenditure	The Indian Express, Al Jazeera (Khushal e Kashmir)
Digital & device data	Phone model, IMEI numbers	Indian Express report (Khushal e Kashmir)
Family/Associates	Details of relatives, especially abroad	(Al Jazeera)

have detailed public guidelines been issued explaining the long-term storage, access, or use of the collected data.

OFFICIAL JUSTIFICATION AND PUBLIC CONCERNS

Authorities maintain that the data collection forms part of broader counter-terrorism monitoring and administrative record-keeping, citing security considerations in a region that has witnessed decades of unrest & suppression. Indian Security agencies have historically tracked financial flows and institutional affiliations of religious or charitable organisations.

Yet for many residents and civil-society observers, the initiative raises serious concerns about proportionality, transparency, and selective targeting. Religious leaders have questioned the necessity of collecting highly personal financial and identity details unrelated to routine mosque administration, while political figures across the region have argued that focusing exclusively on Muslim places of worship risks reinforcing perceptions of discriminatory governance.

Civil-rights advocates emphasise that even security-motivated exercises require clearly articulated safeguards. Without transparent oversight mechanisms, judicial review procedures, or public disclosure of data-protection standards, they argue, such programmes risk undermining confidence in state institutions and widening the trust deficit between authorities and local communities.

A BROADER POST-2019 SECURITY ENVIRONMENT

The profiling exercise unfolds within a broader policy landscape that has evolved significantly since August 2019, when the BJP-led Indian govt revoked IIOJK's special status and placed it under direct rule of New Delhi. Since then, administrative restructuring, expanded policing powers, and enhanced surveillance mechanisms have become defining features of governance in the territory.

Human-rights observers note that the cumulative impact of these changes, ranging from detentions under preventive laws to communication restrictions during security operations has reshaped everyday civic life. Within this context, the targeting of religious institutions for extensive data collection is widely viewed as part of a wider administrative framework that prioritises security monitoring in both public and private spheres.

LEGAL AND RIGHTS DIMENSIONS

The initiative also raises complex legal questions under both domestic constitutional protections and international human-rights commitments. India is a signatory to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), which protects freedom of religion, privacy, and equality before the law. Legal analysts point out that large-scale collection of personal data tied specifically to religious institutions must meet tests of necessity, proportionality, and non-discrimination to remain consistent with these commitments.

HUMAN RIGHTS, RELIGIOUS RIGHTS, AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

This profiling campaign implicates major provisions of international law that protect religious freedom and privacy:

1. United Nations Charter & Human Rights Covenants

- Article 18 – ICCPR (International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights) guarantees freedom of thought, conscience, and religion. Intrusive data collection focused solely on religious institutions risks chilling religious practice and association.
- Article 17 – ICCPR protects individuals and institutions from arbitrary or unlawful interference with privacy. Broad demands for personal and familial details stretch well beyond routine legitimate aims.
- Article 26 – ICCPR prohibits discrimination in the enjoyment of rights. Targeting one community's religious infrastructure alone raises serious equality concerns.

2. Geneva Conventions (Applicable to Occupied Territories)

Under the Fourth Geneva Convention (1949), occupying powers must respect the religious institutions, customs, and practices of the occupied population (Article 27), and refrain from collective intimidation or penalties (Article 33). Profiling places of worship and their personnel without individualized suspicion of criminal conduct risks violating these protections.

Equally significant are concerns surrounding data protection. India's evolving digital-governance framework has expanded

the collection of biometric-linked identification information across sectors, but debates continue over safeguards governing how sensitive personal data is stored, shared, and protected. In regions experiencing prolonged security deployments, the absence of clear communication about these safeguards often amplifies public unease.

RELIGIOUS SPACES IN A SECURITY FRAMEWORK

For many Kashmiris, mosques are not only religious centres but also social institutions that organise charitable activities, education, and community welfare programmes. The perception that these spaces are being treated as intelligence nodes rather than civic institutions has therefore become a central point of debate.



A police officer in Indian occupied Kashmir collecting data from a mosque in Srinagar (File Photo)

Community leaders argue that policies affecting religious institutions carry symbolic weight far beyond administrative intent. When places of worship become objects of systematic scrutiny, they contend, the resulting perception of collective suspicion can alter the relationship between citizens and the state, influencing how communities interpret governance decisions and public-order initiatives.

THE TRANSPARENCY QUESTION

Perhaps the most persistent concern surrounding the profiling exercise is the lack of publicly available operational clarity. No comprehensive official statement has yet outlined:

- The total number of institutions surveyed,
- The legal framework governing the data collection,
- The agencies authorised to access the information,
- The duration for which the data will be stored, or the mechanisms available for individuals to challenge inaccuracies or misuse.

In the absence of such disclosures, it is beyond doubt, even legitimate administrative measures risk generating controversy because uncertainty itself becomes a driver of suspicion.

A DEFINING TEST FOR GOVERNANCE

The mosque-profiling exercise has thus emerged as more than a bureaucratic initiative; it has become a test case for how security governance, civil liberties, and religious autonomy intersect in one of the world's most closely watched conflict regions. Supporters argue that security-related data collection is an unavoidable necessity in fragile environments. Critics counter that long-term stability depends equally on transparency, legal safeguards, and public trust.

As the initiative continues, its long-term implications will likely extend beyond immediate security considerations. The way authorities address concerns about oversight, proportionality, and privacy may shape not only perceptions of governance in Kashmir but also broader debates across India about the balance between security imperatives and constitutional freedoms in the digital age.

What India describes as a security exercise increasingly resembles institutionalized religious surveillance. By systematically cataloguing mosques, clerics, and their families without transparency or individualized suspicion, the state risks criminalizing faith itself. In a conflict zone already marked by deep mistrust, converting places of worship into data points is not governance, it is control. History shows that when religious spaces are surveilled rather than safeguarded, social rupture follows. Kashmiris are now being asked to pray under watch.

HUMAYUN AZIZ SANDEELA
The author is an Islamabad based journalist.



KASHMIR IS NOT MERELY A TERRITORIAL DISPUTE

Sardar Masood Khan, former President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir and ex-ambassador to the US, UN, and China, described Indian illegally occupied Jammu and Kashmir as deeply unstable due to India's post-2019 policies, human rights violations, and suppression of dissent. He highlighted Pakistan's strategy of multilateral advocacy, legal action, and amplifying Kashmiri voices for justice and lasting peace.

KI: How do you assess the current political and security environment in Indian illegally occupied Jammu and Kashmir, especially in light of India's post-2019 policy decisions and their long-term impact on regional stability?

Sardar Masood Khan: The situation in Indian illegally occupied Jammu and Kashmir remains deeply troubling and volatile. Since August 5, 2019, India has unilaterally changed the disputed status of the territory, violating United Nations Security Council resolutions and bilateral agreements. This is not normalisation; it is militarized control reinforced by demographic engineering, political disenfranchisement, and suppression of dissent.

In the long term, such policies cannot bring stability. Durable peace in South Asia cannot be built through coercion. When the political will of a people is suppressed and their identity diluted, instability becomes structural. Kashmir remains a flashpoint between two nuclear-armed states, and unresolved grievances will continue to reverberate regionally and globally.

KI. How would you evaluate the documented human rights situation in IIOJK, and what role has the international community's response—or lack thereof—played in shaping the dispute?

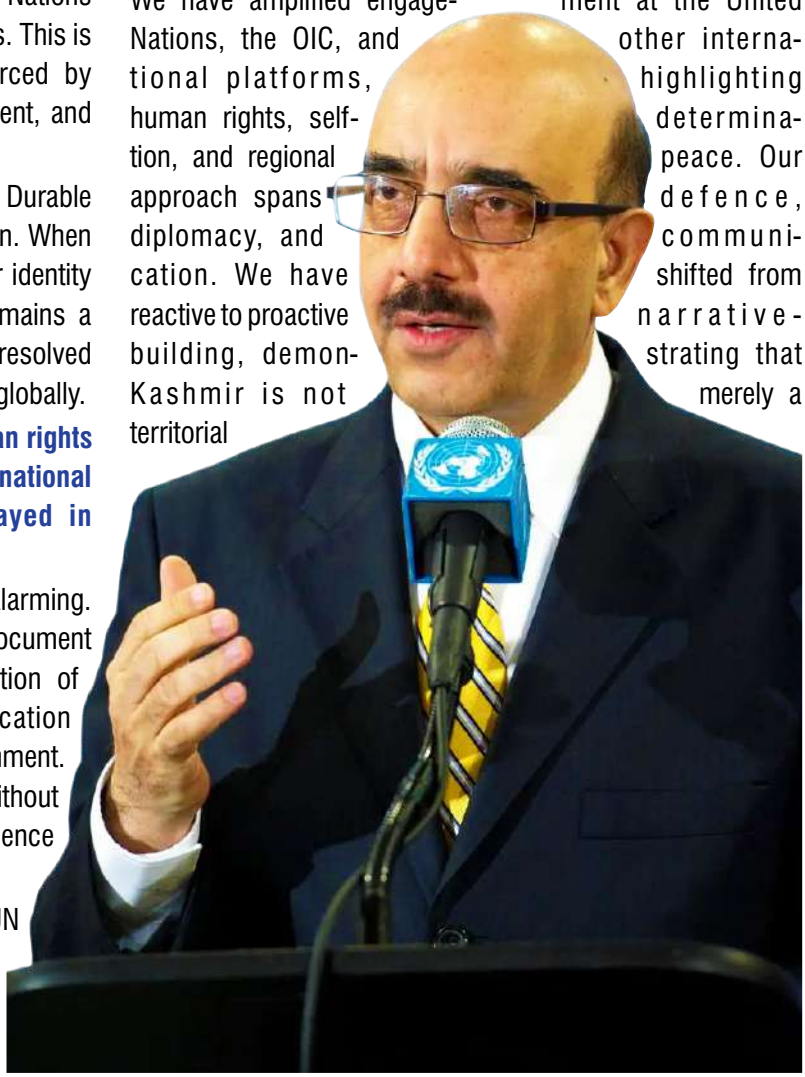
Sardar Masood Khan: The human rights situation is alarming. Recent, credible reports by UN special rapporteurs document killings, arbitrary detentions, prolonged incarceration of political leaders, media restrictions, communication blackouts, extrajudicial actions, and collective punishment. The incarceration of Hurriyat leaders and activists without due process reflects a systematic attempt to silence legitimate political voices.

The international response has been uneven. While UN mechanisms and concerned parliamentarians and civil society across continents have expressed alarm, major powers often prioritise geopolitical interests over human rights. This selective application of international law has emboldened India to persist with its policies. Nevertheless, the moral and legal case for Kashmir remains compelling.

KI: From a diplomatic perspective, how has Pakistan's Kashmir policy evolved in recent years, particularly regarding international law, multilateral forums, and human rights advocacy?

Sardar Masood Khan: Pakistan's policy has increasingly relied on international law, multilateral engagement, and rights-based advocacy. Our position remains principled and consistent: the dispute must be resolved in accordance with UN Security Council resolutions and the aspirations of the Kashmiri people.

We have amplified engagement at the United Nations, the OIC, and other international platforms, highlighting human rights, self-determination, and regional peace. Our approach spans defence, diplomacy, and communication. We have shifted from reactive to proactive narrative-building, demonstrating that Kashmir is not merely a territorial



dispute but a question of human dignity and fundamental freedoms for Kashmiris.

KI: UN Security Council resolutions on Kashmir remain on record. Practically, where do these resolutions stand today, and what mechanisms exist to restore their relevance?

Sardar Masood Khan: The UN Security Council resolutions on Kashmir are neither obsolete nor rescinded. They remain legally valid and binding, recognising Kashmir as a disputed territory and calling for a plebiscite to determine its future.

Implementation has been stalled by political resistance, not legal irrelevance. Mechanisms to reassert relevance include revitalised Security Council engagement, appointment of a special envoy, strengthened reporting by the Secretary-General, and sustained diplomatic pressure. International law does not expire; persistent diplomacy and coalition-building among states committed to a rules-based order are essential.

KI. How has the rise of Hindutva influenced India's governance model and foreign policy, particularly regarding Kashmir and its Muslim-majority population?

Sardar Masood Khan: Hindutva has profoundly affected India's internal governance and external posture. It seeks to redefine India's identity in exclusionary terms, marginalising Muslims and other minorities.

In Kashmir, this ideology drives attempts to alter demographics, dilute the Muslim-majority character, and criminalise political dissent. Foreign policy has become more assertive, reducing tolerance for dialogue on Kashmir. When majoritarian nationalism shapes policy, pluralism and federalism weaken domestically and regionally.

KI. Growing pressure on Muslims and minorities in India has been reported. How do these internal developments affect India's regional posture and global image?

Sardar Masood Khan: Internal developments and external behaviour are interconnected. A state's treatment of minorities shapes its moral authority abroad. Reports of discrimination, mob violence, restrictive citizenship policies, and shrinking civic space undermine India's democratic credentials.

This erosion of pluralism hardens regional positions, fuels mistrust, and complicates peace efforts. Globally, India's strategic partnerships are increasingly scrutinised because soft power depends on values; when values are questioned, its international image suffers.

KI: How do you analyse the causes and consequences of the May 2025 military confrontation between India and Pakistan, and what did it reveal about deterrence in South Asia?

Sardar Masood Khan: The May 2025 aggression imposed by India resulted in its humiliating defeat. It stemmed from India's inflammatory rhetoric, aggressive posturing, and unilateral suspension of the Indus Waters Treaty. It demonstrated that the absence of structured dialogue and a volatile Kashmir security environment can quickly escalate.

Pakistan exercised restraint and showcased its military strength. Both sides agreed to a US-brokered ceasefire after recognising the catastrophic risks. India denied any US role, which strained Washington relations. The conflict underscored the need for confidence-building measures, crisis communication, and a just resolution of Kashmir to stabilise deterrence in South Asia.

KI: How effectively did Pakistan engage the international community after the conflict, and what strategic lessons emerge for future diplomacy?

Sardar Masood Khan: Pakistan engaged actively with key capitals, multilateral institutions, and international media. Our narrative stressed restraint, responsibility, and the centrality of Kashmir to regional peace. We emphasised addressing root causes rather than managing symptoms.

The lesson is clear: narrative diplomacy is as critical as military readiness. In today's interconnected world, information flows shape perceptions. Pakistan must invest in credible research, digital outreach, parliamentary diplomacy, and alliances with human rights organisations to maintain global focus on Kashmir.

KI: Post-2019, India has accelerated demographic engineering in IIOJK and suppressed political dissent. What diplomatic and legal strategies should Pakistan adopt to internationalise these issues and hold India accountable?

Sardar Masood Khan: Pakistan must adopt a multi-layered strategy. First, document demographic changes, land laws, and detention practices with legal rigor. Second, present these findings to UN human rights mechanisms, treaty bodies, and special rapporteurs.

Third, encourage friendly states to raise these concerns at the Human Rights Council and General Assembly. Fourth, explore strategic litigation under international law to highlight humanitarian violations.

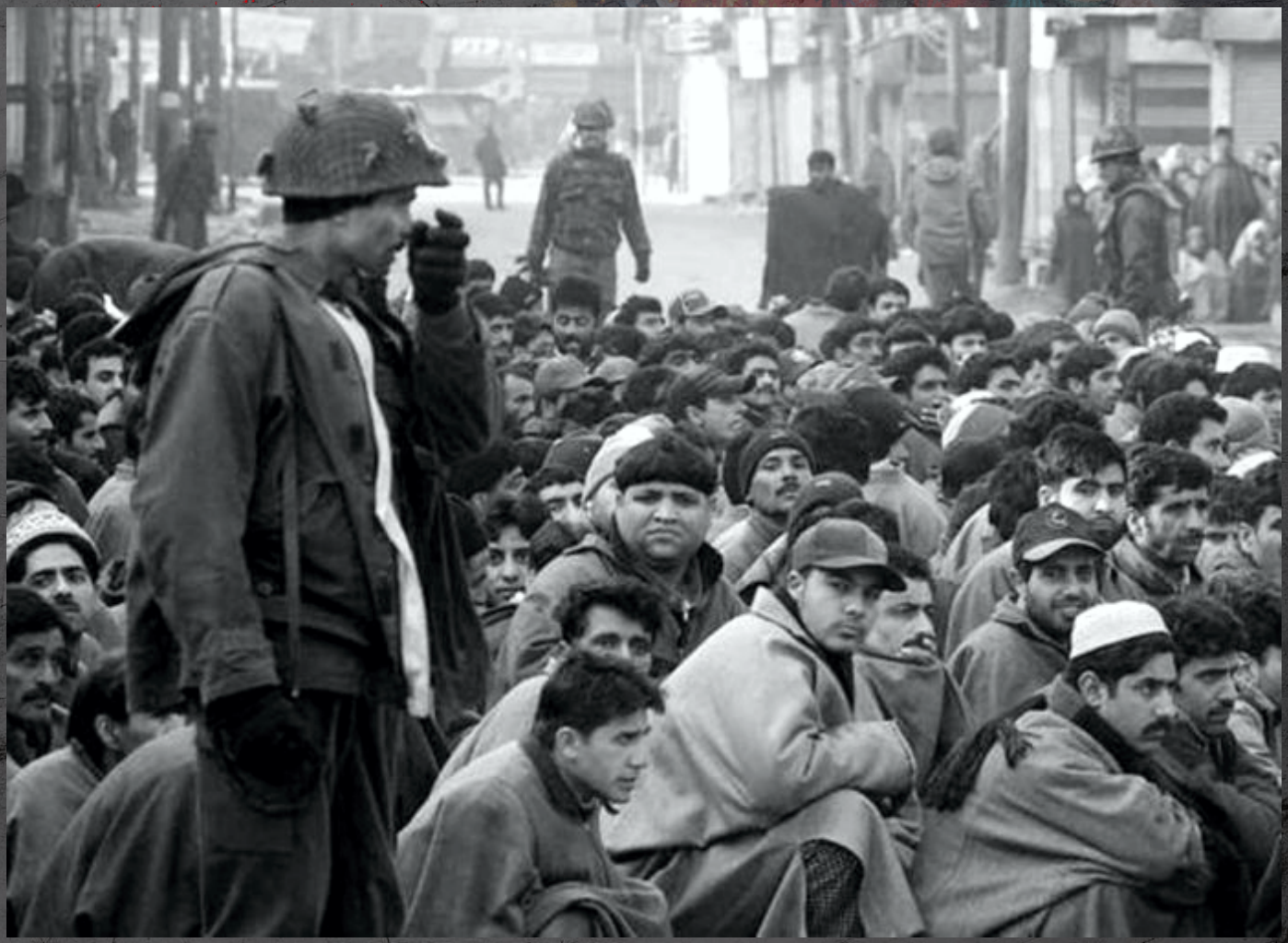
Most importantly, amplify Kashmiri voices. The world must hear directly from those who are incarcerated, dispossessed, and silenced. Accountability requires sustained, law- and morality-based diplomacy to gradually shift international conscience toward justice in Jammu and Kashmir.

Edited By: **Humayun Aziz Sandeela**

MASSACRES OF LAL CHOWK GAW KADAL, HANDWARA, HAWAL SEND SHIVERS DOWN THE SPINE

THE BLOODIED HISTORY OF KASHMIR

Jammu and Kashmir, an internationally-recognised disputed territory has been reeling under New Delhi's illegal occupation for the past over seven and a half decades, where continued human rights abuses range from mass killings, enforced disappearances, torture, rape and sexual abuse to political repression and suppression of freedom of speech. The Indian Army, Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), and Border Security Personnel (BSF) enjoying full impunity under black laws have committed severe human rights abuses against Kashmiri civilians. Since 1989 when an indigenous freedom struggle was launched by people of Jammu and Kashmir, more than 96,400 Kashmiris have been martyred.



Civilians including women and children have been killed in "reprisal" attacks by Indian forces. International human rights groups like Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International and Genocide Watch, as well as the US State Department, have documented human rights abuses including disappearances, torture, and arbitrary executions carried out by Indian troops time and again.

The Indian forces have committed several massacres in 1990s which include Gaw Kadal, Handwara, Sopore and Kupwara in which around two hundred civilians were butchered by the Indian forces' personnel.

GAW KADAL MASSACRE

More than 50 persons were killed and hundreds others injured in the indiscriminate firing by the personnel of Indian Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) on January 21, 1990, at Gaw Kadal in Srinagar. The CRPF troops opened fire on peaceful demonstrators who were peacefully protesting against

wanton arrests and molestation of several women by the troops in Mohalla Qasfali locality of Srinagar on January 20, 1990. The incident took place soon after communal Jagmohan Malhotra was appointed as the Governor of occupied Kashmir to suppress the mass uprising in the occupied territory.

It merits mentioning here that on January 20, 1990, Jagmohan's first television address as Governor of the occupied territory stunned everyone. It was clear-cut provocative speech and a direct threat in which he said that if anybody created a law and order problem 'Meray haathon say aman ka patta khisak jaye ga (the cards of peace I'm carrying will slip away from my hands)'. And in less than 24 hours the threat was translated into action in a brutal manner.



HANDWARA MASSACRE

Four days after Gaw Kadal massacre, another massacre took place in Handwara area of Kupwara district . On January 25, two patrolling parties of the Indian Border Security Force opened indiscriminate fire on thousands of peaceful and unarmed people who were protesting against the Gaw Kadal massacre. People from Ramhal, Vilgam, Rajwar, Kandi, Nagarwari, Qaziabad, Qalamabad, Kulangam and adjoining areas started gathering in Handwara Chowk, showing their protest against the newly appointed governor, Jagmohan.

A survivor, who was part of the procession, narrates, "People were protesting peacefully when troopers opened fire at them. Suddenly people hit by bullets were falling in front of me. Some of them died on the spot. I could see the bodies of Muhammad Shafi War of Divaspora, Shafi Khan of Sodal, Nazir Ahmad Dar of Braripora, Shiefud-din Khan of Wullarhama, Ghulam Muhammad Sheikh of Wajhama, Ghulam Muhammad Beigh of Wudpora, Ali Mohammad Itto of Chogal, Ghulam Muhammad War and Muhammad Amin Masala both residents of Kulangam receiving bullets and dying in front of me. Many others were critically injured."

"It was all doomsday; bullets were being showered like rain onto the protesters. The incident still sends shivers down the spine of the people."

Recalling the incident another survivor said, "Within minutes bodies were piling on streets and blood was scattered everywhere. I miraculously escaped in the indiscriminate firing; BSF men didn't allow us initially to move the injured to the hospital."

Human rights activists say at least 34 people lost their lives and 175 others suffered grievous injuries.

SOPORE MASSACRE

On January 6, 1993, more than 50 people were martyred and hundreds others injured when the BSF troops resorted to indiscriminate firing in Sopore in vengeance of the killing of one of their colleagues in an attack. More than 350 shops, houses and other structures verdited.

The Border Security Forces sprayed a public coach with

machine-gun fire, killing the driver and more than 15 passengers, said witnesses. Three other cars were also fired on, and then the paramilitary forces set the vehicles ablaze. Next, they began herding the native Kashmiris into shops and houses, said witnesses. Then the BSF troops shot them, splashed paraffin over the bodies and set the buildings alight in which buildings were burnt down.

Region	1941 Population	1941 Muslim Proportion	2011 Muslim Proportion	Loss of Muslims (est)
Jammu District	431,362	39.6%	7.1%	151,010
Kathua District	177,672	25.3%	10.4%	29,567
Udhampur District (inc. Chenani)	306,013	42.7%	41.5%	5,975
Reasi District	257,903	68.1%	58.4%	59,804
Jammu province (exc. Poonch and Mirpur)	1,172,950	44.5%	27.9%	246,356
Poonchjagir	421,828	90.0%	90.4%	–

Source: Wikipedia

KUPWARA MASSACRE

On January 27, 1994, the personnel of Punjab Regiment of Indian Army opened unprovoked and indiscriminate fire near a bus stop in Kupwara to punish people for observing shutdown on India's Republic Day (26th January). The bloodbath had left 27 civilians dead. The survivors say that the massacre was carried out by the soldiers to punish the people for observing a shutdown on January 26, 1994.

The survivors of the Kupwara massacre recalled the horrific scene saying that the event continued to haunt them."

The survivors said that a patrol party of Punjab regiment of the Indian Army had warned the shopkeepers on the eve of January 26 of dire consequences if they observe strike and didn't celebrate the Republic Day. They narrate that the next day on January 25 some Army personnel called out worshippers from Jamia Masjid Kupwara and thrashed them including Imam of the Masjid. On January 26 as usual people of Kupwara observed a complete shutdown. The survivors said that as they were returning after meeting the DC Kupwara and were about to reach the old bridge a single firing shot was heard which was followed by a rain of bullets. "All were seen running for safety, the firing lasted at least for an hour. I hid in one of the shops. After a lull I came out of the shop and there were horrific scenes of bloodbath all around, said one of the survivors"

ZAKOORA & TENGPORA MASSACRE

On March 1, 1990 Indian troops killed 33 protesters and injured 47 at Zakoora Crossing and Tengpora Bypass Road in Srinagar. The protesters were only calling for the implementation of a United Nations resolution regarding the plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir.

LAL CHOWK MASSACRE

On 10th April 1993, a large section of Srinagar including Lal Chowk was burnt to the ground by Indian paramilitary troops. More than 60 houses, five commercial buildings, 150 shops, two official buildings, shrines, schools were completely burnt to ashes. A total of 47 innocent civilians were burnt alive and over 125 were killed by Indian Border Security Forces (BSF). As the fire continued to spread through Lal Chowk, a number of locals attempted to escape the flames by fleeing across the Jhelum River in boats. According to eyewitnesses, Indian forces personnel gathered on the river bank opened fire on the boats with machine guns. Some of those on board jumped into the river to escape the firing and drowned. The gunfire continued for at least 30 minutes, and at least 16 bodies were later recovered from the river.

HAWAL MASSACRE

At the funeral of Mirwaiz Muhammad Farooq on 21 May 1990 over 60 civilians were killed by paramilitary forces and hundreds injured in the indiscriminate firing on the funeral procession. Mirwaiz Moulana Muhammad Farooq who was the then Mirwaiz of Kashmir had been brutally killed by unknown gunmen at his residence and his followers took his body in a funeral procession towards Mirwaiz Manzil when the paramilitary personnel stationed in a camp near Islamia College started indiscriminate firing using their machine guns at the peaceful procession. For those who survived thousands of bullets fired by the paramilitary CRPF on the funeral procession of Mirwaiz Moulana Muhammad Farooq, memories of the carnage will not fade ever. The survivors even remember the name of the CRPF commandant posted at Hawal, who ordered his troops to open the fire.

"It was a mayhem," recalls advocate Nazir Ahmed Baba, one of the survivors of Hawal massacre. "I remember everything



that happened on that date. Perhaps, the decision to allow funeral procession of the Mirwaiz was not communicated to the CRPF camp at Hawal. Bullets rained in all directions and dead fell like the apples fall from the trees when they are ripe."

Nazir, a resident of Hawal, said paramilitary CRPF men had blocked all the roads and even the lanes and the by-lanes. "The only option with us was to ferry the dead and injured on the handcarts. Some were taken to the SMHS and those seriously injured to the SKIMS, Soura," he recalls.

Victims of the attack state how the massacre was completely unprovoked and they were all unarmed yet the forces fired thousands of bullets. Over 60 were killed and 200 were injured in the massacre and this remains to be one of the deadliest massacres in Kashmir.

BIJBEHARA MASSACRE

The Bijbehara Massacre took place when 74th Battalion Border Security Force (BSF) fired upon protesters in the Islamabad district of IIOJK, on 22 October 1993, killing 51 civilians.

The protests had erupted over the siege of the mosque in Hazratbal. Amnesty International reported that at least 51 people died and 200 were wounded on that day.

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH REPORTED AN EYEWITNESS TO THE INCIDENT RECALLED

"The people had gathered on the National Highway which passes through Beijbehara town. It was like this even then, narrow, with shops on both sides of the road. There were thousands of people shouting slogans. But it was peaceful…. The BSF just opened fire without any warning. It was terrible. There were so many people lying on the ground. Others were running in panic…. This road, this very road, was full of blood."

The enlisted massacres literally expose the nauseating pretense of the Indian government and are considered even after completion of 30 years as one of the grisliest incidents of brutality and gross human rights violations committed by Indian troops and paramilitary personnel.

These massacres prove Indian government's consistent policies of repression and subjugation to silence the people's resistance against the illegal occupation.

In order to execute its inhuman policies in occupied Kashmir, India has purposefully adopted laws and policies that systematically discriminate against Muslims, turning India into an unsafe place for the Muslims.

Besides, Indian judicial system, which is influenced by Hindutva RSS has failed to provide justice to the people of Jammu and Kashmir mostly Muslims and due to this, convicted criminals of Lal Chowk, Bijbehara, Gaw Kadal, Handawa and Sopore massacres were still freely moving in India.

These massacres are part of bloodied history of occupied Kashmir where not a single Indian soldier has been indicted for the crimes he committed ruthlessly. Although these massacres have been reported widely and cited by Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, the international community has played role of numb spectator and the killings of the innocent Kashmiris have been swept under carpet. When an economy like India is directly involved in such crimes, nobody seems to bother. At least this is the time the international community should shun its double standards and rise from the deep slumber.

OVERVIEW BY KASHMIR INSIGHT

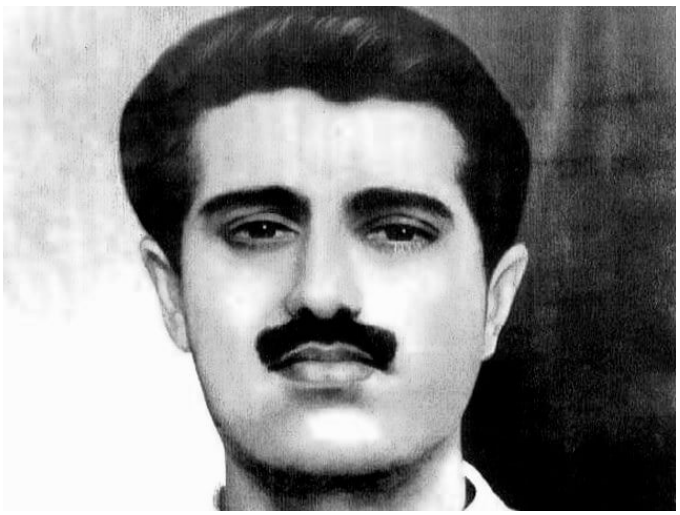
HONORING MUHAMMAD MAQBOOL BUTT AND MUHAMMAD AFZAL GURU

The anniversaries of the martyrdom of two iconic leaders of the Kashmiri liberation movement, Muhammad Maqbool Butt and Muhammad Afzal Guru, continue to serve as poignant reminders of the resilience, sacrifices, and undying spirit of the Kashmiri people in their quest for freedom. Both leaders were executed in New Delhi's Tihar Jail—Maqbool Butt on February 11, 1984, and Afzal Guru on February 9, 2013. Their mortal remains remain buried within the premises of the prison, denying them the dignity of a proper burial in their homeland.

These anniversaries not only commemorate their sacrifices but also fuel the ongoing struggle for justice and self-determination in Kashmir. The two leaders kissed the gallows but steadfastly refused to bow before Indian hegemony, embodying the essence of resistance and courage in the face of oppression.

MUHAMMAD MAQBOOL BUTT: THE PIONEER OF KASHMIRI RESISTANCE

Muhammad Maqbool Butt, often regarded as the founding father of the Kashmiri liberation movement, was a revolu-

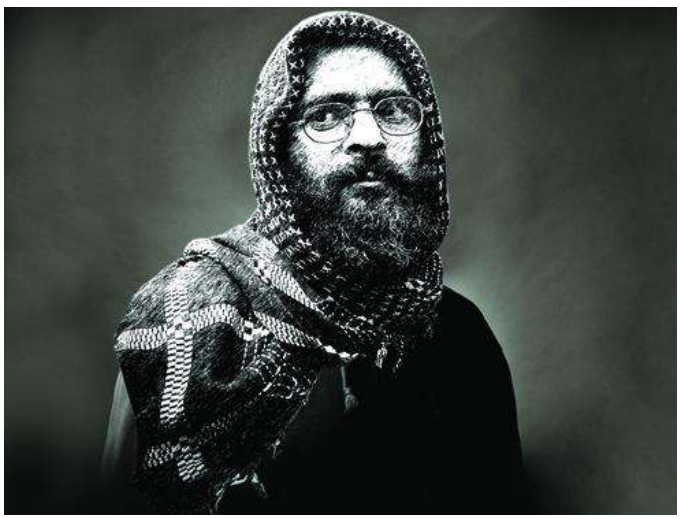


tionary thinker and activist. Born in 1938 in the Trehgam area of Kupwara, his relentless activism and leadership paved the way for a generation of Kashmiris to dream of a state free of Indian clutches.

Butt's execution on February 11, 1984, was a stark demonstration of India's zero-tolerance approach towards dissent in Kashmir. He was charged with militancy-related activities and convicted under dubious circumstances, a process marred by allegations of unfair trials and political motivations. Despite the threat of death looming over him, Butt remained resolute, declaring that his sacrifice was for the larger cause of Kashmir's freedom.

To this day, Butt's name is synonymous with defiance and resilience. His sacrifice is a symbol of the collective yearning of the Kashmiri people for liberation, inspiring countless individuals to carry forward the torch of resistance.

MUHAMMAD AFZAL GURU: A VICTIM OF POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY



Muhammad Afzal Guru, another towering figure in the Kashmiri freedom struggle, was executed on February 9, 2013, in a similarly controversial manner. Guru was accused of involvement in the 2001 Indian Parliament attack, a charge he denied until his last breath. His trial has been widely criticized for lack of transparency, questionable evidence, and a rushed judicial process that appeared to prioritize political objectives over justice.

Guru's execution was carried out in secrecy, with his family not informed beforehand. This act not only deepened the scars of injustice but also solidified his place as a martyr in the Kashmiri resistance narrative. Guru's writings from prison reflected his unwavering commitment to the cause of Kashmir's freedom and his hope that future generations would continue the struggle.

MARTYRS AS SYMBOLS OF COURAGE AND FREEDOM

The sacrifices of Maqbool Butt and Afzal Guru are not isolated incidents but part of a larger tapestry of oppression and

resistance in Kashmir. Their unwavering commitment to the cause of liberation has etched their names in the annals of history as symbols of courage and freedom. Despite the Indian state's efforts to silence their voices, their legacy continues to inspire millions of Kashmiris.

Their executions highlight the systemic denial of justice and human rights to the people of Kashmir. Both Butt and Guru were subjected to trials that fell short of international legal standards, reflecting the Indian state's heavy-handed approach to quelling dissent in the region. Their burials within the confines of Tihar Jail further underscore the denial of basic dignity and respect, even in death.

ILLUMINATING THE PATH TO FREEDOM



The martyrdom of these leaders serves as a beacon for the Kashmiri struggle for self-determination. Their sacrifices symbolize the unyielding spirit of a people who refuse to accept subjugation. The ongoing observance of their anniversaries not only keeps their memory alive but also renews the commitment of the Kashmiri people to their cause.

Kashmiri leaders and organizations across the region and in the diaspora have consistently called for the return of the mortal remains of Butt and Guru, a demand that resonates with the broader struggle for justice. The refusal of the Indian government to hand over their remains is seen as an extension of its oppressive policies in Kashmir, aimed at erasing symbols of resistance.

A LEGACY OF SACRIFICE

Maqbool Butt and Afzal Guru stand as testaments to the power of sacrifice in the face of overwhelming odds. They remind the world that the Kashmiri struggle is not merely a political issue but a deeply human one, rooted in the aspirations of millions for dignity, freedom, and justice. Their martyrdom anniversaries serve as a clarion call for global awareness and intervention in the plight of Kashmiris.

The bravery of Butt and Guru, coupled with their unshakeable belief in the righteousness of their cause, ensures that their sacrifices will continue to illuminate the path of the Kashmiri resistance. As long as their stories are remembered, the dream of a Kashmir free from Indian yoke will remain alive.

In honoring their memory, the people of Kashmir reaffirm their resolve to achieve the vision for which these martyrs gave their lives. Their sacrifices remind the world that even in the darkest of times, the light of freedom cannot be extinguished.

IN-DEPTH REVIEW
BY KASHMIR INSIGHT

ADMINISTRATION AND RECRUITMENT PATTERNS IN IIOJK

Over the past seven years, significant administrative and recruitment changes have taken place in Indian illegally occupied Jammu and Kashmir following the unlawful abrogation of Articles 370 and 35A by the BJP-led Indian government. These developments have generated debate and concern among the oppressed population in the Kashmir Valley, particularly regarding representation in government and public institutions.



RECRUITMENT IN THE JUDICIARY

In a recently conducted judicial recruitment examination for civil judge positions, reports indicated that a majority of candidates shortlisted for interviews were from the Jammu region and identified as Hindus, while a comparatively smaller proportion were Muslims from the Kashmir Valley. The release of the selection list led to resentment among some aspirants in the Valley, who said that the process reflected regional and religious imbalance rather than purely merit-based selection.

POLICE RECRUITMENT

A similar pattern has been reported in the recruitment of sub-inspectors in the Jammu and Kashmir Police. According to various accounts, a majority of selected candidates were mostly Hindus from the Jammu region. After completing their mandatory training, many of these officers were posted in police stations across the Kashmir Valley. Critics argue that this has reduced local representation within certain institutions, while officials claim that postings are conducted according to administrative requirements.

BANKING AND HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

Recruitment examinations for J&K Bank have also reportedly resulted in a significant number of selected candidates coming from the Jammu region.

At the University of Kashmir, eligibility criteria for advertised posts have allowed candidates from outside the territory to apply. Some non-local applicants have secured positions at the Srinagar campus. Similarly, at the Central University of Kashmir, a notable proportion of employees are said to be non-locals.

Professional institutions in Kashmir such as the National Institute of Technology (NIT) Srinagar, Government Medical College Srinagar, SK Institute of Medical Sciences (SKIMS), and the National Institute of Fashion Technology (NIFT) also



reportedly have a considerable number of employees and students from outside the region.

REVENUE AND ADMINISTRATIVE DEPARTMENTS

In the Revenue Department several transfers and reshuffles have taken place in recent years. Critics said that several key positions in the Kashmir Valley are now held by non-local officials. Some said that these changes facilitate closer administrative oversight and streamline land-related processes under revised property laws.

Additionally, senior administrative and police positions in the Valley — including Deputy Commissioners (DCs), Senior Superintendents of Police (SSPs), Secretaries, and Divisional Commissioners — are largely occupied by officers from outside Kashmir mostly RSS Hindus, many of whom belong to all-India services. The Chief Engineer in occupied Kashmir is a Hindu Rakesh Kumar.

The overall exercise undertaken by the BJP-led government in Delhi appears to pursue the following objectives:

- To dilute Muslim representation in government administration and public institutions.
- To maintain close oversight of Muslim employees.
- To implement Delhi's policies discreetly through non-local officials.
- To systematically disempower Kashmiri Muslims from running their own administration.

SENIOR APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS

Occupied Jammu and Kashmir is currently administered under the office of the Lieutenant Governor, appointed by the Indian Ministry of Home Affairs. The Lieutenant Governor is also a non-Kashmiri and head most of the offices including police department. The heads of agencies like the National Investigation Agency (NIA) and the State Investigation Agency (SIA) in occupied territory are also non-Kashmiri Hindus.

In January 2026, the Ministry promoted five AGMUT cadre IPS officers to the rank of Director General of Police (DGP). Among them, Dr. Shiv Darshan Singh Jamwal and David Lalrinsanga were promoted to the DGP rank effective February 1, 2026, or from the date they assume charge. Three other officers — SatishShriramajiKhandare, Rajesh Kumar, and TsewangNamgyalKalon — were granted proforma promotions while on central deputation.

Recent administrative reshuffles have also included the transfer of IAS officers, including Anjali Sehrawat and Kumar Abhishek, to Jammu and Kashmir.

BROADER DEBATE

These developments have contributed to an ongoing and sensitive debate within the region. Critics argue that the cumulative impact of these administrative and recruitment patterns risks reducing local representation in governance and public institutions.

The broader discussion continues to reflect deeper political and regional sensitivities surrounding governance, representation, and institutional balance in occupied Jammu and Kashmir.

Raies Mir
The author is Islamabad based journalist

KASHMIR SOLIDARITY DAY
THROUGH LENS

کشمیر














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OVERVIEW

KASHMIR SOLIDARITY DAY

Honoring the Struggle for Self-Determination

Kashmir Solidarity Day, observed annually on February 5, stands as a symbol of Pakistan's unwavering support for the Kashmiri people in their just and legitimate struggle for the right to self-determination. Recognized since 1991, this day serves as a powerful reminder of the immense sacrifices made by the people of Indian Illegally Occupied Jammu and Kashmir (IIOJK), and as a call to the international community to fulfill its obligations under the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) resolutions.



This solemn occasion underscores the commitment of Pakistan and its citizens to stand shoulder to shoulder with Kashmiris, pledging to support their quest for freedom and justice until their aspirations are realized. Observing Kashmir Solidarity Day, therefore, is not just a political gesture but a profound expression of kinship, humanity, and justice.

THE LEGACY OF SACRIFICE

The people of IIOJK have endured decades of unimaginable hardship in their pursuit of self-determination. Their unyielding resolve in the face of systemic oppression, violence, and human rights violations has become a defining narrative of resistance. India's draconian measures, including arbitrary detentions, enforced disappearances, extrajudicial killings, and curbs on freedom of expression, have not deterred the Kashmiri people from asserting their right to choose their own political future.

The struggle of the Kashmiri people is fortified by UNSC resolutions, which clearly affirm their right to self-determination through a free and impartial plebiscite. Despite these international commitments, the Kashmir dispute remains unresolved, perpetuating suffering and instability in the region. The observance of Kashmir Solidarity Day is thus a reminder to the global community to act on its moral and legal responsibilities to resolve this long-standing issue in accordance with the aspirations of the Kashmiri people.

A DAY OF NATIONAL UNITY AND RESOLVE

Observed across Pakistan and in various parts of the world, February 5 is marked as a national holiday. This gesture signifies the profound importance of the Kashmir cause to the Pakistani nation. On this day, special prayers are held in mosques, seeking divine intervention for the liberation of Kashmir. Public processions, rallies, and demonstrations are organized to highlight the plight of Kashmiris and to express



solidarity with their struggle.

A defining moment of the day is the one-minute silence observed throughout Pakistan, symbolizing respect for the martyrs of Kashmir and the resilience of its people. Educational institutions, civil society organizations, and government bodies participate in arranging seminars, debates, and special broadcasts to shed light on the issue and its implications for regional peace and stability.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF KASHMIR SOLIDARITY DAY

The formal observance of Kashmir Solidarity Day began in 1991, with the aim of sending a loud and clear message to India and the world: the Kashmiri people are not alone in their struggle for self-determination. Over the years, the day has evolved into a rallying point for expressing unflinching support for Kashmiris while urging the international community to take decisive action against the ongoing violations of human rights in the IIOJK.

In 2004, Pakistan reinforced its commitment to this cause when February 5 was officially declared as Kashmir Solidarity Day. On January 31, 2004, the then Federal Minister for Kashmir and Northern Area Affairs stated that the observance was meant to reaffirm Pakistan's steadfast position on Kashmir and its solidarity with the aspirations of the Kashmiri people. This declaration amplified the significance of the day, embedding it into the nation's collective consciousness as a day of unity, reflection, and resolve.

A GLOBAL CALL FOR JUSTICE

Kashmir Solidarity Day also serves as a platform for Pakistan



to bring the Kashmir issue to the forefront of international discourse. By highlighting India's persistent violations of human rights and its refusal to honor UN resolutions, Pakistan seeks to garner global support for the Kashmiri people.

The day is also an opportunity to spotlight the plight of



Kashmiris living under siege since August 5, 2019, when India unilaterally revoked Articles 370 and 35A of its constitution, stripping Jammu and Kashmir of its special autonomous status. The move has been widely condemned for exacerbating tensions in the region and further undermining the rights of the Kashmiri people.

Through peaceful protests, diplomatic efforts, and advocacy at international forums, Pakistan reiterates its position that the Kashmir dispute is not a bilateral issue but a matter of global significance, with implications for peace and stability in South Asia and beyond.

PAKISTAN'S COMMITMENT TO THE KASHMIRI CAUSE

Pakistan's unwavering commitment to the Kashmiri cause is rooted in principles of justice, equality, and self-determination. Successive Pakistani governments have consistently supported the Kashmiri people, both politically and diplomatically, while urging the international community to fulfill its moral and legal responsibilities.

On Kashmir Solidarity Day, this commitment is reaffirmed through official statements, public rallies, and symbolic gestures of solidarity. The government and the people of Pakistan emphasize that they will not rest until the Kashmiri people are granted the right to decide their future, as promised under international law.

THE WAY FORWARD

As Pakistan observes Kashmir Solidarity Day, it is imperative to recognize that the struggle of the Kashmiri people is far from over. The international community must hold India accountable for its actions in IIOJK and pressure it to respect the will of the Kashmiri people.

The observance of Kashmir Solidarity Day is not merely about expressing support; it is about amplifying the voices of the oppressed and ensuring that their sacrifices are not forgotten. By standing with Kashmir, Pakistan and its people send a resounding message of hope, resilience, and solidarity to those who continue to endure hardship in their quest for freedom.

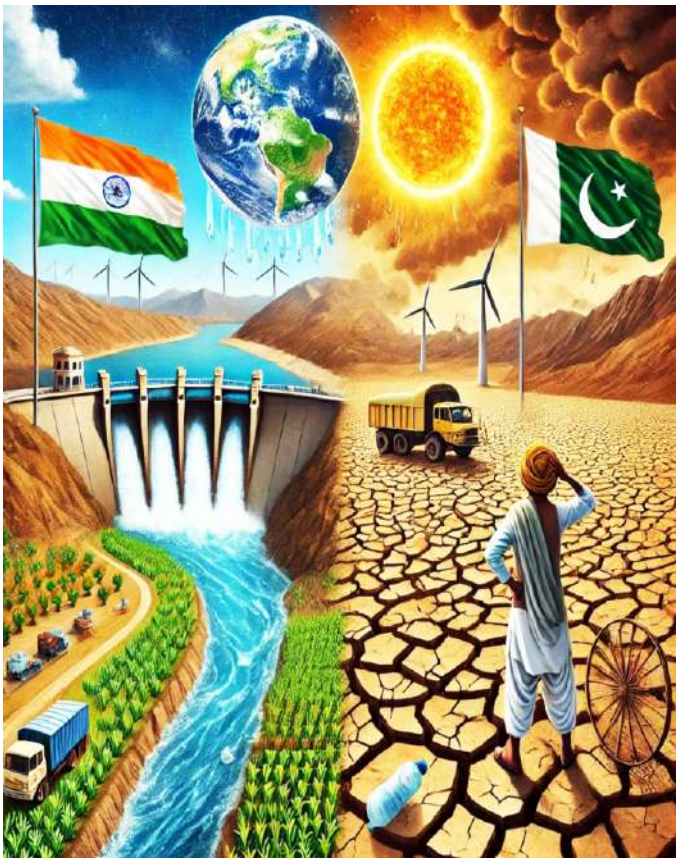


Kashmir Solidarity Day is a call to action for governments, international organizations, and individuals alike—to stand on the right side of history and support the Kashmiri people in their pursuit of justice, dignity, and self-determination.

WEAPONISING THE INDUS

INDIA'S UPSTREAM COERCION AND THE EROSION OF INTERNATIONAL WATER LAW

The Indus Waters Treaty (IWT) of 1960, brokered by the World Bank and widely cited as one of the most durable transboundary water-sharing agreements in the world, has historically insulated water governance in South Asia from overt conflict. Allocating the three western rivers (Indus, Jhelum, and Chenab) to Pakistan, the Treaty recognized the country's structural vulnerability as a lower riparian state whose agrarian economy, food security, and ecological stability depend overwhelmingly on uninterrupted river flows.



Today, however, India's upstream conduct has placed this treaty framework under unprecedented strain, transforming what was designed as a cooperative legal regime into a site of coercive hydropolitics with profound humanitarian, legal, and geopolitical implications.

Pakistan's dependence on the Indus Basin is absolute and quantifiable. The river system irrigates approximately 18 million hectares of farmland, sustains more than 90 percent of agricultural output, contributes nearly 24 percent of national GDP, and underpins the food security and livelihoods of a population of roughly 240 million. In parallel, Pakistan's per capita water availability has declined precipitously from over 5,600 cubic meters in 1947 to below 1,000 cubic meters today, placing the country firmly within the internationally recognized threshold of water scarcity. Under such conditions, even limited upstream manipulation has disproportionate downstream consequences. India's expanding portfolio of hydropower infrastructure on Pakistan's allocated rivers (including Kishanganga, Ratle, Pakal Dul, and now Dulhasti-II) has therefore generated acute concern not merely over individual projects, but over their cumulative capacity to regulate, store, and strategically time river flows.

Recent international commentary, including analysis published by The National Interest, underscores that India's Dulhasti-II Dam on the Chenab River is not viewed externally as a neutral development initiative, but as a strategic upstream instrument with the potential to directly affect Pakistan's treaty-guaranteed water share. The report stresses that India cannot unilaterally suspend, rewrite, or reinterpret the Indus Waters Treaty, emphasizing Article 26 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, which codifies the fundamental principle that "every treaty in force is binding upon the parties and must be performed by them in good faith." Any attempt to ignore these obligations, the analysis warns, is illegal under international law and risks undermining the credibility of transboundary river treaties globally. Notably, this concern extends beyond South Asia: 153 countries share international river basins, and erosion of treaty compliance in the Indus Basin would establish a destabilizing precedent worldwide.

The strategic implications of India's actions have been compounded by its post-Pahalgam announcement in April 2025 that it would place the Indus Waters Treaty "in abeyance." This declaration has no basis in the Treaty text and no standing under international law. The Vienna Convention permits neither unilateral suspension nor termination without lawful procedures and mutual consent, neither of which

occurred. By signaling a shift from treaty-bound cooperation to unilateral coercion, India has effectively repositioned water from a shared resource into a pressure instrument against a downstream state. This move has been widely interpreted by legal experts as a repudiation of pacta sunt servanda, the cornerstone principle of international treaty law.

Neutral international bodies have explicitly validated Pakistan's legal position in this regard. Communications issued under the Special Procedures of the United Nations Human Rights Council have categorically stated that India cannot unilaterally suspend or hold the Indus Waters Treaty in abeyance. These communications further warned that disruption of cross-border water flows could unlawfully endanger the human rights of tens of millions of Pakistanis, including rights to water, food, work, development, and a healthy environment. By framing water interference as a human rights issue rather than a bilateral technical dispute, UN experts elevated India's conduct into the realm of international responsibility, emphasizing that water must never be used as a political or economic weapon.

India's parallel conduct on dispute resolution has reinforced these concerns. During 2024–2025, India avoided arbitration and challenged the very dispute-resolution mechanisms it had previously accepted under the IWT. UN experts noted that such avoidance undermines good-faith treaty performance and weakens the credibility of international arbitration systems more broadly. Decisions and proceedings associated with neutral experts and the Permanent Court of Arbitration have consistently affirmed that the Treaty remains binding and that India is obligated to allow uninterrupted flows of the western rivers to Pakistan while adhering strictly to design and operational constraints.

Operational evidence from the Chenab River further illustrates how treaty violations translate into real-world instability. Sudden, unannounced releases from upstream infrastructure raised Chenab flows to approximately 58,300 cusecs, followed by widespread concern in Pakistan that flows could be sharply reduced during dam refilling phases. Earlier recorded flows stood at around 31,000 cusecs at Marala, 17,000 at Khanki, 11,000 at Qadirabad, and 11,000 at Trimmu, demonstrating the sensitivity of Pakistan's irrigation system to upstream decisions. The absence of advance notification and transparent data-sharing constitutes a direct breach of the Treaty's procedural obligations and severely disrupts Pakistan's irrigation scheduling, flood management, and agricultural planning.



The humanitarian and environmental consequences of such conduct are already visible. Reduced and erratic freshwater inflows have accelerated degradation of the Indus Delta, driven seawater intrusion, diminished mangrove forests, collapsed fisheries, and increased salinization of agricultural land. Inland, hydrological uncertainty exacerbates both droughts and floods, compounding climate-induced stresses such as glacial retreat and erratic monsoons. In this context, upstream water manipulation functions as a force multiplier of vulnerability, magnifying food insecurity, rural poverty, forced migration, and public health risks.

From the perspective of international humanitarian and human rights law, deliberate or reckless interference with water resources indispensable to civilian survival occupies a grave legal space. While formal designation of a "war crime" requires adjudication by competent international judicial bodies, existing legal frameworks (including international humanitarian law and international human rights law) prohibit conduct that intentionally or foreseeably deprives civilian populations of access to essential resources such as water.



UN experts and international legal commentators have increasingly described India's conduct as the weaponisation of water, a form of coercive practice that may amount to collective punishment and a serious violation of humanitarian principles when directed against a civilian-dependent downstream population. In this sense, India's actions increasingly resemble those of a rogue upstream actor, willing to subordinate international law, treaty obligations, and human security to unilateral strategic objectives.

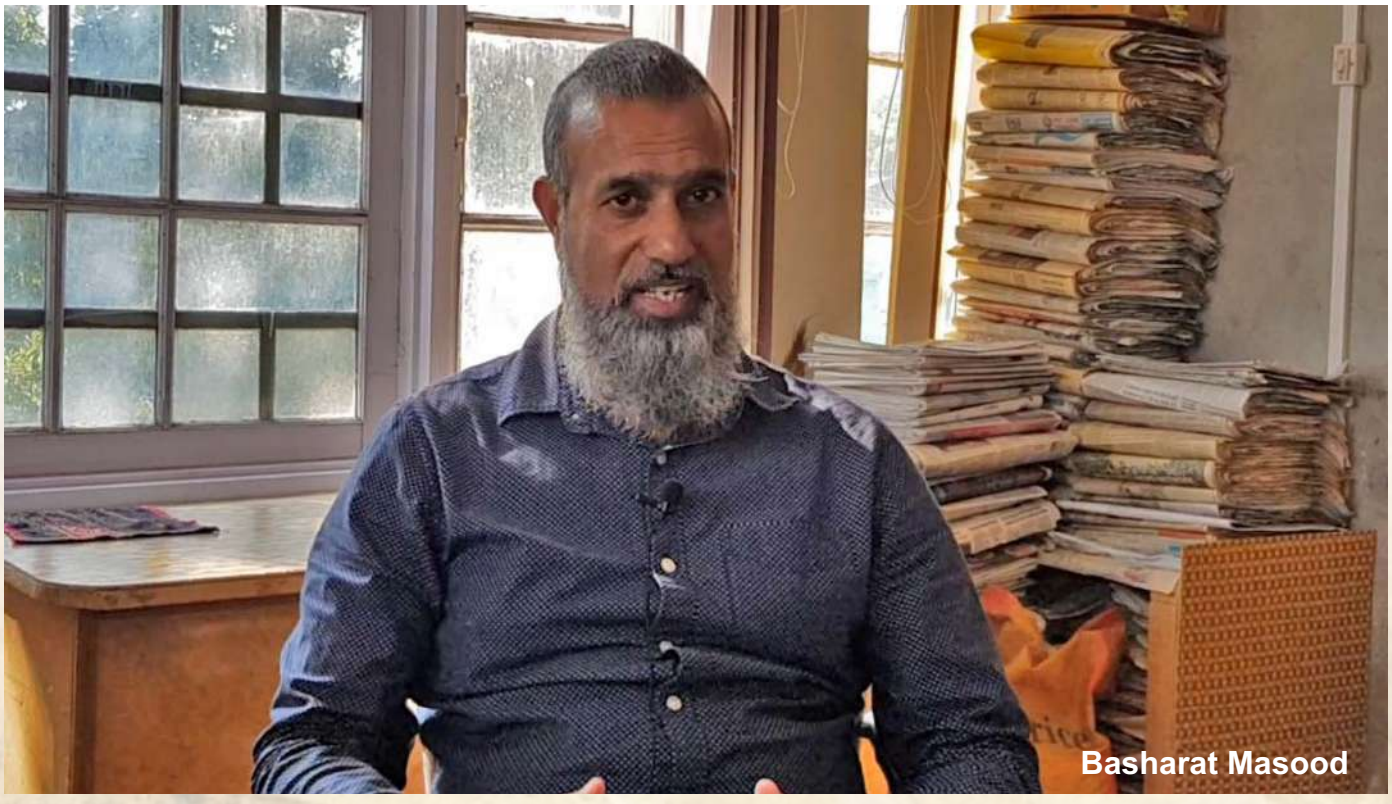
The erosion of the Indus Waters Treaty carries consequences far beyond Pakistan. Often cited by the World Bank and global water scholars as a model for conflict-resilient water diplomacy, the Treaty's destabilization threatens to weaken confidence in transboundary water governance worldwide. As climate change intensifies competition over shared rivers, the abandonment of treaty-based cooperation in favor of coercion risks normalizing water as a tool of pressure rather than a shared resource governed by law.

Pakistan's response has remained firmly anchored in legality, diplomacy, and multilateral engagement. While investing in domestic resilience through irrigation modernization, storage expansion, and climate adaptation, Pakistan has consistently emphasized that no level of internal reform can compensate for sustained upstream treaty violations. As a structurally vulnerable lower riparian, Pakistan's rights under the Indus Waters Treaty are not discretionary concessions but binding international guarantees. Neutral international authorities have acknowledged this reality and affirmed that treaty compliance is a legal obligation, not a political choice.

The convergence of operational evidence from the Chenab, established international legal principles, UN human rights assessments, neutral arbitral findings, and independent global analysis leads to a clear conclusion. India's unilateral actions, ranging from treaty "abeyance" declarations and avoidance of arbitration to hydrological manipulation through projects such as Dulhasti-II, constitute a systematic undermining of the Indus Waters Treaty and a dangerous shift toward coercive water politics. This is not a dispute of narratives but a conflict between international legality and unilateralism. In the Indus Basin, water is a matter of survival, and international law does not permit it to be used as a weapon. Sustainable peace in South Asia will depend not on upstream dominance, but on adherence to law, shared responsibility, and the fundamental human right to water.

Madiha Khan
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PRESS UNDER WATCH: POLICE SUMMONS, SURVEILLANCE, AND THE SHRINKING SPACE FOR JOURNALISM IN KASHMIR



Basharat Masood

The recent summoning of journalists in Indian Illegally Occupied Jammu and Kashmir (IIOJK) has renewed concerns among media watchdogs, press bodies, and civil-society groups about what they describe as an expanding pattern of intimidation targeting independent reporting in the region. Over the past year alone, at least 25 journalists have reportedly faced questioning, threats, or coercive administrative action, while more than 100 journalists have been summoned by authorities since 2019, according to multiple media-rights organisations and news reports.

The latest developments, documented by Newslaundry, The Indian Express, Kashmir Media Service, Reuters, Deutsche Welle (DW), the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), and the Editors Guild of India (EGI), suggest a systematic tightening of official scrutiny over the press, particularly reporting linked to sensitive governance and security matters such as the profiling of mosques and religious institutions.

A WAVE OF SUMMONSES

In January 2026 alone, at least six journalists were summoned by police in Srinagar, several of them connected to reporting on the police exercise collecting information on mosques and madrassas in the Kashmir Valley. According to Newslaundry and The Indian Express, assistant editor Bashaarat Masood, a senior journalist who has reported from Srinagar for over two decades, was repeatedly called to the Cyber Police Station beginning January 14.

Masood was questioned over four days, made to sit for prolonged hours, and asked to sign a preventive "good behaviour" bond under Section 126 of the Bharatiya Nagarik Suraksha Sanhita (BNSS), 2023, a legal provision allowing authorities to demand bonds from individuals suspected of potentially disturbing public peace. Masood declined to sign, stating he had committed no offence.

Another journalist, Hindustan Times correspondent Ashiq Hussain, also received an oral summons in connection with his reporting. The newspaper requested written grounds for the summons before responding, highlighting concerns about due process. According to CPJ, police also attempted to obtain undertakings from some journalists stating they would

not repeat unspecified "mistakes" in reporting.

Two additional Kashmiri journalists working for Indian media outlets and another Kashmiri journalist were also summoned during the same period, confirming what press bodies described as a coordinated pattern rather than isolated incidents.

PROLONGED QUESTIONING AND DATA COLLECTION

Interviews conducted by Newslaundry with freelance reporters revealed detailed accounts of questioning procedures that extended beyond routine verification. One journalist described being called to a police station over a "verification issue," where officers questioned him about his reporting,



social-media activity, and professional background. His phone was reportedly examined, and he was instructed to provide detailed personal, residential, educational, and travel information before being released without explanation.

Other journalists told reporters that government officials frequently sought extensive personal and financial information, including PAN and Aadhaar numbers, bank account details, salary records, property documents, and marital status, often through repeated background-verification calls. According to journalists quoted by Newslaundry, such practices created a climate of constant surveillance that discouraged investigative reporting in the occupied territory.

A PATTERN EXTENDING BEYOND 2026

Media-rights organisations say the recent summons represent only the latest phase of a longer trajectory of pressure on journalists in Kashmir. According to DIGIPUB News India Foundation, more than 200 journalists have faced summons, questioning, raids, threats, or legal harassment since 2019, when the region's constitutional autonomy was revoked. The introduction of the J&K Media Policy 2020, which allows authorities to determine what constitutes "fake" or "anti-national" reporting, has also been widely cited by watchdog groups as a turning point in media-state relations.

Journalists interviewed anonymously by Newslaundry said the cumulative impact of these measures has been profound. Many reported self-censorships driven by fear of legal consequences, while others noted that colleagues had spent extended periods in detention, faced travel restrictions, or left journalism altogether. Freelancers, lacking institutional backing, were described as particularly vulnerable to intimidation.

RAIDS, INVESTIGATIONS, AND INSTITUTIONAL PRESSURE

Concerns intensified in November 2025 when the State Investigation Agency (SIA) raided the Jammu office of the Kashmir Times, claiming to investigate alleged "anti-national" activities. Although officials reported recovering weapons and ammunition during the operation, the newspaper's chief editor Anuradha Bhasin rejected the allegations and described the raid as another attempt to silence the publication, which had already suspended its print edition in 2021-22 citing sustained pressure.

Authorities had earlier banned Bhasin's book A Dismantled State, adding to what press organisations describe as mounting institutional pressure on critical media voices.

PRESS BODIES AND INTERNATIONAL REACTIONS

National and international media-rights organisations have issued multiple statements condemning the summoning of journalists in IIOJK. The Editors Guild of India stated that "arbitrary summons and police questioning of journalists, and attempts to obtain affidavits under duress, are tantamount to coercion and intimidation of the media." The Guild called on authorities to desist from practices that could restrict journalists' ability to perform their duties.

Similarly, the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) warned that using police powers against journalists for legitimate reporting reflects "a pattern of intimidation against the media in Jammu and Kashmir" and urged authorities to end harassment.

Additional criticism came from the Press Club of India, the Delhi Union of Journalists, and the Kashmir Press Club, all of which stressed that compelling reporters to sign undertakings or bonds without clear legal justification undermines press freedom and creates a chilling effect on public-interest journalism.

According to Deutsche Welle (DW), journalists' unions also emphasised that detaining reporters for extended questioning—sometimes for up to 15 hours over several days—constitutes harassment that interferes with their professional responsibilities.



POLITICAL RESPONSES AND SILENCE

Political reactions within Kashmir have been mixed. Several opposition leaders criticised the summoning of journalists, arguing that targeting reporters covering sensitive stories undermines democratic accountability. However, according to multiple reports, the governing political leadership in the region has largely remained silent on the issue, despite earlier campaign commitments promising greater press freedom and the restoration of the Kashmir Press Club, whose registration was suspended in 2022.

Journalists interviewed by Newslaundry described this silence as a significant setback for media freedoms, arguing that institutional support for press independence has weakened in recent years.

GLOBAL PRESS-FREEDOM CONTEXT

The broader international context also reflects growing concerns. In the 2025 World Press Freedom Index, compiled by Reporters Without Borders (RSF), India ranked 151 out of 180 countries, with the report citing political pressure, legal harassment, and economic influence over media organisations as major factors affecting journalistic independence.

Media analysts note that repeated police summonses, prolonged questioning, and demands for personal undertakings can have cumulative effects even when formal charges are not filed. Such practices may discourage investigative reporting, reduce newsroom willingness to pursue sensitive stories, and foster self-censorship among journalists concerned about professional or legal repercussions.

IMPACT ON REPORTING AND PUBLIC INFORMATION

Journalists operating in Kashmir say the atmosphere of surveillance has changed how newsrooms approach coverage of governance, security policy, and human-rights issues. According to reporters quoted by Newslaundry, even routine "he-said, she-said" reports can trigger official scrutiny, raising concerns about the feasibility of pursuing in-depth investigative journalism in the region.

Media-rights advocates warn that this environment not only affects journalists but also restricts the public's access to independent information. When reporters face legal or administrative pressure for routine reporting, they argue, the broader public sphere loses an essential mechanism of accountability.

A PRESS ENVIRONMENT UNDER SCRUTINY

The summoning of journalists in Kashmir, particularly in connection with reporting on mosque profiling and other governance issues, has drawn attention to the increasingly complex relationship between the state and the press in the region. While authorities maintain that legal procedures such as preventive bonds are intended to preserve public order, journalists and media organisations contend that the repeated use of police powers against reporters risks eroding press freedom and creating a climate of fear.

As documented by Newslaundry, CPJ, Editors Guild of India, DIGIPUB, DW, Reuters, and other reporting organisations, the pattern of summons, questioning, and administrative scrutiny appears to be part of a broader trend affecting journalism in Kashmir since 2019. Whether this trajectory represents temporary security-driven oversight or a long-term structural shift in the region's media environment remains a subject of ongoing debate.

What is clear, however, is that the growing number of reported cases, ranging from police summons and bond demands to raids and data-collection exercises, has placed press freedom in Kashmir under sustained scrutiny, raising fundamental questions about the space available for independent journalism in one of the world's most closely watched conflict regions.

KASHMIR INSIGHT PREVIEW

ANALYSIS

BLACK DAY: WHEN INDIA'S REPUBLIC BECOMES A PRISON IN IIOJK



On January 26, while India celebrates its Constitution, Indian illegally occupied Jammu and Kashmir mourns. For us, the Republic Day is not a festival of democracy but a black day—an annual reminder of constitutional terrorism that transformed our homeland into an open-air prison. The tricolor flies over Srinagar as a flag of occupation, not liberation. This is not hyperbole; it is the lived reality of eight million people trapped between India's democratic façade and its settler-colonial project.

The betrayal began not in 2019, but in 1948. The United Nations promised us a plebiscite to determine our future. India's own Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, pledged before the world that Kashmir's fate would be decided by its people. That promise now lies buried under layers of constitutional subterfuge and military boots. What started as a temporary accession became a permanent occupation, and a disputed territory is now being forcibly assimilated into a Hindu majoritarian state.

August 5, 2019, marked the final assault. In one swift stroke, India abrogated Article 370, dissolved our statehood, and bifurcated us into union territories—reducing an entire people to administrative subjects. This was not constitutional amendment; it was constitutional terrorism. The move was enforced under a total communications blackout, the longest internet shutdown in any democracy, with over 5,000 Kashmiris—including minors—swept into preventive detention under the draconian Public Safety Act and UAPA. Leaders were jailed, and the State Human Rights Commission was dissolved, eliminating even the pretense of domestic redress.

Since then, India has deployed a sophisticated toolkit of disenfranchisement. The domicile law, introduced in 2020, is demographic engineering disguised as policy. It grants residency rights to non-Kashmiris after just 15 years, opening the floodgates for settlers to purchase land and alter our Muslim-majority character. This is classic settler colonialism: change the facts on the ground, then hold a referendum on the new reality. Gerrymandering of assembly segments further dilutes our political voice, carving up constituencies to favor non-local populations and marginalize indigenous communi

ties. Reservation policies are weaponized to exclude Kashmiris from government jobs while privileging outsiders, turning employment into a tool of occupation.



The surveillance state penetrates every mosque and home. Religious leaders are monitored, Waqf properties audited, and Friday sermons policed. The Kashmir Press Club was forcibly shut, its members threatened. Journalists face interrogation, spyware, and arrest under anti-terror laws for reporting facts. Government employees, teachers, and even doctors face punitive termination's for social media posts deemed "anti-national." This is not governance; it is carceral control.

The Indian military occupation remains the bedrock of this system. AFSPA grants soldiers immunity for killings, and the PSA allows detention without trial for two years. Bodies of those killed in staged encounters are not returned to families and thus denying the right to burial; compensation is denied as "seditious" demand. Human rights defenders documenting these crimes are incarcerated, offices sealed and bank accounts frozen Justice is not delayed—it is systematically denied.

India claims this is "normalcy." It points to local elections where people vote for municipal councils that cannot hire a sweeper without New Delhi's permission. This is the ultimate democratic deception: preserve the form—ballots, assemblies, courts—while gutting the substance. The Lieutenant Governor, an unelected bureaucrat, holds absolute power over police, finances, and administration. Chief Ministers are reduced to glorified mayors. Citizens can elect, but cannot govern. This is electoral authoritarianism—the Kashmir template now being exported to the mainland through UAPA cases against activists like Anand Teltumbde and Pegasus surveillance of critics.

The international community watches in complicit silence. The UN resolutions remain unimplemented, and India's strategic importance shields it from accountability. Yet Kashmiris have not surrendered the right to self-determination. We demand what was promised: a free and fair plebiscite under UN supervision. India's denial of this right is not sovereignty; it is imperial hubris.

The Hindutva agenda is explicit. By disempowering Kashmir's Muslim majority, India tests the machinery of majoritarianism for wider application. The policies perfected here—demographic flooding, constitutional erasure, surveillance capitalism—are already visible in Indian states of Assam, Karnataka, and against minorities. Kashmir is not an exception; it is the laboratory.

We do not mourn the Indian Constitution out of spite. We mourn because its promises of equality, federalism, and justice were never acceptable to us. While Indians celebrate their republic, we commemorate it as black day. The black flags we raise on January 26 are not against India's people, but against a state that has made constitutional terrorism its governing philosophy.

Until the international community enforces the UN-mandated plebiscite, and until India restores our right to determine our destiny, Kashmir will remain what it is: a territory under occupation, a democracy without rights, and a republic in name only. The question for the world is no longer about territorial dispute, but whether international law means anything at all. For Kashmiris, the answer is already written in the black banners that flutter across our valleys every Republic Day—a requiem for a promise betrayed, and a warning to democracies everywhere: if it can happen here, it can happen anywhere.

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ANALYSIS

THE HOLLOW CASE FOR "GENOCIDE" AND THE DANGEROUS DRIVE FOR PARTITION: HOW NEW DELHI IS BALKANISING KASHMIR

For nearly four decades the tragedy of 1990 has been repeatedly reframed as a singular, sanitized story: the "genocide" of Kashmiri Pandits and their forever-exile. That narrative—now amplified by some Pandit organisations and useful to political actors in New Delhi—has obfuscated a far more complicated reality. What unfolded in the Valley was political collapse, communal and political violence, and the securitisation of an unresolved international dispute. To treat the 1990 exodus as a standalone moral cudgel is to ignore how state action and strategic administration have since reshaped Kashmir's political geography.



Dr Ajay Charangoo's demand for a "Hindu Kashmir" union territory is not an isolated rhetorical flourish; it sits inside a pattern of policy choices that together indicate a deliberate project of territorial and demographic redesign. Since August 2019, New Delhi has used abrogation of Article 370, bifurcation into Union Territories, new domicile rules, and delimitation to change who votes, who works, and who owns land in occupied Jammu & Kashmir. These administrative levers are not neutral reforms: they are instruments that make communal engineering practicable.

Viewed together, the moves point toward the effective balkanisation of a mixed polity into communal fiefdoms. One can already map five emerging territorial outcomes from this policy trajectory: (1) a carved-out Jammu state fashioned to consolidate a Hindu—Dogra—majority; (2) the Valley retained as a centrally controlled Union Territory with weakened local sovereignty; (3) the formal creation or tacit encouragement of Panun Kashmir-style Hindu enclaves inside the Valley as "safe" settlement zones; (4) the separate Union Territory of Ladakh (2019), removed from the political life of the Valley; and (5) strategically sited settler townships and security zones enabled by altered domicile and land rules to create new demographic facts on the ground. Together these five outcomes amount to a partition by administrative means—slow, legalistic, and deniable.

This is not only impractical; it is dangerous. Converting legitimate grievances—displacement, loss, demand for restitution—into exclusive territorial claims invites a permanent fracture of communal coexistence. The moral urgency of redress for displaced Pandits cannot be made the pretext for remaking the occupied Valley into a patchwork of

mono-confessional units protected by coercion. Nor can the trauma of one community be used to erase or sideline the decades-long suffering of the Muslim majority: tens of thousands killed, thousands disappeared, innumerable human-rights violations documented, and a society compressed under a heavy militarised presence.

Moreover, the disputed nature of Kashmir matters. The princely accession of 1947, the ensuing hostilities, and the UN Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) and United Nations Security Council (UNSC) resolutions framed Kashmir as an international dispute and envisaged a plebiscite to determine its future. Those resolutions remain part of the legal and political context that India repeatedly refuses to acknowledge in practice. International law and the unfinished UN processes cannot be wished away by unilateral administrative redesign. If New Delhi persists in converting international dispute into domestic administrative fiat, it will only deepen grievance and delegitimise any claim to democratic normalisation.



What is required is a different politics: one that refuses both communal partition and securitised paternalism. First, any discussion about state reorganisation must begin with transparent, independent audits—of land transfers, domicile lists, recruitment patterns and development spending—subject to public scrutiny and judicial review. Second, domicile and land laws should be recalibrated to protect long-term residents of all communities and to prevent speculative or politically motivated settlement. Third, restoration of meaningful statehood must come with enforceable guarantees: demilitarisation timelines, independent human-rights oversight, guarantees against demographic engineering, robust minority protections and the right to return to Kashmir Muslims who were forced to migrate to Pakistan, due to brutal expression of Indian state in different eras.

Crucially, the process must be internationally witnessed and UNSC-backed. A credible, durable settlement cannot be negotiated behind closed doors while nearly a million troops and an altered institutional architecture determine outcomes. A UNSC-supported framework would prioritise phased demilitarisation, an impartial truth-and-reconciliation mechanism to investigate all atrocities, interim autonomy with inclusive power-sharing, and a final-status mechanism that respects the right of self-determination envisaged in UNCIP and UNSC resolutions. This is not a call for external imposition; it is a plea for international guarantees that can make local reconciliation possible.

Healing, not partition, must be the guiding principle. Pandits should be able to return to their ancestral homes as equal citizens, not as occupants of fortified enclaves. Muslims, Sikhs, Dogras and others must see their rights protected and their political agency restored. The international character of the dispute is inconvenient for those who prefer administrative fixes; yet it remains the only realistic bulwark against the slow institutionalisation of segregation.

New Delhi must either choose democratic inclusion or continue down the road of partition by policy. The former requires courage: to admit past mistakes, to invite impartial scrutiny, to dismantle the structures that encourage communal engineering. The latter promises only instability, international reproach, and a fractured polity where peace is always provisional.

Kashmir's future should not be written in the language of fear, grievance-shopping and demographic tactics. It deserves a democratic, UNSC-backed process that honours legal obligations, protects plural citizenship, and returns agency to its people. Anything less risks turning a region of shared histories into a map of permanent divisions.

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THE BURGLAR WITH SOFT HEART

Pandit was well known in the gentry of the area. He belonged to an ancient family of repute who claimed many 'ars' in their lineage - kardars, chakaldars, tehsildars and what not. Of course, he himself was a prominent zamindar (landlord) owning many khirwars of paddy land. He was naturally referred to respectfully as "the Pandit," or "Pandit Saheb" among those associated with him in different capacities. The Pandit did not hold any public appointment at the time to which this narrative refers. In fact he had been waiting for several years for the chance of securing such an appointment through the good offices of his friends. He had been deprived of an important position by the previous governor not because he had in any way failed to discharge his duties and obligations properly but because one of his cousins had out of envy and malice hatched a plot against the Pandit and he was cashiered out, much to his chagrin. His financial position was by no means enviable in spite of what his cousins said - that he had enriched himself with the wealth of Kuvera during the tenure of his office. Land was the only source of his income now and agricultural produce was worth little in the market. After having lost the official patronage the Pandit did not reduce the lavish expenditure of his household. He felt that it would go against the traditions of his family established by his illustrious forefathers. However, this scale of expenditure was in no way compatible with his present means and the Pandit was not a little worried on this account.



In the wake of all these troubles came one day the astounding discovery that one of his servants in whom he reposed considerable trust had forsaken him and taken service with the person he dreaded most i.e. his cousin. Along with the servant went all the domestic secrets naturally and this was the worst of it. The domestic had broadcast that he no longer wanted to burden a man moving about on his crutches. This was, therefore, the reason why the wedding of his daughter could not be postponed further. One night along with his wife he was ransacking the secret chambers holding their valuables when she fell down with a shriek, somebody had stolen into these chambers and made away with many valuable ornaments. The Pandit, therefore, went over the accounts of income and expenditure for the last several years and cursed his negligence that had enabled the servant above referred to and possibly his accomplices too, to defraud him systematically. His efforts to have the servant brought to book resulted in his receiving threats from the ungrateful wretch, threats of dire consequences. As the servant was guided by his cousin, and the latter never lost a chance in trying to do him down, the

Pandit considered it expedient not to press the matter further for the time being.

The cousin was not satisfied with the success of his plans in bringing about the downfall of the Pandit. Nothing would give him (the cousin) greater pleasure than to raze him to the ground completely. He gladly accepted the suggestion of the erstwhile servant of the Pandit that a clever burglar be egged on to subject the house of the enemy to his depredations, and their choice fell on Layuq, the captain of thieves. Armed with the directions about the interior of the house, the underground cellars and the types of locks used, Layuq set about his task with circumspection and thoroughness for which he was known and dreaded.

One night when the Pandit repaired as usual to his bedroom for repose his wife expressed her anxiety, on the postponement of their daughter's wedding. The Pandit was usually a man of fortitude and forbearance and would not worry his wife with their deteriorating financial condition. On this occasion, however, he felt that he should reveal the real position to her and gave her an account of the various machinations of his enemies chief among whom was his cousin, who brought about his ruin.

He described to her in detail their financial situation particularly the debauchery of his servant who robbed them of precious valuables and left them. When the wife exclaimed as why she was kept in dark about the entire scenario, the Pandit said: "That, dear, is exactly what I don't propose to do. We have fallen on very bad times, but we have still some credit in the country, which I don't want to strain further. In fact it is very painful for me to keep up the presence of living according to the traditions of my illustrious ancestors. But the moment it is known outside how miserable we are; there will be no end to difficulties and troubles for us. Those who speak to us respectfully will assume insulting attitudes, and those who sue the hand of our daughter in marriage will spurn it if and when offered. The governor, who seems to be favourably inclined towards me and to whom I am looking for gainful patronage will dismiss such an idea from his mind. Above all, our cousin will make merry to see us exposed thus. Therefore, dear lady, it is not feasible to dispose of any of our scanty valuables to meet our expenses and thus strike at the roots of the prestige and credit that we still enjoy.... "

On this occasion, however, she broke down and wept bitterly and cursed her stars that by a hostile concatenation had conspired to ruin them just on the eve of the wedding of their daughter. Her lord tried to console her but the proximity of his wife had a softening influence over him; his emotions ran riot inside him and considering himself sheltered from prying eyes, he also broke down.

But they were not alone actually. Adjacent to their bedroom was the store room where they kept their valuables, and the insidious Layuq was already lodged there, egged on by the agents of the Pandit's cousin. He knew the Pandit for a man of considerable strength of mind. He had been given exaggerated accounts of his wealth by the agents of his cousin and in his view all was grist that came to his mill. But he was the unobserved spectator of a scene, which none else would have the opportunity of knowing at first hand and he could see that it was not dressed up for his sake. He regretted that he should have undertaken the adventure on the wrong and misleading advice of malicious persons. He waited for some time till the lord and lady of the house were fast asleep, and slinked away as quietly and mysteriously as he had entered. The cousin of the Pandit expected to add another feather to his glory by having his house swept clean of valuables and other ancestral property. Though the thing had not happened, he expected the good news to come the next morning. What actually took place was in astounding contrast to his expectation. The next morning he found that all his chests were rifled and that his house was despoiled of the valuables. They could not easily compute the extent of the loss suffered.

The same morning the Pandit found in his bedroom a small compact bag which he had never seen before. He examined its contents in the presence of his wife and they were surprised to find in it valuables worth thousands. Along with it was a sort of a cipher code, which was not easily intelligible.

When deciphered the message read, “Layuq is not a mere burglar. He has a heart!”