SOCIOCOLICAL DIMENSIONS OF CONFLICT IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR

[INTERNATIONAL BORDER AT A GLANCE]

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JAY KAY BOOK HOUSE
RESIDENCY ROAD, JAMMU.
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In the name of Divine . . .
To Papa, of whom I never had a glimpse
Foreword

Wars and their effects are a continuing, permanent part of the personal and political landscapes. Throughout history, political and military conflicts have been a leading cause of people’s multiple problems and despair. Large scale movement of refugees and other forced immigrants have become a defining characteristic of the contemporary world. In the period 1946-2001, there were 225 armed conflicts and 34 of them were active in all of or part of 2001. In 2007, 14 major armed conflicts were active in 13 locations around the world. These conflicts remain a serious problem in the Post-Cold War period. Current patterns of violent conflicts worldwide mean that over 90% of all casualties are civilians - women, children and the elderly. The terrorization of whole population is used as means of social control. These conflicts entail a saga of bloodshed, destruction and never to be met economic losses. World War I killed more than 15 million people. World War II overshadows all other wars in terms of its human costs, estimated to be between 35 and 50 million people. Abductions, rapes, killings, mutilations and large scale displacements have become the defining features of the present day conflicts. Infact, the twentieth century has been called the century of the refugees. It is imperative therefore, to focus on the plight of the people who directly or indirectly become targets of the rising tensions among nations. I am extremely happy therefore, to write a foreword for Dr. Sapna K. Sangra’s book Sociological Dimensions of Conflict in Jammu and Kashmir: International Border at a Glance. India and Pakistan have repeatedly gone to war and engaged in low-intensity conflict over Kashmir since 1947 and witnessed the emergence of serious and deadly complications that were captured vividly by the academicians as well as national and international media. The insurgency that broke out in 1989-90 slowly took within its ambit the entire state including Rajouri, Poonch, Doda and Jammu. Dr. Sangra rightly points out that the consequences of a conflict are not limited to a particular locality or region of the warring states; it is in the villages, on the hills in border districts and on the strategic heights along the Line of Control (LoC)
and International Border (IB) that the battle for Kashmir is being waged with the local and foreign militia and between the regular armies of the two hostile nations. Dr. Sangra’s attempt to observe in its micro-context the social impact of War like Situations such as cross-border firing, shelling etc. and the consequential construction of Ditch cum Bandh, mining and fencing along the Loc and IB is commendable. Every conflict has its ‘story’ - the personalities, the social cleavages, the triggering events, inflammatory discourses and the atrocities. It is interesting therefore, to note in this study, how the different categories of people affected by conflict along IB and LoC have been set in a comparative frame work to draw attention of the government, NGOs, academicians and others for not only ignoring but also giving secondary treatment owing to their failure to mobilize for themselves.

I congratulate Dr. Sangra for her well directed efforts and, at the same time, highly recommend this book to all those who would like to broaden their understanding of the social experience of war, displacement and atrocity. The book is highly beneficial to the research scholars, policy makers, NGOs and certainly an addition to the shelves of sociological literature on war, peace and displacement.

Amitabh Mattoo
Former Vice Chancellor
University of Jammu
&
Member, National Knowledge Commission to the Prime Minister of India
Acknowledgements

I must first acknowledge my children Anannaya and Shaurya who had less and less of me during this project. This book would not have come out on a fast track but for the constant pushing of Dr. Seema Rohmetra who is more than a friend and of Mrs. Sunita Mengi who is more than a mother. I am grateful to my family, especially Rakesh and my mother, Mrs. Kanta who have always stepped in at critical junctures and are often taken for granted. My friend Sheetal Mehra Soni who have been there at all times and Reshu, Anita, Major Rachna Slathia, Shubranshu, Rashim, Supriya, Cheshta, Manisha Sobhrajani, Daud, Anthony, Dipankar, Happymon, Ranjeet Kalra, Kavita Suri, Priyanka, Sarika, Hema, Deepti, Shuchimita and others deserve a special mention. I cannot but thank my Vidhya Aunty for helping me strike a balance between my work and family.

I am once again indebted to Mrs. Kailash Rajput and Late Mrs. Rambha Thakur for their Charisma and Discipline still inspires me to strive hard and reach for just the BEST! I express my deep gratitude to Prof. J.R. Panda, Prof B.P.S. Sehgal, Prof. V.K. Kapoor, Prof. K.L. Bhatia, Dr. Abha Chauhan and Dr. Arvind Jasrotia for their invaluable suggestions and guidance. I am also grateful to my colleagues, students and scholars at the Department of Sociology and the Law School especially Dr. Vishva Raksha, Dr. Ashish and Mr. Suresh Babu for their constant support.

A great debt is owed to Visionary Prof Amitabh Mattoo, former Vice Chancellor University of Jammu for enriching this work by contributing a foreword note. I also value and deeply acknowledge the inspiration that I drew from my brief interactions with Prof. Varun Sahni, Hon’ble Vice Chancellor University of Jammu. Needless to say that these interactions infused in me a new zeal for my future endeavours.

I must thank Kamal, my husband, firstly, for always having confidence in me and my potentialities and secondly, in conceptualizing to the editing of this book. I wouldn’t have done it but for you. The faults and aberrations are, however, entirely mine.
Preface

The idea with which I ventured into this maiden attempt was to maximize my understanding of the experience of war; atrocity and displacement for these continue to remain the most visible impacts of the present day political relations among nations. Violent conflicts are a part of social experience and memory. Creation of states of terror to penetrate the entire fabric of grassroots social relations, as well as the subjective mental life, as means of exerting social control remains the key element of modern political violence. It is to these ends that most of the acts of torture are directed. The heinous acts like abduction, rapes, killings and mutilations are meant to render a whole society a stunned audience. Not only is there a little recognition of the distinction between combatant and civilians or of any obligation to spare women, children and the elderly but also the deliberate targeting of social and cultural institutions which connect a particular community to its history, identity and lived values. Almost all contemporary wars today target those structures which hold the social fabric together: community organizers, trade unions, health, educational institutions and religious leadership. When this happens, the social fabric may no longer be able to perform its contemporary role in buffering the effects of crisis on its citizens; coping strategies may all be undermined.

Viewing the situation in Jammu and Kashmir from somewhat the similar perspective; having 1126 km of boundary with a neighbour who has fought three major wars and continue to resort to low intensity wars giving rise to a war-like-situations that play havoc on the lives of people inhabiting the boundary is a continuous battle. India and Pakistan share around three thousand Km long border, from Gujrat to Siachen, of which one third is going through J&K. The 198 Km Border extending from Kathua to Akhnoor in J&K, is recognized as an International Border (IB) but the 778 Km Line of Control (LoC), starting from Akhnoor to Siachen Glacier is a de facto border. The tribal invasion in J&K and later a war between India and Pakistan in 1947 was followed by an agreement on Cease Fire Line (CFL) on the border. It was renamed as LoC in the Shimla Agreement after the
1971 war. Thus, a considerable part of the border remains undecided while some of it is well defined. Jammu district lying South West of J&K state is separated from Pakistan by IB and LoC. While LoC starts from Akhnoor Tehsil of district Jammu, IB passes through Samba district, R.S. Pura and Bishnah Tehsil of Jammu district. It covers 3,097 sq km. with 10 towns, 1,054 villages and 15, 71911 souls as per the Census of 2001. As per the sources of J&K police, nearly 25 villages lie at the forward positions on LoC and 83 villages lie at the forward positions along the IB in Jammu district. There are some villages that even lie at the zero line.

The families living here remain in precarious situation during wars and War-like-Situations. So far, India and Pakistan has fought three major wars viz., 1965, 1971 and 1999. However, War-like-Situations between the two countries emerged following attacks on Indian Parliament in December 2001 and fidayeen attack in the army residential area in Kaluchak, Jammu in May 2002. People from the border areas were evacuated but this was not the first time. People from the borders have been displaced not only during the major wars but also in an apparent preparation for war as in 2001 and 2002. These developments created different categories of displaced; some of them went back after the situation normalized while for others the stay was prolonged for more than a decade. Though the two countries signed a ceasefire agreement on November 26, 2003, the situation at the border is far from ‘normal’. Firing and shelling by the armed personnel and infiltration by the militants by providing cover fire from across the border by the Pakistani forces are the routine activities. Government resorted to measures like construction of Ditch cum Bandh (DcB), fencing and mining to tackle such situations arising at the border but they have lead to multiple problems for the villages along the IB and LoC.

While a considerable portion of the agricultural land has been rendered useless owing to construction of DcB and mining and shelling along the IB, fencing on the other hand has led to a kind of mini-partition along the LoC with some villages left on the other side of the
fence while dividing the rest into two haves. This has robbed the residents in this area of their own identity. Being unable to carry out agriculture has not only put economic strains on the farmers but has also lead to a kind of alienation of man not only from his own self but from the activity that gave him his identity. Not only this, many of them are living with the pain of having lost the ones whom they valued the most in firing, shelling and mine blasts. The uncleared mines continue to be a threat to the lives of many while it is a potent obstacle in reconstruction and development work taken up in the border areas. Amputees due to mine casualties are in particular plight as most of them earn their living through agriculture. Households with the mine victim are increasingly having difficulty in providing food for the family. Agriculture production has also gone down owing to mining that reduces soil fertility.

Drawing on the social experience of War like Situations that permanently exists at the border, an attempt has been made to bring to light the plight of the border residents in Jammu district specially focusing on the Arnia sector. The book begins with the introduction of the problem undertaken for the study and introduces various concepts used in the context of the present work. Chapter two starts with an overview of the contemporary conflicts and bring to light the patterns commonly recurring in all the conflict zones like the cold blood killings, displacements, children orphaned or separated from their parents and the social fabric of the large areas of the country left in tatters. It also undertakes to highlight the major trends of the conflicts in 2007 and notes the suspended conflicts while focusing on the atrocities committed against the civilian population. Chapter three traces the genesis of the conflict in the state of J&K and draws on how the insurgency that broke out in Kashmir took within its ambit the entire state affecting one and all. In Chapter four the general problems of the people living along the IB and LoC in the state have been focused. Chapter five broadly focuses on the impact of the conflict situation in the forward villages of sector Arnia and also examines in its micro context the problems and the experiences of people of village Treva that is
situated at a distance of 1.5 Km from the IB between India and Paki-
stan in Jammu district. The concluding chapter highlights the major
research findings of the study that would be useful both at the theoreti-
cal and the substantial level and would likely pave way for further
research in the related areas.

—Sapna K. Sangra
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
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<td>AJK</td>
<td>Azad Jammu and Kashmir</td>
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<td>APMs</td>
<td>Anti-Personnel Mines</td>
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<td>ATM</td>
<td>Anti-Tank Mine</td>
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<td>AUC</td>
<td>United Self-Defence Forces of Colombia</td>
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<td>BDR</td>
<td>Bangladesh Rifles</td>
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<td>BSF</td>
<td>Border Security Forces</td>
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<td>CFL</td>
<td>Cease Fire Line</td>
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<td>CID</td>
<td>Central Investigating Agency</td>
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<td>DcB</td>
<td>Ditch cum Bandh</td>
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<td>DRC</td>
<td>Democratic Republic of Congo</td>
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<td>ELN</td>
<td>The National Liberation Army</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<td>FARC</td>
<td>Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia</td>
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<td>FDD</td>
<td>Forces for the Defense of Democracy</td>
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<td>FNL</td>
<td>Forces for National Liberation</td>
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<td>GAM</td>
<td>Gerakan Aceh Merdeka</td>
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<td>GIA</td>
<td>Armed Islamic Group</td>
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<td>GOI</td>
<td>Government of India</td>
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<td>HC</td>
<td>Hurriyat Conference</td>
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<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human Immune Virus</td>
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<td>HUJI</td>
<td>Harkat-ul-Jihad-ul-Islami</td>
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<td>IB</td>
<td>International Border</td>
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<td>ICC</td>
<td>International Criminal Court</td>
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<td>ICRC</td>
<td>International Committee of the Red Cross</td>
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<td>IDPs</td>
<td>Internally Displaced Persons</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>IJK</td>
<td>Indian-Controlled Jammu and Kashmir</td>
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<td>ISI</td>
<td>Inter Services Intelligence</td>
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<td>J&amp;K</td>
<td>Jammu and Kashmir</td>
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<tr>
<td>JKLFP</td>
<td>Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front</td>
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<td>LoC</td>
<td>Line of Control</td>
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<td>LRA</td>
<td>The Lord’s Resistance of Army</td>
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<td>LTTE</td>
<td>Liberation of Tigers of Tamil Eelam</td>
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<td>LURD</td>
<td>Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy</td>
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<td>MJP</td>
<td>Ivorian Popular Movement</td>
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<td>MODEL</td>
<td>Movement for Democracy in Liberia</td>
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<td>MPCI</td>
<td>Patriotic Movement of Cote d’Ivoire</td>
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<td>MPIGO</td>
<td>Ivorian Popular Movement of the Great West</td>
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<td>NC</td>
<td>National Conference</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non Governmental Organization</td>
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<td>NIF</td>
<td>National Islamic Front</td>
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<td>OPT</td>
<td>Occupied Palestinian Territory</td>
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<td>PA</td>
<td>Palestinian Authority</td>
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<td>POK</td>
<td>Pakistan Occupied Kashmir</td>
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<td>PTSD</td>
<td>Post Traumatic Stress Disorder</td>
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<td>RUF</td>
<td>Revolutionary United Front</td>
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<td>SC</td>
<td>Scheduled Castes</td>
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<tr>
<td>SF</td>
<td>Security Forces</td>
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<td>SPLM/A</td>
<td>The Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army</td>
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<td>ST</td>
<td>Scheduled Tribes</td>
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<tr>
<td>STD</td>
<td>Sexually Transmitted Disease</td>
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<td>TFG</td>
<td>Transitional Federal Government</td>
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<td>UCDP</td>
<td>Uppsala Conflict Data Program</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNCG</td>
<td>United Nations Convention on Genocide</td>
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<td>UNCIP</td>
<td>United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan</td>
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<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commission for Refugees</td>
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<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund</td>
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<td>UNIFEM</td>
<td>United Nations Development Fund for Women</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNITA</td>
<td>The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola</td>
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<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>United States of America</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN-TCU</td>
<td>United Nations Transitional Co-ordination Unit</td>
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<tr>
<td>ULFA</td>
<td>United Liberation Front of Assam.</td>
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<td>WISCOMP</td>
<td>Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace</td>
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Introduction

The incidences of war and sectarian conflicts have not diminished in any way today. The historic upheavals experienced between 1989 and 1991 in Europe and elsewhere brought the Cold War to a close. The bipolar antagonism between two value and social systems (East and West) no longer defined the structure of international politics. The system of international relations that had influenced the cold war period lost its validity in only a few years. A situation not dissimilar to that prevailing after World War II rendered the search for a new world order a pressing issue. Due to the implosion of the Soviet Union, the East’s superpower, it was evident that the key impulse would have to emanate from the United States. Like Woodrow Wilson after the World War I and Franklin D. Roosevelt during the World War II, U.S. President George H.W. Bush presented his vision of a new world order against the backdrop of the Gulf War:

We have within our grasp an extraordinary possibility that few generations have enjoyed-to build a new international system with our values and ideals, as old patterns and certainties crumble around us .... I hope history will record that the gulf crisis was the crucible of the new world order.¹

Despite the declaration of a new world order and possibility of the peace dividend because of the end of the cold war, international political situation today is far from conducive to peace. There was a prevailing conviction that economic globalization, triumph of free-market economy and growth of international economic interdependence would contain conflict and ultimately render war obsolete. However, after years, such is not the case. It is not only that wars between the states erupt but
the communal, regional, ethnic and sectarian divides lead to conflicts and civil war in states causing as much damage and destruction as a full scale war.

Conflict impinges on every facet of life: economic, social, cultural and familial. The protracted conflict situation in Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) has severely affected its people directly or indirectly. J&K has remained a major issue of contestation between India and Pakistan since 1947. In the past 50 years, colonial legacy of the unsettled territorial dispute over J&K has driven India and Pakistan into three full-scale wars, local wars, proxy wars, low intensity wars and artillery duels on the Line of Control (LoC).2 This has placed the families at the border in different types of situations like that of insecurity and fear of life, instability and constant displacements, destruction of homes and loss of animal and human life, loss of agricultural land owing to firing, shelling, mining and construction of Ditch cum Bandh (DcB) because of their strategic position along the border region. In this book, an attempt has been made to analyse in its micro context the impact of conflict situation on the families residing at the International Border between India and Pakistan in Jammu district.

The term ‘conflict’ has been used loosely in the recent years to include various kinds of situations. Broadly, conflict is understood as the pursuit of incompatible goals by different people or groups.3 These competing goals can range from contradictory needs within family to competition over scarce resources between members of a community or between neighbouring nations to opposing factions seeking political or economic control. Sometimes, the term war and conflict are used interchangeably. War, however, is a conflict between two groups in which one group inflicts damage on the other group. Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English defines war as ‘fighting between two or more countries or opposing groups within a country, involving large number of soldiers and weapons.’ Wars are not merely acts of violence that are ends in themselves but are acts of violence that are designed to attain political objective. Wars are an assault on human dignity.
Introduction

Carl von Clausewitz observed, "War is...an act of force to compel our enemy to do our will." Viewed from this perspective, a distinction can be made between war and a war-like-situation. The force employed in times of war is self-spiraling in character. If one side uses force without compunction, undeterred by bloodshed it involves, while the other side refrains, the first will gain the upper hand. That will force the other to follow suit; each will drive its opponents towards extreme and the only limiting factors are the counter-reprisals inherent in war. In a war-like-situation also, one compels another to do one's will without driving another to the extreme. The two terms can also be differentiated on the basis of population movement induced-one induced by war and the other by prolonged spell of war. Probability of return migration is always higher in cases of war than in that of war-like-situation since the latter often masquerade as the normal, they are of enduring nature and do not seem to create an atmosphere conducive to the migrant’s forthwith return to their homes.

By war, in this book is meant the major wars between India and Pakistan like that of 1965, 1971 and 1999. The term war-like-situation is used to refer to a state when armed forces are mobilized in an apparent preparation for war. For instance, following the terrorist attack on Indian Parliament on December 13, 2001, the border areas of J&K witnessed massive presence of the security forces and the subsequent emergence of the five km security belt. This security belt, ranging from International Border (IB) to LoC, led to the displacement of thousands of border-residents. Similarly, after the terrorist attack on the residential quarters of the Army personnel in Kaluchak, Jammu, on May 14, 2002, tension on the border increased resulting in heavy exchange of firing leading again to the displacement of the border-residents. Although the chances of a war actually breaking out ended in the due course of time, the "bellicose rhetoric" compelled border people from all over to move from these areas. As per the estimates, 200 villages were affected in four districts of Jammu region. Such situations may prove to be as traumatic as a real war and as a result, people suffer due to a number of problems like the frequent checking and patrolling by Army and Police, digging of bunkers,
fencing, mining, construction of DcB etc. Considerable land is lost once the mines are laid down. Presence of troops within the houses and around the fields restricts the freedom of the people who, otherwise, live with insecurity, instability and constant fear. Shelling, grenade attacks and frequent firing lead to accidents that may be detrimental for human and animal life. It also leads to mass flights of civilians to safer places. Such war-like-situations are very common in border belt of Jammu region.

Conflict, when becomes violent and includes the use of weapons, the term usually used is the Armed Conflict. On the basis of fatality rate; armed conflict may be divided into categories. First, ‘Minor Armed Conflict’, where the number of battle related deaths during the course of the conflict is at least 25 but below 1,000. Second, ‘Intermediate Armed Conflict’ with more than 1,000 battle-related deaths recorded during the course of the conflict but fewer than 1,000 in any given year. Third, ‘War’ with more than 1,000 battle related deaths in any given year. Intermediate Armed Conflict and War together constitute ‘Major Armed Conflicts’.

The term ‘Armed Conflict’ however, needs to be differentiated from the term ‘Warfare’. Unlike the latter, the former is an undeclared war wherein, in contrast to the prescribed rules of The Hague Convention of 1907, neither a formal declaration is made nor an ultimatum is given to the neutral states. Such situations, where neither wars are waged legally nor the rules of war followed subsequently are referred to as armed conflicts. Thus, it is a narrow category of the general term conflict denoting a situation where one or both sides resort to the use of force. It is in this sense that the term ‘armed conflict’ is used in the present study in the context of J&K.

The twentieth century has witnessed 250 wars and over hundred million casualties. During the 1990s, on an average, about half the world’s population lived in a country that was at war. There has been an estimated 160 wars and armed conflicts in the Third World since 1945 with 22 million deaths and three times as many people injured. There were, on an average, 9 wars active
in any year during the 1950s, 11 during the 1960s, 14 during the 1970s\textsuperscript{9} and at least 30 currently. World today, is thus, in the grip of wars whether interstate or intrastate. Conflict continues to persist in many parts of the world though the intensity varies across time and space. During the 1980s and 1990s, there were serious conflicts in Mozambique, Angola, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, South Africa, Peru, Colombia, Ethiopia, Sudan, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Algeria, Liberia, Zaire, Rwanda, Burundi, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Russian Chechnya, Israeli Occupied Territories, Kashmir, Indonesian East Timor, the Philippines, Former Yugoslavia, and Northern Ireland among others.\textsuperscript{10} The most publicized conflicts in the 1990s have been Rwanda and Bosnia.

Although the conflicts did take place in earlier times as well, yet, the modern conflicts are more sinister as they have ended any distinction between combatants and civilians that was in existence earlier. The wars were fought among soldiers in the battle field but now-a-days, they are taking place amidst civilian populations. Civilian casualty, in the present day armed conflicts, is not simply a by product of war but the consequence of the deliberate targeting of non-combatants. According to an estimate, civilian fatalities increased from 5 percent at the turn of the century to 15 percent during First World War and to more than 90 percent during 1990.\textsuperscript{11} UNICEF Report of 1986 stated that five percent of war casualties in World War I were civilians, 50 percent in World War II, over 80 percent in the US War in Vietnam and currently over 90 percent. In the state of the World’s Children 1996, UNICEF stated that in the past ten years, 2 million children have died in war with 4-5 million wounded or disabled, 12 million made homeless and 1 million orphaned or separated from their parents. Consequently, there is an increasing toll of civilians who remain the main targets of these contemporary conflicts and account for over 90 percent of war casualties.\textsuperscript{12}

There are several factors that have accelerated modern day-conflicts. One of the most prominent factors is the struggle over the natural resources. Diamonds finance long running wars in
Angola and Sierra Leone. In Sudan and elsewhere, civil conflicts revolve around crude oil; and the profits from illicit narcotics figure prominently in fighting Afghanistan and Colombia. Such situations could not exist for long without markets in affluent parts of the world. Global business, some legal, some illegal have spawned international complicity that makes war not just possible but highly profitable. International weapons sales, especially of small arms help ignite and sustain wars that victimize children and civilians. Small arms, light and easy to use, are now so readily available that the poorest-communities can gain access to deadly weapons capable of transforming any local conflict into a bloody slaughter.

There has been an invariable development in the International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights Law that enshrines the rights of civilian and obligations of combatants during conflict. Before the advent of contemporary Humanitarian Law, there were written rules based on customs that regulated armed conflicts and then the Bilateral Treaties drafted in varying degrees of details gradually came into force. The belligerents sometimes ratified them after the fighting was over. There were also regulations, which states issued to their troops. The law, then applicable in armed conflicts was thus limited in both time and space as it was valid for only one battle or specific conflict. The rules also varied depending on the period, place, morals and civilizations.


At times, when these conflicts are brought to the civilian population, the group as a whole bears the consequences. It has been observed in many parts of the world that war is not an extraordinary and short lived event to be seen as extrinsic to the way a society functions in ‘normal’ times. It has become a given, something constant and internal that colours the whole web of political, socio-economic and cultural relations across a society and the daily calculations and activities of its citizens. In a conflict situation, all developmental activities come to a halt. More severely, it destroys the existing infrastructure comprising society, home, health, education and the work systems. It also deprives the civilians of their material and emotional needs by disrupting the social networks and scattering families. However, there is an element of specificity as far as the experiences of different categories of the population are concerned. For example, in J&K conflict, the experiences of the Kashmiri Pandit Migrants who were forced to flee valley may vary to a great extent from those of the border migrants of Jammu Region who have been in the constant process of migration and remigration though both the groups are largely the victims of the same situation. The impact is more severe on the lives of those living close to the IB between India and Pakistan and along the LoC.
The dispute between India and Pakistan over the issue of Kashmir is as old as the two states themselves, dating back to the circumstances of their independence from Britain and the partition of the subcontinent in 1947. Troubled relation between India and Pakistan often lead to tensions in border areas which persist not merely during the period of actual war as in 1965 and 1971 but even in normal times. These tense situations, however, got intensified in the recent years. The breaking up of insurgency in Kashmir on one hand and the limited Kargil war of 1999 together with the military build up along the border following the terrorist attacks on the Indian Parliament in 2001 and on army’s residential area in Kaluchak, Jammu in 2002 led to the emergence of a war-like-situation that engulfed the entire state within its ambit affecting one and all. The insurgency that broke out in 1988-89 was initially very largely specific to the valley - a geographically, culturally compact region but slowly spread to other regions of the state like Doda, Kishtwar, Rajouri, Poonch and Jammu.

Besides the mass killings, the years of conflict in J&K has brought innumerable sufferings to its people. Losses of life, militarization and destruction of property, disruption of educational system, constant displacements and erosion of socio-economic life are some of the most visible impacts of the on-going conflict. In the last 15 years, violence has taken a very large toll of human lives. From 1989 to 2002, between 40,000 (official Indian estimates) and 80,000 (claimed by the Hurriyat Conference, a coalition of pro-independence and a pro-Pakistan groups) civilians, guerilla fighters and Indian security personnel died in violence that gradually spread beyond the Kashmir valley to affect most of Jammu. Displacement has remained the most visible consequence of the conflict besides the mass killings.

As the situation between the two countries intensifies, the families living in the villages along the border have to bear the brunt of increased firing, shelling and infiltration, plantation of landmines and deployment of defense forces that multiply their problems further. People lead a life full of insecurity amidst cross border shelling between the army personnel deployed on either
side of the border. Shelling take many innocent lives and at times, render people physically handicapped for the rest of their lives. Constant deployment and movement of the army that has increased over the years also restricts their freedom to move about freely in their own villages and the surrounding regions including their fields. Elderly people are more confined to their houses. The brunt of the stand off between the armies of India and Pakistan is thus borne by families living along the 198 Km long IB extending from Kathua to Akhnoor and 778 Km long the LoC starting from Akhnoor to Siachen Glacier. For example, by August 23, 2008, there were around 25 violations of the 2003 ceasefire agreement reached between India and Pakistan on November 26, 2003. In one of the recent alleged ceasefire violation on August 21, 2008, the Army’s forward post in the Keri sector in Jabla Gali in Rajouri district came under heavy fire from across the border. Pakistani troops fired rockets, PIKA fires and small arms on the Indian posts. Villagers living adjacent to the post also witnessed the incident. To quote one villager,

“We thought a war has ensued between the two countries. We were petrified but could do nothing. This is not the first time that we heard of so much of fire on LoC. But this time, the firing lasted for more than an hour.”

According to the defense sources in the Northern and the Western Command however, between January 1, 2008 and August 31, 2008, there were at least 30 ceasefire violations. In the most recent alleged ceasefire violation on March 21, 2009, Pakistani troops fired throughout the night at Indian posts in Uri sector of Baramulla district in Kashmir leaving an Indian soldier injured. As per records, this was 58th violation of ceasefire agreement.

In the year 2008 at least 152 incidents of intrusion attempts were reported along the LoC. Although the entire area has been fenced and flood lit but sometimes due to some fault the light goes off. Generators are used in case of faults but the seasonal bushes and the ground conditions at times, create obstacles in keeping the vigil that gives an opportunity to the infiltrators to sneak in. Increasing incidents of infiltration attempts by armed
militants from Pakistani side by providing cover fire from across the border and attacks on the civilians by resorting to indiscriminate firing poses constant threat to the lives of the border residents. The infiltration on August 26, 2008 in the Kanachak sector of Jammu district which resulted in the killing of eight persons including three jawans and five civilians was the second successful attempt by the militants to cross over to this side after May 11, 2008 in which militants sneaked in from Samba sector and killed two civilians and a senior press photographer of a local Daily.\textsuperscript{24}

The Impact of such situations is seen on the entire social fabric of the border villages. The recreational and religious role of the family members is reduced. Festivals like ‘Navratras’ and ‘Ram Lila’ that bring together people of adjoining villages and bind them in strong social bonds have lost importance due to the continued fear and terror. Local religious rituals like ‘Bhandaras’ which are marked by calling the people of adjoining villages for a midday meal is no longer an annual feature as said by the people in the border villages. ‘Melas’ i.e. the local fairs once had their own importance in the rural life. They had social as well as religious implications. Such fairs were actually meant to fulfill the needs of the rural people by providing various shops for buying sweets, toys etc. and bringing in entertainment sources for all including the youth and children. It used to be like taking the entire market from cities down to the village level for a few days. Competitions among youth were also held as an integral part of those fairs and the elderly men of the region felicitated the winners. Such fairs are almost absent as they were held in open fields after the harvesting of the crops. These fields are no longer available for such purposes as a new trend of laying mines and fencing by army has been brought in. Long after the conflicts end, the presence of landmines continue to pose an awful threat, often making it impossible for refugees and internally displaced people to return to their homes, prolonging sufferings of the common man in the affected areas.

Mining is resorted to as the ‘effective and cheap weapon’ during the conflict situations. Border belt of Jammu Region was
heavily mined in the year 2002 leading to serious socio-economic repercussions for the families living therein. The families in the affected areas lost their standing crop completely. Mining not only restricted agriculture activity but also rendered the fields unfit for cultivation. Mining and de-mining process results in the casualties of the Army personnel and the civilians residing in the border areas. It leads to the loss of lives and limbs and dispossess people of their means of livelihood. Infact, mines that remain undetected and uncleared also lead to heavy casualties.

The barbed wire fencing resorted to by the Government of India to check infiltration along the border region have added to the socio-economic problems having curtailed their freedom and also posing a question mark on their identity. Villagers have been alienated from their own fields following innumerable restrictions in these areas. Besides affecting the health and educational systems along the border belt, the sociological impact of the alienation of a villager from his field due to fencing is writ large. A number of villages along the LoC have been boxed in between the fence and LoC. Some villages have been partially divided by the fence and this situation has been referred to as ‘Mini Partition’ along the LoC. Situations like this has serious social repercussions for the families who are divided in two halves. It not only affects their health, education, agricultural activity but also their social life.

Constant displacements have also become an integral part of the lives of these people. Sometimes, when the situation gets tense, people are forced to leave their native places and take refuge in the camps.²⁵ A few families return to their homes once the situation normalizes while for the rest the stay is prolonged. For example, the families, which were displaced during the Kargil war in 1999 from the Hiranagar sector of Kathua district and Ramgarh, Arnia and R.S. Pura sector of Jammu district went back to their native places once the situation normalized but those displaced from the Akhnoor and Khour sectors could not go back for nearly a decade. Similarly, the Kashmiri Pandit Migrants displaced from the valley during 1990 are still residing in various camps established in the outskirts of Jammu City.
In camps, people live with various challenges posed by the unpredictable camp life. Water is inadequate and the food when prepared is mass-cooked, monotonous and ill prepared. Camps are generally overcrowded where all privacy is lost. A sex life for a husband and wife barely exists. Toilet facilities in the camps are inadequate and unhygienic. Mass population movements, close proximity, and strained sanitation facilities create the conditions for the transmission of infectious disease like cholera. Vaccination and oral dehydration programs increasingly linked to public health and educational activities are disrupted as was visible during the recent displacements from Jammu border belt. Many women in displaced communities also lack productive health care. Young women still in their teens are unable to reach a hospital for a safe delivery.

Forced migration typically disrupts not only familial basis of socialization but also socialization through such structures as schools and places of worship. The inter-family and intra-family relationships also get affected. Women and children migrate to safer places while the men folk stay behind to look after the houses and the cattle. Sometimes, the entire family migrates but the male members keep paying periodic visits to their native villages. Problems of the aged also get multiplied. Conflict situation, thus, leads to temporary disintegration of families. Since family consists of close network of individuals, the effect of such structural changes in the family percolates to various members resulting in mental tension and distress in their lives.

Not only this, continued insecurity, instability and constant migrations and remigrations also lead to changes within the family. For example, in authority structure, decision making process, division of labour, degree of family joint-ness and solidarity. Women living in camps without their husbands have more decision making power than they probably have in normal circumstances though they have to face more problems. Authority structure and decision making power within the family undergoes a change if the head of family, generally a male member is lost in any casualty and women becomes the head of the family or authority is vested in the elder son if the father or mother is lost.
The impact of conflict situation can also be seen on kinship relations and pattern of marriage alliances. Border people find it difficult to seek alliance for their children especially for their sons as people refuse to give daughters to such places where people lead life full of insecurity and instability amidst continued shelling and firing. In the process of migration and settlement in camps, old relations undergo a change and the new ones are developed.

Education of the children is tremendously affected. Generally, in the camps, there are no educational facilities for children and wherever they are available, they are inadequate. There are no facilities for children to do their homework or to get extra help in their studies. Education of the girls is severely affected as they are expected to assume a child-minding role or additional family support roles such as queuing for water and other supplies. Rajni Dhingra and Vaishali Arora for example, in their study, ‘At the Cross Roads: Families in Distress’ (2005), conducted in the various Kashmiri Migrant Camps established in the outskirts of Jammu city observed that the number of dropouts has increased. The student community feels disheartened on account of delay or postponement of examination. She observed that the educational facilities provided in the camps are inadequate because of lack of proper infrastructure and staff. There are no libraries and laboratories, no recreational facilities to display or promote talents. So, the number of students on rolls is decreasing constantly day by day. In case of the border migrants, providing even the minimum educational facilities becomes difficult as they are in the constant process of migration and remigration. In the Devipur camp of Akhnoor sector in Jammu district, an old Peepal tree in the heart of the camp served three-fold purpose in the blistering summers - classroom for an odd two hundred students of one middle and three primary schools, ‘open gambling club’ for the elderly and a shed for cattle.

The socio-economic disparities get perpetuated in the camps. Infact, power struggles and conflicts existing in communities prior to their displacement get reproduced in camp settings while the traditional social systems come under strain or breakdown
completely. Family disputes are also frequent as are high levels of violence, sexual assaults, and alcohol. Violence prevails within families, between displaced and host communities as can be seen between the Dogras of Jammu and Kashmiri Pandit Migrants. The Border migrants from Jammu border belt are often found comparing themselves with the Kashmiri Pandit Migrants in terms of the compensation and other facilities given by the government. This has come out clearly in the various demands put forward by the Jammu border migrants from time to time.

The above discussion therefore raises some important issues that need to be explored more minutely. The conflict in J&K has engulfed the entire state and the experiences of different categories of population, viz. women, children and the elderly vary to a great extent. The two categories of people that have come to be affected the most are the Kashmiri Pandit migrants and the border migrants. The context of displacement for Pandits and the border migrants are different and so is the nature of their problems. The exodus of Kashmiri pandits as a community due to militancy was based on the Psychology of terror. Experiences like the ominous disappearance of a brother, witnessing gruesome death of people they valued, deliberate destruction of their social, economic and cultural worlds, ones which defined their identity, roles and values forced them to move out leaving everything behind. This gave them recognition and visibility which is absent in case of the border migrants who are largely affected by the abnormal situations emerging at the border due to continuous skirmishes between the Armies of India and Pakistan. But the border migrants failed to get the required attention of the media as well as the academicians. The discriminatory policies followed by the government in distributing aid to the two displaced communities further accentuated their sufferings that need to be dealt in detail. The book focuses on the experiences of the border residents in district Jammu in its micro context while the experiences of those residing close to the IB and LoC have been focused broadly.
Significance of the Study

The proposed research assumes importance in the context of the sufferings of a common man that have perpetuated globally owing to the present political relations among nations. When an average person is asked about what he wants the most, the answer is identical: peace, the need to end violence, to live a life without fear of conflict and to be able to walk on road without being caught in a sudden burst of crossfire. War and conflicts of the modern times magnify the already existing problems of the people especially in the Third World. While there is one soldier for every 250 inhabitants, there is only one doctor for three thousand people. The governments today spend 100 percent more on their armed forces than on providing health or educational facilities for their citizens.

In such circumstances, there is an urgent need to carry out an exclusive study which will highlight the plight of the people who are directly or indirectly affected by the rising tensions leading to armed conflicts between nations. As far as the conflict in the state of J&K is concerned, in the post-1989-90 period, there have been a plethora of books but most of what has been written is polemical in style and rhetorical in substance. The focus of all these studies have been understanding the roots of the conflict, beginning of insurgency and the impact assessment in the sense of human rights violations and the alleged atrocities committed by the security forces on the civilians in the valley. Of late, some attempts have also been made to focus on the gender dimension of conflict and experiences of women in J&K.

Notwithstanding the commendable attempts made so far, there are several research gaps that need to be filled. Firstly, there is an urgent need to carry out a study specially focusing on the problems of the people who are living in border belt of Jammu region. Though Kashmir has remained the focal point of contestation and have recorded the highest number of incidents over the years, other regions like Doda, Rajouri, Poonch and Jammu have equally been affected. Hence, it is imperative to bring to light the sufferings of other affected regions to receive the
attention of national as well as international media and other concerned agencies. Secondly, most of the studies have been carried out from political or psychological perspective whereas, the sociological perspective have largely been missing. The only observations of sociological importance that were made were in the nature of newspaper reports, journals, and notes, dissertations (project reports) which offer only a partial and limited view.

Recent developments in the border regions of Jammu owing to conflict situation have, therefore, generated a demand for micro-level studies to have understanding of their sociological implications. Also, a very few studies on migration and displacement have dealt with the issue of ‘forced migration’ and this study will be an addition in the field of sociological studies on migration.

Besides the contribution to the subject of Sociology, the findings in the book will have a direct bearing on the issues of planning and policy making. Its findings would show the role of the government, policy makers, bureaucrats, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and other such agencies and suggest measures to minimize the conflict related problems of the people and to work in the direction of development and peace. In this sense, the present work would not only have relevance for the peace studies but will be useful both at the theoretical as well substantial level.

Methodology

Keeping in view the complexity and broad base of the scope of the study, a number of research methods have been applied. The historical, descriptive and analytical methods have been used to analyze the historical records that have helped in understanding the overall conflict situation in J&K.

Both primary as well as secondary sources of data have been consulted for the present work. The secondary sources include various reports like Census reports, reports of Government of India, reports of International Committee of Red Cross (ICRC), UN, UNIFEM, etc., books, articles published in local, national
and international journals, periodicals as well as the magazines. Another method used is the content analysis of the local newspapers which includes the Daily Excelsior, the Kashmir Times, the Tribune and the Greater Kashmir among others. The content of issues related to armed conflict for the last eight years have been dealt with more specifically.

The methods to collect the primary data have been the pilot study in the form of survey research, interview schedules, in-depth personal interviews and case study. The research was conducted at two stages. In the first stage, a pilot study was taken up in the five forward villages of sector Arnia of Jammu district to select a representative village for an in-depth study while in the second stage, an in-depth study of ‘representative’ village was undertaken to understand the impact of conflict situation. In the first stage therefore, the universe for the survey comprised the forward villages of sector Arnia. In the second stage, the universe for the survey consisted of village ‘Treva’ while the unit of study was ‘family’. In a pilot study, using simple random sampling method, five forward villages lying within a distance of 0-5 kms from the International Border between India and Pakistan were selected. An interview schedule was prepared in Hindi with open ended questions. Fifty respondents from each village under pilot study were taken. After detailed analysis and tabulation of the Interview schedules, village Treva, which is at the heart of Sector Arnia, was chosen for an in-depth study.

A sample of 120 families was drawn for detailed study using simple random sampling method. An Interview schedule with both closed and open ended questions was prepared. Responses were taken from the head of the households who were bearing chief responsibility of managing the affairs of the households and enjoyed decision making power in regard to the households. The respondent could, therefore, be the eldest male or a female in case of absence of the male member.

A very significant input that was sought from the field relates to the narratives of the respondents and elderly persons of the village. This proved useful for obtaining the first hand insights into their experiences. The data thus collected was thoroughly
analyzed and tabulated wherever necessary. In addition, a case study method was also used to do justice with the problem undertaken.

Notes


3. Conflict is defined as a state of opposition, disagreement or incompatibility between two or more people or groups of people, which is sometimes characterized by physical violence. In political terms, “conflict” refers to an on-going state of hostility between two groups of people. Available at: http://www.Answers.com/conflicts.


6. The Uppsala Conflict Data Project defines a major armed conflict as “contested incompatibility that concerns government and/or territory over which the use of armed force between the military forces of two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, has resulted in at least 1000 battle-related deaths in any single year.” *SIPRI Yearbook 2004* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), Appendix 3B, p. 144.


12. Chenoy, n. 8, p. 1


14. Four Geneva Conventions
   
   I Amelioration of the condition of the wounded and sick in armed forces in the field.
   
   II Amelioration of the condition of wounded sick and shipwrecked members of armed forces at sea.
   
   III Treatment of prisoners of war.
   
   IV Protection of civilian persons in time of war (new)
   
   ICRC, *International Humanitarian Law: Answers to your questions*, published by the International Committee of the Red Cross, Regional Delegation in India


16. In the sixth century B.C., the Chinese tacticians and military historian Sun Tzu engaged in insurgency and also analysed it perceptively. Insurgencies occurred during the Peloponnesian wars, 431-404 B.C. Later, insurgent tactics were used by the Romans against Hannibal and by the Gauls against Caesar. The Old Testament describes the use of insurgent methods by Maccabees against the armies of
Syria. Roger’s Rangers used insurgent techniques during the French and Indian Wars. “The term insurgency refers to efforts to obtain political goals by an organized and primarily indigenous group (or groups) using protracted, irregular warfare and allied political techniques…” For details, see: Andrew W. Scott, et al., *Insurgency* (Chapel Hill: University of North California Press, 1970), pp. 3-5.

17. Bose, n. 15, p. 4.
18. Various terms like forced eviction, forced migration, mass exodus or internal displacement have been used to refer to the same phenomena of removal from one’s home against one’s will.
25. For example, as the uprising broke out across the valley in early 1990, approximately, one hundred thousand Kashmiri Pandits left their valley homes for Jammu city and Delhi in a few weeks in February and March, in one of the most controversial episodes of the war in Kashmir. Bose, n.15, p. 120.


Armed Conflict-A Global Perspective

With the demise of the bipolar system of the Cold War, the consensus on how best to ensure global stability also disintegrated. The world has become more complex and dynamics of regional development are on a diverging path. The combination of a transition from an industrial to an information age along with the rapid development of communications, information and weapons technologies in the digital age and the fundamental realignment in the global distribution of power gave a unique cast to world politics in the 1990s.

A trend during the 1990s was the shift from interstate to intrastate conflict and as such there was a gradual disappearance of the interstate or international conflicts. In recent times, most of the conflicts fought are internal in nature. The actual number of wars fought between states had been declining overall, a development that gained impetus with the end of the Cold War. Even so, in excess of 5 million people died as a result of wars fought during the 1990s, more than in any other decade since the end of World War II. More than 90 percent of the casualties were civilians - women, children and the elderly. This record is largely due to a steep increase in the number of intrastate conflicts in ethnic splinter states, transitory states and developing states. Frequently, intrastate conflicts are fought for reasons of ethnicity and identity and are thus marked by excessive violence and unfettered emotional and irrational conduct. As Urmila Phadnis and Rajat Ganguly has rightly observed:
“ETHNICITY IDENTITY, ethnic nationalism, and ethnic conflict are definitely not new phenomena. As one scholar has correctly suggested: ‘from the dawn of history communities organised on putative common descent, culture, and destiny have coexisted, competed and clashed.’ Yet, what is new today is not the existence of competition and conflict among ethnic groups, but their global manifestation. The challenge of ethnic nationalism and ethnic political mobilization is being equally felt by developed and developing states.”

The resurgence of conflicts centered on ethnic claims in the Balkans and the Caucasus, Africa and South Asia has provoked renewed debate among social scientists. Steven R. David observed that of the more than 150 wars occurring after World War II (resulting in the deaths of some 23 million people), the great majority have been internal wars of one type or another. To quote Skjelsbaek and Smith,

“From the beginning of 1990 until the end of 1999, the world saw 118 armed conflicts... Few of these wars have been open clashes between two sovereign states. Most have been civil wars, many of them internationalized through the involvement of outside powers... There are long, slow conflicts, often confined to one region of a country.”

It has been observed that only one-third of internal wars are settled by negotiations as compared to two-thirds of interstate conflicts. The principal reason for the lack of negotiated settlements is that the adversaries, who have to live with each other after the war ends, find it difficult to reach agreements with guarantees they can trust.

It is imperative here to elaborate on the various dimensions of conflict whether internal or external. A conflict situation which occurs between two or more states is considered to be an Interstate conflict whereas, Intra-state conflict occurs between a Government and a Non-Governmental Party, with no interferences
from other countries. Another type of conflict which figures prominently these days is an Intra-state Conflict with Foreign Involvement. It is a conflict within a country between a Government and a Non-Governmental Party; where the government, the opposition or both sides receive troop support from other governments that actively participate in the conflict. There is yet another type of conflict that have recently\(^9\) been developed by the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP). It is called ‘One Sided Violence’ and is used to include genocidal behaviour, massacre and low-scale killing of civilians. The term ‘Genocide’\(^{10}\) was developed by Raphael Lenkia in 1944 from the Greek roots ‘genos,’ meaning nation or tribe, and ‘cide’ meaning killing. Massacre\(^{11}\) as a term lacks definitional clarity. The Colombian Police defines Massacre as at least four people killed in the same place. The UCDP thus defines ‘One Sided Violence’ as the use of armed forces by the Government of a state or by a formally organized group against civilians which results in at least 25 deaths.\(^{12}\) Extra judicial killings in a custody are excluded. There is yet another dimension of conflict called ‘Non State Conflict.’ It is the use of armed force between two organized groups, neither of which results in at least 25 battled deaths.\(^{13}\)

A recent surge in the number of conflicts and wars has been noted in various empirical studies. Gurr (1994) found that for what he calls “ethno-political conflicts” since 1945, the number of on-going ethno-political conflicts in the world doubled from the 1950s to the 1990s and by the end of the period, Gurr studied (1993-1994) 36 of the 50 serious ethno-political conflicts were civilisational. Wallensteen and Axell counted 90 armed conflicts in the period 1989-1993, involving over one-third of the members of the UN. Similarly, the State of War and Peace Atlas of the International Peace Research Institute of Oslo indicates that the period 1990-1995 has seen 70 states involved in 93 wars (primarily civil).\(^{14}\)

**Trends in Armed Conflict, 1990-2007**

As per the findings of Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) compiled in Sipri Yearbook 2004, in the 14-year post-
cold war period 1990-2003, there were 59 different major armed conflicts in 48 different locations. In 2003 there were 19 major armed conflicts in 18 locations throughout the world. This number is slightly lower than the conflicts in 2002; when there were 20 major armed conflicts in 19 locations. In 2003, two inter-state conflicts were active: the conflict between India and Pakistan; and the conflict between Iraq and the United States and its Allies. The proportion of major armed conflicts waged over territory as compared to those over control of Government was roughly the same over the period 1990-2003. Conflicts concerning territory were lower in number than those over government in 1997-2003.

As per the recent findings of UCDP Database, in 2007, 14 major armed conflicts were active in 13 locations around the world. Over the past decade the global number of active major conflicts has declined overall, but the decline has been very uneven, with major drops in 2002 and 2004 and an increase in 2005. Three of the major armed conflicts in 2007 were not active in 2006 (i.e. had not started or had fewer than 25 battle-related deaths): Peru, the Philippines (Mindanao) and Somalia. Three conflicts in 2006 were no longer active in 2007: Burundi, Sudan and Uganda. Four of the major armed conflicts that were active in 2007 increased in intensity compared to 2006: Sri Lanka (Tamil Eelam), Afghanistan, Myanmar (Karen State) and Turkey (Kurdistan). In the latter three, battle-related deaths increased by more than 50 percent. For the fourth consecutive year no interstate conflict was recorded in 2007. Only three major armed conflicts were fought between states during the entire period 1998-2007: Eritrea-Ethiopia (1998-2000); India-Pakistan (1998-2003); and Iraq versus the USA and its allies (2003). The remaining 30 major armed conflicts recorded for this period were all fought within states. Table 2.1 shows the major armed conflicts in the year 2007 while Figure 2.1 shows the regional distribution and total number of major armed conflicts, 1998-2007.
Table No. 2.1.
Major Armed Conflicts in the year 2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Africa</th>
<th>Somalia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>America</td>
<td>Colombia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Myanmar (Karen State)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Philippines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Philippines (Mindanao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sri Lanka (‘Tamil Eelam’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>Russia (Chechnya)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East</td>
<td>Iraq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Israel (Palestinian territories)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Turkey (Kurdistan)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: SIPRI Yearbook 2007*
In 2007 four conflicts were categorized as internationalized—that is, they included troops from a state that was not a primary party to the conflict but was aiding one of the conflict parties. This is an increase of one over the number in 2006. Just as in 2006, all the internationalized conflicts in 2007 were in some way linked to the US-led “Global War on terrorism”. While the major armed conflicts are the most intense and result in largest battle-related death tolls, they only comprise roughly half of all state-based conflicts and about one fourth of all armed conflicts, including non-state actors, mostly in Africa and Asia. Table 2.2 shows the major armed conflicts in the year 2007 as reported by World Refugee Survey of 2007. Table 2.3 lists the recently suspended armed conflicts.
### Table No.2.2

Ongoing Armed Conflicts, 2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main warring parties</th>
<th>Year began</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Middle East</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. and UK vs. Iraq</td>
<td>2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel vs. Palestinians</td>
<td>1948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Asia</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan: U.S., UK, and Coalition Forces vs. al-Qaeda and Taliban</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India vs. Kashmiri separatist groups/Pakistan</td>
<td>1948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India vs. Assam insurgents (various)</td>
<td>1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia vs. Papua (Irian Jaya) separatists</td>
<td>1969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines vs. Mindanaoan separatists (MILP/ASG)</td>
<td>1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka vs. Tamil Eelam</td>
<td>1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Africa</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algeria vs. Armed Islamic Group (GIA)</td>
<td>1991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Côte d’Ivoire vs. rebels</td>
<td>2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Republic of Congo and allies vs. Rwanda, Uganda, and indigenous rebels</td>
<td>1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalia vs. rival clans and Islamist groups</td>
<td>1991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan vs. Darfur rebel groups</td>
<td>2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda vs. Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA)</td>
<td>1986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Europe</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia vs. Chechen separatists</td>
<td>1994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Latin America</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia vs. National Liberation Army (ELN)</td>
<td>1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia vs. Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)</td>
<td>1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia vs. Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia (AUC)</td>
<td>1990</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


(Available at: www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0904550.html)
### Table No.2.3
#### Recently Suspended Armed Conflicts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main warring parties</th>
<th>Years of conflict</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia vs. Christians and Muslims in Molucca Islands</td>
<td>1977–2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel vs. Lebanon</td>
<td>2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia vs. Aceh separatists</td>
<td>1976–2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan vs. Sudanese People's Liberation Army</td>
<td>1983–2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haiti vs. rebel groups</td>
<td>2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberia vs. LURD rebels</td>
<td>2000–2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angola vs. UNITA</td>
<td>1975–2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone vs. RUF</td>
<td>1991–2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chad vs. Muslim separatists (MDJT)</td>
<td>1998–2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taliban vs. Northern Alliance</td>
<td>1995–2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia vs. East Timor</td>
<td>1975–2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tajikistan vs. United Tajik Opposition (UTO)</td>
<td>1992–2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia vs. Eritrea</td>
<td>1998–2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiji vs. insurgents</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Available at www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0904550.html)  
* The Conflict is still going on.
Major Armed Conflicts Across the Globe

Conflicts entail a saga of bloodshed, destruction and never to be met economic losses. We have lessons to learn from the World War I, the World War II and what followed in the absence of the World War III. Joseph S. Nye Jr. observes:

"World War I killed more than 15 million people. In one battle, the Somme, there were 1.3 million killed and wounded. Compare that to 36,000 casualties when Bismarck defeated Austria in 1866. The United States lost about 55,000 each in Korea and in Vietnam. World War I was a horrifying war of trenches, barbed wire, machine guns, and artillery that ground up a generation of Europe’s youth. It not only destroyed people, it destroyed three European empires: The German, Austro-Hungarian, and Russia. Until World War I, the balance of power was centered in Europe. After World War I, Europe still mattered, but the United States and Japan had become major players. World War I also ushered in the Russian Revolution and the beginning of the ideological battles that racked the twentieth century."  

He further observes:

"World War II overshadows all other wars in terms of its human costs, estimated to be between 35 and 50 million people. The war was noted for advance in weaponry. Tanks and Planes that had just been introduced and played an insignificant role in World War I dominated World War II. Radar played a significant role, for example, in the Battle of Britain, one of the turning points in World War II. And at the end of the war, of course, there was the atomic bomb and the draw of the nuclear age."  

Given its violent first half, a most remarkable feature of the second half of the twentieth century was the absence of World War III. Instead, there was a cold war, a period of intense hostility without actual war. Fighting occurred, but it was on the peripheries
and not directly between the United States and The Soviet Union. The Cold War lasted for four decades, from 1947 to 1989. The early stages of the Cold War can be divided into three phases: 1945 to 1947- the gradual onset; 1947 to 1949- the declaration of the Cold War; and 1950 to 1962- the height of the Cold war. The end of the Cold War marked beginning of a “new world order” of which, U.S. President in 1991 spoke of. This new world order was likely to replace the super power rivalry of the Cold War with a system wherein states would cooperate within the framework of international law against aggression and other common threats. It was hoped therefore, that the post Cold-War would be less confrontational and more institutionalized. The present situation is however, quite different from the one expected. Fourteen major armed conflicts going on around the globe bring home the fact that peace remains a reality still to be carved out.

Throughout history, political and military conflicts have been a leading cause of people’s multiple problems and despair. Large scale movement of refugees and other forced immigrants have become a defining characteristic of the contemporary world. Throughout the 1990s, the number of people of concern to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNCHR), including refugees, returnees, internally displaced persons, and others has risen from 17 million in 1990 to 23 million in 1993, and 27 million in 1995, and stabilised at 23 million in 1997. In fact, the twentieth century has been called the century of the refugees. The major occasions of massive dislocations since 1900 include World War I, the Russian Revolution, the Turkish War of Independence, World War II, the partition of the Indian subcontinent, the wars in Middle East following establishment of the state of Israel (1948), the Communist take over of China, the Korean War, the revolutions in Hungary (1956) and Cuba (1959), the Vietnam War and its aftermath, the Soviet Occupation of Afghanistan (1979), Kashmiri’s migration in (1989-90), the Persian Gulf War (1990-91) and in recent times the events surrounding the conflicts in Kosovo, East Timur, Rwanda, Chechnya and Iraq. At the end of 2004, the total number of people displaced within their own countries by conflict or human
rights violations amounted to roughly 25 million. Table 2.4 gives details of the internally displaced persons by the end of 2006.

Amnesty International’s Report 2008, shows that sixty years after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the United Nations, people are still tortured or ill-treated in at least 81 countries, face unfair trials in at least 54 countries and are not allowed to speak freely in at least 77 countries.

Table No.2.4
Internally Displaced Persons, 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>5,355,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>2,900,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>1,700,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>1,200,000–1,700,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>954,000–1,200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo, Dem. Rep. of</td>
<td>1,100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>216,000–800,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Côte d’Ivoire</td>
<td>750,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azerbaijan</td>
<td>579,000–687,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>600,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>570,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>431,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>150,000–420,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>400,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>305,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>100,000–280,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>150,000–250,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>222,000–241,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia</td>
<td>228,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepal</td>
<td>100,000–200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>82,000–190,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosnia and Herzegovina</td>
<td>180,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central African Republic</td>
<td>150,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Africa

Africa remains a continent being most affected by the ongoing intrastate conflicts. There have recently been numerous civil wars and conflicts going in Africa. In 2007, close to half of the people displaced worldwide by conflict were in Africa, spread over across 20 countries. Some of the conflicts going on in 2007 include those in Algeria, Cote d’Ivoire, Somalia, Sudan, Uganda and Democratic Republic of Congo. Conflicts in Angola, Sudan vs. Sudanese people’s Liberation Army, Liberia, Chad, Burundi, Ethiopia and Sierra Leone have been suspended of late. Table 2.3 gives the details of the suspended conflicts. It is imperative to elaborate on the important developments that have occurred in the African conflicts.

Burundi is a small republic, landlocked between Tanzania to the East and South, Rwanda to the North, and the Democratic Republic of Congo to the West. It has an estimated population of 6 million. In the pre-colonial times; the Tutsi and Hutu in Burundi were occupationally defined groups. In addition to these two, about less than 1 percent of the Burundian consisted of the Twa. The background of the conflict in Burundi is one where a dominating Tutsi class wanted to maintain its power by denying the other two classes access to society’s basic institutions. Given the hostile relations between the two dominant groups from the beginning, conflict began in October 1993 when elements in the Tutsi army, angered at the June election of a Hutus President, Melchoir Ndadaye staged a coup and assassinated Burundi’s first freely elected president. On June 11, 1998, President Buyoya became the first president under a new constitution that promoted the sharing of power between the main Tutsi and Hutu political parties. Arusha Accord for Peace and Reconciliation in Burundi was signed that created a transition government in which Buyoya’s vice president, a Hutu, was to become President. Tensions between the minority Tutsi and the Hutus (estimated to be 85 percent of Burundi’s population) over the distribution of power within the Government deteriorated into civil war. The two biggest armed Hutu Groups- the FDD, estimated to number around 10,000
fighters; and the FNL, with around 2000 fighters did not participate in the Peace process initiated by the former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere and subsequently by Nelson Mandela of South Africa. They criticized the South African facilitation team for having a pro-Tutsi bias. The transitional government made several attempts to involve the two rebel groups in the peace processes. Fresh fighting however broke between the transitional government and the two rebel groups in June 2003. Between 14 and 20 June, FDD rebels attacked and abducted several politicians and clashed with government troops in Northern Kayanza province, forcing 43000 people to flee from their homes because of fear. FNL rebels, who refused to recognize Burundi’s transitional government launched a series of attacks on the capital Bujumbura between 7 and 13 July, causing some 200 deaths. Since 2000, one of the two main rebel groups absent from the Arusha talks, the CNDD-FDD (Nkuruziza) agreed to cease fire (December 2000) and participated in the transitional government (November 2000) while the FNL remained intransigent. Following delay in holding post Arusha elections, referendum to adopt the new Constitution was held in February 2005 in which 90 percent of the registered voters participated in its favour. Fresh elections were held in July 2005 and Pierre Nkurunziza took over as the new President. At present, the conflict is however suspended. The conflict is reported to have taken 2000,000 lives while dispersing and displacing 600,000.

Conflict in Uganda, a landlocked country in East Africa continues to generate reports of abuses by both the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) and Ugandan Army. The Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) numbering around 4,000 fighters, claims to fight for the establishment of a Christian regime based on the Ten Commandments and makes extensive use of child soldiers. LRA intensified its 16 years campaign in Northern Uganda to overthrow the government of President Yoweri Museveni. By early 2003, optimism was growing that the years of fighting may soon come to an end. Oxfam International in its Press Release, however, reported that 18 years of conflict in Uganda could not be solved in 18 days. The LRA declared a cease-fire and initiated peace talks with the government that failed following the LRA’s claim
to sign a peace deal after the charges against their leader, Joseph Kony and four other leaders issued by the International Criminal Court (ICC) in October 2005 be dropped in. As per the data recorded in SIPRI year book 2004, the conflict between the LRA and the Ugandan Government has claimed the lives of 7000 people, and more than 1 million people have been internally displaced. International Rescue committee in its report claimed that by April 2005, the number of displaced had almost tripled in the last two years increasing from 450,000 in early 2002 to 1.4 million in 2005.

Sudan, the largest country in Africa, has been plagued by a succession of unstable civilian and military governments since it gained independence in 1956 from an Anglo-Egyptian condominium. The long running conflict continues between the Arab Muslim northerners of Sudan, (the base of the government), and African Christians of the south. Following the imposition of Sharia Law in 1983 under President Nimeri, the conflict escalated. The People’s Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A), active in the south, increased its attacks on the north to the level of full-scale civil war in the mid-1980s. Negotiations between the government and the political wing of SPLMA took place in 1988/9 but were overtaken by events when General Omar Hassan Ahmad al Bashir took power in the military coup in June 1989. In the 1990s government forces launched aerial bombardments on civilian targets in southern Sudan. It is estimated that more than 1.2 million people have been killed bringing devastation to the Sudanese economy. According to the World Refugee Survey, 2007, by the end of 2006, nearly 5,355,000 people had been displaced.

Côte d’Ivoire, descended into civil war on 19 September 2002 when 800 armed soldiers attacked military installations in the capital Abidjan and the Northern towns to oust President Laurent Gbagbo and protested against their planned demobilization from the army in early 2003. The majority of the soldiers had been recruited during the military regime of General Robert Guei who was replaced by Gbagbo in the presidential elections of October 2000. Although security forces regained control of the capital,
the rebels held the towns of Bouake and Korhogo. The offensive expanded further in the North and West of the country and within a few weeks the rebels calling themselves the Patriotic Movement of Cote d’Ivoire (MPCI) - controlled the northern half of the country. Two other groups were formed in November 2002- the Movement for Justice and Peace (MJP) and the Ivorian Popular movement of the Great West (MPIGO). All these groups demanded the resignation of President Gbagbo. More than 1000 people have been killed and over 1 million have been displaced since the out break of violence. However, battle related deaths did not exceed 1,000 in any single year.

In Liberia, the conflict between the Liberian Government and two rebel groups – Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) and the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) – has claimed more than 2000 lives and displaced nearly half of Liberia’s 2.8 million citizens. The war has destroyed most of Liberia’s infrastructure, and approximately 85 percent of the population is unemployed. The main rebel group, LURD, numbering around 3000 fighters, has been active in Northern Lofa county since 1999, MODEL; a breakaway faction of around 1000 former LURD fighters began incursions into Liberia from Cote d’Ivoire in 2003. Conflict with the LURD rebels got suspended in 2003 following which “between November 2004 and April 2007, an inter-agency operation assisted some 326,990 IDPs to return to their places of origin. The vast majority of these (321,634) had returned by the end of March 2006 and the camps were formally declared closed and assistance discontinued in April 2006.”31

In Algeria, large scale internal displacement caused by internal conflict has ravaged the country since the early 1990s. The European Union estimated in 2002 that violence had displaced one million people while the local media put up the number as high as 1.5 million.32 In Angola, since April 2002, most of the four million IDPs have resettled, integrated or gone home following the signing of a ceasefire agreement between the governing MPLA and UNITA, which marked the end of 27 years of civil war. In November 2005 government estimated that there
were still some 60,000 IDPs in Angola. In Cabinda, a strip of Angolan territory bordered by the Republic of Congo and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), the initial circumstances that led to the initial displacement still prevail and although the Angolan army claims that the security situation is stable, many displaced people are afraid to return home. As of December 2005, there were still close to 20,000 IDPs in Cabinda. Sierra Leone has seen serious and grotesque human rights violations since 1991 when the civil war erupted and lasted until 2002. The brutal conflict has its roots in years of misrule and the civil war in neighbouring Liberia. It is fuelled by diamond wealth—the infamous “blood diamonds” and long standing resentment among the people of the poor rural interior against the richer ruling class in the costal capital, Freetown. According to Human Rights Watch, over 50,000 people have been killed till date, with over one million people having been displaced. In Somalia, throughout 2007 and 2008, the security and humanitarian situation continued to deteriorate. Fighting between the Traditional Federal Government (TFG) forces and their Ethiopian allies and insurgents including the Islamic Courts Union has led to the displacement on a scale never before witnessed in the country. Displacement caused by insecurity and conflict has continued in and around Mogadishu, with the IDP population inside Somalia has risen sharply to a staggering 1 million. Children in Southern Somalia are suffering from recruitment and abduction into militias, displacement from their villages and other ill effects of an increase in violence and instability in the region.

America

Latin America’s conflicts forced millions of people, mainly indigenous or marginalized rural groups from their homes over the past five decades. Uprising in response to extreme structural inequality led to brutal responses by national armies and allied militia groups causing a massive wave of displacement that peaked in the 1980s and then gradually receded in the first half of the 1990s. By 2007, most of these conflicts had ended paving the way for the return of resettlement of the uprooted people. The
Colombia, was in 2007, the only country in the region with a growing internal displacement problem. The conflict between the Colombian government and two leftist rebel groups— the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and the National Liberation Army (ELN) – that began in the late 1960s intensified in 2003. FARC and the ELN claim to a wage legitimate war against an unjust state. FARC, with approximately 18,000 fighters of a stronghold in the South, and the ELN, comprising approximately 35,000 fighters based mainly in Northern Colombia remains rivals despite occasional joint operations. A complicating factor in the conflict has been the emergence of paramilitary groups and their right-wing umbrella organization, the United Self Defence Forces of Colombia (AUC), formed by traffickers and landowners with the declared aim to eradicate FARC and the ELN. The conflict has claimed the lives of almost 60,000 people giving rise to the second largest IDP population in the world after Sudan. In other countries such as Peru, Guatemala and El Salvador however, armed conflict ended more than a decade ago.

Asia

In Asia, the most noted conflicts are going on in Afghanistan-Pakistan, India and Sri Lanka. Afghanistan has experienced Civil war since the late 1970’s. Unlike other conflicts in the region which arose principally from hostilities among their constituent nationalities, Afghanistan’s war has largely been the product of external interventions. Afghanistan became “hot” theatre in Cold War, with U.S. backing conservative resistance to tie down Soviet army. With the Soviet invasion (1978-89), the Pakistan army promoted Islamsit radicals like Hekmatyar, with U.S. and Saudi support to dislodge the Soviet forces. ISI was the agency to fight the Russians and to build an Islamic Afghanistan; the Taliban came out of this approach. The Pakistan Army-ISI-Taliban aimed to recreate the Caliphate and to bring democracy and secularism to an end in the Middle-East and South Asia.38

The Taliban emerged as a force in Afghan politics in 1994 in
the midst of a civil war between forces in Northern and Southern Afghanistan. In 1996, the Taliban captured Kabul, the Afghan capital, and took control of the national government. In the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, the Bush Administration formed a multinational coalition that drove the Taliban from power who controlled about 90 percent of Afghanistan’s territory. Despite its ouster, however, remnants of the Taliban have maintained influence in rural regions, South and East of Kabul. The group is known for having provided safe heaven to Osama Bin Laden and Al-Qaeda as well as for its rigid interpretation of Islamic laws.

Clashes between Taliban and Coalition forces increased manifold in 2008, highlighting the Taliban’s resurgence and complicating efforts by NATO & U.S. forces to stabilize the country. The Taliban created by Pakistan to colonise Afghanistan has become, to quote the head of Barack Obama’s Afghan policy review Bruce Riedel, “jihadist Frankenstein monster... trying to take over laboratory.”

Pakistan is facing terrorism in its most brutal form. Riddled with ethnic divisions, Pakistan has always struggled with democracy and now is in the grip of sectarianism, extremism and terrorism. U.S. supported and used Pakistan against Soviet invasion in Afghanistan. In the process U.S. scrupulously ignored the Afghan Taliban and Al-Qaeda leadership gathering in the tribal areas of Pakistan.

Pakistani Taliban militants developed their own political agenda to create a new “Sharia State” that would lead to the balkanization of Pakistan. The writ of the State was never fully established in the tribal areas but situation started deteriorating during the rule of Pervez Musharraf who had signed six agreements, to buy peace, virtually surrendering to Taliban groups and abdicating the authority of the Pakistan state. The Pakistani Taliban now controls all the seven tribal agencies that make up the autonomous region bordering Afghanistan called the Federal
Administrated Tribal Areas (FATA) and further spread across the North West Frontier Province (NWFP).

There were 2148 terrorist and sectarian attacks in 2008, a dramatic 746 per cent increase since 2005. Three prominently Punjab based sectarian Deobandi/Wahbibi outfits backed by the ISI—Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, the Sipah-e-Sahiba and the Jaish-e-Mohammed—have joined the Taliban to wage jihad in Afghanistan and taken on Pakistan’s Army in the NWFP. They have also waged war on Shias, destroying mosques across the country provoking strong protest from Iran.40 Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan Chief Baitullah Mehsud had recently threatened to carry out two suicide attacks a week to avenge US drone attacks in the country’s tribal areas. He also claimed responsibility for the terrorist siege of a police training centre near Lahore and a suicide attack on a Special Branch office in Islamabad.

Pakistan today faces not just a political, security and economic nightmare but a social collapse too. The recent flogging incident of a 17-year old girl in Swat is a case in point. Prominent security experts have sounded dire warnings that Pakistan could well become a failed state soon. David Kilcullen, a counter-terrorism specialist and former US military advisor, has said that could be as soon as six months.

In India, conflict has been uneven across time and space. Historically, it has accelerated at certain junctures, as part of state policy, in response to specific events such as Khalistan movement in Punjab and other secessionist movements. Spatially, it has surfaced intermittently in some regions like Kashmir, the North-East and Assam. The clearest and perhaps the most significant interstate conflict going on is the continuing 62 year struggle between Pakistan and India over the status of Kashmir. In addition to its stand-off with Pakistan over Kashmir, India continues to suffer internal ethnic and religious conflicts. The North-East has been the most continuously militarized region in India after
independence. The common problems of economic underdevelopment, exploitation of natural resources by “outsiders” and environmental degradation in the seven states of the North-East have lead to a notion of perceived “backwardness” amongst the severely alienated people that lead to the rise of armed pressure to redraw state boundaries to create a Naga tribal state.

Inter-ethnic hostility has increased sharply in Assam where Bodo militants have been demanding a separate state for themselves within Assam. ULFA, a terrorist group which has been fighting for Assam’s secession by resorting to violence, massacres, extortions and attacks on crude oil pipelines, trains and government buildings is suspected to be behind all three major incidents of bomb blasts in January & March 2009 in Assam. Both ULFA and Harkat-ul-Jihad-ul-Islami (HuJI) in Assam have linkages in Bangladesh and Pakistan. The Government of India had banned ULFA in 1990 and classifies it as a terrorist group, while the US State Department lists it under “Other groups of concern.”

Naxalism is other serious threat India is facing. India’s Prime Minister Manmohan Singh recently described Maoist rebels as the biggest single internal security threat the country has ever faced. From the peasant uprising in Naxalbari village in Darjeeling district of West Bengal in May 1967, the movement is today a complex web. A recent study titled ‘Unique Forests’ indicates how after the formation of CPI (Maoists), the Naxalites spread their activities at the rate of two districts a week. They started in 2003 with 55 districts in nine states and had crossed 155 districts in 15 states by 2005.41

In the last two decades, the Maoists have made steady progress into less developed areas of rural central and eastern India, such as Chhattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh. They now have a presence in 40% of India’s geographical area and are especially concentrated
in an area known as the “Naxal Belt,” comprising 92,000 square kilometers. Their greatest gains have been in the districts of Dantewara and Bastar, part of which they hope will one day be the “Dandakaranya Liberated Zone” a solid base from which to launch a countrywide insurrection. In the recent Assembly and Lok Sabha elections, the Naxalities had given a clear warning that people should refrain from casting votes. A similar diktat was issued by area commander Ganesh Uekh at a rally of 8000 to 10,000 people inside the forest of the Dantewada district neighboring Orrissa.

In Sri Lanka, The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE) have been fighting for a separate state for ethnic Tamils in Sri Lanka’s north and east since 1983 in a war that has killed more than 70,000 people. Given the multi-ethnic character of Sri Lanka with Sinhalese (74.6%), Sri Lankan Tamils (12.6%), Indian Tamils (5.5%), Muslims (7.4%), Moors (7.1%) and Malays (0.3%), the construction of a Sinhala-Buddhist identity that asserted into its political and ideological hegemony and a narrow ruling class that jealousy guarded this privilege were major inputs into this conflict.

Although the Tamil Tigers abandoned their quest for full independence during the first session of peace talks in February 2002, they continue to demand substantial autonomy terrorizing the civil life. Fighting inflicts severe structural damage as farms are bobby-trapped and plantations become mine-fields. Thousands of farms and work places have been destroyed, and irrigation systems, traditional occupations, schools, hospitals and basic infrastructure damaged. Direct economic production has been severely affected by the civil war.

Sri Lankan President Rajapakse has shown grit in dealing with the LTTE. Government troops have captured vast swaths of rebel territory in a massive military campaign in recent months. The troops dealt a major blow to the LTTE in April 2009 and
captured Mullaitivu and Puthukkudiyiruppu, where the rebels have maintained several military and naval bases and armoury over the past three decades. Now, the rebels are trapped with the civilians in an area that measures just 20 square kilometers. U.S. experts estimate that there are more than 100,000 trapped civilians.

The Sri Lankan army may claim that it has broken the back of the LTTE by wresting control of the north-eastern district of Mullaitivu which it says was the Tamil militants outfit’s “last bastion”, but until its leader Prabhakaran is captured dead or alive, there can be no finality about it.44

The challenges before President Rajapakse are manifold. Over 65,000 internally displaced people have entered government-held areas since the start of 2009 and are temporarily housed in welfare centres and villages in the northern Vavuniya, Mannar and Jaffna districts. The Tamils who have lost their means of livelihood and their homes in the fratricidal war between the army and the LTTE are sorely in need of rehabilitation.

**Bangladesh**

Bangladesh (earlier known as East Pakistan) emerged as an independent and sovereign country in 1971 following a nine month war of liberation. It is one of the largest deltas of the world with a total area of 147,570 sq km. With a unique communal harmony, Bangladesh has a population of about 140 million, making it one of the densely populated countries of the world.45 Engulfed with problems like overpopulation and inadequate nutrition, health, and education resources; a low standard of living, land scarcity, and vulnerability to natural disaster; virtual absence of valuable natural resources yet the brief history of independent Bangladesh offers positive picture than Pakistan. Bangladesh army has not been as keen to side with Islamists as Pakistani security agencies. The recent Bangladesh Rifles (BDR) revolt was quelled easily. Both Indian and international attention has focused on Pakistan
as an incubator of terror, but there are worrisome signs that Bangladesh too can be destabilized by the growth of fundamentalist networks if not checked firmly.

Europe

In Europe, some 2.5 million people continued to be internally displaced mainly in the Caucasus and the Balkans and also in Turkey and Cyprus. Russia fought two full-scale nasty, brutal wars with separatist forces in Chechnya after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the result of which saw the small, mountainous territory gain de facto independence from Moscow. But violence and lawlessness continued and in 1999, with the influence of Islamic militants on the rise, Russian troops re-entered the republic. By the end of 2003, approximately 10,000 people had died and around 160,000 internally displaced in Chechnya. Pacifying Chechnya became a key goal of Vladimir Putin, who acceded to the Russian presidency in 2000. The situation has largely stabilised in recent years under strongman pro-Moscow local leader Ramzan Kadyrov. Russia’s decade-long war in Chechnya came to a symbolic end on April 16, 2009 as restrictions labeling the region a “zone of counter-terrorist operations” were lifted.

The Middle East

Ongoing conflicts in the Middle East and accompanying widespread human rights violations causing large scale forced displacements include the internal conflict and sectarian violence in many Middle East countries primarily among them are Iraq, Palestine-Israel, Northern Yemen, Lebanon & Jordan.

The conflict between the government of Israel, the Palestine Authority (PA) and various militant Islamic groups like Islamic Jihad and Hamas originates in the war of 1948-49 when the disputed territory was divided into three sections: the State of Israel, the West Bank and the Gaza strip. Israel occupied the West Bank and the Gaza Strip following the Six-Day War of June 1967
and since then, the Palestinians have sought for the control of the occupied territories. Many attempts have been made to broker a two-state solution, which would entail the creation of an independent Palestinian state next to the State of Israel. Most Palestinians view the West Bank and Gaza Strip as constituting the area of their future state, which is a view also accepted by most Israelis. A handful of academics advocate a one-state solution, whereby all of Israel, the Gaza Strip, and West Bank would become a bi-national state with equal rights for all.46

Jordan has historically been a safe heaven in a highly troubled region receiving waves of Palestinian refugees since 1948 and now struggling to accommodate displaced Iraqis. There are essentially four wars going on in Iraq: one is Shia-on-Shia, principally in the south; the second is sectarian conflict, principally in Baghdad; third is the insurgency; and fourth is Al-Qaeda. Insurgent attacks have become a part of the daily lives in some sections of Iraq since the fall of Saddam Hussein in 2003. Although about 80% of insurgent attacks are targeted against coalition forces, the Iraqi population suffered about 80% of all casualties according to the US officials in late 2005.47 The number of civilians reported to have been killed during the Iraq war and subsequent military presence is being recorded by the campaign group Iraq Body Count. On 15 October 2006, it put the total number of reported civilian dead as 41,744 to 46,668 and the number of police personnel dead as 2,578.48

From the aforesaid discussion, it is clear that the world is in the grip of wars. Be it Asia or Africa, Europe or the Middle East, ongoing conflicts are the stark-reality around the globe. Some of these conflicts are fought over territory while the others are waged over the control of the government. Be it an interstate conflict or intrastate, both remain a threat for international peace and security. However, the major armed conflicts in today’s world are intra-
state and the consequences of such conflicts are no longer confined to the immediate neighbourhood of the warring states.

In almost all the on-going conflicts, there is an increasing involvement of the civilian population. Be it a conflict over territory or for the change of government, the extent of loss suffered by the civilians by way of death toll, destruction of the existing infrastructure comprising society, houses, health, education and work systems is tremendous. Once a state starts to spiral into armed conflict, its institutions and frameworks inevitably respond, if they are capable of doing so, by mobilizing for war. In the short term at least, wider political, economic and social development is halted. Whatever the capability of the state, the possibility of 'normal' state functioning during internal conflict is impossible. In this context, new sources of tension and dispute are created and the termination of conflict becomes even more difficult. As a result, situations like this continue to erode the social fabric of the society paralyzing the normal life of a common man.

When analysed from the global perspective, conflict in India exhibits a multidimensional character. On one hand India fights her neighbouring state Pakistan over the contested territory of Kashmir while on the other it continues to suffer internal ethnic and religious conflicts. The conflict in J&K has been dragged for more than sixty two years now which climaxed in August 2008 with unprecedented violence protests by hundreds of thousands against Indian rule. Nevertheless, the seven-phased election for the 89-seat strong State Assembly saw an unprecedented high voter turnout of 61.5 per cent in spite of a boycott provoked by the separatists. The elections were held in the backdrop of the Amarnath land row. Semblance of normalcy is being observed in every quarter of Kashmir and decision of a leading Kashmiri separatist, Sajad Gani Lone of People’s Conference to contest Lok Sabha Elections mark a radical departure for the movement which has until now boycotted polls.
Notes


6. Armed Conflict may have various dimensions like interstate conflict, intrastate conflict; inter state conflict with foreign involvement, one sided violence and non state conflict. Available at [http://www.cred.be](http://www.cred.be).

7. The Uppsala Conflict Data Program defines interstate Conflict as a conflict between two or more governments. The parties which first stated the incompatibility are government parties. The existence of government parties on both sides of a conflict is not enough to conclude that it is an interstate conflict as it can also be an intrastate with foreign involvement. For details, see [http://www.pcr.uu.se](http://www.pcr.uu.se)

8. These are the conflicts over territory and usually manifest in a struggle by an opposition group against the recognised government with a view towards independent statehood—e.g. conflicts in Indonesia (Aceh), Angola (Cabinda), Russia (Chechnya), etc. These conflicts may also be fought for control over government. Conflicts fought over the control of government are marked by the lack of any one goal on the part of the opposition forces. It may include
factors such as ethnic rivalry; access to control and distribution of resources; relative lack of representative systems of governances. These types of multi-dimensional conflicts are the most predominant.

9. This definition was developed in the year 2002.

10. UN Convention on Genocide (UNCG), defines it as, "...Genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or part, a national, ethничal, racial or religious group, such as

(a) killing members of the group;

(b) causing bodily or mental harms to members of the group;

(c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or part;

(d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;

(e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.


11. The Colombian Human Rights Ombudsman defines massacre as at least three people killed in the same action.


13. Ibid.


20. The data is available at [www.idpproject.org](http://www.idpproject.org)


22. The Twa are a pygmyoid people always considered by the Tutsi and Hutu to be third-class citizens.

23. For details, see: [http://www.survivorsrightsinternational.org/ms_word_files/Burundi.Genocide.doc](http://www.survivorsrightsinternational.org/ms_word_files/Burundi.Genocide.doc)

24. For the background on the conflict in Burundi, see the documentary- “Burundi: Genocide and Transition.” Available at [http://www.survivorsrightsinternational.org/ms_word-files/Burundi.doc](http://www.survivorsrightsinternational.org/ms_word-files/Burundi.doc)

25. [http://www.news.bbb.co.UK](http://www.news.bbb.co.UK)


29. To quote UN Under Secretary General for Humanitarian Affairs, Jan Egeland, “It is a moral outrage… I cannot find any other part of the world that is having an emergency on the scale of Uganda that is getting such little international focus.”

30. International Rescue Committee, Member’s Briefings: 14 April, 2005.

31. UNCHR, 24 July, 2007, pp. 7, 9-10


33. United Nations Transitional Coordination Unit (UN-TCU), November 21, 2005.

34. Ibid.


41. The Tribune, April 11, 2009

42. Ramchandra Guha, “People vs people.” Available at: www.cgnet.in/N1/ramguha/document_view

43. To quote Chenoy, “The Sinhala-Tamil Ethnic Conflict has dragged on for over fifteen years now, without let and without a solution in sight. It has of course bitterly divided the Sinhala and minority Tamil Communities, but every one has been sucked into the vortex of attack, counter
attack, killing and fleeing. It has led to the aiming of the Srilankan state to curb a civil war that threatens to rip apart the fabric of Srilankan society, has resulted in widespread human rights abuses and gendered crime, and militarized both states, civil society.”


Editorial, “No room for complacency”, The Tribune, April 9, 2009

National web Portal of Bangladesh. Available at: (www.bangladesh.gov.bd).


Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/5052138.stm

Ibid
Genesis of Conflict in J&K

For more than six decades now, India and Pakistan have been arguing and periodically coming to blows over one of the most beautiful places in the world, Kashmir, which the Mughal emperors thought of as ‘Paradise on earth’. Conflict in J&K remains to be one of the most in traceable and long standing conflicts in the world embedded in deep complexity in terms of its origin, dimensions and manifestations.

Kashmir conflict has a long and complicated history. The deep-seated disagreement over the issue of Kashmir has become progressively more hostile as it has been linked to national pride and national identity to both India and Pakistan. As a result, India controls about 45% of the state area, Pakistan controls 35% and rest (20%) is controlled by China. Jointly, Pakistan and China controls 55% of the state area and the conflict goes on till date.

The conflict has many narratives and what might be called the master narratives of the two countries differ a good deal but both countries agree that Kashmir is the focal point of the conflict and like most of the conflicts, the one between India and Pakistan too, is driven to a great extent by contending, value laden scholarly inputs. Nevertheless, these scholarly inputs, subjective or otherwise, have come handy in our understanding of the entire situation.

The roots of the Conflict

The State of Jammu and Kashmir came into being as a single political and geographical entity following the Treaty of Amritsar signed between the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh on March 16, 1846. The Treaty handed over the control of the Kashmir State to the Dogra rulers of Jammu who were already controlling the Ladakh region.
In 1947, India gained its independence from the British rule. The British, under their Indian Independence Act of 1947 declared that no princely state could stay independent and that each princely state had to choose to be ruled either by India or Pakistan. India Independent Act, 1947 stated that the Governor-General shall by order make such provision as appears to him to be necessary or expedient: (a) for bringing the provisions of this Act into effective operation; (b) for dividing between the New Dominions, and between the new Provinces to be constituted under this Act, the powers, rights, property, duties and liabilities of the Governor-General of Council or, as the case may be, of the relevant Provinces which, under this Act, are to cease to exist.

The Act passed by the British parliament on July 16, 1947 also provided for the lapse of the British government over the Indian states and the termination of all agreements, treaties or obligations. Lord Mountbatten advised the states to join either India or Pakistan and explained that “geographic situation and communal interests” will be the factors to be considered while deciding accession by the rulers of the states. The Independence Act made provisions for the temporary continuation of customs, transit and communications, posts and telegraphs but Lord Mountbatten once again urged the princes to enter into standstill agreements with the future authorities of India and Pakistan to make arrangements about such matters. However, despite seeming simplicity of these principles, they were not easily applicable to Jammu and Kashmir (J&K).

J&K was one of the 562 princely States of India over which the British paramountcy lapsed on August 15, 1947. Out of these 562 princely States, only three States that is, Hyderabad, Junagadh and Kashmir did not choose within the time limit a dominion to join. Entirely surrounded by Indian territory, the state of Hyderabad was the largest of the princely states in pre-independence India. The ruler of Hyderabad, Asaf Jah VII (Osman Ali Khan Bahadur), was the highest-ranking prince in India who was also one of the only five princes entitled to a 21-gun salute. He was a Sunni Muslim of Turk ethnicity who held the unique title of “Nizam”
and was also declared as richest man in the world by the Time magazine in its edition of February 22, 1937. The nizam opted to continue independent status rather than join India. On November 29, 1947 he signed a standstill agreement with India to last for one year. Difficulties persisted but the nizam continued his efforts to assert his autonomy. It was after the failure of prolonged negotiations with the nizam that government of India decided to resort to the limited military operation which resulted in the integration of the state of Hyderaband into India.

The Muslim Nawab of Junagadh ruled over a million people with Hindus forming the 80 percent. The Nawab of Junagadh, guided by his Diwan, Sir Shah Nawaz Bhattu (the father of Zulfikar Ali Bhattu), ignoring the feelings of his Hindu population decided to accede to Pakistan. The Indian government did not accept the decision, blockaded Junagadh and then invaded it. Subsequently, plebiscite was held and people chose to accede to India.

For J&K, which was being claimed by both India and Pakistan, the problem was complicated. Apart from territorial claims, the possession of J&K, a Muslim-majority state, had significance both for India and Pakistan though for different reasons. Pakistan claimed this territory as 72% of the subjects were Muslims. India wanted the Muslim majority territory of Kashmir as an emblem of her secularism. The state had a predominantly Muslim population and a Hindu ruler, the state enjoyed closer geographical proximity to Pakistan and economic linkages were already present. The ruler, a descendant of Maharaja Gulab Singh, was Maharaja Hari Singh who was inclined to declare Kashmir an independent state with himself as the monarch. While the Muslim League of J&K desired Kashmir to become part of Pakistan, Sheikh Mohd Abdullah, the leader of National Conference was opposed to Kashmir becoming a part of Pakistan. Maharaja was fully conscious that being himself a Hindu ruler, not only his position but even his throne would be in jeopardy if he acceded to the theocratic state of Pakistan. Maharaja offered a "standstill agreement" on August 14 to India and Pakistan as he
wanted some more time to make up his mind. According to it, the existing arrangements were to continue pending settlements of details. Pakistan accepted the agreement but India apprehending that it held the upper hand chose to temporize. Under this agreement, Pakistan assumed charge of the post and telegraph system of the state. It also undertook the supply of foodstuffs and other essential commodities. The deliberate dithering of Maharaja and his having kept leaders of both the Muslim Conference and the National Conference in prison generated internal disturbances in Jammu & Kashmir.6

On 15th August, the British restored the Gilgit Agency to J&K and three days later the Radcliffe Award, which gave India a road link with Jammu and Kashmir through Gurdaspur in Punjab was announced. Pakistan knew that the political cards were stacked against it. At the popular level, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah’s National Conference was aligned with the Congress. At the governmental level, the Dogra Maharaja was bound to go with India if his first preference for independence was thwarted.7

Pakistan’s counter advantage lay in geography. India’s only link with the valley was Pathankot-Jammu-Banihal-Srinagar road which, at Banihal Pass, was snow bound half the year. On the other hand, there were two good all-weather roads from Pakistan’s side to valley and another good road as well as a rail line from Sialkot to Jammu. Pakistan, therefore, decided on the military option. The ‘Standstill Agreement’ was violated. Pakistan refused to honour its obligation to the Standstill Agreement and cut off the supply of petrol, wheat, salt, kerosene oil and cloth.8 As if the economic blockade was not enough to coerce Kashmir into accession, it started applying pressure on Kashmir in various other ways. Armed groups from the border districts of Pakistan continued infiltration into Kashmir throughout September 1947 while the state forces were engaged in maintaining law and order arising out of the mass migration of people from Pakistan and India and vice-versa.9

On 22nd October 1947, a full-scale tribal invasion was launched. The tribesmen10 were operating under the overall
command of Akbar Khan, a Major General in Pakistan. Muzaffarabad was captured on 22 October enroute Srinagar. The tribesmen, instead of marching towards Srinagar, wasted valuable time in looting and burning the bazaars of Muzaffarabad. Another Column of 2000 tribesmen captured Domel - gateway of Kashmir Valley – on October 23. After capturing Uri, the raiders entered Baramulla on October 26 and started killing Non-Muslims and looting and burning of homes and raping of women. On October 24, the Mohara Power Station was captured by the raiders and Srinagar city was plunged into darkness.

The Maharaja realized the gravity of the situation. On October 24, he approached the Government of India for military assistance to repulse the raiders. The Indian leaders including Nehru, Patel and others were advised by Mountbatten not to send in troops without first securing the accession of J&K to India since military intervention prior to accession would, in legal terms, be an Indian invasion of a neutral territory. Accordingly, the beleaguered Maharaja signed the formal “Instrument of Accession” to India.

Following the Instrument of Accession of Kashmir to India, the first Contingent of the Indian air-borne troops landed on October 27, 1947 at the Srinagar airport. The principal military unit that was sent to the state, 161st Infantry Brigade, succeeded in arresting the advance of the Pakistan-backed forces. Indian forces also saved the strategic town of Leh from falling into the enemy’s hands.

On October 30, 1947, an emergency government was formed in the state with Sheikh Mohd Abdullah as its head. The government supported the decision of Maharaja to join India and helped combat advancing Pakistani forces. On November 1, Lord Mountbatten, Governor General of India, went to Lahore where he suggested M.A. Jinnah that a plebiscite could be held under the auspices of the United Nations. Jinnah rejected the offer and instead proposed that he and Mountbatten should have plenary power to control and supervise the plebiscite. The talks thus broke down when bilateral efforts to resolve the dispute failed and India took the issue to the UN Security Council on January 1,
1948. This was taken as an issue of International peace. Thus, the offer of holding plebiscite in the state under the auspices of the United Nations was out-rightly rejected by Pakistan itself at a very early stage. The conflict was discussed in the U.N. Security Council and on January 20, 1948, Resolution 39 was passed. Among various resolutions of the UN, the key resolution is the one passed by the UN Security Council on April 21, 1948, asking for a ceasefire. A UN Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) was also established to work out the arrangements for the ceasefire line (CFL) which later started being commonly referred to as the LoC. The ceasefire left one-fifth of the J&K State in the possession of Pakistan. Thus, the territorial and ideological nature of the conflict between India and Pakistan over J&K also acquired the added dimension of border dispute. The continued contention over Kashmir which started way back in 1947 has dragged India and Pakistan into three full scale wars, low intensity wars and artillery duels from time to time affecting the lives of the families in various parts of state especially those at the border between India and Pakistan.

‘India-Pakistan Wars’ is, in fact, the name given to the series of conflicts between India and Pakistan since 1947 when the Indian subcontinent was partitioned and the two countries became independent of Great Britain. Since then, the entire state has been passing through a state of turmoil. Situation, at times, become extremely tense adding to the miseries of the people of the state in general and in specific to those living at the IB and LoC. The most violent outbreaks came in the year 1947-48, 1965, 1971 and 1999. The partition accompanied by communal riots forced nearly 12 million people to move to the either side. In partition-related displacement in the state, nearly 15,000 people fled from the adjoining areas of Pakistan, mostly from Sialkot district. There are different estimates regarding the number of refugees in India. The Indian census of 1951 enumerated a total of 7.3 million refugees, of whom 4.7 million came from West Pakistan and 2.6 million from East Pakistan. Unofficial estimated figures, however, differ. According to an official figure, presently, there are as many as 1, 11,067 West Pakistani refugees living in J&K, mostly
in border belt of Jammu and Kathua district. However, unofficially, the number of these refugees, mostly Scheduled Castes (SC), is more than two lakhs.\(^{19}\)

Before the next Indo-Pak war of 1965, Hindus and Sikhs migrated in great number from the areas of Muzafarrabad, Mirpur, Bagh, Rawalkot (Western Poonch), Bhimber, Kotli, Jhangar, etc., which were captured by Pakistan.\(^{20}\) These areas together, are now referred to as *Paksitan Occupied Kashmir* (POK). During the 1965 war, 1,00,000 Hindus and Sikhs were forced to flee from Chhamb-Jourian area in (South-Western) Jammu when the Paksitan army overran it.\(^{21}\) The 1971 war displaced nearly 4,900 people from 10 villages in Chhamb, the area that India ceded to Paksitan.\(^{22}\) Around 2,400 families were accommodated in the tented camps at Kishanpur-Manwal in Udhampur, where they had to stay for about five years.\(^{23}\) Later, they got officially registered as displaced and scattered in different parts of Jammu region, especially in Jammu and Kathua districts on the border. However, 2,500 families, which preferred to stay with their relatives, were denied the government aid.

The Kargil war of 1999 not only affected the Kargil and Drass sector but also the state as a whole. Villagers from the border areas had to abandon their homes to take shelter in the interiors of Jammu region due to heavy shelling, cross border firing, fencing and mining. Some of the families went back once the situation normalized while for the others, the stay was prolonged.

**The Insurgency and after effects**

The insurgency that broke out in the valley in the late 1980s affected almost all sections of people in Kashmir; it has been particularly a nightmare for Kashmiri Pandit community who had to migrate almost en masse from Kashmir to safer places. As pointed out by Balraj Puri, “The Jagmohan regime witnessed the exodus of almost the entire small but vital Kashmiri Pandit Community from the valley.”\(^{24}\)

Hindus formed only 3.95 percent of the total population of the Valley (See figure 3.1) and that too in widely scattered patches.
The majority of these were Kashmiri Pandits. So, the valley’s population was probably 1,30,000 - 1,40,000 in 1989-1990. The American based human rights organization, Asia Watch observed:

“Many Hindus were made the targets of threats and acts of violence by the militant organizations and that this way of killings and harassment motivated many to leave the valley. Such threats and violence constitute violations of the law of war.” 25

**Figure No.3.1**


![Pie chart showing religious composition]

- Sikhs: 0.01%, 0%
- Hindus: 1.05%, 1%
- Muslims: 94.99%, 95%
- Others: 3.95%, 4%

**Source:** Ravinder Kumar Kaul, *Migration and Society*, p. 5

Approximately one hundred thousand Pandits left the valley homes for Jammu city and Delhi in a few weeks in February and
March 1990. About 33,000 Kashmiri Pandit families were registered with the government, most of who are still living in camps. There are around seven camps that are established in the outskirts of Jammu city. Purkho, Mishriwala, Nagrota and Muthi are the prominent ones. As per the observations of Ravinder Kumar Kaul, the ‘internally displaced’ minority of Kashmiri Pandits is now dispersed in about 47 migrant camps as also outside camps all over the country with a big concentration in Jammu. Of these migrant families, 34,105 are living in Jammu while 21,199 have sought shelter outside J&K state.

There were mass human rights violations that forced other communities to flee the valley. Almost every community suffered untold hardships, mutilation, death and destruction of their property. The Chittisinghpora massacre forced many families to leave the valley for safer places. In May 2001, as many as 1,903 displaced Sikhs were registered with the Relief Commissioner in Jammu. Many Kashmiri Muslim families also left the valley because of the threat to their lives. An officially estimated 20,000 Muslim families had been forced to migrate and a large number of Muslims had been killed by security forces and militants. As per a local daily, 1600 Muslim and 1656 Sikh families were registered with government.

Kashmir and its people have been reeling through the cycles of violence that seem quite inseparable from the general life and times in the valley. It is the quality of violence, rather than characteristic that appears to be seeped into the general lives of the people living in conflict torn regions like Kashmir. There was no house in the valley that was left untouched from the protracted curfews, crackdowns, arson and generalized violence. With an estimated 60,000 men killed, there were thousands of widows and half-widows, the wives of more than 2,000 missing men. According to the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India (GOI), more than 13,000 civilians and 4,000 Security forces (SF) personnel have lost their lives in the ongoing conflict in J&K. There is apparent discrepancy as far as the official and unofficial data is concerned. The trend of violence in the state during the
last five years is reflected in table 3.1. The number of incidents and casualties has progressively come down and the situation in the state has improved.

Table No. 3.1
Trends of Violence in Jammu and Kashmir

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Incidents</th>
<th>Civilians Killed</th>
<th>S/Forces Personnel Killed</th>
<th>Terrorist Killed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>4522</td>
<td>919</td>
<td>536</td>
<td>2020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>4038</td>
<td>1008</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>1707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>3401</td>
<td>795</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>1494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>2565</td>
<td>707</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>557</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>1667</td>
<td>389</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>593</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Report 2007-08, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India

Eighteen years of violence has deprived many children in J&K of their basic human rights: the security of a home, attending school regularly, and the joys and comforts of family. Children constitute about 38% of J&K state population but life for thousands of them has been a constant battle for survival, especially in the militancy affected areas of Doda, Uri, kupwara, Rajouri, Poonch and Sopore. As Ghulam Lone points out that of the total children, 5-6% are either orphans, destitute or neglected ones, who do not get the basic needs fulfilled in the present turmoil.33

According to the Jammu and Kashmir police, between 1990 and 2008, total 365 children were killed. Table 3.2 gives the year wise killings of the children.
### Table No.3.2

**Year-Wise Killings of Children in Jammu and Kashmir**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Incidents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Jammu and Kashmir Police.*

In the year 1990, there were no killings. The number went up in the next four years while it went down in the late 90s before it reached its peak with the killing of 63 children in 2002 and the decline is visible thereafter. Figure 3.2 shows the graphic representation of these trends.
There are said to be 30,000 orphans in Kashmir and virtually no support structure for them. According to the two recent studies conducted by Bashir Dabla and A.G Madhosh some of the most pressing problems for the orphans include; psychological problems that often result in criminal or violent behaviour, loss of home, high dropout rate from school, lack of health care and problems with immunization, social downfall, drug abuse and suicidal tendencies.

A survey report on J&K by Holland based humanitarian group Medecins Sans Frontiers maintains that the worst hit because of the ongoing violence in the state have been the children. It reports that the major effect of the present situation has been fear (24.6%) among children. School-related problems also scored high such as being unable to attend school (15.5%) and having problems studying (16.3%) due to lack of professional teachers and study material.

Generalised violence also drove many students to dropout of school or college. Girl students were especially vulnerable to sexual harassment from the security forces and at risk of abduction by the militants. Moreover, the loss of adult male earning members
and the deterioration of income levels impacted upon the drop-out rate, especially for girls (See table 3.3)

Table No. 3.3
Drop-out Rate of School going Children in Kashmir

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Boys (%)</th>
<th>Girls (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990-91</td>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6-8</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-97</td>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6-8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Rita Manchanda, Women, War and Peace in South Asia, p. 72.*

Several incidents of mass rape of Kashmiri women by security forces and armed militia has been reported. Infact, investigations into gang rape by security forces brought to light several incidents - Chanpora (7 March 1990), Pazipora (1990), Kunana Posphara (February 1991), Chak Saidpora (October 1992), Theno Budpathery Kangan (September 1994) and Wavoosa in Srinagar (1997).\(^{38}\) Eleven year old girls, pregnant women, to 60 year old grandmother were raped.

Conflict also had an impact on the economy of the state as well as that of the family. On one hand, the economy of the state adapted rapidly, establishing direct market outlets for the valley’s fruits, handicrafts, shawls and carpets in the rest of India while on the other, in families, which had lost male earning members, women and children had to stare at sharp drops in income levels. This is despite the fact that traditionally 50 percent of the workforce in the handloom and handicrafts sector in Kashmir is women.
Violence also led to the worst kind of social and economic exploitation. Many widows and half widows were dispossessed of their land. Women were often forced to turn to their maternal relatives or seek employment in the homes of others as cleaning women, something unheard of before militancy. Educated middle-class widows took to new professions which had earlier been frowned upon, like nursing. But for illiterate women with children, the choice was stark—either they had to place their sons in an orphanage or in a carpet weaving factory. Institution of marriage was equally affected like the institution of family. Referring to village Kunan Poshpora which had been the scene of the mass rape of women on 23 February, 1991, Women’s Initiative Report in 1994 observed, ‘No marriage has taken place in this village for three years. All the girls raped and unraped are signle.’

Situation in Rajouri, Poonch, Udhampur and Doda

As the insurgency faltered in the valley, the other parts of the state viz. Rajouri, Poonch, Doda and Udhampur came under its grip. By 1998, the twin districts of Rajouri and Poonch were in the grip of guerilla war. Until partition and war in 1947-1948, Rajouri and Poonch had close economic and ethno-linguistic ties not only with AJK districts of Mirpur and Muzaffarabad but also with the Western (Pakistani) Punjab districts of Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Campbellspur, and Mianwali and even the districts of Abbotabad and Mansehra in Pakistan’s Frontier Province. Many families in border villages of Poonch and Rajouri still have relatives on the Pakistani side of the LoC. Infact, the historic, pre-1948 Poonch district got bifurcated by the LoC, and the Pakistani-controlled part of Poonch is still a prime source of recruits to the Pakistani Army.

Although both (Indian) Poonch and Rajouri are Muslim-majority districts, the towns of Rajouri and Poonch—which are the districts centers of administration, commerce, and education—have predominantly Hindu (and Sikh) populations (the countryside is largely Muslim, overwhelmingly so in the case of Poonch). Many of these Hindus and Sikhs are 1947 refugees, and descendants of those refugees from Pakistani Kashmir. For example, many Hindus
and Sikhs in Rajouri town trace their origins to Kotli, an AJK town and district directly to the West across the LoC, and those in the town of Poonch to Rawalakot, an AJK town and district to the west.

A few thousand families migrated to Jammu city from these military affected districts that government refused to register and give any relief lest it should encourage further migration. To quote Ashwani Sharma, an independent legislator from the border constituency, “What’s wrong in giving migrant status to the people who have been forced by the terrorists to leave their homes and live stock in Doda, Poonch, Rajouri, Gool and Arnas belts of Jammu region…”

About 400 displaced families from this region took shelter in Belcharana and Narwal on the outskirts of Jammu city. Belcharana comprises of over 5000 odd families from various areas of J&K. Most of them hail from Rajouri, Poonch, Hiranagar, Anantnag, Kalakot and Qzikund. As pointed out by Mohamad Ashraff, a resident of Belcharana Camp, “only the families that have migrated before 1992 have been registered and get government aid.”

Around 200 families that trekked down from militancy hit Gool, Arnas, Ind and Bhindasa areas of Udhampur district took shelter on the outskirts of Udhampur town. In the Udhampur district, there was a decline in the militant attacks by 12 percent in the year 2004 compared to 2003 but the incidents of grenade attacks showed increase by 80 percent. Abduction in this region was also very common. By April 2004, 32 civilians were killed and 424 people injured. As many as 36 civilians lost their lives in improvised explosive device (IED) explosions triggered by the militants and 100 others suffered severe injuries. According to an estimate, since 1999 Kargil war to 2002 war scare, over 1.75 people in the state were forced to leave their native places from borders – 22,000 from Poonch, 9000 from Rajouri, 1.25 lakhs from Jammu and 25,000 from Kathua district. The number of displaced from Nowshera was estimated to be 1,834 families.
To conclude, Kashmir dispute is one of the oldest unresolved conflicts in the world. Pakistan considers Kashmir as its core political dispute with India over which the two countries have fought three major wars and the exchange of fire between their armies at the border is a routine affair. Be it education, infrastructure, industry, culture, language or whatever—all spheres of life in Kashmir have been devastated, somewhere nearly decimated, by the incessant violence. However, unwillingness of both the countries to come to a common point is the main cause of dispute. India claims to have “signed” a document, the Instrument of Accession on October 26, 1947 with the Maharaja of Kashmir, in which maharaja obtained India’s military help against an attack from Pakistan. This claim, however, is not accepted by Pakistan. The officially stated stances of both the countries differ a great deal. India considers Kashmir as its “integral part” while for Pakistan, Kashmir is a disputed territory, the final status of which is in the hands of Kashmiri people.

India’s commitment to a peaceful resolution of the issue is reflected in its agreement to uphold the status quo as has existed since 1947. It is significant that the Cease-Fire-Line was changed to the Line of Control in 1972. This was not merely a change of a nomenclature but a consequence of an agreement seeking to adhere to the status quo by all means. Pakistan’s attempts however, over the last two decades of altering the status quo has been a complete failure like its consecutive open hostile attempts of 1947, 1965, and 1971.

India’s stand on Kashmir is writ large. The will of the people is not to be ascertained through a plebiscite as the democratic elections are a much recognized means of ascertaining the wishes of the people. The people of J&K too, have time and again put their trust by participating overwhelmingly in all the elections. In 1989, a widespread armed insurgent movement that broke out in Kashmir is continuing till date having influenced its people in multiple ways. India claims that these insurgents are the Islamic terrorist groups from Pakistan-Administered Kashmir fighting to make J&K a part of Pakistan. Pakistan, on the other hand, claims
them to be the J&K citizens who are up in arms against India in a movement for their Independence. It also claims that the Indian Army is committing serious Human Rights Violations and denies having given any armed support to the insurgents. The Indian Kashmir, in the last few years have seen a considerable improvement with free and fair elections, reduction of troops, return of tourists and developmental work being the priority of the Government. Life is coming back to normal after a wave of turmoil. Relations between India and Pakistan have also got a new thaw and talks are underway to solve the issue once and for all. The two countries have, for the first time in 56 years of conflict, ordered a ceasefire in November, 2003 paving way for the implementation of the Confidence-Building-Measures (CBMs) giving hope to those who suffered a hell in paradise.

Notes


2. The State was geographically contiguous to Pakistan points out Balraj Madhok. At the time of partition, India touched the state of J&K for 350 miles and Pakistan for about 400 miles.


4. The situation in Kashmir was that the ruler was a Hindu while most of the population was Muslim. The 1941 census of India showed the population of J&K as 4,021,616 of whom 77% (3,096, 644) were Muslims. To quote M.J. Akbar, “There was a Hindu Majority in Jammu in the South, but overall the Muslim of the Kingdom outnumbered the Hindus by three to one” M.J. Akbar, India: The Siege Within:


9. Panagariya, n. 5, p. 34.


11. They included Hazard and Afridi tribesman from the Northern Areas of Kashmir, paramilitary forces such as the Muslim League, National Guard and the regular Pakistani Army Personnel disguised as tribesman. Sumit Ganguly, Conflict Unending: India-Pakistan Tensions Since 1947 (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 17.

12. Panagariya, n. 5, p. 35.


19. Shekhawat, n. 16, p. 70.


23. Ibid.


27. Bose, n. 13, p. 120.


29. Puri, n. 15, p. 69.


34. Manchanda, n. 31, p. 71.


38. Manchanda, n. 31, p. 73


40. Bose, n. 13, p.139.


Conflict and Border Region in J&K

India has its land borders with four of the seven South Asian Countries - Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan and a water frontier with Sri Lanka. India has also the world’s second longest land border with China. Much of the border territory is politically soft and as such, India has faced various types of problems in the border areas since independence. At times, these problems have been in the shape of secessionist movements in one area or the other while at other, they have been caused by antisocial elements like smugglers and drug peddlers. In some cases, large scale infiltration of refugees (e.g. Assam and Tripura or West Bengal) or even subversives (e.g. in Kashmir) have seriously eroded law and order in the border areas.

Whereas it is theoretically possible to seal the border of a country, it is not always a practical solution, more so in a country like ours where the borders pass through difficult terrain. India, therefore, continue to face various challenges in the border areas internally as well as externally. Before focusing on the complexities arising out of the ongoing conflict in border areas, it is imperative here to briefly understand the terms ‘boundary,’ ‘border’ and ‘frontier’.

‘Boundary’ is a line that defines the outermost territorial limit of state sovereignty.\(^1\) It can be de jure, that is, agreed upon and signed under a treaty and correctly specified on maps and marked on the ground with pillars. But very often the boundary is disputed. Whatever be the de jure or de facto position, boundary is defended generally by the armed forces of nation if it is threatened by the adversary. ‘Border’ is the area adjoining the boundary line with a variable depth.\(^2\) It may coincide with the boundary or it might have a depth even up to 20 km or more. Normally, the area is patrolled by the paramilitary forces organized for that purpose or
other appropriate bodies entrusted with the task to prevent infiltration, smuggling, illicit immigration, etc. The ‘Frontier’ as a concept however, is different from that of boundary or the border. Normally, the frontier is an area where effective state control starts fading and though the territory rationally comes within the definition of territorial sovereignty; state control is not very effective.³

India and Pakistan share around three thousand Km long border of which, one third is going through J&K. The 198 Km International Border (IB), extending from Kathua to Akhnoor, is recognized as an International Border but the 778 Km Line of Control (LoC), starting from Akhnoor to Siachen Glacier is a de facto border.⁴ The tribal invasion in J&K and later, a war between India and Pakistan in 1947 were followed by an agreement on Cease Fire Line (CFL) on the border. It was renamed as LoC in the Shimla Agreement after the 1971 war. Thus, a considerable part of the border remains undecided while some of it is well defined (See map 4.1).

Map No. 4.1

![Map of Jammu and Kashmir](image-url)

The State of Jammu and Kashmir
Due to the dispute over J&K between the two neighbouring countries, the border remains largely disturbed placing the families living therein in different types of situations like that of insecurity, instability, constant displacements and fear of life. As mentioned in chapter one, the impact is more specific on the lives of those living along the LoC and IB as the troubled relations between the two countries often lead to tension in the border villages of the state. These families are put in various kinds of situations viz., shelling, firing, deployment of troops, curtailment of their freedom to move about freely, laying of mines in the fields, loss of human and animal life, fencing, constant displacements and so on. The brunt of such situations is borne more by the families living along IB and LoC in Jammu district than by the other common man.

Jammu district lies on the South West of J&K State. It is separated from Pakistan by IB and LoC. While LoC starts from Akhnoor Tehsil of district Jammu, IB passes through R.S. Pura and Bishnah Tehsil. It covers 3,097 sq km. with 10 towns, 1,054 villages and 15,71911 souls as per the Census of 2001. As per the sources of J&K police, nearly 25 villages lie at the forward position on LoC and 83 villages lie at the forward positions along the IB in district Jammu. There are some villages that even lie at the zero line. The families living here remain in precarious situation during wars and war-like-situations. Even during the normal times when the situation is said to be under control and virtually no activity between the armies of the two hostile nations take place, the fear of life continue to exist in the psyche of these people. The troops on both the sides keep taking the forward positions resulting in cross border firing and bringing miseries for the common man. Firing, shelling, fencing, mining and having troops in and around their houses and fields are the realities which have become a part of the lives of the people in border areas. These problems have a serious sociological impact on the lives of these people that directly or indirectly have a bearing on the society as a whole.

Fencing

The material losses of the border people have been added to
by the multi-tier security system on the border comprising DcB. The DcB acts as a barrier to prevent the Pakistan forces from watching the activities of the Indian troops. Measures like Barbed Wire Fencing were resorted to by the Government to keep the bad neighbours out and our misguided youth in. By December 2004, approximately two-thirds of the 778 Km long LoC had been fenced. Fencing comprises double strands of barbed wire which is electrified at night. The fence has been constructed at some distance from the LoC and IB, that is, at a distance of three to five Kms or more in some sectors.

Fencing as well as the compliance of the ceasefire agreement reached between the countries on November 26, 2003 led to the peaceful passage of the year 2004 as there was no incident of violence at the borders. Although the ceasefire announced by India and reciprocated by Pakistan, coupled with completion of border fencing reduced the violence along the LoC and IB but proved to be a nightmare for the people living there. The reduction of violence brought some respite to the security forces as well but at the same time; search for ‘normal life’ remained a distant dream for these villages. It has lead to the two fold problems for the families living along the border belt of J&K state-

1) Families along the IB lost considerable agricultural land that restricted their agricultural activity having economic repercussions.

2) Families along the LoC have been rendered divided as the fence cuts through the middle of the village having serious social repercussions.

**Fencing along the International Border**

As compared to the LoC, only a small proportion of the people have been affected by fencing at the IB. People from these villages earlier had complete access to their fields irrespective of the time from all the four directions but due to fencing, their movement is now restricted. Villagers can enter their fields only through a gate built along the fence at a distance of one and a half Kms to two Kms from each gate and these gates are manned by
Border Security Forces at the IB and by Army along the LoC. The farmers have lost some part of their cultivable land under fence while the major part of their land is fenced out. This has put the families in quandary with their houses on one side of the fence and the fields on the other. Villagers are forced to follow timing of the gate failing which they are debarred from farming. Farmers are mostly in the habit of working at the predawn pleasant environment but are forced to follow the timings drafted by the security forces. Not only this, those who reach the gates early have to wait for hours for others to join as they are allowed only in groups. The tenants, who, at one point of time worked in these fields are no longer interested owing to excessive restrictions and also due to the fact that the owners are not in a position to pay for their labour owing to firing and shelling earlier and now due to the loss of land because of fencing.

Fencing along the LoC

A number of villages along LoC have been boxed in between the fence and LoC. For instance, over 40 villages in thin border district of Rajouri and Poonch have been fenced out. As per the then Deputy Commissioner Rajouri, Mohammed Abbas, 15 villages had been fenced out in Rajouri District while twenty-five villages were fenced out of Poonch District. The fifteen villages ahead of fence in Rajouri are Khamba, Saria, Anwas Bender, Dharote, Pogla, Wand Mora, Pukhesnee, Janjot Kandi, Morha Kampla, Bowni, Khori, Manyat Kald, Mah and Patni Monka whereas, the villages fenced out of Haveli Tehsil of Poonch District are Polas, Tetikot, Moorkot, Maerkot, Serian, Kerni, Mendhar, Pindi Gali, Pindi Kamakhan, Salonian, Shala, Thangri, Atoli, Surii, Dangam and Bedar Balnai. The nine other villages on the other side of fence in Balakot sub-sector of Mendhar Tehsil are Tharti, Panjini, Swahala, Rangruta, Dharti, Tarkundi etc.

Nearly 50 villages are partially divided by the fence in these twin border Districts affecting nearly 2000 people who are caught between the ceasefire line and the fencing. This situation has been referred to as ‘Mini Partition’ along the LoC. Situations like this has serious social repercussions for the families who are
divided into two halves. It not only affects their health, education, agricultural activity but also their social life. In fact, the problems for these villagers surface from the very beginning, starting from the birth itself. For example, in case of pregnancy of women, if the labour pains starts during the night, it becomes difficult for the family members to even shift them to the hospital as the gates manned by army remains closed during the night. Though the Army personnel are sensitive to the needs of the local people, they remain at their mercy. In case of incidents like snake bites or any other health hazard, these families are the worst sufferers.

In Kupwara sector, 300 Km long and 12-feet tall barbed-wire fence has not only divided nearly dozens of villages along Uri into two but has also cut into half many villages along LoC in Keran Karnah. In fact, in this sector, fence has been constructed nearly 10 Km inside the Indian territory due to the impending fear of Pakistani shelling that have resulted in the partition of the villages. While Tilwari and Chrunda villages along LoC in Uri have been cut into two, Badgran finds itself on the Indian side of the border. Hatlanga, on the other hand, has fallen on the other side of the border. Same is the fate of other villages in Keran Karnah sector in which villages like Chelikad, Sothipora and Seenari have either been completely divided or have gone to the other side of the fence. To quote Ghulam Qadir, a resident of Silkot, Uri,

“To prevent a few militants from crossing over to this side of the border, they have cut a line through our hearts....”\(^{13}\)

Similarly, Ali Mohammad of Tilwari (Uri) lamented,

“Kashmiri has a predicament about his identity but the people living in these villages face a peculiar situation. We do not know whether we are Indians, Pakistanis or belong to a no man’s land....”\(^{14}\)

People have to walk several Kms to seek permission from the soldiers deployed at various posts in Uri to meet their relatives living on the other side of the fence. Schooling of the children
has equally been affected. Either there are no schools in these villages or the teachers are not ready to serve in such areas where they have to face multiple restrictions. As per the Government sources for example, at least nine government schools of middle and primary standard have been left out on the other side of the fence near zero line. In Poonch however, the then Chief Education Officer, Thakur Dass Sharma remarked, “Even while Poonch remains to be the District worst hit by militancy in Jammu region and despite threats by militants, parents are sending their wards to schools for their better future.”¹⁵ Like the situation at the IB, agriculture activity here too does not remain unaffected. People of Mandi and Swajian Tehsil of Haveli and in Balakot and Balnoi sector of Mendhar Tehsil have time and again failed to sow maize and Rajma crop in the fenced out areas due to several security restrictions. Animals and humans have equally been the victims of the fencing. The fence is dotted with thousands of mines on either side putting the lives of hundreds of villagers in a severe danger. Nazir Ahmed lamented on his helplessness,

“I couldn’t help seeing my cow with her calf blow up into pieces when she came into accidental contact with the barbed fence”¹⁶

Despite the official claims that the fence along the LoC and IB has proved to be an obstacle in the way of intruders, the latter however, are making all efforts to breach the fence carrying equipments to tamper with it. As reported by a Local Daily, the recovery of insulated wire cutters, gloves and Anti-Personnel Mines from the five intruders killed on LoC in Mendhar on the intervening night of January 17 and January 18, 2005 shows that the fence is not a big challenge for them. The two noted successful infiltration attempts on May 11, 2008 along IB from Samba sector and from Kanachak sector along the LoC on August 25, 2008 and the subsequent killings of the civilians put a question mark on the safety of the families residing at the border.

**Mining: An effective - Cheap Weapon**

Of all the conventional instruments of modern warfare,
landmines are the most commonly used and continue to be the most destructive. Long after the conflicts end, the presence of landmines continue to pose a terrible threat, often making it impossible for refugees and internally displaced people to return to their homes prolonging the sufferings of a common man in the affected areas. For individual and community alike, many of whom are living in poverty and insecurity, the impact of landmines is not simply physical, it is also psychological, social and economic. The Annual Landmine Monitor Report for 2007 stated that while an estimated four to five million antipersonnel mines existed in India (the sixth largest stockpile in the world), Pakistan had six million antipersonnel mines (the fifth largest total in the world).\footnote{17} India’s last major use of antipersonnel mines took place in December 2001 and July 2002, when the Indian Army deployed an estimated two million mines along its 2,880 Km northern and western border with Pakistan in Operation Parakram. The entire border from Kashmir to Kutch was converted into a mine field.

The families in the affected areas lost their standing crop completely. It led to the loss of lives and limbs and dispossessed people of their means of livelihood. According to a Hindustan Times study on landmines, more than a thousand of people (civilians and army personnel) and several thousand of livestock were killed and several more injured.

**Mining along the border in Jammu**

The mining process is resorted to as an ‘effective and cheap weapon’\footnote{18} during the time of heightened tensions or during the times of actual hostilities as was done in 1965 and 1971 when mines were planted all along the border to obstruct the movement from across the border. Lately, it was after December 13, 2002 Parliament attack, the tension gripped the Indo-Pak border to thwart possible movement of enemy troops into the Indian side. About two lakh mines, right from Poonch to R.S. Pura and from Samba to Akhnoor sector were laid during operation Parakram.\footnote{19} Army took under its control a total of 70,100 acres of land in Jammu, Kathua, Samba, Rajouri and Poonch districts after the deployment started. As per the estimates, more than 25,000 acres
of land in the state came under mine fields by the plantation of Anti-Personnel Mines (APM's) and Anti-Tank Mines (ATM's) with a density of 1,000 mines per square km. 20 In Kathua and Jammu districts, army reportedly took over 31,927 hectares of land, of which, 23,078 hectares became a 'literal mine field'. 21 Brig. R.S. Langeh informed that 100 landmine field with a total of about 50,000 landmines were created from Samba to Akhnoor in December 2001. 22 The Indian Army with its Tanks and ammunition went back to its barracks after being an eye ball to eye ball with the Pakistani forces for more than one year, the mine fields however, remain as the dangerous zones for the border people who are suffering in multiple ways having lost precious lives and limbs, given up standing crops and being dispossessed of their means of livelihood. Mining has lead to the two fold problems for the families living along the border belt of J&K state-

1) Families along the IB and LoC lost considerable agricultural land when Army took over the mining operation in the Northern borders leading to serious socio-economic repercussions for those affected.

2) Families along the border continue to live with the deadly ghost of mine for the last six decades of animosity between the two neighbouring countries irrespective of the times of peace or of actual hostilities.

Mining and de-mining: the socio-economic repercussions

Irrespective of the timing of plantation, mines have devastating effect on border people. Landmines render agricultural lands to waste lands if allowed to remain embedded for years together. Villages all along the IB and the LoC also met the similar fate. These fields were rendered useless since no agriculture operation was undertaken. During this period, these fields witnessed the growth of weed since 1999 when they were first deserted by the border residents during the limited Kargil battle. Subsequently, the farmers were unable to undertake agriculture operation due to stand off between India and Pakistan. Vast tracts
of land fell prey to wild Congress Grass. In fact, when Army took over the vast tracts of land under its control, the standing crop was burnt and the farmers were not allowed to cultivate the fields in the subsequent years. This added to the economic strains of the farmers as they had also to immediately vacate their villages in search for safer places.

Thus, laying mine fields seriously impacts the economic conditions by restricting agriculture activity and rendering the fields unfit for cultivation. For example, the farmers of Akhnoor sector required a sum of Rs. 2000 for each Kanal of land. Cultivating the barren fields is a two way process. Firstly, the farmers have to weed out the wild grass and then do the multiple tilling of land. Mixing manure in the soil to make it fertile is the next step which is very expensive. To quote Subash Chander, a resident of Village Tuten Di Khoi, Akhnoor,

“All this requires at least Rs. 2000 per kanal to make it cultivable and after spending five years in the migrant camp, we have exhausted all our deposits. Government should help us in converting our barren fields into agricultural fields, otherwise, it would be difficult for us to survive.”23

The problems of the border residents got further aggravated when the government turned deaf ear to their woes. For example, some of them got compensation but most of them are still waiting in vain as they can still not carry on the agricultural activity owing to mines in the fields that is claimed to have been completely demined. Landmine Monitor Report 2007 have quoted Speaker of Jammu and Kashmir Assembly, Tara Chand saying that more than 6,000 families and some 3,500 acres of agriculture land alone in his constituency (Chamb in Jammu region) are mine affected. Citing an example of Warsun village in Kupwara district, the report said despite being 20 kms from the LoC, the village outskirts remain mined since 1990. The Report said,

‘The mines have not been cleared despite the villager’s requests. Military units stationed in the area have told them that they do not have the maps indicating the locations of the mines...’24
After the declaration of the ceasefire on November 26, 2003, the army started demining operation on a wider scale. Demining is a very costly affair. It takes only three dollars to plant a landmine but thirty dollars to de-mine. Even in the best scenario like in Serbia (erstwhile Yugoslavia) where the best technology was used to demine, the claim is that only ninety percent of the land mines could be cleared. The ten percent left behind would always be a potential threat to the people. The demining process in Jammu was monitored by Chief Engineer A.K. Wason of Corps of Engineers. Brigadier Toor who managed Chicken-Neck area maintained that when the demining began, the focus was first on the agricultural lands to reduce the agony of the farmers. Although, the army made sure that no single mine was left before handing over the fields to the owners, yet, the farmers were not ready to take on the cultivation process. The border villagers demanded tractorisation of the fields as army also claimed that tractorisation is one of the necessary steps before handing over de-mined fields to the civil administration. To quote Baldev Singh Bhau, Provincial Secretary Border Migrants,

"Their land should be tractorised so that there is no apprehension of casualties due to mine blasts and the fields are made fit for cultivation."\(^{25}\)

Mining and de-mining process results into casualties of the army personnel and the civilians residing in the border areas. For e.g., till March 2003, the demining process, after operation Parakaram, reportedly had claimed 14 lives leaving 39 injured.\(^{26}\) Quoting government sources, the Landmine Monitor Report 2007 stated that between 1989 and 1999 there were 10,709 causalities in Jammu and Kashmir and Andhra Pradesh. In the villages of Tehsil Mendhar in district Poonch, about 2000 landmines were recorded. In 2006, the report said at least 524 new causalities were reported where 311 people were killed and 213 injured. In 2007, 14 causalities have been reported by the local NGOs.\(^{27}\)

Mines that remain undetected and undefused also lead to heavy casualties. It was reported that more than 2000 victims of land mines had been recorded in the Rajouri-Poonch belt between
1947 and 1989. To ensure that the deeply hidden mines are extracted without inflicting any casualty, army employed hydrama-a specially designed tractor procured from Denmark to neutralize the mines in the fields. The machine cost over rupees four crore. It has sharp needle like structure attached on its front position. These needles not only plough land but also remove and destroy hidden mines. Inspite of this, one cannot claim for sure that every mine that was laid has been detected. In Makhwal sector alone, a total of 6,915 mines were laid in eight mine fields out of which 6,536 were recovered and four fields were declared safe by December 2003. The river beds and wet lands become the most problematic zones where mines are known to shift or drift away more. Typical cases are the Tawi river bed at Makhwal and Gharana wet lands at Suchetgarh on International Border at R.S Pura sector.

There are no statistics of casualties suffered by Jawans and officers in the minefield accidents both at the time of laying and the time of recovery. However, as per the Landmine Monitor collected data, 332 new mine casualties took place in 2001 alone, of which 133 people were killed and 199 injured throughout the IB and the LoC that India share with Pakistan. Of the 332 reported casualties, 225 involved military personnel or militants. Of 107 civilian casualties, 32 were children. The cost of mines in terms of lives does not end with it. The undetected mines that are not defused lead to heavy casualties. The undetected mines that were planted long back in 1965 and 1971 continue to play havoc making people handicapped for the rest of their lives in the forward villages. In Shahpur border village in Poonch consisting of about 100 families, more than half a dozen villagers have lost their limbs due to mine explosions. These handicapped persons, who lost their limbs to mine blast, include Brothers Muhammad Javed and Muhammad Aslam, farmer Fakir Muhammad, Qamar Din and many more. In the neighbouring border village of Kaiyaan lying just close to fence; the villagers who lost their limbs in the mine blasts include two sisters Noor Jehan and Sauleh Bi. In another border village of Gutriyaan many people have lost their limbs to mines. The unavailability of adequate medical services in the
villages adds to the list of killings due to mines. The government has a provision of providing compensation to the mine victims. However, not many people benefited from this provision. Families in the border region of Jammu continue to live in the danger zones as the safe areas handed over to the civilians are not really safe and there is no possible demarcation in the areas that are still mined. As of now, the issue of un defused mines continues to increasingly loom as an obstacle in the reconstruction and development process undertaken after many border residents were forced to go back and take up the agricultural activity. Amputees, like in any conflict ridden society, are in precarious situation here as most of them earn their living by manual labour.

**Firing and shelling**

The border people, living at a distance of 7-10 km from border also suffer due to frequent firing since they come in its direct range. The intermittent firing, directly targeting the civilians further adds to the sufferings and the losses of border residents. In this context, the nature and the extent of damage can be gauged from an assessment of the reported cases during some specific periods. In a brief period between May 2001 and 2003, a local newspaper reported killing of 72 people in such firing. 32

Infact, firing in the border villages is a daily routine. As per a report, between January 2003 to May 15, 2003 firing took place as many as 1007 times, claiming lives of 29 people, 29 cattle and damaging 49 houses. 33 Garroo Ram, the then Minister of State for Rural Development, J&K, officially disclosed that on the border, as many as 278 people have been killed, 815 people injured and 411 structures damaged in cross border firing and shelling for the last 15 years. 34

Considerable number of families got displaced due to shelling, grenade attacks and firing in the Akhnoor sector. Villages in Samba and Ramgarh sector too suffered heavily due to shelling. Infact, the Pakistani shelling left many a houses in villages like Chack Faqira, Galad, and Benglad in Samba sector damaged. Some houses were even burnt. Suchet Singh a resident of village Glad (Samba) remarked,
"Earlier, when the politicians knew that elections will be held shortly, they used to come here to do the lip service so as to protect their vote bank for the forthcoming elections. But now hardly anybody sees us."\(^{35}\)

Migrants of this region had even put up placards marked as, 'The politicians will not be provided space for addressing gatherings. They are welcome only if they come up with medicines or offer any help.'\(^{36}\) Many women from these camps, draped in tattered clothes used to wait on the main road every morning for some Good Samaritan to help them up and provide them with medical aid and food. People of Ramgarh sector also met similar fate. To quote Krishan, a resident of Village S.M.Pur who was on his way to Government High School Ramgarh on a bullock cart loaded with household goods and family members remarked,

"It is the twelfth time after 1971 that we are leaving our houses and searching for shelter for our selves and cattle. I have lost five members of my family in the cross-fire between the two countries and now, I want that I should purchase a land far from border so that my coming generations would not suffer in the future the way I did."\(^{37}\)

**Constant Displacements**

Displacement and conflict are inextricably related. Civilians are often exposed to systematic atrocities and without adequate physical protection during the conflict situation, they are, many a times, forced to flee from their native places. Thus, the dislocations seem to be an inevitable offshoot of the conflict situations. Infact, the post cold-war era is witnessing the phenomena of displacements the world over in an unprecedented number both across and within national boundaries. Major upheavals have led to the uprootedness of many people who leave their hearths and homes because of compulsive reasons like the persecution, human rights abuse, civil war, etc. and look for safety and greater opportunities elsewhere. These people can be categorized as
‘Refugees’ who are understood to be those who leave their country of nationality and settle in any other and ‘Internally Displaced Persons’ (IDPs) who are forced to migrate to other places than of their own origin, within the territory of their own country. Irrespective of the fact that both the categories of uprooted people flee for the same reasons, IDPs are often more vulnerable than refugees for whom the international assistance is available with the result that the IDPs remain largely unnoticed and unassisted. As per the findings of the World Refugee Survey 2003, out of the total number of 34.8 million globally uprooted people, 13.0 million were refugees and asylum seekers whereas the internally displaced were as many as 21.8 million.

The basic International Covenant governing refugees is the UN Convention on the Status of Refugees (1951) and its 1967 Protocol. Article 1 of this Convention defines refugee as:

Any person who as a result of events occurring before 1 January, 1951 and owing to [a] well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of the country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.38

A working definition evolved by the UN Secretary General in 1992 describes IDPs as ‘persons who have been forced to flee their homes suddenly or unexpectedly in large numbers as a result of armed conflict, internal strife, systematic violations of human rights or natural or man-made disasters, and who are within the territory of their own country’.39

Displacement in J&K is a recurring phenomenon. People have been forced to migrate nearly six times since the partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947. The partition related displacement was the first of its kind in which nearly 15,000 people fled from the adjoining areas of Pakistan, mostly from Sialkot district.40
The second time of displacement was from what is known as Pakistan Occupied Kashmir in which there was a huge influx of Hindus and Sikhs from the areas of Muzaffarabd, Mirpur, Bagh, Rawalakot (Western Poonch), Bhimber, kotli and Jhanger which were captured by Pakistan before the war of 1965. The third category comprises those displaced from Chhamb-Jurian area in (South-Western) Jammu when the Pakistan army overran it during the war of 1965 leading to the displacement of 1,00,000 Hindus and Sikhs. The fourth type of displacement took place during the war of 1971 when around 4,900 families got displaced from ten villages in Chhamb area that India ceded to Pakistan. Kargil war in 1999 led to the fifth type of displacement in which a considerable number of people from border areas all over the state were displaced. War scare of December 2001 after the attack on Indian Parliament and fidayeen attack at residential family quarters of Army at Kaluchack on May 14, 2002 led to fresh waves of displacement giving rise to its sixth category. So, other than the Partition related displacement and that which was followed before and during the war of 1965 and 1971, the displacement in Jammu took place in three main phases:

1. First, in Akhnoor sector in June 1999 during Kargil war.

2. Second, in Samba and Akhnoor sector since the deployment of forces at the border from December 18, 2001 after terrorist attack on Indian Parliament.

3. Third, in R.S Pura and Bishnah sector since May 25, 2002 following militant’s attack at the residential quarters of Army at Kaluchack in the outskirts of Jammu city on May 14, 2002.

Table 4.1 gives the details of the families displaced and the number of villages deserted in the respective blocks of Jammu district (now also Samba district).

According to an estimate, since 1999 Kargil War to 2002 war scare, around two lakh people in the state were forced to leave their native places from borders - 22,000 from Poonch, 9,000 from Rajouri, about 1.25 lakh from Jammu and 25,000 from Kathua district.
Table No. 4.1

Table showing the number of families displaced and the number of villages deserted in the respective blocks of Jammu district as of May 2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Block</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>No. of Families Displaced</th>
<th>No. of Souls Displaced</th>
<th>No. of villages Deserted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Akhnoor</td>
<td>1,28,346</td>
<td>8,475</td>
<td>40,464</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.S Pura</td>
<td>1,77,311</td>
<td>7,820</td>
<td>35,621</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishnah</td>
<td>71,147</td>
<td>3,019</td>
<td>14,154</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samba</td>
<td>15,277</td>
<td>5,183</td>
<td>26,768</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3,92,081</td>
<td>24,479</td>
<td>1,17,007</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Bhai, Rainoo and Dayal, Prabhu, 15 May 2003

In the wake of Kargil Conflict, 8,475 families (40,464 persons) migrated from Akhnoor Tehsil. From Akhnoor Block itself, nearly 21 villages were displaced. It may be mentioned here that the official and unofficial figures vary to a great extent. From Hamirpur Nawa, a village at a distance of 1.5 km from the LoC, 48 families were displaced and the number of families displaced from Samoa village were 250. From Chapriyal, Samwan, Gigriyal and Panjoot villages 266, 250, 544 and 542 families were displaced respectively. (See table 4.2)
### Table No. 4.2

Table showing village-wise displacement from sector Akhnoor (Some selected villages only)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>No. of Families Displaced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hamirpur Nawa</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samoa</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapriyal</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samwan</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gigriyal</td>
<td>544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panjtoot</td>
<td>542</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** *The Kashmir Times, November 16, 2004 and November 31, 2004.*

More specifically, from Pallanwala sector of Akhnoor, the total number of families displaced was 1,044. In this sector, nearly 62 villages were affected out of which 19 villages were displaced from the zero point. The total number of families displaced from the zero point was nearly 6040. Total number of deaths occurred was 26.47 (See table 4.3)

### Table No. 4.3

Table showing details of displacement from Pallanwala sector of Akhnoor

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total families displaced</td>
<td>1,044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villages affected</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villages on zero point</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families on zero point</td>
<td>6040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deaths occurred</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Pallanwala Border Migrant Welfare Committee (PBMWC) published in *The Himalayan Mail, August 27, 2004.*
Categories of Displaced

In the state of J&K, there are people from Pakistan who settled here after the partition of India in 1947 and are referred to as ‘Refugees’. There are also those who came from what is called ‘Pakistan-Occupied-Kashmir’ (POK) and are considered displaced internally as India regards POK as its part. They therefore, do not have any advantage of Refugees. Besides this category of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) which is linked to the issue of sovereignty and has historical and political connotations linked to its status, there are other three categories of IDPs in J&K. These categories are the Kashmiri Pandit Migrants, the Doda Migrants and the Border migrants from Jammu and Kathua districts (Akhnnoor, R.S. Pura, Bishnach and Samba; Samba is now a separate district). Kashmiri Pandits migrated owing to the break up of insurgency in the Kashmir Valley in 1989-1990 while the Doda migrants trekked down because of militancy. The third category is largely the result of the continuous conflict going on at the borders between the Armies of India and Pakistan.

The number of migrants from the border villages and LoC as stated by the Divisional Commissioner in an official meeting was 1.50 Lakhs. A team of the Union Home Ministry estimated the number as 1.75 lakhs\(^48\) and of the total, 1.07 lakhs were displaced from Jammu, 17,692 from Kathua, 10,327 from Rajouri and 21,952 from Poonch.\(^49\) Thus, the total number of displaced was 1,17,000 souls from the blocks of Akhnnoor, R.S Pura, Bishnach and Samba.

Massive shelling from across the border during war forced these people to leave their native places in great number. Till recent times these migrants were holed up in tents along the Jammu-Poonch National Highway and were left to care for themselves. Many a times they tried to return to their villages but could not due to the frequent outbreak of tensions. In 2001, many of them went back but had to leave again after the December 13, 2001 attack on Indian Parliament. People of Akhnnoor could not go back for years together as their homes were destroyed in the shelling and their fields rendered infertile due to the increased toxicity in
the soil because of mining. Those displaced from other sectors of Jammu were accommodated at various camps established at Bishnah, R.S Pura, Samba and Hiranagar. In Akhnoor, they were made to stay in camps at Naiwala, Devipur, Thandi Chui, Domana etc. Table 4.4 gives the Tehsil-wise details of various camps established for the migrants.

**Table No. 4.4**

**Table Showing Tehsil-Wise Location of Major Migrant Camps in District Jammu as notified by the State Government.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tehsil</th>
<th>No of Camps</th>
<th>Major Camps</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Akhnoor</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Bombal, Naiwala, Devipur, Thandi Chui, Domana school non camp, Khore, Garkhal, DoomI Camp Kangrail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) R.S Pura</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Hr. Sec. School R.S Pura, Bana Singh Stadium, Mill Area, Middle School, Primary School, Dangre, Police Station- Gokhari, Tibba Gaiya, Badyal Kadhyan/ Dadliyal, Slaid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Samba *</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>SIDCO (Small Scale Industrial Complex), Samba, Rehian/ Khanwal, Ramgarh School, Centre (Dugh), Channi, Fatwal, Centre-Chowani (Rakh –Abtal), Centre Abtal, Centre Khore-Slarian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Bishnah</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Government School Bishnah, Government School Arnia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Bhai, Rainoo and Dayal, Prabhu, May 15, 2003.*

*Samba, now a district*
The condition in the migrant camps was far from satisfactory. Government provided them with tents which were not good enough to protect them from the hot & cold blows as communicated by Kashmir Singh, a migrant from Devipur camp. To quote him, "This cloth that government has provided us, is not strong enough to face the heavy rains. All the four seasons spell disaster on us. The least that Government could have done for us in these last five years was to provide us with a temporary tin shed." Government has time and again failed to meet the demands of these people. He further said, "We were initially promised a total of 3000 tents by the Government, but we received only 1146 tents, so the families had to crouch in whatever little space was available”.

Stay of these migrants prolonged for years together. Kanta Devi, a migrant from Akhnoor said, "Due to Pakistani firing in 1999, we were forced to evacuate our village; little did we know that we were stepping out of one hell to another barbed area.” Families in the camps lack basic health and educational facilities. "School for the children living in this camp means open air, under scorching heat, with a stray black sheet hung on a lone nail. The educational system gets hampered every year because of severe cold or harsh heat as the students & teachers are not able to manage in the open" said Neelam Renge from Devipur Camp. Another resident added, "In case of outbreak of fire a number of tents are burnt down & despite several requests no help or assistance is forthcoming from any authorities. The level of apathy is so frustratingly high that at times, the local authorities even refuse to acknowledge that there was indeed outbreak of fire.” Baldev Singh Bhau, Chairman Pallanwala Border Migrant Committee said, "Tents are never changed after six months. There are many tents which have not been changed for the last two years.”

People suffer from various physical, psychological health hazards. Naresh Kumar, a migrant from Devipur camp said, "The youth are highly susceptible to illness, it could be because of psychological strain or due to the frustration of being jobless.” Border Migrant were also unhappy with the disparity policy that
Government has been ensuing to in dealing with the border migrants as compared to the Kashmiri Pandit Migrant Families. What is startling is that the border migrant were paid Rs 1600 per family while the Kashmiri migrant were given Rs 3,000 per family. Inadequate food grains and kerosene oil further compounded their woes. “We are given merely two Kg of rice, nine Kg of flour along with 10 liters of oil per month. Each family gets Rs 400 per person and the upper limit is Rs 1600 irrespective of the number of the persons in a family. This is clearly not enough in this day and age” says Durga Vati, a senior citizen. People remain dissatisfied with the relief package owing to various reasons like inadequate quantity of ration, malpractices in distribution, availability of partial or only dry ration, shifting of relief stores to their native place during their partial return, irregular distribution of ration as well as cash, adhoc and unplanned as new members are not included and the discriminatory practice is followed as far as the compensation to the Kashmiri Pandit migrants are concerned. Despite a 2002 Supreme Court directive to the state to provide adequate relief to all the displaced of the Jammu division, the discriminatory practice is adhered to.

Government has, however, spent money worth Crores for their development. In the year 2002-03, relief amount sanctioned was Rs 28.37 crores. In the year 2003-04 it was reduced to Rs 16.36 crores and in the year 2004-05 it was reduced to Rs 5 crores (See table 4.5)

Table No 4.5
Table showing the year-wise relief sanctioned for Border Migrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Relief Amount (Crore)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2002-03</td>
<td>28.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>2003-04</td>
<td>16.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>2004-05</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Government also promised a relief package for the construction of Pucca Houses fully damaged as Rs. 40,000 and partially damaged Rs 20,000. For fully damaged kuccha houses Rs. 20,000 and partially damaged Rs. 10,000. Similarly, for fully damaged kulas (houses made of stray for animals) Rs. 8,000 and for partially damaged Rs. 4,000. However, for pucca fully damaged shops, Government promised to give Rs 20,000 and partially damaged shops Rs 10,000 whereas; for Kuccha fully damaged shops Rs 10,000 & partially damaged Kuccha shops Rs. 5000 was promised. Demands of the people however, differed vis-a-vis Government’s promised relief package. (See table 4.6)

**Table No. 4.6**

**Table showing Relief Package vis-à-vis Demands of the Border Migrants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Situation of Damage</th>
<th>Govt. Promised Relief</th>
<th>Demand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Pucca Fully Damaged Houses</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>1 Lakh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Pucca Partially Damaged Houses</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Kuccha Fully Damaged Houses</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Kuccha Partially Damaged Houses</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Fully Damaged kulas</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Partially Damaged kulas</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Pucca Fully Damaged Shops</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Pucca Partially Damaged Shops</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Kuccha Fully Damaged Shops</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Kuccha Partially Damaged Shops</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: The Himalayan Mail, November 16, 2004*  
*The Kashmir Times, June 15, 2004*
As per the responses from the field, in practice, people received Rs. 25,000; 20,000; 15,000 and 8,000 on the basis of construction and condition of the houses. Most of them failed to get any benefit owing to the lack of proof of the damage done and also malpractices were rampant. It was also reported that no compensation for the damaged shops was given.

People from the border areas of Akhnoor sector have also been putting forward various others demands. To quote Mohan Lal Khajuria, Sarpanch of villages Hamirpur and Hamirnawa in Block Khour remarked, “Alternate shelters are very necessary for border families. The Government should take steps to acquire land either in Jammu or Akhnoor because it is not possible for people to live along zero line anymore.” The centre cleared a sum of Rs. 78 Crore relief package for the border migrants involving allotment of plots of 5 Marlas (1350 sq.ft.) for nearly 6070 families from 21 villages in Chhamb and Akhnoor constituencies of district Jammu. About 20 crore was planned to be spent in providing compensation for damaged houses, civic infrastructure, making the water logged fields fit for cultivation and de-weeding of damaged fields. The dead lock between the centre and Army on one hand and the state government on the other over the location for the construction of the township has delayed the allotment of the plots. While the state Government is interested in constructing the township far from the border in safer areas, the centre and the Army wants it to be constructed at the border at Pallanwalla and Khour. Both sides have their logics and while the discussions go on further, the border people continue to suffer.

These people have also been demanding Autonomous Border Area Development Board on the pattern of Ladakh and Kargil Hill Development Councils. “We do not know whether we will be in a position to go back to our homes. We have already suffered a lot. Thousands of our cattle have died and dozens of our humans have either lost their lives or are wounded. Due to the shelling from Pakistan we are not even in a position to cultivate our thousands of acres of agricultural land, why we don’t deserve to
get the status like Ladakh and Kargil people” said Prakash Chand of Gagriyal village in Pallanwala sector. By March 2005, nearly 5,300 families (4,000 families from Doda, Udhampur, Rajouri and Poonch and 1,300 families from Akhnoor) were still internally displaced. At present, all the displaced families from Akhnoor have been made to go back to their native places but they still continue to live a life of uncertainty.

Thus, due to wars, war scare and even otherwise due to the tense nature prevailing at the border, people have been alienated from their social life. Due to the dispute over J&K between the two neighbouring countries, the border remains largely disturbed not only during the times of actual hostilities but even during the ceasefire because of the continued presence of the army and infiltration of insurgent groups from across the LoC. There are often violations of the ceasefire; in the year 2008 for example, by August 31, 2008 there were 25 violations of the 2003 ceasefire. The fencing done at a distance of 2 to 5 Km or more instead at the edge of the LoC, has no doubt, brought the infiltration level down but has, at the same time, multiplied the already existing problems of the border people. The recent techniques used by the infiltrators to cut the fence undermine the safety of the border villages. Economic burden due to reduced agricultural activity owing to fencing and mining have added to their woes. Plight of the people whose villages has been completely fenced out to the other side or of those, whose villages has been partially divided into two halves, raises serious question about their identity and freedom. Conflict in some sectors has also resulted in a kind of ‘Mini-Partition’ by laying of fence along IB and LoC. Not only that their education and health is at stake, they feel having become puppets in the hand of the politicians who use them as a mere vote banks.

Agricultural activity is the essence of the Indian villages and for a villager nothing can be more painful than being separated from his own ‘piece of land’ that provided him and his family the two square meals. Loss of land has added to the economic burden of the affected families on one hand and has lead to the loss of their livelihood on the other. Not only that people have to follow
the gate timing, they even have to walk several Kms. to reach the gates. It is like an alienation of a man from his real self. Amidst the rhetoric that the border areas are getting cultivated, the fact remains that the most part beyond fencing remains barren and uncultivated owing to fencing.

People at the borders have become wanderers in their own villages having surrendered their freedom to the Indian troops. Plight of the people whose villages have been completely fenced out to the other side or of those whose villages have been partially divided into two halves raises serious question about their identity and freedom. Families at the border cannot move about freely in their fields or the fear of being blown up with the undiffused mines. Loss of animal and human life in firing and shelling, living a life as a helpless amputees and having to bear the plight of discriminatory practices of the Government are some of the very few realities these people are living with. The trauma of being displaced from their native places, prolonged stay in the camps, increased economic strains and hardships of camp life have led to many psychological problems affecting their general health. Leading the settled life without having the presence of army personnel in and around their villages and fields, without having to bear the brunt of firing and cross border shelling on minor pretexts like India having won cricket match against Pakistan though seems a distant reality till the J&K issue permanently resolves, their immediate problems must be addressed on priority.

Notes


2. Ramakrishna et al., n. 1, p. 169

3. Ibid.


11. Ibid.


13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.


20. The Indian Express, May 6, 2002.


36. *Ibid*.
Situation along the International Border in Jammu

The protracted conflict in the state of J&K has brought innumerable sufferings to the people of the state. There is simply no part of the state that is left unaffected. However, the impact is more specific and grave on the villages close to the IB and LoC between India and Pakistan. To understand the impact of the conflict situation in its micro context, a study at village Treva in a conflict affected Sector Arnia of Jammu district was undertaken. For selecting the village for an in-depth study and also to understand the impact of conflict in the entire sector, a pilot study was undertaken in the forward villages of Arnia sector (See map 5.1).

Area Profile of Sector Arnia

Sector Arnia is located between the Ramgarh sector on one hand and the R.S. Pura sector on the other along the IB in Jammu district. As per the sources of J&K Police, of the total villages that fall in Sector Arnia, 10 villages lie at the IB. These villages are Pindi Camp, Sai Khurd, Devigarh, Nikowal, Treva, Pind Chanana, Pindi Charkan, Jabowal, Changia, and Chak Gorian. These are the ‘forward villages’ falling in sector Arnia. Most of these villages are located at a distance of 0-5 kms from the IB. However, some are even located at the zero line (See table 5.1).
Map No. 5.1

Jammu District showing Sector Arnia along the International Border

Table No.5.1

showing Forward villages located at the International Border in Sector Arnia of Jammu District.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Name of the Village</th>
<th>Distance from the IB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Pindi Camp</td>
<td>50 Mts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Sai Khurd</td>
<td>1.5 Km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Devigarh</td>
<td>Zero Line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Nikowal</td>
<td>Zero Line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Pind Chanana</td>
<td>Zero Line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Treva</td>
<td>1.5 Km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Pindi Charkan</td>
<td>100 Mts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Chak Gorian</td>
<td>1.5 Km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Changia</td>
<td>1Km</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CID Head Quarters, J&K Police.
Selection of the Villages for Pilot Study in Sector Arnia

Using simple random sampling method, five forward villages of sector Arnia were selected for an in-depth study. These villages are Sai, Nikowal, Treva, Jabowal and Changia. Two villages, Sai and Nikowal are located in Tehsil R.S. Pura. R.S. Pura has a total population of 179,613 with 34,390 households. Rural population of this Tehsil is 1,65,289 where as 14,324 is its urban population. The literacy rate of this Tehsil is 76.1 percent. The other three villages Treva, Jabowal and Changia are located in Tehsil Bishnah (See table 5.2). Earlier, all these villages were an important part of Tehsil R.S. Pura. However, during 1971-81, Tehsil Bishnah was created and a considerable part of this Tehsil was ceded to the newly created Bishnah Tehsil. In fact, Tehsil Bishnah was created out of Tehsil R.S. Pura only. Bishnah Tehsil now has a total population of 99,239 with 18,308 households. It has a rural population of 81,043 while 18,196 is the urban population. Literacy rate of this Tehsil is 74.2 percent. Map 5.2 shows the location of Tehsil R.S. Pura and Tehsil Bishnah in Jammu District.

The total number of households in the study villages varies between 100 and 550. Sai Khurd has the maximum of 546 households followed by Nikowal with 370, Treva with 187, Jabowal with 154 and Changia with 126 respectively (See table 5.2). An in-depth study of the villages under pilot study brought to light that village Sai is used to refer to the two adjoining villages lying at the International Border. These villages are Sai Kalan and Sai Khurd. These two villages have also been evaluated separately in the census 2001. However, for the purpose of our study, village Sai Khurd has been taken into consideration and is referred to as ‘Sai’ or ‘Sai Khurd’ in our study.
Table No. 5.2

Table showing the villages selected for pilot study with Tehsil and Number of Households

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Name of the Village</th>
<th>Tehsil</th>
<th>No. of Households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sai Khurd</td>
<td>R.S. Pura</td>
<td>546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Nikowal</td>
<td>R.S. Pura</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Treva</td>
<td>Bishnah</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Jabowal</td>
<td>Bishnah</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Changia</td>
<td>Bishnah</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Socio-Demographic Profile of the Villages under study

In the villages under study, the total population varies between 500 and 2500 souls. *Sai Khurd* has a maximum population of 2,111 persons while *Changia* has a minimum of 649 persons. Majority of the population in this region is Hindu. There is complete absence of Scheduled Tribe population in this sector. However, some scheduled caste families are found in almost all the villages. *Treva* has maximum scheduled castes population followed by *Jabowal* while *Sai* has the minimum (See table 5.3).
Map No. 5.2
Jammu District showing Tehsil R. S. Pura and Bishnah and Respective Villages under Study.

Table No. 5.3
Table showing Total population, Type of population (SC-ST) of Study Villages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Name of the village</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>SC</th>
<th>ST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Sai Khurd</td>
<td>2,111</td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Nikowal</td>
<td>1,337</td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Treva</td>
<td>991</td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>846</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Jabowal</td>
<td>655</td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>526</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Changia</td>
<td>649</td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of all the villages under study, *Changia* has the highest literacy rate of 86.3 percent with 478 literate and 171 illiterate people followed by *Sai* with 76.4 percent literacy rate. *Treva* has the lowest literacy rate of 68.1 percent with 586 literate and 405 illiterate people (See table 5.4).
Table No. 5.4

Table showing the Literacy Rate, Total Literate and Illiterate Population in the villages under study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Total Literates</th>
<th>Total Illiterates</th>
<th>Literacy Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sai</td>
<td>1,424</td>
<td>687</td>
<td>76.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Nikowal</td>
<td>875</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Treva</td>
<td>586</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>68.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Jabowal</td>
<td>392</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>70.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Changia</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>86.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Pilot Study

The major brunt of the simmering dispute between India and Pakistan is borne by the people living at the border. The history of this dispute dates back to the late 40's and the miseries of the border residents are also continuing since then. To understand the problems of these people, a pilot study in the five affected villages was undertaken. Interview schedules were prepared in Hindi to facilitate easy communication for the respondents. These Schedules were based on a set of questions related to the number of times the people from this sector have been displaced, places where they were made to take shelter, common problems due to their strategic position at the border, impact of conflict situation on their major occupation i.e. agriculture etc. For each village selected for the pilot study, 50 interview schedules were prepared. Responses were taken from the head of the households and their responses clearly brought to light the sufferings of the people in the sector under study.

The people of this sector have been displaced nearly five times. After 1947-48, they were displaced in the year 1965, 1971, 1999, 2001 and 2002 (See table 5.6). Lamenting on the nature of
instability prevailing in the area, Capt. Hira Singh of village *Sai Khurd* said,

“When ever we try to settle down, whenever we think of investing some money in a small business activity here, we have to leave. There are no future prospects for our children in this region.”

**Table No. 5.6**

Table showing responses related to displacement of villages under pilot study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Name of the Village</th>
<th>Indo-Pak War of 1965</th>
<th>Indo-Pak War of 1971</th>
<th>Kargil Conflict of 1999</th>
<th>Standoff following attack on Indian Parliament in 2001 and Kaluchak attack in 2002</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sai Khurd</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Nikowal</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Treva</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Changia</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of these displacements have been temporary in nature (See table 5.7). Temporary displacement takes place whenever there is disturbance on the border. Such temporary displacements are a recurring phenomenon being suffered by the border people in some belts. People move to safer places when the tension is high and go back to their villages once the situation normalizes.
Table No. 5.7,

Table showing year-wise Nature of Displacements of the Villages under study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Name of the Village</th>
<th>Major Displacements</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Indo-Pak War of 1965</td>
<td>Indo-Pak War of 1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sai Khurd</td>
<td>Temporary</td>
<td>Temporary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Nikowal</td>
<td>Temporary</td>
<td>Temporary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Treva</td>
<td>Temporary</td>
<td>Temporary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Jabowal</td>
<td>Temporary</td>
<td>Temporary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Changia</td>
<td>Temporary</td>
<td>Temporary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When asked about the common problems due to their strategic position at the International border, these people presented a long tale of their difficulties (See table 5.8). Constant displacements are a part of their daily lives. These people have to leave their villages at the spur of a moment. Sometimes, the female folks have to run in the absence of the male members that add to their problems.\(^1\) It becomes difficult to carry along even the basic things that one requires. In the recent displacements, most of the families left their animals behind while some of them managed to take them to the nearby safer areas. Not only this, some of them had to come back to find their animals dead, intact at the places where they were tied. Their houses were also destroyed because of shelling. There was also immense loss of human life. Accidents due to mine blasts are very common even now when most of the area have been cleared of mines. Men and animals equally fall prey to such sinister weapons.
### Table No 5.8
Table Showing Common Problems of the Families in Villages under Pilot Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.NO.</th>
<th>Villages</th>
<th>Displacement</th>
<th>Shelling</th>
<th>Firing</th>
<th>Mining</th>
<th>Fencing</th>
<th>DCB</th>
<th>Infiltration</th>
<th>Presence of Army</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sai Khurd</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Nikoval</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Treva</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Jaboval</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Changia</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Our study revealed that firing from across the border in this sector is very common. However, after fencing and construction of DcB, the intensity has reduced that have helped the farmers to carry out their agricultural activities without any fear to some extent.

Displacements are very common in all the villages under study. Our pilot study revealed that after being displaced over the years, people of this area have normally been made to stay in Arnia, R.S., Pura, Dablehar, and Bishnah. Most of the people go to their relatives who are far away from the border. But generally, one member of their family stayed in the camps to avail any governmental help in the form of relief when available. Another major problem that our study revealed relates to agriculture. Because of the laying of mines, construction of DcB and fencing, a considerable part of land has been lost that have increased their economic strains by manifolds.

The above discussion puts forward the following points:

1. All the villages of this sector are equally affected because of their strategic position at the IB between India and
Pakistan, having to suffer from problems like shelling, firing from across the border, mine blasts, displacements and the like.

2. People from these villages have been displaced nearly five times till date following full scale wars, proxy wars and artillery duels between the armies of the two hostile nations. Displacements have primarily been temporary in nature.

3. After being displaced from their native villages, these people have been made to stay in the various relief camps established by the government or various non-governmental organizations.

On the basis of the above observations, village Treva which is at the heart of Sector Arnia has been randomly selected for an in-depth study.

About the Village under Study

Before 1947, village Treva was dominated by Pathans (Muslims) and there were a few Brahmin and Mahajan families as well. Girdhari Lal and Dabari Lal, the two ‘Mahajan brothers’ were the ‘Malik’ (owners) of the village. They were engaged in business activity of the village and together owned nearly 546 kanals of land. Thus, before 1947, the village was dominated by Muslims with two Hindu castes i.e. Brahmans and Mahajans. There were a number of villages around Treva which were either Muslim majority or Hindu majority before 1947. For example, ‘Pathey’ and ‘Lalupur,’ the two small villages were Muslim dominated whereas, ‘Pindi Sarochan Khurd,’ ‘Ajpur’ and ‘Tarapur’ were Hindu dominated though the total number of households in these villages were very few. When the partition took place, Muslims from Treva and other surrounding villages in its neighbourhood went to Pakistan. The left over Hindu families in the then Muslim majority villages felt vulnerable to constant and sudden attacks at night from Pakistan. There was a grave danger of being brutally massacred by the guerillas from the other side with sharp edged weapons. To face such a situation people from the neighbouring villages of Treva moved permanently to Treva making it a multi-caste village and leaving their own native villages as uninhabited.
Now, Treva is a very complex village. It has a huge clustered structure which hosts families of other neighbouring uninhabited villages like Lalupur, Tarapur, Ajpur, Pindi Sarochan Khurd, Pathay etc. giving it a complex structural entity. Officially, people of villages other than Treva are a part and parcel of their respective villages. They own their agricultural land in their native villages and carry out their agricultural activity there but have been staying in the vicinity of Treva since 1947. For an outsider, therefore, demarcating Treva from other villages settled there is a difficult task. Infact very few people actually know that village Treva is a composite structure of various other villages settled there.

For the purpose of our study however, the focus was on village Treva in specific and not the other villages settled there. Treva has a total population of 991 souls with 187 households according to census 2001. The total scheduled caste population in the village is 846 souls while scheduled tribe population is nil. The literacy rate is 68 percent with 586 literate souls while illiteracy rate is 47 percent with 405 illiterate souls (See table 5.9).

**Table No. 5.9**

**Table Showing Population, Number of Household and Literacy and Illiteracy level of village Treva**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Attributes</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>No. of Households</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Schedule Caste</td>
<td>846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Scheduled Tribe</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Literates</td>
<td>586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Illiterates</td>
<td>405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Percentage of Literate population</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Percentage of Illiterate population</td>
<td>47.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As in other parts of India, caste in this village form a hierarchy with the Brahmans at the top. The idea of pollution and purity finds relevance in this village as well. However, it is not observed
as strongly as in other parts. Some higher caste families expressed that this is primarily due to the fact that majority of the village population is from lower castes due to which the rules of pollution and purity cannot be followed strictly. People of higher castes do not eat, sit and drink with the lower castes during their ceremonies and festivals. Women observe ritual purity more strictly than men and as such, the ideas of pollution-purity seem to be less popular with the youth. Lower caste people were often observed fetching drinking water from the hand pumps of higher castes.

Village has a temple with an idol of ‘Lord Shiva’ and ‘Durga.’ Besides the normal routine prayers, people specially visit the temple on Mondays, Tuesdays and Saturdays. There are also as many as nine ‘pir baba’ in the village. These are normally the places of worship for the Muslims. However, people of the village light ‘dia’ (in oil) on Thursdays and on the fulfillment of their wishes and prayers, they offer a ‘chadar’, decorated green cloth with flowers etc. Presence of nine ‘pir baba’ in this village clearly brings out that the village was earlier dominated by Muslims. The way these religious places are worshipped today by the Hindus reiterates their faith in one God irrespective of religion. There are also some temples of local deities. These temples are built under big trees. There are some temples which are exclusively visited by women while in the others, the entry of the women is strictly prohibited. What is typical of this village is that the main temples are open to all the castes, irrespective of high and low while temples of local deities are visited by their respective castes. Adrian C. Mayer in his study of Ramkheri village observed similar practices where in one of the ceremonies, all forty-four shrines are honoured in succession as the concern of the entire village. R.D. Singh in his study of Senapur village also observed that the village deity is supposed to protect all its people and animals from external dangers and at least once a year, each family must worship the village deity.

Collective participation in the religious ceremonies takes place during festivals from time to time. For e.g., during ‘Jagrata’ (being up the entire night offering prayers to Goddess Durga) people
of all the castes, in fact, the entire village get together and sing the entire night. People of adjoining villages also join; even public address system is put up to enable people of neighbouring region to hear it. It gets over in the morning where 'puri-halwa' and black chanas (grams) are distributed as 'prasaad.' Another remarkable feature is the prayer service at 'Nao Gaj Peer' (Nine feet long grave). It is an annual feature and is marked by a big fair ('mela') where wrestling is the main event. People, including men, women and children from the neighbouring region join in. The place is decorated and people put up stalls of eatables and sweets such as 'burfi,' 'pakoras,' 'jaleabi' etc. Women offer prayers, eat, buy little stuff and leave while the men folk stay behind for wrestling that begin late in the afternoon. The winners are awarded by the elders. Such village ceremonies are commonly an expression of village solidarity. Beals in his study of Gopalpur village in South India observed celebration of festivals called jatras given by all in a village to honour their village deity. The host families invite relatives from other places and regale them with food and entertainment. Wrestling matches between teams from different villages are a principal feature.

'Ram Lila,' during the Navratras in the month of October attracts the villagers to Arnia, a small town nearby. The young people of the area form a kind of 'Mandali' (Ram Lila Club now-a-days) and rehearse various roles like that of 'Rama,' 'Sita,' 'Ravana' and finally enact those roles at night on stage in front of the people. Elders sit behind for prompting. When the actors forget their respective dialogues, it becomes a source of entertainment for the people. B.S. Cohn in his study of Senapur, a large village in the Gangetic Valley also observed the Presentation of Ram Lila by the Thakurs.

Since the region is known for its fertile soil, almost all the families are engaged in the cultivation of land. Rice and wheat are the main crops grown. Wheat is sown in the month of November-December and harvested in June while Paddy is sown in June-July and harvested in November. Pulses like 'mash' (black dal) is grown twice a year. Firstly, it is sown in March and harvested
in July while in the second season sowing takes place in July and harvesting in October. To meet the local oil requirements, 'tori' (sort of mustard) is sown in August and harvested in December while 'sarson' (mustard) is grown in October and harvested in April. Green fodder is grown all through the year to meet the needs of the animals. Vegetables are also grown and put up in the markets in the nearby towns. For example, potatoes are cropped in October-November and are ready by March. This is a good source of income for the villagers. Onion, garlic, turmeric etc. are also grown for self-consumption.

Village panchayat plays an integral part in the village development. It sorts out matters related to land, irrigation, personal trifles etc. Treva has a 'Panchayat Ghar.' Sh. Atma Ram is the 'Sarpanch' of the village. Five other villages fall under the Gram panchayat of Treva. These villages are Lalupur, Tarapur, Pindi Sarochan Khurd, Gore Chack and Rangpur. The total number of the members of Gram Panchayat is six. Two women, Smt. Darshna Kumari, and Smt. Savita Kumari are also the members of the Panchayat.

Impact of Conflict Situation

The basic unit of organization in the village is family. Family as an institution is unique and near universal. Social philosophers have all through history, though at long intervals, reflected and commented upon the family. The family constituted an important area of study in sociology in its infancy. In the Indian context, family studies have been through ups and downs in popularity. In the absence of a universally accepted definition of the 'family' and also a uniform manner of identification of the family units, it is considered convenient to use the term 'household'6 which is regarded as a residential and commensal unit of patri kin. However, in this book the term 'family' is used synonymously with 'household.' Also, the same definition of 'household' is used in the census, making it more convenient and appropriate for the present study.
Using the Interview Schedules with both closed and open ended questions, a sample of 120 families was drawn from village Treva. The method of simple random sampling was used to select the respondents. The respondents here are the heads of the households. Most respondents were above 55 years of age, that is, 67.50%. 19.16% were between 45 and 55 years while 7.5% were between 35 and 45 years. The minimum respondents were in the age group of 25 and 35 years, constituting 5.83% (See table 5.10).

Table No. 5.10
Table showing responses Related to the Age of Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Below 15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>15-25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>25-35</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>35-45</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>45-55</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Above 55</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>67.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Our study revealed that majority of the respondents had never attended the school. Nearly 49.16% were illiterate while 19.16% had completed the schooling up to the primary level. 15.83% had studied up to the middle class whereas 10.83% had high schooling. Comparatively, a very small percent of the respondents (3.33%) had studied up to higher secondary level while 1.66% were graduates (See table 5.11).

Table No. 5.11
Table showing Responses Related to the Educational Level of the Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Qualification</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>49.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>High School</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Higher Secondary</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Graduate and above</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Majority of the households were male headed. All the decisions related to the households are exclusively taken by the male members though they may consult their female counterparts at times. Nearly 77.50% households were found to be male headed and remaining 22.50 were female headed. This included the widows and those house holds where the male members are absent from the households on pretext of jobs etc. for most of the time (Table 5.12).
Table No. 5.12
Table showing Responses related to the Female Headed and Male Headed Households

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Type of Households</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Male Headed</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>77.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Female Headed</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>22.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>120</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When probed into the reason for the conflict situation at the border between armies of the two countries, people gave varied answers ranging from Kashmir to General Mushrraf. Nearly 31.66 percent of the respondents said that it was due to 'India and Pakistan's hostility.' Whether it is due to the policies of Indian government or Pakistan, government was not made clear. Nearly 44.16% said that it is 'Kashmir issue' which is the root cause of the contention. 7.50% responded that it is because of the politicians, who, owing to their vested interest never made sincere efforts to resolve the issue. Nearly 10.83% held General Mushrraf responsible for the problem. Remaining 5.83% did not give any response (See table 5.13).

Table No. 5.13
Table showing Responses Related to the Reasons for the Conflict Situation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Indo-Pak Hostility</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>31.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Kashmir Issue</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>44.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Politicians</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>No Response</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>120</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
People of this village have been facing several problems due to the on-going conflict. There are some problems that have become a part of their day to day life. Continuous firing along the border takes place even when the situation is normal. Mines often laid down in fields in an apparent preparation for the war. Construction of *Ditch-cum-Bandh* and fencing at the border has added to their woes. On asking about their most common problem, nearly 35.83% of the respondents revealed that they suffer the most due to firing while the next common problem reported by 30% of the respondents was displacement. Mining, presence of army, construction of Ditch cum Bandh, fencing, shelling was reported by 5.83%, 2.50%, 4.16%, 7.50% and 7.50% respondents respectively while the rest 6.66% expressed that they suffer due to all the problems viz. shelling, firing, mining etc. (See table 5.14). Shelling is occasional as expressed by 7.50% respondents and affects people only when the tension is high. People are also affected when the army takes over the entire area during their built up along the border. The border areas for instance witnessed massive presence of the security forces and the subsequent emergence of the five km security belt. This security belt, ranging from IB to LOC led to the displacement of thousands of border residents. However, infiltration from across the border is not a very common phenomenon. Infact, none of the families from the village highlighted this problem during the survey. But the content analysis of the newspapers brought to light several incidents wherein, the mercenaries from across the border made entries into the Indian side and attacked the civilian population in the surrounding region.
Table No. 5.14
Table showing Responses Related to the Most Common Problem faced by the Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Problem</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Shelling</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Firing</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>35.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Army</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>DcB</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Fencing</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Displacements</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Infiltration</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>All the above</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table No. 5.15
Table Showing Responses Related to the Years of displacement and the Reasons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Year of Displacement</th>
<th>Reasons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Indo-Pakistan War</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>Indo-Pakistan War</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Kargil War</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Attack on India’s Parliament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Kaluchack Massacre</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the study the respondents revealed that they have been severely affected due to the constant displacements. When asked in the context of the recent displacements between 1999 and 2002, our respondents revealed that there has been 100 percent displacement in the village in the recent tensions (See table 5.16). At times, the entire village has been completely deserted. Some of the respondents revealed that they have been displaced as many as eight times. The most noted displacements after 1947 were in

These displacements are temporary in nature and have become a recurring phenomenon. The stay in the camps after being displaced may prolong from a few days to months that may extend to years or beyond as in case of displacement from Akhnoor sector along the LoC. The Chhamb displaced people from Akhnoor, for example, have permanently moved out of their native places since 1971. But those displaced during the Kargil war in 1999 took shelter in various camps established in the adjoining areas of Akhnoor like Devipur, Naiwala, Thandi Choi and the like could not go back for nearly a decade that gave rise to a sort of semi-permanent displacement. Although, people along the entire border belt suffer from the same problems but there is an element of specificity as far as the sufferings of those along the LoC and IB are concerned as is visible from their differing nature of displacements.

Table No. 5.16

Table Showing Responses Related to Displacement from Time to Time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Displacement</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Our study suggests that in a conflict situation people tend to become secretive and do not trust each other. When probed, 94.16 percent of the respondents revealed that they did not tell other people in their neighbourhood about their going out of the village. People of Treva left the village individually and made deliberate efforts to hide from other villagers for the fear of leaving the house without anyone to guard the same. They expressed fear of their rice, grains and other belongings being stolen in their absence. The remaining 5.83 percent left the village en masse (See table No. 5.17).
Table No. 5.17
Table Showing Responses Related to the situation while leaving the village

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Type of Loss</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Individually</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>94.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>In Group</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is thus brought out that the unity of the village gets disturbed in a conflict situation. People, instead of helping their neighbours out or instead of taking their help become secretive and the trust that villager’s exhibit in the normal circumstances get shaken. Villagers who have their own conveyance or who are able to make some arrangement tend to move out secretly lest they may be asked for carrying neighbour’s stuff or taking them along. For each villager, his and his family’s security becomes a first priority. Villagers also revealed that mostly people leave without sharing with each other so that they get a better corner or area in a camp on priority, if they are able to reach ahead of others.

Sometimes, people here have to leave their homes all of a sudden without any preparation. Army, at times, orders immediate evacuations at odd hours leaving people with no choice but to leave. People thus leave their homes and hearths in search of safety quite unaware of the possibility of their return to their villages. Our survey revealed that if the families are given ample time to prepare to leave the village with some support system, then the men folk would prefer sending the females and the children first to the safer places. But if they have to leave all of a sudden, then they have to accompany the female and children.

In the recent displacements, each family made its own arrangements and left the village devastated but as the situation normalized in a day or two, men folk returned back to the villages. Some men used to get back to the village to look after the animals etc. in the morning and returned back in the evenings to their families in camps. In this way the displacements lead to the temporary disintegration of the family as a unit (See table 5.18).
Table No. 5.18

Table Showing Responses Related to the Nature of the Recent Displacement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Nature</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of Respondents</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Permanent</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Entire Family</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Temporary/Recurring</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>Some members</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Prolonged</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>One person behind</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>76.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Our study revealed that there were 100% temporary displacements in the recent years especially between 1999 and 2002. The trend of the displacements so far shows that the displacements have become recurring phenomena for these people. Disintegration of the families as an off shoot of displacement is evident from the fact that nearly 76.66 percent of the families migrated in which one male member was staying behind to look after the homes and hearths. Only 22.5 percent of the families migrated as a unit. But in such cases as well, the men folks kept paying regular visits to their households. Such a situation has many sociological consequences as the very nature of these displacements undermines the entity of the institution of family as a whole (See table 5.18). Women revealed that they find it difficult to mind children as they learn to enjoy more space in absence of fathers.
After being displaced, these people took shelter at various places. Some went to the relief camps established by the administration while others moved to the rented accommodations and to their relatives. Nearly 71.66% of the people lived in the relief camps while 19.16% moved to the houses of their relatives. 9.16% took the rented accommodation (See table 5.19). Though people faced different kinds of problems in the camps but the economic constraints prevented many families to take private accommodations. People also revealed that it becomes difficult to move as a family to a relative’s house as it sometimes sours the relationships and also put an additional burden on the hosts. So, most of them left their children and aged at their relative’s houses while they stayed in the camps themselves. This again led to the further disintegration of family as a unit.

Table No. 5.19

Table Showing Responses Related to the Place of Accommodation after Displacement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Place of Accommodation</th>
<th>No. of Responses</th>
<th>Percentage of Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Relief Camps</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>71.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Relative’s Place</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Rented Accommodation</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>120</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These people were made to stay in various camps established at different places like the higher secondary School R.S. Pura, Bishnah, and Salehar etc. In the camps, various classrooms were allotted to the displaced people and in one classroom nearly 30-40 families were placed. People could barely adjust their belongings in such congested places. People faced a number of socio-cultural, economic and health related problems. There was a complete loss of private life of a husband and a wife. The psychological effect of this may not be very visible to those affected but it does affect both the partners. In the villages, a
considerable distance is maintained among the male members and the females like between the father-in-law and the daughter-in-law. It was revealed that daughter-in-laws do not directly talk to father-in-laws while being at the villages but it becomes difficult to maintain the same distance in the camps due to lack of space. Women feel physically weak as they do not get enough time to lie down and take rest during the day due to the presence of male members around. Some women expressed that they never got enough space to even spread their legs while sleeping at night in the camps. Lack of proper sleep also affected their health severely.

The places were suffocating and had no proper ventilation. There were no fans and people had to sleep in the open. They suffered in great number due to disease such as malaria since mosquitoes are very common in the area. Food provided to the displaced was tasteless and also lacked the required nutrition level. The problems of some pregnant women got perpetuated due to lack of health facilities and proper nutritional diet. The non-availability of female doctors and ambulance specifically added to their problems. They faced problems like the lack of toilets and the bathing space. There was no provision of regular cleaning of the toilets. One or two toilets of the school buildings where camps were established were not enough to cater to the needs of such a high number of families accommodated in those buildings. Inspite of this, people were not able to make their own arrangements due to increased economic strains.

Sometimes the unhealthy alliances among the youth developed due to the close proximity that lead to verbal abuses among the families. Women expressed that they continuously suffered due to problems such as that of their stuff being stolen. They always had to guard their belongings carefully. One member or the other from the family had to remain with their stuff keeping a close eye.

People not only suffered in the camps owing to lack of space, they also suffered due to the increased economic strains on the family budget. 94.16% of the respondents agreed that the economic strains get perpetuated in a conflict situation. 5.83% however,
did not feel that the economic burden is increased in a conflict situation (See table 5.20). This is primarily due to the fact that families which are a little well off than others may not feel the burden as much as it is felt by others around them. Also, people who are not completely dependent on agriculture are less likely to be affected by such situations.

Table No. 5.20

Table Showing Responses Related to Increased Economic Strains in a Conflict Situation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Response</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>94.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a conflict situation economic strains increase on various pretexts. Most of the men folk were in the constant process of paying periodic or regular visits to their villages to attend to the houses they left behind and also to attend to the animals for which they required daily fare i.e. ‘Kiraya’. Many of them had to change two to three buses to reach their villages. Going to and fro actually put a strain on their pockets. Since army had taken all over their villages and fields, there was shortage of green fodder for the animals which is their main daily diet. Normally, the green fodder is mixed with dry hay before it is given to the animals. Well off farmers even add the ready-to-be-used feed available in the markets as a supplement diet. In addition to the increased economic strains put by the daily up and down of the male members added with the burden of providing food to the animals. Border migrants also suffered because of the fact that the food provided in the camps was generally not adequate to meet the daily diet requirements due to which these people had to spend from their own pockets to arrange for something extra. When asked about the state of agriculture during the build up of Army in 2001-2002, 82.50 % of the people agreed that the conflict situation have affected the agricultural activity. The remaining 17.5 percent did not express the similar view (See table 5.21).
### Table No. 5.21

**Table Showing Responses Related to the Impact of Conflict Situation on Agricultural Activity**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Response</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>82.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When asked about the specificity of the problems related to agriculture, 85.83% percent expressed that they were not able to cultivate their fields consecutively for four seasons as the entire land was taken over by the army and people were ordered not to cultivate fields till further orders. Nearly 3.30% farmers were affected by DcB and 4.16% by mining. Remaining 2.50% got affected by fencing and 4.16% percent suffered due to firing and shelling (See table 5.22). By and large, maximum people got affected as they could not cultivate their fields.

### Table No. 5.22

**Table Showing Responses Related to the Specificity of Problems Related to Agricultural Activity**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Problems</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Unable to Crop the fields</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>85.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>DcB</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Fencing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Firing and Shelling</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Though a very small percent of the people got affected due to Ditch cum Bandh (DcB), mining and fencing, the people of the neighbouring villages who held land along the International Border got severely affected. These include people of village Kotkuba, Ajpur, Lalupur, Pathey and Pindi Sarochan Khurd. Those affected due to DcB and fencing were able to grow wheat after five long years in 2006.

People from Treva and other surrounding villages earlier had complete access to their fields at any time of the day from all the four directions. Now, due to the fence, the movement is only through a gate built along the fence at a distance of one and a half km to two kms from each gate and these gates are manned by Border Security Forces on the International Border while these are manned by army at LoC as mentioned in the chapter four. These villagers are caught between the gate and the security guard manning Ditch cum Bandh on Zero Line. They are compelled to follow the timing of the gate failing which they are debarred from farming. The gate timings vary as along the IB the gate opens at 7 AM and closes almost at 7 PM. Some respondents however expressed that the timings are from 8 AM to 4 PM. During the sowing season, the villagers who depend on farming are habitual of working in the fields in pleasant predawn environment. But due to the fence between their houses and fields, they are bound to follow timings drafted by security personnel. Even those who reach the gates manned by BSF or army at 5 AM in the morning have to wait for hours for others to come as they are allowed to cross the gate in groups.

The seasonal migrants from other states who worked in these agricultural fields got severely affected owing to the prevailing situation along the border. The land owners failed to give them their labour due to the fall in production rate owing to firing and shelling and also due to the loss of agricultural land owing to fencing. Reduced number of working hours result in less agricultural out put. Also, the families whose lands have come under the fence or fenced out completely got severely affected. Families of this village earlier used to sell the wood after cutting
the trees that they had planted along the border belts. This yielded them good income. Most of these trees were cut during fencing for which the compensation is yet to be paid. Not only this, after ceasefire, when farmers resumed agricultural activity, they faced acute shortage of water. In Armia sector, ‘basmati’ (paddy) is the main crop and also the main source of their livelihood. The basmati of this area is even exported but due to damage of tube-wells in the area, people have not been able to raise the good crop.

Mining, besides inflicting harm on animal and human lives also leads to low production due to loss of fertility. This again means low out put and increased economic strain on the family. There have been a number of cases of mine causalities in village Treva and its surrounding region. For example, Sardari Lal of village Pindi Sarcohan Khurd lost one leg in the mine accident while working in his field in 1971. Though the area was completely demined by the army and had been handed over back to the civilian population. Sardari Lal was working in his field around 11 AM when he stepped on the killer mine. He was taken to the hospital by his younger brother where doctors amputated his one leg. He finds it difficult to work in the fields with his artificial leg but has no other option as he has to earn a living for his four children and his wife. It becomes even more difficult for him to reach the fields which are around two kms away from the place of his stay. It is imperative to mention here that Sardari Lal did not get any aid from the government. All amputees like Sardari Lal are in a particular plight in this village where most of them are dependent on agriculture. Unable to participate fully in carrying out agricultural activity means less output than the normal and as such, a household with a landmine victim are more likely to have difficulty in providing food for the family. Mine victims need special medical care all their lives which an average family completely dependent on agriculture cannot provide readily.

During our survey, another such incident came to light. Kanta Devi, originally hailing from village Purana Dowan Garh lying at a distance of 2 km from the IB and now married in village Treva lost both her eyes in mine accident way back in 1971. She
recalls the tragic incident in which two of her friends lost their lives on the spot. Kanta, along with three other friends had taken the animals out for grazing in the fields when one of them hit the mine while playing. Kanta did not speak for days. She finds it hard to survive without eyes. She has four children and a husband who help her manage day to day life. She expressed that life was still easy as long as she was not married and was in her parent's care but after marriage she realized that its hard way to live and manage without eyes.

Though there is a considerable down fall in the number of causalities due to firing after fencing and construction of DcB, but firing is still common in the region. In the recent tensions between India and Pakistan, three people of village Treva lost their lives. This includes Ram Paul, aged 16, Leela Kumari, 45 years and Sawarnjeet Singh Nirankari who was 65 years of age. In another such episode, Bachan Lal of village Korotana was killed when Pakistan army started mortar shelling. Bachan Lal was packing off his luggage for leaving the village when a mortar shell fell in the house killing him on the spot and damaging the house. In Changia, land mines set up during the 1971 war had influenced as many as 23 residents till the end of the December 2001.11

Besides the loss of human life, people also suffered heavily due to loss of animals, destruction of their houses and damage to their goods while moving out to the safer places. 4.16% of the people impressed that they suffered some human loss, 5.83% suffered some animal loss, 10.83% suffered due to damage to their houses while the majority, 73.33% suffered heavy losses during transportation of their goods to safer places. For e.g. their refrigerators, television etc. fell off the 'tongas' while shifting. The remaining 5.83 percent suffered some other types of loss. (See table 5.23).
Table No. 5.23
Table Showing Responses Related to the Type of Losses Suffered in Recent Displacements.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Human</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Animal</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Houses Damaged</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Loss during shifting</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>73.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Material losses can always be met with one way or the other but the loss due to the adverse effect on the education of children is irreparable. 80.83% of the respondents revealed that the education of their children have been affected adversely. Remaining 19.16% however, differed from this view. (See table 5.24). Our respondents expressed that when the tension was high, schools were closed down. People got displaced and shifted to the camps but there were no arrangement of schools. Syllabi were not completed but the authorities took the examination in time due to which many children failed in their board examination. This lead to an increase in the drop out rates as children lost interest in their studies and never took admission after the schools restarted. Some mothers revealed that their children performed well in studies from the beginning but failed in matriculation. Owing to the loss of interest, many of them did not even try to take the supplementary examination.
Table No. 5.24

Table Showing Responses Related to the Adverse Effect on Education due to Conflict Situation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>80.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Intra family relations have undergone a deep change. In our survey 90.83% of the respondents expressed that the Joint households got disintegrated into separate units as nuclear households. Remaining 9.16% however, differed on this (See table 5.25).

Table No. 5.25

Table Showing Responses Related to the Effect of Conflict Situation on Familial Ties.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Response</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>90.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Families broke up on various pretexts. For e.g. economic strains. During normal circumstances, in a joint household, the kitchen was largely dependent on the income from the agricultural land that was held in common. As the agricultural activity got affected due to burning of standing crops, mining, lack of agricultural activity etc., it started affecting the amicable joint family relations. Married sons of the family who were engaged in various other occupations were required to pool in extra income to maintain the balance in running the households but for this, they were often not ready. As a result, they continued to live in the same houses but established their separate kitchens. In our survey, 22.5% respondents felt that families broke up due to the
economic strains, 7.5% held that it was due to the lack of space in the camps while the majority, 70% felt that the break up was primarily due to the government aid which was given per family (See table 5.26).

Table No. 5.26
Table Showing Responses Related to the Reasons for Break-up of Joint Households

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Response</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Economic Strains</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Lack of space in camps</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Government Aid</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After being displaced, the entire family did not move to one place. Married sons had to fall back upon their affinal kins. After getting back once the normalcy was returned, they found it difficult to adjust once again in a joint family system and tend to establish separate households. Our survey revealed 6.66% preferred to stay with paternal kin, 19.16% with maternal and 74.16% with their affinal kins (Table 5.27).

Table No. 5.27
Table Showing Responses Related to the Preference of stay in case of Emergency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Preferences</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Paternal Kin</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Maternal Kin</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Affinal Kin</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>74.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Joint families also got divided on the pretext of availing government aid. Government gave Rs. 400 per family member and the maximum limit was Rs. 1600 per family as in case of the border migrants displaced from Akhnoor along the LoC. Our study revealed that to avail government aid by hook or crook, people tried to establish separate households for their married sons. Some families even tried to make fake certificates and showed their ‘unmarried’ sons as ‘married.’ This fake exercise actually led to the break up of the traditional joint households into nuclear households.

Inter-caste and Intra-caste relations got equally affected. When the tension was high, various NGOs came forward with aid etc. in the form of ration, soaps, sugar and picked up handful of elderly persons to help distribute the aid among the villagers. The criteria they normally followed while distributing was ‘one member per family’. But at times, when each member of one particular family lined up to get a separate share was objected to by those in the process of distribution, it lead to tensions. This, of course led to the binding of members of a particular caste against the rest of the castes in a village. Caste leaders also made sure that their members were equally represented in distribution of aid, compensation etc.

Our study also brought to light that in the normal circumstances people share close relations with people of the neighbouring regions. They invite people of adjoining villages in their ceremonies etc. but maintenance of such relations becomes difficult due to increased economic strains in a conflict situation. Even in a conflict situation, people of neighbouring village remain helpful to each other. In case of any emergency or casualty, they rush to each other’s village for help. However, joining each other during the rituals of birth and especially of death may not be possible when the situation is high. This has the other side too. Relations get adversely affected when various agencies send aid in a conflict situation in the form of ration, blankets, soaps etc. When aid reaches one village and does not reach the other, it sours their relationships between them. The villages that fail to
get aid make all possible efforts to stop the trucks carrying aid on the way and take them directly to their own villages.

In our study 69.16% of the respondents agreed that the relation with the neighbouring villages get affected in a conflict situation. However, the view of the remaining 30.83% was the opposite (See table 5.28).

**Table No. 5.28**

**Table Showing Responses Related to the Effect of Conflict Situation on Village to Village Ties**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Response</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>69.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>30.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nearly, 69.16% revealed to have friendly relation with the neighbouring villages while 30.83% expressed that the relation remain hostile even during normalcy. However, after displacement, only 59.16 percent said to have shared friendly relations while the remaining 40.83 percent did not share friendly relations with people of neighbouring villages (See table 5.29).

**Table No. 5.29**

**Table Showing Responses Related to the Nature of Village to Village Ties in conflict situation.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Friendly</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>69.16</td>
<td>Friendly</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>59.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Hostile</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>30.83</td>
<td>Hostile</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>40.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although, marrying within the village here is a taboo, the fact that people from the neighbouring villages came and established their households in Treva and still consider each other as belonging to different villages, they have been adhering to this practice. It is generally common with the lower castes and the Jat Sikhs of surrounding villages. People from these castes still prefer giving their daughters in the nearby villages. But some castes like Brahmins and Rajputs have been facing problems in seeking good alliances for their sons. People refuse to give daughters in the areas where people are not leading stable and peaceful life. This made some families to take up construction in the outskirts of Jammu City (See table 5.30). Nearly, 52.5% of the people faced problems in seeking marriage alliance, 17.5% felt that the level of celebration has been reduced while 30% felt that there are restrictions on the movement due to presence of army that have resulted in decline of the level of celebration in marriage functions.

During the survey it has been observed that the village life has been affected on the whole. The socio-cultural life that ruled the ‘Village Chaupals’ was once the remarkable feature of village life and is largely missing now. There is shrinking of the level of celebrations during marriage, birth and death rituals. Aged is more confined to their houses.

Presence of army in the villages before the actual build up restricted the movement of the villagers. Female found it difficult to cope up in such a situation. Lack of toilets in the houses added to their problems as the fields were taken over by army. Villagers became alien in their own land and houses. Destrucions of the village infrastructure have lead to the under development of the village. 65.83% of the respondents during our survey revealed that the village is under developed due to the conflict situation. The remaining 34.16% did not express the similar view (See table 5.31). The roads have been completely damaged by the army tanks giving the village a deserted look. The postwar reconstruction work which was expected to have been taken up is largely missing.
Table No. 5.30

Table Showing Responses Related to specificity of impact on the institution of marriage.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Problem in seeking Alliance</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>52.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Lack of Celebrations</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Restrictions on Movement</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When asked about the solution to the problem, 52.50% respondents expressed their views in favour of Bilateral Negotiation. 32.50% expressed that the ultimate solution is the war while 9.16% were in favour of some sort of mediation while 5.83% expressed their views in favour of some other solution (Table 5.32). Most of the people did not want war as they felt that it leads to loss of human life and a lot of money is wasted which could be used for the development of their areas. They feel secure and comfortable looking after their agricultural land rather than moving out of the village permanently.

Table No. 5.31

Table Showing Responses Related to the overall under development of the village due to conflict situation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Response</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>65.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>34.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table No. 5.32

Table Showing Responses Related to the solution of the problem.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Response</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>War</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>32.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Bilateral Negotiations</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>52.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Mediation</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that the conflict situation has impacted every facet of the village life, be it their social life or economic. Conflict over the years has not only brought the huge human death toll in the area, animals have also been the equal victims. Socio-cultural life that marked the very essence of the village has been severely affected. Fields have been mined, houses destroyed, animals killed, tube-wells and pumps damaged, standing crops burnt resulting in extra strains on the family budget. Compensation has not been given to all and those who got have been left dissatisfied. There has been an overall underdevelopment of the village due to shrinking of agricultural activities owing to loss of land in construction of DcB, fencing and mining. Unemployment is rampant as there are no job avenues for the rural youth owing to lack of development, in a sense, there are no cottage industries etc. to absorb the younger lot. People also do not take risk in starting the new business activity owing to lack of stability that adds to the underdevelopment scene.

Inter-family and intra-family relations are equally affected. On the one hand, the ‘traditional joint family’ system is breaking giving way to the nuclear family (joint household and nuclear household in our study) owing to increased economic strains and
the urge to avail government aid while on the other, ‘temporary disintegration’ of families is emerging as a new phenomena due to the on-going conflicts. This phenomenon is more prominent with the people who are affected along the border belt especially in the Samba and R.S. Pura sector as they are in constant process of migration and remigration. Recurring displacements render the families disintegrated and finally lead to their break up as the various members find it increasingly difficult to adjust again after living independently during the period of displacement and the realignments are difficult.

People, though severely affected by the wars and war-like-situations, are learning to reconcile and cope-up having to live with the realities like fencing, mining, Ditch-cum-Bandh, firing etc.

Notes

1. Garo Devi, a resident of village Nikoval remarked, “My husband is in the Armed Forces. It is not easy for me to run with animals and three small children. At the time of crisis, there is no one to seek help from, not even the neighbours. You make things with so much of effort but when you have to run leaving everything behind, it kills you inside”.


7. SSP Border Gulzar Singh Slathia told the local daily that the entire population had migrated from six forward villages in Arnia sector including Nikoval, Sai Khurd, Sai Kalan,
Kaku De Kothe, Treva and Pindi Charkan. An approximated 10,000 people had left their houses in three villages late night. The migration started at 1900 hours and was complete by 2200 hours. Some of the people left for the houses of their relatives while others took shelter in the Govt. School buildings. 

8. To quote Major Singh, a migrant, “For generations we have been reconciling with the situation arising out of recurrent displacement as an outcome of persisting hostility between the estranged neighbours. But this time we have been passing through the worst ordeal. We want to know for how long it would continue. We are being forced to take cudgels against the government for our children.
*The Kashmir Times*, August 28, 2004

9. “For Paddy crop, the sowing process has to start very early in the morning so as to finish by noon. But when we would reach there not before noon, how can we start early. In the blistering sun, it is almost impossible to do sowing. Moreover, the gate closes by 7.00 PM. So we have to be there well in time too. Sowing cannot be done hastily. This is the ordeal in our daily routine, so the entire farming community is suffering. For how long we can function this way”? expressed the affected people.

10. “For hours we have to stand in queues to have an access to our own fields across the fence. We have to show I-cards to cross the gate erected by the security forces. What is more paradoxical is that even after we get to the fields, which once ‘belonged’ to us, the entry strictly would be at our own risk” lamented the affected farmers of the border village. *Ibid.*

Conclusion

The continuous increase over the years in targeting the civilian population in the conflicts raging around the world has not only initiated a debate about the major forms of political violence which is rooted in grass root social inequalities in the developing world but is also bringing to a common platform the psychologists, economists, political and social theorists help construct and rebuild not only the post conflict societies but also focus on the indictment of the social context that produced them.

As has been brought out in the foregoing chapters, the world today is in the grip of wars. Be it Asia or Africa, Europe or the Middle East, ongoing conflicts are the stark-reality around the globe. In 2007, 14 major armed conflicts were active in 13 locations around the world. Over the past decade, the global number of active major armed conflicts has declined overall but the decline has been very uneven, with major drops in 2002 and 2004 and an increase in 2005.

Some of these conflicts are fought over territory while the others are waged over the control of the government. Whether the conflict is interstate or intrastate, both remain a threat for international peace and security. It is also reiterated that some of these conflicts are long driven and that their consequences are no longer limited to the warring states. Understanding the nature of the ongoing conflicts bring home the fact that the atrocities on civilian population today are high. All sections of the society viz. men, women, children and the aged are increasingly being involved. Murder, rape, mutilation, forced recruitment, displacement, injury, malnutrition, unwanted pregnancies, illegal abortions, sexually transmitted disease, illegal torture, detainment and abduction are some of the most visible impacts on the civilians. The truism that violence begets violence appears particularly pointed out with regard to internal conflicts.
Be it a conflict over territory or for the change of government, the extent of loss suffered by the civilians by way of death toll, destruction of the existing infrastructure comprising society, houses, health, education and work systems is tremendous. Once a state starts to spiral into armed conflict, its institutions and frameworks inevitably respond, if they are capable of doing so, by mobilizing for war. In the short term at least, wider political, economic and social development is halted. Whatever the capability of the state, the possibility of ‘normal’ state functioning during the conflict is impossible. In this context, new sources of tension and dispute are created and the termination of conflict becomes even more difficult. As a result, situations like this continue to erode the social fabric of the society paralyzing the normal life of a common man.

Conflicts that are going on bring out the patterns that are commonly recurring in almost all the conflict zones. As discussed above, civilian population is increasingly targeted and women, children and the elderly are no exceptions. People are being displaced in great numbers and many are forced to die of malnutrition and hunger. For example, in Africa only, there have been over 9.5 million refugees and hundreds and thousands of people have been slaughtered. If this scale of destruction and fighting had occurred in Europe, then people would have called it World War III with the entire world rushing to report, provide aid, mediate and otherwise try to diffuse the situation. Children are forcibly recruited and coerced into active role in armed movements. Mutilation killings, particularly decapitation of children serves as mechanisms of social terror. Such acts also bring more hidden problems like sexual exploitation, substance abuse, forced labour and crime. Teenage girls and young women are forced into prostitution. According to UNICEF, recent developments in warfare have significantly heightened the dangers for children. During the last decade, it is estimated that child victims have included 2 million killed; 4-5 million disabled; 12 million made homeless; more than one million orphaned or separated from their parents and some 10 million psychologically
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traumatized. In Africa only, there are an estimated 120,000 child soldiers. This is nearly half the total of 300,000 around the world. Rape cases often go un-reported by victims almost everywhere because of the associated stigma, perhaps most pervasive in societies in which virginity is regarded as a woman’s most important asset in securing happiness.

Looking at the conflict situation in India from the global perspective, one thing that emerges very clearly is the low level of violence and less of trauma although the conflict exhibits a multidimensional character. On one hand, India fights her neighbouring state Pakistan over the contested territory of Kashmir while on the other it continues to suffer internal ethnic and religious conflicts. As one National Daily reported that between 2001 and 2007, there were 4,845 incidents leading to 1,947 deaths and injuring 16,792. After the Gujarat riots of 2002, there are now Kandhamal’s (district in Orissa) tales of shame and horror. Nevertheless, Kashmir continues to be the focal point attracting national and international attention for varied reasons. Kashmir dispute is one of the oldest unresolved conflicts in the world having been dragged on for over more than sixty years now. Pakistan considers Kashmir as its core political dispute with India over which the two countries have fought three major wars and the exchange of fire between their armies at the border is a routine affair. Be it education, infrastructure, industry, culture, language or whatever - all spheres of life in Kashmir as well as that of the entire state have been devastated, somewhere nearly decimated by the incessant violence. However, unwillingness of both the countries to come to a common point is the main cause of the on-going dispute. India claims to have “signed” a document, the Instrument of Accession on October 26, 1947 with the Maharaja of Kashmir, in which maharaja obtained India’s military help against an attack from Pakistan. This claim, however, is not accepted by Pakistan. The officially stated stances of both the countries differ a great deal. India considers Kashmir as its “integral part” while for Pakistan, Kashmir is a disputed territory, the final status of which is in the hands of Kashmiri people.
Wars, war scares and even otherwise due to the tense nature prevailing at the border in J&K, people have alienated from their social life. Displacement has remained the most visible impact though differing in context and consequence. The context of displacement for Kashmiri Pandits and the border migrants are different and so is the nature of their difficulties. For the Pandits, it was the militancy and the resultant psychology of terror and for the border migrants it’s the continuous skirmishes between the armies of the two countries. Kashmiri who are displaced since 1989-1990 can be categorized as permanently displaced till the conditions ripe for their return to Kashmir. Border displaced from the Akhnoor and Khour sectors along the LoC can be categorized as a case of quasi-permanent migration as they remained displaced for nearly a decade while the displaced from the Samba, R. S. Pura, and Arnia sectors remain affected due to migrations and remigrations.

Owing to the dispute over J&K between the two neighbouring countries, the border remains largely disturbed not only during the times of actual hostilities as in 1965, 1971 and 1999 when India and Pakistan took to wars but even during the present times when both the countries have signed the ceasefire agreement. Even when the situation is said to be under control and virtually no activity between the armies of the two hostile nations take place, the fear of life continue to exist in the psyche of these people. War-like-situations keep erupting when troops on both the sides take the forward positions that results in cross border firing bringing miseries for the common man. Infact, firing, shelling, fencing, mining and having troops in and around their houses and fields are the realities which have become a part of the lives of the people in border areas.

However, after analyzing the affected lives of these people, it was observed that the situation along IB differs from that of LoC. Though there is an element of commonality in terms of the losses suffered by the people living along IB and LoC, yet, the situation along IB is slightly better off as compared to that of LoC. As such the situation in district Samba, Ramgarh, R.S. Pura
and Arnia sectors along IB is peaceful as compared to the Akhnoor and Khour sectors along the LoC as a very small part of these border sectors have a fixed boundary (IB) while the rest of it is a part of the LoC. Situation is stable along the IB due to the fixed boundary line while along the LoC, the regular armies of both Pakistan and India try to capture each others territory that results in constant firing and shelling adding to the miseries of people.

Modern warring techniques used to check situation along the border have added to their woes. The fencing done at a distance of 2 to 5 Km or more instead at the edge of the LoC, has no doubt, brought the infiltration level down but has, at the same time, multiplied the already existing problems of the border people. Not only that people have to follow the gate timing to enter their fenced fields, they even have to walk several Kms to reach the gates. The plight of the people whose villages have been completely fenced out to the other side or of those whose villages have been partially divided into two halves raises serious question about their identity and freedom. People who are left on the other side of the fence consider themselves as belonging to the ‘no man’s land’. Having struck between the armies of the two sides, they feel, they belong to neither India nor Pakistan. Villages that are partially divided have given a blow to village social life. People are not able to render an immediate help to each other because of the fence that divides them.

After the mining operation along the border, villagers could not cultivate their fields for years together and now even after the ceasefire, some tracts of land continue to be mined that are affecting the farmer community. Agricultural activity is the essence of the Indian villages and for a villager nothing can be more painful than being separated from his own ‘piece of land’ that provided him and his family the two square meals. It is like an alienation of a man from his real self whether it is the result of fencing or it is due to mining. Amidst the rhetoric that the border areas are getting cultivated, the fact remains that the most part beyond fencing remains barren and uncultivated owing to fencing and also due to mining at some places. Loss of land under agriculture has added
to the economic burden of the affected families on one hand and has lead to the loss of their livelihood on the other. Conflict situation has thus led to the withering away of the traditional self-sufficiency in most of the border regions. This affects the smooth functioning of the joint family system that primarily draws upon the income from the agricultural activity. These increased economic strains over the years lead to the establishment of separate household units by the married son more quickly than in the normal circumstances.

Mining also curtailed the freedom of the people to move about freely in their fields for the fear of being blown up with a un defused mines. India claimed in February 2005 that it had recovered 99 percent of the mines laid on and near the India-Pakistan border. Although substantial border areas have been returned to civilian owners, some of its sections along the LoC in J&K remain heavily mined. It is said that at least 160 square kilometers land in Jammu region and 1,730 square kilometers land in Kashmir region remains contaminated with mines. Military authorities acknowledge that areas prone to infiltration by militants are still mined and that the areas are clearly marked. However, they agree that heavy rainfall, snow, mudslides and avalanches can cause mines to move. Mines thus, continue to cause casualties and prevent cultivation of large amounts of agricultural land posing a threat to the local inhabitants and taking a toll of livestock. Mines have also taken a toll of human and animal life leaving hundreds of them as amputees who are in particular plight in societies where most people are dependent on agriculture. Household with a landmine victim are also likely to have difficulty in providing enough food for the family. Also, agricultural output is affected if the field are to be solely managed by the amputees.

Economic strains are further added to by the recurring displacements in these regions. Some of the families in the border belt of Jammu have been displaced for more than eight times now. These displacements are temporary in nature and have become a recurring phenomenon. Sometimes people have to leave all of sudden without any apparent preparation at the odd hours.
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Once displaced, they are made to stay in the camps having to bear the predicament of camp life. The stay in the camps may prolong from a few days to months that may extend to years or beyond as in case of displacement from Akhnoor sector along the LoC. Mental strains, constant trifles, lack of space, lack of toilet facilities, unhealthy alliances among youth, insomnia are some of the common problems faced by people when displaced. On one hand, there was a complete loss of private life of a husband and a wife while on the other, there was shrinking of the distance between the other female and male members like the daughter-in-law and the father-in-law. Young children assumed additional roles like girls had to queue for water and had to mind the younger siblings in the absence of mothers.

In the present study it was observed that the structure of the family undergoes deep changes amidst recurring displacements. It was brought out that the temporary recurring displacements in a conflict situation lead to disintegration of families as a unit. After being displaced, these people took shelter at various places. Some went to the relief camps established by the administration while others moved to the rented accommodations and to their relatives. But in most of the cases, family did not move as a unit to one place. While women and children moved to safer places, men folk stayed behind to look after the houses and the animals. Where the family moved as a unit, men-folk came back to villages as the level of tension reduced. It was also observed that in some cases, few members of a family stayed in the camps while the rest moved to the rented accommodation or to the houses of the relatives. Thus, a single family unit i.e. the household got fragmented in a conflict situation. It was revealed that in any exigency, people would fall back upon the affinal kin more than their patri-kin or matri-kin.

Men folk were thus, in the constant process of paying periodic or regular visits to their villages to attend to the houses they left behind and also to attend to the animals for which they required daily fare i.e. 'Kiraya'. Many of them had to change two to three buses to reach their villages. Going to and fro actually put a strain
on their pockets.

Not only the community bonds are weakened but the village-to-village ties were equally affected. Complete loss of socio-culture life in camps lead to the cultural erosion of a community. In the present study it was observed that people became secretive and moved out of the village quietly that undermined the village solidarity. Village-to-village ties were affected adversely as some villages benefited more than others in availing the aid provided by various sources. People of the neighbouring villages become alienated and isolated from each other in situations of tension. All this shook the very essence of the village life that is marked by unity, oneness and supporting attitude.

The study also showed that people are facing problems in seeking marriage alliances for their children especially sons as people are not ready to give their daughters in the areas that lack stability and are less progressive owing to situations of conflict. Villages are underdeveloped and unemployment is rampant due to lack of job opportunities in the area. This was further added to by the increase in the dropout rate at the village level due to the on-going conflicts and resultant displacements.

The families during migration tend to acquire sub-nuclear form (by the criteria of residence) in the camps or at the place of destination. When they come back, they again reunite as joint/nuclear families but with modified relationships that are less structured and more open. The recurrent migrations during the conflict situations also lead to formation of new kinship alliances, wherein, the affinal relations play more significant role. Also, people from the neighbouring regions come close in the camps that lead to the emergence of new kinship networks. It emerges therefore, that the socio-economic and cultural repercussions of the recurring incidences of migration and re-migration due to continual border skirmishes are more severe than any long term-quasi permanent migration and that more recurring the migration, weaker are the community ties and village solidarity. It further emphasizes that the recurring migration leads to reallocation and realignment of families in the context of their functions and
structure and formation of new kinship networks.

In spite of the fact the people in the border areas are living with a fear of threat to their lives and bearing innumerable hardships, they have failed to get the due attention of the government of India and the media as compared to the Kashmiri Pandits. Border migrants has not only been dislodged time and again from their native places but has also been socially dispersed. As pointed out by Shekhwat, this dispersion compounded by social and economic backwardness has resulted in the individualization of suffering and they continue to be the victims of the discriminatory practices of the government.

India’s commitment to a peaceful resolution of the issue is reflected in its agreement to uphold the status quo as has existed since 1947. It is significant that the Cease-Fire-Line was changed to the LoC in 1972. This was not merely a change of a nomenclature but a consequence of an agreement seeking to adhere to the status quo by all means. Pakistan’s attempts however, over the last two decades of altering the status quo has been a complete failure like its consecutive open hostile attempts of 1947, 1965, and 1971. Instead of devoting all their resources to economic developments, both nations have spent billions of dollars on defense against each other. However, to restore peace, the two countries have in the past concluded bilateral agreements to reduce risk of conflict. Out of a list of 72 confidence building measures that India proposed in 2004, covering such diverse fields as peace and security, Jammu and Kashmir, economic and commercial cooperation, promotion of friendly exchanges in various fields and environment, “people to people relationships”, only a few have been implemented so far. Opening up of the cross LoC points in J&K had by August 31, 2008 lead to a total of 8583 persons from two parts of the State to visit each other’s territory to meet their divided families. They included 3837 from J&K and 4746 from PoK. These cross LoC points include Uri-Muzafarrabad (April 7, 2005), Titwal-Karnah (November 19, 2006), Chakan-Da-Bagh (November 21, 2005), Silikot-Baramulla (November 2005), Poonch-Rawlakot (June 20, 2006) and Tata-Pani in Balnoi area.
of Mendhar in Poonch district (November 28, 2005). At present, only three points are operational; two in Kashmir and one in Jammu province. People are now demanding opening of Suchetgarh-Sialkot road in district Jammu. While all three operational points fall on LoC, Suchetgarh in R.S. Pura area of Jammu district and Sialkot in Lahore, Pakistan are located on the IB.

The two countries also, for the first time in 56 years of conflict, ordered a ceasefire in November, 2003 paving way for the implementation of other Confidence Building Measures (CBMs). Pakistan's recent engagements in serious violations leading to firing, shelling and successful infiltration attempts from across the border have been condemned by India. However, to make the on-going dialogue credible, New Delhi will have to find means to compel Pakistan to deliver on its promises to end cross-border support for terrorism that would bring some peace and hope to the border regions.
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