

**Written Statement for the Record**

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## **Biography**

I am a senior journalist based in New Delhi with almost two decades of experience in conflict-reporting, writing, research and analysis. I am an editor with India's largest English daily The Times of India, and previously worked for another major English daily of India, Hindustan Times. Having covered Kashmir extensively, I broke some of the biggest news stories and exclusives on Kashmir, which had major policy implications for both India and Pakistan. Besides Kashmir, I have also reported from other conflict zones of India— Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Assam. My opinion pieces have been published in various national and international publications.

I have been a recipient of several awards for my research, reporting and editorial accomplishments. I am an alumna of Columbia University, with a Masters in International Affairs. I worked briefly at Columbia University and interned at the United Nations and BBC in New York.

After the forced displacement of my entire community from Kashmir in 1990 (Hindus in Kashmir were a minority), I grew up in destitution, in Jammu, the southern part of Jammu and Kashmir. Though I am a displaced Kashmiri with my own history of struggle as a refugee in my own country, I do not speak as a representative of the community and their political aspirations. I primarily identify myself as a dispassionate journalist.

## **Background**

In 1947, after India's Partition, Pakistani armed forces and Pashtun tribesmen attacked the Princely State of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K), comprising of three ethnically diverse regions— Jammu, Ladakh and Kashmir. The state bordering Pakistan to its West and Tibet on its East became part of India when its ruler decided to seek India's military help and signed a legal instrument of accession with India. The political leadership of Kashmir (a Muslim majority region) at the time supported the accession.

Indian forces were deployed to counter the invasion, but Pakistan managed to occupy a considerable part of the state. In 1948, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 47, requiring all Pakistani military personnel and tribesmen to be withdrawn from the region before a plebiscite could be held. A plebiscite would have resulted in Kashmiris voting to join India. However, contrary to the requirements of Resolution 47, Pakistan increased its military presence, and no plebiscite was held. In the area of Kashmir occupied by Pakistan, known as Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (PoK), over 40,000 Hindu families were forced to flee the invading Pashtun tribesmen. Pakistan, in all, has initiated three additional conventional wars with India in an attempt to invade Jammu & Kashmir and seize it by force.

In 1988, during the Cold War, while the US-funded mujahideen (Taliban) fought the Soviet Union in Afghanistan with the help of Pakistan, General Zia ul Haq's regime began training

Islamists to launch jihad in Kashmir. By the time the US withdrew from Afghanistan, leaving Pakistan's military and intelligence service with unaccountable funds, arms and ammunition, an Islamabad sponsored insurgency engulfed the Kashmir Valley. Former Pakistani ambassador to the US, Husain Haqqani, in his books has documented how the ISI-supported jihad in Kashmir was "rooted in the ideology of Pakistani Islamists, carefully nurtured for decades by the Pakistani military."

Since 1990, about a thousand Hindus and nearly 15,000 Kashmiri Muslims who disagreed with Islamist jihad and the cause of Kashmir's secession from India, have been killed by Pakistani sponsored militants. In confronting the Pakistan sponsored militancy, the Indian army and state police have also committed grave human rights abuses. However, what the foot-soldiers of the Pakistani military and ISI have done to ordinary Kashmiri Muslims in the last 30 years, pales in comparison to the human rights violations committed by the Indian state.

In the last 30 years, militants killed more Kashmiri Muslim civilians than the members of any other community in Kashmir.

Specifically, the militants:

- Blew up public spaces forcing people to restrict their movement and return home before sunset and lock themselves indoors;
- Forced peaceful residents at gunpoint to provide them safe shelter by barging into people's homes against their wishes, staying for days, and making demands of various nature;
- Razed bridges to prevent armed forces from entering a locality/village, thereby ex-communicating the local Kashmiris from the outside world;
- Blocked roads, interrogated commoners at check-points, stopped ambulances, checked drivers' identity cards, beat them up if they defied their orders on days of their "protest";
- Burnt schools to prevent forces from setting up security camps inside;
- Recruited child soldiers, coerced youth to come out of their homes to join protest marches, and stone pelting squads;
- Banned national newspapers, magazines, cinema, video-halls, liquor shops, video, CD, and cassette shops;
- Issued burqa and tilak diktats to ensure only non-hijab wearing Muslim women were targeted with acid attacks, knee-capping, and other forms of violence;
- Illegally seized media houses to control content completely and enforced closure of shops to show Kashmir is voluntarily shutdown;
- Forced the cancellation of a literary festival, opposed a Zubin Mehta music concert, women rock bands, and publicly shamed a Kashmiri Muslim girl, Zaira Wasim for acting in Bollywood;
- Threatened survivors and victims of terrorism against maligning the 'freedom movement' through slogans such as 'Tehreek badnaam mat karo'. To find social legitimacy, they

also forced the children of their victims, like Mirwaiz Umar, Qazi Yasir, and Bilal Lone to join their cause;

- Issued threats, directly or indirectly, through posters disseminated and pasted in neighborhoods, and through acquaintances, newspapers, Whatsapp and Facebook inboxes;
- Assassinated Shaban Shafi, Abdul Sattar Ranjoor, Mirwaiz Farooq, Moulana Showkat, Abdul Gani Lone, Shujaat Bukhari, and other top intellectuals, dissenters, and moderate leaders of Kashmir;
- To hide the ethnic cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus in the Valley and outside, they manufactured lies and propaganda and forced consensus around the conspiracy theory that the government of India drove the Kashmiri Hindus out;
- In Kashmir, they called their activities Islamic 'jihad' and martyrdom, and outside Kashmir, they projected themselves as 'innocent victims' of Indian oppression and human rights abuses;
- Created law and order situations—stone pelting and mob violence being the persistent tactic;
- In addition, they engaged in criminal activities like rape, forced marriages, kidnapping, extortion, occupying properties illegally, etc.

According to Ambassador Haqqani, the Pakistan-sponsored insurgency sought to cleanse Kashmir of non-Muslims to make the state entirely free of minorities. As a result, over 300,000 Kashmiri Pandits (Hindus) were ethnically cleansed from the Valley (over 95% of the Valley's indigenous Hindu population) from 1989 to 1991 in a systematic campaign of targeted killings, rape, threats, and destruction of properties and religious sites. In the ensuing three decades, thousands of displaced Pandits have lived in dilapidated camps in Jammu and New Delhi, while the central government of several administrations has failed to safely rehabilitate them.

Militant violence in Kashmir reached its peak in 2001, and then drastically declined in subsequent years, leading to an upsurge in tourism, which brought an estimated 1.5 million tourists to Kashmir in 2012 alone. At the same time, support for the insurgency started waning, as voter participation in panchayat (village councils) and statewide elections significantly increased. Many former militants were rehabilitated and reintegrated into society, with some entering politics, such as Farooq Ahmed Dar, who on camera admitted to killing dozens of Kashmiri Hindus, after which he forgot the count. However, Pakistan continued to foment violence in the state and launch cross-border attacks. The period coincided with Islamic radicalization through mosques, mushrooming of extremist schools of Islam like Jamaat-e-Islami, Deoband, and Wahhabism in Kashmir, and in the last decade, smart phones and internet access opened new floodgates to self-radicalization. Since the emergence of ISIS and its social media propaganda, Islamic radicalization in Kashmir has reached new heights, something prominent Kashmiri Muslim political leaders have warned against.

Many terror groups active in Kashmir today, such as Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM), and Hizbu-ul-Mujahideen (HM) have rightfully been labelled Foreign Terrorist

Organizations by the European Union, United States, and other countries. Yet these terrorists continue to receive safe harbor, medical care, and financial support in Pakistan—exactly like Al-Qaeda mastermind Osama bin-Laden who was killed in Abbottabad, Pakistan by US Special Forces in 2011. These groups have launched terror attacks throughout India, including the November 2008 Mumbai attacks that killed over 165 people, and the September 2016 attack on an Indian army base, which led to an escalation in tensions between India and Pakistan. The following are just a few high-profile incidents of Pakistani-sponsored terror:

- In 2016, HM commander and its social media face, Burhan Wani, was killed by security forces, sparking widespread unrest in the Kashmir Valley. Wani openly sought to establish a Caliphate in Kashmir. Over 7,000 civilians and 4,000 security personnel were injured in the violence, while 82 people were killed in clashes between separatist groups and security forces. Mobs also attacked rehabilitation camps of Hindus in six cities of Kashmir.
- On June 14, 2018, LeT terrorists killed Shujaat Bukhari, a very senior journalist and peace activist who had been advocating dialogue between India and Pakistan.
- On February 14, 2019, a JeM suicide bomber attacked a convoy of Indian security forces in the Kashmir town of Pulwama killing 41 Indian security officers. The attack once again escalated tensions between India and Pakistan and India launched retaliatory airstrikes on a JeM terror camp in Pakistan. Following the attack, JeM founder Masood Azhar was designated as an international terrorist by the UN Security Council.

According to the US State Department, Pakistan has committed gross human rights violations in the part of Kashmir it occupies. In PoK, Kashmiris have held large protests alleging human rights violations by Pakistan's military and ISI such as extrajudicial killings of Kashmiri activists, rigged elections, and repression of political activists.

On August 5, the Indian government passed legislation in both houses of parliament—with support from a wide array of political parties—to remove Articles 370 and 35A of India's Constitution. The removal of these temporary articles sought to better integrate the residents of Jammu, Kashmir, and Ladakh into the rest of India. In particular, it would provide Kashmiris with equal protection under the law and all the rights other Indian citizens enjoy, regardless of gender, sexual orientation, religion, or social class. It would also give Kashmiris access to better educational and economic opportunities. Finally, the removal of Articles 370 and 35A is expected to facilitate the rehabilitation and resettlement of the ethnically cleansed Kashmiri Pandit population in the Kashmir Valley.

Jammu and Kashmir was also divided into two Union Territories: one for Jammu and Kashmir, and one for Ladakh. The creation of a Union Territory in Ladakh had been a long time demand of the people of the region, who complained of being socially and economically marginalized by state policies that favored the Kashmir Valley.

## Ground Situation Post-370

With credible intelligence reports about terror attacks and mob rioting by over ground workers of terror groups, the government imposed restrictions on movement and a blockade on communication, which caused massive inconvenience and discomfort to the people in Kashmir Valley. Initially, because of the blockade, it was challenging even for the press, including me, to report from Kashmir. Though the government lifted restrictions on movement, restored landlines, and now has restored post-paid mobile phones as well, mobile internet, remains suspended.

After two weeks of the government imposed shutdown, Pakistan backed terror groups—Hizbul Mujahideen, Lashkar-e-Taiba, and Jaish-e-Mohammad—issued threats by circulating and pasting posters against the resumption of business and normal life.

Militants also engaged in the following violence against Kashmiri civilians:

- The over ground workers of militants began going to neighbourhood markets, forcing shopkeepers to roll down shutters;
- They threw car battery acid on a shopkeeper in Srinagar, beat up another shopkeeper for opening his shop;
- A 65-year-old shopkeeper, Ghulam Mohiuddin Mir, of Abu Bakr colony in Parimpora, was killed by terrorists on August 29;
- A violent mob hurled stones at a civilian truck in Anantnag district in South Kashmir on August 25, killing the 42-year-old driver Noor Mohammed Dar;
- Four civilians, including a minor of a family, were shot at by terrorists in Sopore District on September 7;
- Militants on September 17 assaulted a man and set ablaze his car at Warpora area in Sopore town of Baramulla District;
- A truck driver along with his vehicle was set ablaze while his two associates had a close shave in Shopian District on October 14;
- A fruit merchant was killed and another critically injured when militants fired at them in Shopian District and a labourer was shot dead in Pulwama District on October 16.

As a result, the situation in Kashmir has turned into a civil curfew imposed by militants and their over ground workers. Though educational institutions were opened, students have mostly stayed home. The new normal of the markets in Kashmir is that shops open early in the morning at 6 am and shut down by 9 am and reopen at 6 pm and close by 9 pm. On some days, shops extend their hours to 11 am and evening hours begin at 4 pm, leading to traffic jams in the city. Even as the upscale markets and businesses remain shut, vegetable and fruit hawkers, pharmacies, and small vendors on the roadside, have stayed open all day from the very beginning. Businessmen who own shops in the high-end markets are also selling their products in flea bazaars. However, tourism has been badly hit because of an initial advisory to domestic tourists by the government.

## **Violent Protests**

Across the Valley, over 200 incidents of stone-pelting, mob rioting, and violence were reported in the months of August and September. Most of them were concentrated in a few pockets of Srinagar district. Over 50 protestors received pellet injuries in clashes with security forces, according to official sources. While hundreds were detained under preventive custody, 102 people have been arrested under the Public Safety Act in the two months. There has been wide coverage about the violent rioters and the injured in both Indian and international press. Human rights activists in India have also been speaking about the abuses committed by the rioters and arsonists at every platform inside and outside the country.

*Are violent protests in Kashmir about Article 370?*

None of the violent protests in Kashmir since the abrogation of Article 370, have been about the constitutional change that the government of India brought in relation to J&K. None of the protests have demanded restoration of J&K's flag or its constitution. Instead, in all the protests, protestors waved only Islamic or Pakistani flags and raised Islamic or pro-Pakistan and pro-separatist slogans, seeking separation from India.

In the biggest protest in Kashmir since August 5, protestors raised slogans of Zakir Musa, the slain founder of provincial branch of Al-Qaeda in Kashmir. Also, Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front, Hizbul Mujahideen, Lashkar-e-Taiba, Jaish-e-Mohammad, Ansar Ghazwat-ul-Hind, Wilayah-al-Hind (Islamic State of Jammu & Kashmir), and their supporters who are at the forefront of these violent protests, have never believed in the Constitution of India or Jammu and Kashmir. None of them have been proponents or supporters of Article 370. Instead, militants and their over ground supporters (both sponsored by Pakistan) have persistently demanded only one thing, that is, secession from India.

*Can violence be dissent? Can perpetrators of violence be victims of human rights violations?*

In the last 30 years, the majority in Kashmir has been silenced by the barrel of the gun that Pakistan has aimed on Kashmir. Many prominent leaders and intellectuals of Kashmir who disagreed with Pakistan's cross border terrorism or militant violence, have been silenced by bullets. Anyone among the intelligentsia who advocates peace has been gagged.

But ironically, the perpetrator of violence in Kashmir has been projected as the victim of human rights abuse; violence and threats of violence have been presented as dissent. In none of the great democracies like the United States, or those in Europe, have terror acts especially sponsored by a rival state, been legitimized by calling it dissent. In a democracy, expression of dissent or disagreement is not possible amidst intimidation and extreme violence. But it is a travesty that the world press, which completely ignores or is not even aware of the history and context of Kashmir and violence in the region, has unwittingly come to justify the perpetrators of Mumbai terror attacks and September 11. It is also disingenuous that when it has been amply

established that terrorism in Kashmir is sponsored by Pakistan, a theocratic military state with pretensions of a democracy, the criticism is deflected by calling terror groups like JeM, LeT and HM as non-state actors. Husain Haqqani and Arif Jamal have documented how Kashmir-centric terror groups enjoy complete protection and patronage of the Pakistani military and ISI.

Kashmiri society has been under siege for the last three decades because of Pakistan's proxy war in Kashmir. In an atmosphere of fear and dread, Kashmir has lost its voice and it speaks up only during elections when it votes, and then too only if there is a sense of security. Because of the fear of Pakistan sponsored violence, the dominant narrative remains critical of human rights violations committed by the Indian security forces. It is absolutely necessary that Indian forces are held accountable and prosecuted, but it is also important that Kashmiris have the sense of security to speak freely and fearlessly about the colossal abuse they have suffered at the hands of Pakistan sponsored militant violence.

Kashmiris, as of now, are caught in a 'spiral of silence', a process first theorized by German political scientist Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann in the context of German electorate in 1965. Spiral of silence is a phenomenon in which one opinion becomes so forcefully dominant, that those disagreeing refuse to speak up due to fear of harm or social isolation from holders of the dominant opinion, and thereby fail to realize that their disagreement actually forms a majority. This theory draws from the Lockesian view that humans are social animals and are therefore afraid of isolation in their environment. Individuals constantly look for their own purpose, meaning, relevance, popularity, respect, and integration in the society they live in. That requires the individuals to extend huge importance to their society's opinions and approval.

"Individuals who when observing their environments notice that their own personal opinion is spreading and taken over by others, will voice this opinion self-confidently in public. On the other hand, individuals who notice that their own opinions are losing ground, will be inclined to adopt a more reserved attitude when expressing their opinions in public." The supporters of one opinion becomes confident, articulate, and can even turn vociferous while the proponents of the other opinion will retreat, withdraw and turn silent, especially in an environment ridden with intimidation, violence and death. Silence, in such scenarios, becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Neumann warns that "there is a definite influence on the environment; an opinion that is being reinforced in this way appears stronger than it really is, while an opinion suppressed as described will seem to be weaker than it is in reality. The result is a spiral process which prompts other individuals to perceive the changes in opinion and to follow suit, until one opinion has become established as the prevailing attitude while the other opinion will be pushed back and rejected by everybody with the exception of the hard core that nevertheless sticks to that opinion."

This problem of perception that drives a public opinion leads to a complication called accuracy of people's environmental perceptions. The tendency of people to believe that others agree with them is seen as a pattern called the 'looking glass perception'. In a study on racism, Fields and



Schuman, for example, found that those supporting racial equality and civil liberties were actually in the majority but were rarely believed to be a majority by themselves or by others in the sample. This situation when a minority position in public opinion is incorrectly perceived to be the majoritarian view has been termed as 'pluralistic ignorance'.

This presents a huge challenge. Are the most dominant narratives in a conflict even majoritarian? Do violent movements represent the majority or the minority? If a Kashmiri Muslim is being silenced by the sword hanging on his head—that he is not a true Muslim if he speaks up against the Muslim who riddled his son or father with bullets—can there be an intellectually honest debate about human rights? Is the non-state really non-state when we know that the bullet that recently killed a 65-year-old Kashmiri Muslim shopkeeper came from Pakistan Army?

The reality on the ground is that the majority in Kashmir seek and observe peace and they will speak up only when the atmosphere is conducive. Since August 5th, the only violence that has been committed in Kashmir is by Pakistan sponsored militants and separatists, not the majority that abides by the rule of law. Human rights in Kashmir is not about the suspension of mobile and internet services; it's about the struggle of those who want to live freely and fearlessly and those who don't want them to live. Pakistan wants Kashmiri Muslims to die for an Islamic cause while Kashmir wants to live for a better future for its children.

So in any debate on human rights violations, it is important to identify who the real perpetrators and the victims of abuse are. In Kashmir's case, Pakistan is clearly the biggest violator of human rights. Pakistan therefore has no legal or moral authority to speak of human rights violations in Kashmir while India has lost thousands of Kashmiri citizens and soldiers to the violence Pakistan has perpetrated.

### **The revocation of special status of J&K strengthens human rights**

India chose to be a secular, democratic republic, unlike Pakistan which chose to be a theocratic state, that today is run by its military while attempting to maintain a civilian face. As a secular republic, with a strong union, constitutionally, India's vision for itself is to promote egalitarianism, equality where everyone has individual freedom to be who they are. Now for India to accept a special status for a state only because it's a Muslim majority, is in direct contradiction with its philosophy and future outlook.

India rejected Mohammad Ali Jinnah's two nation theory and the idea of Pakistan which propounded that Hindus and Muslims cannot coexist. The founding fathers of the Republic fought against the exclusivity of religious groups and rejected it in unequivocal terms in 1947.

Until the revocation of its special status and its separate constitution, Jammu and Kashmir was in the same league as 27 countries like Saudi Arabia, Syria, Sudan, and Somalia which limit a woman's ability to pass on citizenship to her child or spouse, if she was married to a non-J&K resident. J&K, a constitutionally privileged state in India, had reduced women to second class

citizens, under its permanent residency laws guaranteed by Article 35A. J&K's laws also barred West Pakistan refugees from living in J&K since Partition and from acquiring state subject rights. The state also denied thousands of descendants of Dalits, who were brought in from Punjab as government sweepers in 1957, from getting any government jobs other than sweepers.

In a society still plagued by caste discrimination, the state laws ensured that the sweeper community could not even get a Scheduled Caste certificate from the state government. As a result, they were rendered ineligible for all the benefits under federal social programs too. Hindu and Sikh refugees from West Pakistan remained non-permanent resident second-class citizens. The abrogation of Articles 370 and 35A has put an end to the era of misogynistic and xenophobic attitudes that the state promoted in the last seven decades.

### **American foreign policy in South Asia has hurt human rights and democracy in the region**

Because Pakistan made itself useful to the US during the Cold War, the US has consistently enabled and empowered Pakistani military establishment to wage war against democratic India, including by means of a vast network of Islamist terror groups. This has included US Presidents falsely certifying that Pakistan was not pursuing nuclear weapons, when in fact it was, so that it could continue to receive American military hardware that had no purpose other than to assault India. Pakistan has used American cooperation to develop a nuclear umbrella from behind which it has carried out a 30 year campaign of Islamic terrorism directed against India, which has become an all consuming crisis for India and has galvanised India into taking whatever steps are necessary to defend itself from terrorism that Pakistan has carried out with American patronage.

This has hurt the US as it now finds itself trapped in the longest war in its history thanks to Pakistan using the resources it acquired under American patronage against America itself. Pakistan's sponsorship of the Taliban from behind its nuclear curtain has left America hostage in Afghanistan to Pakistan, neither able to force Pakistani cooperation nor able to complete its mission, nor able to withdraw without Afghanistan once again becoming Pakistan's terror factory.

Despite this history, many sections of the US political class and Western media are found censoring India while giving a free pass to Pakistan. This has happened even when the Pakistani Prime Minister made clear that Pakistan's activities in Kashmir are an Islamic struggle or jihad. These sections of the press and political class have rarely, if ever, acknowledged the ethnic cleansing of the Hindus of Kashmir—the indigenous people of Kashmir—by Pakistani sponsored terrorists. They have never asked that if it is a struggle for Kashmiri independence, rather than a jihad against Hindus, how was it that the first step taken by Pakistan sponsored terrorists was the extermination of Kashmiri Hindus.

Furthermore, the territory of J&K that is occupied by Pakistan has been subjected to ethnic re-engineering by Pakistan to such an extent that now 97% of its population is Punjabi speaking. This while India spent 70 years shielding the residents of the Kashmir Valley from encroachment by any Indian ethnic population. In addition, while India has spent billions of dollars every year in Kashmir for development, infrastructure, education, hospitals, and increasing living standards, the indigenous inhabitants of PoK have no access to modern education, healthcare or transportation infrastructure.

## **Recommendations**

The US must understand that there is a paradigm shift in India because of Islamic terrorism. Pakistan's cross border jihad in the last three decades has led to the rise of a radical fringe within Hindu society which has manifested itself in cow vigilantism and lynchings of innocent Muslims over beef. It has also politically polarized Indian society, which has been culturally largely peaceful, tolerant and pluralistic. If Pakistan continues to use jihad as a tool of foreign policy towards India, it will only strengthen the extremist elements among Hindus. That in turn will influence the overall politics of India, pushing it further right and aggressive. As it is, there is almost complete unanimity in India that any government in New Delhi must be on an offensive against Pakistan's cross-border terrorism across the Line of Control. If the world assists Pakistan's jihad against India under the pretence of human rights, the radicals will push New Delhi to tell that world in no uncertain terms that the Democratic Republic of India needs no lectures from patrons of the world's prime state sponsor of terrorism.

Therefore, US policy makers should understand that any tolerance for Islamist terrorism against India in Kashmir or other regions, will only further empower the fringe amongst Hindus. The US pressure following the 9/11 attacks forced Pakistan to dial down the rhetoric of jihad in Kashmir, but its energies since then have been spent primarily in keeping the Kashmiri population inflamed against the Indian state, and preventing peace and normalcy to return.

Pakistan eagerly awaits America's defeat and withdrawal from Afghanistan, before reigniting the flame in Kashmir again. In the meantime, before the assault on Kashmir is renewed, Pakistan will go around the world projecting Indian state's efforts to keep peace as "gross human rights violations by India". But if democracy means anything, and if we want to continue to believe that liberal democracies are natural allies, then as duly elected legislators of one of the great democracies of the world, you are obliged to recognize Kashmir as a victim of Pakistan's unrelenting efforts to destroy it and its people by cross-border terrorism.

It is time the US stopped, directly or indirectly, helping the cruel, brutal, and unjust Islamic Republic of Pakistan in causing relentless violence against ordinary Kashmiri Muslims and other communities in India. Members of Congress concerned about Kashmir can indicate their sincerity by holding Pakistan accountable for its support of terrorism and grotesque human rights violations in Pakistan occupied Kashmir, Balochistan, and Sindh.