CENTRE FOR ADVANCED STRATEGIC STUDIES



PROCEEDINGS OF SEMINAR
ON
HUMAN RIGHTS: LAW & ORDER IN INDIA
30TH SEPTEMBER, 1995

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SEMINAR

HUMAN RIGHTS : LAW AND ORDER IN INDIA 30TH SEPTEMBER, 1995

(Venue : Shivaji Sabhagruha, Pune University)

INTRODUCTION

Background

Philosophically one can say that there are three main interlinked goals of human beings and these are survival, sustenance and security. The struggle to preserve, protect and promise the basic goals continues in every generation in each society. Affirmation of human rights therefore remains a major issue on the world agenda today.

The dreadful reality of Hitler's death camps strongly influenced the writings of the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. The declaration is proclaimed as "a common standard of achievement for all people and all nations" envisaging a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want.

In 1966, the General Assembly of UN adopted, two International Covenants of Human Rights.

- (a) The Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights calls upon a country to promote better living condition for its people by acknowledging every person's right to work, to fair wages, to form and join trade unions, to social security, to adequate standard of living and freedom from hunger and to health and education.
- (b) The Convenant on civil and Political Rights requires a country to protect its people by law against cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment, to recognise the right of every person to life, liberty, privacy and security, to prohibit slavery, to guarantee the right to a fair trial and safeguard against arbitrary arrest or detention. It also upholds

freedom of thought, conscience and religion, of peaceful assembly and of emigration and freedom of association.

Apart from the above instruments on human rights, world's different regions entered into several regional treaties such as European Convention for the protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedom (ECHR), European Social Charter ESC), American Convention of Human Rights and African charter on Human and People's Right.

India's concern for human rights has been second to none and was in the forefront amongst the countries subscribing to the Declaration of Human Rights and two Covenants. It is for realisation of these rights that India had long been fighting. Having won the freedom, India has guaranteed these rights to her people in the forms of Fundamental Rights, which have been accorded pride of place in the Indian Constitution. There are experts who believe that the constitution of India is one of the greatest documents on Human Rights. Besides, there is an independent judiciary, a free press, a large number of political parties and activist groups which act as watchdogs to the citizens' civil and human rights and liberties. In addition, there are National Commissions on sensitive and vulnerable groups such as scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, Women and Minorities. All these institutions subject the behaviour of the state to democratic norms and procedures and act as checks on the possible misuse of authority against ordinary citizens. One can go so far to say, that, the concept of separation of powers between Judiciary, Legislature and Executive as practised in India is itself a guarantor of Human Rights.

Human Rights in India

A glance at the Fundamental Rights enshrined in the Constitution of India will show that they are infact Fundamental Human Rights which are almost similar to those listed in the UN Declaration. The preamble of the constitution echoes the spirit of Article 1 of the Declaration while proclaiming India as a Sovereign, Socialist, Secular Democratic Republic and "securing to all its citizens Justice, social, economic, and political, Liberty of thought, expression, belief and worship, Equality of status and of opportunity and to promote among them all fraternity assuring the dignity of the individuals and the unity and integrity of the nation."

Despite the universal nature of Human Rights, one may find individual preferences and priorities, especially at the domestic level. Poor may think of the basic necessities of life. Rich may think of right to property. Human Rights are perceived differently by different people. For instance, during the 1975 Emergency Rule in India, the most important right an educated urban Indian could aspire for was the freedom of expression. Today, the same person may give top priority to some other freedom. However, the right to security of person and property is the most cherished right and everyone would expect the law enforcement agencies to protect. A criminal would expect the protection of his freedom from torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment. A victim of crime would expect the perpetrator of that crime to be prosecuted and punished. And the society would expect law enforcement agencies to ensure security and tranquillity. The physical security and respect for human dignity are the common expectations of everybody.

In fact, human rights have greater relevance to a country like ours in which we have to struggle against impediments created by the legacy of centuries of colonial domination. Moreover, India is a country of diversities. It has different social structures and diverse religious, philosophical and cultural traditions. The ideology of human rights transcends these diversities and has through customs, traditions and usage adhered to the perceived international human rights norms.

The record of our country during the last 47 years, has been of a steady march towards greater attainment of human rights while combating the gigantic problems of poverty, illiteracy, ignorance and lack of development. The nation has set ambitious plans and continues to strive to attain them. The nation has taken big strides in overcoming the problem of securing enough food for all, in combating diseases and ensuring for our people a span of life which is more than twice of what it was when we attained independence. Socially and economically under-privileged sections are being assisted through concerted measures and grant of privileges to accelerate their development and progress. A new education policy has been taken up. Housing and drinking water have received high priorities for rural areas. There are special programmes to tackle the problem of unemployment. Women have been given special consideration and attention and new laws have been enacted to help in bringing about a change in the traditional status of women. Minorities have been assured careful treatment so that they receive fair and adequate share of development without any discrimination. Various legislation enacted by the Parliament have been driven by the needs of the weaker section of Indian Society and in that much therefore guarantee human rights.

Considering the multi ethnic, multi religious society of India and to cater for extra ordinary situations such as natural calamities, internal and external threats, the founding fathers of the nation recognised the need to arm the state with powers to preserve it from disintegration. It is this recognition that has provided for special laws or emergency provisions vide Article 352 of the Constitution. Whereas these laws do provide powers which are adequate, the law enforcement apparatus of the state has been found wanting, at times in their proper implementation. The state on the other hand has been tardy in shedding its colonial hangover and is now being galvanised through internal and external pressure to respond to these aberrations. The laws exist, equally law breakers exist. Therefore laws which are enacted on the basis of rational human beings do not become null and void because some people behave irrationally. Be that as it may, it is the duty of the state to take corrective and transparent actions by bringing to book the wrong doers.

Multinational Corporation are also responsible for mass violation of human rights. They market pesticides, dumping toxic wastes and hazardous materials, exporting drugs which are banned in their countries and carrying on their manufacturing activities regardless of danger to safety and security and environment hazards. The most disastrous example of this was the escape of MIC from the Bhopal plant of Union Carbide.

Of late, Government has set up a National Commission for Human Rights (NCHR) by an act of Parliament. The nine member commission is headed by the former Chief Justice of India, Mr. Justice Ranganath Mishra. The prescribed function and powers of the Commission provide the widest scope for pro-rights action by it to prevent rights abuses by Public Servants in any part of the country, the areas of atrocities ranging from custodial crimes to connivance in communal violence. It is hoped, the National Human Rights Commission will introduce greater accountability and transparency in the laws, procedure and the system of justice in the context of emerging social realities and the emerging trends in the nature of crime and violence. A note on the setting up of National Human Rights Commission is attached.

Cross Border Terrorism and Human Rights Violations

In the recent years large number of countries in the world are under critical scrutiny by Amnesty International and Asia Watch for violations of human rights. Indian security forces have been accused of numerous violations of human rights including wide spread extra judicial executions and reprisal killings, torture, rape, assaults on civilians, arson as well as arbitrary arrest and detention without trial. Under the circumstances it needs to be understood that most foreign reporting has tended to be one sided, more often casting a spot light on human rights abuses than on Pakistan's significant role in fanning the flames of discord in sensitive border states within India. Two of our states have been particularly vulnerable i.e. Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir. While the situation in Punjab has improved significantly, Pakistan's interference continues unabated in Kashmir.

Pakistan claimed Kashmir being a Muslim majority state, however even while its ruler Maharaja Hari Singh insisted on remaining independent, Pakistan invaded Kashmir. In order to protect his people the Maharaja signed the Instrument of Accession which was finally accepted on 27 Oct 1947 by Lord Mountbatten, the first then Governor General of Independent India. This paved the way for Indian Army's induction and India also referred the matter to the Security Council on 01 Jan 1948. Through UN efforts a cease-fire was implemented on 01 Jan 1949, and in July 1949 an agreement was reached on the cease-fire line (CFL). Since then CFL has been violated by Pakistan on countless occasions. On two occasions the violations have been in the form of large scale infiltration of irregular armed insurgents. The first such case was in July-August 1965 when Pakistan attempted to infiltrate several thousand armed persons across the CFL. Most of these were stopped at the border and it resulted in a full scale war.

The second case of major cross border infiltration is going on for the last few years, involving thousands of misguided Muslim youths. This has been a significant factor in the development of widespread and violent secessionist activity in the Kashmir valley. Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) branch of Pakistan Army is the key agency planning and coordinating the secessionist activity. ISI has established about 48 training campus in POK in which training in light arms and guerrilla warfare tactics is imparted. Exfiltration and infiltration of recruits across the LOC is arranged at five camps in POK. ISI is also the main vehicle for supply of arms and effective leadership to the secessionist.

It is pertinent to note that secessionists have been indulging in large scale human rights abuses in the valley which has also been documented by human rights agencies. Practically all observers whether favourably or unfavourably disposed towards Kashmiri militants agree that separatist movement is chaotically arranged and beset with innumerable cleavages. Most of the few capable leaders have been killed or incarcerated, and the movement has been captured by criminal elements more concerned with extortions and racketeering than with so called liberation. Many of the secessionists are very poorly indoctrinated, barely aware of the movement's objectives and motivated as often as not by promise of material rewards. The movement is largely dependent for continued vitality on Pakistan support, intimidation of local population, coercion and a strategy of whipping up mass hysteria against alleged atrocities of security forces, mostly fictitious.

Realising that the militant movement is well contained and petering out, lately the ISI is inducting some foreign mercenaries also. The induction of foreigners has further enhanced human rights abuses and in some instances has alienated the local population from the militants. Rape and killing by militants of Kashmiri women are wide spread. One Afghan recently arrested admitted to having raped 52 Kashmiri women in the past few months that he was inducted.

Most foreign reporting in this regard has tended to be one sided, targeting unfairly the action of the security forces than taking a balanced view. Un-deniably the actions of terrorists have put our security forces under tremendous strain at times resulting in over reaction. But all such cases have been firmly dealt with by the authorities concerned, with the guilty persons getting severely punished.

Most of the excesses alleged to have been committed by the security forces often turn out to be fictitious and baseless, terrorist inspired vilification campaign against the administration and security forces to alienate the public against them. Such rumors are often eagerly lapped up by foreign human rights agencies and quoted as abuses. Recently the press council of India was asked to investigate such abuses that were alleged to have been committed by the security forces. After detailed investigations the Press Council has opined:

"The Committee is firmly of the view that reports of human rights excesses against the Indian Army in Kashmir have been grossly exaggerated or invented. Some excesses have taken place but these have been enquired into and action taken against those found guilty."

One of the major causes as to why the terrorists have been able to invent fictitious incidents against the security forces is perhaps the lack of transparency in the actions of security forces in a low intensity conflict environment.

Conclusion

The Cold War, was to a considerable extent fought on the higher plane of Human Rights. The collapse of former USSR and the communist bloc has perhaps vindicated this stand. It has also projected Human Rights, into centre stage of global agenda, and has become one of the pillars of the Western Nation's foreign policy and diplomacy.

India, needs to take note of this new trend of, "The Spirit of our age, the realities of our times". No doubt, instances have been reported of police excesses and human rights violations while fighting terrorism in India. Government is fully aware of such violations. Setting up of a National Human Rights Commission is a step towards bringing greater accountability and transparency in the existing laws and procedures. India is trying to promote social and economic developments within a democratic framework. However, there is a need to prevent the human rights movements from being politicised by the big powers.

NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION SET UP

On September 29, the President of India promulgated an ordinance called Protection of Human Rights Ordinance, 1993 providing for the setting up of a National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) with eight members. The Commission will be headed by a former Chief Justice of India. It will have its headquarters in New Delhi and will have a Secretary-General. The Chair-person and members of the NHRC will be appointed by the President on the recommendations of a six-member committee headed by the Prime Minister. The selection committee will comprise the Lok Sabha Speaker, the Union Home Minister, leaders of the Opposition in the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha and the Deputy Chairman of the Upper House.

The ordinance had been drafted after 16 months of intense discussions with all shades of public opinion. The Commission will not affect or influence existing laws governing the armed forces or paramilitary forces. It will enquire suomoto or on a petition submitted to it by a victim into complaints of violation of human rights or abetment there of. It has the powers to intervene in any proceeding involving allegations of human rights abuses pending before a court with the approval of the court concerned.

To facilitate its functioning, the National Human Rights Commission will have its own investigating staff. It will also have powers to seek the assistance of central and state agencies while enquiring into specific complaints of human rights violations relating to life, liberty, equality and dignity of an individual as guaranteed by the Constitution or embodied in international covenants and enforceable by the courts in this country.

The NHRC will review factors (including acts of terrorism) that inhibit the exercise of one's human rights as well as the safeguards currently in force and make appropriate recommendations. After conducting its enquiry the Commission can approach the Supreme Court or the High Courts for grant of immediate interim relief to the victim or members of his or her family.

The state governments can constitute their own Human Rights Commissions whose chair-person will be Chief Justice of their High Court. The NRC shall enjoy the powers of a civil court. Its proceedings shall be deemed judicial. The ordinance constituting it provides for setting up human rights courts in every district of the country for speedy trial of violation of human rights.

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The duty of a nation state to uphold and protect the human rights of all its citizens, and at the same time safeguard its security and interests, needs no emphasis. In India these duties and rights are cherished for millennia and have been enshrined in the Constitution itself. Violations of human rights and the need to curb these has lately become a global issue. At times, it is also used as a weapon of psychological warfare. A number of human rights activists organisations give primacy to the violation of the human rights of the terrorists by the security forces and deliberately turn the Nelson's eye to the ruthless violations of the human rights of the common citizens perpetrated by these very terrorists. The issue gets further distorted by proxy war when the terrorist activities are foreign funded and engineered. Such nations/organisations deliberately indulge in disinformation, and aided by powerful media cause much damage. The BBC showed footage of Bosnia to depict human rights violations in Jammu & Kashmir.

The Seminar is expected to deliberate on the concept and relevance of the issue of human rights violations in India. If will also examine the restraints under which the security forces and also the army when employed for internal peace keeping operate and bring out the correct picture of the situation obtaining in India.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEMINAR

Shri R D Pradhan, President CASS opened the Seminar and introduced the distinguished visitors from Delhi and Bombay. He welcomed all the Seminar participants and thanked Dr Vasant Gowarikar, Vice Chancellor, Pune University for his very valuable support to the Centre in terms of infrastructure and facilities.

The Seminar was chaired by Shri R D Pradhan. Shri Rajesh Pilot, Union Minister for Environment and Forests delivered the inaugural address. Justice P B Sawant, Chairman, Press Council of India spoke on "Concept of Human Rights and Its Relevance to India" as the main speaker in the first session. The Second Session, which was on "Human Rights: Law and Order in India", Shri JF Rebeiro IPS (Retd) focussed on Amnesty Targeting Police Methods and Lt Gen MM Lakhera, Adjutant General, Army Headquarters dwelt on the subject from the angle of army's involvement in countering terrorism, and promoting human rights.

After the presentation by the main speakers, each session was thrown open for general discussion. It proved animated, lively, thought provoking, removed many misgivings and misconceptions and gave a clearer picture of the prevailing situation.

INAUGURAL SESSION

INAUGURAL ADDRESS BY SHRI RAJESH PILOT

It gives me great pleasure to be here this morning to inaugurate the Seminar on Human Rights and law and Order in India organised by the Centre for Advanced Strategic Studies. I take this opportunity to thank Air Marshal YV Malse as also Wg Cdr SS Sane, under whom I have served while in the Air Force, for inviting me to this seminar.

Human Rights

Although Human Rights have existed for a few millennia, there is an increased awareness and focus on these due to the interest evinced by international organisations. Similarly, the international dimension of human rights has been accentuated by the existence of many oranisations which have come into being to keep a watch. It is in the same context that the situation in Punjab and Kashmir has been in focus for the last few years. The conditions under which the paramilitary forces and armed forces are undertaking their responsibilities in these areas has received much media publicity and attention. Thus, it is misunderstood by most of the people. Simultaneously, human rights violations are projected and described in an exaggerated manner. There is therefore a greater need for transparency in these matters. It is with this view that a National Human Rights Commission has been set up by the Government. The Central Government also encourages the setting up of Human Rights Commissions at the state level. It is admitted that some of the laws and acts like TADA have been occasionally misused by the concerned authorities. Therefore a programme to educate the para-military forces and armed forces has already been put into practice. Similarly, non-governmental organisations are also assisted and encouraged to look into these matters. However, it is necessary that a balanced approach is adopted to ensure that human rights of all citizens are duly respected.

Law And Order

I will now turn to the other aspect of the Seminar, viz law and order in India. It is regrettable but true that the overall law and order situation has deteriorated. The institutions have been damaged and

degraded due to politicisation. The situation has been aggravated by shorter tenures of those in authority. There is also a visible deterioration in the character and performance of the police forces with clear indications of a nexus between the politicians and the police as also criminalisation of the politics. There is, in general, a deterioration of the polity.

Thus, there is a crying need to improve the political character, reform the police forces and discipline these. This will, then, restore the credibility of the law and order machinery. Simultaneously, we should increasingly use modern methods as also technology. A general decline in the values is a cause for anxiety and in case the situation is not tackled on priority, on all these fronts, the very democracy, of which we are so proud, will be in danger.



SESSION I

CONCEPT OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND ITS RELEVANCE TO INDIA

Chairman : Shri R.D. Pradhan Main Speaker : Justice P.B. Sawant

Justice PB Sawant thanked the Centre for Advanced Strategic Studies for inviting him for the Seminar. In his presentation on the Concept of Human Rights and its Relevance to India he covered the following main points:-

Concept of Human Rights

- The term coined to denote those rights without which no individual can grow to his full potential.
- Laski's unmatched definition of 'rights' Those conditions of social life without which no individual can be said to be his full self.'
- Denotes an absence of hurdles/obstacles which will allow an individual to grow.
- Rights claimed in a society. Therefore, nature and content of human rights will vary from society to society and time to time depending upon economic well-being and technological achievements of the society.
- Empower individual personally and socially to contribute to the society.
- Individuals empowered to contribute to the common good.
- Society poor and weak if human rights not available.
- Degree and strength of deprivations a determinant of availability of human rights

Periodicity and historicity of human rights

Three generations of rights

First Generation - Civil and Political (1946)

Second Generation - Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1965/66)

Third Generation - Rights of nations (1980s)

Civil/Political Rights :-

Seven freedoms - Details of these. UN extension of seventh freedom to participate in the governance of the country.

Social, Economic and Cultural Rights:-

To be gared for/To work/To be looked after/Right to remuneration/ Rights to promotion/ To choose one's own employment/ To education/ To health care

Rights of Nations/Social Groups :-

Right to claim redistribution of resources and power in the world/ Right to development/ To claim equal benefit is legacy of mankind in land, water, space and scientific and technological development/ Right to peace/ To proper and healthy environment/ Right of selfdetermination (political, social, cultural and economic).

Relevance to India

Constitution of India incorporates all these rights. Social profile of India

80-85% socially, economically, educationally backward 37% below the poverty line 52% Illiterate (66% women illiterate)

Vast segments deprived of basic human rights. Thus, they cannot contribute meaningfully to society. Therefore, this constitutes a loss to the nation.

Equal and effective participation in governance is democracy. Therefore, unreal democracy in the country.

Assurance of basic human needs necessary such as security, health care, education and a minimum assured standard of living.

India will remain weak if conditions continue and will be unable to take its place of pride in the comity of nations.

Necessary to make the nation strong.

Darker side of the society :-

White-collared crime/consumerism/materialism Social structure necessary for values, insurgency and terrorism.

Right to Self-determination:- An elaboration by sub-commission of United Nations headed by a Norwegian.

Does not mean a right to secession or a right to independence Not unilateral. Minorities to respect the law and human rights of the majority as long as equal opportunities are given and their rights are respected. (Ethnic, language and religious minority included).

Equal and effective participation of minorities in governance to be assured.

Concluding Remarks.

In conclusion, he said that economic development and upliftment of the vast segments of the population, now below the poverty line is necessary to provide them the basic human rights, and to make the country strong.



SESSION II

HUMAN RIGHTS AND LAW AND ORDER IN INDIA

Chairman: Shri R.D. Pradhan Main Speakers: Shri J.F. Rebeiro

Lt Gen MM Lakhera

PAPER PRESENTED BY SHRI J. F. REBEIRO AMNESTY TARGETS POLICE METHODS

The use of torture or force to extract confessions from suspects or information from suspected collaborators is a practice that is known to man ever since recorded history. The practice has received various degrees of acceptance depending on the cultural and economic development of different regions of the world at different times.

In Europe torture was legally sanctioned in medieval days. It is almost certain that the practice, though by then illegal, would have continued well beyond the Industrial and the French Revolutions. Sometime in this century the people of Europe fed on the writings of the great libertarians and the concept of egalitarianism thrown up by the French Revolution and, more importantly, having narrowed the economic gap between the haves and the have-nots, came out strongly against such barbaric practices.

In most countries of the world, except the advanced and affluent ones criminals and those suspected of crime are still treated badly and the idea of protecting them is ridiculed not only by the rulers but also by the people at large. This is so even in countries where such cruelty is punishable under the law, as in India.

While there have been instances in our country when people have protested against deaths in police custody, there have also been contrary demonstrations in support of police brutality e.g. in Bhagalpur in Bihar where ordinary criminals were being blinded by the police. When action was initiated against the officers responsible for the blindings, the people, including lawyers and other educated gentry, came out on to the streets in protest.

The people are incensed when an innocent man or a mere suspect meets his end due to police excesses. But, in the case of known criminals and suspects pre-judged guilty by them, the public is generally indifferent. In fact, those interested in the case and members of the middle classes, who feel threatened by the activities of criminals, actually expect the police to use force. Policemen who refrain from violence are considered to be "weak and useless". It is no wonder, therefore, that Amnesty International's fact-finding duo, who visited Bombay in January this year, concluded that there was public approval for police third degree methods. Coming as they did from advanced countries where affluence and education has changed cultural attitudes it is not surprising that Amnesty's representatives were confronted with this shocking truth.

All over the western world there is a marked distaste for anything that smacks of barbarity. In the developing countries attitudes are in the process of changing. There is need to educate our own people to actively resist cruelty of all types. Animal Rights activists in the West, for example, would be quite surprised to learn of the wide acceptance of various types of cruelty practised on animals in India, whereas anything that remotely smacks of mishandling of dumb animals is a thing of the past in their own lands. It will take many more years of education, of economic prosperity and attitudinal change before the Utopia that Amnesty preaches can be achieved in developing countries like ours.

Amnesty's report also acknowledges that police officers in India are poorly trained and equipped to carry out more reliable investigative procedures. It also acknowledges that there is immense pressure on the police to perform because of the inability of the criminal justice system itself to deliver promptly and effectively. Though, most police leaders do not approve of third-degree methods, they shut their eyes to complaints because they know that the public expects instant bunishment which the judicial system is not in a position to dispense. The public acceptance of the use of force by the police on those in custody and the virtual impunity and lack of accountability with which the police are able to act makes it difficult to eradicate the evil.

Amnesty's report goes on to criticise the unrecorded detentions of individuals at police stations. Many of these citizens are called in as suspects, or as witnesses to occurrences about which they are not willing to testify or as relatives of wanted accused kept under police

surveillance as hostages so that the accused are psychologically pressurised to surrender. Amnesty suspects that many of these detainees are subjected to torture. Amnesty may not be much off the mark.

According to law every citizen accused of a crime has the right to be represented by a lawyer. In the West, the progressive trend of judicial decisions is to permit legal counsel even at the stage of police interrogation. In India, as in most developing countries, lawyers would be kept out of the interrogation rooms. In most cases the lawyers themselves would go along with this arrangement but more and more, particularly in the case of organised criminals who have much money and influence, lawyers insist on a more intrusive presence.

In poor countries the poor are usually left out in cold. Ordinary criminals, brought in for petty crimes committed for their very survival, will never benefit from any improvements that Amnesty's interventions may invoke. Only rich criminals of the organised variety, who should really remain within the four walls of a prison, and who in any case are the privileged among the criminal classes, will profit. And that is a pity and a sad reflection on the system.

Amnesty's report bemoans the fact that the relatives of arrested people are not informed of the suspects detention at the police stations. This is something that can be rectified with more supervision and insistence. Perhaps, ill-treatment of suspects will be automatically reduced if superior officers enforce this salutary directive of the Courts of law.

Amnesty's report mentions that very often there are no records maintained of police custody and interrogation. This is so in the case of those who are not officially arrested. When accused are taken into legal custody this fact is perforce recorded and the accused produced before the magistrate within twenty four hours of the arrest. Amnesty's criticism that remands in police custody upto 15 days and judicial custody upto 90 days are far too liberal is a matter for debate. The police find 15 days sometimes very inadequate for questioning those accused in complicated cases. The police also find 90 days in judicial custody inadequate for completion of the investigation in such cases. In Italy the magistrates inquiring into political corruption threatened to resign when the government threatened to remove the legal provision that kept politicians in open-ended custody till the investigations and

inquiries were completed. This period included the time taken for the accused to blurt out the truth which, for obvious reasons, often extended over months.

Whereas Amnesty's report indicted the police on almost every count there was one saving grace. Amnesty very quickly understood that the police forces in India were under severe political pressures and control. It recommended that there should be no interference in the administration of the force. It also stressed the need for professionalism in police functioning and a fixed tenure for police chiefs.

Amnesty will have to wait many many years before such a happy situation comes about in our country.

PAPER PRESENTED BY Lt Gen M M LAKHERA

ARMYS INVOLVEMENT IN COUNTERING TERRORISM AND PROMOTING HUMAN RIGHTS

Introduction

India's concern for human rights has been second to none and she was in the forefront amongst the countries subscribing to the Declaration of Human Rights and two Convenants of the UN. It is for realisation of these rights that India had long been fighting. Having won freedom, India has guaranteed these rights to her people in the form of Fundamental Rights, which have been accorded pride of place in the Indian Constitution. A glance at the Fundamental Rights enshrined in the Constitution of India will show that they are in fact Fundamental Human Rights which are similar to those listed in the UN Declaration. The Preamble of the Constitution echoes the spirit of Article 1 of the Declaration while proclaiming India as a Sovereign, Socialist, Secular Democratic Republic and "securing to all its citizens justice, social, economic and political, Liberty of thought, expression, belief and worship, equality of status and of opportunity and to promote among them all fraternity assuring the dignity of the individuals and the unity and integrity of the nation."

Background

Human Rights violations can be broadly divided into two categories the visible and the invisible. Under the visible category would come instances like excessive use of force by the Security Forces while dealing with a situation resulting in large casualties of non-combatants, use of intimidation etc. Such instances invariably attract the attention of the Government and Human Rights Organisations and result in corrective action by the State. The only way of preventing such visible violations is through systematic sensitising of the Security Forces to their obligations to protect human rights, even in the face of the gravest provocation, better training in order to sharpen the Security Forces' reflexes of self restraint and disciplinary action against those found wanting in self restraint and adherence to civilised norms of behaviour expected of the State.

More than the visible violations it is the invisible derogation occurring beyond the observant eyes of the public and even the State, which, if left unchecked, could contribute in the long run to a perception in the minds of the affected population of the State as a heartless machine which deserves to be defied. An unchecked recurrence of such invisible violations over a long period of time could lead to a permanent alienation of the population beyond repair.

Such invisible violations do occur even in areas not affected by terrorism or insurgency, but tend to assume disturbing proportions in areas affected by terrorism or insurgency, where, in their efforts to control the situation, the Security Forces have to contend with organised defiance of the State by elements trained, instigated and directed by the intelligence agencies of Pakistan.

Indian Army has been involved in fighting insurgency in North-East since 1950's. Our Security Forces have faced allegations of violations of human rights in the past also during their counterinsurgency operations in the North-East. In contrast, what we are witnessing in Jammu & Kashmir is a vicious attempt by the Disinformation and Psywar apparatus of the Pakistani intelligence to impair the ability of the Indian Security Forces to deal with the situation through systematic dissemination in J&K and abroad, of baseless or highly exaggerated allegations of violations of human rights. Through this malicious campaign, the Pakistani agencies have been seeking, on the one hand, to make the unfortunate alienation of some sections of the local population irreversible and, on the other, to drive a wedge between India and the international community.

It has been India's stand since 1990 that any assessment of the human rights situation anywhere in the world would be incomplete and even distorted without taking into account the ruthless violations deliberately committed by the terrorists and other extremists. Since 1992, Amnesty International and Asia Watch have started paying attention to this aspect. In its latest report, Human Rights Watch of the USA, of which the Asia Watch is a part, has taken the welcome initiative to draw attention to the role played by the ISI in diverting into the hands of terrorists in India, the arms and ammunition supplied by the USA for use in Afghanistan. Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch would be doing another tremendous service to the cause of the genuine human rights movement by drawing the attention of the world to the attempts of Pakistani agencies to distort the facts and ground realities.

Operational Environment

The ground reality in a CI Ops area must be borne in mind while analysing the problems of Human Rights. Imagine a road opening party moving out every day from its base to picquet the road. Every step the man takes is flawed with danger. He is not sure as to when he may step on an improvised explosive device or be fired on from any quarter. There is no single line demarcating the Anti National Elements and the Army. The psychological impact of this must be understood.

Having said this I would like to add that Discipline is the bed rock of the Army. It is this one single factor which puts us at a higher pedestal than any other organisation. We are very conscious of this fact. The day we allow our men to break this, we would be worse than any other organisation because ours is the trained manpower. What is the ground reality? Here is a man moving and should he be fired on? What does he do? He is training to protect himself and his fellow soldiers. Even criminal procedure code gives him a right to fire in self defence. However, I do agree that should he at this juncture hide himself and go on the rampage later we take serious action against such defaulters. However, the leader i.e. the officer ensures that minimum force is used. When firing starts and if it happens to be in a built up area, some innocent civilians get caught in the cross fire and some may even die. Such incidents are blown out of proportion by the ANES for their propaganda value. It is here that we seek the help of the media to report events judiciously. It is surprising that a number of such incidents are overplayed without even a visit to the site or even making an attempt to take the views of both the sides. A classic case in point was when a news agency like BBC showed footage of Bosnia to show Human Rights violations in J&K. What was more sad that it was left to the Army to point out this gross error to concerned quarters. No other agency either BBC or Government could see through this game.

It is also interesting that when a few American soldiers are killed in Somalia, the American Army uses Armed Helicopters to attack civilian population in Magadisu and a large number of them die, then for them it is a war like situation demanding war like actions whereas when an Indian soldier fires a few rounds of small arms in self defence and some odd people die in the cross fire, it is human right violation. Is it not double standard? I leave to this august body to draw their own conclusions.

Efforts to Promote Human Rights at Army's Level

Human Right (HR) is not a new concept so far as the Army is concerned. We have been practicing and teaching respect for HR for years, and any violation is treated as an act of indiscipline and dealt with accordingly. This subject has however, been skilfully exploited by Pakistan in its unending quest to keep the pot boiling in J&K. As usual our responses have been weak, adhoc and defensive and this is where the problem lies, because in fact our overall record is better than any other Army in the World. I am not for a moment suggesting that we need not concern ourselves with (HR) issues. We are actively engaged in motivating our troops in an on-going manner, to respect Human Rights and not to violate them.

Human Rights violations are taken very seriously not only because of the violations themselves which are criminal acts, but because no unit can tolerate a known offender in the interest of unit discipline. Let the facts speak for themselves. In the past five years i.e., 1991 to 01 Jul 95, the statistics are as given below:

Sr.		J&K	North East
No.		(Since 1991)	(Since 1992)
1.	No of Allegations Recd	346	113
2.	No Investigated	318	89
3.	Under Investigation	28	24
4.	No false/baseless	298	84
5.	No found true	20	05
6.	No of Army Personnel	41	15
	destruction of the same of the		Rape - 18
			Theft - 08
			19
			Misc - 30

Total - 56

It will be seen that the number of violations, when compared with the quantum of troops deployed in CI Operations, are very few. I am not trying to justify these violations, but I would like you to note how quickly we inquire into the incidents and mete out punishments to the offenders. In some cases, offenders have been sent to prison after trial by CCM after a mere 3 months; you know such cases in

Civil Courts drag on for years with no outcome. It is unfortunate that some of us get carried away by the propaganda war of Pakistan and others. The militants unfortunately, have also been able to streamline their allegations on Human Rights violations with the help of Pakistan and by threat and coercion. We should guard against this and not succumb to the numbers game that they are playing in an area of intense Counter Insurgence activity with deployment of a large number of troops, under conditions of severe and prolonged mental and physical stress and strain.

In all, as on 31 Jul 95, 15 Officers, 2 Junior Commissioned Officers and 24 Other ranks in J&K and 02 Officers and 13 other ranks in the North-East have been punished for various offences involving civilians while carrying out Counter Insurgency Operations. The punishments vary from Reprimand to 10 years Rigorous Imprisonment and Dismissal from Service depending on the gravity of the offence.

No other force around the globe can claim to have enforced disciplinary code so rigidly against erring personnel. Delving on the issue of Indian Army's International Record, it is a matter of pride that our men have participated in almost every peace keeping mission since World War II and earned the reputation of being one of the most disciplined and professional in approach. The meticulous and humanitarian conduct of the Indian soldiers in Cambodia, Somalia, Rwanda and Angola had received special mention from the UN Secretariat from time to time. The Chief of Staff of the Indian Army, Gen Shankar Roy Chowdhary is on record for having said more than once: "Respect for human values is part of our cultural heritage. This ethos is enshrined in the glorious traditions and history of Indian Army".

Human Rights Cell.: We within the Army have established a Human Rights Cell (HRC) at Army Headquarters in Mar 93, which consists of a Director of Colonel's rank, one Assistant Director of Major's rank and two legal officers to exclusively deal with Human Rights aspects. This cell functions under the Discipline and Vigilance Directorate headed by a Major General. The aim of the cell is to monitor Human Rights issues, carry out an analysis of this aspect so that a systematic and pragmatic approach could be adopted to ensure that Human Rights are not violated. The cell also acts as a nodal agency for receiving allegations and ensuring that corrective action is taken to minimise Human Rights abuses. Similar cells have also been

established at the Command and Corps level in Counter Insurgency (CI) areas. A nodal Officer is also appointed in the concerned state/area as and when required, to coordinate Human Rights issues with the state Government, Police and Para Military authorities. This arrangement currently exists in Srinagar.

Training

There has been a concerted effort to sensitise all ranks from the soldier to the junior leaders and senior officers, on Human Rights. Details of the training being carried out at various levels for both officers and men are given below:-

- (a) Basic Training: During this stage Recruits are taught the requirement of adopting a human approach and the circumstances under which Human Rights violations are likely to occur while carrying out military operations.
- (b) Promotion Cadres: During promotion cadres at each level, time is allotted in the syllabic for refreshing the topics covered during basic training and to cover Human Rights aspects in a little more detail.
- (c) Training of Officers.: Human Rights aspects are included during pre-commission training and later during various courses like Young Officers Course, Junior Command/ equivalent courses and during Staff Technical Staff, Senior Command and equivalent courses.
- (d) Situation Training.: All personnel of units which are assigned the task of Internal Security or Counter Insurgency duties are given refresher training on Human Rights aspects including DOs and DON'Ts.
- (e) Pre-Induction Training.: All units when inducted for CI
 Operations to J&K and North-East are made to undergo
 Pre-induction training in CI and Jungle Warfare Schools
 and other institutions and Human Rights aspects are
 included in the curriculum of the training syllabi.
- (f) Units/Formations Training.: Human Rights aspects are included in exercises and demonstrations and suitable lessons highlighted.

(g) Special Courses.: The Ministry of Home Affairs and Ministry of Information and Broadcasting are conducting special courses on Human Rights which are also being utilised for training our officers of the rank of Colonel above.

A Special Army Training Note on Human Rights has been published by the Army in Jan 1995. The training in various institutions has also included importance of safeguarding Human Rights in their syllabi. The "Ten Commandments", issued by the previous COAS Late Gen BC Joshi, highlights the ethos of our Army with regard to Human Rights, and constantly acts as a motivating and guiding factor.

Army's Operational strategy

Our strategy must ensure that the good work of the Army in combating terrorism is not negated by the propaganda of our adversaries and the militants, through false allegations and prolonged litigation. Some of the aspects that could be covered in the strategy are elaborated in subsequent paras.

- (a) Professionalism: We take pride in being professionals, belonging to an elite Army, unlike other Security Forces. A well trained unit, highly motivated, with a high sense of discipline and fully geared up for the complicated art of CI Operations, will go a long way in ensuring that the image of the Army is projected in a correct and befitting manner. Not only will the population have regard for our organisation, but the fence sitters are also not likely to be swayed by the militant's propaganda. Knowledge and application of legal aspects, which will enable carrying out the task despite the hurdles posed by the ANE is being re-emphasised, specially at the junior levels.
- (b) Control Over the Environment: The ground reality of the State Government and the local administration including the important law enforcers like the police being easily coerced by the militant pressure, is well understood. It is invariably seen that the civil administration conduct their own Magisterial inquiries which in some cases could be biased, resulting in the indictment of Army personnel.

Nor do they keep the Army informed on matters concerning us. Inspite of this constraint, constant efforts are being made to have a control over the environment. This will not only ensure fewer indictions, but also enable tackling tricky situations in an effective manner.

- (c) Team Spirit: Insurgency is a Politico, Social and Military problem and has to be tackled conjointly at all these planes. Though much depends on the higher direction at the National level, at the formation level concerted efforts must be made to function as a team involving the state apparatus and the military. Competition with other agencies must be avoided and the ethos of the Army of being silent workers getting the primary task done without claiming credit, maintained.
- (d) WHAM Measures: Winning over the hearts and minds (WHAM), of the population is the crux of Insurgency. Civic action measures presently being implemented are limited due to financial constraints and these may not have the desired effect. A combination of various factors, which need no elaboration are required to make a dent in this important sphere. Ingenuity and genuineness on the part of all ranks will go a long way in achieving this.

Transparency

We are striving to achieve greater transparency with regard to our actions during CI Operations. This transparency will help to carry out CI Operations more effectively as well as prevent/reduce adverse publicity which is a negative operational factor besides being bad for morale of troops who are put at risk. Adverse publicity is often given to "Security Forces" in general and the media (both national and international) tends to lay the blame at the door of the Army even when it is not actually involved. CI Operations are conducted where there is threat and/or action by Anti National Elements (ANEs) and the civilian populations are already under physical and psychological pressure from the ANEs. It is axiomatic that in using force against ANEs, the Army collaterally raises the pressure on the civilians notwithstanding the principle of minimum force, since ANEs use the civilian population for their ends. It is, therefore, necessary to ensure that in the process of ops, the Human Rights of individuals are not

infringed or violated. This has been expressed succinctly in the socalled Ten Commandments issued by the erstwhile COAS. By strict and meticulous observance of the "Ten Commandments" the following advantages will accrue:-

(a) Civilians will realise :-

- (i) that the Army is there to help them.
- (ii) that ANEs are exploiting them.
- (iii) that cooperation with the Army will help in the long run.
- (b) Ops will be more effective due to cooperation from civilians.
- (c) Difference in ops between the Army and para Military Forces will become apparent to the civilians and the media.

Conclusion

We see that upholding of Human Rights of Civilian populations is a part of our job whether in aid to civil power at times of natural calamity, riots or strikes, or in countering insurgency. What is a human rights violation by an Army person is also always a disciplinary case within the unit and attracts swift action under the Army Act. Disciplinary action is taken to maintain the unit morale and cohesiveness as a means to operational effectiveness, just as much as to take action against a soldier who is guilty of human rights violation. The good name of the Army stems from its effectiveness in ops and respect for human rights is one of the building blocks of effectiveness.

Sadly, however, human rights violations against Army personnel by the Civil administration (especially the Police) are on the increase and it is the discipline of Army personnel which, curiously, works against them. The fact that Army personnel have an initial handicap of denial of some fundamental rights is not seen by Civil administration as a factor to be considered in favour of Army personnel in their dealings. The outcome is some cases where the Army personnel have taken the law into their own hands, and hit the headlines by hitting at the Police.

Shri R.D. Pradhan: CLOSING REMARKS

The Chairman, Shri R D Pradhan thanked, Shri Rajesh Pilot, and the main speakers, and all the participants of the Seminar which generated very lively discussions. Violations of human rights and need to curb these has become a global issue. Communication and information technology advancement focusses instantaneous world attention on the subject. The issue of human rights is also being used as a weapon of psychological warfare by distortions and tendentious reports. India's concerns for human rights as well as duties has been traditional. Inspite of its diversity, its record on human rights has been commendable. The issue is linked with its economic and social development. The incidence of human rights violations could be minimised by the uplifting of the downtrodden, by improving law and order and by freeing the law enforcement agencies from extraneous pulls, pressures and influence. Greater transparency in the counter insurgency operations would help clearing misunderstandings in the public mind, enlist peoples' support against anti national elements and minimise damage caused by media distortions. He expressed the hope that the seminar deliberations will prove useful for bringing out a clearer and accurate picture of the situation and for a better understanding of the subject and for taking necessary remedial action by the policy and decision makers.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS

The UN General Assembly, seized of the problem of human rights adopted two International Covenants of Human Rights, calling upon countries to promote better living conditions of people, uphold freedom of thought, conscience, religion and association and protect them by law. A number of regional treaties were also concluded for the same purpose. In India, the duties and rights of the people in a nation state, within the frame work of a civilised society and national security have been cherished for millennia. These have been enshrined in the Constitution itself. The country has set up a National Commission for Human Rights and paved the way for setting these commissions at state levels also, to monitor human rights violations.

All over the world, violations of human rights in patent as well as insidious ways do take place on a large scale. It has become a global issue, and has gained instant visibility and wide exposure due to revolution in communication and information technology. At times, the facts are deliberately distorted and Human Rights issue is manipulated to pressurise other nations to subserve vested interests of particular groups/regions/nations. It becomes a handy instrument for conducting proxy wars and psychological warfare.

The breakdown of law and order creates a ferfile ground for large scale human rights violations. Political interference in administration and in the enforcement of law and order, results in such a breakdown. Suborning of the judiciary as well as the executive by the politicians renders the judicial system and the administration ineffective. Nexus between the politicians and the police and criminalisation of politics makes the situation worse. A general decline in values sets in, eroding peoples faith in democracy. These trends need to be reversed to restore the credibility of the law and order machinery.

The problem of human rights violations is accentuated in the frontline states like Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir and those in north east region. These have been subjected to well orchestrated proxy war through clandestine arms, large scale narcotics funds, narco-terrorism and foreign mercenaries.

The Human Rights activists have lately mushroomed Worldwide. They have a set agenda and are very vocal. They get strong support of the international media as well as the media within the country. Quite often, they focus on the human rights of the terrorists and totally ignore those of the ordinary citizens, whose rights are trampled upon by these very terrorists by perpetrating crimes like murder, rape, loot, extortion and constant harassment. The Human Rights issue is being used by the advanced countries, specially the US, to pressurise India to sign the Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT), the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and to deny technology transfer with a view to thwarting its development, to nip in the bud a potential competitor. Environment, global warming, child labour—such issues have been used by these countries for the same purpose. Their concern for child labour ill fits their starving the IDA of sorely needed and earlier committed funds for development.

The Seminar has been very timely. It addressed itself to examining the human rights issue, and law and order in India, and India's record in this field; and deliberated on these, with a view to get the correct picture. A general consensus emerged on the following lines:-

- There is an increased awareness and focus on Human Rights due to the interest evinced by international organisations.
- Many organisations have cropped up to keep a watch. This has given it an international dimension.
- The situation in Punjab and Kashmir has been in focus for the few last years. The conditions under which the police the para-military forces and the armed forces are undertaking their responsibilities has received scant media publicity and attention. As a result, there is a great deal of public misunderstanding.
- The media projects and describes the human rights violations in an exaggerated manner, at times, deliberately distorting facts.
- A classic case of disinformation and distortion by the media was when BBC showed footage of Bosnia to show Human Rights violations in J&K. The BBC itself should have verified facts and refrained from showing. The Indian Government and the Human Rights Watch agencies should have promptly refuted and brought the error to limelight. None did. It was left to the Indian Army to point out the gross error. The Government

and the concerned agencies need to be vigilant and ever alert against such mischief.

- The overall law and order situation in India has deteriorated due to excessive political interference in administration, and due to a nexus between the politicians, criminals and the bureaucracy, and due to large scale corruption.
- Generally, there is public approval for police third degree methods against criminals, prejudged by the public, specially in developing countries. There is public uproar if the victim of police excesses is innocent.
- In the system, as it is currently operating in India the rich organised criminals manage to remain outside the pale of law and justice.
- Police forces in India are under severe political pressures and control.
- There is a need for professionalism in police functioning, and a fixed tenure for police chiefs.
- The police force is often misemployed on VIP and VVIP security and other duties. Consequently maintenance of law and order suffers. It is necessary that the force is properly trained, equipped and adequately manned, and given enough power and control for the performance of its normal duties.
- Pakistan's ISI launched a proxy war against India with impunity for the last few years, specially in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. It systematically disseminates in J&K and abroad baseless, or highly exaggerated allegations of violations of human rights to alienate the local population against the state. It trains, instigates, sends its own personnel and foreign mercenaries, and directs these elements to indulge in terrorism, insurgency and defiance of the state.
- The Pakistan's ISI is flush with huge narcotic funds and US supplied sophisticated arms and ammunition which are liberally used for its Proxy War with India. This fact has been recently recorded even by the Human Rights Watch of the USA, but is glossed over by the US administration.

- The Indian Army Security Forces employed in aid of civil police and para military forces in J&K are under constant and tremendous psychological tension, due to many constraints and the environment in which they have to operate.
- Discipline being the bedrock of the Indian Army the Security Forces under no circumstances could be permitted to deviate, and violate discipline.
- Acts of indiscipline by the Security Forces of the Indian Army in J&K have been very few and these attracted prompt detection, trial and punishment.
- The allegations of large scale Human Rights violation by the Security Forces in J&K made by the media, ISI and other Human Rights agencies and secessionists are fictitious and baseless. The Press Council of India which is headed by a former Justice of the Supreme Court found the reports of human rights excesses against the Indian Army in Kashmir grossly exaggerated or invented. It also found that some excesses did take place and the guilty persons were punished.
- There is a need for transparency in the action of Security Forces in a low intensity conflict environment.
- It is comforting and reassuring that the Indian Army from its inception itself has been practising and inculcating respect for Human Rights and treating violations as acts of indiscipline and dealing with them accordingly.
- The Indian Army, in its role as Security Forces motivates its troops in an ongoing manner, to respect Human Rights and not to violate them.
- Indian Army's record for its concern for human rights, and compassion for the people as a UN Peace keeping Force has been exemplary.
- Respect for human values is a part of India's cultural heritage, enshrined in the constitution and also the traditions of the Indian Army.

- The establishment of Human Rights cell in the Army Headquarters, Command and Corps level in the insurgency areas, to monitor human rights issues will further reinforce the Indian Army's commitment to Human Rights issues even in combating terrorism.
- The State Government and the local administration including the important law enforcers like police are easily coerced by the militant pressure.
- Insurgency is a politico, social and military problem and should be tackled conjointly at all these planes. The state apparatus and the military should function as a team.
- Winning over the hearts and minds of the population is the crux of the emergency.
- In using force against the anti national elements, the Army collaterally is required to raise the pressure on the civilians. This calls for discretion and careful handling to bring out rapport with the civilians and their alienation and distancing from the anti national elements.
- Frequent employment of the Indian Army in aid of civil power for maintenance of law and order in the long run affects the morale of the personnel and combat efficiency and operational readiness of the Army. This should be avoided. The Army should be called only to tackle and fight insurgency and then given adequate power, freedom and control to handle the situation.

"HUMAN RIGHTS: LAW AND ORDER IN INDIA"

SEMINAR: 30th September, 1995

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CENTRE FOR ADVANCED STRATEGIC STUDIES

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