

The Kashmir Series

Panun Kashmir

A Homeland for Kashmiri Pandits

(<http://PanunKashmir.org>)

Publications

Compiled by:

KASHMIR NEWS NETWORK (KNN)

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First Edition, *August 2002*

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Foreword

In order to counter the disinformation campaign launched against the minuscule Kashmiri Pandit (KP) community by Muslims, a team of dedicated KP individuals in the USA, along with other Indian Americans, has formed the Kashmir News Network (KNN). KNN acts as a central repository and dissemination outlet for information on Kashmir. A major activity of KNN is the hosting of a number of related web sites.

The KNN websites carry information about the on-going struggle of the Kashmiri Pandits, as refugees in their own country, the conditions that prevailed in the valley before their exodus, their history of survival through centuries of persecution at the hands of cruel Muslim rulers in the valley, detailed case analyses of various Kashmiri Pandit individuals killed by the Pakistan-sponsored militants, and several massacres of the Kashmiri Pandits that have taken place after their exodus. It is a repository describing the ethnic cleansing of the Kashmiri Pandits from the valley of Kashmir. The web sites serve as an authoritative source for historical documents, books, and strategic analyses on Kashmir and related issues.

In addition to the political literature, it is a repository of information on the Kashmiri Pandits detailing their culture, history and religion. The KNN websites also carry Kashmiri Music and several video documentaries in "Real Player" format, paintings by Kashmiri Pandit artists, articles on our language with actual audio clips, among many other things.

These web sites are located at the following Internet addresses :

- Kashmiri Pandits <http://iKashmir.org/>
- Kashmir Herald <http://KashmirHerald.com/>
- Virtual Homeland of KPs <http://Kashmiri-Pandit.org>
- Panun Kashmir <http://www.PanunKashmir.org/>
- Satisar Foundation <http://www.Satisar.org/>
- Koshur – Kashmiri Language <http://koshur.org/>

We have also started our own private e-mail club called the **KPandit**, hosted by *Yahoo!* groups. The KPandit is designed to be a forum where views and news about Kashmir imbroglio, articles about our unique culture, religion, history, and current political affairs, are freely exchanged. Subscription to the KPandit service is free and available to a KP with a valid e-mail address anywhere around the world, and can be requested by sending e-mail to the following e-mail address:

KPandit-subscribe@yahoogroups.com

Some website addresses of interest are:

Arts & Culture

History	http://ikashmir.org/history.html
Region	http://ikashmir.org/culture.html
Geography	http://ikashmir.org/Geography/index.html
Tourism	http://ikashmir.org/Nature/index.html
Language	http://iKashmir.org/Languages/index.html http://koshur.org/
Proverbs	http://ikashmir.org/Proverbs/index.html
Cuisine	http://ikashmir.org/Cookbook/index.html
Music	http://ikashmir.org/Music/index.html
Folktales	http://ikashmir.org/Folk/index.html
Paintings	http://ikashmir.org/Paintings/index.html
Artistes	http://ikashmir.org/Artistes/index.html
Playwrights	http://ikashmir.org/Playwrights/index.html

Poets	http://ikashmir.org/Poets/index.html
Personalities	http://ikashmir.org/Personality/index.html
Names	http://ikashmir.org/Names/index.html
Leaders	http://ikashmir.org/Leaders/index.html
Publications	http://ikashmir.org/Books/index.html
Ancient Monuments	http://ikashmir.org/Monuments/index.html
Ethnic Groups	http://ikashmir.org/Geography/ethnic.html
Glimpses of Culture	http://ikashmir.org/Glimpses/index.html
Crown of India	http://ikashmir.org/Crown/index.html

Political Literature

Appeal	http://ikashmir.org/Appeal/index.html
Islamic Fundamentalism	http://ikashmir.org/fundamentalism.html
Auschwitz in Kashmir	http://ikashmir.org/Atrocities/index.html
Pakistan's Role	http://ikashmir.org/Pakistan/index.html
Afghanistan Factor	http://ikashmir.org/Afghanistan/index.html
Refugee Status	http://ikashmir.org/Refugees/index.html
Historical Documents	http://ikashmir.org/LegalDocs/index.html
Kargil Heroes	http://ikashmir.org/Heroes/index.html
Video Clips	http://ikashmir.org/Video/index.html
Slide Presentations	http://ikashmir.org/Slides/index.html
Articles & Opinions	http://ikashmir.org/Column/index.html

Religion

Hinduism	http://ikashmir.org/religion.html
Rituals	http://ikashmir.org/Festivals/index.html
Temples	http://ikashmir.org/Temples/index.html
Deities	http://ikashmir.org/Gods/index.html
Saints and Sages	http://ikashmir.org/Saints/index.html
Bhajans	http://ikashmir.org/Bhajans/index.html
Lal Ded's Vakhs	http://ikashmir.org/BNSopori/index.html
Nilmata Purana	http://ikashmir.org/Purana/index.html
Panchastavi	http://ikashmir.org/Patrika/panchastavi.html
Shaivism	http://ikashmir.org/Shaiivism/index.html
Kundalini	http://ikashmir.org/Kundalini/index.html

Publications

Kashmir Herald	http://kashmirherald.com/
Kashmir Sentinel	http://kashmirsentinel.com/
Koshur Samachar	http://ikashmir.org/KoshSam/index.html
Patrika	http://ikashmir.org/Patrika/index.html
Unmesh	http://www.unmesh.com/
Vitasta Annual Number	http://www.vitasta.org/
Milchar	http://www.milchar.com/
Voice of J&K	http://ikashmir.org/VOJK/index.html

Organizations

Virtual Homeland of KPs	http://kashmiri-pandit.org/
Panun Kashmir	http://www.panunkashmir.org/
Satisar Foundation	http://www.satisar.org/
Vyeth Television	http://ikashmir.org/VyethTelevision
IILS	http://www.iils.org/

Acknowledgements

Credit goes to the KP authors who have, by writing timely articles on our culture and religion, rendered yeoman's service to our community at a time when we find ourselves as refugees in our own country with the threat of extinction glaring us in our face. The articles reproduced in this document and others are *compiled*, not edited, in its original form as they appeared in various publications. This document is part of **The Kashmir Series** which is being distributed over the internet. No money is being raised in any form for such a project. The titles that comprise this series are:

The Kashmir Series

Arts & Culture

- [Kashmir Region & its People](#)
- [Kashmiri Poets](#)
- [Kashmiri Folktales](#)
- [Kashmiri Playwrights](#)
- [Kashmiri Painters](#)
- [Kashmiri Artistes](#)
- [Culinary Art of Kashmir](#)
- [Naming of Kashmiri Pandits](#)
- [Kashmir Proverbs](#)
- [Kashmiri Pandit Personalities](#)
- [Kashmiri Pandit Leaders](#)
- [Kashmir: The Crown of India](#)
- [Kashmir: Poetry of Nature](#)
- [The Geography of Jammu & Kashmir](#)
- [Srinagar & its Environs](#)
- [Koshur: An Introduction to Spoken Kashmiri](#)

Religion

- [Hinduism in Kashmir](#)
- [The Places of Worship](#)
- [Saints and Sages of Kashmir](#)
- [Kashmiri Pandit Festivals](#)
- [Kundalini](#)
- [Kashmir Shaivism](#)
- [Our Guru Dev](#)

Political Literature

- [Panun Kashmir Publications](#)
- [Article 370](#)
- [White Paper on Kashmir](#)
- [Kashmir: Past and Present](#)
- [Wail of a Valley](#)
- [The Kashmir Story](#)
- [Historical Documents](#)
- [Articles & Opinions](#)

The articles compiled in this document have been taken from the following publications:

Koshur Samachar

Kashmir Bhawan
Amar Colony, Lajpat Nagar
New Delhi - 110 024

Patrika

Bhagwaan Gopinath Jee Trust
Pamposh Enclave, G. K. - 1
New Delhi, India

Vitasta

Kashmir Bhawan, Calcutta
CK-35 (near CK Market)
Karunamoyee, Salt Lake
Calcutta – 700 091
Ph: 358 3932

Gems of Kashmiri Literature and Kashmiriyat

The Trio of Saint Poets - I
by P. N. Razdan (Mahanori)
Publishers: Samkaleen Prakashan
2762, Rajguru Road, Paharganj,
New Delhi- 110055

Kashmir: Crown of India

Vivekananda Kendra, Kanyakumari
June, 1984

An Introduction to Spoken Kashmiri

by Braj B. Kachru
Department of Linguistics, University of Illinois
Urbana, Illinois 61801 U.S.A.
June, 1973

Unmesh

Publication of N.S. Kashmir
Research Institute
D-7/7175,
Vasant Kunj,
New Delhi - 110 070 (INDIA)

Glimpses of Kashmiri Culture

Shri Parmananda Research Institute (REGD.)
(under the auspices of Shri Rupa Devi Sharada
Peetha Trust)
Raghunath Mandir, 2/3 Bridge
Srinagar, Kashmir

SaffronValley.com

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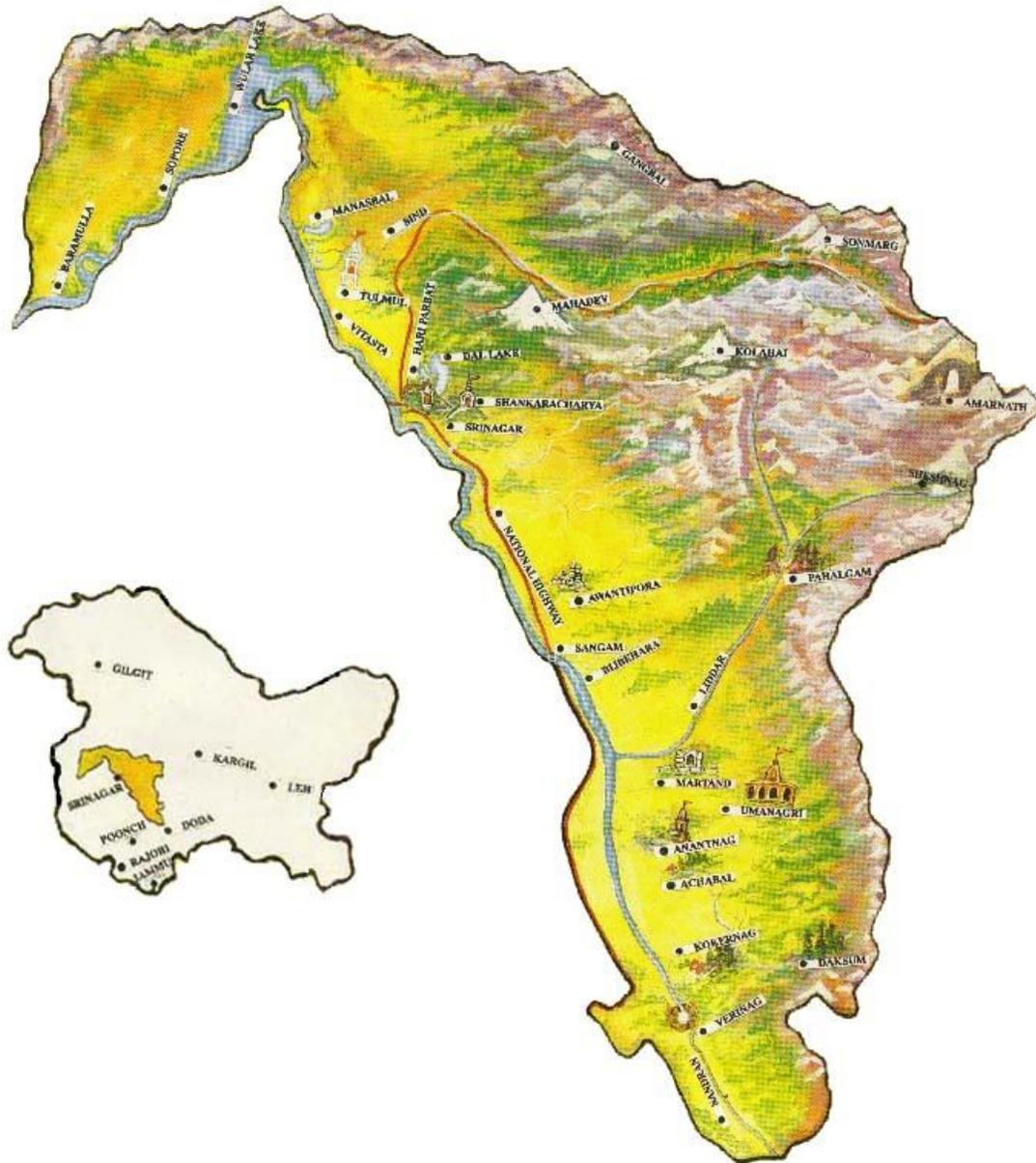
Sunil Fotedar

Allen, Texas, USA
e-mail: SunilFotedar@yahoo.com
URL: <http://SunilFotedar.com>
Kashmir News Network (KNN)
URL: <http://ikashmir.org/>
August 2002

1 Introduction

Kashmiri Hindus (Pandits) are in their thirteenth year of exile after Islamic religious fundamentalists in the valley of Kashmir took to armed subversion and terrorism and drove them out of their centuries old habitat.

- Today, Kashmir is on the brink of being separated from India. It is the beginning of a comprehensive plan to bring about the total disintegration of India - a fact not realized by most of the Indians.



Panun Kashmir: A Homeland for Kashmiri Pandits

- Hundreds of thousands of Kashmiri Pandits who were forced to leave their sacred land because of the war waged by Islamic terrorists must now live in despicable conditions in their own country and are on the verge of extinction as a race.

- Called "migrants" by the administration, the Kashmiri Pandits are in fact **refugees** in their own country due to total failure of the Indian State to provide security and safety to them when they were ruthlessly persecuted, threatened, tortured and murdered by the Islamic terrorists.
- **PANUN KASHMIR** (meaning *our own Kashmir*) is a struggle to reconquer that Kashmir which is almost lost.
- **PANUN KASHMIR** is an effort to *Save Kashmiri Pandits to Save Kashmir to Save India*.

Besides being a struggle for survival as a cultural entity and an ancient race, PANUN KASHMIR is a movement for the political survival of over 700,000 Kashmiri Pandits in their birthland.

2 Human Rights Violation of Kashmiri Hindus – An Appeal

2.1 Introduction

This is an appeal by the intellectuals of a small yet distinct ethno-religious community, the Kashmiri Pandits (Hindus) who have a history of more than five thousand years of a rich cultural tradition and a unique religious philosophy of the universality of man, peace and amity amongst peoples. Down the ages, this aboriginal community of the valley of Kashmir has readily opened itself to foreigners of all faiths, creeds and professions who came as travellers and settlers. However, it has repeatedly been the tragic victim of religious persecution, forcible conversion, violence and brutal massacre at the hands of invading muslim zealots and religious fanatics leading to repeated exodus of the community, rendering it a minority in its own land.

This appeal gives a brief outline of the barbarities that the community faced at the hands of the despotic muslim rulers since the heydays of Islamic fundamentalism, as it made inroads into Kashmir after the 13th century. It traces the present escalation of human rights violations amounting to genocide of this community to a cruel and criminal conspiracy by the fanatical and fundamentalist forces which gained ascendancy and got fresh impetus during the last four decades. It also provides a bird's eye-view of the sprouting of dormant forces of Islamic Fundamentalism during these years in the religious schools that mushroomed in the valley and became nurseries for the growth of religious hatred, militancy and terrorism. This indoctrination prompted and incited young cadres to cross over to Pakistan and Pakistan-held Kashmir so as to receive arms training and carry out the diabolical plan for the muslimization of Kashmir as a prelude to its secession from secular democratic India. The hounding out of more than three hundred thousand Kashmiri Pandits (Hindus) from the valley from 1989 onwards was the first phase of this sinister operation.

This appeal brings out in vivid detail persecution of the minority community followed by threats, abductions, extortions, tortures and killing by brutal means of its members from all walks of life which led to exodus. A virulent disinformation campaign was started before the mass exodus against this community and followed up with fanatical zeal, after the exodus, in order to secure total ruination of the community. The present plight of the community, once given to academic, philosophical and spiritual pursuits, and now rootless and without identity, is given in some detail. Over one thousand members of the community have been killed by the terrorists and the thousands are dying in the miserable camps for want of basic amenities, shelter, medicare and family support; and thousands of its youth are getting scattered in search of livelihood. It is feared that at the present rate of dispersal the community is disintegrating beyond redemption and facing total extinction.

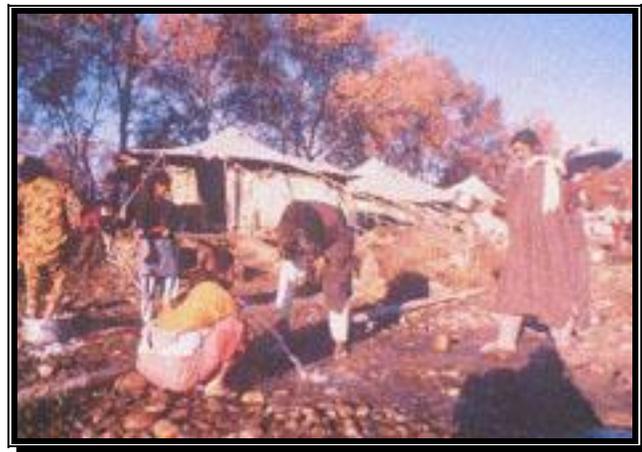
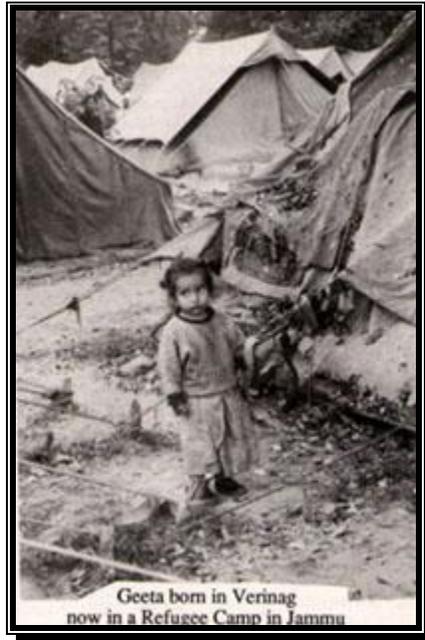
This appeal invokes the conscience and compassion of the civilized world to grasp the grim tragedy facing the Kashmiri Pandit community and to stand up and speak for it and help it regain its lost status and get rehabilitated once again, with honor and dignity in its own homeland.

2.2 Appeal

The armed subversion by Muslim fundamentalist/terrorist youth to destroy the pluralistic, secular socio-political character of Kashmir valley and reduce it to a reactionary, monolithic, theocratic one, has entered its seventh year of operation. The grand design of this separatist insurgency is aimed at snapping all historical, economic, cultural, and political links of Kashmir valley with India and annexing it with Pakistan which is encouraging it overtly and covertly and lending moral, financial, political, diplomatic and military support. The first objective of this diabolical plan i.e. hounding out the Kashmiri Pandit (Hindu) ethnic minority from the Kashmir valley is being pursued with fanatic zeal.

2.3 Prime Targets

The Kashmiri Pandits (Hindus) in the valley of Kashmir, irrespective of their age, sex, position status or situation became the prime target of the terrorists' onslaught. They were warned and threatened, individually and collectively, through word of mouth, through insinuation and innuendo, through posters and press and over loud speakers installed in thousands of mosques all over the valley. Fear loomed large and the terrorist shadow stalked educational markets and other public places wherever



One of many refugee camps at Jammu.

the Kashmiri Pandits had a representation, however small. They were identified and denounced; hit lists were exhibited on electric poles, office doors and entries to numerous institutions; and the public at large was exhorted to watch them and hound them out. They were followed and kidnapped from their homes and places of work and interrogated and tortured. A spree of killings of the intellectuals of the community started. This was followed by indiscriminate gunning down, hanging, dismembering, tying with grenades and blasting into pieces, skinning, burning and sawing alive the members of this ethnic minority of all walks of life. Many of the victims after being butchered were thrown into streets as exhibits for everybody to get terrorised. The bereaved were not permitted to

mourn the dead and perform the last rites. Those who dared to attend the funeral were earmarked for reprisals. Molestation and rape was the order of the day.

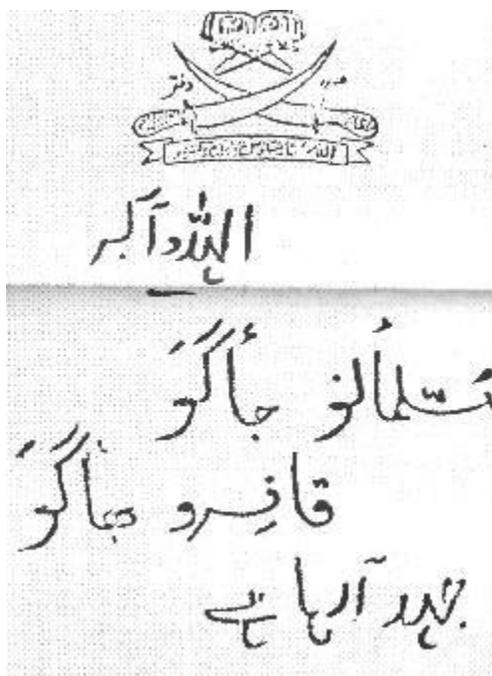
The gamut of the terrorists' depredations puts the notorious programs in shade and leaves nobody in doubt about the design of the terrorists to exterminate Kashmiri Pandits (Hindus) who started fleeing temporarily out of the valley to seek shelter in the Jammu province of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, in Delhi and in other towns of India during the months of January-March 1990. A large number preferred to stay behind, partly hopeful of a let up in the persecution and the frantic killings and partly on account of the reassurances by their friends, neighbours and colleagues of the muslim majority community. However, indiscriminate murders gained momentum as also the tauntings, ridicule, accusations, denigrations and warnings issued to the Pandits (Hindus). Those who dared to return to the valley even after a brief absence were frisked and taken for questioning and accused of having spied against the terrorists and of having received arms training to counter the terrorism. They were followed like a shadow or given a time limit of a few hours or a day to quit the Valley.



Ethnic cleansing of Kashmiri Pandits.

2.4 Intimidatory Warnings

Not content with the tempo of exodus of the ethnic minority community, the Muslim religious zealots pressed into service the local daily newspapers and started periodic write ups in a vituperative and malicious propaganda offensive against the Kashmiri Hindus, culminating in repeated warnings and final ultimatum through the pages of "Daily Alsafa" on 14th April, 1990 giving the community two days to leave the valley or face retribution and death. The good Samaritans of the Muslim majority community who had offered help, solace and protection to the Kashmiri Pandits were also threatened, coerced and subdued to fall in line with the fundamentalist designs and they, therefore, advised the Kashmiri Pandits to leave the valley for a 'temporary period' till normalcy returned to the valley. Both gentle and well meaning persuasion was adopted side by side with covert and overt threats to recalcitrant Hindus forcing them into exodus. Meanwhile unbridled violence and brutal murders went on . More than one thousand Hindus have been killed, hundreds are missing, possibly dead or kept hostage. Women have been held captive in remote hideouts of the terrorists to satisfy their lust . An unspecified number of those Hindus who are still living in the valley in mortal terror are victims of extortion, religious persecution and kidnappings.



Seal of the Central Office of Allah Tigers

Allah-O-Akbar

MUSLIMS AWAKE

ALL INFIDELS VANISH

JIHAD IS APPROACHING

2.5 Canards Galore

This communal carnage and forced exodus was followed up with a virulent campaign of vilification and disinformation against the Kashmiri Hindu community with the twin objective of covering up the true communal-fundamentalistic character of the so-called freedom struggle of the terrorists and securing total ruination and annihilation of this ethno-religious minority. This propaganda offensive was backed up by canards floated across the length and breadth of the country that:

- the Kashmiri Pandits migrated out of the valley because they were touted by Mr. Jagmohan, the then Governor of Jammu and Kashmir, who promised them relief, ration and land. That those who were gunned down, hanged or tortured were informers and enemies of the "freedom struggle". This canard took such deep roots inside and outside the valley that the poorly informed public even of cosmopolitan cities like Delhi and Bombay who go by the common knowledge that in India Hindus are in majority and by corollary the majority in Kashmir valley are Hindus, failed to understand why Kashmiri Hindus had to flee their homes and hearths. Only the committed demographers in the country realise that Kashmiri Pandits (Hindus) are a minority in the muslim majority Kashmir valley of a Hindu majority India.
- the Kashmiri Pandits are over-represented in Central and State Government Services and private Jobs and that this was a major source of irritation with the disenchanted muslim youth, who out of frustration took to arms to fight for their justful rights. This canard has been supplemented and reinforced by distorted statistics and the thread has been skillfully taken over by some self-proclaimed humanists and over-zealous politicians of the country who want to prove more secular than their credentials allow. Infact they found it a useful tool

to convince themselves and the world that terrorism in Kashmir was not an armed subversion aimed at the secession of the State from the union of India but an act of frustration of a handful of "disgruntled and misguided youth". This ill conceived notion though countered by the exiled Kashmiri Pandits, fell on deaf ears and did not get the attention of the media which were only vying with each other to score points for the terrorists and their cause. It did not take long for the communal, fundamentalistic and subversive character of terrorism to emerge in its true colour.

- the Kashmiri Hindus because of their merit, cunning and influence would become usurpers and take over educational institutions, professional colleges, trade, industry, Government jobs etc. in Jammu, Delhi and other places where they have taken refuge. This disinformation caused tremendous confusion, panic, over-reaction and even hostility in the host towns which were ill equipped to accommodate such a sizeable- influx of refugees, especially in Jammu where seventeen camps have been set up in the suburban dingy areas, Stiff resistance was put up even for admission to the exiled students in various educational institutions; jobs were denied to the youth and all doors were closed for the rehabilitation of professional and non professional personnel of the community. A community which prided itself in its academic excellence and high professionalism is idling and rotting, for the last six years.



The terrorist's intimidation:

Leave Kashmir in one month otherwise danger to life and family.

This is Last Warning.

By Order

Dist. Commander

While torture, persecution and killing were going full steam side by side with the canards floated against the fleeing community, the marauding terrorists started loot, plunder and arson of the properties and estates left behind by Hindus. They desecrated and destroyed their temples, confiscated their stores and stocks, stole their kind, harvested their crops and encroached upon and annexed their lands. Till date more than three thousand Hindu houses have been blasted or razed to ground. The remaining have been looted, vandalized or occupied.

2.6 Colossal Tragedy

Within months of the exodus of Kashmiri Pandits the Government, whether out of misplaced optimism to placate and appease the terrorists or with deliberate intent, started recruiting and promoting Muslims to the posts and positions vacated by the Kashmiri Pandits. This has boosted the sinister designs of the terrorists to discourage and thwart the minority Kashmiri Pandit community to return to the valley for it has neither the jobs for livelihood nor the houses for shelter left behind.

So a tragedy which began with religious persecution and genocide, climaxing with the exodus of the community, has now attained colossal dimensions. This ethno-religious minority is presently going through a grim battle for survival and facing the torment of a bleak and uncertain future. Having been forced to live under torn and tattered tents, in ramshackle camps or in one room tenements and stables vacated by cows and buffaloes and rented at exorbitant prices, they are subject to the vagaries of a harsh climate, a hostile populace and an indifferent and callous administration. They have to go through a tortuous procedure to establish their credentials as exiles to be entitled to a meagre relief

and measly rations for which they have to queue up for long hours and face untold miseries and humiliation to satisfy the whims and moods of relief commissioners and their minions. They have become the victims of bureaucratic bungling and corruption. They are pawns in the hands of political parties and power brokers. They are being pushed around and harassed for demanding their justful rights; and kicked, cane-charged and arrested for raising their voice against a deaf administration. Thus they have been reduced to abject poverty and a state of utter helplessness and apathy. Their greatest tragedy is that they have become exiles in their own land, aliens in their own country which they inhabited for thousands of years.

The community is now caught in a piquant and unsavory situation as the State and the Central Governments are treating it as expendable. The authorities are hushing up the genocide, the exodus and the present plight of the Kashmiri Pandit community which have resulted as much out of the total abdication of their authority and responsibility, as out of the religious crusade of the terrorists. Nor is the international community aware of the refugee status of this community as countries around the world recognize refugees only when they are forced to flee into another country.

2.7 Naked Violation

The last twelve years have witnessed a perpetuation of human rights' violation against this community which had to leave the valley helter-skelter and got dispersed far and wide in different parts of the country. Most of the nearly three hundred thousand refugees came out with clothes barely enough to cover their bodies. They came out with the illusion of a return to their homes and hearths in the near future. Families got split and scattered in the scramble for shelter and livelihood. Parents got separated from children, spouses from their partners, brothers from sisters. They are still on the move from one place to another like wandering nomads looking for help and succour. As a result of this dispersal the social fabric of the community is torn asunder, the economic structure has collapsed, material possessions have vanished and the political base has been overturned. The old and infirm of the community have met a premature end, dying for want of health and family support. A large number of youth suffered mental breakdown. Depression, panic attacks, phobias, nightmares and insomnia have seized all age groups. Unnatural deaths in the form of sunstroke, snake and scorpion bites, hydrophobia and accidents have taken a big toll. The terror, a feeling of siege, a sense of rootlessness and loss of identity, the trauma of forced migration, exposure to an alien and hostile environment, problem of acclimatization, poor housing, insanitary conditions, lack of basic amenities like drinking water, scarce medicare, malnutrition and idleness compounded by hurt and humiliation have orchestrated to result in physical, mental and psychological trauma of unimaginable magnitude. The community has reached the end of the tether and its reserves of patience and hopes have dried up. The spectre of disease, death and extinction are haunting the community. It seems unlikely that the community will ever be able to organise itself again into a cohesive social and political entity which

is vital for its survival and resurgence. Far from regaining its pristine glory, it is hard pressed to keep body, mind and soul together.

It is indeed deplorable that some human rights' organisations reporting on the Kashmir situation have conveniently ignored the gross human rights violations against Kashmiri Pandits. Their silence on the genocide of this community and the terrible plight facing the community after the exodus, is intriguing and exasperating and puts the credibility of these organisations into shade. The one-sided, partisan and extremely prejudicial views of certain agencies that have chosen to black-out the brutalities and murderous killings of Kashmiri Pandit minority in their reports, leads one to believe that such organisations have fallen victims to the dangerous ploy of the terrorists and become tools in their propaganda machinery against this community and against India.

It is a sad commentary on the perceptions and sensitivities of the civilized world that a community which has been the original inhabitant of the valley of Kashmir with a chequered history of more than five thousand years, a rich cultural heritage and a distinct ethno religious identity, the proponent of and heir to a unique concept and creed of Hindu thought - the philosophy of Kashmir shaivism with its message of Universality of man, peace, non-violence, amity and brotherhood - is being deliberately and systematically destroyed.

History is replete with the records of religious persecutions and barbarities perpetrated against this community since the advent of Islam in the thirteenth century in Kashmir. While the community accommodated, mingled with and absorbed the culture and traditions of all outsiders who came to Kashmir, it was repeatedly rewarded with the most inhuman and brutal treatment. From time to time various cruel Muslim rulers driven by religious zeal and communal frenzy demolished Hindu institutions and shrines, burnt religious scriptures and libraries of Hindus and unleashed a reign of terror leading to the imposition of heavy taxes, forcible conversions and general massacre of those refusing to embrace Islam. They inflicted bestialities like the chopping off of the noses and tongues, beheading, drowning in water after tying people back to back etc. on the community. Those who escaped forcible conversion, mutilation and death were forced into exile reducing this community to a minority in its own land.

2.8 Sustained Conspiracy

Even after attainment of independence and accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India the fundamentalist forces in the Kashmir valley refused to accept the principles of secularism and democratic pluralism and intensified their nefarious designs against the minority community of Kashmiri Hindus and against the Indian Republic. Under a macabre programme, 'makatabs' (Religious schools) were established in every nook and corner of the Kashmir valley with the putative aim of teaching religious scriptures to youth but with the real intent of indoctrinating and envenoming these impressionable minds with anti-Hindu and anti-India hatred. Funds were lavished on these schools openly and clandestinely by local patrons as well as Muslim countries espousing Islamic fundamentalism round the world led by Pakistan, and the schools became nurseries for the growth of fundamentalism and terrorism. A ban imposed by the Government of Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah on these schools in 1977 was lifted soon after its imposition under relentless pressure by Jamat-i-Islami and other fundamentalist organisations.

These pressure groups gradually extended their tentacles in every sphere of administration, bureaucracy and judiciary in the State and molded these institutions in a cruel conspiracy against Kashmiri Pandits resulting in discrimination, alienation, denial and deprivation of this community over the years. The process of Islamisation and fundamentalism which started in 1947 took firm roots by 1986 when the fundamentalist/terrorists enacted a dress rehearsal of the present terrorism on a small scale by arson, loot and plunder of Kashmiri Pandit property and their temples in the Anantnag district of the Kashmir valley. No serious effort was made by the administration to bring the guilty to book. This encouraged them to cross the border to attend arms training camps in Pakistan over the next three years during which they brought with them large quantities of sophisticated arms and

ammunition to carry on full scale subversion and terrorism. The cataclysmic events leading to genocide and mass exodus of the Kashmiri Pandit community from 1990 onwards is the culmination of this long process of regimentation, indoctrination, religious frenzy and terrorism.

2.9 Appeal to World Conscience

It is high time that the conscience of mankind awakens to the reality of the situation in Kashmir where the so-called freedom struggle is merely an extension and escalation of the ongoing offensive against a small yet ancient and distinct ethno-religious community which has been turned into a minority - the Kashmiri Pandit (Hindu) - who is being exterminated under a diabolical plan masterminded by religious zealots turned terrorists with the direction, support and connivance of their mentors from across the border in Pakistan.

We appeal, therefore,

- to all the nations of the world;
- to all peace loving, secular and democratic countries which value and recognise the urges, aspirations and just rights of minorities round the globe;
- to all organisations that monitor and report on human rights' violations against ethnic religious communities; and
- to all individuals, groups and institutions that stand for justice, equality, religious tolerance and human dignity to break their silence and speak out and save this ancient and distinct ethnic-religious minority of the world which has been thrown out of its own land, made a refugee in its own country and which is, now, facing dispersal, disintegration and extinction.

3 Margdarshan - 91

Resolution adopted by the House organized by Panun Kashmir

On 28-12-1991 at Jammu, J&K, India

3.1 Resolution

The terrorist violence that has ravaged the State of Jammu and Kashmir for the last four years is the culmination of the long secessionist movement carried on by the fundamentalist forces in Kashmir since 1947, and overtly and covertly supported by the Pakistan. Terrorism in Kashmir is a Muslim religious crusade aimed at the secession of the State from the Republic of India and its merger with Pakistan. It is founded on an ideological struggle of which the main tenets are

- That Kashmir which has a majority Muslim population should become a part of Pakistan on the basis of religion;
- That all institutions which stand for secularism and democracy are destroyed and all individuals or groups that vouch for equality, justice and religious tolerance are eliminated;
- That the rich cultural traditions of Kashmir hallowed over more than five thousand years of the history be demolished and replaced by Islamic fundamentalism.

Pakistan is deeply involved in its attempts to subvert the constitutional and administrative machinery of the State of Jammu and Kashmir in order to strain and snap the relations between the State and the Republic of India. Its abatement in the terrorist violence by lending moral, political and military support is common knowledge. The terrorists operative in Jammu and Kashmir are being trained in camps raised for this purpose in Pak held Kashmir and the neighbouring states of Pakistan and then pushed into India to cause large scale anarchy, destruction, arson, murder, molestation and rape.

The Kashmiri Hindus have become the first victims of terrorism as a result of which they had to flee the place of their abode. The Hindus in Kashmir have, right from the dawn of freedom faced and fought communalism and fundamentalism. They are a part of the Vedic heartland of India and have lived in Kashmir from times immemorial. In fact, they are the original inhabitants of the valley of Kashmir, now reduced to an ethnic minority, with a history of more than five thousand years dating back beyond the “Neelmat Era “ almost contemporary to the Vedic civilization of India. The Hindu religious precepts have borne the message of universal peace, brotherhood and coexistence of all creeds and faiths. The Hindus of Kashmir are the progenitors of “Shakt” and Shaivite Monism and Hinyan and Sarvastvadin Buddhism, which spread to Central Asia, Tibet and western China. They propounded the great Shaivite doctrine of Trika and the theory of recognition. Kalhana, Jonaraja, PrajBhat, Shuka and Shrivara, the great masters of History compiled the historical chronicle of Rajatarangini. The Hindu Kingdom of Kashmir reached its zenith with the ascendancy of the Karkotas when Kashmir commanded respect and tribute from its neighbouring Kingdoms till the fall of Utpalas. The ascendancy of Muslim Sultans in the thirteenth century witnessed fierce religious persecution and attempts at conversion of Kashmiri Pandits who resisted it with will, and determination, preferring death to surrender.

The Kashmiri Pandits have played a major role in the liberation struggle against the British and their colonial imperatives in the State. The secularization of the various communal movements which rocked the State in the aftermath of the growth of Muslim separatism in India was achieved, mainly due to the efforts of Kashmiri Pandits. They authored and sponsored the famous declaration of National demand in 1938, which later became the secular national movement in the State. The political movement for National self-government received its ideological content from the Kashmiri Pandits who gave the first call for self-government.

Since the independence of India and accession of Kashmir to the Indian Union, the Kashmiri Hindus have continued to fight the religious precedence as well as the separatism, which accompanied the rise of Muslim communalism. They were reduced to a plight of slavery, misery and servitude but they did not react against Muslim communalism as a communal minority. In spite of the forces arraigned against them viz. Muslim fundamentalists, the Muslimised State-apparatus and the secessionist group, the Hindus suffered at the stake to save the secular and democratic image of Kashmir and India. While resisting the orchestrated moves fostered by Muslim communalists inside the State and their mentors in Pakistan to Islamise the State and snatch it from the Union of India, the Hindus became the victims of communal hatred and faced hostility, ridicule and privation. The Indian leaders, on the other hand, served their petty personal interests and party objectives leaving the field open for the fundamentalists to carry out their nefarious designs. The Kashmiri Hindu was the main obstacle in the attainment of the goal of fundamentalists and became the victims of communal hatred and faced hostility, ridicule was branded as the agent of the Government of India. Even a leader of the stature of Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah charged them of acting as the fifth column of India. They, thus became the victims of a dangerous irony, where on the one hand they were persecuted because of their adherence to the values of secularism and democracy enshrined in the Indian Constitution and on the other hand the rulers of India jettisoned them. The Hindus of Kashmir, because of their minority and almost negligible representation in the State legislature and bureaucracy, became helpless onlookers to the manoeuvring, manipulation and distortion of the established democratic, constitutional and legal institutions of the State which gave rise to Muslim majoritarianism. Under this system Kashmiri Hindu faced a deliberate, steady and relentless squeeze of his constitutional, political and legal rights and was forced into a slow exodus. In the process nearly three lakh Hindus have already left the valley during the last four decades. Muslim majoritarianism is inherently communal in nature. The Indian partition was not an accident of history nor was it contrived by the British to contain the Indian freedom movement. It was the culmination of the Muslim struggle for separate Muslim majority State where the pre-eminence of Muslim Ummah was recognized. During the last forty years of the history of Pakistan the Hindus who constituted nearly thirty percent of its population at the outset are reduced to only one percent as on today. The operative design of Muslim communalism in Kashmir has almost been similar-the Hindus of Kashmir who formed about nine percent of the population of Kashmir in 1947 are almost wiped out of the Kashmir Valley by now. As a part of the grand strategy for the attainment of the Islamic and Fundamentalist State of Kashmir, communal elements and terrorist are bent upon annihilating the Kashmiri Hindus as a result of which their exodus has been made inevitable.

The terrorist violence has taken a heavy toll of unarmed, peace loving and tolerant Hindus of Kashmir valley. Hundreds of Hindus-men, women and children, were brutally murdered and hundreds were subjected to inhuman torture and suffering. The community was driven out of Kashmir valley by force or on the pain of death. The properties left behind by them have been looted and their houses burnt or destroyed by dynamite. Right at present a scorched-earth policy is being followed by terrorists by systematically burning the Hindu localities, Hindu Houses and Hindu shrines and temples. The Kashmir history is replete with the contribution of Kashmiri Hindus to the Nation's march in general and that of Kashmir in particular. Kashmiri Hindus have served as a beacon light to the entire national polity and are the real founders of secularism and democracy in Kashmir. In the modernization of the State of Jammu & Kashmir, the Hindus have contributed much more than their share and have imparted to the Kashmiri society its scientific, progressive and humane outlook. Throughout their history, more specifically in the modern times, they have tried their utmost to live at peace with their Muslim compatriots. The secular facade, which Kashmir has worn all through the last forty-three years, has been provided mainly by Kashmiri Hindus. They have not reacted to Muslim communalism, instead they have faced the rigours of Muslim dominance with the fervent hope that the thrust on universal education and scientific progress in the State would pave way for

the free flow of democratic thought, recognition of the human rights, the genuine urges and aspirations Kashmiri Hindu minorities, religious tolerance equity and justice.

This hope is now shattered, Neither his Muslim brethren in Kashmir nor the Indian Government which swears by secularism came to the rescue of Kashmiri Hindus at the time when they were being butchered and bounded out of their homes and hearths, nor at this moment when they have been uprooted and thrown into wilderness to face a life and death struggle for survival. All the constitutional guarantees for the protection of their limb, life, property, their status and dignity have been trampled with impunity. The Hindus of Kashmir wherever they are, therefore, unequivocally declare that:

- With their deep and firm commitment to social unity, religious coexistence, democracy and secularism they will not accept a society which is communalistic, obscurantist, intolerant and medieval. They will not submit to any authority in the State that does not recognize their right to life, equality, faith and protection against discrimination. They will not be a party to the present struggle launched against secular and democratic India.
- With their history of having lived and died for freedom and their open espousal of the cause of tolerance peace, amity and brotherhood between various ethnic, social and religious, groups, they cannot accept the pre-eminence and predominance of any single religious community at their cost.
- Having been the original inhabitants of Kashmir from ancient times and being the inheritors of a glorious cultural tradition of more than five thousand years, Kashmiri Pandits have as much right to live in Kashmir as any other religious group. Preservation of this community in its natural and historical habitat is a political necessity.
- The present crusade by the terrorists against Kashmiri Pandits to drive away the last remnants of this proud community from its rightful place is a shame for the secular India in particular and the world community in general. Any measure taken to rehabilitate this community outside Kashmir valley will only result in the dispersal of this community leading to its dissolution and extinction. This will be a tragedy, as the only relic of a small but distinct race with an outstanding culture will be destroyed,
- Because of their equal rights to the land of their birth they stake their claim to be an equal party to any future deliberations in the process of normalization and ultimate solution on Kashmir problem.

The Kashmiri Hindus, therefore, **DEMAND:**

- The establishment of a separate homeland for Kashmiri Hindus in the Kashmir Valley, comprising the regions of the valley to the East and North of river Jehlum;
- That the constitution of India be made applicable in letter and spirit in this homeland in order to ensure right to life, liberty, freedom of expression, faith, equality and rule of law;
- That their homeland be placed under central administration with a Union Territory Status till it evolves its own economic and political infrastructure;
- That all the seven lakh Kashmiri Hindus, which includes those who have been driven out of Kashmir in the past and yearn to return to their homeland and those who were forced to leave on account of the terrorist violence in Kashmir, be settled in the homeland on equitable basis with dignity and honour.

Dated: 28/12/1991

Station : Jammu (Tawi)

4 Why Homeland for Kashmiri Pandits in Kashmir?

आमि पन सोदरस नावि छस लमान, कति बोजि दय म्योन म्यति दी तार ।
आम्यन टाक्यन पोन्य ज्ञन श्रमान, जुव छुम ब्रमान गर गछ हा ॥

– लल द्यदि

*Ami pana so'dras nAvi ches lamAn, Kati bozi Day myon meyti diyi tAr
Ameyn tAkeyn poniy zan shemAn, Zuv chum bramAn gara gatshaha.*

With a rope of loose-spun thread am I towing my boat upon the sea.
Would that God heard my prayer and brought me safe across!
Like water in cups of unbaked clay I run to waste.
Would God I were to reach my home!

- Lal Ded

4.1 Dedication

This book is dedicated to all those members of our community who pride themselves for their glorious heritage and seek to reclaim their self-esteem, their identity and their roots in the Valley of Kashmir.

4.2 Homeland

*We live to share your grief
and die to suffer your agony
as they ravage you and defile
and drive us into exile.
In wilderness we wander
without our souls that we left with you;
nothing do our ears hear
but your heart-rending groans;
and all that our eyes see
are wounds that bleed thee.
Our memories have fled,
what lingers in your ignominy;
now our feet seek the paths
that lead us back to thee,
as we take in hand the mighty pen
to fight the terrorists gun.
Our speech ends in one refrain
-- HOMELAND;
dearer to us than all the heavens,
we pledge to reclaim thee,*

***as the spirit craves, our land of birth,
and the lips thirst to kiss your earth;
Our sacred land,
Our Homeland.***

4.3 Introduction

Kashmiri Hindus are in their eleventh year of exile after Islamic religious fundamentalists in the valley of Kashmir took to armed subversion and terrorism and drove them out of their centuries old habitat.

Panun Kashmir in its December 1991 convention Margdarshan, staged in the city of Jammu, introduced the Historic Homeland Resolution. It was unanimously adopted by more than a thousand delegates of the exiled community, who flocked from all towns and cities, where they have taken refuge, and who represented diverse shades of opinion. The operative part of the resolution demanded:

- the establishment of a Homeland for the Kashmiri Hindus in the Valley of Kashmir comprising the regions of the Valley to the East and North of river Jhelum.
- that the Constitution of India be made applicable in letter and spirit in this Homeland in order to ensure right to life, liberty, freedom of expression and faith, equality and rule of law.
- that the Homeland be placed under the Central administration with a Union Territory status; and
- that all the seven hundred thousand Kashmiri Hindus, including those who have been driven out of Kashmir in the past and yearn to return to their homeland and those who were forced to leave on account of terrorist violence in Kashmir, be settled in the homeland on an equitable basis with dignity and honor.

Since the resounding success of the convention and whole-hearted endorsement of the Resolution which has become the rallying point for all intellectuals, political scientists and the common man alike, Panun Kashmir has transferred into a beacon-light for the community. It has evolved into a movement symbolising the hopes, the urges and the aspirations of the community.

There have been wide ranging discussions and debates amongst the political, journalistic and lay circles in the Kashmir Valley, in the State of Jammu & Kashmir and in the whole country on the Homeland demand. This demand has received great appreciation and understanding over the last one year from many quarters. Though a large segment of the exiled community is in full agreement with and committed to homeland there may be some who may have reservations. Being secular, nationalistic and democratic to the core, the community has the right to rationalize this idea. In the process, there will be many queries and doubts about the bold concept for the repatriation of the exiles with full political, constitutional and legal guarantees. It is to answer these queries and to clear the fog of cynicism and misunderstanding created by vested interests and the enemies of the community that Panun Kashmir feels it a duty to come out with this booklet which attempts to provide a brief outline of the genesis of the demand for a homeland, and follows it up with explanations to the pertinent questions relevant to this demand. We hope that this booklet shall provide some insight into the historical compulsions of the community to ask for a homeland in the Valley of Kashmir. It will be our endeavour to continue this debate in the future as well, till we achieve a large measure of success in convincing all right-thinking people about the urgency, genuineness and sincerity of this demand. However, we caution the members of the community to remain vigilant against a number of divisive forces within the community and outside, who have been active, on their own or at the behest of the terrorists and other enemies of the community and of the country, at spreading canards and disinformation against the demand for a homeland; thus, raising

doubts in the minds of the people of this beleaguered nation and compounding the confusion that prevails in the community in its exiled state.

Panun Kashmir has unshakable faith in the unity and integrity of India. It is wedded to secularism, democracy, rule of law and respect for all religious faiths. It is opposed to communalism, religious fundamentalism and terrorism in any form or guise. And it is committed to the repatriation of all exiles from the Valley of Kashmir to their homeland with dignity and honor.

4.4 Genesis (Why Homeland?)

**We come to you
as friends,
But you attack us
as enemies;
And between our friendship
and your enmity,
There is a deep ravine
flowing with tears
and blood
--- Khalil Gibran**

4.5 The State of Jammu and Kashmir

The Jammu and Kashmir State is a conglomeration of heterogeneous geographical regions inhabited by diverse but distinct ethnic, religious and linguistic people. Out of a total of nearly 84000 square miles of the State, the Valley of Kashmir accounts for about 3000 square miles. Nearly a third of the State was annexed by Pakistan during the invasion of 1947 after partition of the subcontinent. Ladakh, the largest segment of the State is thinly populated, mostly by the people of the Buddhist faith, and the neighbouring Kargil by Muslims. The Jammu province has a predominant Hindu population with some of its districts evenly represented by both Hindu and Muslim communities. The Valley of Kashmir is predominantly Muslim with a small representation of Hindus and Sikhs. The Hindus of Kashmir Valley are essentially Kashmiri Pandits.

4.6 The Hindus of the Valley

The Kashmiri Hindus have a distinct identity dating to more than five thousand years in the Valley. They are Kashmiri speaking and followers of Hindu faith with a unique emphasis on Shaivism. They are essentially peace-loving and non-violent; living in a spirit of accommodation and amity with the people of all faiths. This bent of mind made them assimilate, absorb and integrate the essence of those faiths which people from outside brought into the valley. The mingling of faiths gave birth to the Sufi-Rishi tradition which is a part of real Kashmiriat.

4.7 Advent of Islam and Persecution

Ever since the advent of Islam in Kashmir in 1339 A.D. the Hindus, who are the original inhabitants of the Valley, have from time to time faced tyrannies of the Muslim rulers in various forms who imposed taxes, perpetrated the most barbaric methods of torture, brutalised and killed them in thousands, forced their females into marriage and males into conversion, desecrated and demolished their temples and built mosques over them and forced the remaining Hindus into exile. These people faced the trauma of exodus from the valley repeatedly, living in the wilderness of remote areas and jungles till such time as the hurricanes of religious bigotry and persecution calmed down a little and some of the exiles returned to their homes. In the wake of each exodus the community suffered untold

hardships, mutilation, death and destruction and its numbers in the Valley of Kashmir dwindled at a staggering rate, reducing the community to a minority in its own land.

4.8 Accession to India & Persecution

Even after the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to the secular and democratic India in 1947, the Hindus of the valley have been leading a life of subjugation, denial and deprivation, of fear and uncertainty, of unequal opportunities, of compromise and religious constraints, and of persecution of all forms at all levels resulting in its continuous emigration during these apparently peaceful periods. This steady flow of migration spurted especially during the invasion by Pakistan in 1947. Indo-Pak wars of 1965 and 1971, and during the Kashmiri Pandit agitation in 1967. This steady flow reached a crescendo during the communal frenzy of 1986.

4.9 The real import of 'Naya Kashmir'

The National Conference rode to the crest of power in the wake of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India with its "Naya Kashmir Manifesto". On paper, it looked as a secular, progressive and democratic model hoping to shape the future of the State by providing a political and economic agenda for the amelioration of the lot of the common man. But in practice, it aimed at reorganisation of the State into a political system which had a favourable bias for the Muslim majority.

By the introduction of land reforms in the State, the Hindus were hit severely as it deprived them even of their small holdings. They were forced to seek migration to towns and outside the State to earn a living. Many enactments were passed in succession in the year 1964 like Abolition of Jagirdari Act, Distressed Debtors Relief Act and, in 1976, the Agrarian Reforms Act. These Acts were all contrived to the detriment of the Hindu community and as a prelude to its destruction. Under the garb of communal amity, equality and the provision of opportunities for the suppressed and the down-trodden, the Government in utter disregard to the principle of universal right to equality of opportunity and protection against discrimination on the basis of religion, promoted the cause of the Muslim majority of the State.

The rules for recruitment to State Government Services were changed from time to time to suit the Muslim majority, as also the rules for admission into educational institutions for professional and higher education. As a result the Hindus in the Valley faced discrimination in admission to schools, professional institutions and universities, in government jobs, placements, transfers and promotions and discrimination in the distribution of loans and subsidies for setting up private enterprises.

While in the rest of India there were safeguards for the protection of minority rights, in Kashmir it was the other way round. The majority rights were safeguarded, promoted and glorified with total disregard for the legitimate rights of the minority which faced a perpetual squeeze at all levels, on all fronts: constitutional, judicial, bureaucratic, administrative and social. As a result, the lands and estates of the minority Hindus were forfeited, temple properties annexed and the community members eased out of important positions and portfolios through a perfectly orchestrated plan, thus, excluding the community from the administrative apparatus of the State.

The voice of the minority community got drowned in the cacophony of Islamic revivalism and fundamentalism as it lost even its feeble representation when the only constituency of Habbakadal, which had a Hindu majority, was redefined to the total disadvantage of the Hindus, rendering them ineffective even from electing their representative to the State Legislature. Most of the community members had to resort to the only method of appeal left to them for the redressal of their grievances; that was to knock at the doors of Justice as is evident from the innumerable individual and collective writ-petitions of the community admitted in the law courts against the administration, bureaucracy and other institutions of the State. Unfortunately, they faced disappointment a number of times from the State Judiciary as a result of which the Hindus had to move the Supreme Court of India for justice. One case might make the point viz. Triloki Nath Tikku & others vs. the State where the

Supreme Court of India gave a verdict in favour of promotion of hundreds of Hindu school teachers who had been superseded by the State government in gross violation of their rights. The orders of the highest court of the land were flouted repeatedly by the State administration. Most of the appellants after spending time, money and resources, were not properly rehabilitated. There are thousands of similar cases on record.

4.10 Administrative and State Conspiracy

The State administration, over the decades, since accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India, acquiesced to the designs of religious fundamentalists who gained entry in the system and consolidated their hold on various institutions of the State. This affected a total metamorphosis of the secular-democratic character of the constitutional, judicial and executive apparatus of the State and recasted it into a purely Islamic mould.

The names of numerous towns, villages and institutions which were of Hindu origin and even the names of some Hindu pilgrim centres were rechristened by the State government in the process of official Islamization of the valley. In fact, the history of the valley is being tampered with, redefined and rewritten to give it an Islamic thrust. The Kashmiri Muslims seem to feel contemptuous of their proud Hindu origin and are bent upon defacing and destroying its tradition.

As a cover to these machinations the successive governments of the State, by cunning, artifice and deceit, managed to perpetuate a state of uncertainty and waywardness in the politics of the State, keeping alive the issue of accession of the State to the Union of India and encouraging the forces of secession in the valley. They have nurtured fundamentalists and communal groups who keep on drumming the slogan of plebiscite and self-determination thus holding the Central government on a tight leash. At the time of giving accountability, the State government has indulged in its favourite trick of browbeating the Centre by asking for greater concessions to the State, ostensibly to contain and muzzle secessionist elements in the valley. In this battle of wits there has always been a steady erosion of central authority as the Central governments have encouraged a policy of drift and appeasement and turned a blind eye to the process of Muslimization of the State and the ascendancy of the fundamentalists, revivalists and secessionists. Muslim majoritarianism has been allowed to thrive in the valley at the cost of the Kashmiri Pandits who were marginalized from every sphere of social and political life and reduced to a helpless, beleaguered community eking out an existence at the mercy of the Muslim majority.

4.11 Perseverance of Kashmiri Pandits

In spite of the denial of opportunities and discrimination during successive Muslim regimes in the State since 1947, the Kashmiri Pandits have shown remarkable perseverance. They accepted constraints and went out of their way to maintain unity and brotherhood with the Muslim majority. They wanted to exist and co-exist, but co-existence was one-sided. What appeared to the rest of India as a model of religious harmony in the State, was in fact the self-effacing suffering and sacrificing attitude of the Hindus who were the bulwark of this 'secularism' in the State.

4.12 Indoctrination of the Masses

While the Pandits always offered a hand of friendship and amity to the Muslims, the latter found ways and means of excluding them from their share of progress and development in the State. Side by side, the 'Maktubs' (schools for imparting Islamic religious teaching) and mosques were used a breeding grounds for indoctrinating the Muslims in religious intolerance and communal hatred towards the Pandits and towards India.

Even political platforms were used openly not only by leaders of fundamentalist parties but also by people of the State representing the so-called secular national parties for preaching Islamic fundamentalism, communal prejudice and secession. Private and State institutions were rife with anti-national and communal elements and they received encouragement and incentives from the government.

This systematic and planned indoctrination of the majority community had its direct repercussions on the minority community in the valley. They became the easy targets of urchins, hooligans and other anti-social elements. They were abused and manhandled even during sporting events between India and Pakistan, be it hockey, cricket, Asiad or Olympics, irrespective of the outcome of the games. During the celebration of national days like the Independence Day and the Republic Day, the Kashmiri Pandits used to be the targets for assault and humiliation. Events in neighbouring Pakistan, be it the hanging of Mr. Bhutto or the air-crash involving Gen. Zia-Ul-Haq, had a direct bearing on the cathartic rage against Kashmiri Hindus. Even happenings in remote areas of the Middle-East like the Arab-Israeli war and the burning of Al-Aqsa mosque had a fall out on the Pandits in the valley who were targeted by Muslim fundamentalists. In fact they were blamed for all the ills ailing the society, for all the corruption and nepotism indulged in by the Muslim rulers of the State, themselves. They had become the whipping boys of the administration and of the majority community in the valley.

4.13 Disinformation

The community, as it was faced with bottlenecks in opportunities and in jobs in the State started looking for avenues in the Central government institutions in the State where admissions and recruitments were generally guided by merit or by competitive tests. It managed to register better representation in these sectors by virtue of merit and performance, which became an eye-sore for the Muslims. Their spokesmen never failed to remind the Central government to create openings specially for the Muslim candidates; and politicians of all parties indulged in a campaign of disinformation alleging that the Kashmiri Pandits had usurped nearly all places in the Central government institutions.

In fact, the Hindus never had more than nine percent representation in these jobs, yet some self-styled human rights agencies in the country and politicians joined this chorus of disinformation and advanced this pretext as a major cause for disenchantment of Kashmiri Muslim Youth with India.

4.14 Writing on the wall

The Hindus of the valley saw the writing on the wall all through these years. But they reposed a blind faith in the Kashmiri Muslims and the respective Central governments to whom they handed over their destinies under a sacred trust. They stuck to their belief in the 'Sufi-Rishi' tradition of Kashmir which had in fact been the result of accommodation and tolerance of the Hindus to the invasion of foreign influences in the social milieu in the valley.

Alas! The Muslims did not reciprocate these sentiments. In the greatest betrayal in history, they went ahead with a relentless and remorseless elimination of the Hindus from all spheres of activity and influence. Digging at the very roots that had nurtured them for centuries, Muslims in the valley indulged in an all out effort to finish their Hindu counterparts. Armed military and terrorism was the culmination of this process of ethnic cleansing which started in the year 1947.

4.15 Rise of Armed terrorism

Armed militancy and terrorism has surfaced in the valley from the year 1988-89 on a large scale with the connivance and support of Pakistan. Muslim youth of the valley have been crossing the border in large numbers since 1984 and returning with sophisticated arms and ammunition after receiving training in sabotage and warfare. Their design has been to subvert democracy and secularism, establish an Islamic theocratic State and to secede from India. As a first step the minority Hindus of the valley became the first victims of this operation and they were gunned down indiscriminately, hanged or murdered by other brutal means. Torture, molestation and rape, threatening letters and telephone calls, posters and quit-notices pasted on doors and warnings through newspapers for the whole community to leave the valley within short and specified time, became the order of the day leading to a mass exodus of this community. More than a thousand members of this community have been done to death, and nearly three hundred thousand forced into exile.

While the exodus of the minority Hindu community on all occasions prior to 1947 were at the behest of and because of the tyrannies of despotic rulers swayed by fits of communal frenzy, the present exodus of 1989-90 is unparalleled in the history of world democracies. This time a large segment of a community has taken up arms with the aim of subverting secularism, mortgaging religious pluralism, decimating a Hindu minority and forcing its exodus in order to establish an Islamic State with the final aim of seceding from its parent country. This has happened in the largest democracy, that is India, and the minority Hindu community has been the helpless victim of a terrorism sponsored by the majority community of the valley with the connivance and support of the State administration and overlooked by successive Central governments.

4.16 Sleeping conscience of the country

In spite of the terrorists taking to armed insurgency and subversion and unleashing unbridled violence against the Hindus, the State administration and the Central Government have indulged in hushing up the genocide of the community. At the moment when the members of the community are perishing in miserable camps in exile, Kashmiri Pandits are being treated as the sacrificial lambs at the altar of Indian secularism. Except for a few, all the major political parties, important leaders, politicians, intellectuals of the country and religious heads of other communities have maintained a deliberate and sinister silence over the human rights' violations and 'genocide' of this community.

4.17 Adding salt to injury

The Government of India has been indulging in double talk. At a time when it claims to be finding ways and means of an 'honourable' return of the refugees to their own homes in the valley, it has hastened the process of Islamization of the administration by recruitment of Muslims, in violation of all norms and procedures, to the posts vacated in the State and Central government offices by the exiled employees. It has also not made any attempt to stop the plunder and arson of the properties left behind by the Hindus. Nearly all the houses left behind by the exiled Hindus have been looted and vandalized. More than six thousand have been torched so far and the process of destruction is continuing unabated. At present, the valley of Kashmir has turned into a purely Islamic enclave in a secular-democratic India, ruled by gun-totting terrorists but guarded at the frontiers by Indian security forces at an exorbitant price.

4.18 Exile

The Kashmiri Hindus are now in their thirteenth year of exile. Called as "migrants" by the administration, in fact they are refugees in their own country due to the total failure of the Indian State to provide security and safety to them when they were ruthlessly persecuted, threatened, tortured and murdered by the terrorists.

A distinct ethno-religious community, which is ancient and aboriginal to the valley of Kashmir, is not only facing dispersal and disintegration but total extinction. It is languishing in the camps which are not worth habitation even of animals. They are at the mercy of elements and are repeatedly being swept by rains blown away by winds and scorched by the Sun. They are also at the mercy of the cruel, corrupt and prejudiced administration with which they have to fight for pittance of relief that is distributed and disbursed under ever changing, intricate, cumbersome and stringent rules and regulations.

The whole process is painful, protracted and humiliating and worse than begging. Indifference and hatred, adhocism and procrastination rule the roost and expose the design of the administration to humiliate and hurt this proud community. In fact, the administration that rules the community even in its exile is but an extension and perpetuation of the same set-up that had shaped its tragic destiny while it was in the valley. The whole scenario smacks of a deliberate, willful and cruel conspiracy to disperse and destroy the peace-loving Kashmiri Pandits.

4.19 Apartheid

The situation for the Kashmiri Pandits has reached such a pass that they have become the victims of the worst apartheid in their own country - India, which has been in the vanguard of the battle against apartheid. Even the white minority regime of South Africa would take comfort looking at the treatment given to the exiles from the valley as they face apartheid in social, educational, legal and bureaucratic institutions of the State.

Far from lending a healing touch to this wounded community, it is being treated like a pariah as it has been segregated in schools, colleges and other institutions and made to accept subhuman living conditions. The schools for the children of the community have been housed in tents which get blown over with the strong breeze, which leak even during a drizzle, where heat strokes and related problems are galore during summer. Our daughters in these camp schools are exposed to the greedy eyes of the lechers. The school drop-out rate is on an alarming increase. University admissions have been denied to the youth and their academic career has remained frozen for four years. The examinations for all levels are still being conducted for the exiles in Jammu and other towns by the Kashmir University from the valley. The examination process has become more and more prolonged, halting and painful as the date-sheets go on changing at the whim of the University authorities. Some examinations which were due for months and even a year have yet to be conducted. Similarly, the results are not declared for months. The youth feel helpless, frustrated and depressed.

The employees amongst the exiles are idling. They have not been adjusted against any posts. The professionals are rotting, the farmers of the community are withering away in the tents. The trader community has been deprived of all avenues and has no avenues to start even petty business anywhere in the State outside the valley. There have been no recruitments from the community to the State government services whereas thousands of vacancies have been created for and filled up by the Muslims. The community thus faces a terrible doom as a result of this monstrous conspiracy between the terrorists who drove it out of its habitat in the valley and the administration which rules it in exile, to ensure that it does not get any foot-hold anywhere.

4.20 Betrayal

The community feel disillusioned and betrayed. It has been betrayed by the Muslims of the valley on whom it reposed implicit faith. While the members of the community were being threatened to leave the valley and harassed, humiliated, butchered and gunned down, the Hindus still believed that the moderate and saner voices amongst the Muslims would speak up. Alas! these voices of moderation, these counsels of wisdom, these brave words of co-existence and denunciation of violence against an innocent and defenseless minority never found expression and the general masses became a direct or indirect party to the mayhem that was let loose on the Hindus by armed zealots.

The community feels betrayed by the State administration which abdicated all its moral, legal and constitutional responsibility of coming to its rescue in the valley or in exile. On the contrary, it only perpetuated a process of annihilation.

The community has been ditched by the Central Government which always shut its eyes to its travails during the four decades of accession and which has now almost disowned the only nationalistic and secular people in the valley who have been driven into exile. In fact, the Central Government has helped boost and complete the task of Muslimization of the valley by opening floodgates of recruitment to the Muslims in the Central Government institutions in the valley.

4.21 Survival

The Hindu has become a refugee in his own country where he gets a shabby treatment worse than what India has given to the refugees from Tibet, Burma, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan etc. He is being discriminated even vis-a-vis the handful of Muslim refugees from the valley - mostly political bigwigs of discredited parties who have been housed in spatial and furnished lodgings; who are neither to get registered as refugees nor to stand in queues for relief or rations in burning Sun, nor

to run from pillar to post to prove their bonafides as displaced, nor to wait for release of the amenities. On the contrary cash relief and other facilities are given to them in advance for months together.

It is a savage battle that the community is fighting for shelter, livelihood, education, health care, employment and above all for its survival. It is heading towards unmitigated disaster as the deprivation, sun and humiliation have wreaked havoc on the physical, psychological and mental well-being of the community and taken a huge toll of its members. The community continues to perish while the nation looks on unconcerned. More lives have been lost due to starvation, malnutrition, disease and accidents than due to terrorists' bullets. The community is facing dispersal and extinction. And before it is too late it may be forgotten that Kashmir valley belonged to the Kashmiri Hindus. The displaced yearn to return to their homes and hearths, to till their own land, pursue their own professional calling and visit their gods and temples; but all doors are closed to them. The jobs have been usurped, the houses burnt down or looted, the lands mutilated and encroached upon or annexed, the temples desecrated. And the erstwhile Muslim friends have already thrown them out of the valley and do not want them back. The community is at a loss to pick the loose ends of the tangle and to free itself from the web in which it finds itself enmeshed. It is hard pressed to preserve its religious and ethnic identity and maintain its glorious cultural traditions. It is at pains to uphold the principles of secularism, social justice, freedom of faith, democratic pluralism and nationalism -the very principles at the altar of which it was sacrificed in the valley and driven into exile.

4.22 Homeland

The community thus stands at cross roads. The question is of survival or death. The stark reality has dawned upon the community for the first time that it has to stand on its own and out of the shambles in which it finds itself, to recreate and rebuild its glorious ideals and to fight for an honourable survival. The members of the community, of all shades of opinion and of all professions, gave their unanimous approval to the Homeland Resolution adopted by "Panun Kashmir" in the 'MARGA DARSHAN' convention in December, 1991. It is for the first time that the urges and aspirations of the community materialized in the form of a political demand. The call for a Homeland, therefore, underlines the inevitable desire and will of the community to regain its status and lost honour and to find its identity again in the land which it has inhabited from times immemorial despite persecution and massacre and despite repeated exodus. The call for Homeland becomes mandatory for the community as it refuses to return to an atmosphere of discrimination, suppression and persecution at the hands of Muslimised state apparatus which it has been facing for the last four decades and to an atmosphere of siege, terror and murderous assault at the hands of gun wielding religious fanatics who hold the sway in the valley now.

The community wants to live in peace and in ambience of amity and brotherhood. It will fight for its rightful participation in any negotiations, decisions or changes that may affect the constitutional and political organisation of the State. It is determined to fight to the finish for its inalienable rights in its own land.

4.23 What is Homeland?

Homeland is a place, a region or a country which is native to a people and where the people or the community is essentially indigenous. It is an area which naturally belongs to them by virtue of birth, habitation and evolution over a long period of time spanning centuries and millennia. The longer a community has made a place its abode and the wider and deeper it takes roots, the stronger are its bonds and commitments to that place and the greater is the resolve to retain it and preserve its integrity. Over a period of generations, the community builds physical, emotional and spiritual relationship with that region. Just as a home gives a sense of belonging to an individual so a Homeland generates a feeling of roots, a sense of identity and an umbrella of security to its people. The two are inseparable and the relationship is sanctified by the sacrifices of the people, affirmed by history and hallowed by time.

4.24 What area do we claim for the Homeland and why?

A Homeland cannot be thought out of context of the land that belongs to the community. So the Homeland for the displaced Kashmiris will have to be conceived in the valley itself.

We have asked for the area North and East of the River Jehlum. The valley has to be divided in acceptance of our claim. River Jehlum provides a natural geographical divide and, therefore, shall represent a line of demarcation between the Homeland and the rest of the valley. The southern region of the State to the North and East of the Jehlum with the National Highway passing through it also happens to be the region with most of our holy shrines including the holiest of the holy, Sri Amarnath. Logistically and demographically, this area is most suitable for conversion into the Homeland with a Union Territory status.

4.25 Why a separate portion as Homeland when whole of the valley belongs to us ?

Yes, infact the whole valley is the Homeland for the Hindu Community who are the original people and can be traced through the annals of history in the valley. At heart, each and every member of the community would desire the conditions to normalise in the valley and become congenial and conducive for his return to his original place of abode and settle down to a harmonious relationship of amity, friendship and tolerance with his Muslim compatriots. Yet, we must face the facts and be brutally frank. We cannot ignore the ground realities and the compulsions of recent events that have now got superimposed on the forty five years of grand Islamization of Kashmir. What prevails today is the new culture, a cult of violence for achieving an Islamic State and for its secession from India. In the new power equation, the old order, on paper looking secular but in practice discriminative, majoritarian, fundamentalist and Islamic, has yielded to a new order openly, avowedly and blatantly militant, communal, intolerant, hate- ridden and revengeful. The Government of India has kept its door open for a dialogue with harbingers of this order and is ready to concede greater autonomy tantamount to granting an Islamic State of Kashmir in a secular India. What is the place for a Hindu in this new set up? The new power brokers, amongst the numerous terrorist outfits operating in the valley, certainly have one thing in common, that is to run the State on the principles of Islamic law, and to secede from the Indian Republic. Under the Islamic law the non-muslims shall have to be satisfied with a second class citizen- ship and under the rules of 'shariat' to shoulder the burden of taxes ('Jazia') and face disenfranchisement. A small minority will be hard pressed to resist the inducements, temptations and pressures to join the Islamic bandwagon and convert itself to Islam. Already there are linguistic and cultural inroads by Islamic hegemony in the day-to-day Hindu cultural and religious practices and their conversational nuances, which were distinct from Muslims. Under the new setup their identity will slowly get defaced and lost under the weight of medievalism and obscurantism towards which the armed fundamentalists are surely and inexorably leading the valley. Besides, what guarantees will the minority community have to their life and property when the community is scattered and resettled in small settlements here and there as it was before exodus. It was because of such demographic disadvantages that the community had no representation in the legislature or Parliament and it could not offer a joint resistance to the depredations of the terrorists against the community.

If the present setup, as it existed before 1989, was so inimical, damaging and discouraging for the healthy survival of the Pandit, how can we ever expect him to survive in the changed circumstances, when the new forces that have been unleashed will hold complete sway after the total eclipse and demise of the traditional politics, of whatever worth that existed in the State. Can this forward looking, modernistic, secular and democratic community ever be allowed to live, let alone thrive, when preparations are afoot to resurrect the discredited politicians of the past who brought Kashmir and the Hindu of the valley to such a sorry pass and who were also instrumental in bringing into power indoctrinated, armed youth and their patrons who take orders from the theocratic State of Pakistan and derive impetus and sustenance from that country? If one can read the mind of the mandarins in the power corridors of the Central Government in Delhi and others who matter, moves

are afoot to grant almost everything under the Sun to the State of Jammu and Kashmir in order to mollify the militants and bring them to the negotiating table. Short of secession or total independence, the Central Government is ready to give "Azadi" (Independence) to the State within the constitutional frame-work, whatever it means.

The fact remains that the Central Govt. has withdrawn most of the staff from its offices in the valley and replaced it with Muslim aspirants while the State Government institutions have already filled up the vacancies created by the exodus of the Hindu employees. Having retracted from civil institutions, all that remain of India in the valley are the army and paramilitary forces. In fact, the Centre has already granted an Islamic State in the valley. Further autonomy through political process will only be putting the stamp of approval for a theocratic State within India. What are the guarantees for a Hindu ? Where does he go ? Where are his house estates and jobs ? How does he face the institutionalized indoctrination of hate and intolerance towards him ? How does he work towards winning the sympathy of the moderate Muslim who was always his hope and his pillar of strength but who now has been silenced, subdued and coerced into submission to the militants' point-of-view and tows their religious and political ideology? How does he, with his limited resources and numbers, counter the disinformation by militants and their spokesmen in the length and breadth of the country who, like Goebells, have been repeating lies after lies about Hindus having grabbed all jobs in the State? Even the Central Government goes by the advice of Muslim leaders of the State - discredited politicians who swear by the Constitution of India but work towards its erosion and breach, who have left nobody in doubt about their sympathies with the cause of the terrorists and their methods and who are in fact pressurising the Government of India to spell out the quantum of autonomy for the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Some amongst them including two Ex- Chief Ministers of the State have now come out openly and sided with the militants' demand for self-determination. The Kashmiri Hindu is at pains to explain the futility of relying on these discredited politicians who have become irrelevant in the valley and whose bonafides and credentials as secular Indians are suspect. By seeking their counsel and trusting them and at the same time ignoring, marginalizing and discrediting the Kashmiri Hindus who have borne the cross of Indian secularism for the last four decades, the State administration and the Central Government are committing the greatest blunder and compounding the tragedy of the valley. The Kashmiri Hindu factor cannot be excluded in the ultimate solution of the tangle. In fact, he has a major role to play in the restoration of Indian hold and claim on Kashmir because with his exit from the valley the Indian Government has given the impression that it is not interested in protecting the rights of its patriotic citizens but in retaining only the territory. The Kashmiri Hindu has a pivotal role in the final solution and if he is neglected, the Government of India will be making a mockery of its avowals of 'unity in diversity' and its claim of protecting the rights and freedom of all its citizens and not of the Muslims alone.

All these problems beset and baffle the mind of the exiled Hindu and he finds himself up against a blank wall, nay a Himalaya of ignorance and obstinacy, an ocean of follies. What faces him is the stark reality of forty five years of naked persecution followed by the onslaught of unbridled terrorism. So the community is constrained to make the only genuine, realistic and positive demand, staking its claim for its inalienable right in the valley, in essence, now a portion of the valley where it can go back and live a secular, democratic citizen of the Indian Republic. This will be an area with a Union Territory Status, where the Indian Republic can still look for the "ray of hope" which the father of the nation once talked about, where the secular democratic experiment that failed in the valley, can again be put to test with guarantees of success since it will be conducted by the true votaries of this faith.

In fact, the Government of India once toyed with the idea of providing a Security Zone in the valley for the exiled Hindus. Whether it meant a cluster of contiguous villages and towns which could be provided security and which would be considered in the backdrop of demographic, economic and security logistics, was never spelled out. In fact it could have paved the way for granting Homeland to the exiles. What we are asking is to concretize this idea and give a proper shape to a Homeland for the displaced Kashmiris.

4.26 What claim does the exiled community have for a Homeland ?

***If I die in exile
think this of me
that there is a corner
out there in Kashmir
that was for ever my abode,
where my soul will come to rest.
Dr. K.L. Choudhary***

The Kashmiri Hindu is the original inhabitant of the valley of Kashmir ever since the birth of the valley by divine intervention when Kashyapa Rishi materialized it from a huge lake. He has a history of more than five thousand years of continuous habitation. Raj Tarangni, to be highlighted the first historical record of ancient India, was written by a Kashmiri Pandit Kalhana, and is a lucid account of the Hindu Kings and the establishment of rich cultural traditions in the valley. The ruins of the to be highlighted 'Martand' and other temples like Parihaspura at Pattan, Narannag at Kangan and the excavations at Burzhoma in the outskirts of the city of Srinagar speak of the architectural attainments as much as of the religious beliefs and practices of the ancient Kashmir. History, Art, Architecture, Mathematics, Astronomy, Theology Philosophy, Poetry and Aesthetics emanated from our ancestors. Kashmir during the days of yore was the centre of learning and the seat of a great University at Bijbehara near Anantnag to which scholars thronged from all parts of the world for knowledge and learning and for the study of Sanskrit, Literature, Philosophy etc. Lawrence in 1899 wrote, "the valley of Kashmir is the holy land of Hindus and I have hardly been in any village which does not show some relic of antiquity".

Modern Kashmir owes a lot, for its rich cultural heritage, its language, literature and arts, its very 'Kashmiriat', to the Hindu who laid the foundation for the same and consolidated it as other cultures mingled with it down the centuries. He gave Shaivism to the world in its explicit and practical form. Now reduced to a minority, he is the inheritor of this distinct and glorious cultural, ethnic and religious background which though having so much in common with rest of the Hindu tradition of India is yet so distinct. It is his duty to preserve this distinct heritage, to secure his own roots, to assert his identity and to claim his rights and freedom- religious, political and social. He is peace loving and tolerant. He has not taken up arms to counter terrorist violence. He has suffered silently because he was a minority at the mercy of a brute majority. But Minority Rights are now acknowledged everywhere in the civilized world. The UN Secretary General in his June 1992 blue-print about the role envisaged for UN makes a proposal for an International Convention defining inalienable minority rights and a declaration to this effect to be placed before the UN General Assembly. India, the motherland of Kashmiri Hindus, has to recognise this right of Kashmiri Pandits, First and foremost. It has to grant him his rightful claim and share in the Homeland. It is a test case for India, for the very survival of its unity in diversity, to provide safeguards to each community and uphold the rights and the just aspirations of every ethnic and religious minority. And, India will have to prove to its own people and to the world community that it is determined to safeguard and preserve the aspirations and the rights and privileges of the Kashmiri Hindus. While, on the one hand, the Indian Government is ready to concede every demand of the terrorists and Islamic Zealots in Kashmir short of total secession, it will have to save its own face by granting a 'Homeland' to its secular, peace-loving citizens of the valley who sacrificed themselves at the altar of secularism and nationalism.

The year 1993 all over the world is being celebrated as the year of 'indigenous people'. Kashmiri Pandits are the indigenous people of Kashmir with the continuity of a distinct ethno-religious tradition of more than five thousand years. Therefore, the world shall have to grant them their

inalienable rights to exist in their Homeland with security of life, political liberty, freedom of thought and expression and in dignity and pride.

4.27 What are the overall implications of granting the Homeland ?

Morally, it will be an acknowledgement of the inalienable fights of Kashmiri minority Hindu community to its own land in its own habitat, to grant them a Homeland. In broader context it may be the only lasting solution to the complex Kashmir embroglio not only to grant a Homeland to the Hindus and minorities of the valley but also to recognize the sensitivities and propensities of other regional and ethnic groups of the heterogenous State of Jammu and Kashmir.

The debate about granting of greater autonomy to the State of Jammu and Kashmir has gathered momentum since the rise of militancy in the valley. The Muslim leaders of the State, of all shades of political opinion, are working overtime and in tandem with their many sympathizers in the rest of the country to convince the Central Government about the genuineness and correctness of this step. They are aiming at exacting the maximum concessions from the country when they talk of the quantum of autonomy. There is also a flurry of behind-the-scene activity at the Centre to persuade the terrorist outfits to come forward for a dialogue. Unfortunately, the real import and meaning of granting greater autonomy to the State is lost to the powers that be in the Central Government, which is to surrender the State on a platter to the Islamic fundamentalists and terrorists as a price for retaining Jammu and Kashmir on the map of India. It is one more step towards strengthening the secessionist forces and therefore towards the final severance of the State from the Union of India. This step may buy illusory peace to the rest of the country but it certainly buys time for the terrorists to consolidate and prepare for the final onslaught for secession.

In the meanwhile, the rights of other religious, ethnic and geographical entities of the State are being jeopardized and trampled upon, preparing the ground for ferment in all parts of the State involving all communities. The Jammuites have long harboured-a feeling of rejection and deprivation at the hands of Muslims of the valley who managed to keep the reins of power in their hands since 1947. They have been deprived of their share of power and development and neglected in all fronts. There is an under-current of simmering dissent and anger. Demands for autonomous Regional Council for Jammu have been floated repeatedly. The Ladakhis have also been fighting for a Union Territory status to escape discrimination at the hands of Muslim rulers of the State. In fact, the Central Government had almost granted a Hill council for Ladakhis but it was stalled at the last moment at the intervention of a Muslim ex-MP from the valley. However, the Central Government is committed to granting a Darjeeling type Hill council for Ladakhis.

In view of the foregoing arguments many senior leaders of the State and some others at the Centre have proposed a trifurcation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to solve the tangle. However, a trifurcation does not solve the problem of displaced Kashmiri Pandits who are refugees in Jammu and other towns of the country for the last three years. They are guests at these places, guests that have stayed rather long. They desire to go back to the valley but are unwelcome there. In fact they had to leave on pain of death and the people of the valley in general and the terrorists in particular have threatened to execute them if they return to their homes. Therefore, granting them a Homeland with a Union Territory status inside the valley is the only lasting and permanent solution to the Kashmir problem. If a Hill council can be granted to about 60,000 Ladakhi Budhists why not a Homeland for seven hundred thousand Kashmiri Hindus ? Therefore, a quadri-partition and not a trifurcation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir is in order, to accommodate the rights, the urges and aspirations of all regions and all religious and ethnic groups.

4.28 What will be the socio-political set up in the Homeland?

Essentially the Homeland will contribute to the aims and ideals of democracy, secularism, free exchange of thought, trade and culture, right to work and right to live, justice and equality for all, including women. It will not be a theocracy. It will identify with the letter and spirit of the Constitution of India

and exist in amity and brotherhood with all the regions and provinces of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and with the rest of India.

4.29 How does call for a Homeland serve the national interest and prevent the balkanisation of the country ?

It is in the best interest of the country for us to fight for a Homeland. In fact, it will be anti-national for us to keep quiet about the loss of our territorial rights in the Valley of Kashmir and the loss of our homes and hearths, lands, estates and jobs. If we don't raise our voice against what has been snatched away from us; if we keep quiet about the valley of Kashmir which has been allowed to degenerate into a theocratic Islamic enclave inside the secular Indian Republic; if we shut our eyes to the existence of this Islamic State being defended and guarded on the frontiers by the Indian forces and being run by the writ of the militants under the laws of "Shariat" now being enacted in full vigour and gusto; we will have done the greatest dis-service to India for losing our Homeland to communalists. The Indian nation will never be forgiven for the total failure of its secular-democratic experiment in the testing ground of the valley. Even Jawaharlal Nehru, the greatest champion and architect of secularism, had his doubts about the success of this experiment when he wrote on 26th July, 1962 to Shri P.N.Bazaz, "the real problem in Kashmir is whether it continues as a secular State as the rest of India or not. This affects the whole India because secularism in India also has not got such a firm foundation as I would like it to have. Anything happening in Kashmir will undoubtedly affect the rest of India with its vast Muslim population".

Kashmir is integral to India as it has been a part of its geographical, political and cultural mainstream for centuries. It has its own geopolitical importance as it stands at the cross roads of various cultures and religious, political and geographical entities. It is the meeting ground between Central Asia, China, India, Pakistan, Nepal and Afghanistan. It has to serve as the bulwark against the pan-Islamic expansion from across Pakistan. Iran and Afghanistan - an Indian phalanx to counter the encroaching Islamic thrust from Central Asia, Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan trying to cut across the Indian plains to join on the eastern front with Bangladesh, Myanmar, Malaysia, etc. It is the only way to prevent balkanization of the country by retaining as much area as possible in the valley under a secular and democratic hold of the country and allowing the committed secularists and nationalists to settle down in their own land. What we are seeking, therefore, is a full accession of at least this portion of the valley with the rest of India.

There is tremendous pressure on the Central and State Governments for the formation of smaller States in recognition of the urges and aspirations of the people, for preservation of their regional identities and for safeguarding their rights and interests. Negotiations are going on with people from Bodoland, Jharkhand, Gorkhaland etc. These people have not faced the persecution and communal discrimination, neither have they been the victims of murderous assaults by armed fundamentalist-terrorists, nor been forced into exile from their own home state. Yet the Central Government is prepared to discuss their demands and grant the same in some measure. The displaced Kashmiri Hindus are placed in a worse plight. They are not only threatened with denial, discrimination, suppression and persecution but are facing a total loss of their identity. They have been uprooted, brutally murdered and banished from their own soil. Their claim for their own land and for a full accession of this portion with the rest of India is most genuine and rightful. If the Government of India is ready to concede some form of autonomy to the State, which indirectly means conceding an Islamic State, it will be in the interest of the country to at least have a portion of the valley loyal to the country and which rightfully belongs to secular democratic Kashmiris, as their Homeland. It will be a free democratic secular island within or by the side of the Islamic valley, having an extension of the constitution of India in its full play.

A Homeland for the seven hundred thousand displaced Kashmiris in the valley will be the only logical, natural and permanent solution for the displaced Kashmiris. Homeland is where home is and home is where land is and our land is in the valley of Kashmir. Our demand for a Homeland within

the valley, from where we have been driven out by armed Islamic terrorists, is an assertion of our rights as much as of our patriotism for India. In order to save Kashmir from the clutches of Pakistan which has been instigating, encouraging and perpetuating terrorism in Kashmir, the Indian nation has to shed all inhibitions and unequivocally declare its resolve of resettling the displaced Kashmiri Hindus in the Homeland which will serve as a bastion of secularism and democracy in an otherwise Islamic State.

4.30 Are we internationalizing the Kashmir issue by raising a call for a Homeland for the displaced Kashmiris and by appealing to the community of nations?

Our appeal to the international community is to open their eyes to the human rights' violation and genocide against Hindus in Kashmir by Muslim fundamentalists turned terrorists. We are in fact doing what the Government of India should have done to inform and educate the world through the media, through its embassies in other countries, through debates and through meetings with world leaders. There is so much disinformation being carried out against the Kashmiri Hindus. Considerable disinformation is also going on against the so called atrocities committed by the Indian security forces in dealing with the terrorists and their harbourers and so little is being said about the barbaric treatment coupled with brutalities against the Hindus of the valley who have been tortured, gunned down and exiled. It is our duty to create awareness in the world about the true nature of the movement in the valley - a movement which is essentially one of secession from India, a 'Jehad' (religious war) spearheaded by indoctrinated youth for the establishment of a Muslim theocratic State and not a war of independence. It is an Islamic Jehad, an anti Hindu, anti Indian crusade carried out by the terrorist outfits in the valley which number more than two hundred and compete to outbid each other in the pursuit of a common goal.

We are trying to tell the world and the Human Rights Organisations, the United Nations and other such bodies which monitor human rights violations, that it is the Kashmiri Hindu against whom the religious war started and is now being fought to the finish. After having thrown him out of his natural habitat, the terrorists are now vandalizing, destroying and torching the property worth hundreds of crores left behind and appropriating his lands and estates.

We also try to remind the Government of India of its flawed policies towards the State where it is still pampering the terrorists in order to win their hearts, where it is more worried about the living conditions of terrorist detainees in jails than those of the Kashmiri Hindu victims languishing in refugee camps.

We are appealing to free and peace loving communities of the world against the Pak-sponsored terrorism in the valley which has turned this heaven into a veritable hell and thus, only trying to strengthen the hands of the Government of India.

When we give a call for a Homeland we are only reinforcing the Indian claim to Kashmir which has been the crown of India ever since Vedic times and the cradle of civilization of which we, the Hindus of Kashmir, are the true heirs, defenders and inheritors. We are the true guardians of this Indian outpost of secularism and democracy and we serve as a bulwark against the march of Pan- Islamic hegemony from across the Hindukush, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Central Asia and Iran.

4.31 What about settlement outside the valley in the State or outside the State of Jammu & Kashmir?

There are some people who have proposed quasi- permanent settlement outside the valley. There is no doubt that the displaced Kashmiris from the valley are the state-subjects of whole of Jammu and Kashmir and therefore, free to choose any place in the State to live like free citizens with equal opportunities. However, the hard realities betray an inherent opposition from local populations to such a settlement in the major towns outside the valley and even in remote villages. There is already a population explosion in Jammu and we face anger and resentment even to our refugee status in Jammu and neighbouring places. There has been fierce opposition to settle the employed community

in the jobs or to the provision of admissions in the educational institutions for our children. There have been negligible adjustments, transfers and promotions and hardly any new recruitments to jobs in the State Government. Now some bellicose groups have been agitating in Jammu for the ouster of the displaced community and for stoppage of all relief. It is nothing short of seeking the total ruin and death of the community.

Attempts to rehabilitate this community in peripheral towns like Rajouri, Poonch, Kishtwar etc. would mean living again in insecurity and within the constraints of these outlying areas where the opportunities for growth and development of immigrants are meagre or non-existent. It is worth mentioning here that those of our ancestors who fled the tyrannies of Muslim rulers hundreds of years ago and lived in the jungles of Kishtwar and neighbouring regions, have remained backward down the ages. The benefits of independence that percolated into the farthest corners of the valley never reached these refugees of yore even remotely and they still continue to either till barren strips of land or take up petty jobs of domestic servants, bakers, cooks or orderlies. Freedom has yet to dawn and the loaves and fishes of democracy have yet to be distributed to these people who were driven out like us centuries ago. The forward looking displaced Kashmiris cannot now accept such a situation or status. Yes, we are guests in the Jammu province by our own right but we will have to seek all avenues of repatriation back to the valley into our Homeland. Accepting a quasi- permanent settlement outside the valley is tantamount to surrendering our rights in the valley.

Quasi-permanent or permanent settlement outside the State is again an anachronism. If we are not welcome in a different region of our own State, how can we expect any other State to accommodate us. What with population problems and resource crunch everywhere and with regional and chauvinistic forces raising their head everywhere? It will be unwise to seek shelter and settlement in any other State. We will not be treated even as second class citizens. There is no doubt that India is a free country with a constitution which provides guarantees of life, work, property and freedom of expression and of religious faith everywhere and does not stop us from buying land and making a living and seeking a job anywhere. In individual capacity some of our displaced members have sought such settlement, in the process getting scattered and dispersed. That will be the beginning of the end for the community. It may give a few of us, more fortunately placed, a chance to exist as individuals but shall take away our last chance to remain as a viable, healthy and dynamic community which has the power to offer leadership to the country. If we want to survive both as individuals and as a community and preserve our centuries old tradition and culture, we shall have to fight for our own share in the valley, otherwise we will incur the curse of our progeny.

4.32 Is Homeland slogan in any way against the interests of the community?

In fact, the community has never nurtured a political insight nor given vent to its political aspirations ever since it was subjected to persecution down the centuries of Muslim rule. It always lived on a fringe. It was always secondary and peripheral in any political, social and economic reconstruction, whenever there was one. The community only learnt to accommodate, acquiesce a just subsist. It always lived from day to day. Therefore, the vision of a Homeland is something difficult to believe and assimilate. 'Offer a feast to a hungry man and suddenly he loses appetite'. He would rather accept crumbs and bits and left-overs. The community has to break the shackles that have held it captive to the Muslim majority perceptions for centuries and break loose and think for itself. The vision of a Homeland may appear an impossible dream. But a dream is the first step away from unreal and a step towards reality. We have to shake ourselves from non- being into being and that is only possible when we stand for our rights and not wait for the mercy and pity of the Muslim majority.

A Homeland is the minimum programme for the survival of the community. There are some amongst us who still delude themselves with the belief that normalcy is going to return to Kashmir and they are going to be able to live in honour and dignity and with equal rights and opportunities to life, and therefore, say that we should not offend the Muslims by asking for our due share in the form of a Homeland. But you can count them on fingers. Most of them are the yes-men or hand-maidens of

power brokers and discredited politicians, others are in league with the terrorists and have become tools in their hands and provide them with a mask. We have a couple of thousand Hindus still living in the valley. Most of them are living in fear and under a seige and pay 'protection money'. They are forced to speak the militants' language. - Some of them have converted, if not in name but in practice, to Islam. Others have become spokesmen against the so-called excesses and atrocities by the security forces. All of them serve as show-boys of the terrorists, who often manage to project them in the media to plead that their movement is non-communal, yet in the same breath being votaries of a "Jihad" with the ultimate aim of throwing out India and running the State on the tenets of Holy Quran. They are, thus, already a part of the Islamic crusade. This handful of Hindus who are eking out their time in the valley, infact, are the Hindu pockets of acquiescence and not resistance against the communal frenzy that has engulfed the valley.

The Kashmiri Hindus have to realize that every quarter is cashing on their disaster. The people in the valley are cashing on the presence of those few thousands whom they have deliberately nurtured to present a false image of communal harmony to the gullible world. The administrative machinery ruling us in exile is trading in our misery. The relief agencies are siphoning off the funds meant for relief and rehabilitation of the displaced people. They have bungled crores of rupees in league with the bankers and middlemen but managed to blame and discredit the beleaguered community. Various political parties are deriving political mileage out of our misery. The traders, landlords and other businessmen in the host cities have a different price for their ware for the displaced people than for the locals. How long can we afford to be thus cheated from all quarters unless we have a place of our own, our HOMELAND?

Our genuine demand for a Homeland does not hurt anybody 's interests as we have no desire to encroach upon the legitimate rights of others. In fact, there are clear indications that the Muslim majority is irked by our capacity to bear silently the sufferings heaped upon us than by our waking up to our rights. The grant of a Homeland to displaced Kashmiris will be the greatest stumbling block to their design of enforcing their version of political and religious dispensation in the whole of the valley and spare this part of the valley from degenerating into a theocratic enclave.

4.33 What if the terrorist outfits operating in the Valley give a call asking the exiles to return to the valley?

Various militant outfits from time to time have been claiming that their movement is not communal, yet all of them in one voice swear to usher in "Nizam-e-Mustafa"- the Islamic governance. They all take pride in waging "Jihad", the Holy War against the infidels and against all that represents India. They are shouting in unison from mosques and other platforms that their struggle is for the introduction of "Shariat", the Islamic principle of governance and justice. In fact, what one witnesses in Kashmir since 1947, is the sure and certain erosion of the principles of secularism and religious pluralism with its replacement by all for which the militants claim to wage their war. Militancy has only given it a final stamp of approval by the people.

The exodus of Kashmiri minorities and realisation by the world of the true nature of terrorism in Kashmir, gave a jolt to the secessionists' designs of projecting their movement as one of independence. So they have been deliberating about the desirability or otherwise of giving a call to the exiles to come back and fight "shoulder to shoulder" for their so-called freedom movement. They understand that the exiles who are going through a life and death struggle and are yearning to return to their homes and hearths can easily fall victims to this trap. Many exiles have even remarked that it was better to get killed in the valley than to suffer the trauma of being refugees at the mercy of administrative vultures. Others are ready to accept to live as aliens in their own land under "Nizame-Mustafa" and that is what the handful of Hindus, still living in the valley, have reconciled to.

It is unfortunate that many of the displaced Kashmiris are waiting for such a call. Such is the distress of living in exile that the people who were butchered and hounded out yet feel that a change of heart could take place in the very people who swore to weed out the Hindus and other secular elements and

push India out. Can one trust the very people who have been indoctrinated in hatred from the time they grew up in the lap of religious schools, which taught them Islam the wrong way? How at all can the very people be trusted who stand sworn on pain of death to take orders from their masters, even if it be to kill their own kith and kin? The Kashmiri Hindus have already committed the mistake of trusting their Muslim counterparts five times in the past; needless to mention here that this is the sixth time, the Kashmiri Hindus have been driven into exile by the Muslim religious zealots.

Do we want to wait for a 'welcome' by the terrorists so that we are thrown out once again when it suits their whim or design? Do we want to live again in subservience as second fiddles in perpetual fear and uncertainty?

It will be appropriate to recall the recent experience of those eighteen displaced families who were prompted to return to the Valley in July, 1992, and draw some lessons from it. These families were promised safe passage to their homes by some unscrupulous politicians in league with some terrorist outfits. However, on reaching the valley there was a clamour in the people and other terrorist groups who prevented them from again moving into their abandoned homes. Instead, they were herded in a temple and subsequently asked to take refuge in the police station where they were kept in suspended animation while their fate was being discussed by the terrorists. Finally it was decreed that they should immediately quit or face death. One member of this unfortunate group ventured out of custody and was shot at. These helpless families so eager to settle back in the valley in their homes at the mercy of the terrorists, thus, faced another banishment. It was a cruel joke played upon them. These families surrendered in the most abject manner while making the whole community a laughing stock.

This certainly was a cunning trick to create a cleavage in the community by trying to encourage the return of a few families under a sinister ploy aimed at lending credibility to terrorists being secular, at the same time discrediting those members of the displaced community who are opposed to the return without guarantees of a Homeland.

The terrorists who have been blowing hot and cold, whenever it suits them, have laid stringent conditions for the return of Hindu minority to the valley. They want the displaced people to agitate for the release of all terrorist detenus and to fight shoulder to shoulder with them for the secession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir from India and for the enforcement of the Islamic laws. And only after achieving "liberation", will they consider whether the displaced community will be allowed to return.

It is high time for the exiled community to realise that the call for a Homeland is not just an escapist slogan but a positive assertion of their right to life and liberty. How long can the minority Hindu community live in bondage and at the mercy and whim of the Muslim majority? The nation has to clear the fog in its perceptions about the situation in Kashmir and stop treating Kashmiri Hindus as guinea-pigs at the altar of the so-called secular experiment in Kashmir. The security situation in the valley and the changed socio-political milieu shall always endanger the lives of the repatriates except when such repatriation is to a well carved out Homeland. Any possibility of return to the valley, without guarantees of a Homeland, is not only bewildering in complexity but also fraught with disaster of ultimate annihilation of the displaced community.

4.34 Is Homeland a viable proposition?

We desire the homeland to be a Union territory and it is bound to be viable. We envisage a healthy and harmonious relationship with the rest of the valley and with other regions and States. The Homeland will serve as a phalanx of Indian secularism and democracy in what has otherwise regressed into an Islamic theocracy in the valley. It will have well defined borders, a stable security and will be contiguous with the rest of India physically, emotionally and politically.

No country nor any state can ever be self-sufficient, and no society or community is complete in itself. What makes a region viable is the determination of its people to exploit the resources, be they natural or human? We have the manpower and resources to ensure viability. Kashmir has been "Shardapeeth", the seat of learning and knowledge. We can make it so again with the expertise and

manpower available to us and can start a full fledged university, medical, engineering and agricultural colleges and institutions of arts and commerce. The level of education can be raised to excellence so that we attract the students and teachers from other States and other countries. Small scale Industries especially in electronics and software are other disciplines where we can hope to make a mark. Tourism has a vast potential. Development of pilgrim centres can be considered on a big scale. Agriculture and handicrafts, sericulture, pisciculture and horticulture all have a vast scope. Besides, there can be a re-orientation and a new look at the priorities for the Homeland. Our aim is excellence in all our endeavours. Our goal is a peaceful and bountiful Homeland, a future model for a great country that India can be.

4.35 What about the displaced Kashmiris settled outside the valley?

We are Indians first and Indians last. The demand for a homeland should not be construed as an expression of ethnic or regional chauvinism but one of survival of a community with a distinct culture. It gives us pride to see our members settled in the rest of the country and contributing their valuable services to the country in various fields. They all harbour a feeling of denial and deprivation and discrimination in the valley because of which they had to leave their Homeland. The grant of a Homeland may not necessarily draw them back to the valley but will not only provide them the necessary moral and psychological courage but also regain for them their lost identity. They will be able to help and guide the floundering community even from their respective places of adoption. Many of them will be drawn back to their land of birth. In fact, conditions shall have to be created for a return of all those who are this time going through the trauma and turpitude of finding a ground for habitation elsewhere and all those who have become nomadic in the process of seeking shelter and survival. We have a fund of talent especially in the educational, administrative and scientific fields and we invoke the help and blessings of so many of our compatriots who are manning prestigious positions in the country and who are wedded to the noble cause of a Homeland.

The Homeland will provide opportunity and incentive for the return of all the Kashmiri Pandits who will definitely have the legal and moral right of settlement in this part of Kashmir, in spite of them being settled in any other part of the world.

4.36 What about Article 370 and the Homeland ?

Article 370 by providing a special status to the State of Jammu and Kashmir goes against the very spirit of our constitution as it works against the unity in diversity which the constitution swears to provide and strengthen. Rather than bringing the State of Jammu and Kashmir nearer to the main stream of India it has widened the gulf and paved the way for secession as the Article has been used to bolster the argument of those elements who have always questioned the accession of the State to India and who refer to the existence of this Article as an argument in favour of the unsettled status of Jammu and Kashmir. The State has been defending, protecting, enhancing and glorifying the rights of the majority community at the cost of the minority, especially the minority in the valley. While in India the Constitution provides special guarantees and privileges to the minority, in the State the constitution has been contrived in favour of the majority.

Once the homeland is granted to the displaced Kashmiris the continuance of the article and the special status in the remaining portion of the valley/State does not at all affect us, as we have accepted the Constitution of India in full - undiluted, unadulterated and unalloyed. The Homeland will be a Union Territory and will be governed by the provisions of Indian Constitution and Article 370 will not be applicable in this portion of Kashmir and will have no relevance.

4.37 Why is Homeland so urgent?

The call for a homeland has become not only natural and necessary but urgent as well. The community has arrived at a water- shed in history. It is now or never that it has to fling the cloak of minority complex under which it fossilized itself into inaction through the centuries. It cannot afford to reverse the facts of history, the fact of total Islamization of Kashmir. It cannot de- communalize the

socio-political milieu of the valley in which it has not been allowed to sustain and survive. It cannot afford to relinquish its claim in the State of Jammu and Kashmir and get dispersed and lost in the teeming population of the country, so it has to seek the Homeland and seek it now.

In the present state of exile, the whole community is going through indescribable psychological, mental and physical anguish. The older generation is fast fading away as they are going through the throes of disease and death which has come prematurely for thousands. The middle generation is withering and aging rapidly because of idleness, denial and deprivation. The younger generation has become apathetic, depressed and frustrated because of denial of opportunities for living, denial of admissions into institutions of learning and the apartheid that they face from all quarters. The new generation that takes birth in exile grows up in the most uncongenial and hostile environment. At this rate the community will not take long to dissipate. With the passage of each day, the community gets impoverished on all fronts and is moving towards extinction. That is why Homeland is most urgent, now.

We have to remind ourselves that only a Homeland can guarantee us the identity that we are seeking. It is a quirk of history that a great and large nation that is India with eighty percent Hindu population, has no qualms of conscience in keeping silent about Hindus becoming refugees in their own land. This can only happen in India. Only in India does a whole nation accept with impunity the banishment of a small minority from its natural habitat because it happens to be a Hindu minority of a Muslim majority State which is at the mercy of fundamentalists and rank communalists. The Homeland therefore becomes imperative and urgent before more damage is sustained by the community, before the community gets further fragmented, dispersed and disintegrated.

The Homeland is urgent because granting it will set in motion the process of normalization in the State. The first duty of the nation is to resettle the uprooted citizens in their natural habitat. The Government of India has been vacillating in its policies and priorities in Kashmir. In fact it has no definite policy except one of drift and despair on the one hand and appeasement of the Muslim majority on the other. The most terrible fall out of this policy has been the genocide of the Hindu minority in the valley. If the Central Government realises this fact, it will have taken the first right step towards Kashmir. If it realises that it has to protect the legitimate interests and rights of its patriotic citizens who have been fighting for India in Kashmir, it will be the second step and in the third big leap it has to grant a Homeland to this community.

4.38 Is it a Hindu Homeland that we are seeking?

No, it is not a Hindu Homeland that we are seeking. We fully identify with the secular-democratic-pluralism of our country, so how can we ask for a Hindu homeland ? We are seeking a homeland for displaced Kashmiris who have faced suppression for centuries, who have been driven out by tyrants repeatedly in the course of history of monarchies and fiefdoms in the valley and who have been subjected to genocide of unparalleled magnitude in a free and democratic India. These people happen mostly to be Hindus. These were the people who staked themselves at the altar of secularism in Kashmir. They reaped the bitter fruits of being nationalists and secular. They are now unwelcome in their own land of which they are the original inhabitants. They will not be able to live in security, safety and dignity in the altered milieu in the valley which has now become completely Islamized and which has no place for other communities. If they are allowed to disperse and disintegrate it will be a total negation of the secular democratic ideals of India. Any attempt to deny them their rightful share in their place of habitation will have far reaching consequences for the rest of the country and will unleash uncontrollable forces of religious bigotry elsewhere in other States and may lead to exodus of minorities from there. So these displaced Kashmiris from the valley are seeking an honourable settlement in the valley and will welcome all those who contribute to the tenets of secularism, democracy and equality before law. We are not seeking a division of Kashmir into Muslim Kashmir and Hindu Kashmir because an Islamic Kashmir is already a fait accompli. What we are asking is our

rightful share from it to convert it into a secular democratic homeland with full accession to India and without fetters of Article 370.

4.39 What is Panun Kashmir and what does it stand for?

Panun Kashmir is an expression of the innermost hopes and urges of the Kashmiris displaced from Kashmir valley, that were suppressed for centuries and lost in the nethermost corner of their subconscious. It is a natural and instinctive desire of the community to seek its roots, to preserve its identity and to assert its political, legal and historical rights. It provides a nascent political rostrum to translate the idea and vision of an honourable and peaceful existence emanating from a sense of pride and a feeling of self- esteem which has been snatched from this community.

Panun Kashmir is not just a party or an organization but a people's movement. It is the milky way dotted with the stars of the community who, having come out of eclipse, are ready to become the guiding stars. And as a first step, the community is pledged to behave as a united whole and not just as individuals; as masters of their destiny and not as second fiddles and yes-men; as reformers and not slaves to outlandish customs and rituals; as confederates and not as plotters against each other; as respectors and appreciators of each others worth and not as critics and cynics. Any body who wants to join this galaxy is welcome and we say unto him, "Come to us when you start feeling the pangs for your land - your Kashmir, rather than for your house, property and job. And we will talk to you about Homeland".

It is the awareness of your duty as much as of your rights for your homeland that is paramount and no sacrifice will be too great to salvage the honour, dignity and integrity of your community and country. Pious wishes alone will not give you the homeland, you have to be ready for action. Numbers should not daunt us. If we have the conviction of our ideals and aims, we will succeed. And we have to take the path of non-violence; we have to take the pen to fight the sword; we have to educate not only our own community and our country but the whole international community of our rights for the Homeland.

See you all in "Panun Kashmir"

5 Kashmir: Facts Speak

5.1 Foreword

Too much of everything is bad; and that is how pampering and overzealous concern for the Muslims in the Valley of Kashmir have led them to committing wrongs against the nation, its patriotic citizens and the soldiers fighting for her integrity. They have learnt to squeeze the maximum benefits from this nation and yet collude with the secessionists, terrorists and fundamentalists. After committing these wrongs, they conveniently find a clout within the nation, who goes out of the way, not only to blind the truth, but also let loose a blatant disinformation campaign.

Right from 1947, the Islamic forces in the Valley have been mustering support from within and outside this country for creation of NIZAM-E-MUSTAFA in the Valley of Kashmir. The Kashmiri Pandit who was the only remnant of Indianness in the Valley, therefore, was the only resistance in the way of Islamic Jihad. That is why his being hounded out from the land of his ancestors became imperative in the design of the secessionists.

It is in this background that we shall like to put the record straight and bring facts to light that shall speak for themselves.

All the statistics and figures in the following work have been collected from the different Departments and the published works of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir.

We hope that you will find the contents of this booklet relevant and helpful in removing the dust raised by the anti-national forces affecting as the sole-contractors of Human Rights.

Press and Publicity Cell

PANUN KASHMIR

Camp: Jammu

The Valley is in the thick of turmoil, the like of which, it has never experienced since 1947. Terrorists, with all defined objective of seceding from India, have engulfed the whole Valley, and are finding favourable response from all along the adjoining areas with Muslim majority in the province of Jammu.

It is the Muslim fundamentalism asserting itself at its peak, with an open support from Pakistan and a tacit one from Saudi Arabia and Iran. Americans, all along, contributed to this end as they relentlessly poured in the most deadly and sophisticated military hardware, into Pakistan, to protect its status as a frontline state, and also under the pretext of equipping Afghan Mujahideens. General Zia, as a shrewd military general, squeezed as much aid from USA in the name of Afghan Mujahids as possible. Indian protestations were ignored both by the US and Pakistan.

Its dimensions and the incidence thereof, on the Indian polity can hardly escape the eye of a patriot.

Pakistan has vengeance to wreck upon India. She failed to achieve its objective in the earlier campaigns against India since 1948. The thrust, this time, is quite different in nature and character. It is the Kashmiri Muslim youth itself, who has been involved and allured to take to gun from across the Line of Actual Control. The whole gamut of insurgency in the Punjab and later in Kashmir, is so well laid and planned under the famous "Operation Topac" of late Zia-ul-Haq of Pakistan to balkanize this country. It envisages:

- To recruit and train Kashmiri Muslim youth in the handling of sophisticated arms and equipment;
- To subvert the Administration & police in the state;

- To hound out Kashmiri Pandits from the Valley before engaging India into a full-fledged war;
- To break the inertia among the Muslims of the state and to activate them to unleash so-called holy war against the Indian Authority in power.

The "Operation Topac" could not afford to allow factional groups among Muslims of the state to exist any more, nor could it allow the existing leadership in the state to remain intact.

Instead of directly involving Pakistan in the operation against India, the terrorists, trained in Pakistan and equipped with the most sophisticated weaponry, are fighting a proxy war for it. The present offensive against Indian state is or, the choosing of fundamentalists and, therefore, the greatest danger to the country's territorial integrity and its secular polity.

The nexus between Pak ISI and the Sikh terrorists in the Punjab, and Muslim terrorists in the valley and between the terrorists of the two states is established beyond any doubt.

In such a situation of near civil war conditions, international mafia groups especially that of Pakistan, rule the roost by helping the underworld arms and drug traffickers.

One is surprisingly intrigued to find the then political leadership at the helm in the Valley play ducks and drakes to meet the situation squarely. It cared little to shake off nonchalance and indifference of Kashmir Armed Police; instead ordered release of 70 hardcore terrorists. The Administration from top to bottom obliged terrorists by heeding to their calls - like observing civil curfew; effecting blackouts on days of National importance and doing illumination on the days like the 14th August - the independence day of Pakistan. Jagmohan, the then Governor of the state, in his letter to the Editor, *TIMES OF INDIA*, Aug.1988, writes "The drum beaters of Parochialism and fundamentalism are working over time. Subversion is on the increase. The shadows of events from across the border are lengthening. Lethal weapons are on way. The face of Democracy is increasingly being pimpled by exploitation. The overall fabric shows too many loose threads, too many weak stitches."

The language of the gun was heard loud and clear by all the Muslims alike. Some conscientious patriots in the Administration and security forces who felt challenged and tried to discharge their duties, were done to death mercilessly with cruel hatred, soon after they had offered their Nimaz in a nearby mosque.

The Government at the winter capital of the state turned a deaf ear to all this, knowing well that this callous behaviour of the political leadership would do the gravest damage to the Nation in many ways more than one, like :-

- a) Erode the credibility of the Government itself;
- b) Help mobilize mob support for militancy among the masses;
- c) Help subversion in the Administration & the police;
- d) Render the existing leadership of the political parties redundant;
- e) Rally support for the liberation of Kashmir from India;
- f) Convert mosques as the centres of Activity for militancy and terrorism;
- g) Embolden women volunteers to mobilize support for the so-called Jihad under the women militant organisations like "Dukhtaran- i-Millat".
- h) Prepare Muslim parents to succumb to militant pressure and spare a male child each to take to militancy and gun culture;
- i) Embolden terrorists to establish their credentials among the masses;
- j) Encourage raising of funds for the "Jihad against India";
- k) Prepare and train masses to flout the law of the land and to take law in their own hands;
- l) Prepare masses to get used to terrorism and withstanding government retaliation as and when it came, and

m) Letting people believe that the days were not far off when 'Nizam-e-Mustafa' shall be realized and Indians driven out from the soil of Kashmir.

There have been secret directives sent by the word of mouth far in advance by six months, that people should stock essential commodities to effectively face the long bouts of curfew imposed either by civil authority of terrorists or by the Government.

The meticulous planning by the terrorists is a so-called feather in their cap. They acclimatized people with the gun culture by, firing in the air, when the local police stood watching by in some corner of the street; exploding bombs at vantage points carefully, without effecting any damage to life. Some times they burnt Indian Tricolour or Indian Constitution at important crossing points, under the very nose of security forces, who had no powers to act even under gravest provocations. The CRPF & BSF had to function under the local police officers. They could do nothing but present a picture of law abidingness of the most disciplined force in the world.

As the militancy of the secessionists took roots, it turned the gun on CRPF & BSF jawans intermittently in the down-town areas. On the eve of Id-ul-Fitr in 1989 half a dozen of jawans were done to death in the evening time when they were to retire to their barracks. They looked to their senior local police officers for orders but the latter stood glum faced and tight lipped to issue any orders to act in self defence. This was a wonderful example of abetting with the secessionists!

Secessionist militancy measured strides till it engulfed the total Valley. The wine shops were forced to be closed and so were cinema halls, beauty parlours and clubs. The women were warned that they must move about 'Burkha' clad or face the punishment in accordance with Shariat Law. The foreign money that had been pouring in since 80's had gone unchecked at the hands of the authorities and its utilization not kept under a watchful eye. Even when DIG Kashmir was attacked at his residence towards the beginning of terrorism and one terrorist got killed in the encounter, fantastic stories were alleged to have been cooked up to hoodwink the premature exposure of the things to come. Call it an abetment or connivance on the part of the authorities, it makes little difference. All the same the guilt was there - it was with the leaders of the treasury benches and the leaders in the opposition, barring a few, who all knew what was in the offing!

They all, almost in the same vein traced the origin of this turmoil to unemployment, backwardness, paucity of funds, corruption, rigging of elections and what not. According to this leadership Kashmir youth felt disgruntled and sick. If this were the whole truth, why did not the youth other than Muslims in Kashmir and the other two divisions namely Jammu and Ladakh take to guns like their counterpart in the Valley. A close analysis of the facts would bear out that the Valley enjoyed a more hectic economic development than did the other two divisions of Jammu and Ladakh. Development in the state was more tilted in favour of the Valley than Jammu and Ladakh. That is, why different commissions, like Sikri Commission in 1979 and Gajender Ghatkar Commission in 1967 had to be appointed to look into the lopsided development in Jammu and Ladakh regions.

None of the Muslim leaders from the Valley is still prepared to characterise the uprising as fundamentalist, secessionist and communal. The following data would go a long way to warn the masses in the country not to fall prey to the systematic and calculated disinformation campaign let loose by different interested circles. The problem in Kashmir Valley is not a problem of unemployment, nor is it a problem due to exploitation, corruption and backwardness. In fact terrorism in Kashmir is not for an economic end but it is the fundamentalists striving hard to snap the state's relations with India and secede to Pakistan or stay independent with a political order of Nizam-e-Mustafa. It is, therefore, a civil war in full swing shaking the very edifice of accession of the state with India. It is a campaign against Kafir (Infidel). It is a movement to set the chain of Balkanisation in motion, so that India as a state breaks and the two nation theory is proved correct. It is an attempt to embolden all fissiparous tendencies to work up towards the dismemberment of the state. It is the most sinister design ever launched by the enemies of the nation internally & externally. It needs to be dealt with firmly as a state ought to. Weaving of political process will not do-it is the down right

authority of the state that should make itself felt. Dragging the nation's feet along will do more harm than good. Indian Nation should learn to live as a nation and resist and defeat such a theocratic thrust. It must override all religious, sectarian, fissiparous, regional and communal considerations.

It is not Kashmiri Pandit - a miniscule minority - suffering, but it is a patriot punished for holding fast to his patriotism. The nation may afford to treat him callously but the posterity will not forgive the nation for not holding fast to protect the nationhood by securing and safeguarding the life of true patriots.

To see the problem in its entirety one needs to look into the figures of the Govt. of Jammu & Kashmir which tell a tale of their own.

The total area of the state including the area under POK, area under the illegal occupation of China in Ladakh and area illegally handed over to China by Pakistan, is 2,22,236 Sq. Kms. The area under the illegal occupation of Pakistan & China adds up to 1,20,849 Sq. Kms. The net area left over works at 1,01,387 Sq. Kms. The break up of the area & the population can be assessed by reference to the tables I, II, III, IV, V, VI.

The tables furnished an elaborate account of the District wise area, and the persons living therein & also the %age population to the total population. A keen perusal of the data highlight some interesting features.

Population wise Kashmir division is left with a slight edge over the other two divisions of Jammu & Ladakh In fact, the population of Kashmir division works at 31,34,904 while the population of Jammu division is 27,18,113 & that of Leh & Kargil put together is 1,34,721.

The population of Kashmir division comes to 52.35% of the total population of the state. The percentage of Jammu division & that of Ladakh division work at 45.39 and 2.24 respectively of the total population of the state.

The total Hindu population comprises 32.24 percent of the total population of the state, and the %age of total Muslim population and that of Buddhists of the state works out 64.2% and 1.1% respectively. The %age of total Sikh population to the total state population works at 2.1.

The percentage of Kashmiri Muslims to the total population of the state works at 49.7 and the %age of Muslim population of Jammu and that of Ladakh to the total population of the state comes to 13.43 and 1.03 respectively. The Muslim population of the Valley (Kashmir Division) to the total Muslim population of the state is 77.46%.

The Hindu population of Jammu account for 93.3% of the total Hindu population of the state.

The percentage Hindu population to the total Muslim population of the state works at 50.2.

The %age of Muslim population of Jammu to the total Muslim population works at 2.05. And the %age of Hindu population of the Valley account for 6.42 to the total Hindu population of the state.

The %age Muslim population of the Valley account for 94.7 to the total population of the Valley. Likewise, the %age Hindu population of Jammu comprise 66.32 of the total population of Jammu.

Percentage of Hindu population of Kashmir is 2.07 of the total population of the state. (As per Govt. Records).

The %age of Sikh population to the total population of the state comes to 2.1 and the %age Sikh population of Kashmir comes to 24.8 of the Sikh population of the state. The Sikh population of Jammu accounts for 74.2% of the Sikh population of the state.

Buddhists accounts for 1.15% of the total population of the state, while they at the same time, constitute 51.87% of the total population of Ladakh.

Another important feature that comes to light is that the tendency of growth of population in Jammu division is quite in the lead higher than the other two divisions of the state between 1981 to 1985.

	Kashmir	Jammu	Ladakh
Births:	217374	277588	5578
Deaths:	74966	81179	2982
Survivals:	1,42,408	1,96,409	2982

Table 5 depicts the Hindu population at 1,24,078. This includes about 30,000 non-Kashmiri speaking Hindus. Thus, the Kashmiri speaking Hindus number about 90,000 only.

The decinial growth of population works upto 30% between 1971-81. If its effect is extended to 1990, the increased number of Kashmiri Pandit population will come to some 1,17,000 persons. The population figures of the community as revealed on account of exodus comes to about 2,50,000.

It is note worthy that the 1981 population figures of three divisions of J&K state, surprisingly disturbed the political achleons of the Valley, as it projected a higher growth rate in Jammu region by reference to tables 7 & 8 (Source: Vital Statistics Unit). This reflection of undergrowth of Kashmiri Pandit population, all along, fitted into the political machinations of the political circles in Kashmir.

The projected figures of 1,24,078 of Kashmiri Hindus constitutes about 3% of the total population and about 6.4% of the total Hindu population of the state (Table 6). But should the ground fact, as borne out by the displaced population running for their life to different parts of the country, plus the residue still sticking fast in the Valley, be trusted, the percentage figures would work out towards higher side, (of Kashmiri speaking Hindus) viz-a-viz the population figures of the state, as well as the total Hindu population of the state. The Kashmiri Pandit, thus, would account for 6% of the total population of the state and 12.84% of the total Hindu population of the State. This would make a revolutionary difference in working out the share of Kashmiri Hindus in the jobs and services in the State whether arrived at from a secular or Communal point of approaches to development.

In case of a secular approach to the economy and development, the percentage share of the Kashmiri Pandits would be subject to no limit in lieu of their 80% literacy as against 26.6% literacy rate of the state as per the 1981 census. Even then, the share of the miniscule minority in the state services works out at 6% and not a figure of mere 3%. In case the approach to development is taken on communal lines, the Kashmiri Pandits ought to have a genuine share of about 13% among the Hindu population of the state. But none of the two approaches are realized in case of Kashmiri Hindus and census figures are manipulated against him.

The approach to development in the J&K state seems to be guided more by communal and regional considerations than in keeping with the secular objectives in view. Factors like area, availability of natural resources, transport facilities, productivity of land, climate etc. are not the considerations before the authorities in the state. Instead the population factor only, that too viewed through coloured glasses of religion and region, determines the policy guidelines of the state to development.

But even this policy, as pursued by the state Government, towards politics of development, has led to imbalanced growth in Jammu & Ladakh and also among various religious sections of the population of the state. It is, thus, that the Kashmiri Hindu has been meted out with a discrimination at all levels. He has also been subjected to a barrage of disinformation by the terrorists, Muslim politicians of the state and by the Human Rights agencies like PUCL, Committee for Independent Initiative on Kashmir and also the ministerial factions of Union Ministry in collaboration with the Muslim Members of the Parliament from the state. The Congress-I, which shared power with the National Conference headed by Farooq Abdullah, in order to evade responsibility of such state of affairs in the Valley, somehow found it expedient to rationalize things by blaming the Kashmiri Pandits.

A peep into the figures of Table 7 brings to light some of the interesting facets of the three divisions of the state. Jammu division accounts for 3614 villages (inhabited and uninhabited together) whereas

Kashmiri division accounts for 2899 villages and Ladakh for 242 villages. The net area irrigated in the three divisions put Kashmir on the top with 20195 hectares followed by Jammu division at 8906 hectares and Ladakh division at 1860 hectares. The net area sown in the three divisions put Jammu at top with 37222 hectares followed by Kashmir division 34090 hectares and Ladakh division with 1860 hectares.

The following Table clearly bears out the contribution towards the food stock by Jammu division which accounts for nearly 1.5 times more than that of the Kashmir division.

Again by reference to Table 7 at indicator No.11 showing districtwise forest area of the state, wherein Jammu accounts for 12,166.04 sq. kms., Kashmir covers only 8,776.62 sq. kms. Even in respect of live-stock, Jammu accounts for 33.76 lacs whereas Kashmir & Ladakh account for 21.63 lacs and 4.19 lacs, respectively, as per live-stock population census 1982.

PRODUCTION OF FOODGRAINS (in thousand Qtls.) For the year 1985-86

Division	Rice	Maize	Wheat	Other Cereals	Pulses	Total foodgrains
Kashmir	4287	1261	11	7	188	5754
Jammu	1584	3678	2678	141	92	8173
Ladakh	Nil	Nil	32	72	5	109
TOTAL	5871	4939	2721	220	285	14036

The dissipation of public utility facility is considered to be a hallmark of developmental benefits acquired by the people of a state. In this sphere, Jammu and Ladakh divisions lag far behind as compared to the Kashmir division. Whereas Kashmir division accounts for 95.6% rural electrification (as per 1986-87), Jammu and Ladakh account for 82.02% and 38.5%, respectively.

Similarly villages benefitted under Public, health engineering (ending 1985-86) account for 2125 villages in Kashmir, 1987 in Jammu and only 88 villages in Ladakh.

Another glaring imbalance among the three divisions of the state is borne out by the figures showing Road length maintained at the end of year 1985-86. Kashmir province accounts for 5286 kms. as against 3840 kms. in Jammu and 1131 kms. in Ladakh. (Please see Table 8).

The medical institutions of all types at the end of 1985-86 available in the three divisions read 966 in Kashmir, 1113 in Jammu and 235 in Ladakh. The Kashmir division enjoys a further edge in having the Sher-i-Kashmir Medical Institute at Soura; a separate maternity hospital and a separate Bones and Joints Hospital. (All the above statistics are from the sources of Planning and Development department & Area Planning Division of J&K state.)

There has been phenomenal increase, both in the deposits received and the loans advanced by the financial institutions in the state since 1961. Table 10 shows a steep rise over two and a half decades, as per the RBI source indicated in "J&K Govt. Digest of Statistics 1985-86" issued by Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Planning and Development Departments.

Whereas the deposits with the scheduled Commercial Banks amount to Rs.43,157 lakhs. The advances granted amount to Rs.22,778 lakhs comprising 52.7% of the deposits in Kashmir, deposits in Jammu Region amount to Rs.11,156 lakhs, a 30.3% of the deposits in Jammu. The Percentage Advances to its deposits work at 12.1% in Ladakh.

Jagmohan's letter to the Editor, Times of India, in respect of finances, makes it amply clear that Dr. Farooq Abdullah's statement is also misleading. In case of Jammu & Kashmir, per capita financial assistance from the centre is far above the national average. It is getting 2.5 percent of total grants disbursed by the Centre, while its population is 0.8% of the Country's population. Its 5 year plans are

wholly financed by the Central Govt. Its administrative expenditure is the highest in the country. Wage bill itself consumes 43% of non-plan Expenditure.

If Death & Birth rate are any indicators of prosperity of a people and highlight availability of basic necessities of life to them, a quick glance through Tables 12, 13, 14, 15 would serve as an eye opener. The total details registered between 1981 and 1985 figure out as :-

- a) 74966 in Kashmir division,
- b) 81179 in Jammu division, and
- c) 2596 in Leh and Kargil.

One needs to remember that Kashmir represents 52.3% of population of the state, when Jammu division & Ladakh division account for 45.23% and 2.3% of population of the state respectively.

As against this live Births registered by districts in the three divisions state a different tale. The total increase in the Kashmir division accounts for 217374, when the increase in births in Jammu division accounts for 277588 and in Ladakh division 5578. The Kashmir division is better placed in respect of both death rate and birth rate registered between 1981 and 1985. Jammu & Kashmir state has been showing a better performance on account of birth rate & death rate when compared to all India performance. As per the statistics furnished by Directorate of Economic & Statistics, Planning & Development Department - J&K in Indian Economy of J&K government Jan 1986, the following table has been worked out:-

S. No.	Indicator	Unit	J&K	National
1.	Birth Rate	Per 1000	31.4	33.6
2.	Death Rate	Per 1000	8.6	11.9

Besides, the developmental activities are indicated by the per capita income growth & the growth in net domestic product at a constant as well as current price level. In this respect one marks a continuous rise of net domestic product of the state in terms of crores of rupees from 249.59 to 458.10 at constant price of 1970-71 in 1985-86 (quick), and, the growth registered in this behalf at current price in 1971-86 has been Rs. 249.59 crores to Rs. 1479.49 crores.

Similarly, the per capita growth registered between 1970-71 to 1985-86 has been Rs.548.00 to Rs.2204 at current price and Rs.548 to Rs.8683 at constant price of 1970-71. All these indicators point towards a better standard of living in the state as a whole, especially in Kashmir division of the state. The fact that almost every family has a shelter, far far better provision of clothings to withstand the ruts of wintry weather, & also consumption of better protein diet of mutton, chicken, eggs, fish, pulses & vegetables in the Valley including a higher standard of living being enjoyed by a Kashmiri than does his counterpart in the rest of the country. As far the medical care and consumption of patent medicines, Kashmir division is second to none in the federal state of India. Jammu and Ladakh divisions are still given to indigenous methods of treatment to health and disease. - The shoe wear in the valley is superior order to that of any other state of the country.

The argument, therefore, that Kashmiris have a cause to foment such a turmoil does not hold water. As the data speaks for itself, the unrest, among the people & the youth ought to have unleashed itself in the Jammu & Ladakh & least of all in the Kashmir division. The Plea that present turmoil in Kashmir is the consequence of poverty, unemployment, backwardness & paucity of funds to promote economic activity is nothing but a wanton disinformation unleashed by the interested circles both at the state & central levels.

As far the corruption & rigging at elections, the blame lies squarely on the vested interests in the state. No government, at the Union & State level since Independence, can escape the blame for it. They have been the culprits of gravest offence and need to be punished rather than, time and again trying to restore them back to the seat of power, under the pretext that political process be initiated to arrest the alienation of the Muslims of the Valley. And every time, when a searching eye in the centre looks around, the Valley Muslims appear to be secular, who everytime, while in power trampled the secularism under their feet.

They, when irked by inquiring attempt into their misdoings by the central authority, raise their contemptuous voice against India from the rostrums of holy shrines and mosques. As chief ministers they value the chairmanship of Auqaf higher than their posts of authority & political power. Vested interest groups, at such junctures, when the sovereignty and integrity of the country is threatened, in order to dodge the appropriate action to be taken to foil such attempts, crop up their heads and demand political process to be initiated to find solution to such vexing problems only to stall the administrative measures so badly needed to set things right. Such groups function against the national interest on behalf of the forces inimical to the nation and its integrity. They fight no shy to raise a storm of disinformation in order to confuse the issues.

A four member Committee for Independent Initiative for Kashmir claims to have visited the Kashmir Valley from March 12 to 16, 1990 and absorbed the whole gamut of causes and the incidence of security forces dealing with the forces of secessionist terrorists. The committee felt concerned:

- a) for denial of fundamental rights, granted to people under the Constitution of India;
- b) for failure of parliamentary forces to contain terrorism; and
- c) for alienation of people from the Indian Govt.

The team suggested certain measures, which according to them would improve the conditions if adopted by the National Front Govt. They wanted the Govt. to:

- (i) Recall the Governor - Jagmohan;
- (ii) Withdraw all para military forces;
- (iii) Discontinue the curfew-Raj;
- (iv) Investigate into the excess of paramilitary forces; and
- (v) Follow it up with a political process.

The Committee needs to be thanked for not pretending any solutions to the present turmoil and for feeling that the problems have been accumulated over the decades since Independence.

But the committee ought to have taken trouble to know that the spirit behind Art. 370 as envisaged and incorporated after Delhi Agreement strictly opposed the extension of Fundamental Rights to the state as enshrined in the Indian Constitution, as this would not have enabled the State Govt. to effect extra-ordinary agrarian reforms. The ownership of the land could not have been shifted to the tiller without compensation; nor could the debts be cancelled outright, as was done by the Debt Cancellation Board in the state.

The Art.310 did not allow the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of India to be extended to the state, nor did it allow the jurisdiction of the Election Commission of India to the state. The State Govt. enjoyed unquestioned power over the people of the state in favouring or denying the Fundamental Rights.

The impending inherent characteristics and the incidence thereof on the political climate of the State, drove G.M. Sadiq, the then Chief Minister, in 1964 to initiate certain amendments in the state constitution and introducing some scope of Fundamental Rights. These changes allowed the freedom of thought and expression and some scope of redressal of grievance of the citizens at the unassailable and incorruptible Highest Court of Authority in the country. It also allowed the Election Commission to protect the free and fair rights of the citizens at the polls. This by all means was a progressive step

which the orthodox Muslim leadership and some regional parties have been calling as the dilution of the autonomy of the state. These very elements whose slogan is "back to the position of 1953" are opposed to any scope of Fundamental Rights to its citizens and, in the name of more freedom and autonomy, shall like to create an Islamic State.

The secessionists are for "Nizam-e-Mustafa". The Muslim youth who have taken to gun are on a war-path to throw off the shackles of 'Indian domination'. They are righting a holy war to free themselves from the secular bondage of India. They are against India not because as alleged that they are unemployed, or that they are poor, or that India did not place unlimited funds at the disposal of the State Govt., it is not denial of Fundamental Rights that has driven them to such a pass according to the Islamic canons, there are rights as are allowed to Musalmans only in keeping with the Muslim law, what is fundamental to the secular modern state in terms of rights and duties is Paganism and the law of Infidels in Islam - but it is to seek "Azadi" from such law and Rule of Law that the Kashmiri terrorists are fighting for.

As for the functioning of the para military forces, one must bear in mind that they are discharging their duties in absolutely hostile conditions, where they are not sure about their life even for the next moment. The local administration is against them. The instances of the involvement of the local police and intelligence with the terrorists is not an exception. The local politicians are out and out to denigrate and demoralize them. And the Pak ISI is meticulously conducting the whole campaign against India, both from inside and outside the state, from Pakistani soil and from the capital of India.

The only patriot and the link in this letter of accession of the Valley of Kashmir with India has been Kashmiri Pandit. He is the real son of the soil. It is he who has been making positive contribution to both pre-independence and post-independence political history of the state. The enactment of State Subject provision during Maharaja's time has been due to the struggle of Kashmiri Pandits. The National Conference politics cannot ignore the role of scores of secular and progressive Kashmiri Pandits. Without Kashmiri Pandits National Conference would have continued to remain Muslim Conference.

It is a misnomer to say that Kashmiri Pandit has been hounded out from his native land today only; in fact, ever since Independence and even centuries before that he has been suffering persecution at the hands of the majority community and their fundamentalist leadership. In the recent past, that is after 1947 and prior to the present mass exodus, more than 2.5 lacs of Kashmiri Pandits have been forced to bid farewell to their homeland and find settlements in different parts of India and foreign countries. If all those Kashmiri Pandit State Subjects who at present are away from Kashmir are put together and called back to the Valley, they shall form a sizeable proportion, over five lacs in number. They would automatically gain a political clout which is being constantly taken care of by the shrewd Muslims of the state by not releasing the thrust of persecution on him least he should become "a factor in the politics of the State". His population figures are a source of worry to the Muslims of the Valley and as such has always been manipulated in the census findings, otherwise how could a people numbering approx. 1.15 lacs in 1981 multiply at an amazing rate and become more than 2.5 lacs as revealed by the statistics after the exodus in a matter of nine years; nevertheless, the fact remaining that ever since Independence the number of Kashmiri Pandits in the Valley was always on decline due to a continuous but slow migration.

Kashmiri Pandit who is the true son of the soil and the real representative of the Kashmiri tradition and culture both original and the composite, is an enigma for the proponents of "Kashmiriyat". These proponents of Kashmiriat, who have succeeded in imposing a graft of characteristics essentially Islamic in content on the original culture of Kashmir, have always found themselves entirely puzzled and fumbling when dealing with the existence of Pandits. The very presence of the Pandit is a challenge to attempt a total Islamisation of the Valley and its cultural traditions that are fundamentally Hindu in essence and a distinct yet essential component of the larger Hindu ethos. Such endeavours at Islamisation are attempts to annihilate a Culture - a distinct way of life of the Paradise on this earth.

Kashmiri Pandits represent the cult of Shaivism which knows no bondage of orthodox Hinduism and casteism. His dress and diet tell him out from the Hindu Brahmins elsewhere. He is a Sarswat Brahmin, who is head and shoulder above the narrow notions of pollution and untouchability. He has a lust for knowledge and is a supporter of both formal and informal schooling. Though suffering from the ills of educated unemployment yet he does not give up his quest for education. This is his liability as well as an asset.

Even in the worst of it, when he is tossed down the plains by the present exodus, his gravest concern is the education of his children. He needs to be understood. He can take away nothing from a people, but instead has much to lend by way of his talent to know and let know. The only demerit he carries is that he does not have a political clout. He is envied for his intelligence.

This may be the halo woven round him for which he is some times abhorred. He shall have to strive to live. The patriotism that becomes his undoing may not stay as a virtue with him longer enough in the future course of history for he is callously penalised for it. He feels himself like Hangul a species in danger of extinction.

He is charged of having grabbed vantage positions in the services of the state. It is an absolute lie fabricated to create an awe against him. With almost 80% literacy, he should have been ruling the roost in absence of any competition worth the name. The community does not fill up more than 4% posts in the state services. Of about 2,10,000 employees of the state government he hardly counts for 8500 in number. Under all circumstances of unmanipulated numbers, as has been evident on account of exodus and the registration of families in Jammu and other places, his share in the state services should have been around 6%.

His vertical, as well as, horizontal movement in the services has been so restricted that he feels stifled. In the dissipation of Education and knowledge in the state his contribution ought to have been acknowledged. But this has been his undoing; those who learnt at his feet, have also learnt to trample him under their own.

The Committee for Initiative must learn that it is only in this country that they have been allowed to make their cause with the enemies of the country. Freedom has been misused by the terrorists & the Committee members alike.

The Initiative Committee's suggestions, as to the effect of removing Jagmohan, and punishing some security personnel for their excesses and lifting of curfew in the Valley, have been implemented without improving the situation as envisaged; instead, it has proved counter productive.

The whole bureaucracy & 1,37,000 employees of the state services are siding with the cause of the terrorists. In fact it is proved beyond doubt that employees of the state and its bureaucrats are spearheading the struggle for "Azadi".

As far as the suggestion of the Independent Initiative Group regarding withdrawal of security forces and initiation of a political process, they seem to be one with vested interests who have been responsible for the present state of affairs in the Valley. The Initiative Group could not in a short period of 4 days grasp the totality of the scenario with its subtleties. Their attempt appears to be a play with expediency, which often ends up in a fiasco. Their claim to have moved from place to place between the short intervals of curfew hours, and contacted vast majority of people & also Kashmiri Pandits in presence of terrorists as to know their cause of flight from the Valley, they have nothing but bungled. After all, did they ever expect frightened Kashmiri Pandits living precariously between life and death to afford to educate them on the inhuman & barbaric treatment meted out to them at the hands of the terrorist fundamentalists as infidels. All stories of Kashmiri Pandits, fleeing for their lives to various parts of the country, are true. The method employed by the terrorist outfits to hound out Kashmiri Pandits from the Valley of his birth did not follow a homogenous path. The heterogeneity of the devices used to this end of driving out the original aborigines from his native land, leaving behind everything, bears ISI stamp. It was so ingenious that one could not locate a systematic design behind it, which would bring discredit to "Jehad" at the outset and its overtones would appear

communal which was likely to invoke international condemnation and at the same time invite an organised crackdown at the very inception of the movement for "Azadi". Besides, this confusing methodology served as campaign of disinformation among the intellectuals who instead of maligning the terrorist militants through their writings, felt, not so very hostile to them. That is why the oft repeated enquiry caught the headline "why did Kashmiri Pandits leave the Valley? What made the Pandit leave their home and hearth behind?" Had Jagmohan planned to ask them to leave? But by and by as the different stories caught the imagination of the people and the horrowing tales of conversion, killings, torture and uncivilized tyranny, abduction, strangulation, hangings and gangrapes and mutilation of live bodies were brought to light the clouds of disinformation against Kashmiri Pandit picked up thinning. Everything appeared to this miniscule community gloomy, dark and frustrating. The plight of the members was worsened by the callous attitude of all political parties save BJP. Their getting subjected to tortuous hot climate of Jammu & Plains added to their woes. They suffered sunstrokes, viral infections, snake bites, under the open sky and scorching sun as refugees, but resisted all attempts to return to the Valley. For fear of death at that end made them to scoff off the pressures to hound them back into the trap of death and ayony. The warnings of mullahs, through the loudspeakers -fitted on top of the domes of the mosques did not die for them even now. It was a horrifying atmosphere to be in, where, ("Infidels" in Islam had no place to survive) like sermons were poured out and horrify the Hindu minority. It is an experience which only those people can feel who had undergone such a trauma.

The cruel killings of minority community by one's or two's every day under the pretext that they were informers could not but frighten the community deeply to take to its heels. Parents, in far flung villages, when mooted a proposal to wed their daughters to suitable Muslim youth felt shuddered and fled for life and honour during the cold dark nights of January & February 1990 by whichever vehicle they could get a lift. Others took the guts and hired trucks, to carry their necessary luggage with, at exorbitant rates of fares.

The cruel killings by Pak trained militants paled the barbaric and tortuous killings of Jews by Nazis, into insignificance. They sprayed bullets from their AK- 47s on a minority community victim to their hearts fill. They enjoyed the torture deaths by causing cigarette bit burns on the naked bodies of a Pandit victim abducted from his home, office or a village. They teased him by pouring boiling wax on the soft skinned parts of his body. As they never felt satiated in meting out the punishment to a Kafir, they hanged him by nearest tree at a crossing or inflicted cuts on his body & watched him bleed to death.

In certain case they gang raped a young Pandit lady & then like sex maniacs did her to death by ripping open her body with a sharp edged knife. Yet in other case they halved a young Pandit girl into two with a saw. The nailing of bodies to death after effecting hollowing of eyes & cutting the tongue lips or ripping open the belly to let the intestines fall out - tells a horrifying tale.

Since this booklet is limited in scope, it is not possible for us here to present the documentation carrying uptodate lists and photographs of the victims and other agonising details & horrifying tales of unbridled persecution & torture done to Pandits individually as well as collectively by the gun-wielders of the so-called "Azadi" Movement. Such a documented information is separately available & its perusal will be rewarding in providing clear picture of truth, though it will cause a shudder down the spine of the reader.

Most often your Muslim friend or a neighbour would not let you know what was brewing up against you in the neighbourhood mosque. They would keep you in good humour till the time of the execution of action by terrorists. That time none of them could come to help you of their clutches. These are not the imaginary versions of exaggerated accounts, but the true happenings of heartrending nature. It is a depiction of sadist fundamentalist philosophy in operation, fighting a holy war to liberate them from Indian Union & its infidel traces of whatever kind . It is an alien operation in fully cry, there is nothing to be alienated. Alienation of people, is a term used by the cunning and the corrupt, when highlighting the excesses of the security forces in the Valley. It is an expression of fake

concern for the people and country when they know that secessionist fundamentalist terrorists have a cause to fight for, they want "Azadi" and the masses back them up by choosing to suffer for this holy cause. Therefore, what is to be alienated? It is a simple and straight matter of intolerance of other creeds and faiths by Musalmans. After all how does one interpret the essence of Jihad? What is the Jihad against? Ultimate struggle is directed towards the establishment of Nizam-e-Mustafa, where all other faiths are relegated to the position of subjugation.

The article "Kashmir - a deeprooted alienation" by N.Y. Dole in Economic And Political Weekly of May 5-12, 1990 while explaining the Who Betrayed Whom!. And who created the present ugly situation, Mr. Dole seems to be at pains to dish out the version of Kashmiri Muslims that Kashmiri Pandits have monopolized the state government as well as the Central services in the state. This myth or a wanton disinformation against the Kashmiri Pandits need to be exploded so as to let the facts speak for themselves.

Kashmiri Pandit has been quietly suffering for all these 42 years. The share of Kashmiri Pandits in the state services for an approximate figure of 8500, while that the Muslims in the state services - number more than 137000 & the rest constitute the share of Jammu & Ladakh put together.

Muslims in the state services occupy the most important posts. In order to push up Muslims to higher posts, there have been thousands of supercessions which have been fought out in the High Court of the State and also in the Supreme Court of the Country. The famous suits against the state of Trilok Nath Y/s Jammu & Kashmir State, Sh. M.L. Waza V/s State and many others testify the process of elimination of Kashmiri Pandits from the state services.

The state sought to create a state administrative cadre of its own by conferring IAS on in-service employees of the state at a rate of 50% of the available vacancies. It also sought to confer IPS on the in-service police cadre in the same proportion of the vacancies available as in case of administrative services. Thus the state created a strong Muslim bureaucracy with a very thin number from Jammu & Ladakh divisions of the state. There is hardly any instance where one could say Kashmiri Pandit too availed of this favour. Instead a couple of them in the IAS cadre have earned it in the open competition by dint of sweat of their brow. That is how granting of such concessions to the state has landed the state administration paralysed in the recent employees strike.

Pandits in the state service account for around 4% in total, when their share ought to have been in the vicinity of about 6% by the number revealed by the figures available after the exodus at an average of five members a family.

The Pandits have 80% literacy rate compared to 26.67% of the state according to the census figures of 1981. They should have been far exceeding their number in the state services on the strength of their literacy rate; but they have been denied this right by the communal policies being pursued by the Govt. in the recruitments. Or else, it could not happen that Kashmiri Pandits would meet a failure at the tests and interviews held for entrance into services and professional colleges and trainings with all the merits to his credit as against it he gets an easy pass at the all India competition for the same. That is how the Central Offices account for 3000 employees from among the Kashmiri Pandit community. It is the second grouse the Muslims of the state harbour against them. They press for stopping even this channel of seeking employment for them and have been asking to open the doors in the Central services for Muslims of the state with liberalised rules and regulations to fill up the vacancies. The Muslims who have found their way into the Central services like the Ordinance Deptt. of the Defence, Election offices, UPSC, Financial Institutions, AG's Deptt., CPWD, Postal Services, Doordarshan and AIR, Central Excise and Income Tax offices, put together make a far far greater proportion than the miniscule community of Kashmiri Pandits. If a high level commission is instituted to investigate into the disinformation campaign against the Pandits the findings thereby shall bear out the extent of their exploitation.

In one of his articles in a local daily "Daily Excelsior" Aug'90, Mr. Hari Om puts forth the following table showing the dominance of the Muslim community in the state policy and administration:

S. NO.	INDICATOR	KASHMIR	JAMMU	OTHERS
1.	Chief Ministers	6	0	0
2.	President of Political Party:			
	National Conference	All	None	None
	Cong/Cong-I	All	None	None
	Janata Dal	All but one	One	None
3.	Secretaries / Comm.	15	5	0
4.	Employees in Secretariat	90%	10%	0
5.	Employees in Kashmir Division	98%	2%	0
6.	Employees in Jammu Division	40%	60%	0

There has been an undue political weightage in favour of Kashmir since 1951 its elf. A constituency in Kashmir was carved out on an average population of 50,000 while the same was carved out for a population of 85,000 in Jammu region.

The delimitation of constituencies in Kashmiri Pandit dominated areas was done so as to eliminate any edge to them to effect the election of a candidate of their choice. The N.C. or Congress-I never allowed Pandits to have a legislative member of their choosing, though these parties put up a Pandit Candidate from some different constituency, he bore no representation of the community in the legislative assembly of the state.

The political weightage favouring the Valley Muslim ensured a chief minister from Kashmir division. Even a Muslim from Jammu region has not been allowed a right to this position of state politics. The legislative strength of the three regions represents the following order: -

1.	Kashmir-division	42 seats
2.	Jammu-division	31 seats
3.	Leh & Kargil	2 seats
	T O T A L	75 seats

The Valley enjoyed overall edge over the other two divisions of the state (Jammu & Ladakh) in respect of Agriculture, Industry & Administration.

The Govt. services are not enough to depict the comparative share in employment of various communities in the state. The figures furnished by Saif-ud-din Soz, Member of Parliament from Baramulla Kashmir, to the Independent Initiative Group to highlight the so-called discontent among the unemployed youth of Kashmir, even if one were to trust these figures, in the overall context, do not suggest that Muslims have been given a raw deal. The Kashmiri Muslim enjoys a far higher share in services when separated from the Muslim population of Jammu & Ladakh.

In the same way to hoodwink the discrimination done to Kashmiri Pandit sometimes they count him with the total Hindu Population of the state and at other times project him as a separate entity of Hindu population of Kashmir. It is what suits the majority community interests of the Valley. It is essentially a subtle game of protecting their interests in the long run. When viewed from this perspective condemnation of terrorism in Kashmir is avoided by Muslim majority leadership of the Valley. Instead this leadership has been doing everything to embolden the terrorists waging a civil war against India.

This leadership poses "secular" undercover of a secular nomenclature of a secular political party. But when it comes to brasstacks they function communally. It is their double standard that has baffled the leadership of all secular and progressive parties at a national level. How does it become that some of the kith and kin of such Muslim leadership from the Valley are in the vanguard of secessionists in action against India. No surprise, therefore, that this leadership has not a single word of sympathy for Kashmiri Pandit, in this hour of misfortune and misery.

This leadership with overall communal overtones is busy blowing the share of Kashmiri Pandits in central services out of proportion. They grouse his capabilities to seek these jobs in the teeth of tough competition.

For any student of politics & economics, employment is not confined to the limit of service jobs in the Government offices alone, for this constitutes a very small proportion of the population. The Muslims of the Valley enjoy 98% share in the employment of other sectors of its economy, like, agriculture, industry, trade, transport & communication and defence forces. In agriculture, "The Naya Kashmir" aimed at revolutionary land reforms and made the tiller the master of the land. The Muslim employment in agriculture accounts for more than 98% in the Valley and Kashmiri Pandits lost the ownership of the estates and constitutes less than 0.5% in the employment of this industry.

The Horticulture Industry has worked wonders. The total employment of majority community of the state in Kashmir accounts for 20 lakhs of persons on 4,80,000 holdings under orchards. The share of Kashmiri Hindu engaged in the industries is less than 1.5% of the total employment in the industry.

The Handloom Industry & Handicraft Industry provide employment to 10666 persons & 91941 persons in Kashmir Valley, respectively according to the census figures of the Handicrafts (1978-79). At the same time, handlooms industry in Jammu provides employment to only 5539 persons and the

handicrafts industry accounts for employment to 6049 persons only in Jammu. The share of Kashmiri Pandits in both these industries does not exceed even half a percent of the total industry.

The membership of the handlooms and handicrafts co- operative societies for 1985-86 works at 17776 in Kashmir region and 9199 in Jammu division.

The number of small scale industrial units, formally registered with the Directorate of Industries & Commerce, provides employment to 46293 persons in Kashmir division, while Jammu division accounts for 37333 persons and Ladakh for 23915 persons. Kashmiri Pandits share barely accounts for 1% of the total employment in the industry.

Registered Khadi and Village Industry provides a employment to 28110 persons and the share of Kashmiri Hindus is negligible to be referred to any consequences.

The Boat Industry provides employment to a sizeable chunk of population in the following order by the figures arrived at in 1985-86 referred in J&K Govt. Digest of Statistics 1985-86, issued by Directorate of Economics and Statistics:

S.No.	Indicator	No. of Boats	Persons employed
1.	House Boats	825	3300
2.	Passenger Boats	1152	2304
3.	Fishing Boats	480	960
4.	Luggage Boats	685	1037
5.	Passenger Dongas	275	825
6.	Taxi Shikaras	785	1570
	TOTAL	4202	9996

The total employment in boat industry does not have any share of Kashmiri Hindus at all.

The Hotel Industry in the state involves thousands of people and Kashmiri Pandit hardly figures anywhere therein.

The Road Transport Corporation of the State Govt. provides employment to 6434 persons, and Kashmiri Pandits do not account for even 1% in the same.

There is an acute shortage of manual labourers in the Valley for developmental and other construction purposes. Migratory labourers from Bihar, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa flow into the different parts of the Valley and find wages ranging from Rs.35 to Rs.70 per day. Due to short supply of labourers, the Handicrafts Centre, run by Govt. in the Valley, made provision for training candidates at boyhood age and offered incentives to allure them to come forth as apprentices. This amounted to exploitation of child labour - a crime punishable under law.

Following is a comparative study of the minimum wage rate approved by State PWD in the state:

S. No.	CATEGORY	WAGE RATE OF BUILDING CONSTRUCTION					
		1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1990
1.	MASON (IST CL)	35.00	37.50	41.00	50.00	52.50	80.00
2.	MASON (2ND CL)	32.50	N.A.	35.00	42.50	45.00	72.00
3.	CARPE (IST CL)	35.00	37.50	41.00	50.00	52.50	80.00
4.	CARPENTER2	32.50	N.A.	35.00	42.50	45.00	72.00
5.	UNSKILLED	14.00	16.50	18.75	22.50	24.00	32.00

One feels prompted, as a member of this endangered community, to put the record straight and marshal facts from the very Govt. sources to counter the disinformation campaign let loose by the Muslim vested interests against Kashmiri Pandit community to malign it. It is also, for this community, to take stock of the facts and decide for themselves how to survive. The plight of Kashmiri Pandit is his - he has been hounded out from his homeland, leaving behind his property worth crores of rupees. He has been living a subjugated second class citizen's life, compromising with his miseries; for he was aware of the non-chalance of his compatriots in the rest of the country. With no political clout and presence of vested interests all around, Kashmiri Pandit community must learn its own lessons, and decide whether to wait for the time to return to his homeland or get absorbed in the vistas of this vast country and let some other people hold the fort for secularism and patriotism in his native land of dreams. As of today, Paradise stands lost to this endangered species of mankind.

TABLE I: AREA OF THE STATE OF J&K SHOWN IN SQUARE KILOMETRES

INDICATOR	TOTAL AREA	UNDER CHINA/PAK	NET AREA LEFT
AREA OF THE STATE	2,22,236 Sq. Kms.		
AREA UNDER			
(i)POK		78,114 Sq.Kms.	
(ii)ILLEGALLY OCCUPIED BY CHINA		37,555 Sq.Kms.	
(iii)ILLEGALLY HANDED OVER BY PAK TO CHINA		5,180 Sq.Kms.	
NET AREA LEFT OF J&K STATE			1,01,387 Sq.Kms.

SOURCE:

1. DIGEST OF STATISTICS 1985-86
2. DIRECTORATE OF ECONOMICS & STATISTICS
3. DEPTT. OF PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

"J&K GOVERNMENT"

TABLE II: DISIRICT WISE AREA, POP.,& POP.%

DISTRICT	AREA	POPULATION	POPU.%age
ANANTNAG	3984	656351	10.9622241013
PULWAMA	1398	404078	6.74881822443
SRINAGAR	2228	708328	11.8303320529
BARAMLLLA	4588	670142	11.1925582252
BADGAM	1371	367262	6.13392582309
KUPWARA	2379	328743	5.49059030572
KASHMIR	15948	3134904	52.3584487328
JAMMU	3097	943395	15.7563672579
UDHAMPUR	4550	453636	7.57652459193
DODA	11691	425262	7.10262854142
KATHUA	2651	369123	6.16500781893
RAJOURI	2630	302500	5.05228572922
POONCH	1674	224197	3.74448695416
JAMMU	26293	2718113	45.3973008935
LEH	45110	68380	1.14206710136
KARGIL	14036	65992	1.1021832722
LADAKH	59146	134372	2.24425037357
TOTAL	101387	5987389	100

Table III: DISTRICTS AREA & POPULATION (DIVISION WISE)

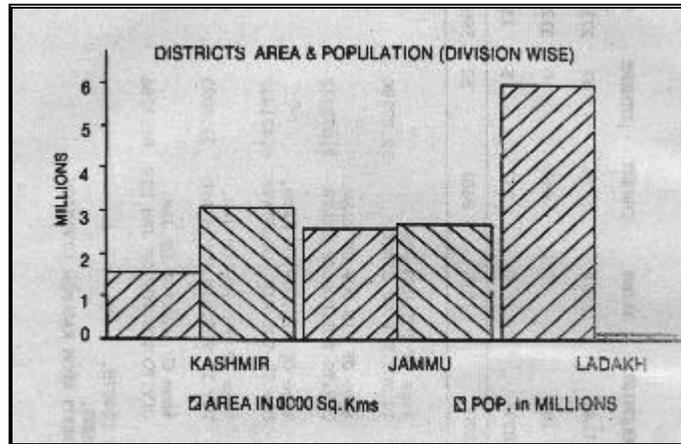


TABLE IV: POPULATION (RELIGION WISE) J&K 1981

REGION	HINDU	MUSLIM	SIKHS	BUDDHISTS	JAINS	CHRIST	OTHERS	TOTAL
JAMMU	1802832	804637	100164	1141	1514	7778	47	2718113
KASHMIR	124078	2976932	33117	189	62	466	0	3134904
LADAKH	5338	61882	334	68376	0	237	5	134372
TOTAL STATE	1932248	3843451	133615	69706	1576	8481	52	5987389

TABLE - V:

1.%age OF TOT MUS.POP. TO TOT.POP.OF STATE	64.19243	2.%age OF TOT.HIN.POP. TO TOT.POP.OF STATE	32.27196
%age OF MUS.POP.OF KASH. DIV.TO TOT.POP.OF STATE	49.72003	%age OF HIN.POP.OF KASH. DIV.TO TOT.POP.OF STATE	2.072322
%age OF MUS.POP.OF KASH. DIV.TO TOT.MUS.POP.STATE	77.45466	%age OF HIN.POP.OF KASH. DIV.TO TOT.HIN.POP.STATE	6.421432
%age OF MUS.POP.OF JAM. DIV.TO TOT.MUS.POP.STATE	13.43886	%age OF HIN.POP.OF JAM. DIV.TO TOT.HIN.POP.STATE	93.3023
%age OF MUS.POP.OF JAM DIV.TO TOT.POP.OF JAM.DIV	29.60277	%age OF HIN.POP.OF JAM DIV.TO TOT.POP.OF JAM DIV	66.3266

NOTE:

POP. FIGURES OF KASHMIRI HINDUS SHOWN ARE 124078. SAME WERE FOUND TO BE INCORRECT AFTER EXODUS. EXODUS FIG. SHOW ABOUT 250000 MIGRATED HINDUS FROM KASHMIR DIVISION.

TABLE VI: DISTRICT-WISE DETAILS OF DISPLACED FAMILIES REGISTERED - ENDING NOVEMBER 1990

DESCRIPTION	JAMMU	UDHAMPUR	KATHUA	RAJOURI	DODA	POONCH	TOTAL
NUMBER OF FAMILIES REGISTERED	46525	6358	478	28	360	1	53750
TOTAL STRENGTH	211785	27402	2012	94	1460	5	242758
NO.OF FAMILIES ACCOMMODATED							
(i) IN TENTS	5039	355	0	0	0	0	5394
(ii) IN BUILDINGS	1043	2234	138	0	9	0	3424
TOTAL	6082	2589	138	0	9	0	8818
NO. OF CAMPS ESTABLISHED	19	6	1	0	4	0	30
CASH ASSISTANCE PAID BY THE GOVT. FROM MAY TO NOV.1990	143371308	14002374	806062	91900	719645	0	158991289
NO.OF TOT GOVT.EMPLOYEES; (CENTRAL & STATE)	11771	1077	135	12	118	1	13114
NO.OF EMPLOYEES BELONGING TO BANKS, CORPORATIONS ETC.	888	47	0	0	0	0	935
NO. OF FAMILIES WITH ATLEAST ONE GOVT. EMPLOYEE	10720	892	114	12	109	1	11848
NO.OF STATE PENSIONER'S FMLY NOT RECEIVING CASH ASSISTANCE	146	24	0	3	0	0	173
NO.OF TENTS ISSUED -							

T.TILLOO	75					
MUTHI	259					
TRIKUTA NGR	5					
JHIDI	733					
MISTRIWALA	1053					
PURKHU	824					
NAGROTA	659					
INDIRA NAGAR		225				
UDHAMPUR		800				
DODA					50	
TOTAL	3608	1025			50	483
SOME MORE STATs. for JAMMU Distt.						
NO.OF F.P.SHOPS	= 9	KP FMLYs	35459	156042 MEMBERS		
NO OF DISPENSERIES	=26	SIKH FMLYs	8270	40916 MEMBERS		
NO OF SCHOOLS	= 6	MUSL.FMLYs	215	1068 MEMBERS		
NO. OF COLLEGES	= 3	OTHERS	1331	6666 MEMBERS		
		TOTAL	45275	204692 MEMBERS		

TABLE VIII: ROAD LENGTH IN KMS. MAINTAINED BY STATE PWD

S.No.	YEAR	SURFACED	UNSURFACED	TOTAL
1	1965-66	3046	1752	4798
2	1968-69	3801	1972	5773
3	1973-74	4867	2390	7257
4	1974-75	4775	2341	7116
5	1977-78	5510	2520	8030
6	1979-80	5387	2548	7935
7	1980-81	5624	2582	8206
8	1981-82	5882	2625	8507
9	1982-83	6898	2584	9482
10	1983-84	7282	2363	9645
11	1984-85	7557	2408	9965
12	1985-86	7808	2458	10266

NOTE: The data above excludes National Highways.

TABLE IX: CATEGORY-WISE/DISTRICT-WISE ROAD LENGTH MAINTAINED BY STATE PWD (LESS NATIONAL HIGHWAYS) IN Kms. AS 31.3.86

DISTRICT	BLACK TOPPED	METALED	SHINGLED	FAIR WEATHER	JEEPABLE	TOTAL	TOTAL DIVISION	NET AREA DIVISION (in Sq. Kms.)	ROAD DENSITY
ANANTNAG	466	160	340	178	51	1195			
BULWAMA	342	141	171	70	6	730			
BURINAGAR	585	152	105	43	8	893			
BADGAM	274	83	185	107	3	652			
BARAMULLA	448	281	429	84	0	1242			
BUPWARA	204	228	71	59	12	574			
TOTAL CASHMIR							5286	15948	0.3314
LEH	108	18	110	395	6	637			
LARGIL	86	42	48	300	18	494			
TOTAL LADAKH							1131	59146	0.0191
ANAMMU	974	40	153	171	4	1342			
BUDHAMPUR	228	65	67	201	20	581			
BATHUA	349	36	144	135	0	664			
BODDA	163	170	76	303	30	742			
BAJOURI	87	34	55	200	0	376			
BONCH	57	10	14	54	0	135			
TOTAL ANAMMU							3840	26293	0.1460

SOURCE:

1. Chief Engineer, R&B

2. Supdt. Engineer, Leh

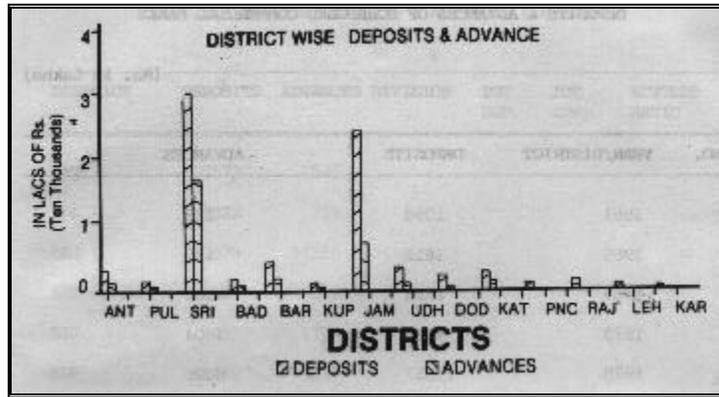
TABLE X: DISTRICT-WISE DEPOSITS & ADVANCES (IN LACS)

DISTRICT	DEPOSITS	ADVANCES	DIVISION	TOT DEP.	TOT ADV.	ADV/DEP RATIO
ANANTNAG	3573	1546				
PULWAMA	1822	758				
SRINAGAR	30679	17356				
BADGAM	1525	819				
BARAMULLA	4499	1770				
KUPWARA	1059	529				
			KASHMIR	43157	22778	0.5277938
JAMMU	24898	7594				
UDHAMPUR	3918	1051				
DODA	2281	644				
KATHUA	3054	1527				
POONCH	1066	123				
RAJOURI	1544	217				
			JAMMU	36761	11156	0.3034737
LEH	1089	133				
KARGIL	481	57				
			LADAKH	1570	190	0.1210191

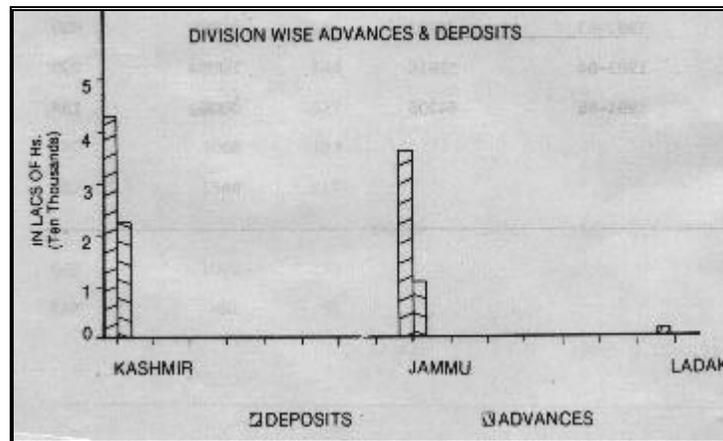
**TABLE X (Contd): DEPOSITS & ADVANCES OF SCHEDULED COMMERCIAL BANKS
(Rs. in Lakhs)**

S.NO.	YEAR/DISTRICT	DEPOSITS	ADVANCES
1	1961	1098	123
2	1965	1612	125
3	1968	2523	165
4	1973	7224	1804
5	1978	27857	8496
6	1980	37589	11554
7	1981-82	38543	19257
8	1982-83	45723	22340
9	1983-84	52816	24554
10	1984-85	64306	33282

TABLE XI: DISTRICTWISE DEPOSITS & ADVANCES



DIVISIONWISE ADVANCES & DEPOSITS



COMPARATIVE BIRTH/DEATH RATE

TABLE XII: ANNUAL DEATH RATE

YEAR	JAMMU & KASHMIR			NATIONAL		
	RURAL	URBAN	COMBINED	RURAL	URBAN	COMBINED
1970	8.5		7.87	17.3	10.2	
1971	11.7	4.98	7.19	16.4	9.7	15.7
1972	12	6	10.8	18.9	10.3	14.9
1973	11.1	6.5	10.3	17	9.6	16.9
1974	11.5	7.2	10.1	15.9	9.2	15.5
1975	14	4.8	12.7	17.3	10.2	15.9
1976	12.6	7.6	11.5	16.3	9.5	15
1977	12.3	7	11.3	16	9.4	14.7
1978	12.6	6.6	11.7	15.3	9.4	14.2
1979	10.3	7.6	9.3	14.1	8.1	13
1980	10.5	5.2	9.6	13.7	7.9	12.6
1981	9.7	5.6	9	13.7	7.8	12.5
1982	9.1	6	8.4	13.1	7.4	11.9

TABLE XIII: ANNUAL BIRTH RATE

YEAR	JAMMU & KASHMIR			NATIONAL		
	RURAL	URBAN	COMBINED	RURAL	URBAN	COMBINED
1970	22.9	20.89	21.95	38.9	29.7	36.8
1971	36	21	21.44	38.9	30.1	36.9
1972	34.1	22.4	31.7	38.4	30.5	36.6
1973	34.7	23.7	32.5	35.9	28.9	34.6
1974	32	19.4	29.5	35.9	28.4	34.5
1975	34.5	21.6	31.9	36.7	28.5	35.2
1976	34.6	21.7	32.1	35.8	28.4	34.4
1977	33.6	23.3	31.6	34.3	27.8	33
1978	33.7	24	31.8	34.7	27.8	33.3
1979	33.3	21.4	31.1	35.1	27.6	33.7
1980	33.5	21.4	31.3	35.1	27.8	33.7
1981	33.9	21.4	31.6	35.6	27	37.9
1982	33.2	22.8	20.7	35.5	27.6	33.8

SOURCE: DIGEST OF VITAL STATISTICS 1985-86

TABLES XIV & XV: DISTRICTWISE BIRTHS/DEATHS RECORDED

DISTRICT	BIRTHS						DEATHS					
	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	TOTAL	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	TOTAL
ANANTNAG	10596	8895	7614	8127	10625	45857	3910	4058	3862	3769	3345	18944
PULWAMA	5913	5244	4190	4680	4285	24312	2371	2178	2080	2283	2346	11258
SRINAGAR	10319	14524	16115	20692	18698	80348	2122	2947	2224	2597	4092	13982
BADGAM	3397	3264	3141	3291	3345	16438	1268	1210	1605	1596	1515	7194
BARAMULLA	8759	6929	6924	7431	9075	39118	3379	3256	3707	3435	3325	171102
KUPWARA	1578	1716	3033	2429	2545	11301	952	1278	1621	1344	1291	6486
TOTAL	40562	40572	41017	46650	48573	217374	14002	14927	15099	15024	15914	74966
LEH	536	370	391	495	427	2219	208	179	126	161	224	898
KARGIL	507	947	545	523	837	3359	285	526	328	211	368	1718
TOTAL	1043	1317	936	1018	1264	5578	493	705	454	372	592	2616
JAMMU	20691	10290	23037	21853	21154	97025	5400	5115	5418	5776	7170	28879
UDHAMPUR	13750	10851	11495	11998	11857	59951	3448	2223	3084	3821	3208	15784
KATHUA	10929	8869	8911	7794	8020	44523	2186	2454	2604	2996	2383	12623
DODA	9122	8324	7909	8172	7569	41096	2427	2150	2490	2425	2464	11956
POONCH	1610	2455	2439	2319	2160	10983	937	1166	943	1087	990	5123
RAJOURI	4978	4391	4004	4049	3608	21010	1631	1475	1056	1487	1165	6814
TOTAL	61080	45160	57795	56185	54368	274588	16029	14583	1559	17592	17380	81179

The Kashmir Series

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