

REPORT

on the Hearings on
Kashmiri Hindu Genocide, 1989-91



ICHRRF Team

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Contents

1. Introduction	4
2. The Select Committee	7
3. Background Narrative	8
3.1 First Hearing of its kind	8
3.2 Intentions behind terrorism and J&K state policy	8
3.3 Genocide-denial & rationalization	9
3.4 Identity politics of ' <i>Kashmiriyat</i> '	11
3.5 Role of neighbors, public professionals & civil society	12
3.6 Psychological dimensions & Recurring incidents.....	13
3.7 Transgenerational trauma.....	14
3.8 Role of religious centers in genocide	15
3.9 Silencing of dissenting and humane voices.....	16
3.10 Political theatrics	16
3.11 Kashmiri Hindu deaths in refugee camps.....	17
3.12 Pakistani involvement.....	17
3.13 Mirpur Massacre and discrimination against refugees under Article 370.....	17
3.14 Terrorism and internationalization: Chattisinghpura Massacre	18
3.15 Absence of vindictiveness in victims.....	19
3.16 Ongoing murders of Hindus in Kashmir	19
3.17 Demand for safe sanctuaries in Kashmir for indigenous minorities.....	20
3.18 Rise of genocide denial and obfuscation	21
3.19 Suppression of survivors' voices	21
3.20 Expressions of gratitude by survivors	21
3.21 Historical seven rounds of genocide	22
3.22 Confiscation of lands and properties of Kashmiri Hindus	22
3.23 Cultural genocide.....	23
3.24 Manipulative Politics.....	23
3.25 Demographic changes in the Ladakh region	24
3.26 Inaction by the international community	25
3.26.1 Definition of Genocide	26
3.27 Indigenous Hindus and Islamic colonialism in Kashmir.....	27
3.28 British Empire and the roots of Islamic separatism	27
3.29 Principal demands of Kashmiri Hindus.....	29

4. Testimonies	31
4.2 Testimony of Mr. Raj Koul	32
4.3 Testimony of Ms. Anjali Raina	35
4.4 Testimony of Ms. Swapna Wali Raina	40
4.5 Testimony of Mr. Ravinder Pandita	47
4.6 Testimony of Mr. Sanjay Kaul	52
4.7 Testimony of Mr. Himanshu Ganjoo	55
4.8 Testimony of Ms. Sunita Ticku	57
4.9 Testimony of Mr. Vikas Raina	62
4.10 Testimony of Dr. Mohan Sapru	68
4.11 Testimony of Mr. Aditya Raj Kaul	70
4.12 Testimony of Mr. Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo	76
4.13 Testimony of Ms. Geetika Atri Mohan	79
5. Findings	80
6. Recommendations and Directives	84
Annexure 1: The seven genocides of Hindus in Kashmir	86
First Exodus under Sikander Butshikan	86
Second Exodus under Shah-II	86
Third Exodus under Mughals.....	86
Fourth Exodus under the Pashtun Durranis.....	87
Fifth Exodus under the British.....	88
Sixth Exodus during British-supported Partition.....	89
Seventh Exodus in wake of modern Islamic Fundamentalism.....	89
Annexure 2: The historical role of Sufism in violent demographic change in Kashmir	90
Foreign Immigrants – ‘Swords and Sufis’ Policy	90
Not Syncretic - Cultural Annihilation and Misappropriation	90
Tarnishing Indigenous Hindu-Buddhist Culture and Society	92
Annexure 3: Executive Summary	93

1. Introduction

- 1.1 The International Commission for Human Rights and Religious Freedom ('the Commission') undertook an inquiry ('the Inquiry') into the historical and current patterns of internationally sponsored persecution, genocide, and ethnic cleansing of non-Muslim minorities in Jammu & Kashmir, comprising in particular that area's Hindu, Buddhist and Sikh religious minorities.
- 1.2 The evidence of publicly available statistics of forced exodus and vanishing demographics of Kashmir's minorities combined with a regular stream of reports in international media of Islamic terrorism, separatism, support for and from Islamic supremacist ideological nation-states like Pakistan and Iran, and support for international terrorism and a transnational Islamic Caliphate in the form of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) in Jammu & Kashmir was *prima facie* reason for the Inquiry. The Inquiry commenced after the Commission received several complaints by long-time Kashmiri Hindu community leaders based in India and the United States, as well as academics who have been keeping watch on global Islamic terror.
- 1.3 The Commission conducted its own study of the history of Kashmiri society, from the time of the introduction of Muslim political interlocutors, to its colonization by Islamic empires in the 13th century CE, the 6 previous rounds of genocide and ethnic cleansing prior to the last round in the 1990's, its society when Hindu rulership was restored, its role in the Partition of India and the creation of Pakistan by the colonial British Empire in 1947, the Pakistani invasion of Jammu & Kashmir shortly thereafter, Pakistan-sponsored post-Partition violence, granting of special status and privileges by the Government of India, and despite that continuing Islamic terrorism, waves of further forced Islamization of the region and its culture. The Commission requested various activists, victims, survivors, and academics to share their own resources to augment its own research.

- 1.4 In the aftermath of the modification of Article 370 and abrogation of article 35 A of the Indian Constitution on August 5, 2019, by the Indian Parliament, the Commission received complaints from a section of Human Rights observers and Kashmiri Hindu community leaders about the false narrative and propaganda around this historic development that was being peddled by Western-oriented and especially US-based Human Rights groups along with fundamentalist individuals and prejudiced organizations affiliated with Islamist ideology.
- 1.5 The Commission also noted the long-standing complaint of Kashmiri Hindus that their story has never been told in its unvarnished horror by the Indian media, Indian artists, Indian Human Rights bodies, and much less so by international bodies. Furthermore, a false and biased narrative that justified, rationalized, or magnified the rhetoric of Islamist terrorists in the Kashmir Valley has consistently found expression in Indian and international media and the entertainment industry. It was determined that this lacuna should be addressed in the interest of truth and justice. It is the belief of the Commission that shining the light on the active role of various responsible parties and confronting the malignant, religiously inspired hatred behind genocidal ideologies is essential to defanging the ever-looming specter of religious warfare globally.
- 1.6 Lastly, the Commission also received information about the continuing deprivation and neglect faced by exiled Kashmiri Hindus and Sikhs who still inhabit refugee camps in India and have neither been rehabilitated in their original homes in the Kashmir valley, nor given adequate financial and other assistance by government agencies or international Non-Government Organizations. Therefore, a comprehensive and public Hearing ('the Hearing') was conducted to document the genocide and ethnic cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus in their own voice, supported by verifiable public evidence, as well as to draw attention to the continuing neglect of the plight of these refugees (a.k.a. internally displaced people) awaiting resettlement.

- 1.7 [The Hearings](#)¹ were held by the Commission on March 27, 2022, and its virtual venue was organized via online conferencing software. All participants testified under oath. This virtual venue facilitated the participation of several prominent personalities situated at various locations in India and the US, during the still fluctuating phases of the COVID-19 pandemic. The aim was to assess the long-term patterns of internationally sponsored violence on Jammu & Kashmir's religious and ethnic minorities, the steps being taken to protect them and seek clarity on what would constitute just restitution.
- 1.8 Following the Hearings, the Commission unanimously issued a [Press Release](#)² later the same day, March 27, 2022, officially recognizing the events of 1989-91 and the following years as a genocide and ethnic cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus and Sikhs, when wanton killings started and over 400,000 Kashmiri Hindus alone were forced out of their historical homeland into exile by Pakistan-supported Islamic terrorists, effectively reducing their presence in the Kashmir Valley to a vanishingly small number.
- 1.9 This document constitutes the Commission's final report ('the Report') which includes the assessment of the Inquiry, evidence gathered, as well as the Commission's findings and directives.

¹ URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uyy7yadFgfw>

² URL: https://www.ichrrf.org/home/publications-media/pr_03-27-2022

2. The Select Committee

2.1 Professor Ved P. Nanda, Chairperson

2.2 Professor Dr. Yashwant Pathak, Vice-Chair

2.3 Dr. Adityanjee, Member

Special Rapporteur:

Mr. Carl Clemens

3. Background Narrative

The following is a summarization of the documented data and eye-witness statements submitted by victims and survivors who testified on oath as witnesses before the Select Hearing Committee.

3.1 First Hearing of its kind

April is commemorated as genocide avoidance month. Many other genocides have been recognized but not the Kashmiri Hindu genocide. This hearing conducted by the ICHRRF represents the first time the Kashmiri Hindus have been given a voice. Here, indigenous Kashmiris are speaking for themselves after over two decades of trying in vain to have their stories told. Backed by evidence and documentation, their testimonies under oath reveal the true horror of the terror that has descended upon Jammu & Kashmir. Rather than third party hearsay, many firsthand accounts were provided, and all testimonials provided were sworn to under oath. The evidence is compelling, and a wakeup call to fair-minded, rational and civilized people worldwide.

3.2 Intentions behind terrorism and J&K state policy

As there were many witnesses, survivors directly targeted by the same coordinated assaults, their testimonies reflect similar experiences. Though personal details differ, as the targeted victims of the same methodologies focused upon their ethnic cleansing and genocide, an obvious pattern has emerged.

Along with the violence and killings, many Hindu temples were attacked. These were not fringe elements: Islamic places of congregational worship, the mosques (*masjids*), became rallying points for the perpetrators. Islamic clerics (*mullas*) issued calls to cleanse Kashmir of Hindus and to merge Kashmir into Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Along with prayers the mosques blared Jihadi slogans (*Nara-e-Takbir Allahu Akbar* – “the slogan proclaiming greatness – Allah is Greater (than all)!”) and issued clarion calls in Kashmiri language for the Hindus to ‘*Raliv Galiv ya Chaliv*’ (“convert, leave or die”). Sadly, this was

not the first or last time that Islamic holy places served as epicenters for the destruction and desecration of non-Muslim holy places and murder of non-Muslim people.

Throughout Kashmir the same slogans - "Hindu men get out of Kashmir! Leave behind your women and property!" - vitiated the atmosphere. The same phrases were repeated through loudspeakers attached to the mosques that normally issue the Islamic call to prayer. These phrases were chanted at street rallies, printed in local news media and on posters that were plastered throughout the area and on the houses of targeted Kashmiri Hindus. This serves as a verification that, rather than the random acts of a few radicals, the entire effort was an organized, orchestrated, and intentional religious Islamic campaign of ethnic cleansing.

3.3 Genocide-denial & rationalization

As in the 1994 Rwanda genocide, local Kashmiri media was complicit in the crimes against humanity. Similarly, a weaponized media campaign was carried out at the ground level as well. Starting in January 1990, Muslim-owned Urdu and Keshur newspapers throughout the region began publishing ultimatums that the Kashmiri Hindus must leave or face murder.

The language used in local public media was almost verbatim with threats on posters, graffiti and handwritten notes placed on doors to Hindu-owned business and Hindu homes, as well as slogans broadcast from mosque loudspeakers and during marches against "Hindu traitors".

In addition to local Urdu media in Kashmir, certain sections of Indian national media also sought to rationalize the campaign of hate and ethnic cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus. They used an academic Marxist narrative to do so, claiming that this was a class struggle of Muslim masses against an allegedly privileged Kashmiri Hindu community (since the region of Jammu & Kashmir was last ruled by the Hindu Dogra royal dynasty before it joined the Republic of India in October 1947). On examination, this is a specious rationalization for three reasons: One, the violent persecution and ethnic cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus has been going on for centuries when the ruling elite was Muslim (see Annexure 1). Two, a majority of Kashmiri Hindus were not economically or politically

privileged in any way and belonged to the middle class, and some were quite poor. Three, for decades preceding the ethnic cleansing, the privileged section of Kashmiri Hindus had already been utterly stripped of the lands they once owned under a state law that gave land back to the tiller, without any compensation to the owners or reconciliation between the two classes (see section 3.20). Furthermore, under similar laws and a general unwritten state campaign, admissions to educational institutions and government posts had become highly discriminatory against Kashmiri Hindus, with many being told that Kashmir was for Muslims and had a 'special status' under the Indian Constitution, wherein Hindus could go search for opportunities in the rest of India. Thus, the rationalization of the genocide and ethnic cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus within a section of Indian media also appears to be irresponsible and likely part of the coordinated hate campaign against them.

Internationally, prejudiced Western media like BBC news gave a platform to Yasin Malik, one of the prime instigators of these murders and a self-confessed killer of several high-profile murders of Hindus. In an example of brazenness that was confident of international support, rather than denying his role, Malik boasted about the killing of the elderly Hindu grandfather on BBC news. While he has been glorified and his heinous crimes depicted as activism, thousands of his victims, i.e., the Kashmiri Hindus, remain in refugee camps. Completely ignored by the morally blind world at large, including by many leading Human Rights organizations and international bodies such as the United Nations, as well as the governments of liberal democracies.

Furthermore, the film industry in India, particularly the Hindi-Urdu film industry (often called 'Bollywood' in English), has played a major role in white-washing the image of Islamic terrorism in Kashmir, during and after the 1989-90 genocide and ethnic cleansing. For instance, they have frequently offered the deceptive narrative that Muslims become terrorists due to having encountered humiliating body searches or abuse by security forces at checkpoints. Yet, it is noteworthy that despite frequent ritual humiliation and actual violence at the hands of Muslims, no Hindu Kashmiri has retaliated with terrorism against Muslims.

Media and academicians deny the reality of the Kashmiri Hindu genocide, yet it is undeniable to any honest researcher. The legal testimonies presented here represent the mere tip of the iceberg. There are, in fact, thousands of such Kashmiri Hindu victims.

3.4 Identity politics of '*Kashmiriyat*'

In the years preceding the genocide and ethnic cleansing, there was much talk of '*Kashmiriyat*' ('Kashmiri-ness')– a putative celebration of the ethnic brotherhood of all Kashmiris in a syncretic Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist and Sikh culture. Kashmiri Hindus in particular were deceptively lulled into complacency by placing their security in the hands of Muslim leaders and surrounding Muslim-dominated neighborhoods on the basis of faith in the Hindu-Muslim Kashmiriyat subculture. They enthusiastically celebrated ethnic Kashmiriyat with joy and pride, but it was not at odds with their pride in a larger multiethnic Indian civilizational identity. This is typical of **polycentric identity formation** at the intersection of a plural set of identity categories.

On the other hand, it appears that for Kashmiri Muslims, Kashmiriyat became a byword for separateness from the rest of Indian civilization and the Indian nation-state. Those who subscribed to multicultural and pluralistic Indian identity began to be seen as traitors. Alleged racial differences with the rest of India were emphasized, and the indigenous Hindu culture ignored or diminished, and the contribution of Middle Eastern Islamic colonialism in Kashmir was magnified, whitewashed, and depicted as wholly the result of an allegedly benign and incidentally violent Sufi campaign against an “ostensibly oppressive” caste-bound Hinduism. See section 3.21 for the continuing cultural Islamization of Kashmir. See Annexure 2 for the historical role of Sufism in violent demographic change in Kashmir.

Call for Kashmiriyat soon devolved into a campaign of forced Islamization and portrayal of Hindus loyal to India as 'traitors' to Kashmiriyat. One witness was only five years old at the time of his parent's murder. Raised by his grandmother, he was unaware of what really happened to his parents until much later. In his innocence as a child, he would often repeat the anti-Hindu slogans reverberating around him by his own Muslim playmates.

This orchestrated campaign of Hinduphobia was so all encompassing that even Hindu children were being groomed into parroting slogans calling for their own destruction.

3.5 Role of neighbors, public professionals & civil society

Due to the atmospherics of a shared Kashmiriyat, despite the organized campaign of threats, many Kashmiri Hindus naively placed their trust in the friendship and common decency of their Muslim neighbors and society at large. They dismissed the campaign as the orchestration of political elites and foreign-sponsored Islamists. However, the targeted murders that followed all point to the foreknowledge, complete participation and total complicity of Kashmiri Muslim society and even immediate neighbors. The expectation of Kashmiri Hindus that Muslim neighbors and those who shared in their common civil society would not betray them appears in retrospect to be wishful thinking. The following instance highlights this pattern:

June 8, 1990: Terrorists showed up at the door of a Kashmiri Hindu family. This was the home of one of Jammu & Kashmir's most prominent legal advocates. In an evidently well thought out ploy, the terrorists soothed the concern of the family by swearing upon the Quran. Promising that they only wanted to talk, the father, beguiled by their show of sincerity, went along with them. However, he never returned. The next morning his body was found hanging, publicly displayed as a warning to the Hindu community: Convert, Leave or Die (*'Raliv Galiv ya Chaliv'*)!

Even though calls for the removal of the Kashmiri Hindus had been ongoing since January 1990, the witness' father had been confident in the friendship of Kashmiri Muslim neighbors and leaders of society. He, therefore, refused to leave, staying behind very certain that things would settle down soon enough. Yet on June 8, 1990, he was brutally murdered by his own fellow Kashmiri Muslims.

Testimonies bear out that most Kashmiri Hindu victims of genocide were betrayed by their own neighbors, clients, co-workers, employees, and associates of Islamic faith. These betrayals went beyond being the acts of neighbors and acquaintances. One Kashmiri Hindu victim who served as Deputy Director of Information was gunned down in his own

vehicle. As he sat down, he was shot dead. The driver was often tardy, yet despite being his boss, the victim had frequently covered for him. Yet this same driver was complicit and had allowed the terrorists to sit in wait for their victim. As he trustingly entered the vehicle, he was shot dead by the terrorists from the back seat.

His family members rushed him to SMHS hospital. Yet to their dismay, upon realizing the patient was a Hindu, the Muslim doctors (despite having taken the Hippocrates Oath) refused to treat him, and he finally succumbed to the gunshot wounds. Yet another victim that would have most likely survived was lost owing to refusal to provide care. Several Muslim public professionals, particularly doctors and police personnel, were actively complicit due to ideological sympathies, or failed to offer any resistance in their professional duty against terrorists.

In another example of a very personal and deadly betrayal, a young Kashmiri Hindu was murdered by his friend of many years. Many times, he would give this friend a lift on his motorcycle, and they apparently bonded over the years. Yet their bond of friendship over the years was shattered by the malignant indoctrination of religious hatred; a vision that identifies the Kashmiri Hindus as the 'other', the 'unbeliever' and a traitor to the ethnicity as Islam defines it.

Nor was this general Muslim complicity in genocide and ethnic cleansing a temporary outburst in a fit of religious frenzy. It has continued over the years, and decades later, when the terrorist **Bitta Karate** was released from prison on a legal technicality, he received a hero's welcome by hundreds of thousands of ordinary Kashmiri Muslims for his self-confessed role in murdering Kashmiri Hindus.

3.6 Psychological dimensions & Recurring incidents

A point to note is that the targeted killings of Kashmiri Hindus were not clinical political assassinations. These killings reveal a dark psychological side to the individual and social malaise that inflicts Kashmiri Muslim society. The perpetrators took their time to toy sadistically with their victims and victims' families before putting them out of their misery. It was meant to humiliate their Hindu victims and demonstrate that their most fervent entreaties fall on deaf ears on earth and in heaven.

This stems from a fundamentalist religious narrative that uses material outcomes of power and security to compare the power of one's own God with the Gods of other religions. It is also based on a widespread belief in the spiritual merit of becoming a "*ghazi*" by personally participating in the slaughter of infidels (*kafirs*), whether they are armed or unarmed.

Sadistic torture of Kashmiri Hindus included strangulation by using steel wires, branding with red hot irons, draining of blood while still alive (like Islamic ritual of Halal animal slaughter), slicing of body parts, gouging of eyes before assassination, breaking of limbs, indiscriminate slaughter, hanging, dragging to death, dismemberment of the body, drowning alive, burning alive and impaling.

Witnesses also testified that the terrorists often compounded their misery and torment by demanding that the relatives of their intended victims weep and wail and pray for mercy, sadistically offering a ray of hope that such actions would save their loved ones from death, they reveled in the suffering and then murdered them anyway.

The following instance was typical of targeted murders of Kashmiri Hindus: Ashwini Ghariyali was killed. Five Muslim assailants each took turns and shot him five times in the stomach and left him for dead. His family ran to the police for support and assistance with transport to medical facilities, yet they were laughed at dismissively. There's no doubt that if the authorities had helped Ashwini, he would have survived. Thus, his death was a direct result of both terrorism and police refusal to assist.

3.7 Transgenerational trauma

The survivors, many of them children at the time, experienced much trauma to this very day and still manifest and relive classic symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). This PTSD has led to ongoing hospital visits and decades of required psychotropic medications, counseling, and rehabilitative therapy. After witnessing their relatives being kidnapped in broad daylight, murdered, and raped, their bodies desecrated and the denial of last rites, compounded by their eventual ethnic cleansing, Kashmiri Hindus continue to suffer and relive serious trauma and intrusive symptoms.

The suddenness with which the Muslims turned upon their Hindu neighbors has created a deep sense of emotional betrayal and instability for the victims. The witnesses repeatedly confirmed that none truly believed or expected any danger living among the majority Muslim community. In one case, local Muslims that took one witness' father. After brutally torturing him with barbed wire they hung his dead body up high for all to see and attached a note warning of the same brutal treatment for anyone that touched or removed the body. Hindu relatives were denied from performing the last religious rites on pain of death. The impact of these traumatic experiences continues to this day.

3.8 Role of religious centers in genocide

As mentioned in section 3.2, the organized campaign to convert or ethnically cleanse Kashmiri Hindus was not orchestrated by fringe elements but was broadcast from the mosques and Muslim-owned local media. Kashmiri Hindu witnesses repeatedly noted the rising majoritarian Islamic supremacist rhetoric from these social, religious and media centers.

Ultimatums to Hindus and direct calls to action by Muslims issued from these centers via loudspeakers attached to mosques, public marches and sloganeering after Friday Islamic prayers, neighborhood poster and graffiti campaigns, and Urdu and Keshur language media.

In a well-planned and coordinated Kashmir-wide campaign, handwritten notes were left on the doors of Hindu-owned businesses and homes with the same exact wording: "Convert, Leave or Die (*'Raliv Galiv ya Chaliv'*)!" The atmosphere of fear and terror required **extensive groundwork** and coordination with all limbs of media and civil institutions.

The atmospherics and groundwork that enabled these mass killings and rapes was enabled by local Kashmiri Muslim leadership. Each witness has provided verifiable proof of the relentless propaganda by these Muslim social, political, and religious institutions that facilitated and incited targeted murder, ethnic cleansing, rape and destruction of the indigenous Kashmiri Hindu and Sikh communities.

3.9 Silencing of dissenting and humane voices

It bears mentioning that while there is no doubt that the mass of Kashmiri Muslims had sympathies and actively cooperated with terrorists in this campaign of genocide, there were men and women of conscience among the Muslim community who did attempt to resist and help the beleaguered Hindus. However, these voices were disparaged, threatened, and silenced by Muslim society and the general narrative being peddled locally, nationally, and internationally by Kashmiri Islamofascist separatists.

In a graphic example, a Kashmiri Hindu grandfather was shot dead by 3 men in broad daylight. An elderly Muslim man wanted to help the victim, but he was threatened and scared off by the perpetrators. Threatened by the potential targeting of his own relatives, this humane Kashmiri Muslim was prevented from this act of humanity.

Similarly, thousands of local police officers were killed, both Hindu and Muslim. This served to both create a sense of lawlessness and for the removal of any potential 'disloyal' Kashmiri Muslims police officers. As the atmosphere descended into a state of a brutal organized terror, local Kashmiri police officers began collaborating in the attacks against the Kashmiri Hindus. Perhaps sensing the victory of Islamic separatism, wanting to be on the winning side and indoctrinated in the cause of Jihad from childhood, many Muslim security personnel willingly joined in.

3.10 Political theatrics

After the brutal killings of many Kashmiri Muslim police officers and government employees and kidnappings, an atmosphere of fear undergirded the religious frenzy in the region. Upon the ostensible “kidnapping” of Rubaiya Sayeed, the daughter of then Home Minister of India Mohammed Sayeed, the message was clear: If the daughter of one of India’s top government officials can be kidnapped so nonchalantly, no one is safe from the long arm of Islamic Jihad. Buttressed by the religious ideal of pan-Islamism and Jihad, vast numbers of Kashmiri Muslims rallied to the call that ostensibly had a high chance of success against Indian state apparatus. The element of fear from terrorists

combined with the triumphalist ideology of holy war worked upon the minds of local Muslims.

[3.11 Kashmiri Hindu deaths in refugee camps](#)

It is also important to note that along with the horrors experienced in the Kashmir region itself, over 5000 Kashmiri Hindus died during and after their forced exodus, in refugee camps in the Jammu region of the province. Islamic terrorists visited the refugee camps and committed massacres in mass graves even there. Many others were victims of snake bites, trauma-induced breakdowns leading to suicide, the breakdown of their immune systems leading to serious infections, diseases, compounded by official neglect.

[3.12 Pakistani involvement](#)

Throughout Kashmir, each murder, religious march or call for ethnic cleansing was celebrated with the waving of Pakistani flags, the shouting of religious slogans and other such extra-nationalist euphoria. No police reports were filed, and the activities were ignored.

There is, of course, a preponderance of evidence of Pakistani infiltration and terrorism in Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh in the decades following the initial genocide and ethnic cleansing, but the organic involvement of Islamic Republic of Pakistan and its Islamofascist ideology with the genocide itself remains to be acknowledged.

This does not, of course, absolve violent homegrown pan-Islamist movements that have continued in Indian Jammu & Kashmir and other sections of the Indian Muslim community even though they chose to stay back in India after the Partition of the country on religious grounds and creation of Islamic Republic of Pakistan in 1947.

[3.13 Mirpur Massacre and discrimination against refugees under Article 370](#)

Until its modification in August 2019, successive Muslim-dominated governments of Jammu & Kashmir abused Article 370 of the Indian Constitution that granted them 'special status' and allowed them to discriminate against non-Muslim minorities in their territories

by casting them as non-natives. Among these heavily discriminated sections of the population were poor menial laborers who have been living in Jammu & Kashmir for generations, women (including Kashmiri Muslim women), and most importantly, native Hindu and Sikh refugees from Pakistan-occupied territories of Jammu & Kashmir. These refugees, ethnically indigenous to this region, were not given citizenship rights under the discriminatory Article 370 as it existed prior to 2019.

Sikhs and Hindus from Pakistan-held territories had been subjected to orgies of violence, such as the November 1947 Mirpur massacre³, in which more than 20,000 Hindu and Sikh residents of the Mirpur district of Jammu & Kashmir (now under Pakistani occupation) were massacred, with their women corralled in the local Gurdwara and gang raped for days on end before being butchered. Before this round of genocide, the Mirpur district had about 75,000 Hindu and Sikh residents, amounting to 20% of the population. Today there are none.

3.14 Terrorism and internationalization: Chattisinghpura Massacre

On March 20, 2000, the eve of US President Bill Clinton's state visit to India, 35 Sikh villagers were massacred by terrorists in the village of Chattisinghpura, located in the Anantnag district of Kashmir. The terrorists were reportedly wearing Indian Army fatigues. In a strange and unprecedented display, survivors said the terrorists shouted pro-India slogans after the massacre and then left. In what was evidently a clumsy attempt to stage a false flag operation and embarrass the Government of India on the eve of a state visit sure to be in the international limelight, the narrative was to suggest that India was killing its own Hindu and Sikh citizens in a Muslim-majority area in order to cast pan-Islamist ideology in poor light. The goal of this narrative was to show that Pakistan was not the real sponsor of violence and that much of the violence was orchestrated by the Indian government to tarnish the image of Islamism and Pakistan. The diplomatic goal was also to nudge a Pakistan-sympathetic United States to internationalize the issue of atrocities in Kashmir. Five days later, the Indian Army apprehended infiltrators of the Pakistan-

³ Hindu Genocide, *Mirpur Massacre of Hindus and Sikhs – 1947*, Arti Agarwal
URL: <https://hindugenocide.com/islamic-jihad/mirpur-massacre-of-hindus-and-sikhs-1947/>

based Lashkar-e-Taiba *jihadi* organization who were connected with the attack. Mohamad Suhail Malik, a nephew of Lashkar-e-Taiba co-founder Hafiz Muhammad Saeed, confessed to participating in the attacks, repeating his statements in an interview with Barry Bearak of The New York Times. Yet, Western media, including The New York Times, questioned the veracity of these confessions and promoted the narrative that India was also conducting massacres in Kashmir, in full Army attire.

3.15 Absence of vindictiveness in victims

Kashmiri Hindus do not seek retribution or hate the Muslim community. Despite the ethnic cleansing, murders, rapes and targeted genocide of their people, a majority of Kashmiri Hindus still appear to bear no ill-will against the Kashmiri Muslims as a whole.

However, they do demand justice for their relatives and seek trials and punishment of the perpetrators and those individuals who were provably complicit in the many crimes against their community.

3.16 Ongoing murders of Hindus in Kashmir

Despite such a balanced view that seeks reconciliation, the killing of the Kashmiri Hindus continues. As this report is being written, in June 2022, confirm that Kashmiri Hindus continue to be a target of brutality. In what Reuters described as a “wave of assassinations”, Hindu residents of Jammu & Kashmir of both blue-collar and white-collar backgrounds, were being targeted and killed on a regular basis even in June, as a Hindu bank manager and a manual laborer lost their lives to terrorism.

With religious motivations on full display, a 9-year-old Kashmiri Hindu girl was brutally beaten up by her Muslim teacher in Rajouri district of the Jammu region. He had allegedly been outraged by her *tilak*, a sacred Hindu forehead marking, that she had applied in celebration of the Hindu Navaratri festival.

In another incident that took place on April 3, 2022, a Kashmiri Hindu shopkeeper named Bal Krishan Bhat was shot dead by terrorists. News reports stated that Mr. Bhat a.k.a. “*Sonu, a medical store operator by profession, did not leave the valley even during the 1990 Kashmiri Hindu Exodus and had been living in Kashmir for the last 30 years.*” It is

believed that it was for this exact reason he had been targeted. His stubborn refusal to give up his home and flee is seen as threat to the ongoing ethnic-cleansing agenda. This attack was in fact just one of three that took place on the same day.

3.17 Demand for safe sanctuaries in Kashmir for indigenous minorities

The Kashmiri Hindus are the only group to experience these horrors since India's freedom from British colonialism in 1947. Over 99% of Kashmir's Hindus have been ethnically cleansed from Kashmir.

For those who do desire to return, they often have nowhere to return to. Their homes were long ago either burnt to the ground or illegally claimed by their former Muslim neighbors under the so-called "Roshni Act" which has now been deemed unconstitutional. 30,000 Hindu homes were burnt down. Many Hindu schools, *ashrams* (meditation retreats), temples and businesses were destroyed as well.

Witnesses insisted that it is imperative that the Government of India, along with the international community, take steps to facilitate their safe return to their native Kashmir, with adequate arrangements for their secure residence there.

Kashmiri Hindu witnesses demanded the creation a new Union Territory called Panun Kashmir located within the Kashmir Valley. Within this safe zone, they wish to practice their religion, culture and way of life and allow for future generations of Kashmiri Hindus to experience their indigenous culture within their own native Homeland (Panun Kashmir).

They also demand the right to return to their ancestral homes and properties and official support for the repatriation, rehabilitation and full recovery of their homes and properties back in their original native homeland of Kashmir.

Lastly, they wish to return to perform the last rites of their murdered relatives and scatter their ashes in their indigenous homeland.

3.18 Rise of genocide denial and obfuscation

A phenomenon highlighted by the impact of time was described by some witnesses. There appears to be a direct correlation between the eventual aging and death of Jewish Holocaust victims and the rise of Holocaust denial. This same phenomenon is happening to the victims of the Kashmiri Hindu genocide as well, which has never been acknowledged prior to this. As the years go by, the denials, obfuscation, rationalization, minimization, and actual import of these first-hand testimonies has been sublimated into irrelevance.

3.19 Suppression of survivors' voices

Although one among several methods to suppress the voices of victims of Islamic religious violence, it is to be noted separately that the accusation of 'Islamophobia' is of particular concern in its increasingly indiscriminate use worldwide and widespread, aggressive and often violent expression.

When the direct victims of this campaign of Islamist ethnic cleansing do speak up, they are labeled as Islamophobic hate mongers. In an apparently perverse logic, the victims are the criminals, and the criminals are portrayed as the victims fighting for self-determination. The weaponization of 'Islamophobia' laws to shut down any opposition to an aggressive and often violent political movement that runs on the grassroots support of lay Muslims is a phenomenon that needs to be looked at carefully by lawmakers, especially in liberal democracies the world over.

3.20 Expressions of gratitude by survivors

After 32 years the targeted violence against the Kashmiri Hindus continues but with the release of Vivek Agnihotri's film "The Kashmir Files" and the ICHRRF's Kashmiri Hindu Genocide Tribunal, the 32-year long silence is being broken.

It did not escape notice that the witnesses repeatedly expressed their appreciation of this Tribunal. They appeared emotionally overwhelmed that Kashmiri Hindus are being allowed to voice their firsthand experiences and acknowledge their trauma to the world.

3.21 Historical seven rounds of genocide

The latest organized ethnic cleansing campaign targeted the Kashmiri Hindu minority population numbering approximately 400,000. While the intensity and acts of violence exploded during the 1989-90 crisis, calls to begin this anti-Hindu Crusade began in 1986. One reason offered to deny the reality of the Kashmiri Hindu genocide has been the relative 'smallness' of the numbers involved in this instance of ethnic cleansing. This is based on willful ignorance of the history of the area of Jammu & Kashmir.

The 1989-90 genocide was far from the first attempt to ethnically cleanse Kashmir of its Hindu population. This latest forced exodus represents the 7th round of genocide where Muslims have massacred and evicted Kashmiri Hindus from their native lands over the last 6 centuries, demolished Hindu temples and converted them into mosques.

When taking the small population into account, the number of Kashmiri Hindu victims per capita represents one of the world's worst ethnic cleansing and genocide ratios.

3.22 Confiscation of lands and properties of Kashmiri Hindus

Kashmiri Hindus became systematic targets of the Muslim-dominated political and executive machinery decades before the 1989-90 crisis began. The legally codified disenfranchisement of the Kashmiri Hindus began in 1950 under the leadership of Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla of the National Conference party (previously called the Muslim Conference) with the "Big Landed Estates Abolition Act". Though the aspirations of the poor landless Kashmiris, the "Tillers of the Land" were and are legitimate, the application of this act was far from just. The government of Jammu & Kashmir province declared that "the land belongs to the tiller, not the leaser". As most of the big, landed estates had belonged to a section of the Kashmiri Hindu community for generations, the Act basically stripped them of their financial and economic holdings.

Absolutely no compensation was offered nor given to the former owners of these estates, nor was the transfer of property conducted in a mood of social reconciliation as it happened in various other parts of India.

Though the move was popular among the majority of the Muslim population, the failure to compensate the former owners acted as the first major body blow to the much vaunted ideal of cultural equality often referred to as Kashmiriyat (see section 3.4). This official Act of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir under the National Conference represents a defining moment in the history of the region. Kashmiri Hindus were marked as the ‘Other’ and as not being genuinely Kashmiri and thus unworthy of State support and protection.

3.23 Cultural genocide

In the decade preceding the actual genocide and ethnic cleansing, the Government of Jammu & Kashmir province led by the National Conference party began a de-Hinduization process that included renaming the ancient epicenter of Hindu Kashmir, the town of Anantnag, as ‘Islamabad’. Ironically the town of Anantnag has been recognized as one of the world’s most ancient towns dating far back into pre-history and serves as yet another confirmation of the ancient indigenous presence of the Kashmiri Hindus. The river Kishanganga was renamed ‘Neelam’, removing its Hindu religious overtones, and many other indigenous Kashmiri place names were Islamized as well.

The re-naming of Hindu places to Perso-Arabic names has been a standard feature of Islamic colonialism across the Indian Subcontinent.

3.24 Manipulative Politics

Despite being minorities in Jammu & Kashmir, the Kashmiri Hindus, Buddhists, and Sikhs there receive no governmental benefits nor perks reserved for minorities. On the other hand, the Muslims of Kashmir valley systematically discriminate against indigenous Hindus, Buddhists and Sikhs in government job placements or educational opportunities.

Simultaneously and hypocritically, Kashmiri Muslims also take advantage of their legal ‘minority’ status at the Indian national level.

Moreover, non-Kashmiris from other parts of India were also denied any rights within Muslim-dominated Jammu & Kashmir that had a ‘special status’ under the now-modified

Article 370 of the Indian Constitution, while Kashmiris had unreserved access and full rights to the rest of India's resources.

Importantly, the Sunni Muslim demand for independence or a merger with the Islamic Republic of Pakistan is based upon their Muslim majority status.

Therefore, while using the Muslim-majority status as the final arbitrator in deciding the fate of Jammu & Kashmir, i.e., the very root of secessionist claims, Kashmir's Muslim community hypocritically demand and receive India's central governmental benefits as members of a national minority community. Meanwhile the actual local minority community, the Kashmiri Hindus, receive no preferential treatment and are actually subject to systematic discrimination. Thus, Kashmiri Hindus helplessly sunk to the lowest levels of Kashmiri society, victimized by discrimination, legalized confiscation of their properties, deprivation, massacres, rape, ethnic-cleansing and genocide.

While simultaneously enjoying the perks of the Indian Government's minority assistance programs, Kashmiri Muslims carried out pogroms with the direct and stated goal of ethnically cleansing the Hindu community.

[3.25 Demographic changes in the Ladakh region](#)

The Muslim-dominated government in Jammu & Kashmir has systematically altered the demographics of the region by ethnically cleansing or converting non-Muslim minorities, putting pressure even on local Shi'a Muslims. While this report focuses on the genocide and ethnic cleansing of indigenous Kashmiri Hindus, Sikhs have also faced massacres and intimidation, and Buddhists have been manipulated by government policy and grassroots demographic aggression by the Muslim majority. The case of the Ladakhi Buddhists serves as an example of how Muslim-dominated governments of Jammu & Kashmir have behaved no different than terrorists in their Islamofascist agenda:

Ghulam Nabi Azad, former Chief Minister of Jammu & Kashmir from 2005 to 2008, has openly admitted that the historically Tibetan Buddhist majority region of Ladakh (which falls under the government of Jammu & Kashmir) is no longer Buddhist majority if recent Muslim settlers are counted.

During Ghulam Nabi Azad's tenure as Chief Minister, the president of the Ladakh Buddhist Association, Sonam Dewa, wrote to him highlighting the demographic pressure being systematically applied on the indigenous Buddhists via birth control measures being imposed upon natives combined with the influx of Muslim settlers. While law-abiding Buddhists followed government instructions for family-planning and birth control, the Muslim settlers did not⁴.

According to Buddhist leader Thupstan Chewang, the indigenous Buddhists gave up polyandry and adopted strict monogamy, while Muslim settlers in their lands have done the opposite.

Currently the Buddhist population stands at 42%, dropping from over 55% over the past four decades. The Muslim population in Ladakh's Leh district saw a phenomenal growth of 65.4%, which even surpassed the overall growth rate of Muslim across Jammu & Kashmir.

Moreover, under Pakistani-occupied Jammu and Ladakh, the genocide of Hindus, Sikhs and Buddhists has been total. A large portion of Ladakh is under Pakistani occupation, known as Gilgit and Baltistan, whose populations are now entirely Muslim. This Pakistan-occupied territory has several Buddhist historical monuments and places of pilgrimage, to which the native Buddhist population in India now have no access. Not just Buddhists, but even the local Shi'a population faces hardship, neglect, persecution and demographic pressure from Sunni Muslim government control and settlers under the Sunni ideological command of the Pakistani state.

[3.26 Inaction by the international community](#)

Despite Human Rights, equality and minority issues allegedly being at the forefront of the United States' stated policies, the US continues to ignore the disastrous predicament of the persecuted Kashmiri Hindus.

⁴ Buddhist Channel TV, January 20, 2008

URL: <https://www.buddhistchannel.tv/index.php?id=70,5779,0,0,1,0#.YvMgHXbMK5c>

The United Nations has also been silent despite their plight matching 4 out of 5 categories of the UN Genocide Standard. Going by the United Nation's own Genocide Standards, the impact upon Kashmiri Hindus is indeed genocide. In fact, according to all standards, be it legal, moral, or ethical, the absolute number of victims involved has no relevance when it comes to the confirmation of genocidal acts. In per capita terms, it qualifies as one of the most serious.

Therefore, included in their calls for restitution, resettlement, and rehabilitation the Kashmiri Hindus are also calling for a judicial probe into the world's leading Human Rights organizations. Despite receiving billions of dollars in relief funds, not one of these organizations has dedicated a penny to the relief of Kashmiri Hindus. In many cases, through their selective partisan approach, they have undermined the principles on which they were created. In fact, the UN's own journals misconstrued the removal of the discriminatory Article 370 as a threat to India's minorities, blurring the fact that it is the victimized Hindus that are the actual minority in Jammu & Kashmir. See section 3.19 for background.

3.26.1 Definition of Genocide

Definition of Genocide according to Article II of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide: In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- A. Killing members of the group;
- B. Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- C. Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- D. Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- E. Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

The Kashmiri Hindus have directly experienced the first 4 out of these 5 definitions of genocide.

3.27 Indigenous Hindus and Islamic colonialism in Kashmir

The Kashmiri Hindus are indigenous to the Kashmir valley region with roots going back over 5000 years. During certain periods of Indian civilization's history, Kashmir has also been a center and cradle for critical aspects of Indian and especially Hindu culture, analogous to the Byzantine region in European civilization. Thus, the symbolic value of the complete usurpation and ethnic cleansing of Hindus from Jammu & Kashmir is high in Islamofascist ideology. The occupation, desecration, usurpation and total ethnic cleansing or conversion of critical nerve centers of non-Islamic cultures is a documented feature of Islamist warfare worldwide. Thus, rather than a struggle for self-determination, it has been explained by critics as a long-term campaign rooted in paranoid hatred for non-Muslims, Islamist exclusivism, triumphalism, and a glorification of deadly terror.

This religio-political agenda also finds support from non-Muslim power blocs for their own ends. Rather than a localized struggle between two ethnic groups, the perpetrators received massive foreign funding and guidance. Controlled and manipulated by foreign hands, the entire insurgency is the intended result of a well-orchestrated and coordinated international geopolitical agenda. As part of this conspiracy, a large section of international media intentionally blurs the lines between fact and fiction. As they highlight the religio-political aspirations of Kashmiri Muslims, they are silent on the actual victims of brutality.

3.28 British Empire and the roots of Islamic separatism

Rooted in a decades long subterfuge orchestrated by British intelligence, anti-India hatred and separatism rooted in pan-Islamist ideology had long been simmering. The events related to the transfer of control of Gilgit and Baltistan to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan reveal the anti-India and pro-Pakistani machinations at the heart of British Imperial policy.

The transfer of Gilgit and Baltistan to India upon Kashmir accession took the British by surprise. The Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, Ramachandra Kak, was considered as being supportive of Kashmir's accession to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan by both the British and Sheikh Abdullah. *"In his autobiography, Sheikh Abdullah praised Kak for*

maintaining good relations with the ruling circles in Islamic Republic of Pakistan — he noted that Kak had assessed that as a Muslim majority state, Kashmir was bound to accede to Islamic Republic of Pakistan and prepared to be in its service.”

Having absolute confidence in his ability to oversee Kashmir's accession to Islamic Republic of Pakistan, the British revoked their 60-year lease on strategic region of Gilgit & Baltistan assuming it would soon be part of Islamic Republic of Pakistan. This lease had been forced upon the Hindu Dogra King of Jammu & Kashmir in 1935.

Yet a mere 12 years into the lease, and 2 weeks before independence, it was suddenly revoked. Gilgit Agency was restored to the Kashmiri Government.

However, 10 days later, the Kashmiri Prime Minister Kak was sacked by the King. Thus, the entire British scheme collapsed. Two months after the official British withdrawal from India, British led Pakistani troops invaded Jammu & Kashmir. Shocked by this action, the King of Jammu & Kashmir Hari Singh signed the accession papers, thereby merging his Kingdom, which once again included the Gilgit Agency, with India.

As one of the world's most geostrategic locations, Gilgit was crucial to long term British imperial policy. Therefore, the British were quick to act. British Army Captain William Alexander Brown was thus ordered to secure the region for Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Led by now Major Brown, Operation Datta Khel went into effect. In command of the Gilgit Scouts and thus legally in service to the Government of Jammu and Kashmir, Major Brown carried out an illegal coup. He later wrote that this was indeed an act of high treason, yet he justified it as “the right thing to do”.

After overthrowing the lawful government, he and his Gilgit Scouts overthrew and imprisoned the Governor. He then betrayed his own Native Gilgit troops who had assumed they were liberating their homeland and declared Gilgit to be part of Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Their aspiration of an Independent Gilgit Republic was thus crushed. Major Brown then raised the Pakistani flag above the Capital residence and announced Gilgit's accession to Pakistan.

A few months later, Major William Brown was personally awarded by the King of Britain and given the 'most exalted order of the British Empire' the MBE for an illegal act of high

treason. He was also posthumously awarded the Sitara-e-Imtiaz or Star of Pakistan, one of Islamic Republic of Pakistan's highest awards.

These details are not merely a deep dive into history but rather they represent the underlying foundational roots of the entire Kashmiri conundrum. Obviously, in the view of both Britain and Islamic Republic of Pakistan, not only Gilgit, but the entire region of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh belongs to Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Therefore, the nearly 80-year-long Kashmiri crisis is in fact a repeat of the Gilgit coup in slow motion.

3.29 Principal demands of Kashmiri Hindus

Based upon the testimony and evidence of the Kashmiri Hindus they are the victims of 4 types of genocide: physical, cultural, emotional, and psychological. It thus behooves the Government of India and the UN to address these traumas in an equitable and just manner. Some solutions are readily available.

Witnesses had a list of 13 demands agreed upon by the various Kashmiri Hindu organizations. If implemented the Kashmiri Hindu community can begin the healing process and gradually recover its former vibrant state of functionality.

The 13 demands of the Kashmiri Hindus are as follows:

1. An official Declaration recognizing the Kashmiri Hindus as refugees or Internally Displaced People
2. That 1989-90 and the experiences of the Kashmiri Hindus be officially recognized and formally declared as an ethnic cleansing and genocide
3. A speedy trial of Yasin Malik for murders who is on record confessing to the murders of Kashmiri Hindus
4. A retrial of confessed murderer Farooq Ahmed Dar a.k.a. **Bitta Karate**, the current chairman of the JKLF founded in the United Kingdom in 1977
5. Prime Minister Modi and the Government of India must form a Judicial Commission of Inquiry to legally probe the circumstances and causes of the Kashmiri Hindu forced expulsions and exodus

6. Judicial Commission of Inquiry must investigate the roles of former Home Minister of India, Mohammed Saeed Mufti and the former Chief Minister of Jammu & Kashmir Farooq Abdullah. Why were they silent as the Kashmir valley imploded into mayhem?
7. The Government of India must immediately provide safe, secure, sanitary and functional homes and jobs for the economically challenged members of the Kashmiri Hindu community and proper rehabilitation for the entire Kashmiri Hindu Community with a focus on the physical, cultural and emotional wellbeing of the refugees.
8. Economically challenged Kashmiri Hindus must be provided scholarships for college and university specifically those who have remained languishing in Jammu refugee camps
9. A Kashmiri Hindu Rehabilitation Package initiated by former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and continued by the current administration has only served to lure destitute Kashmiri Hindus back to Kashmir without any guarantees of security. Forced to gamble with their very lives and the lives of their families, hundreds of them flee when members of their community are targeted again, as happened in October 2021. The Kashmiri Hindus demand that these Kashmiri Hindus employed through the Prime Minister's Rehabilitation Package be provided jobs and homes in locations of their choice anywhere within India.
10. All Kashmiri Hindu organizations must be taken into consultation regarding any and all Kashmir related policies and in any developments related to the eventual fate of Kashmir as a whole
11. That the Ministry of Culture and the Archaeological Survey of India immediately order the restoration of over 450 Hindu temples that have been desecrated within the last 35 years. The Kashmiri Hindus also demand that the very ancient temples dating back thousands of years be given official protected status similar to the protections given to the Martand Temple in Anantanag, Kashmir.
12. By order of the Ministry of Culture the Kashmiri (Keshur) language and script be officially recognized and preserved and made compulsory in the University of Kashmir and other such educational institutions.
13. The Kashmiri Hindu community calls for the passing of the Kashmiri Genocide Bill 2022 within the Indian Parliament.

4. Testimonies

4.1 The following witnesses submitted evidence and provided testimony under an oath administered by Committee Member Dr. Adityanjee:

- Mr. Raj Koul
- Ms. Anjali Raina
- Ms. Swapna Wali Raina
- Mr. Ravinder Pandita
- Mr. Sanjay Kaul
- Mr. Himanshu Ganju
- Mr. Sunita Ticku
- Mr. Vikas Raina
- Dr. Mohan Sapru,
- Mr. Aditya Raj Kaul
- Mr. Ashwani Chrungoo
- Geetika Atri Mohan

4.2 Testimony of Mr. Raj Koul

I thank The Commission for giving us the opportunity to present our personal stories. The focus is going to be on four personal stories that impacted me and my family.

My first story is about Satish Tickoo who, everyone has now seen in the [Kashmir Files] movie, was killed by the terrorist Farooq Dar a.k.a. Bitta Karate. Satish Tickoo was my father's cousin sister's son. He and his father Prithvinath Galdar had a shop right next to Habba Kadal. On the fateful morning of February 2, 1990, the terrorist Bitta Karate and his accomplice showed up at his home. His sister was very concerned at the appearance of Bitta Karate and his friend and tried to persuade Satish to not go out to greet them. But Satish was quite sociable, and he had friends around the community, so he walked out and in no time, he was shot dead by Bitta Karate. He was taken to the hospital, the Hindu community tried to save his life, but he died unfortunately. And this story is now documented in *The Kashmir Files* movie.

My second family member, his name is Kanhaiyya Lal Butt. He was from Sholipura, district Budgam. The date of his assassination is June 8, 1990. Kanhaiyya Lal was my father's cousin sister's husband. He was reputed to be one of the best legal advisors in the district of Budgam. Popular with the masses, about 95% of his network of associates were Muslims. He used to fight legal battles in the Budgam Courthouse. He was clear he wanted to stay in his birthplace, and so even after the January 19th call for genocide of Hindus went out, he stayed back, just wanting to live in his motherland. In February 1990, his father passed away and he started looking for a priest to perform the last rites for his father, but he could not find anyone. At that point he realized he wanted to send his family to safety in Jammu. Therefore, concerned about his three daughters and one son, he safely moved them over to the Jammu region. And then in May 1990 he came back to the Kashmir Valley, where he stayed back with his mother, his wife, and his younger son. On the night of June 8, five terrorists of the Hizbul Mujahideen knocked at his door, and asked him to come outside since they wanted to talk to him. His family pleaded with them not to take him away, but they swore by their holy book (the Quran) that they only wanted to have a conversation outside. His family waited for almost an hour, and then they started panicking because he hadn't returned. They called upon their neighbors to help, and the

neighbors all fanned out and went into the nearby villages looking for Kanhaiyya Lal. The next day morning they found his dead body hanging in the fields, with torture marks and evidence of gruesome treatment. This was the unfortunate end of a very courageous Kashmiri Hindu who stayed back in his motherland even after a call to genocide of Hindus was made from mosques in January of the same year.

My third close family and friend from school, his name was Ashwini Ghariyali, from Chattabal. A very sweet child, he was 2 years older than me, his brother was my classmate at National High School. Ashwini Ghariyali was studying for Chartered Accountancy. He stayed back there, preparing for his exams, and in private he was tutoring other younger students. Five terrorists showed up at his residence and dragged him out, pumping bullets into his abdomen and his head. His father, Shambhu Nath Ghariyali, picked him up and first took him to the police station pleading for help, but he was only ridiculed there. He then went to the SMSH hospital for treatment, but none was forthcoming. He then carried his son to Sowra Medical Institute, but just as he reached there, his son passed away. If the authorities had helped him, he most likely could have been saved. I lost a close friend, and I have many childhood memories of playing with him. He was murdered simply because he was non-Muslim and had nothing to do with the political turmoil and slogans of Azadi (“freedom”) and Nizam-e-Mustafa (regime of the prophet Muhammad’s Shariah Law).

My fourth example or case is of a family friend, his name is Ashok Kumar Bazzaz. And he was a shopkeeper in Ab-e-Guzar, Chatarbal. He had seven daughters, and he was well-known in the community. His shop was in the Muslim-majority locality, and he used to help the community generously. Unfortunately, terrorists showed up at his residence and shot him dead, leaving his large family fatherless. When his family pleaded with the terrorists to kill them as well, since they had killed their sole bread-earner, they retorted that they wanted to see them weep and wail and be forsaken.

Such were the atrocities we saw in Jammu & Kashmir. These were only 4 cases I have presented to The Commission in this limited time slot, but there are thousands of such cases we have all seen and heard about from relatives and friends. Not only were these

victims killed and ethnically cleansed from Kashmir but were also pursued and targeted in refugee camps in Jammu. I have multiple stories I can share with The Commission.

But what do I ask, what do I want? I want the genocide to be recognized. I want justice for my family and friends to be delivered. I want a safe return and secure residence back in my homeland. I want our collective plight to be recognized and safe zones created in Kashmir where we can live and happily practice our faith and culture and contribute to the community as well. I want our children to be able to go back and live there and connect with their roots. They are missing out on a lot of their roots and are losing their culture in exile. I want the government and the world's civic bodies to help us.

Again, I want to thank The Commission for this opportunity to present my personal stories and the plight of my community. Thank you.

4.3 Testimony of Ms. Anjali Raina

I have very fond memories of my childhood in Kashmir. There was a lovely *chinar* (maple) tree near my house in Chattabal. My ancestral house was in downtown Srinagar; the *chinar* tree was used as a landmark when I was walking to school.



Exhibit 1: Ancestral home and Chinar tree



Exhibit 2: Father, Late Chaman Lal Koul

I remember visiting “Kheer Bhawani” [temple] every year with my maternal grandfather and maternal uncles. We used to stay there for one whole week. I have been born and brought up in a joint family. I lived with my grandparents, uncles, aunts, and my dad and mom. I used to follow my grandma everywhere. I was heavily pampered, since I was the first child in my family and my dad was the oldest among his siblings. My grandma is still alive (unfortunately she has been bedridden for the last 3 years). My grandfather was everything to me; he used to be at my school with new books and goodies every time I was promoted to a new grade level. He passed away in 2009 and due to my emotional attachment, my health issues were exacerbated, and I was admitted to the hospital twice.

I had not been back home [to Kashmir] until 2015 and briefly visited for 2 days due to my kids constantly asking, as they wanted to see my ancestral home (that is not mine anymore).

To:- SSP JMU L.B. no. B
 Fr:- P.C.R. Sgr. Date 25/9/90

Please Contact Sh. Nakhul Lal
 Gumbli H. no. 28 Bhagwati
 Nagar and inform him about
 the death of Son with s/o
 Mr. Lassa Koul and Chaman
 Lal s/o Shyam Lal R/o
 Pallepora Bala Chellabai
 Sgr. by the above dead
 body was lying unidentified
 at Ad Jan Road

1990
 Sgr. of Officer T.O.
 P.C.R. Sgr.

Message received through Mr. Nakhul Lal P.C.R. Sgr.

Scanned with CamScanner

Exhibit 3: Police Report on death of C.L. Koul

GOVERNMENT OF JAMMU & KASHMIR
 OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR OF BIRTHS & DEATHS

ISSUED UNDER SECTION 12
 ISSUED UNDER SECTION 18
 OF THE REGISTRATION OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS ACT 1969

DEATH CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the following information has been taken from the original record of Death which is in the Registrar for SRINAGAR MUNICIPALITY (Local Area) of Tehsil: Khas of District: SRINAGAR

1) Name: SHRI CHAMALLAL KOUL
 2) Sex: MALE
 3) Date of Death: 24-6-1990
 4) Place of Death: SRINAGAR
 5) Name of Father/Mother/Husband: SHRI SHYAM LAL KOUL
 6) Nationality: INDIAN
 7) Permanent address: DADA DADA CHATURAL
 8) Registrar's No.: 550
 9) Date of Registration: 25-6-90

Registered Births & Deaths Registrar, Srinagar. 25/8/90

No: 550/90/1819
 Dated: 25/6/90
 Registrar, Srinagar

Scanned with CamScanner

Exhibit 4: Death Certificate of C.L. Koul

The torment began in 1990. I was 18 years old and had barely completed my high school studies when tragedy hit our family. My father, Late Chaman Lal Koul, an Accounts Officer in J&K Industries, was brutally murdered on 24th June 1990 by Islamic militants in the name of their religion. They were killing Hindus in the name of a “Free Kashmir”. Learning about what had happened to my dad hurt me to my core. It still does.

My father was kidnapped from our home in broad daylight on the afternoon of 24th June 1990 while he had settled down for lunch. A day before his murder, he had prepared yellow rice ‘tehar’ for one of my uncles’ birthday. As per information we received, that food was scattered all over the floor. The Islamic Jihadis tortured my father with cigarette burns, slit his throat, shot him with bullets and they didn't stop there. The height of the barbaric act was such that they cut his body in pieces and left it in a gunny bag on the Dr. Ali Jan Road near Sowra Medical Institute.

kidnapping) when SSP Jammu along with some of our relatives came to inform us of the tragic news of their being killed by terrorists in Srinagar. Police stopped us from going to Srinagar citing threat to our lives and our security, as the reasons. Even on our insistence, we were stopped from going to Srinagar.

My Uncle at Chandigarh was informed of the same and he booked an immediate cab to rush to Jammu along with my Grandparents & Sister. Not telling them (my Grandparents & Sister) the extent of this humongous tragedy (for the obvious reason), my Uncle told them of the same only when they reached Jammu on 26th June morning.

On 25th June 1990, chopped pieces of bodies of both (Sh. Chaman Lal Kaul & Sh. Somnath Raina) were found ~10 km's away on Dr. Alijan Road (near Soura Hospital) in two gunny bags. The chopped pieces of bodies had cigarette burns & bullets fires on most body parts. And if that was not all, their throats were found to be silt severely. How much worst could it have gone?

We were given to understand that J&K Police cremated their dead remains later and on the 5th day (i.e., on 28th June 1990) we were handed over the 'Ashes' that were brought in the CRPF van along with Somnath's Mother & my Father's Aunt. Later, we immersed the 'Ashes' in the holy waters of Sangam at Prayagraj.

And, that was how two more Kashmiri Pandit lives were snatched by the terrorists in the name of Islamic Jihadi radical terrorism.

We did not lose courage. Our family did not lose courage. We fought it back. Each & every Kashmiri Pandit fought it back...

Not by killing anyone, not by throwing the stones, not by picking up the guns or other weapons... We fought it back by educating ourselves. And, that was our revenge...

Needless to say, that each & every Kashmiri Pandit suffered. Some suffered material loss, some suffered both human & material loss, some suffered of both. But this

remains the fact that everyone suffered and also by getting uprooted from Kashmir. We (Kashmiri Pandits) NEVER sought sympathies from anyone nor shall we till our last breath. We kept loving India - our Mother India. But, having seen the narratives & actions/inactions of many 'politicians & political-parties, pseudo-liberals, pseudo-activists, pseudo-journalists, pseudo-academicians' (within & outside India) the very basic questions that keep coming to the minds of all Kashmiri Pandits are as follows:

- Why did politicians holding the powers then NOT act, inspite of knowing what was happening and what its consequences were going to be?
- Was this brutal exodus of entire Kashmiri Pandit community, gruesomely/ghastly killing them, chopping their live bodies, raping women & cutting their bodies under the band saw machines - 'NOT' falling under the definition of so-called 'SECULARISM'???
- Why was this humongous tragedy meted to Kashmiri Pandits, kept hidden from the rest of India for decades?
- Why those - upon whom we trusted for many years, became catalysts to what Kashmiri Pandits were made to go through?
- Was this strategic killing and Ethnic Cleansing of Kashmiri Pandits NOT worth an issue to be reported by the so-called liberal journalists & media-houses for so long?
- Where were the, otherwise active, Award Waapsi Gangs then & even now? Still in selective Hibernation - looks like?
- Where was this bollywood fraternity who selectively becomes so vocal and feels so much pained for those who believe in anti-India narrative?
- Was India 'TOLERANT' (as in their definition) then, for the pseudo's or liberals?
- Where were - Human Rights Commissions



On 25th June 1990, chopped pieces of bodies of both (Sh. Chaman Lal Kaul & Sh. Somnath Raina) were found ~10 km's away on Dr. Alijan Road

Exhibit 5: Article the Ms. Raina's brother, Sunil Koul



Exhibit 6: C.L. Koul's wedding photo

Due to the situation in Kashmir (when everyone was trying to leave), my dad stayed back due three reasons: 1) His official obligations - He was in-charge of finances and wanted to sign off on pay stubs as the Islamic festival Eid was coming up around that time. 2) He was in illusion like all of us that “we are safe, Kashmiri Muslims are our brothers and there is no way they will harm us”. My day was betrayed like everyone else did. 3) We had dad’s aunt on the 3rd floor living by

herself and he didn’t feel like leaving her alone.

We didn’t get to say a final goodbye to my father. Last I saw him was in the first week of March when I was boarding a cab along with my uncle and his newly wedded wife. He told us before we had left Kashmir, “nothing will happen to me. They are my friends.”

We never got to perform our last rites for our father. The patrolling team that recovered the body had cremated him. My family had requested that one of us would like to go back to Kashmir to perform the last rites, but we were told that it is not safe and were not allowed. They handed over the ashes to my grandfather. His ashes were immersed in the Sangam (a point where the holy rivers Ganga, Jamuna, and Saraswati intersect), at Prayagraj.



Exhibit 7: Anjali Raina with family

My father was added to the list of martyrs at a very young age (46). I remember even before getting this unfortunate news, the whole day looked gloomy, silent. It seemed like the sky was crying.

It has been 32 years, however, there has not been a single day when I don't think of that fateful day. I haven't forgotten that my mother who was 44 that time has now spent 32 years without him. I can't forget the pain of my grandparents who lost their son.

4.4 Testimony of Ms. Swapna Wali Raina

Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. I thank The Commission for organizing this special hearing on Kashmiri Hindu Genocide of 1989-90: the 7th of the religiously motivated attacks on the Indigenous Kashmiri Hindu minority. I would also like to express my gratitude for giving me an opportunity to testify at this hearing and hope to do justice to the immense responsibility entrusted to me.

My name is Swapna Wali Raina, I am a proud American and equally proud Kashmiri Pundit. I was born and brought up in Kashmir and lived through most of those eerie times when Islamic militancy was at its peak in the valley. Perhaps even more unnerving was the growing fanatic sentiment that enabled these militant acts and supported this rise of violence.



Exhibit 1: District Judge Neel Kanth
Ganjoo

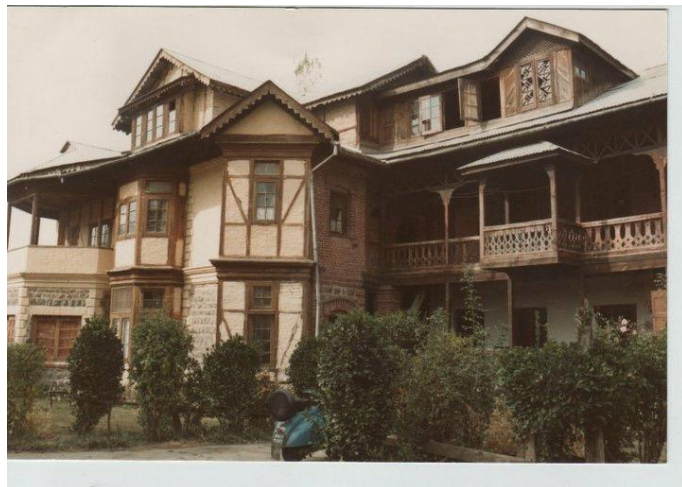


Exhibit 2: Ancestral home of the Ganjoo family

It is easy and convenient to deny the existence of this Kashmiri Hindu genocide, after all political and religious lobbies have invested in pushing such a rhetoric for the past several decades. In case, you think that the exodus and genocide didn't happen then mine and lakhs of other families are a testament to the atrocities faced by the Kashmiri Hindus. We were left hopeless to fend for ourselves. No one willingly leaves their home and heritage behind. Each family has a heart-wrenching story from the exodus where they were forced

to leave their lives behind. Opportunity to speak today is a ray of hope to tell and educate the world about our miseries while the world decided to stay silent.

How does one appropriately capture in words all the pain, agony, and sufferings that my community and I have gone through in last 32 years - years of our human and religious rights violation waiting for justice. Getting upset and almost losing it when we are asked to give proof for atrocities committed on us. Or outright being told that these are lies, and that we left our homes on our free will. I stand still and say – really - are you for real. Are you for real my own grandfather was shot in cold blood by terrorists? What was his fault – his fault was his faith and that he stood by the truth, his values, and beliefs.

Neel Kanth Ganjoo (exhibit 1), or “daddy-ji” as all grandkids lovingly called him, a self-made man was a District & Sessions Judge in Kashmir. After his retirement in the judicial service, Daddy ji had started practice as an advocate. Memories from Nov 4th, 1989, still give me goosebumps, coming out of the Jammu and Kashmir High Court complex he was



Exhibit 3: Slain corpse of Justice Neelkanth Ganjoo

accosted by three men and shot in broad daylight at the busy Hari Singh High Street. When he fell on the road no one came to his help. One of my aunt's neighbors, who owned a shop on the same street, hearing the commotion came out and was an

eyewitness to the dastardly act of the terrorists. He recognized my grandfather and wanted to help. However, him and a few others were scared of the threat of meeting the

same fate as my grandfather if they tried to help. Adding insult to injury many bystanders started dancing, shouting “Maqbool Bhat’s death has been avenged, chanting pro-Pakistan slogans, and waving Pakistani flags. Thousands of people in the valley celebrated the killing of my beloved grandfather. Thousands – let that sink in. Thousands who justified killing a man of virtue & law simply because he was a Hindu.

Someone dared to place a file that he was holding, you can see in the photograph (exhibit 3) from a newspaper that published the news of his gruesome killing under his head. My heart breaks to think what my dearest Daddy-ji must have gone thru in those final hours. Finally, few people picked Daddy-ji and took him to the hospital. With no compassion and humanity, they left him on the floor of the hospital lobby and ran away.

Even though narrating the story brings traumatic flashbacks and lot of agony I will not stop and will continue my fight seeking justice for Daddy-ji. Till date no police report of his murder is found no disclosures, no postmortem – in short none of the basic protocols were followed.

It gets worse the JKLF terrorist Yasin Malik in an interview with the British Broadcasting Corporation confessed to killing my grandfather. In the interview Yasin Malik brazenly admits that JKLF killed Justice Neel Kanth Ganjoo. BBC gave Yasin Malik this platform to boast of murdering innocent people & never questioned or condemned his actions. BBC hasn’t given such a platform to Hindus to tell their story.

Where is justice for the family of victims who because of their faith became targets of radical Islam when Yasin Malik continues to roam free, is given celebrity status and invited to various events - the Prime Minister’s residence, India Today Conclave and introduced as a “Youth Icon “to name at the very least and my community longing to go back home some still live in refugee camps. We continue to wait for justice and acknowledgement of our genocide.

No one who was there can ever forget the fateful night of January 19th, 1990, when tens of thousands of Islamic jihadis poured into the streets of the valley shouting slogans like “*Kashmir may rehna hai to Allah Ho Akbar kehna hai*” (Urdu: If you want to live in Kashmir, you have to declare Allah is greater than all!)

“Hum kya chahtey hain - Nizam-e- Mustafa” (Urdu: What do we want? The regime of the prophet Muhamad’s Shariah Law!)

“Raliv, Chaliv ya Galiv” (Keshur: Convert to Islam, leave, or die!)

“Aase gache Kashmir Battav roste batnav syan” (Keshur: We want Kashmir without Kashmiri Pundit men but with their women!)

Please think and reflect on these bone-chilling chants blaring from loudspeakers all around you all night long. What would you do in that situation? When would you run? When your beloved one gets gunned down or wait to see if they come to rape your daughter?

These slogans were threats directed at Kashmiri Pundits telling them they were not welcome in Kashmir any longer. Many Kashmiri Hindus, including my beloved grandfather, Justice Neel Kanth Ganjoo were singled out because of their faith and brutally murdered. Their strategy was, “kill one and scare away a thousand.”

I am proud to say that we Kashmiri Hindus never picked guns, we focused on education. We are highly literate peace - loving community. With our focus on education, hard work and perseverance my community has excelled in every field. Regardless of where we live in the world, we long to go home to our roots. I don’t know if and when I will be able to take my children to Kashmir. I for sure cannot take them back to my ancestral home (exhibit 5 & 6) as that sadly does not exist anymore. Thousands of Kashmiri Hindu homes very destroyed, illegally occupied, or succumbed to distress sale as money was needed to survive.

This is just my story. Imagine lakhs of such gruesome narratives that have left people scarred for life. Even after facing such circumstances, we were never taught to hate Muslims. Not even once did my parents spew hatred towards a community but always expressed disappointment towards the people who failed them in Kashmir. These people were not only our neighbors but friends, colleagues, classmates.

All these years no one listened, when someone did, we were mostly misunderstood and misconstrued we have been labeled as weak individuals, been told that no atrocities were

committed on us asking for proof claiming. Unfortunately, media has also been indulging in spreading false narratives and the voices of victims have been subjugated.

My testimony today is not just for my grandfather but for the countless victims in every decade since including as recent as within last 6 months who were killed and singled out because of their faith. I speak for Human rights of hundred thousand of Kashmiri Hindus who continue to live in subhuman conditions in camps.

How many more Kashmiri Hindus must die before the government and the world acknowledges our genocide? Unfortunately, killing of my community members for their beliefs continues even now, I continue to fight for the cause of Kashmiri Hindus, acknowledgement of our genocide.

I am glad that finally an esteemed panel of The Commission has invited the real victims of Kashmiri Hindu genocide who faced persecution, mass murder and ethnic cleansing and are live witnesses to the brutal atrocities committed on us. Both Human Rights and religious freedom of Indigenous Kashmiris have been denied for a long time especially over the last three decades.

Just like the holocaust, as more survivors age & die, the number of the holocaust deniers rises. We Kashmiri Hindus face the same fate.

Where were and where are the stalwarts of Human Rights when a prominent social worker Pundit Tiklal Taploo was killed, when Mrs. Girja Tikoo, was gang raped by Islamic militants and then cut into pieces by a wood saw.

Why were they silent when 25 years ago on 22nd March 7 innocent Kashmiri Hindus were massacred in Sangrampora?

Did they not know about the Nadimarg killings when 19 years ago on 23rd March, 24 innocent Kashmiri Hindus fell victims to Islamic terrorism to justify their silence or did they deliberately choose to turn a blind eye?

Were they oblivious to Wandhama massacre when on Jan 25th,1998 23 Kashmiri Hindus were rounded up and gunned down by militants who came dressed like Indian Army soldiers, the victims included four children and nine women?

Where were the champions of Religious Right Freedom when our basic right to practice our religion was curtailed? Our temples renamed & their sanctity desecrated and destroyed.

There is no denial that other communities have also suffered, however today I will only highlight pain and suffering of my community as we have been repeatedly ignored as if we never existed.

The world didn't just remain silent whenever Kashmiri Hindus asked for justice. The world actively silenced us! Blamed the victims of Islamophobia instead of condemning those who killed in the name of Islam.

If you are more offended by the truth than the crimes themselves then you are enabling the genocide.

Today's event has rekindled hope for my community and me. Hope that was dwindled in these 32 years, hope that people will listen, acknowledge, empathize, and understand what Kashmiri Hindus have gone through. It is about time the world pays attention and acts - when we speak up as victims of ethnic cleansing, speak about atrocities committed on us as individuals and at a much larger scale on our community categorizing it as a genocide.

Rights and justice for Kashmiri Hindus are long overdue.

I would like to question all who deny the fact that my grandfather was killed because he was a Kashmiri Hindu – Neel Kanth Ganjoo was the only non - Muslim in the trial of Maqbool Bhat. The prosecutor, defense lawyer, eyewitnesses, police investigators all were Muslims. As I understand Capital Punishment has to be confirmed by High court before it is executed. Yet another Muslim Justice Ali, Chief Justice in High Court confirmed the sentence. Then why did only my beloved grandfather have to pay the price with his life. This is a clear case of one of the many brutalities unleashed by Islamic terrorists on Kashmiri Hindus in the name of religion.

What we Kashmiri Hindus expect is - Accepting that it was a genocide. Accept that it was a period of shame for our country. Accept that humanity failed us. If you are still in denial,

then accept that you are failing us again! Help us in prosecuting Yasin Malik, Bitta Karate, and other terrorists.

Urge the government to help the economically weak sects of KP families. We don't need your pity but togetherness to help us get justice after 32 long years! This is your time to support us! Support Humanity! We have waited a long time.

My fight for justice for Justice Neel Kanth Ganjoo continues. With each passing year Kashmiri Hindus belief in humanity and government and Judicial system of our country is fading away. Thank you for your time and attention.

4.5 Testimony of Mr. Ravinder Pandita

Namaskar (salutations), I am Ravinder Pandita and belong to Bagatpora village of Handwara in District Kupwara, North Kashmir which was more influenced and affected in the beginning of the militancy. The militants who came from across the border had to cross these villages/towns to reach other parts of valley. During their stay they used to influence and motivate the young boys to join them. As a result, in every town, armed militants were seen roaming around freely showcasing their weapons. The majority of Kashmiri Hindus were forced to flee the valley as a result of being targeted by JKLF and Islamist insurgents during late 1989 and early 1990. During this period massive crowds assembled in mosques across valley, shouting anti-India, anti - Hindu slogans. This resulted in hundreds of innocent Pundits (Hindus) tortured, killed and women gang raped. Close to 600 thousand Pundits had to escape from the valley and taken refuge in our own country in various cities, e.g., Jammu, Delhi, etc.



Exhibit 1: Newspaper clips covering incidents of terrorism only fueled fear, with no government action

For the first time since Independence, Kashmiri Pundits found themselves abandoned to their fate, stranded in their own homes, encircled by rampaging mobs. Through the frenzied shouts and blood-curdling sloganeering of the assembled mobs, KP's saw the true face of intolerant and radical Islam.

It became apparent to Pundits on 19th Jan'1990 that Kashmiri Muslims had decided to throw them out of the valley. Broadcasting vicious Jihadi sermons and revolutionary

songs, interspersed with blood curdling shouts and shrieks became a routine task of the radical Islamists of the valley to force Hindus to flee.

Some of the slogans used were as follows:

“*Kashmir mein agar rehna hai Allan - ho - Akbar kahna hoga*” (Urdu: If you want to live in Kashmir, you will have to declare that Allah is greater than all!)

“*Pakistan se Rishta kya? Lailla-e-illalah*” (Urdu: What is our relationship with Pakistan? – “There is no God but Allah!”)

“*Kashmir banawon Pakistan Batav varade, Batnev saan*” (Keshur: We will turn Kashmir into Pakistan along with Kashmiri women but without their menfolk)

Kashmiri Pundits were given three choices, “*Raliv, Galiv ya Chaliv*” meaning - Convert to Islam, be ready to die or leave Kashmir immediately.

Explosive and inflammatory speeches were being broadcasted from mosques to install fear into already terrified Kashmiri Pundit Community.

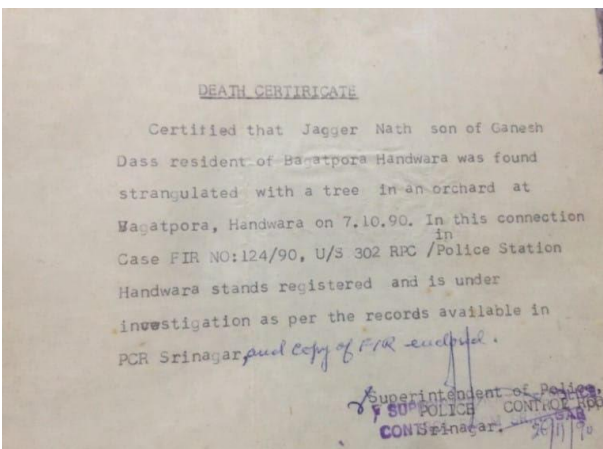


Exhibit 2: Death certificate of Jagger Nath Pandita

Considering the migration of many Hindus, my father Late Sh. Jagger Nath Pandita decided to shift too. My father was a Govt Employee working with Revenue department, a true nationalist and a brave man who never compromised with his self-esteem. He was a social worker too and was always helping Muslim neighbors. How would help the farmers to settle the agricultural disputes.

But all his virtues had no effect on the terrorists and local Muslims who were witness to his martyrdom. He like many of the people in the town believed that the situation in the valley will get normal soon and all who left will have to return. He also thought all his Muslim neighbors are his friends and they can't harm him. He thought house can't be left alone and vacant and someone needs to be there to take care of it, so he stayed back and sent his family with rest of the extended family to Udhampur near Jammu. I have

already lost my mother in a tragic accident in 1978 when I was just 5-year-old. The things seemed to be temporary as we had the conception that we will return to our home shortly, but the situation was shaping up in the ugliest manner and militancy was peaking day by day.

Back home at Handwara, as time started to move on, a relative from my mother's side also moved on to stay with my father. The lack of communication between my father in Handwara and rest of the family in Udhampur increased agony of both sides, yet we were trying to get busy with the daily schedules till one evening, when everyone was sitting in

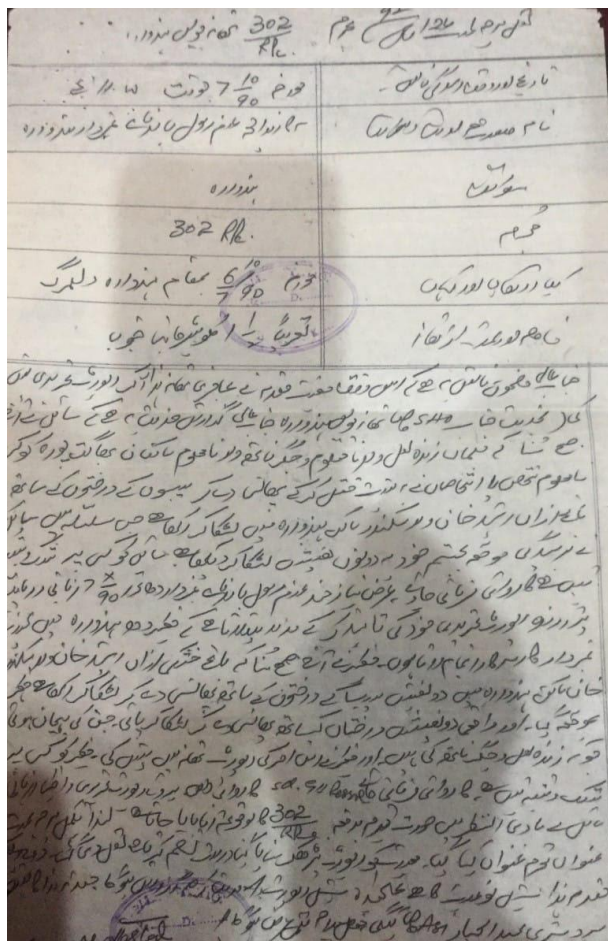


Exhibit 3: First Information Report (FIR)

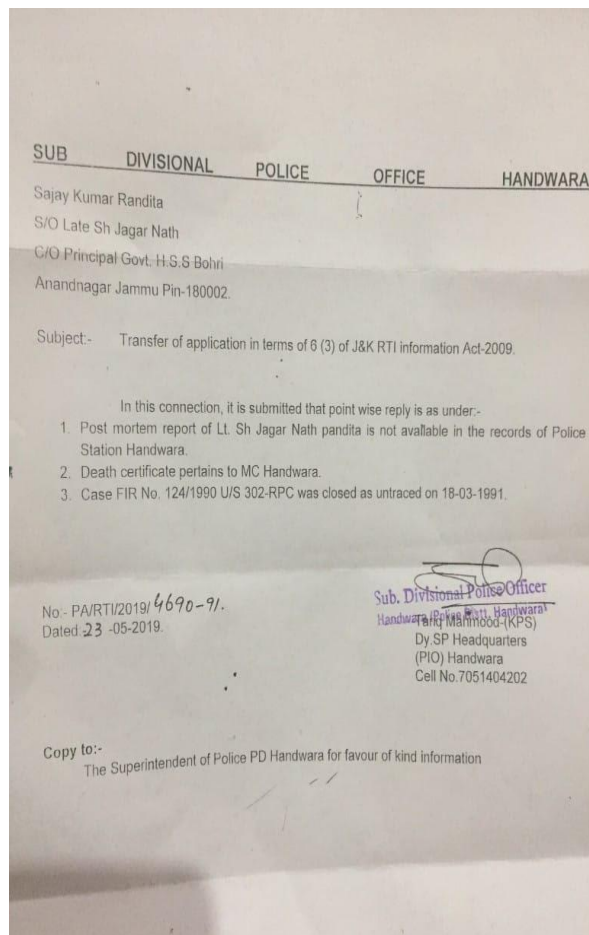


Exhibit 4: Right to Information (RTI) response

front of the radio set for the daily news, the only source of information about the ongoing situation in the valley and all of a sudden we heard the devastating news that shattered us. The news broadcast was about the two persons who had been brutally killed in Handwara town and the names shattered us. Panic struck the whole family and didn't

understand as to what should be done. We three brothers were motherless teenagers and too young to handle the situation.

The incident happened in the intervening night of 7th and 8th Oct'1990, two of them had just started their dinner when there was a knock on the main gate, they hardly had eaten as was evident by the scene of the room where two plates were filled with food, were found. It was local known Muslim who worked in our orchard, who called my dad out to the waiting armed militants. Both men were dragged and taken out to our own orchard and were tortured for hours as was visible from the holes seen on the body, and then strangulated with the barbed wire used for fencing and later hanged on a tree with a note saying whosoever touches the bodies with face the same consequences.



Exhibit 5: TV reports of being strung up with barbed wire and tortured



Exhibit 6: Ravinder Pandita being interviewed on TV recently

After three days the bodies were taken down by my uncle (who was working in Srinagar) along with the local police. Unfortunately, the bodies were not allowed to be cremated in and around Handwara and later taken to Kupwara for cremation. Despite having three sons, we couldn't perform last rites of our Martyred father, one of the biggest regret a son can have throughout his life.

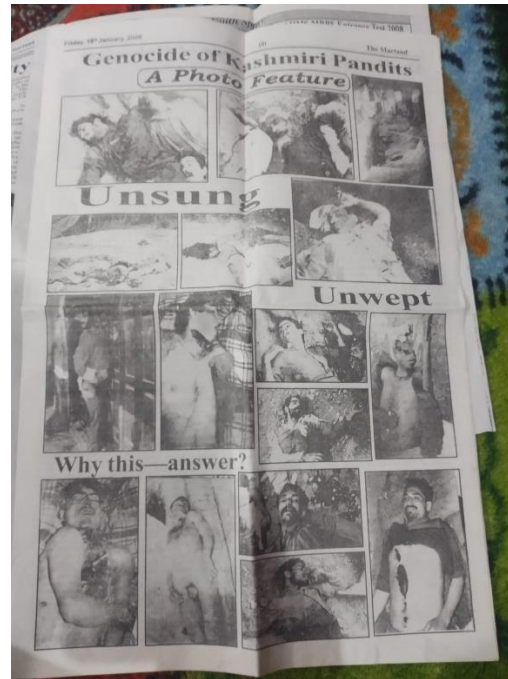
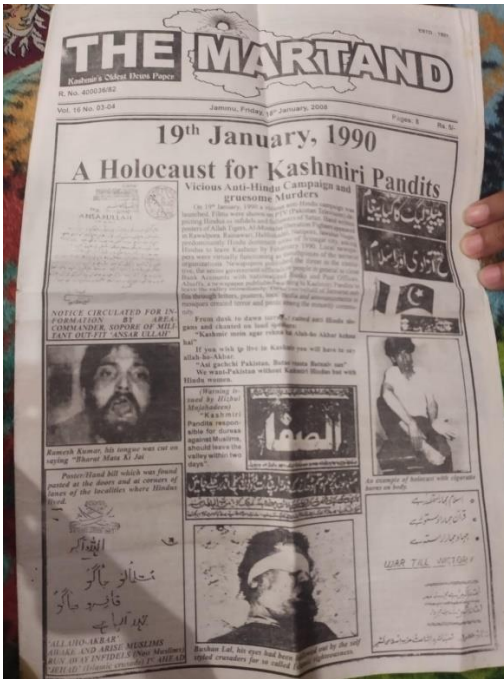


Exhibit 7: Some newspapers have called out the genocide for what it was, but it has largely been ignored

This was a big setback for the family and whole incident took a heavy toll on the lives of three teenaged boys. Being attached more to my father, I went into depression for a longer period and later my elder brother sent me for further studies to overcome this trauma. Today, we three brothers are settled in life, but the vacuum created by the loss of our father will take ages to fill or may be never ...

All the Kashmiri Pundits have suffered a lot due to Islamic terrorism and we are still refugees in our own country due to this genocide. We are still waiting for the justice being delivered, more than three decades have already elapsed, not too sure how longwhen the wait will end!

Thank you.

4.6 Testimony of Mr. Sanjay Kaul

Honorable members of The Commission, I thank you for organizing a Hearing on the genocide of Kashmiri Hindus. Honorable Chairman Prof. Ved Nanda, Honorable Vice Chairman Prof. Yashwant Pathak and Member Dr. Adityanjee, today I speak to you as a victim and survivor of the genocide inflicted on the indigenous Hindus of Kashmir. It is unfortunate but true that the world so far has remained silent and continues to remain silent towards the plight of Kashmiri Hindus.

My ancestors, my forefathers, all belonged to the land that is known as Kashmir. I'm a Kashmiri Hindu. The Hindus of Kashmir are also known as Kashmiri Pundits. Kashmir has historically been a seat of learning for the Hindus.

Islam came to Kashmir in the 14th century CE, and in less than 7 centuries Hindus have been rendered a miniscule minority in Kashmir. We have faced 7 exoduses so far.

We are the victims of the worst ethnic cleansing post India's independence. Our homes, our lives were destroyed by the radical Islamic terrorists. Our voices were diminished by the most brutal terrorists of Kashmir. I am Sanjay Kaul, born and brought up in Kashmir, I am one of those thousands of Kashmiri Pundits forced out of our homes by the Islamic terrorists. After leaving Kashmir, I moved to Boston, United States of America, in 1991, and now I am an American citizen of Indian origin. I am here to share my story of survival and talk about my experience.

Let me tell you, my heart has never stopped beating for Kashmir. Have you ever felt that intense pain in your heart, of the highest magnitude, when your heart beats so hard that you feel that it will jump out of your body? I have. My family home was located in a colony called Jawahar Nagar, barely a mile away from the famous Lal Chowk in Srinagar. On the night of January 19, 1990, the loudspeakers from all the mosques in the Kashmir Valley came alive, with the announcement for all Muslims to come out onto the streets. The slogans were, "*hum kya chahtey – azadi*" (Urdu: What do we want? Freedom!), "Indian dogs go back!", "*hum chahtey hain nizam-e-Mustafa*" (Urdu: We want the regime of Muhammad's Shariah Law), "(Keshur: We want Kashmir without Hindu men but with their women)". Thereafter, hundreds and thousands of people came out onto the streets,

screaming and yelling: “*Raliv, Chaliv ya Galiv*” (Keshur: Convert to Islam, or leave, or die!). This was their slogan.

They attacked Hindu houses to open our doors to kill us and play with the honor of our women. That was the kind of fear I have seen and faced. I felt like a frightened pigeon. My story is intimately connected with the trauma that our family has faced. What happened in 1990 was no ordinary thing: It was the persecution of an ethnic minority based on its religion. Our women were raped, men were killed, our homes and businesses were looted and burned. Our temples and religious institutions were looted and destroyed.

I am one of 400,000 Kashmiri Hindus who were expelled from the Kashmir Valley by a combination of violence and explicit threats by the Islamic terrorists. The insurgency in Kashmir actually started in 1986 but spread like wildfire in 1989. The mayhem in Kashmir started with the murder of our great leader Pundit Tika Lal Taploo followed by the killing of Justice Neelkanth Ganjoo, which was also followed by the killing of the Station Director of Srinagar Doordarshan [television] Shri Lassa Kaul and Pundit Sarvanand Premi, a known scholar.

These were some of the first murders that were made possible in Kashmir just to create an atmosphere of fear so that a full-scale genocide could be launched. During that disturbing phase, numerous women were raped right in front of their family. More than 1500 Kashmiri Pundits and more than 5000 security personnel were murdered.

The militants did not stop at the killing of individuals only but followed up with mass massacres that kept happening from time to time at Sangrampora, Gool, Wandhama, Telwani and Nadimarg. Simply said, it has been a continuous campaign of well-planned genocide against us, the Hindu minority of Kashmir.

Give the dog a bad name and kill him - this is how Kashmir was sanitized (ethnically cleansed). Posters were posted outside mosques and Hindu houses, labelling Hindus as *mukhbirs*, meaning they were the informers and agents of the Indian Government. Warning signs were issued and posted everywhere.

One day I heard gunshots. When I ran out to see what happened I saw a young man bleeding on the street corner. When we tried to help him, the local SHO (Station House

Officer) came near me and warned me not to touch him and threatened that I would be next. You could not complain to anybody – the state police and the Jammu & Kashmir Government were working with the separatists and for the separatists.

In 1990 I worked for the civil PWD (Public Works Department) and I was the only Kashmiri Hindu in that department after January 19, after everybody had fled. I was taunted at my office and asked why I come to work every day, that I should also leave. One day fortunately for me I was late for work, and I call it fortunate because on that day there was a bomb blast at my office, and the bomb had been placed in the room where I used to sit. After that we had to leave. There was a note placed on the gate of my house which said, “You have 48 hours to leave Kashmir, otherwise you will be killed, and your family will be killed.” We had no choice but to leave.

I will tell you this: I find myself helpless like a bird without wings. We have meant no harm, yet we have been brought to a place and time where we are about to become extinct. We did not throw stones, we did not burn buses, we did not pick up guns. What was our fault? Our fault was simply being Hindus and loyal patriotic citizens of India, and for that we have paid a big price.

My submission to this august body is that we are at the crossroads of time. We plead for justice, we plead for support. I appeal to this body that we as Hindus reaffirm our demand to carve out a Union Territory in Kashmir where we can live with honor and dignity without the fear of getting robbed, raped, or killed, and with full freedom of speech, liberty and justice, and full political freedom and also the freedom to practice our religion, and we be able to manage our affairs ourselves.

In the meantime, I also want to say one thing, that Panun Kashmir, a political voice representing Kashmiri Pundits has prepared a Genocide and Atrocities Prevention Bill, that has been presented to Indian Parliamentarians in the year 2020. We hope that it gets enacted by the Indian Parliament so that the genocide of Hindus - or any other community – does not happen the way it happened with us in Kashmir.

I thank you all for your patient hearing.

4.7 Testimony of Mr. Himanshu Ganjoo

Namaskar (salutations). My name is Himanshu Ganjoo. I am here in Michigan, United States of America. I want to thank each of you individuals who have invited me to be here on this panel. I don't have a lot of recollection from Kashmir altogether. I was born in Jammu. My father was Prof. Kundan Lal Ganjoo, and my mother was Pranav Ganjoo who was a lecturer in Kashmir. Very well-known people in Kashmir, in Sopore. I hear a lot of things, good things, about them as individuals from a lot of people who had known them personally.

I don't have that much of a story about the rest of Kashmir because I was five years old and don't have much recollection from that. But I do have a story which is very personal to me and every single time I talk about that with anybody it brings tears to my eyes. But me being 5 years old, it was very difficult for me to recollect what exactly happened. Me, being with my grandmother who raised me in Jammu, I didn't know that my parents were killed in the genocide in Kashmir. My father who was a senior scientist at the Agricultural College and he believed in those people. Not naming anybody, but I have heard the story from a lot of different people, about what happened, and that should have never happened. The only thing that my father thought was that he believed in those people he lived and worked with, it's going to be fine. But it was not.

I still remember the day I saw...I can close my eyes and recollect the last time saw my dad and mom. I was playing outside, playing cricket with my neighbors, and my father came out and told me to get ready to go to Baramulla to see my grandmother. And we did, and I was in the clothes that I was playing outside in, and certainly didn't have plans to be staying with my grandmother for the rest of my life.

And he told me that we should go to see my grandmother, and I did, and I cried in front of him that I didn't want to go to my grandmother's place because I was sure she would tell me to stay there overnight, and I was a mommy's boy. I remember I sat on his scooter, and we went to Baramulla and my grandmother was planning to go to Jammu the next day.

The day before, my grandmother had come to Sopore where we were, and she told my parents to also leave, that they were the ones helping her to pack up and leave Kashmir, but they needed to do so as well. But unfortunately, they did not, they were not sure what was going to happen to their lives in the near future. They were resistant in terms of not leaving because they believed in the people who were around them, those they considered to be their well-wishers. But unfortunately, they were not.

We went to Baramulla and my dad said that he would return the next day. I still remember as a 5-year-old - I am not able to recollect all those things that happened, but some of the stuff is in my mind and it's sad. He left and I stayed there at my maternal grandmother's place. And the next day till 11...12 o'clock, he did not show up, and we thought something was wrong.

I still remember that my father's friend, a very good friend of his, came to Baramulla to check up on us, and he asked my grandmother, "Was Gasha here?" – my father's nickname was Gasha. And my grandmother said that they weren't and added that they should know better than us. And I realized that he was on the same scooter that my father used to drive.

Then my grandmother told us to go stay with the neighbors while she goes to search for my parents. She left to see if she could go to Sopore, but unfortunately, she was not able to because of the curfew that had been imposed on Sopore. Then she came back and said that we are going to leave and drop the kids off at Sopore, but the cops did not allow us to do so, saying there was a lot of terrorism going on there at that time.

And we left for Jammu, not knowing where we were really going. I remember my maternal aunt used to live in Jammu because my maternal aunt's husband was in the secretariat. We stayed there at Jammu with them for almost a year, in a small apartment of 2 rooms, and we stayed there together with 10 to 15 people.

It is really sad to see what has happened to Hindus. I as an individual want to address this to each and every individual here and I want to address this to all Hindus to wake up. This is a wake-up call for everybody. I do appreciate Vivek Agnihotri making this movie [The Kashmir Files]. But we as individuals need to wake up as Hindus, and I wanted to say thank you to everybody. Thank you.

4.8 Testimony of Ms. Sunita Ticku

First of all, I would like to extend my humble gratitude for giving my voice a chance to be heard.

Just as the first basic right in article one says that 'all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights; there it was not true at all in the neck of my woods. Although we were part of the majority in India, yet we were treated like a stepchild by the majority in Kashmir who were the Muslims. Reaping all the benefits of minorities from the central government, Kashmiri Muslims never allowed any of the benefits to be given to the minorities like us Hindus, Sikhs, Christians in the state. We were most of the times left to fend for ourselves while they enjoyed the perks of central government.

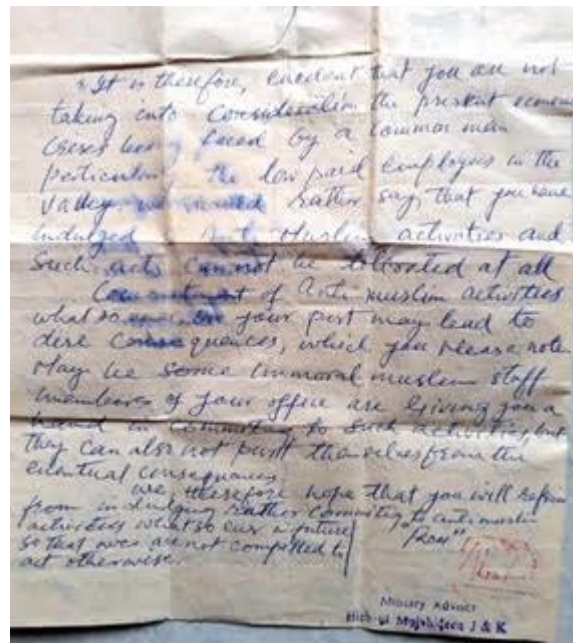


Exhibit 1: Threatening letters from terrorist organizations like the Hizbul Mujahedin

In the late 1980's a lot started changing in Kashmir. Our politicians chose to turn a deaf ear to early warning signs. Too many *madrassas* (Islamic seminaries) started springing up. Everybody was sending their kids to *madrassas* where the main goal was to brain wash.

By 1989, Kashmiri Muslims had been thoroughly brainwashed in their *madrassas* and elite homes that they could become an independent Islamic State for which they just had

to throw out the Indigenous Hindus. This is what a young terrorist said, “So instead of killing them all and wasting so much ammunition, we figured a better plan of terrorizing, harassing and petrifying a community by ghastly murders.” These were done like

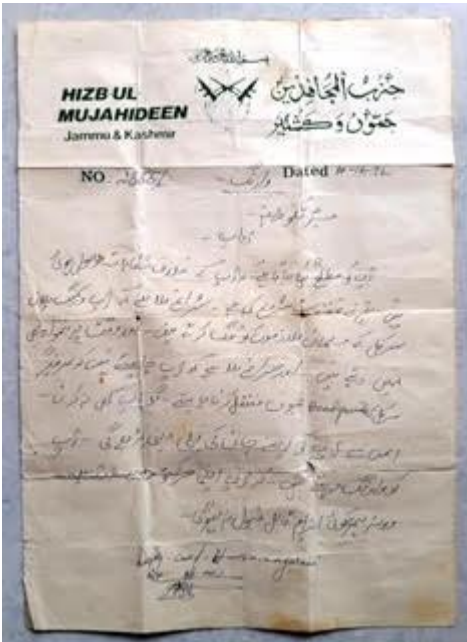


Exhibit 2: Another threatening letter

chopping bodies, gouging eyes out, breaking all bones, chopping heads, raping and then dismembering bodies, dancing and celebrating around dead Hindu bodies, hanging tortured bodies from trees, sectioning live humans on band saws and so on.

Yes, kill one and scare a thousand - that was the tactics adopted by our aggressors.

In my family, they came to kill my dad who survived though, but my grandfather, grandmother and uncle were fatally shot. Two of them died on spot. A full year and a half after the call to genocide went out, on October 15, 1991, my grandfather, grandmother and

uncle were fatally shot by Islamic terrorists. My father believed he and his family could stay in Kashmir, that his Muslim colleagues would protect him. This was in spite of the fact that he had 3 attempts on his life already. He thought the religious frenzy would pass. Terrorists came to our homestead. My mother hid my uncle in a storeroom. That very night, my mother’s uncle and my own uncle fled Kashmir that night.



Exhibit 3: Ms. Ticku’s grandfather was fatally shot along with her grandmother and an uncle

Back to the fateful night of January 19, 1990, all the clocks in all the mosques of Kashmir valley were synchronized and at exactly 10 pm all over the valley, there was a huge war cry from the loudspeakers - “*raliv, chaliv ya galiv.*” Translation: Convert or Flee or Die...these were the choices given to us after such murders. They wanted Kashmiri

Pundits to run but leave their women folk behind for which they used the slogan, “We want freedom and Kashmiri Hindu women without any Kashmiri Pundit men.” Another slogan was “*Yahan kya chalega - Nizam-e-Mustafa*” (only the rule of Prophet Muhammad or Sharia law). It was a properly executed plan of removing our existence from there and the design was implemented by even changing the names of towns (like the historic Anantnag to Islamabad), rivers like Kishen Ganga renamed River Neelam, etc. And a constant denial of our genocide calling it a “Jagmohan’s Conspiracy” (blaming it on the Governor of Jammu and Kashmir at the time). To keep the fear alive, the ongoing killings are still happening selectively like killing a teacher, a pharmacist, a political activist, and so on. So, this is not just a 32-year-old story, it continues to happen. Need I mention that we are the indigenous race that has been there for more than 5000 years. And now we are at the brink of extinction.

When we were hounded out of our homes in 1990, we became refugees in our own country and since we were not a vote bank nobody paid attention to us. Even America who is always trying to protect the vulnerable populaces of the world ignored our plight. Somehow, we became invisible to the whole world. While we were trying to survive under hostile and miserable conditions, our perpetrators who had a lot of funding from a lot of foreign resources kept on building their false narrative all over the world. This country functions a lot on lobbying. And that was how their narrative was sold here.

A common question asked is how is it a genocide? Given our minuscule number, people don’t realize that we are a small ethnicity which comprised less than 5 % total population of the valley of Kashmir. So, when a couple of thousand Kashmiri Pundits get killed, that is a big number for a small ethnic group. It is not a big deal for people asking questions. They immediately bring in the fact that Thousands of Muslims have died in Kashmir. What about them? That is very unfortunate and utterly sad. Every life is precious & may no one have to lose their loved ones in such a way. Sadly, for the disillusioned Kashmiri Muslims, it is what they signed up for. They were readily and proudly sending their children for training and were proud that their children would attain martyrdom. What for were we dying? Just because we were Hindus!

Now as per UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide,

Article II states:

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group, as such:

(a) Killing members of the group

YES - selectively picking up and mercilessly killing eminent scholars, teachers, high ranking government officers, etc. and then celebrating those deaths.

(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group

YES - some who escaped from the torture of Islamic terrorists were scarred forever; families affected by the deaths of loved ones - scarred forever. And the children growing up in small tents in scorching heat and hardly any help from the government or for that matter even Red Cross which is known to help everybody. Stress induced diseases like depression, heart attacks, hypertension, diabetes etc. became prevalent.

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

YES - Given the fact that we belonged to a high-altitude cold place, we were forced to live in extreme hot places under tents or one room tenements without any water, with meager facilities. Lot of people died of heat stroke, snake bites, scorpion bites, suicides due to extreme miserable living conditions. In some families, there were multiple deaths due to these harsh living conditions.

(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group

YES - when whole families are forced to live in a tent in extreme poverty without any means of privacy, it is evident that the birth rate is going to fall. We as a community were used to living as joint families of at least 10-20 members in big 4 story houses. Due to this forcible exile with hardly any privacy, our birth rate had fallen below 1. At this point after three decades, it is now beginning to show some improvement.

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

NO.

The plight of Kashmiri Pundits fits in not just one but four of the five parts of the article II above, and yet we still must justify that it is a genocide. As I am writing this, there is a stabbing pain filling my heart. May be in a decade or two, all of us Kashmiri Pundits would have gotten assimilated in the communities where fate (and our Muslim brothers) threw us in. An indigenous ethnicity of 5000+ year continuity in the Vale of Kashmir made of highly educated people will become extinct because their perpetrators had sold the narrative to the big forces of this world.

But this can change, and the change can start from here. Every Kashmiri Pundit is now looking up and saying “Houston, we have a problem!” Please help us.

Some people may ask what we as Kashmiri Hindus strive for now. Awareness, or Justice? We need both. Firstly, this movie is making the space for awareness and after that only can we get justice; when the whole nation is aware of what happened to a whole ethnicity. So, what is Justice?

Justice is holding a formal governmental inquiry into the genocide. Justice is passing bills in Parliament to recognize and prevent the genocide. Justice is bringing the culprits to book. And most importantly, Justice is rehabilitating us securely back in Kashmir in such a way that we and other non-Islamic minorities are not vulnerable to continued genocide.

I want my grandchildren to go back in summers to their summer home in Kashmir. I want to spend the rest of my old age in the land that bore me. I want to be cremated in Kashmir and my ashes to be spread all over the holy land of the River Vitasta.

I want to be rooted back in the soil that I came from.

Once again, thanks for hearing me out.

4.9 Testimony of Mr. Vikas Raina

I am Vikas Raina, a victim of the Kashmiri Hindu Genocide, living in Pune, a native of Sopore (Baramulla District), Jammu and Kashmir.

My father, Mr. Ashok Kumar Raina, son of Shivji Raina, a native of Sopore, was a great educationist, a superb human being and a very loving father. As a person, he was very simple, down to earth, honest, tolerant, brave, and very caring, He was an M.Sc. Physics (Electronics with Honors) from Agra university. At the very young age of 23 years, he was appointed as a Physics lecturer at a Junior College. He was very happy with the way his



career was shaping. Routine transfers and new academic approaches were keeping his life busy. He was a responsible family man and created a nice balance between his personal and professional life.

In 1988, militancy had sneaked in our beautiful Land of Kashyap, "Kashir" or Kashmir. There was Islamic terror spreading at a very fast pace and their motive was to spread hate, horror and scare in minorities, particularly Kashmiri Pundits. Militants wanted to establish Nizam-e-Mustafa. They

Exhibit 1: Newspaper clippings adumbrated a clash of civilizations started harassing and killing Kashmiri Pundits, and also targeting the Army and Airforce officials. Our Pro India sentiment was always mocked and crushed. In 1989 -90 under the sinister plan of ethnic cleansing lakhs of Kashmiri Pundits were driven out from

their homeland Kashmir. I remember me and my sister was asleep, and my father came and told us to get ready as we are leaving Kashmir. We got few suitcases ready and with the help of some local friends my father arranged Minibus our family (me, my sister, my grandparents, my mother, and father) left for Udhampur. I was 11 years old, and my sister was 14 yr. On the way, we saw thousands of KPs in trucks, cars, buses heading towards Jammu. My father told us that we are moving out of Kashmir because it is not a safe place for our community now, once things normalize, we will come back, right now it is better to stay away from Kashmir. It was a forced mass exodus, and it was very painful. This was the story of every Kashmiri Pundit. We became migrants in our own country. We took refuge in Udhampur. The life of hardship and struggle started but, in my heart, I was sure that we will see a better life as I considered my parents as heroes and knew that they will make it better for us. Every day I used to see the pain and agony in my grandparent's and my parent's eyes. Our usual schools commenced, and we started adapting to different cultures and climates.

Finally, good news after a long time, in Aug 1991 my father got promoted to the post of principal of Hr. Sec School. It was a great achievement and a sense of pride for all of us that at the 42yrs he was given such a huge responsibility. At this age, he already had 21 years of lectureship experience and that itself was a big achievement. Being a young officer, he was posted to Kargil (Ladakh), one of the toughest locations in India. He served in Kargil from 1991 - 1994. We always used to wait for winters when my father used to come back home, those days used to be the best days. He used to bring a variety of dry fruits and the famous and best one was *khubani* (apricot). We used to eat a lot of them.

Meanwhile, during this time we shifted from Udhampur to Jammu. In 1994 my father completed his serving tenure of 3 years in Kargil and he was transferred to Jammu.

Along with my father, 14 other people were transferred back to Jammu. Almost all of them were adjusted in Jammu only leaving my father. He was given a new appointment: he was transferred to Gool (Ramban). There is a norm in J&K Govt who so ever serves in Ladakh for 3 years is given an easy and posting of his choice option. My father has already served in Ladakh for 3 years and he was transferred to Gool which was also a very tough posting. My father personally met with the education minister and highlighted

this issue, but he told my father you are a very young and dynamic officer, and you must go. My father was denied the fundamental right of posting of choice by the minister, by rules he was not entitled to have back-to-back two tough postings the only fault of his was that he was young. Criminality happened thereby flaunting the said norms. My Grandfather told him not to go but my father was very dedicated to his work and finally, he joined at Gool. Gool was basically a hilly terrain and there were traces of militancy in and around that area. Gool as an area was influenced by the Hizbul Mujaheddin Group. My father started his work and started spreading education in that area. There were young



Exhibit 2: Newspapers reported the incident in which the witness lost family members

Kashmiri Pandit lectures working with him. I remember in some seasons all of them had to walk more than 30 km to reach Gool. I have seen bruises and burns on my father's feet, he was a tough and strong man, he never bothered and moved on.

The darkest day of our lives was just around the corner. My father had come for summer holidays, it was 14th June 1997, the next day my father was leaving for Gool.

In the evening, I and he took my grandmother to an optician and then we went to Shiv Mandir in Jammu. I had chat with my father on loads of topics and we came back home. Ravinder ji and Sushil ji came to our place to discuss with my father, the travel schedule for tomorrow, as all 3 of them were going back to Gool.

The following morning on 15 June 1997 my father left for Gool, it was very early in the morning I was fast asleep. I asked my mother why she didn't wake me up - I had wanted to say goodbye to him. I never knew that I will never be able to say goodbye to my father. The next day morning my mother, my grandmother and I were asleep at around 4am, the bell rang, and my mom opened the door there were a few police officers who told us that the bus my father was travelling in was attacked by militants and several people are

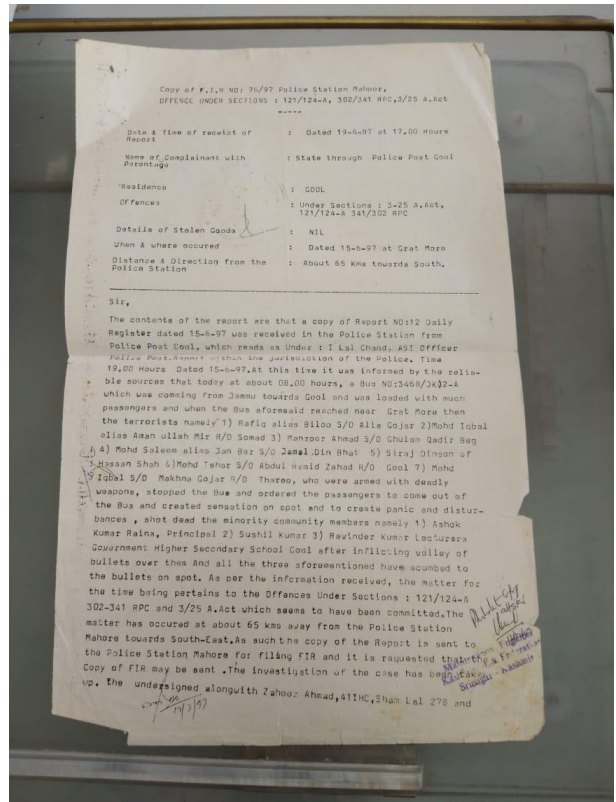


Exhibit 3: The family files a First Information Report (FIR) and demands a probe into the murders injured. I and my mother rushed to my uncle's and my uncle went with them. At around 7 am it was across all the newspapers that 3 Kashmiri Pundits were killed by militants in Gool. I lost my senses, and the day was a long walk of sorrow and grief. Our family was devastated and shattered. In the evening the dead body came, thousands of people were

outside our house. we saw him for the last time, I kissed his forehead and finally said goodbye. My sister was holding me and crying. Everyone was crying and my mind had stopped working. I remember even after taking 11 bullets his face looked calm, his body felt soft. At around 10:30 pm all the 3 martyrs were laid to rest in the flames of celestial bliss, OM Shanti. It was the death of humanity.

According to some eyewitness: The bus in which they were travelling was stopped by men in army uniform, 7 Kms from Gool. All Hindus were asked to step down. By then it was clear that they were not security forces but Islamic terrorists. There was some resistance from Muslim passengers, seeing this terrorist said they are not going to harm them, their commander only wants to talk to them, they even swear by their Prophet and Holy book. 6 Hindus (4 Kashmiri Pundits and 2 Jammuites) were taken out of which 2 people escaped one by jumping off the cliff and the other by running up a hill. The remaining 4 were made to walk 30 meters near the nullah and 3 Kashmiri Pundits were fired upon by terrorists and martyred and the 4th (Jammu resident) was allowed to go. The message was clear. Kashmiri Pundits are the target.

- Shri. Ashok Kumar Raina - Principal

- Shri. Ravindra Kabu - Lecturer

- Shri. Sushil Pandita - Sr. Teacher

So, it was a planned targeted killing. He was killed because he was a Kashmiri Pundit. He was killed because he was doing his duty with utmost sincerity and honesty. He was killed because he was the symbol of Kashmir Pundit growth. This heinous crime was executed by Billu Gujjar of Hizbul Mujahideen and Amanullah Gujjar Group. A couple of months later he was killed by Security Forces.

*The Vice Chairman
Jammu Development Authority
Jammu*

DISTRICT POLICE HRS. UDHAMPUR.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

As reported by I/C PP Gool that on 15.6.97 a Group of WIE's stopped Bus. No:3468/JK02-A at Gharat More) Gool which was on way towards Gool the said group of militants have killed Ashok Kumar Raina Principal, Sushil Kumar Bhat, and Ravinder Lecturer Govt. Higher Secondary School Gool with bullet shots. To this effect case FIR No:76/97 U/S 302/341/121-N/124-A/RPC 3/25 Arms Act. stands registered at P/S Mahore and investigation of the case is going on.

Sr. ~~Inspector~~ *Ajay*
Police,
Mahore

Office of the Vice Chairman, Jammu Dev. Authority Jammu

To.

Office of the Deputy Commissioner, Udhampur.

It is certified that Sh. Ashok Kumar Raina, Principal of Secondary School Gool, was killed by A.R.F.'s at Gharat More Gool while he was on his way from Mahore to Gool travelling in Bus No:-3468-JA-024 on 15-6-1997.

It is also certified that said Ashok Kumar Raina was not a militant nor he was involved in any militancy related activities.

M. A. Tal
DEPUTY COMMISSIONER
UDHAMPUR
Deputy Commissioner,
Udhampur.

No:- *21/1599/97*
Dated:- *15-6-1997*

Exhibit 4: A bare minimum response from local police authorities acknowledging that the victim was innocent and this was a terrorist act.

It took me long time to understand that my mentor, my hero, my inspiration, my father, was not there with me anymore. I am sure he is watching me from the skies and keeps on blessing us.

4.10 Testimony of Dr. Mohan Sapru

Religious persecution and terrorism are twin blots on the conscience of humanity. No one knows it better than the persecuted Kashmiri Hindus, who have experienced 7 exoduses from the Kashmir valley in the last over 600 years.

More recently, in the 1989-1990 time period, Kashmir's radical Islamic terrorism resulted in genocide and forced exodus of over 99% of Kashmiri Hindu community. As a result, over 400,000 Kashmiri Hindus, uprooted from the Muslim majority Kashmir valley, became refugees in their own country. To gain azadi, Pakistan-trained terrorists along with the armed radical Islamists from a large section of local Kashmiri Muslim population used terror to completely rid Kashmir of its non-Muslim minorities. They openly killed, raped, and terrorized the "*kafirs*" (infidels), the Kashmiri Hindus. Inflammatory speeches, broadcast from the mosques via loudspeakers, openly threatened the existence of Kashmiri Hindus. On January 4, 1990, Aftab, a local Urdu newspaper published Hizb-ul-Mujahideen's press release warning all Kashmiri Hindus to leave the valley immediately. Another ultimatum was issued through the local press on April 14, 1990, ordering Kashmiri Hindus to leave the Valley within two days or face death.

My own family received a written warning notice, signed by armed terrorist commander of that region, to leave home within 36 hours or get slaughtered in our own home. Imagine the fear-struck unarmed family members, including small kids, hurriedly picking a few suitcases, and arranging transportation to run for their lives, leaving behind their roots, ancestral home and lifetime memories. Our distress sale-sold home is no longer there; already got razed to the ground by our Muslim neighbor. But the maternal uncle of my wife, didn't even get a chance to run for his life. A few armed terrorists barged in his home, opened fire, killing him, his wife, and few close relations on the spot. His son got hit near his eye, survived but couldn't perform the last rites of his parents. Imagine a panic-struck young boy in pain suddenly looking around to see his parents and relatives lying dead on the floor with gushing blood around them. As expected, the Muslim terrorist-friendly local police, when informed, looked the other way.

To the Indian government, international agencies, politicians, and democracies of the world, who proclaim to care about human rights violation and genocide, I as a Kashmiri Hindu have a few questions:

1. When over 99% of minority Kashmiri Hindu community gets hounded out of their homes, uprooted from their motherland and forced to run for their lives by Islamic terrorists, is that not genocide and human rights violation?
2. If unarmed, law-abiding members of Kashmiri Hindu community, labeled as Kafirs (infidels), get savagely slaughtered and raped by the Islamic terrorists, and their temples get desecrated or destroyed, is that not genocide and human rights violation?
3. When a Kashmiri Hindu woman gets gangraped for days, then cut into pieces with a saw, and armed terrorists slaughter men, women, and children in Nadimarg village in broad day light, is it not human rights violation?
4. Lastly, why is well-documented genocide and human rights violation of Kashmiri Hindus still not officially recognized, when did the conscience of humanity die?

Like every Kashmiri Hindu, I am still awaiting answers.

Thank you.

4.11 Testimony of Mr. Aditya Raj Kaul

Thank you to all of you for listening to us. This is perhaps one of the first times in the past 32 years that a Human Rights group has risen to the occasion and allowed the victims to speak. Now these victims are not people that haven't spoken. They've spoken for the last 32 years, but nobody has listened. They're waiting for the wheels of justice to move, and that's why, from the core of my heart, from the bottom of my heart, I thank you for at least listening to us.

Because for the past 32 years we have been demanding not only justice, but a bare acknowledgment. And that acknowledgment seems to be coming now, at least. Because that acknowledgment will, at least some day, will lead to justice, will lead to truth and reconciliation. And perhaps someday – we may not be alive [to see it] – future generations can be rehabilitated and can go back to their own homeland in Kashmir.

I am perhaps one of the youngest persons today in this forum, deposing before this Human Rights Commission. I was only 9 months old when the exodus happened. On the 19th of January, 1990, I was with my mother, I was in her lap, in a house in Rainawari, Srinagar, Kashmir. My grandparents were with me. My father was not with me because my uncle had been in an accident in another Indian city, Chandigarh. So, he couldn't be there with us. My mother and my grandparents, who are not with us anymore, tell me how there was slogans from the mosques on that day. They were scared for their lives, and not just our family but hundreds of thousands of others.

And not just in the district of Srinagar but in several other districts of Kashmir, simultaneously, there were these threatening slogans that other victims have also spoken about for the last 32 years. These slogans said that the Kashmiri Hindus, the Pundits, who were a miniscule minority, should leave immediately, should perish, or should join this so-called pan-Islamist struggle. My family, my uncle, had some courage and he went to the bus depot and purchased a ticket, our ticket to exile. And we finally left Srinagar in the dead of the night and never saw our house again. Thousands of us, my community members, left our homeland and we started our lives again, in Jammu.

But this didn't happen overnight. This happened over a period of several weeks and months. There were several popular and celebrated personalities among the Kashmiri Pundit community who were selectively targeted and assassinated. They were judges, they were scholars, they were poets, they were writers, and they were common Kashmiri Pundits, who did not believe in violence, who did not perhaps even have a political ideology, but were attacked for being Hindus in Kashmir, for not believing in Pakistan's propaganda, for not standing with Islamist terrorists from terrorist groups like the Jammu & Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) and the Hizbul Mujahideen who selectively targeted Kashmiri Pundits.

We started out lives, my family started our lives yet again in January of 1990, from a garage in Jammu, in which 16 members of my family stayed. That garage was attached to a cowshed, and that became our refugee camp in the first few weeks and months of exile. And this isn't just my story, but the story of thousands of others, who, in the sweltering heat of Jammu, a few hundred kilometers away from Kashmir, stayed in refugee camps in Mutthi, in Mishriwala, Purkhu. And even after 32 years today, are in a very poor condition in the township of Jagati, not very far from Jammu, and in Mutthi, Purkhu and Mishriwala as well.

We have been struggling for the last 32 years. I was one of the youngest, perhaps, in the early 1990's who protested outside the United Nations office in Delhi, when Boutros Boutros-Ghali visited. And we seek only justice, we have never sought revenge. We do not seek any kind of hate against any community or group of people, even though we have never picked up arms, have never formed any sort of violent struggle or a violent group, we have peacefully only believed in education, and a sense of justice and a belief in the Indian judicial system and Indian democracy and secular credentials. But still, we have been ignored. We have been relegated to the margins.

And today, through you, we appeal not just to the Indian Government, but to United States lawmakers as well, that we demand justice.

Immediately after I joined college in 2006, I formed a group called Roots in Kashmir with several other friends. Our sole objective was to demand justice and spread awareness about this miniscule minority of Kashmiri Pundits across the globe. We protested every

time a radical separatist or terrorist came to Delhi and was garlanded and given a forum to speak, while we Kashmiri Pundits were ignored. Even the Indian Government did not spare us. Whenever we held protests against the terrorists and separatists, we were arrested. Our voice was muzzled, while terrorists like Yasin Malik and Bitta Karate were not only given a podium and a platform to speak but were given space on the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) to air their views and confess to their crimes of committing terrorism and killing the Kashmiri Pundit community, and also the security forces in Kashmir.

I remember several instances where I stood in protest, holding a banner in front of several UN organizations, Indian Government offices, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch – but nobody cared, nobody listened to us. Perhaps there should be an audit, there should be an investigation, a probe, or maybe just research published on what Amnesty International or Human Rights Watch did or omitted. How many times in the last 32 years have they spoken about Kashmiri Pundits? Are we lesser human beings? Why did the world remain silent when we wanted justice? Hundreds of members of our community have been killed, raped. Thousands and lakhs of us have lost our homes. Our temples have been desecrated completely in the Kashmir Valley. I today work as a senior editor, a journalist in a media organization, I'm a television anchor as well. But where was the media in these 32 years in India and the globe. Why did they not actually question the successive governments who failed to provide us justice?

Well, a lot of speakers have spoken today, and there is a lot of debate worldwide today after the release of a film called *The Kashmir Files*, which actually gives, for the first time on the big screen, a truthful account of our suffering, our pain, and our longing. Today, before Prof. Ved Nanda and other members of the Committee who have invited me to speak, I would like to lay forth 10 demands from the Kashmiri Pundit community. A lot of people have spoken about the pain they have been going through. A lot of people have spoken about what happened in 1990. And a lot of other people challenge us, that there was no exodus, no genocide, no ethnic cleansing. But there are victims who are still alive. If you want to, you can speak with them in different parts of the globe. There were few First Information Reports (FIR) that were registered, no investigations that were carried

out in the cases of our killings. So, what are these 10 demands that all Kashmiri Pundit organizations have together been making?

1. First and foremost, Kashmiri Pundits are not “migrants”. We should be declared, as per the UN definition, as “internally displaced people”.
2. What happened in 1990, the carnage, the massacres of Kashmiri Pundit people, should be declared a genocide and an ethnic cleansing. As the National Human Rights Commission of India also said, years ago, that this was something akin to ethnic cleansing. Please recognize us. Please don’t abandon us.
3. Kashmiri Pundits also demand a speedy trial against terrorist Yasin Malik, who is the face of the carnage against the Kashmiri Pundit community. Today, he is in the biggest prison, Tihar Jail, of New Delhi – but not for the crimes he committed against the Kashmiri Pundit community. He is in prison because of a *hawala* (illegal transfer of funds) terror case that happened much later.
4. The Kashmiri Pundit community also demands a retrial of the case against Bitta Karate, also known as Farooq Ahmed Dar, another terrorist of the same organization, the Jammu & Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF). Bitta Karate spent 16 years in jail but was released from jail when a judge in Jammu of a special court in Diwani said that the prosecution did not seem to be interested in convicting him. The Supreme Court also intervened and finally released him. Bitta Karate was garlanded by hundreds of thousands of people in Srinagar when he arrived back from prison, clearly indicating that there was always local support to these terrorist organizations in their attacks against Kashmiri Hindus. Both Yasin Malik and Bitta Karate, in different interviews, have themselves confessed that they have killed Kashmiri Pundits. And not just Kashmiri Pundits but also Indian Air Force men who were unarmed, standing at a bus stop, waiting. So, why has the Indian Government failed to convict them?
5. Prime Minister Modi and the Indian Government needs to immediately form a Commission of Inquiry to probe the circumstances that lead to this exodus, this genocide, this ethnic cleansing. What was the reason behind it? Meet the victims, let them depose before you. Go through the media articles of that time. Let the bureaucrats and the police officers of that time be probed as well. Let there be an

investigation of the Home Minister of that time, Mufti Muhammad Saeed, and the Chief Minister of that time, Farooq Abdullah. Were they involved in some way with the Jammu & Kashmir Liberation Front? Why were they silent?

6. The Union Government also needs to immediately provide better living conditions to the Kashmiri Pundit internally displaced people in Jammu. They live in pathetic conditions without 24/7 electricity or water, and without jobs or daily wages in many cases. Imagine a community where many members once had huge ancestral homes with 14 to 15 rooms, are now abandoned completely and almost begging for survival.
7. We also demand that economically weaker sections of the Kashmiri Pundit community should be provided scholarship and education till their college and university by the Government of India. Especially to those who have been completely ignored and stayed in Jammu.
8. There was a Prime Minister's Economic Package that was announced by former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and is being carried forward by the current Prime Minister Narendra Modi. Not many Kashmiri Pundits have been willing to go back to Kashmir. But they've been forced to under this Prime Minister's package, because those economically weaker sections do not have any other options. But any time a Kashmir Pundit is killed, like it has been happening since last year in October, when Makhn Lal Bindhu, a chemist and prominent member of the Kashmiri Pundit community was killed, hundreds of those PM package employees left back. Those PM package employees should not only be provided security but should also not be forced to stay in their home district. They should, on compassionate grounds, be provided a job and security at a place of their choosing.
9. Kashmiri Pundit organizations like Panun Kashmir, Global Kashmiri Pundit Diaspora, Roots in Kashmir, Kashmiri Samiti, Jammu Kashmir Vichar Manch and All India Kashmiri Samaj should be involved, not just in any dialogue on Kashmiri Pundits, but in any policy decision on the fate of Kashmir as well. They should not be ignored.

10. The Ministry of Culture and the Archaeological Survey of India should immediately order restoration of more than 450 temples and Hindu shrines that have been desecrated in the Kashmir Valley in the last 32 to 35 years. Why did this happen? The Government of India should take a call and preserve and restore this important heritage, where some of these temples are thousands of years old and must not perish completely in Kashmir.
11. Lastly, I would appeal that the indigenous Kashmiri language (Keshur) will also die, just like the Kashmiri Pundits are dying in exile. The Kashmiri language has its ancient script, known as the Sharada script. The Government of India should recognize this script and issue orders as per the Ministry of Culture to preserve our language and take steps so that this language is compulsory in the University of Kashmir and several other educational institutions in Jammu & Kashmir and the rest of India.

My minimum appeal to you today is to only to show us empathy, do not deny that a genocide and ethnic cleansing happened. We are continuously perishing in exile. Tomorrow we may not live. But we will continue this fight for justice until Yasin Malik and Bitta Karate are convicted, until the Government of India recognizes a genocide had happened, and until finally the last living Kashmiri Pundit returns to Kashmir someday. Thank you so much.

4.12 Testimony of Mr. Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo

Thank you very much to the Chairman as well as to the honorable members of this Commission. I am here to put before you an important dimension of this issue, i.e., the genocide of Kashmiri Pundits. In my opinion, so far as genocide is concerned, it is not only an issue of numbers. Genocide is basically the issue of the intent of the crime. I am among those contributors to this aspect of genocide and Human Rights violations. We were the people who took the issue of genocide of Kashmiri Pundits to the National Human Rights Commission [of India], way back in 1994, when it was established in 1993. And before I speak on this issue, I would like to emphasize that our main emphasis was the intent of the crime. Why at all was it done?

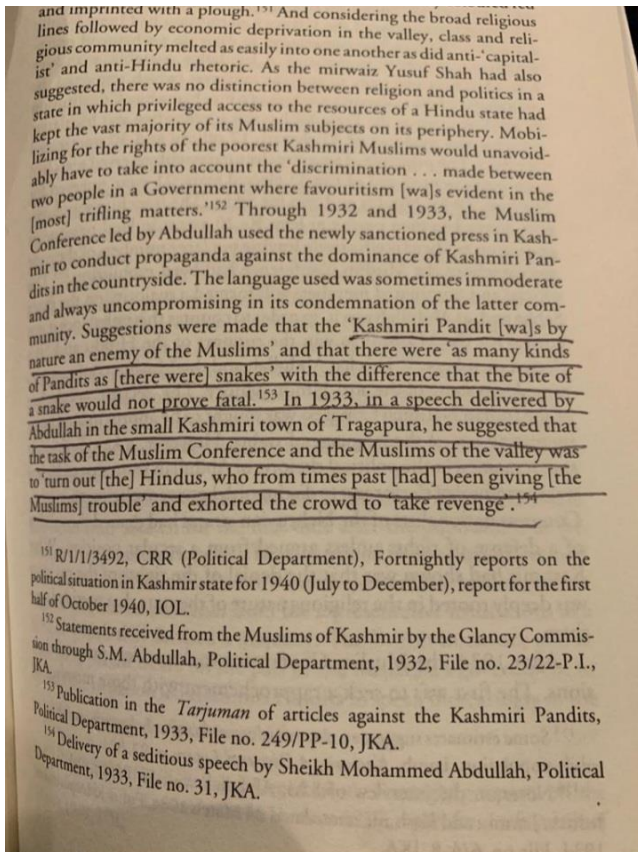


Exhibit 1: Speech by Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, 1933; recorded in file #31, Jammu & Kashmir Archives; quoted in the book *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects*, by Mridula Rai

I would like to take you to an era which is as far as 1933. From the source, which is the J&K Archives, file #31 of the political department. It says that in Tragpora village of Baramulla, Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah made a speech in 1933 that the task of the Muslim Conference and the Muslims was to turn out the Hindus from Kashmir. This is as old as 1933, and this is in the records of the J&K Archives, file #31 of the political department. With this I would like to emphasize that there was always an intent, so far as the crime of genocide was concerned.

I take you to 1985, when we organized a convention of Kashmiri Hindus in Kashmir, refer the report of July 8, 1985, of the Hindustan Times correspondent: It says, "Finally the

convention pointed out that there was a mass exodus of members of the minority community from the state of Jammu & Kashmir to other parts of the country. This was a dangerous trend which should be stopped. There was indeed a sinister conspiracy to throw out the non-Muslims from the Valley, so that the designs of complete Islamization were fulfilled.”

Why I say so, and I take you to history, is because what happened in 1987, '88, '89 or thereafter had its roots in the basic intent of the crime. Terrorism was used as an instrument to accomplish the intent of the crime. The intent of the crime was straightforward – ethnic cleansing of Kashmir of Kashmiri Hindus. I emphasize that in 1986 when there was no terrorism there was a raid on the temples of Hindus in Kashmir, and as many as 46 temples were burned, razed to the ground. This is incorporated in our report that we submitted before to the National Human Rights Commission of India. There are details about these attacks and a copy of that is also contained in our document titled [“Kashmir Documentation: Pundits in Exile”](#)⁵. A copy of this document was handed by me to the honorable Chairman of this Select Committee for Special Hearings, Prof. Ved Nanda at Delhi. And I requested him, that it was not only 1986 that is covered in it. After 1986 there were several instances in which hundreds of temples were brought down, and along with the First Information Reports (FIRs), the whole narration of these desecrations and destructions are carried in this document. At just one stroke of your keyboard, you may access this document online.

And I also need emphasize that when the Kashmiri Pundits were killed, and the exodus took place – that is merely one aspect of the issue. There is another aspect of the issue, which is that not only their temples were burned and razed to the ground, but 30,000 of their homes were burned, destroyed. Their business places, their schools, colleges, educational institutions, *ashrams* (spiritual retreats) and their buildings, along with the properties attached to their issues were also destroyed.

I need to emphasize here, regarding the Second World War. We know that the Jews were the primary victims of the War. Yet, they were neither a part of the Axis, nor of the Allies,

⁵ Read online: <http://www.panunkashmir.org/publications/Kashmir%20Documentation%20-%20Pandits%20in%20Exile.pdf>

but they were still the sacrificial victim. It is because Hitler had the intent of the crime in his mind. His whole coterie had the intent of the crime in his mind. They used the Second World War to destroy Jews as a race. Similarly, in Jammu & Kashmir, terrorism was used as an instrument to destroy Kashmiri Pundits and genocide was inflicted on them.

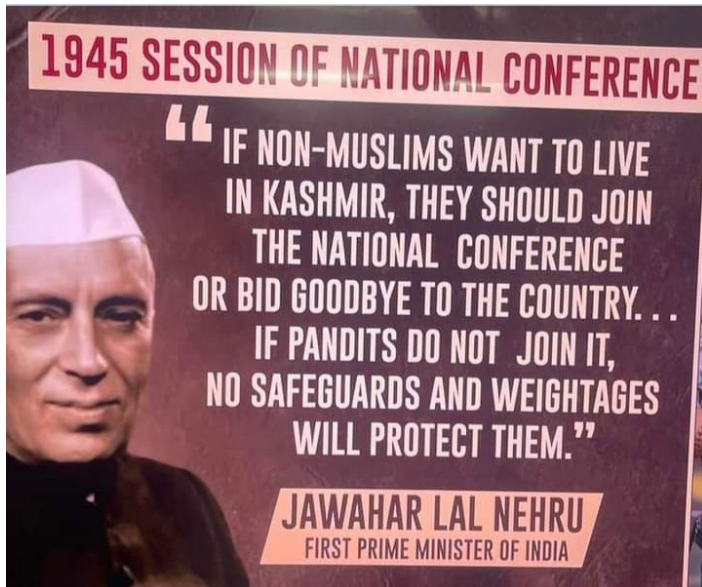


Exhibit 2: The Nehruvian political class in India often treated the Kashmiri Hindu, Sikh and Buddhist minorities as sacrificial lambs in their relationship with Kashmiri Islamists.

Ethnic cleansing has been accepted and acts akin to genocide have happened to Kashmiri Pundits, and a genocide-like design may exist – these are the things that have been observed by the National Human Rights Commission in its judgment on the issue of genocide of Kashmiri Pundits of June 11, 1999. That judgment is also carried in this document, [“Kashmir Documentation: Kashmiri Pundits in exile”](#). I would be highly thankful to this Commission, that they visit

all the documents that are present in this compilation, and I can assure that there are even more documents that can be supplied to you, forwarded to you so far as genocide of Kashmiri Pundits is concerned, and establishing the intent of the crime.

In my opinion, in all other issues so far as the killing is concerned and destruction of property is concerned, people are absolutely correct on those points, but we should focus on the most important aspect of the crime, that is the intent of the crime.

With this, it is my belief that this initiative that has been taken by The Commission will be historic, if The Commission comes out with a report that recognizes the acts of genocide against the Kashmiri Pundits.

4.13 Testimony of Ms. Geetika Atri Mohan

[The following testimony was submitted in writing only and was not an oral testimony during the Hearings.]

On March 1, 1990, I was waiting at my friend's house in Mysore, where I was going to college, waiting for my dad's promised phone call. I did not think much about the delay in the call, even though it was unlike him. My friend switched on the TV and what I heard in the headlines changed my and my family's life forever. I did not believe the newsreader, but the call from my family confirmed the news that my dad had been shot dead by the terrorists that morning. By the time I got the news he had already been cremated and my family was getting ready to move out the next day.

My dad, Sh. Pushkar Nath Handoo, Asst. Director Information, was gunned down by terrorists in his official jeep outside our home in Balgarden. They were waiting for him in the back seat of the jeep. In this ghastly act the driver of the jeep, whose tardiness was covered by my father countless times as he did not want him to lose his job, was also supposed to be involved.

My brother and sister rushed my dad to SMHS hospital as it was very close to our house. To their dismay the Muslim doctors refused to attend to my dad when they realized that he was Hindu.

That day I didn't just lose my father but in some ways my mother as well. She has not recovered from the shock even after 32 years.

Thank you.

5. Findings

- 5.1 The Commission reviewed the testimonies as well as submitted evidence of all witnesses at the Hearing, and formed the following opinions based on them.
- 5.2 The centuries-long continuous stream of violence⁶, systematic targeting and rhetoric vilifying Hindus, Buddhists and later Sikhs in Jammu & Kashmir, and the documented evidence of the quickening of the same impulse over the last century by the Muslim political and religious leadership in the Kashmir Valley has all the indications of an ideologically driven campaign of colonization, Islamization and ethnic cleansing of the indigenous Hindu culture and its adherents.
- 5.3 The stated intent of the ethnic cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus from the Kashmir Valley by the Muslim political and religious leadership has been documented in recent times since at least 1933, when Sheikh (formerly Master) Mohammed Abdullah states as much, as evidenced by the records in the Jammu & Kashmir Archives⁷. This intent has been broadcast brazenly at various times, and accomplished by various political, legislative, and finally violent means. Terrorism since the 1980's and the culmination of this genocide of Kashmiri Hindus must be seen as one among many weapons that have been used by the criminal political and religious leadership of the Kashmiri Muslim community, whose intent has always been the complete Islamization of the Valley, not through a commitment to peaceful means but through coercion and genocide and ethnic cleansing if required.
- 5.4 The greater number of the Kashmiri Hindus and Sikhs persecuted and killed did not belong to an economically or politically privileged social class. In a great majority of cases, they were killed with the active or passive complicity of their Muslim neighbors or colleagues. This belies the false and deceptive narrative that the violence on Hindus is due to an underlying class struggle rather than based on a religious ideology.

⁶ See Annexure 1

⁷ See Exhibit 1 in the Testimony of Mr. Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo, for example

- 5.5 The land-owning privileged section of Kashmiri Hindus had already been completely dispossessed of their land by an act of the Muslim-dominated Jammu & Kashmir state legislature much before the start of murder and ethnic cleansing. This again does not support the claim in some quarters that the genocide of Kashmiri Hindus was an upswelling of an underclass against an erstwhile aristocracy.
- 5.6 The Jammu & Kashmir state government under its prominent political parties of all hues presided over a systematic campaign of symbolic and physical annihilation of Kashmir's Hindu heritage by renaming prominent historical landmarks to Perso-Arabic names and razing hundreds of Hindu temples and shrines to the ground. These actions have been documented in "[Kashmir Documentation: Kashmiri Pundits in exile](#)"⁸ and is available online.
- 5.7 The Government of India has mostly neglected to protect Kashmiri Hindus and Sikhs not just in their native Kashmir but even during their exile in squalid refugee camps in the Jammu region, where they were attacked and massacred, and have had to endure several other hardships. A prominent section of the Indian political class has cooperated in the reduction of Kashmiri minorities, particularly Kashmiri Hindus, to become helpless pawns at the mercy of the Islamist political establishment in Kashmir, the region and beyond⁹.
- 5.8 Neither the United Nations, nor international Human Rights organizations came to the aid of these Kashmiri Hindu and Sikh refugees for over 2 decades. Only recently has the Government of India itself rolled out an assistance program under the Prime Minister's Economic Package.
- 5.9 Apart from local Muslim-owned Kashmiri media (English, Urdu and Keshur), large sections of India's English-language media as well as international media such as the BBC have also engaged in genocide-denial, rationalization of the violence in Jammu & Kashmir, and actively aided in portraying terrorist leaders in a sympathetic light, giving them a platform and hailing them as popular icons. In

⁸ Read online: <http://www.panunkashmir.org/publications/Kashmir%20Documentation%20-%20Pandits%20in%20Exile.pdf>

⁹ See Exhibit 2 in the Testimony of Mr. Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo, for example

addition, the Indian Hindi-Urdu film industry has also romanticized Kashmiri terrorism and utterly ignored the genocide and ethnic cleansing of Hindus and Sikhs, with the notable exception of the recent movie *The Kashmir Files*.

5.10 The Commission notes several indications that the Home Minister of that time, Mr. Mufti Muhammad Saeed, and the Chief Minister of Jammu & Kashmir of that time, Mr. Farooq Abdullah, were either involved with, criminally negligent in their duties, or willy-nilly aided the agenda of Islamist terrorists in the Valley. There has so far been no Commission of Inquiry by the Government of India into their role in the mayhem.

5.11 While the role of Pakistan in sponsoring, training, and internationalizing the pan-Islamist war for Kashmiri separatism is well-known and documented, The Commission finds that the active role of the local Kashmiri Muslim populace has been downplayed in its support for international terrorism. They were complicit in the murders of their Kashmiri Hindu and Sikh neighbors and colleagues. The entire Kashmiri Muslim religious establishment worked in a synchronized manner to propagandize, mobilize, and orchestrate brutal street violence. The Kashmiri Muslim political leadership's role is far from being above suspicion (see 5.9). Lastly, the religious-political sympathies of the Kashmiri Muslim populace extend not only to the genocide of Hindus and Sikhs and separatism from India, but also to international terrorist organizations such as ISIS (The Islamic State of Syria and Iraq), the Taliban, et al.

5.12 The Commission recognizes the transgenerational trauma of exiled Kashmiri Hindus as written and spoke about by prominent international psychologists such as Rajat Mitra. The Commission also recognizes that it is a herculean task for the Kashmiri Hindu diaspora to preserve and pass on their language, customs, and culture to their younger generations while they remain cut off from their native land.

5.13 The Commission appreciates the absence of vindictiveness among Kashmiri Hindu activists and notes the universal character of their recommendations relating to the prevention of genocide and ethnic cleansing.

5.14 The Commission highlights the continuing series of murders and persecution of Kashmiri and other ethnic Hindus remaining in Kashmir today, and the absence of safe spaces for them to resettle in their native land.

6. Recommendations and Directives

- 6.1 The Commission makes the following recommendations based upon the results of the Hearings, examination of the evidence received, and in consultation with prominent academics and Human Rights activists who have monitored and advocated for Human Rights in Jammu & Kashmir for decades.
- 6.2 The Commission recommends that the Government of India appoint a special Judicial Commission of Inquiry (COI) headed by a retired judge of the Indian Supreme Court to investigate the circumstances and the scale of atrocities starting from 1986 of the Kashmiri Hindu Genocide. The role of foreign players (both state and non-state actors), sources of terror funding, illegal money laundering and terror support networks must be included in the cope of investigation. The Commission of Inquiry must submit its report to the Government within 12 months of its inception. The report of the COI must be published as a white paper on the genocide.
- 6.3 The aforesaid Commission of Inquiry must also investigate the roles of former Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir Dr. Faruq Abdullah as well as the role played by former Home Minister of India late Mufti Mohammad Saeed in facilitating the Genocide of Kashmiri Hindus.
- 6.4 All the perpetrators of genocide, murders, rapes, and other crimes against humanity must be brought to justice under the Indian Penal Code by appointing fast track courts with daily hearings. The prosecution can be done under the special TADA courts (Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Prevention Act), UAPA (Unlawful Activities Prevention Act) or other existing mechanisms like the NIA courts (National Investigation Agency).
- 6.5 All the victims and survivors of Genocide must be rehabilitated by the Government of India without any conditions attached. Government jobs should be given preferentially to the victims and survivors. Special pensions akin to freedom fighters' pensions must be given to the elderly survivors of these crimes against humanity.
- 6.6 The refugees and internally displaced persons must have the right to return to their properties and homes in Kashmir valley. The ownerships that were usurped

using threat, force and intimidation must be restored back to the victims and survivors.

- 6.7 A generous financial compensation package must be announced by the Government of India from the consolidated funds of India for the loss of life, loss of property, psychosomatic and physical disabilities sustained as a result of terror/trauma, and for emotional pain and suffering sustained by the victims and survivors.
- 6.8 The Commission recommends creation of a safe haven, a sanctuary or a Union Territory carved out in the Kashmir valley where the Kashmiri Hindus can live peacefully without any fear, force, terror and intimidation.
- 6.9 The Commission recommends that Kashmiri language (Keshur) be restored as the official language in the Union Territory of Jammu and Kashmir besides Urdu, English and Hindi and its studies should be promoted in all the institutions of higher learning.
- 6.10 The Commission recommends that the Government of India must take adequate steps in a time-bound manner to restore all the Hindu shrines and temples that were desecrated during the period of ethnic cleansing on the pattern of restoration of the Somnath Mandir. The process of restoration can be undertaken by a trust with multiple stakeholders including Ministry of Culture, Archeological Survey of India, and representatives of Kashmiri Hindu Community.
- 6.11 The Commission recommends that the Government of India must undertake comprehensive efforts to promote and ensure the preservation of the ancient Kashmiri Hindu culture in the Union Territory of Jammu & Kashmir.
- 6.12 The Commission believes that implementing these recommendations will protect minorities as well as encourage a truly humanistic democracy in Kashmir and the extended region, as well as mark a watershed moment for Indigenous Peoples across the world who have been battered by colonialism.

Annexure 1: The seven genocides of Hindus in Kashmir¹⁰

First Exodus under Sikander Butshikan

The first exodus of the Hindu community from Kashmir happened in 1389-1413 CE, when Sultan Sikandar Shah, commonly known as Sikander 'Butshikan' (destroyer of idols), unleashed Islamic terror throughout the valley. During his tenure, temples were razed, and mosques were constructed in their place. The Centre for Integrated and Holistic Studies claims that during his reign, native Hindus were subjected to forced conversions, and others forms of brutality like looting, rapes, pillage became a norm, forcing thousands of Hindus to leave the valley to protect themselves.

Second Exodus under Shah-II

The second exodus of Kashmiri Hindus was marked in the reign of Fateh Shah II, during 1505-1514 CE. Shah came under the influence of Shams-ud-din Araqi, who was a Noorbakshi Shi'a Sufi, and then began the heinous practice of systematically persecuting Hindus in the valley.

Contrary to the widespread propaganda that Sufism is a benign, syncretic, and non-violent spiritual school attached to Islam, Sufi Sheikhs (teachers) have been at the forefront of violent conversion and ethnic cleansing in the Indian Subcontinent, in tandem with the local Muslim military leaders¹¹.

Third Exodus under Mughals

After the dismissal of Shah Miri dynasty, Kashmir valley came under the control of the Mughals and after that a fresh round of atrocities began on the Hindu community. The reign of Jahangir and Shahjahan were particularly brutal on Hindus. Jahangir's

¹⁰ *Seven times the Kashmiri Pundits had to face genocide in Kashmir*, Apoorva Shukla
URL: <https://tfipost.com/2022/03/7-times-the-kashmiri-pandits-had-to-face-genocide-in-kashmir>

¹¹ See Annexure 2 on the historical role of Sufism in violent demographic change in Kashmir

commander Sardar Itiquad Khan specialized in converting Kashmiri Hindus under torture. Aurangzeb and his infamous governor, Iftekhar Khan, continued the reign of terror unleashed by his predecessors. This in turn forced the Hindu community to flee to other parts of India.

Fourth Exodus under the Pashtun Durranis

Taking advantage of the declining Mughal Empire, the Durranis of Afghanistan wrested control of the Kashmir Valley in 1752. The Durranis exceeded Aurangzeb in their cruelty towards indigenous Hindus, triggering the fourth exodus of the Kashmiri Hindu community from the valley.

The Kashmir Valley has seen many rulers, like the Sikhs and the Hindu Dogras. It is important to note that during the Sikh or the Dogra rule, the valley's majority, i.e., Muslims, were not subjected to any kind of religious persecution.

Since this transitional period has most strongly shaped Islamism in the Indian Subcontinent in the modern era, it bears closer study: For 67 years (1752-1819 CE) the Afghans occupied Kashmir and ensured it was the darkest period of Islamic colonization. The reign of terror forced indigenous Kashmiri Hindus to migrate, convert to Islam, or be ruthlessly killed – the same slogan used during the last and final round of ethnic cleansing in 1989-91. In the end, it is said that only 11 Kashmiri Pundit families survived this Afghan tyranny.

Asad Khan was the worst of the oppressors. He would tie up Kashmiri Hindus in grass sacks and drown them in the famous scenic Dal Lake in pairs. For amusement, a jar of human excreta was placed on a Pundit's head and Muslims pelted the jar with stones till it broke and the Hindu was blinded with filth.

The Pundits were forced to grow beards, and forbidden from wearing turbans, shoes or the sacred mark on the forehead (*tilak*). Later, Pundits would wear exaggerated tilaks on their foreheads in memory of the tyranny of the Pashtun rule.

During this Pashtun rule, the *Jizia* Islamic tax on infidels was revived. During those days, it was a form of revelry for Muslims to jump on the backs of any random Kashmiri Hindu and take a ride, saying, “You are a Brahmin and I will mount you!” This phrase still survives as a saying in the Keshur language.

Atta Muhammad Khan and his army were sexual predators who used designated agents to hunt and abduct Hindu Brahmin girls. Terrified of this dishonor, Kashmiri Hindu families would disfigure their daughters, shaving their heads and cutting off their noses in order to save them from abduction and rape.

Kashmiri Pundit wedding customs bear testament to this trauma. On the day of marriage, a male relative is decked out in the same fashion as the bridegroom, a sort of double in disguise. This was because of the Muslim ruler’s making a sport out of raiding Hindu weddings, seizing the bridegroom, and abducting the bride.

Asad Khan was succeeded by Madad Khan, who was even more brutal. His administration bound Hindus in cow leather sacks before drowning them to ensure their faith was violated. They were killed in the same Batta Mazar spot (“graveyard of Kashmiri Hindu Pundits”) on the Dal Lake, where 37 kilograms of the *janeu* sacred thread were found – a testament to the sheer numbers massacred at that spot.

Fifth Exodus under the British

After the death of Dogra ruler Maharaja Ranjit Singh, British colonial forces invaded the valley. A British officer’s cook, Abdul Qadeer, was facing sedition charges for his fiery remarks against Maharaja Hari Singh in July 1931. The trial of Qadeer stirred up sentiments, and protests were being held against the Dogra ruler. Things took an ugly

turn after protesters were fired upon, triggering communal violence in areas of Naushehra, Bohri Kadal etc. Since the firing orders were given by local Governor Trilok Chand, the Kashmiri Hindus were targeted, attacked and ransacked. Communal riots took places in several places and properties of the minority Hindu community were razed to the ground, forcing them to flee for their lives.

Some historians believe that the onus of this exodus was on the British. It is well-known that the British colonial empire in India thrived on the agenda of 'divide and rule', impoverishment and creating systematic terror and instability. The politics of the British was inherently divisive and triggered the fifth exodus of Kashmiri Hindus.

Sixth Exodus during British-supported Partition

In the 1900s under British occupation of the Indian Subcontinent, the condition of Kashmiri Pundits kept deteriorating. A series of communal pogroms occurred in the state. After the independence of India and its Partition in 1947, Pakistan-backed groups started pushing for the radicalization of Kashmir. To sustain their agenda, they bred hatred for Kashmiri Hindus, leading to a continuing stream of indigenous Hindus leaving the valley for other parts of India.

Seventh Exodus in wake of modern Islamic Fundamentalism

The 7th round of genocide and ethnic cleansing is the subject of this Report, beginning in the 1980's and reaching its crescendo in 1989-91, completing the task of wiping out the indigenous Hindu population of the Kashmir Valley.

Annexure 2: The historical role of Sufism in violent demographic change in Kashmir

Foreign Immigrants – ‘Swords and Sufis’ Policy

Kashmir saw an influx of Sufi Islamic missionaries into Kashmir from foreign lands, mainly Iran, during the reign of Sultan Shamsuddin (1339-1342 CE). Like the ‘guns and Bibles’ policy of European colonialism, Islamic colonialism before that widely employed a ‘swords and Sufis’ policy to colonize the subaltern and reorient them culturally and spiritually. To this day, many of the Islamic elites in Kashmir do not claim local Kashmiri ancestry but boast Irani ancestry. The mass of Kashmiri Muslim converts apparently accept this admiringly.

Syed Ali Hamedani was one such immigrant from Iran, who is hailed as the ‘apostle of Kashmir’ by the local Islamic establishment today. Like other Sufis, he worked in tandem with the local Islamic ruler and built his *khanqahs* (Sufi houses) on the ruins of Hindu temples demolished by the Muslim rulers¹².

Not Syncretic - Cultural Annihilation and Misappropriation

Contrary to now popularized notions that Sufis differed from Islamic orthodoxy and were an enlightened syncretic and tolerant class of Muslims, most Sufi Sheikhs including Hamedani expressed horror at the unorthodox practices of newly converted Kashmiri Muslims, who still harked to the spirituality of the indigenous Hindu school of Kashmiri Shaivism. He exerted himself and urged authorities to straighten out the Kashmiri Muslims first to completely divorce themselves from Hindu spiritual ideas and practices. He mentored one of the rulers, Sikandar the Iconoclast, to actively demolish and desecrate more Hindu temples in an effort to “purify” the Kashmir Valley of non-Muslim culture:

¹² Refer M.A. Khan’s *Islamic Jihad – A Legacy of Forced Conversion, Imperialism and Slavery*

URL: <http://guruprasad.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/islamic-jihad-legacy-of-forced-conversion-imperialism-slavery.pdf>

'Sikandar, records Ferishtah, issued an order 'proscribing the residence of any other than Mahomedans in Kashmir, and he required that no man should wear the mark on his forehead (as worn by Hindus) ... Lastly, he insisted on all golden and silver images (idols) being broken and melted down, and the metal coined into money. Many of the brahmins (Brahmins), rather than abandon their religion or their country, poisoned themselves; some emigrated from their native homes, while a few escaped the evil of banishment by becoming Mahomedans. After the emigration of the brahmins, Sikundur (Sikandar) ordered all the temples in Kashmir to be thrown down... Having broken all the images in Kashmir, he acquired the title of the Iconoclast (Butshikan), Destroyer of Idols.'¹³

Further, seeing the attraction of Hinduism to regain converts, Sufism acted as a vehicle to misappropriate Hindu thought and practice, albeit in a reductionist form lacking original context. Sufi orders would typically then give the misappropriated concepts or practices an Islamic label, later claiming they came from a hidden line of transmission stretching back to the Prophet Muhammad or one of his companions. This is the substance of any alleged syncretism found in Sufi schools in Kashmir and across the Indian Subcontinent¹⁴.

Similarly, the disciples of Ala al-Dawla Semnani of the Kabrawi Order came in droves to settle the Kashmir Valley, and their chronicles also boast of "converting temples into *khanqahs*".

One of the most acclaimed Sufi missionaries in Kashmir, Shamsuddin Araqi, from Araq in Iran, played a major role in the destruction of Hindu and Buddhist temples in Kashmir, Ladakh and Gilgit-Baltistan¹⁵.

¹³ Ferishtah MQHS (1829) "History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India", translated by John Briggs

¹⁴ Mudita Parameswaran, *Sufi Syed Ali Hamedani in Kashmir*, Pragyata:
URL: <https://pragyata.com/sufi-syed-ali-hamadani-in-kashmir/>

¹⁵ Dimple Kaul, *No Peace, Only Pieces – The Sufi Mission in Kashmir!*, IndiaFacts.org:
URL: <https://indiafacts.org/sufi-mission/>

Tarnishing Indigenous Hindu-Buddhist Culture and Society

All the foregoing facts are most clearly trumpeted in Islamic sources such as the *Tohfatul Ahabab*, *Baharistan-e-Shahi* and *Tareekh-e-Kashmir*, as well as in contemporary Hindu sources such as Srivara's *Rajatarangini*.

The only difference in the Muslim and Hindu accounts is that occasional claims by Muslim priesthoods that diminish contemporary Hindu spiritual icons such as Lalleshwari who were allegedly in awe of any Muslim Sufi preacher do not find any mention whatsoever.

According to M.A. Khan, there is also no evidence that conversions to Islam were from Hindu 'lower castes' happy to escape the alleged tyranny of upper castes. The Islamic *jiziya* tax was certainly a much greater burden on the indigent, and many converted to simply avoid it, while keeping much of their old Hindu spirituality in some form – a layer that was also denuded with every successive generation. Moreover, the near annihilation of Buddhists, not just in Kashmir but the Subcontinent as a whole, including Afghanistan, as well as the wider Middle East and Central Asia, and the role of Sufi Orders in the reductionist subsumption of Buddhist thought and practice into Islam has no relation to caste.

Therefore, it must be clearly understood that Sufism enjoyed a mutually complementary relationship with the armed *jihad* establishment. Yet, even among those who do not recognize the Sufi-Jihadi cameralism and typically dissimulate on the subject, many admit that Kashmiri Muslim culture today has turned from Sufism to Salafism, a harsh and puritan form of Islam that is focused on violent jihad and forms the basis of the ideology of hardline Islamist terror groups worldwide¹⁶.

¹⁶ Tariq Mir, *Kashmir: From Sufi to Salafi*, Pulitzer Center:
URL: <https://pulitzercenter.org/stories/kashmir-sufi-salafi>

Annexure 3: Executive Summary

This Report has been compiled based on the historic Special Hearings conducted on March 27, 2022, by the Washington DC based International Commission for Human Rights and Religious Freedom. The Hearings featured 12 survivors, journalists, authors, academics, and Kashmiri Hindu community leaders who testified, under oath, about the genocide and ethnic cleansing of indigenous Kashmiri Hindus at the hands of Islamic terrorists as well as the Muslim-dominated Jammu & Kashmir government's policies. The Hearings were presided over by a Select Committee chaired by internationally renowned professor of Law, Ved P. Nanda (University of Denver), Professor Yashwant Pathak as Vice-Chair, and ICHRRF President, Dr. Adityanjee, as Member. The Executive Director, Mr. Carl Clemens, served as Special Rapporteur.

Findings

The Commission reviewed and verified the testimonies and submitted evidence of all witnesses, and formed the following opinions based on them. The centuries-long documented violence and rhetoric vilifying indigenous Hindus, Buddhists and Sikhs in Jammu & Kashmir, and its acceleration over the last century by Muslim political and religious leadership in the Kashmir Valley has all the indications of an ideologically driven campaign of colonization, Islamization and ethnic cleansing. The intent of the ethnic cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus has been broadcast brazenly, and accomplished by political, legislative, and finally violent means.

Barring a few prominent individuals, the greater number of the Kashmiri Hindus and Sikhs persecuted and killed did not belong to an economically or politically privileged social class. They were killed with the active or passive complicity of their Muslim neighbors or colleagues. This was *not* due to an underlying class struggle, as is sometimes claimed, but based on religious ideology. The land-owning privileged section of Kashmiri Hindus had already been dispossessed of their properties by an Act of the Muslim-dominated Jammu & Kashmir state legislature much before the start of murder and ethnic cleansing. Successive state governments have also systematically renamed scores of prominent

Hindu historical landmarks to Arabic names and razed hundreds of Hindu temples and properties to the ground.

The United Nations and international Human Rights organizations have not come to the aid of Kashmiri Hindu and Sikh refugees for over 2 decades. Local and international media and film industry have also facilitated genocide-denial or rationalization, romanticized terrorist leaders, and giving them a platform to air their rhetoric.

The Commission notes several Kashmiri Muslim politicians have willy-nilly aided the agenda of Islamist terrorists in the Valley. The Kashmiri Muslim religious establishment worked in a synchronized manner to propagandize, mobilize, and orchestrate brutal street violence. Notably, the religious-political sympathies of the Kashmiri Muslim populace extend to international terrorist organizations such as ISIS¹⁷ and the Taliban.

The Commission highlights the continuing series of murders of Kashmiri Hindus today, and the absence of safe spaces for them to resettle in their native land. Appreciating the absence of vindictiveness among Kashmiri Hindu activists, The Commission notes the universal character of their recommendations for the prevention of genocide.

Recommendations

The Commission recommends that the Government of India (GOI) appoint a special Judicial Commission of Inquiry (COI) headed by a retired judge of the Indian Supreme Court to investigate the circumstances and scale of atrocities of the Kashmiri Hindu Genocide, at least in the period starting from 1986, and publish a white paper within 12 months. The role of foreign and domestic state and non-state actors (including former Chief Minister of Jammu & Kashmir, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, and former Home Minister of India, late Mufti Mohammad Saeed), sources of terror funding, illegal money laundering and terror support networks must be included in the scope of investigation. At the very least, prominent, brazen, and celebrated perpetrators of genocide, murder, rape, and other crimes against humanity must be brought to justice under the Indian Penal Code by

¹⁷ The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria

appointing fast track courts with daily hearings. The prosecution may be carried out under special TADA¹⁸ courts, UAPA¹⁹, or other existing mechanisms like the NIA²⁰.

All victims and survivors of genocide must be rehabilitated by the GOI unconditionally. Government jobs be given preferentially to them, and pensions for elderly survivors. Refugees and internally displaced persons must have the right to return to their properties in the Kashmir valley. Ownerships that were usurped using threat, force and intimidation must be restored back to survivors. A financial compensation package must be announced by the Government of India from the consolidated funds of India for the loss of life, loss of property, psychosomatic and physical disabilities sustained due to terror/trauma, and for emotional pain and suffering sustained by the survivors.

The Commission recommends that Kashmiri language (Keshur) be restored as the official language in the Union Territory of Jammu & Kashmir besides Urdu, English and Hindi, and its study promoted in all educational institutions. This should be the beginning of comprehensive efforts to promote and preserve indigenous Kashmiri Hindu culture. The Commission recommends that the GOI take adequate and time-bound steps to restore all Hindu shrines and temples desecrated during the latest period of ethnic cleansing, undertaken by a trust with multiple stakeholders including the Ministry of Culture, the Archeological Survey of India, and representatives of the Kashmiri Hindu Community.

The Commission recommends creation of a safe haven, a sanctuary, or a Union Territory carved out in the Kashmir valley where Kashmiri Hindus can live peacefully without any further fear, force, and intimidation.

Implementing these recommendations will protect minorities as well as encourage a truly humanistic democracy in Kashmir and the extended region, as well as mark a watershed moment for Indigenous Peoples across the world who have been battered by colonialism.

¹⁸ Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Prevention Act

¹⁹ Unlawful Activities Prevention Act

²⁰ National Investigation Agency