

# Jammu and Kashmir

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## Defusing the Flashpoint



## A Comprehensive Analysis

Kashmir News Network

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# Introduction

- Ø Kashmiri Hindu's Agony – Thru a Camera Lens
- Ø Kashmir History: A Non-Truncated View
- Ø Article 370: Cause and Effect
- Ø Pakistan's Meddling and Talibanization
- Ø US Role in South Asia and Jammu & Kashmir
- Ø A Comprehensive Peace Framework
- Ø Conclusion
- Ø Q & A

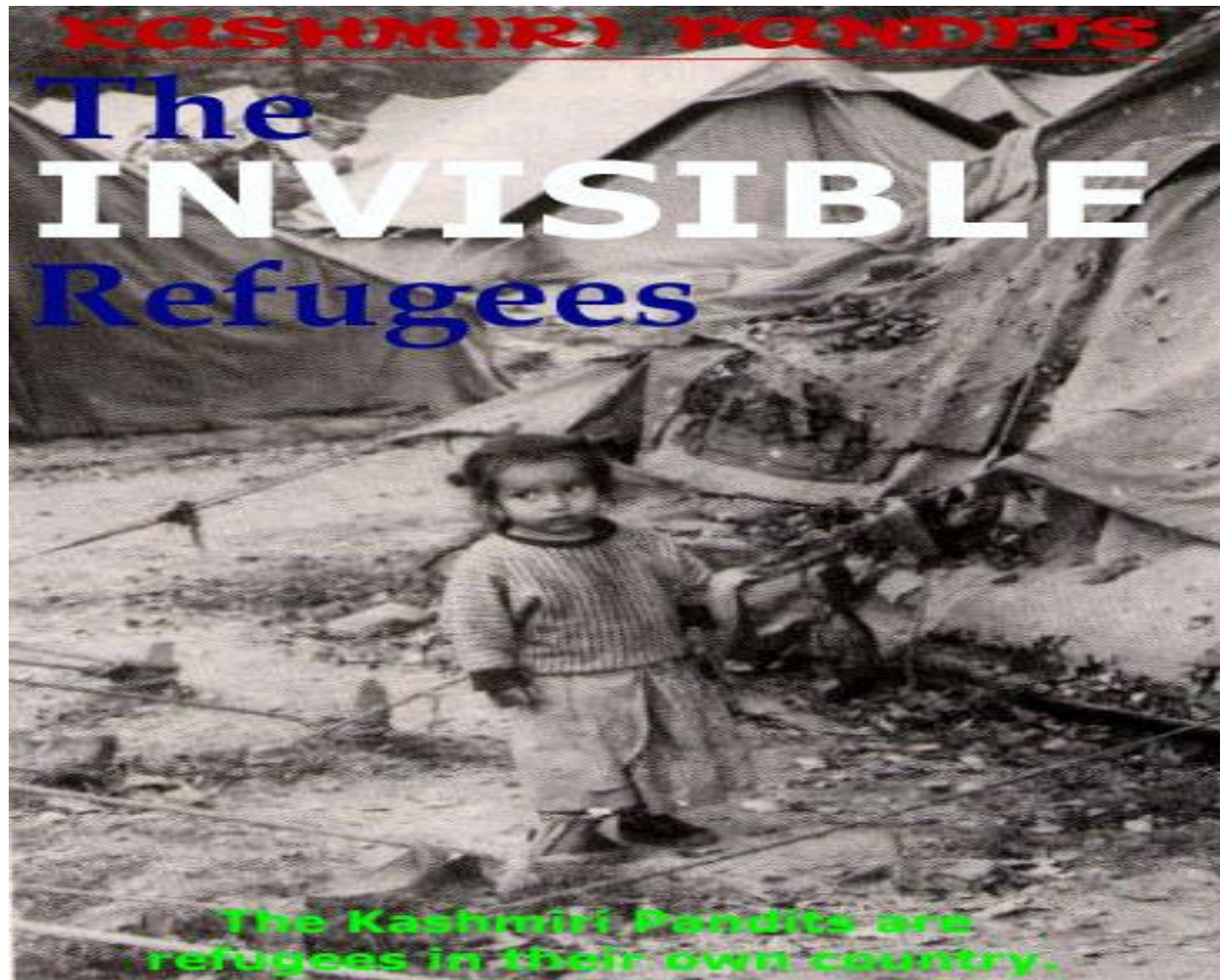
# Kashmir Hindu's Agony – Thru a Camera Lens

Ø “Sharnarathi Apne Desh Mein” – A Film by  
Ashok Pandit, an ethnically cleansed refugee

Ø The Film highlights

- the circumstances under which Kashmiri Hindus had to leave their homes and hearths
- the atrocities inflicted upon Kashmiri Hindus
- how Kashmiri Hindus are living as **‘Invisible Refugees’** in their OWN Country
- the role of Pakistan and Islamic Terrorists in **‘Ethnic Cleansing’** in Kashmir

# Kashmir Hindu's Agony – The Invisible Refugees

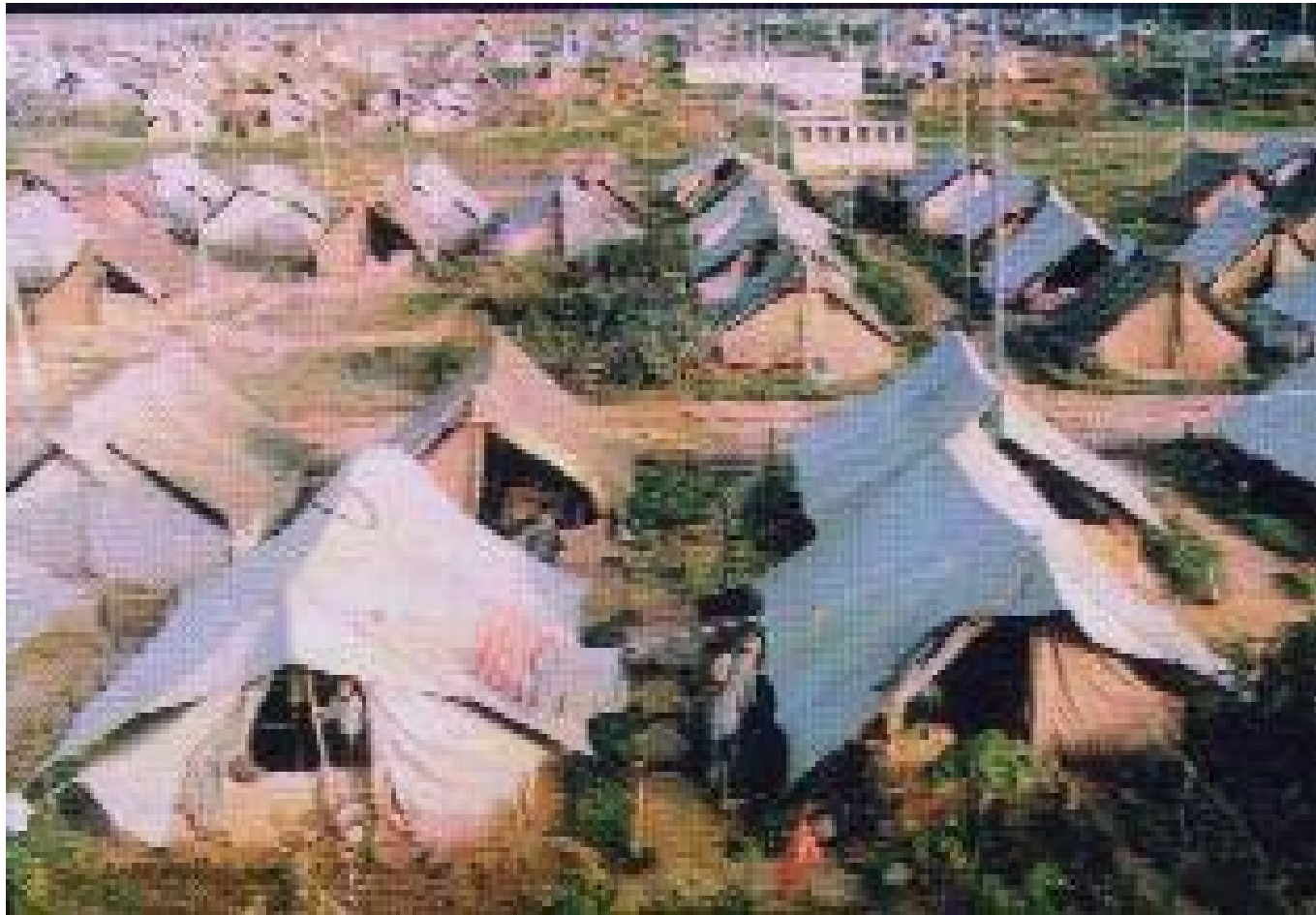


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# Kashmir Hindu's Agony – Our temporary homeland



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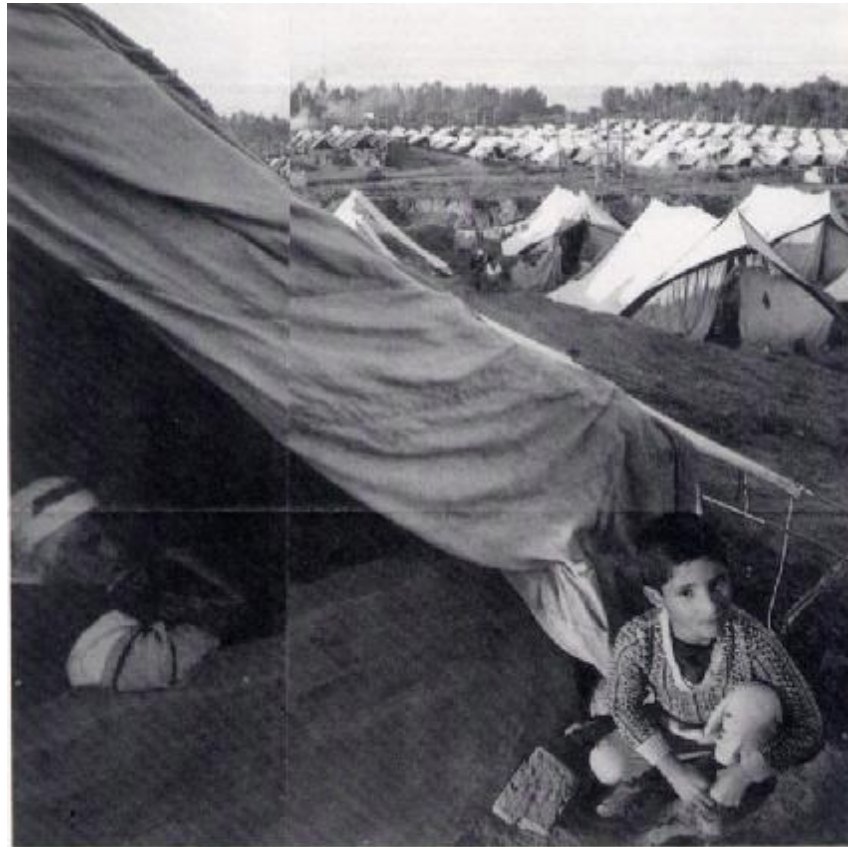
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# Kashmir Hindu's Agony – Waiting for final call...



# Kashmir Hindu's Agony – Childhood lost in camps...



# Kashmir Hindu's Agony – Unsung Innocent Heroes...

## THE MASSACRE OF 23 PANDITS

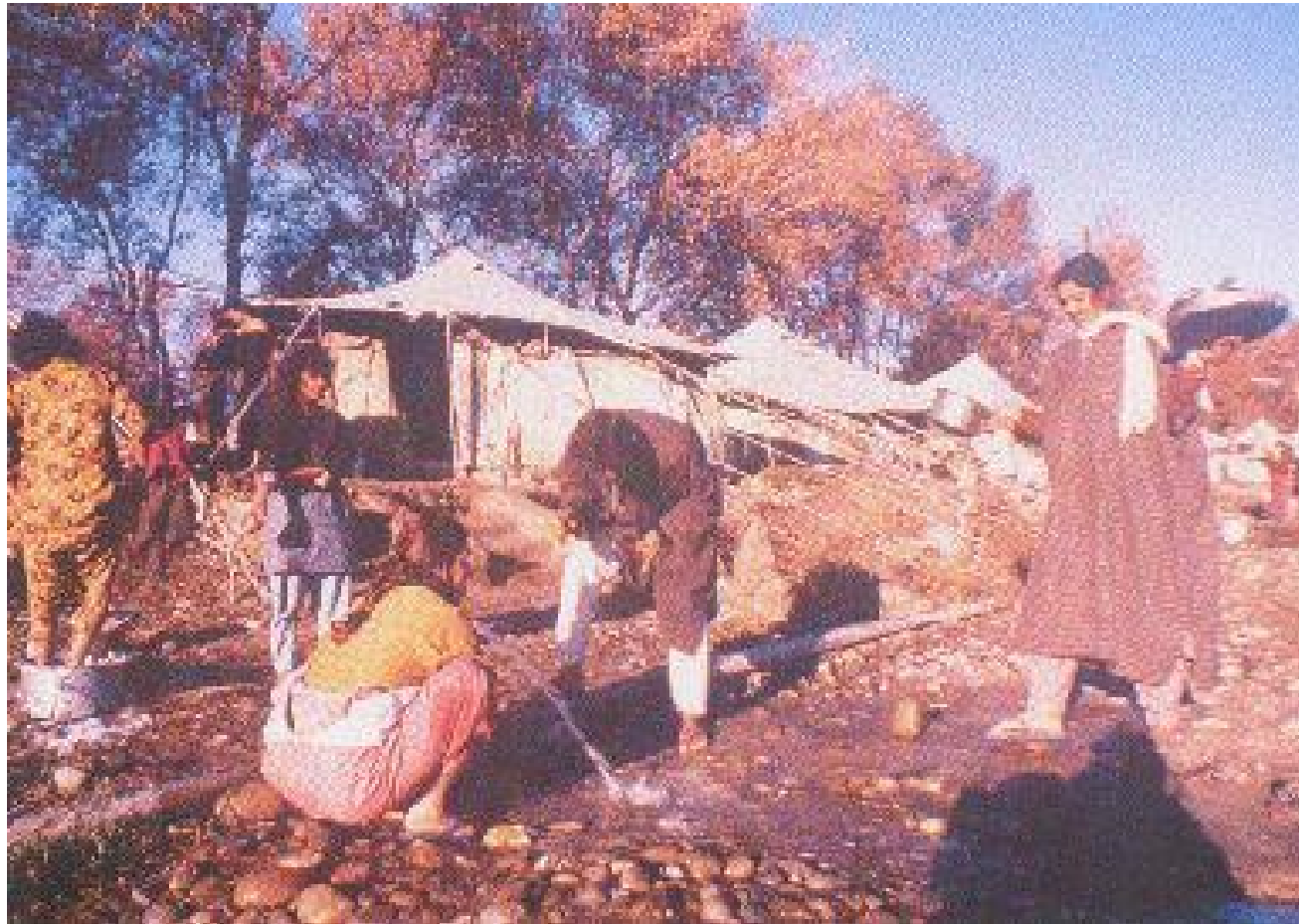
The felons came with the fox's smile. The trusting but targetted sleepy innocents served them Kashmiri customary tea. In a minute the young and old were razed to dust and ash.



*Not even the little ones were spared. Two sucklings butchered at point blank range.*



# Kashmir Hindu's Agony – Day-to-Day Survival...



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# Kashmir Hindu's Agony – Cost of being a Proud Indian..



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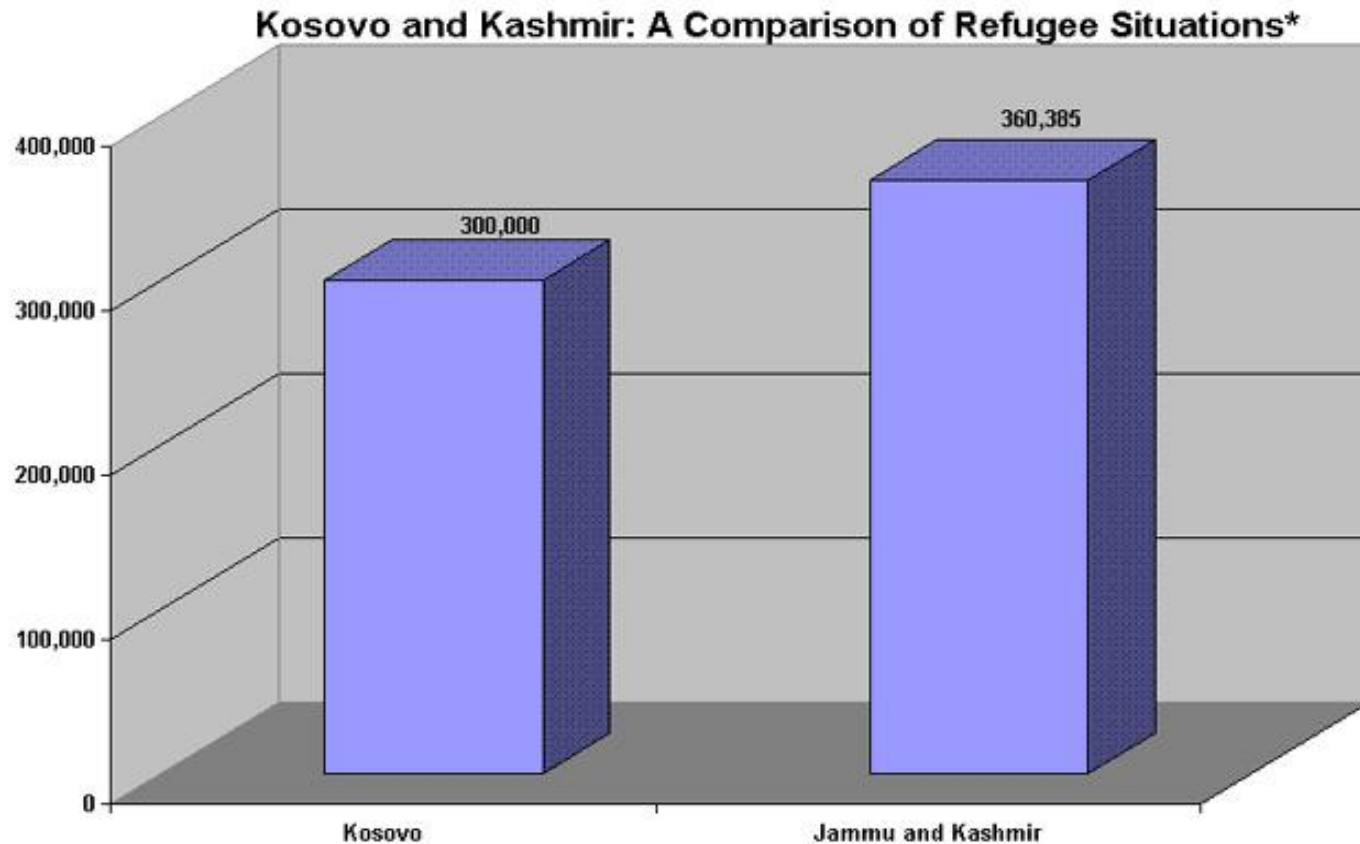
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# Kashmir Hindu's Agony – Is Anyone Secure?



# Kashmir Hindu's Agony – Who cares about Human Lives?



\*300,000 Ethnic Albanian Kosovo refugees prompted the NATO campaign against Serbia in spring 1999.

\*Nearly 400,000 Kashmiri Pandit refugees live in migrant camps after expulsion by Islamic terrorists from Kashmir Valley in 1990.



# Kashmir History

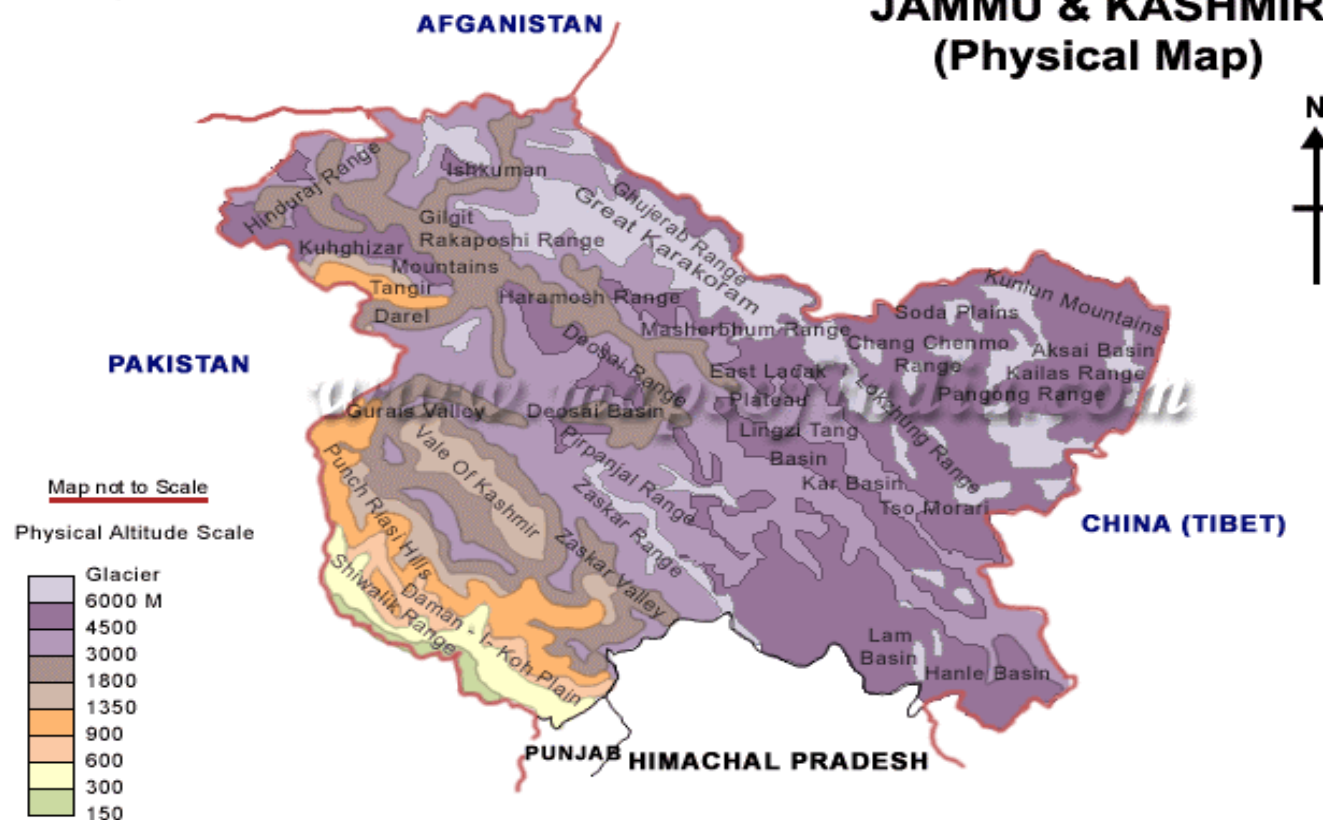
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## A Non-Truncated View

# Jammu & Kashmir – Physical Contours

www.mapsofindia.com

## JAMMU & KASHMIR (Physical Map)



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# Kashmir and Hinduism – Integral Part of Indian History

- Ø 7,000 year-old common bonds
- Ø Kashmir has been integral part of Major Indian Dynasties
- Ø Deep-rooted Connections to Vedas, Mahabharata and Mauryan rulers and much more
- Ø Mahabharata's hero Arjun's descendants settled in the region

# Kashmir and Hinduism – Integral Part of Indian History

- Ø Center of Hindu Religion and Education
- Ø Hindu influence eroded only by Muslim oppression since 12th century A.D.
- Ø Killings, Pogroms, Forced Conversions brought Kashmir's Hindu population down to **11 families** in 200 years after first Muslim invasion



# Kashmir and Hinduism: Integral Part of Indian History

5000 B.C.	Part of Harrapan civilization
4000 B.C.	Mention of Vitasta (Jhelum River) in Rig Veda
3000 B.C.	Kashmir Clan mentioned in Mahabharat
2629 B.C.	King Sandiman's reign
2082 B.C.	King Sunder Sen's reign
1048 B.C.	King Nara's reign
300 B.C.	Part of Mauryan Empire
248 B.C.	Emperor Asoka: Srinagar founded
78 A.D.	Emperor Kanishka's reign (Kushan Dynasty)
510 A.D.	First Foreign Invasion (Huns)
600 A.D.	King Lalitaditya's reign - builds great Sun temple
630 A.D.	Emperor Harshavardhan
650 A.D.	King Chach (A Brahmin ruler)
813 A.D.	King Ajatapid (Pampre town founded)
855 A.D.	King Avantivarman's reign (Avantipora founded)
883 A.D.	King Shankaravarman's reign (Pattan founded)
1148 A.D.	King Jayasim's reign - <b>Muslim incursions start</b>
1322 A.D.	Zulkatur Khan - Hindu conversions accelerate
1339 A.D.	Muslim invaders destroy great Sun temple
1394 A.D.	Sikander: Hindu pogroms: <b>11 families survive</b>
1540 A.D.	Kashmir part of Mogul Empire of India
1846 A.D.	British restore Hindu rule: Gulab Singh's reign
1947 A.D.	Pakistani invasion, Hari Singh accedes to India
1948 A.D.	1 million Hindus remain in Kashmir valley
1950 A.D.	Article 370: Seeds for oppression of Hindus sowed
1987 A.D.	5 decades of migrations: Only 400,000 Hindus left
1988 A.D.	Dozens of Hindu temples destroyed by Muslims
1989 A.D.	Pak terrorism: <b>350,000 Kashmiri Hindus leave</b>

Golden Era of Hinduism in Kashmir

Muslim Invasions and Pogroms



# Article 370

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# Cause and Effect

# Article 370 - Cause and Effect

- Ø Made Jammu & Kashmir a Country within a Country
- Ø Created separate set of laws for State's residents
- Ø Made Indian Laws of Fundamental Rights, Citizenship, Property Ownership irrelevant in the State

# Article 370 - Cause and Effect

- Ø Allowed gerrymandering of electoral districts by Muslim-led National Conference
- Ø Facilitated Steady Exclusion of Hindus from Political, Economic and Educational spheres in Jammu & Kashmir
- Ø Perpetuated “State Subject” law, further diminishing Kashmiri Hindu population *(800,000+ in 1947 -> 400,000 in 1989)*

# Article 370 - Cause and Effect

- Ø Facilitates Hegemony and Resource-skimming by Kashmiri Muslims over Jammu and Ladakh regions
- Ø Prevents Economic and Political integration of state with rest of India
- Ø Contributes to Rampant, Overt Bureaucratic corruption to levels far above those in rest of India
- Ø Benefits mainly elite Kashmiri Muslim families

# Article 370 - Conclusion

- Ø Article 370 directly paved the way for *Economic Malaise, Communalism* and *Separatist Sentiment*
- Ø Indian “Secularism” prevents abrogation
- Ø Made the State ripe for Pakistan’s meddling

## Reference:

“Living Under the Shadow of Article 370” Kashmir Herald, January 2002

<http://www.kashmiri-pandit.org/kashmirherald/featuredarticle/article370.html>



# Pakistan's Meddling & Talibanization

# Pakistan's Meddling

## Ø Goals:

- Ethnic re-engineering: Hindu exodus continues today
- Disruption of Democratic Process
- Compromising of State Administration apparatus
- Accession to Pakistan or Creation of a satellite, pseudo-independent state

## Ø Who benefits:

- Pak military commanders,
- Jehadi leaders
- ISI



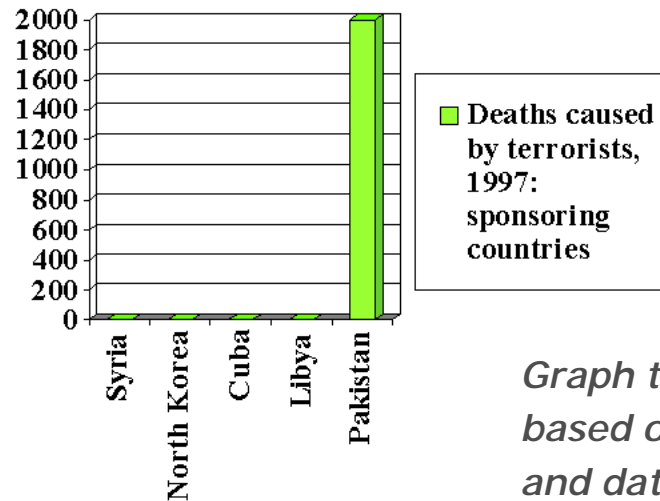
# Pakistan's Meddling

- Ø Zia-ul-Haq's government started exporting Islamic fervor, fundamentalism back in the 80s
- Ø Mirrored earlier moves in 1965 by Ayub Khan
- Ø This time had the experience and logistics developed in Afghan civil war

# Pakistan's Meddling

- Ø In 1990, Pakistan rumored to have nuclear weapons deterrent against a repeat of 1965
- Ø Nuclear threat used at strategic occasions
- Ø Terrorist groups continually formed, renamed and regrouped by ISI (continues even today)

# Pakistan's Meddling



*Graph taken from ikashmir.org, based on US State Dept. report and data on J&K killings in 1997.*

- Ø ISI supports the largest terrorist network in the world
- Ø Provides infrastructure, military support and logistics to Kashmir terrorists, Taliban and Al Qaida

## Pakistan's Meddling

- Ø 1996-1997 Elections: Normalcy returns
- Ø ISI regrouped terror outfits after 1997: LeT, HuM, and later JeM gained influence over HM
- Ø Violence accelerates again
- Ø Economic effects: Most disastrous for Pakistan
- Ø Vicious Cycle Funnels millions of Pakistani youth through fundamentalist madrassas & jihadi camps.
- Ø Attracts fanatic Muslims from around the world

# Pakistan's Meddling - Conclusion

- Ø Reached a boiling point on September 11
- Ø Sheikh Omar (Daniel Pearl kidnapping suspect), at behest of ISI chief, believed to wire funds to Sept. 11 hijacker Mohd. Atta
- Ø ISI links to Al Qaida, Taliban stand exposed



# US Role in South Asia & Jammu & Kashmir

## US Role in South Asia and J&K

- ∅ Has tried to compartmentalize terror
- ∅ Ignored ISI support of Al Qaida until Sept. 11
- ∅ Allowed ISI support to J&K terrorists to continue until December 13
- ∅ Forced some verbal concessions from Musharraf (Jan. 12 speech), but ground situation stays the same in J&K

## US Role in South Asia and J&K

- Ø Can not think out of the box - Dependence on Musharraf reminiscent of earlier liaisons with Shah of Iran, even Saddam Hussein
- Ø Pumping billions into Pakistan without adequate controls
- Ø Ignores the facts that Taliban, Al Qaida leaders hiding in Pakistan with ISI support
- Ø JeM, LeT etc. reported to be active as ever, pose threats to India as well as the US





# A Comprehensive Peace Framework

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# The Dispute and The “Solutions”

- Ø What is the dispute?
- Ø Pakistan’s contesting of J&K accession to India purely based on religion
- Ø Kashmiriyat is euphemism for covert Muslim hegemony
- Ø Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists of J&K unanimous in rejecting any separation from India

# The Dispute and The "Solutions" –

## I. Pakistan Accession

### Ø Track record of Pakistan in Pak Occupied Kashmir (POK)

- Kashmiri Speakers negligible
- Complete Ethnic Cleansing of POK
- No Democracy - Direct rule by Pakistan
- Economically far behind rest of Pakistan
- No qualms in using POK for terrorist activities and Al Qaida support

# The Dispute and The "Solutions" –

## I. Pakistan Accession

- Ø Pakistan itself an Economic basket case
- Ø Future of J&K minorities endangered
- Ø Most certainly used as base for further jehadi incursions into India - stated goals of JeM, LeT and others
- Ø Most significant victory for fundamentalist, jehadi elements, likely to cause "domino effect"

# The Dispute and The “Solutions” –

## II. Independence

- Ø Becomes a *de facto* satellite state of Pakistan *à la* Taliban-controlled Afghanistan
- Ø Similar outcome as in case of accession to Pakistan - minority existence endangered
- Ø Will also start a heated contest between other powers - US, China etc. for establishing strongholds in such an entity.
- Ø External meddling in South Asia very likely

# The Dispute and The “Solutions” –

## III. Joint Suzerainty

- Ø Most impractical solution
- Ø Only example in history - island of Vanuatu (joint control of Britain and France called the *Condominium*) ended in failure - jokingly referred to as the *Pandemonium*
- Ø Little in common between Muslim Pakistan and Secular India to support common mode of administration

# The Dispute and The "Solutions" –

## III. Joint Suzerainty

- Ø Jehadi elements will have much easier path into J&K
- Ø Likely that Indian influence will erode completely

# The Dispute and The "Solutions" –

## IV. LOC-Based – Greater Autonomy

- Ø Article 370 Perpetuated and Strengthened
- Ø 50-year old malaise will not go away - the root causes remain and worsen
- Ø Erosion of Indian influence, efflux of minorities continues
- Ø Muslim hegemony will become paramount
- Ø Only postpones the inevitable



# The Dispute and The "Solutions" –

## V. Quadrification – KNN Proposals

∅ Abrogate Article 370

∅ Split state into four entities:

- Panun Kashmir
- Kashmir
- Ladakh
- Jammu

∅ Precedent in recent breakup of large states with diverse administrative units - Uttaranchal, Jharkand, Chattisgarh

# The Dispute and The "Solutions" –

## V. Quadrification – KNN Proposals

### Ø Panun Kashmir

- Union Territory where Indian Laws would be applicable in Letter and Spirit
- Kashmiri Hindus can return to their homeland in safety and honor
- Any Indian (Hindu, Muslim, Sikh etc.) can enter, live, buy property and run businesses
- Will attract Hi-tech, other advanced industries for rapid economic growth

# The Dispute and The "Solutions" –

## V. Quadrification – KNN Proposals

- Ø Panun Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh will be expected to re-integrate at a faster rate with India economically and politically than Kashmir
- Ø Anti-India Muslims may be allowed to migrate to Pakistan if disagree - (precedent - Krajina Serb migration in Croatia)

# The Dispute and The "Solutions" –

## V. Quadrification – KNN Proposals

- Ø Programs for preservation of culture in all 4 regions will be undertaken
- Ø Jammu and Ladakh residents will escape Kashmiri Muslim hegemony

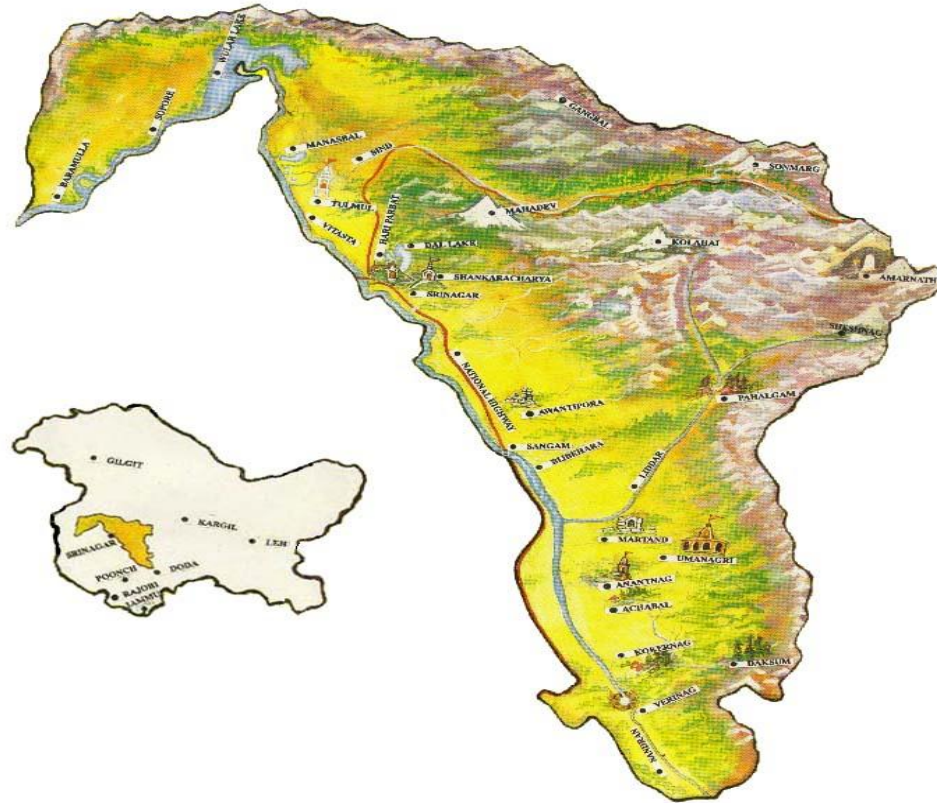
# The Dispute and The "Solutions" – V. Quadrification – KNN Proposals



*Proposed reorganization of J&K State*

# The Dispute and The "Solutions" –

## V. Quadrification – KNN Proposals



*Detailed map of proposed Panun Kashmir territory*

## But will it work?

- Ø Likely Pakistan meddling to continue
- Ø Pakistan's insecure personality due to combination of Economic Decay, Jehadi mindset, Disproportionate military, Punjabi hegemony and confounding of Pashtun extremism
- Ø A broader solution for the subcontinent needed

# A Framework for South Asia

- Ø Pakistan is a dead-end nation
- Ø Surviving only on dole from US, IMF
- Ø Too many centrifugal forces - Sindhis, Balochis, Pashtuns
- Ø Most abhor Punjabi hegemony
- Ø Pashtunistan area (along with corresponding Afghan areas) has exported extremist influence to other provinces



# A Framework for South Asia

- Ø ISI, Pakistani Military, Jihadis continue to be threat to subcontinent and beyond
- Ø Most regions blame Pakistani Punjab for hegemonic monopolization of resources
- Ø Afghanistan is a similar quagmire
- Ø Baluchis and Pashtuns have more in common with Pakistani counterparts than with Uzbeks and Tajiks in Northern Areas

# A Framework for South Asia

Ø Adopt novel solution analogous to breakup of Yugoslavia into ethnically cohesive units

Ø Basis:

- Separate Pashtunistan (center for much of extremism problem) and surround by several buffer states in all directions
- Break Pakistani military strength and end perpetuation of hegemony by Pakistani Punjab
- Free states like Sindh to develop independent economic and political tracks

# A Framework for South Asia

## ∅ New Entities:

- **Sindh**
- **Pakistani Punjab** (to include POK minus Northern Areas)
- **Baluchistan** (spans Afghanistan and Pakistan)
- **Pashtunistan** (spans Afghanistan and Pakistan)
- **Northern Afghanistan** (north of Kabul)

### *References:*

Robert Kaplan, Atlantic Monthly, September 2000, "The Lawless Frontier"

Prof. Gul Agha, Sindh Watch, January 2002, "Should Pakistan be Broken Up?"

# A Framework for South Asia



*Proposed Reorganization of Pakistan and Afghanistan*

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# Conclusion

# Conclusion

- Ø Historical ties between Kashmir and Hinduism longer and deeper than with Islam
- Ø Kashmir unrest results from combination of Article 370 influence and Pakistan's proxy war
- Ø US role in South Asia less than helpful - driven by short-term, Cold war perceptions

## Conclusion

- Ø Accession to Pakistan, Independence/ Joint Suzerainty and even greater autonomy are unlikely to “solve” the Kashmir issue
- Ø Quadrification has the best chance for rapid integration of J&K with India with economic and political renewal
- Ø A broader framework for stabilizing the subcontinent includes reorganization of Pakistan and Afghanistan to break the Jihad-Military nexus and Pakistani Punjab hegemony

# Web References:

[www.ikashmir.org](http://www.ikashmir.org)

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# Q & A