CHAPTER -V

PANDITS AND THE DEMAND FOR HOMELAND

The homeland provides a choice before the Pandits of Kashmir where they could enjoy peace and freedom and to be treated like any other citizen of India. Homeland will be a Union Territory governed by the provisions of the Indian Constitution without fetters of Article 370 (Appendent 2). It is important to understand that the demand for a homeland is not an expression of ethnic or regional chauvinism, but one of survival of a community on the verge of extinction. This demand is essential in breaking the paradigm that exists today not only in the geopolitical sense, but also in the mind set of Kashmiri Pandits who are resigned to their fate and unable to think or act boldly. The homeland will provide a safe haven for the minorities traumatized by the loss and abuse of their human rights.

What is Homeland

Homeland is a place, a region or a country which is native to a people and where the people or the community is essentially indigenous. It is an area which naturally belongs to them by virtue of birth; habitation and evolution over a long period of time spanning centuries and millennia. The longer a community has made a place its abode and the wider and
deeper it takes roots, the stronger are its bonds and commitments to that Place and the greater is the resolve to retain it and preserve its integrity. Thus, in the case of Pandits also over a period of generations, they have built a physical, emotional and spiritual relationship with that region, just as a home gives a sense of belonging to an individual. This Homeland also generates a feeling of roots, a sense of identity and an umbrella of security to its people (Hegde Parameshwar, 2005: 158).

**Importance of Homeland**

A call for the homeland is a reinforcement to the Indian claim to Kashmir which has been the crown of India ever since the Vedic times and the cradle of civilization of which the Kashmiri Pandits are true heirs, defenders and inheritors. A call for a homeland is a cry for survival among the loyal Indian citizens from Kashmir. The Pandits have become a refugee in their own country where they got a shabby treatment worse than what India has given to the refugees from Tibet, Burma, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Afghanistan (Koul A J, 2005: 52).

They are discriminated even vis-à-vis the handful of refugees from the valley, mostly political bigwigs of discredited parties who have been housed in spatial and furnished lodgings; who are neither to get registered as refugees nor to stand in queues for relief or rations in burning Sun, nor to run from pillar to post to prove their bonafides as
displaced, nor to wait for release of the amenities. On the contrary cash relief and other facilities are given to them in advance for months together (Chopra Pran, 2002: 128).

It is a savage battle that the community is fighting for shelter, livelihood, education, health care, employment and above all for its survival. It is heading towards unmitigated disaster as the deprivation hurt and humiliation have worked havoc on the physical, psychological and mental well-being of the community and taken a huge toll of its members (Reddy L R, 2002: 219).

The community continues to perish while the nation looks on unconcerned. More lives have been lost due to starvation, malnutrition, disease and accidents than due to militant bullets. The community is facing dispersal and extinction. The displaced yearn to return to their homes and hearths, to till their own land, pursue their own professional calling and visit their Gods and temples; but all doors are closed to them (Schofield Victoria, 2000: 77).

Pandits become the victims of militants and wicked Politicians. Their jobs have been usurped, houses burnt down or looted, lands mutilated and encroached upon or annexed and their temples desecrated. The community is at a loss to pick the loose ends of the tangle and to free itself from the web in which it finds itself enmeshed. It
is hard pressed to preserve its religious and ethnic identity and maintain its glorious cultural traditions. It is at pains to uphold the principles of secularism, social justice, freedom of faith, democratic pluralism and nationalism, the very principles at the altar of which it was sacrificed in the valley and driven into exile (Tikko Ramesh, 2006: 127). So Homeland for Pandit is unavoidable.

Demands for Homeland

Today the Pandit community stands at cross roads. The question is of survival or death. The stark reality that has dawned upon the community for the first time necessitates that it has to stand on its own, and on the shambles in which it finds itself now and then proceed to recreate and rebuild its glorious ideals and to fight for an honorable survival. The call for a Homeland, therefore, underlines the inevitable desire and will of the community to regain its status and lost honor and to find its identity again in the land which it has inhabited from times immemorial despite persecution and massacre and repeated exodus.

The call for Homeland becomes mandatory for the community as it refuses to return to an atmosphere of discrimination, suppression and persecution at the hands of militancy affected state apparatus which it has been facing for the last twenty years and the atmosphere of siege, terror and murderous assault at the hands of gun wielding religious
fanatics who hold the sway in the valley. The community wants to live in peace and in ambience of amity and brotherhood.

It will fight for its rightful participation in any negotiations, decisions or changes that may affect the constitutional and political organization of the State. It is determined to fight to the finish for its inalienable rights in its own land. The expectations of this scattered community are high. It leads to the true dream of Homeland (Interactions with Migrants and Political leaders).

Homeland Resolution

Kashmiri Pandits are in their twentieth year of exile. The valley of Kashmir was taken to armed subversion and militancy and drove them out of their centuries old habitat. ‘Panun Kashmir’an umbrella organization of Kashmiri Pandits in its December 1991 ‘Margdarshan Convention’ staged in the city of Jammu, introduced the historic ‘Homeland Resolution’. It was unanimously adopted by more than a thousand delegates of the exiled community, who flocked from all towns and cities, where they have taken refuge, and who represented diverse shades of opinion. The operative part of the resolution demanded the following aspects.

a) The establishment of a Homeland for the Kashmiri Pandits in the Valley of Kashmir comprising the regions of the Valley to the East and
North of river Jhelum.

b) The Constitution of India be made applicable in letter and spirit in this ‘Homeland’ in order to ensure right to life, liberty, freedom of expression and faith, equality and rule of law.

c) The ‘Homeland’ be placed under the Central administration with a Union Territory status; and

d) The seven hundred thousand Kashmiri Pandits including those who have been driven out of Kashmir in the past want to return to their homeland and those who were forced to leave on account of militant violence in Kashmir, be settled in the homeland on an equitable basis with dignity and honor.

The resounding success of the convention and whole-hearted endorsement of the resolution had become the rallying point for all intellectuals, political scientists and the common man alike, “Panun Kashmir” had thus transformed into a beacon-light of the community. It has evolved into a movement symbolizing the hopes, the urges and the aspirations of the community.

In the process, there will be many queries and doubts about the subject matter of the resolution for the repatriation of the exiles with full political, constitutional and legal guarantees is not silly matters. They achieve a large measure of success in convincing all right thinking people
about the urgency, genuineness and sincerity of this demand (Hindustan Times dated March 6, 2002).

The members of the community itself have to remain vigilant against a number of divisive forces within the community and outside, who have been active, on their own or at the behest of the terrorists and other enemies of the community and of the country, by spreading canards and disinformation for and against the demand for a homeland. Naturally this raises doubts in the minds of the people of this beleaguered nation and compounds the confusion that prevails in the community (Data collected from pannun Pandit Organisation office).

'Panun Kashmir’, the umbrella organization of Kashmiri Pandits had unshakeable faith in the unity and integrity of India. It is wedded to secularism, democracy, rule of law and respect for all religious faiths. The organisation is opposed to communalism, religious fundamentalism and militancy in any form or guise. And it is committed to the repatriation of all exiles from the valley of Kashmir to their homeland with dignity and honor.

**Reasons for Homeland**

The Kashmiri Pandits are the original inhabitants of the valley of Kashmir ever since the birth of the valley. The origin of the valley is said to be by divine intervention when Kashypa Rishi materialized it from a huge
lake. It has a history of more than five thousand years of continuous habitation. Kalahanas Raj Tarangni, highlighted as the first historical record of ancient India, was written by a Kashmiri Pandit Kalhana. It offers a lucid account of the Hindu Kings and the rich cultural traditions in the valley (Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, 1969: 92).

The ruins of the famous temples like 'Martand', Parithaspura at Pattan, and Narannag at Kangan and the excavations at Burzhoma in the outskirts of the city of Srinagar speak of the architectural attainments as much as of the religious beliefs and practices of ancient Kashmir. Kashmir during those days was the centre of learning and the seat of a great University at Bijbehara near Anantnag to which scholars thronged from all parts of the world for knowledge and learning and for the study of Sanskrit, Literature, Philosophy etc (Wessis Anita and Zulfiqar Gilani, 2001: 69-70).

Modern Kashmir owes a lot for its rich cultural heritage, its language, literature and arts, its very 'Kashmiriat', to the Hindu who laid the foundation for the same and consolidated it as other cultures mingled with it down the centuries. They gave Shaivism to the world in its explicit and practical form. The inheritors of this distinct and glorious cultural, ethnic and religious background are now reduced to a minority though they have so much in common with rest of the Hindu tradition of India. It
is his duty to preserve the distinct heritage, to secure his own roots, to assert his identity and to claim his rights and freedoms, religious, political and social. They are peace loving and tolerant (Singh Jasjith, 1999: 176).

They have not so far taken up arms to counter their act. They have suffered silently because they are minority at the mercy of a brute majority, even though minority Rights are now acknowledged everywhere in the civilized world. They remind themselves the fact that only a Homeland can guarantee the identity that they are seeking. The Homeland becomes imperative and urgent for the community before more damage is done to them.

The Homeland is urgent because its granting will set in motion the process of normalization of Pandits life in the state. The first duty of the nation is to resettle the uprooted citizens in their natural habitat (The Pioner dated July 21, 2003). The Government of India has been vacillating its policies and priorities in Kashmir. In fact it has no definite policy on rehabilitation except one of drift and despair on the one hand and appeasement of some majority communities on the other hand.

The most terrible fall out of this policy has been the genocide of the minority in the valley. If the Central Government realizes the real conditions of the refugees in its full spirits, it can take the right step towards Homeland issue protecting the legitimate interests and rights of
its patriotic citizens of Kashmir and by granting a Homeland to the Pandit community.

**UN and the issue of Home Land**

The UN Secretary General in his June 1992 blue-print about the role envisaged for UN in the case of refugees made a proposal for an International Convention defining inalienable minority rights and also called for a declaration to be placed before the UN General Assembly.

The year 1993 all over the world was celebrated as the year of ‘indigenous people all over the world under the auspices of the UN. Kashmiri Pandits are the indigenous people of Kashmir with the continuity of a distinct ethno-religious tradition of more than five thousand years (The Herald dated 12 January 1993). Therefore, the world shall have to support their inalienable rights to exist in their Homeland with security of life, political liberty, freedom of thought and expression and in dignity and pride.

India, the motherland of Kashmiri Pandits has to recognize these rights first and foremost. It has to grant him his rightful claim and share in the Homeland (Mount batten, IOR Neg. 15338-15567 from Kashmir University). It is a test case for India, to prove the genuineness of the ideals for which she stands like unity in diversity, to safeguard each community and the rights and the just aspirations of every ethnic and
religious minority. Further India will have to prove to its own people and to the world community that it is determined to safeguard and preserve the aspirations, the rights and privileges of the Kashmiri Pandits (Syed Alisha Gilani, 2001: 97).

Overall implications of granting the Homeland

Morally, to grant them a homeland will be an acknowledgement of the inalienable rights of Kashmir minority Pandit community to its own land in its own habitat (Samachar Patrika dated June 2007). In broader context it may be the only lasting solution to the complex Kashmir imbroglio not only to grant a Homeland to the Pandits of the valley but also to recognize the sensitivities and propensities of other regional and ethnic groups of the heterogeneous State of Jammu and Kashmir.

The leaders of the State, of all shades of political opinion, are working overtime and in tandem with their many sympathizers in the rest of the country to convince the Central Government about the genuineness and correctness of this step. They are aiming at extracting the maximum concessions from the country when they talk of the quantum of autonomy (The New York Times dated 24 may 2008).

There is also a flurry of behind-the-scene activity at the Centre to persuade the militant outfits to come forward for a dialogue. Many senior leaders of the State and to some others at the Centre have proposed a
trifurcation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to solve the tangle (Nawa-i-wagt, dated October 2008).

They know the fact that a trifurcation would not solve the problem of displaced Kashmiri Pandits who are refugees in Jammu and other towns of the country for the last twenty years. In fact they had to live on pain of death and the people of the valley in general and the militants in particular have threatened to execute them if they return to their homes. Granting them a Homeland with a Union Territory status inside the valley is the only lasting and permanent solution to the Kashmir problem.

They are asking a question as to “if a Hill Council can be granted to about 60,000 Ladakhi Budhists why not a Homeland for seven hundred thousand Kashmiri Pandits” (Opinion of Pannun Organisation Leaders). Therefore, there were suggestions for a quadric-partition and not a trifurcation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, to accommodate the rights, the urges and aspirations of all regions and all religious and ethnic groups.

Thus the call for a homeland has become not only natural but also urgent because the community has arrived at a point of watershed in history. Therefore, the question of their homeland has become a question of now or never. Even the grant of homeland cannot de-communalize the socio-political milieu of the valley. At the same time the
Pandits cannot afford to relinquish their claim in the State of Jammu and Kashmir and get dispersed and lost in the teeming population of the country (Haider Malik, 2001:27).

As per the micro study made; it is revealed that in the present state of exile, the whole community is going through indescribable psychological and physical anguish. The older generation is fast fading away as they are going through the throes of disease and death which has come prematurely for thousands (Ragvan S R, 2007:79).

The middle generation is withering and aging rapidly because of idleness, denial and deprivation. The younger generation has become apathetic, depressed and frustrated because of denial of opportunities for living, denial of admissions into institutions of learning and the apartheid that they face from all quarters.

The new generation that takes birth in exile grows up in the most uncongenial and hostile environment. At this rate the community will not take long to dissipate. As days go on the community is getting impoverished on all fronts and is moving towards extinction. That’s why the demand for Home land is so significant.

**Regions proposed for the Homeland**

Homeland cannot be thought as the land that belongs to the community. So the Homeland for the displaced Kashmiris Pandit will
have to be conceived in the valley itself and the area North and East of the River Jehlum. The valley has to be divided in acceptance of their claim. River Jhelum provides a natural geographical divide and, therefore, shall represent a line of demarcation between the Homeland and the rest of the valley.

The southern region of the State to the North and East of the Jhelum with the National Highway passing through it also happens to be the region with most of their holy shrines including the holiest of the holy, Sri. Amarnath temple. Logistically and demographically, this area is most suitable for conversion into the Homeland with a Union Territory status (Data collected from Pandit welfare society, Rajouri).

Thus River Jhelum and surrounding areas of North and East of Kashmir are noted for their everlasting dream Homeland. They claim areas from Barramullah to Veernag, places like Poonch, Rajouri, Leh, Kargil, Gilgit and Jammu. Panun Kashmir and Other NGOs also submitted their demands to Central and State government authorities about these exact locations for Homeland. Map 4 shows exact locations proposed for homeland.
MAP- 4

Map showing regions proposed for Homeland

Source: Pandit welfare society, Rajouri.
Views on Homeland

A Homeland is an inevitable element for the survival of the community. There are some who still delude themselves with the belief that normalcy is going to return to Kashmir and they are going to be able to live in honor and dignity and with equal rights and opportunities to life. Contrarily, others are of the view that they should not offend the majority by asking for their due share in the form of a Homeland. Most of them, the yes-men or hand-maidens of power brokers, are discredited politicians, others are in league with the Militants and have become tools in their hands and provide them with a mask.

Attitude of Political Parties

All Political parties from Kashmir Valley accept the dignity and honor of Pandits and welcome their return to the valley at the earlist. Before 1995, except mainstream parties, all others rejected the idea of Pandits return. Now days things become changed, they need their presence. Major political parties like Congress, CPM, BJP, NC, PDP, ML, RSP, CPI, BSP and Dalit Panthers party, are ready to give protection and security to Kashmiri Pandits.

Syed Ali Sha Gilani

As the chairman of All Party Hurriyath conference Syed Ali Sha Gilani welcome the return of Pandits. He said, His party never hate Kashmiri Pandits, they are brothers and sisters and that many times
requested them to come back to Kashmir valley, He sent a message that APHC will help Pandits to come back to the valley (Interviewd on May 29, 2008-Appendent.7)

**Sajad Gani Lone**

Another politician and Chairman of Kashmir Pupil Party said that they forget all old things, and it is a time for creating new relations and peace process. His Party is unconditionally requesting Pandits to come back. Now a days Kashmir’s hate all brands of plebiscite and Azad Kashmir (Interviewd on January 10, 2009, Appendent.8).

**Dr. Farooq Abdullah**

Union Energy Minister and Chairman of NC during the interview suggested that Central Government is preparing a package for Kashmiri Pandits with the help of State Government. Still, many historians criticise, National Conference as being the cause of creating Pandit refugee problems. According to him it is absolutely wrong (Interviewd on September 05, 2009-Appendent. 4).

**Yousaf Tarigami**

The State Secretary of CPI (M) and MLA from Kulgam Constituency Yousaf Tarigami stated that the Communist party (Marxist) unconditionally requested ‘Pandits to come back. The party respect their tradition, culture and custom. If the party fails to provide them with the homeland, it means that there is no secularism here. The party trusts in the golden ideas of
secularism and socialism (Interviewd on September 05, 2009-Appendent.6).

Muhammed Ameen

The state General secretary of DYFK and National joint secretary of DYFI, during an interview said, that Pandits are victims of conspiracy. They have pleaded with them on many occasions to return to their land. Only small percentage returned, others are living in migrant camps (Appendent 5).

In February 2010, the District president of the Congress Party Praveena Akthar her party was asking the Pandits from the very beginning to comeback (Intraction with DCC PZ, Srinagar).

So also various Kashmiri Pandit Organization leaders, NGOs, Religious Priests, and down trodden people are interested in their return to the Kashmir valley. In short almost all the leaders of the state belive the return of Pandits and the need for a Home land. So, it is right time for authorities to provide them homeland in Kashmir valley and give them protection and security that the Indian Constitution guarantees.

Attitude of J K L F (Militant Organization)

In mid March 2010, the Co-Chairman of JKLF at Maisooma, when met by the researcher said they never promote any type of militancy in Kashmir valley and also claimed to have sent an advice to their members to surrender all weapons. He commented that they believe in Non violence
of Mahatma Gandhi and the golden ideas of Ambedkar, Karl Marx, and Buddha. They apologised for whatever they had done in the past, and assured, not to repeat it. In 1985 JKLF introduced gun culture in Kashmir valley with the help of Pakistan. They also played an important role in exile.

The exodus of Kashmiri minorities and realization by the world of the true nature of militancy in Kashmir, give a jolt to the secessionists’ designs of projecting their movement as one of independence. So they have been deliberating about the desirability or otherwise of giving a call to their exiles to come back and fight “shoulder to shoulder” for their so-called freedom movement. They understand that the exiles are going through a life and death struggle fall victims to their trap.

Many exiles have even remarked that it was better to get killed in the valley than to suffer the trauma of being refugees at the mercy of administrative vultures. Others are ready to live as aliens in their own land the way the handful of Pandits are still living in the valley.

**Militants Approach**

Some of the militant groups are against the Homeland demand of the Kashmiri Pandits. To them there is no place for these minorities. Still they are trying to adopt the theory of Genocide. But they are not getting any help from majority community. How ever they have laid stringent conditions for the return of Pandit minority to the valley. They
want the displaced people to agitate for the release of all militant detention and to fight shoulder to shoulder with them for the secession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir from India and only after achieving “liberation” they would consider the return of the displaced community.

Most of the Militant organizations still oppose the Pandits claim for the Homeland because of the fact that they are not against the minority community. They are fighting for liberation of Kashmir. After the Azadi, they will provide the Pandits with the Homeland (Khan Sarar M Ibrahim, 2003: 148). More than 68 militant groups are working inside the Kashmir valley. Very few of them accept the Pandits demand for Homeland (Data collected from various sources).

**Attitude of Panun Kashmir Organization**

Panun Kashmir is not just a pony organization but a people’s movement. It is the Milky Way dotted with the stars of the community who, having come out of eclipse, are ready to become the guiding stars. And as a first step, the community is pledged to behave as a united whole and not just as individuals; as masters of their destiny and not as second fiddles and as reformers and not slaves as confederates and not as plotters against each other; as resection and appreciators of each others worth and not as critics and cynics.

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

The organization believes that it is the awareness of their duty as much as of their rights for their homeland that is paramount and no sacrifice will be too great to salvage the honor, dignity and integrity of their community and country. They recognise that pious wishes alone will not give them the homeland, and have to be ready for action.

The organization always calls for that selecting the path of non-violence; and to take pen to fight the sword’. For this purpose the Pandits are in the way to educate not only their own community but the whole international community for their right of the Homeland (Data collected from Chamman lal, Secretary, Pannun pandit Orgaistaion).

**State Government on Home land**

Over 350,000 Kashmiri Pandits had fled from the Valley two decades ago when militancy erupted and not a single migrant has returned in all these years. This was confirmed by Revenue Minister Raman Bhalla when he said that “So far, no migrant has returned to the Valley,” as a written reply in the assembly to a question submitted by Hakim
Mohammad Yaseen, an independent legislator (Times of India dated November 16, 2009).

The thousands of Pandits who had fled the Valley 20 years back are now in migrant camps in Jammu region and other parts of the country. Pandit Organizations are criticizing that the State Government is pretending like two headed authorities. When the state Government authorities arrive in Jammu, they will give so many Promises to the Pandit community. When they come back to Kashmir valley they forget promises and talk like strangers. However the fact remains that there is less talk on the Part of state Government about the Pandits Homeland demand (Data collected from J&K state migrant officials).

**Attitude of Central Government**

Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh had in April 2008 announced a relief, return and rehabilitation package for the migrants and the state has reserved 3,000 posts for Kashmiri Pandit youth in various departments in the Valley. Unfortunatley this promise has not been realized so far. Kashmiri Pandits put strong trust on Central Government because they belive that the only Central Government can solve their problems. (Hindustan Times dated 29 April 2008).

From 1991 to 2009, they had submitted more than 12memoranda to BJP and Congress Governments respectively. Every year the Central Government is proclaiming Packages for Pandits without fail but what is
failing is their implementation. Of course solving problems of Homeland is not so easy. Therefore, the first thing to be done is to heal the wounds of Pandit community, by providing basic facilities to establish a Homeland within the frame work of Indian Constitution.

**Attitude of the local People**

On interacting with the local population, differences of opinion have emerged. But more people revealed the pathetic situations of the Pandits. Table 5.1 shows the attitude of the people toward the plight of Kashmiri Pandits.

**TABLE 5: 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Become more pathetic</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improved slightly</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Opinion</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: From Survey.

Table discloses the fact that 55 % of the people they feel sympathy for the Pandits exile.

**The question of settlement**

There arises a question as to the settlement of the problems of Pandits whether they should permanantly remain outside the state or with
in the state outside the valley. There are some people who have proposed quasi permanent settlement outside the valley; There is no doubt that the displaced Kashmiris from the valley are the state-subjects of the whole of Jammu and Kashmir and therefore, free to choose any place in the State to live like free citizens with equal opportunities.

However, the hard realities betray an inherent opposition from local populations to such a settlement in the major towns outside the valley and even in remote villages. There is already a population explosion in Jammu and face anger and resentment even to refugee status in Jammu and neighboring places. There has been fierce opposition to settle the employed community in their jobs or to admit their children in the educational institutions.

There have been negligible adjustments, transfers and promotions and hardly any new recruitment to jobs in the State Government. Now some bellicose groups have been agitating in Jammu for the outset of the displaced community and for stoppage of all relief. Attempts to rehabilitate this community in peripheral towns like Rajouri, Poonch, Kishtwar etc, would mean living again in insecurity and within the constraints of these outlying areas where the opportunities for growth and development of Immigrants are meager or non-existent. The forward looking displaced Kashmiris cannot now accept such a situation. Now they are almost
guests in the Jammu province by their own right but they will have to seek all avenues of repatriation back to the valley into their Homeland.

So they believe that accepting a quasi-permanent settlement outside the valley is tantamount to surrendering their rights in this valley. There is no doubt that India is a free country with a constitution which provides guarantees of life, work, property and freedom of expression and of religious faith everywhere and does not stop them from buying land and making a living and seeking a job anywhere.

In individual capacity some of the displaced members have sought such settlement, in the process in which getting scattered and dispersed. That will be the beginning of the end for the community. It may give a few of them, more fortunately placed, a chance to exist as individuals but shall take away their last chance to remain as a viable, healthy and dynamic community which has the power to offer leadership to the country. If they want to survive both as individuals and as a community and preserve their centuries old tradition and culture, they shall have to fight for their own share in the valley.