# SYSTEMATIC CHANGES IN DEMOGRAPHIC COMPOSITION OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR BY INDIA AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE RESOLUTION OF KASHMIR CONFLICT



Saira Kazmee Registration No. 49892

> Supervised by: Dr. Azhar Ahmad

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of M. S. (International Relations)

Department of Humanities and Social Sciences BAHRIA UNIVERSITY, ISLAMABAD MARCH 2020

### APPROVAL FOR EXAMINATION

Scholar's Name: Saira Kazmee

Registration No. 49892

Programme of Study: MS International Relations

Thesis Title: <u>Systematic Changes in Demographic Composition of Jammu and Kashmir by</u> <u>India and its Implications for the Resolution of Kashmir Conflict</u>

It is to certify that the above student's thesis has been completed to my satisfaction and, to my belief, its standard is appropriate for submission for Evaluation. I have also conducted plagiarism test of this thesis using HEC prescribed software and found similarity index at 11% that is within the permissible limit set by the HEC for the MS/MPhil degree thesis. I have also found the thesis in a format recognized by the BU for the MS/MPhil thesis.

Principal Supervisor's Signature:

Date: \_\_\_\_\_\_ Name: \_\_\_\_\_

#### **THESIS APPROVAL SHEET**

**Topic of Research:** <u>Systematic Changes in Demographic Composition of</u> Jammu and Kashmir by India and its Implications for the Resolution of Kashmir Conflict</u>

Name of Student: Saira Kazmee

**Enrollment No.** <u>01-257171-004</u>

**Programme:** MS (IR)

Dr. Azhar Ahmad Thesis Supervisor

Dr. Mujahid Hussain Sargana Internal Examiner

Dr. Amna Mahmood External Examiner

Dr. Mujahid Hussain Sargana Programme Coordinator Dr. Muhammad Umer Hayat Head of Department, Humanities and Social Sciences

#### **AUTHOR'S DECLARATION**

I, Saira Kazmee hereby state that my M. Phil thesis titled "Systematic Changes in Demographic Composition of Jammu and Kashmir by India and its Implications for the Resolution of Kashmir Conflict" is my own work and has not been submitted previously by me for taking any degree from Bahria University or anywhere else in the country/world.

At any time if my statement is found to be incorrect even after my graduation, the University has the right to withdraw/cancel my M. Phil degree.

Name of scholar: Saira Kazmee

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

#### PLAGIARISM UNDERTAKING

I, solemnly declare that research work presented in the thesis titled "Systematic Changes in Demographic Composition of Jammu and Kashmir by India and its Implications for the Resolution of Kashmir Conflict" is purely my own work and any contributions by others duly acknolwedged. My thesis is not plagriaised since I used a refererence whenever a material was used from other sources. In case any formal plagrisim is found in my reseach work my university and the HEC has the right to revoke my degree and any other measures in force.

Scholar / Author's Sign: \_\_\_\_\_

Name of the Scholar: Saira Kazmee

#### **DEDICATION**

With a lot of agony and pain, I dedicate this research study to the people of Kashmir, who in the eyes of the world, have not yet qualified to be given universally recognized right of self-determination and if they demand exercising of this fundamental right enshrined in UN Charter are subjected to worst inhuman treatment in sheer violation of international recognized human rights that majority of the world community claims to be the champion of.

Kashmiris, thy names are sufferers!

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious and the Most Merciful. It was only His special blessings that I managed to undertake this research work.

I am thankful to my thesis supervisor and my teacher Dr Azhar Ahmed for his continued support, guidance and encouragement throughout this research work.

I am also grateful to my teachers, library staff and administration of the Bahria University for excellent support throughout my stay. I am also indebted to my class fellows for their encouragement during studies and research.

I am thankful to all interview respondents and their institutions who responded very positively to my request for time despite their very busy schedule. Their input and candid discussion added immense value to this research.

Last, but never the least, I am extremely grateful to my husband Advocate Naeem Tariq and my children Ahmed Tariq and Anaya Tariq for their continued support and facilitation despite the fact that they were recipient of the cost in terms of time due to my obsession with this sober but tedious research work.

> Saira Kazmee Bahria University, Islamabad March 2020

#### ABSTRACT

This research study on Indian demographic engineering traces specific administrative and legal measures that successive Indian governments initiated for demographic engineering in Jammu and Kashmir while the current BJP government crossed all limits and made unilateral moves to annex Kashmir in complete disregard to United Nations Security Council Resolutions and bilateral agreements between the two countries. The study is based on primary and secondary sources of data. Besides unstructured interviews conducted for this study, secondary data in the form of books, journals, official documents, newspaper reports, etc. was used. As theortical framework, the study used Theory of Political Demography developed by Jack A. Goldstone, Eric P. Kaufmann and Monica Duffy Toft that explains how international security as well as national politics is being shaped by changes in population. Indian administrative measures for demographic engineering included grab of land by occupational forces, setting up of Sainik Colonies for ex-servicemen, separate colonies for the Kashmiri Pandits, attempts to give citizenship rights to West Pakistan refugees, lease of land to non-state subjects under industrial policy, manipulation of census reports and changing the script of Kashmiri Language, etc. On the legal front, India eroded special status of the state by making continuous changes in Article 370 and arrived at a point in August 2019 that not only abrogated special status of the state but also deprived Jammu and Kashmir its status of statehood by carving out two union territories to be governed directly from the centre. The study concludes that Indian unilateral moves in Kashmir not only created serious problems for final settlement of dispute but also created tensions between two nuclear states putting at risk the regional peace and security. The study provides pertinent recommendations to deal with the situation.

## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

CHAPTER	TITLE	PAGE
	APPROVAL FOR EXAMINATION	ii
	THESIS APPROVAL SHEET	iii
	AUTHOR'S DECLARATION	iv
	PLAGIARISM UNDERTAKING	v
	DEDICATION	vi
	ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	vii
	ABSTRACT	viii
	TABLE OF CONTENTS	ix
	LIST OF TABLES	xii
	LIST OF ABBREVIATION	xiii
	INTRODUCTION	1
	Background	1
	Demography and Demographic Engineering –	
	Operationalising the Concept	5
	Statement of the Problem	6
	Research Questions	6
	Objectives of the Study	7
	Significance of the Study	7
	Literature Review	8
	Hypothesis	12
	Theoretical Framework	12
	Research Methodology	13
	Research Limitations	14
	Organization of Study	14
1	INDIAN DEMOGRAPHIC ENGINEERING IN KASHMIR: SYSTEMATIC AND SYSTEMIC ADMINISTRATIVE	
	MEASURES	16
	Demographic Features of Jammu and Kashmir;	
	Manipulation of Census or Genocide?	16
	Jammu Massacre at the Time of Independence	18
	Grab of Land by Occupational Forces; Construction	
	of Dams	19
	Settlement of Solders in Sainik Colonies	20
	Separate Colonies for the Pundits	21
	Settlement Plan of West Pakistan Refugees	22
	Shelters for Urban Homeless People	23
	Settlement of Outside State Labourers	24

Land Transfer to Amarnath Shrine Board	24
Changing the Script of Kashmiri Language	25
INDIAN DEMOGRAPHIC ENGINEERING IN KASHMIR:	
LEGAL & CONSTITUTIONAL MEASURES	28
Anatomy of Instrument of Accession	28
Understanding Article 370 of the Indian Constitution	31
Relevant Provisions of the J&K Constitution	32
Article 35-A: Indian Government Defining Permanent	02
Residents and Their Rights	33
Repealing of Autonomy and Statehood of Jammu	55
and Kashmir	33
	00
INTERVIEW RESULTS AND DISCUSSION	36
Interview: Results	36
Response: Indian Tactics for Demographic Engineering	37
Response: Impact of Demographic Engineering	37
Response: Possibility of Increase in Violence/ Tensions	38
Response: Policy Options for Pakistan	39
Interview: Discussions	40
INDIAN DEMOGRAPHIC ENGINEERING: IMPLICATIONS	50
ON RESOLUTION OF KASHMIR DISPUTE	50
Indian Climb-Down: Multilateralism to Bilateralism,	
then Unilateralism	51
Self-Determination– An Indian Pledge and	
Commitment to Kashmiris and the World	53
Bilateralism: Kashmir Issue and India-Pakistan Relations	56
Indian Demographic Engineering: Implications on	
Resolution of Kashmir Dispute	61
CONCLUSION	63
Conclusoin	63
Key Findings	64
Recommendations	66
BIBLIOGRAPHY	68
ANNEXURE-I: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES	74
ANNEXURE-II: DATA COLLECTION TOOL	75
ANNEXURE-III: RELEVANT UNSC RESOLUTIONS ON	
KASHMIR	76
Resolution 38	76
Resolution 39	77
Resolution 47	79
Resolution 51	85
Resolution 80	86
Resolution 91	89
Resolution 122	92

Resolution 126	93
ANNEXURE-IV: INSTRUMENT OF ACCESSION	95
ANNEXUTURE-V: ARTICLES 370 AND 35-A OF THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA	100
ANNEXURE-VI: ARTICLES 6-9 OF J&K CONSTITUTION	103
ANNEXURE-VII: PRESIDENTIAL ORDERS ON KASHMIR	104
ANNEXURE-VIII: SIMLA AGREEMENT	106

## LIST OF TABLES

Table No.	TitlePage	No.
1	Population of Jammu and Kashmir since 1941	18
2	Commitments/Pledges of Indian Leadership Regarding Kashmir	54

### LIST OF ABBREVIATION

AJK	Azad Jammu and Kashmir
AI	Amnesty International
APHC	All Parties Hurriyat Conference
BJP	Baharitia Janta Party
СМ	Chief Minister
GB	Gilgit-Baltistan
HCBA	High Court Bar Association
HR	Human Rights
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICJ	International Court of Justice
INC	Indian National Congress
IoA	Instrument of Accession
IOK	Indian Occupied Kashmir
J&K	Jammu and Kashmir
KCSDS	Kashmir Centre for Social and Development Studies
LoC	Line of Control
NC	National Conference
PDP	Peoples Democratic Party
PM	Prime Minister
PML-N	Pakistan Muslim League – Nawaz
PTI	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf
RAW	Research and Analysis Wing
RSS	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
UN, UNO	United Nations, United Nations Organization
UNCIP	United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNMOGIP	United Nations Military Observer Group for India and Pakistan
UNSC	United Nations Security Council