

Kashmiri Hindus and Atrocity Crimes: A Legal Brief on Persecution and Forced Displacement

Published January 19, 2026

Publication No. P0745-19012026



Kashmiri Hindus and Atrocity Crimes: A Legal Brief on Persecution and Forced Displacement

Centre for Integrated and Holistic Studies (CIHS) is a non-partisan, independent, research think tank headquartered in New Delhi, India. CIHS is dedicated to enriching individual decision making by presenting innovative ideas, fostering informed public debate, and advancing effective policy and programme development to advance humanity. Aspiring to positively shape the future of society, CIHS works to share knowledge on pressing global challenges and opportunities by fostering a ‘culture of scholarship’ and advancing informed public engagement.

Every effort is made to ensure that the information contained in these publicly available briefings, factsheets, reports are correct at the time of publication. However, if you have any comments on our documents please email **info@cihs.org.in**

Disclaimer and Limitation of Liability: This report is for public distribution and has been furnished solely for information and must not be reproduced or redistributed to others without written consent. None can use the report as a base for any claim, demand or cause of action and, also none is responsible for any loss incurred based upon the report.

Table of Content

I. Executive Summary	5
II. Core Legal Lens: Homogenisation Through Terror and Expulsion	7
III. Methods and Tactics: Violence, Expulsion, and Erasure	10
IV. Killings of Kashmiri Hindus in the Kashmir Valley of Jammu and Kashmir	13
V. Legal Parameters: Overlapping Crimes & Applicable Law	47
VI. Perpetrators: Terrorist Groups and Pakistan's Role	52
VII. Pakistani State Responsibility	58
VIII. Concluding Observations	62
References	63

I. Executive Summary

- I. This report restores legal clarity to an episode that is too often diluted through euphemism, denial, or administrative framing. It finds that the 19 January 1990 exodus of Kashmiri Hindus was not “migration,” but compelled displacement driven by terrorism, a forced dispersal produced by targeted killings, violent crimes, ultimatums, and sustained intimidation that eliminated any realistic ability to remain safely in the Valley.
- II. Applying the core legal standard repeatedly used in atrocity jurisprudence, the presence or absence of “genuine choice,” the report concludes that when civilians flee under credible threat, coercion, and imminent peril, the movement constitutes forced population transfer. The report assesses the Kashmiri Hindu exodus as a displacement outcome generated by terrorism rather than by choice.
- III. The report further finds that the victim Kashmiri Hindu community was selected on inherited identity, not conduct. Kashmiri Hindus were targeted as a result of their faith, meeting the identity element central to atrocity-crime analysis. Targeted assassinations are assessed as strategic signalling designed to trigger dispersal and collapse confidence in the possibility of normal life; early killings, including Tika Lal Taploo and Justice Neelkanth Ganjoo are treated as inflection points in the campaign.
- IV. The report documents that terror was not limited to killings. It finds that sexual violence functioned as a deliberate method of intimidation and community-breaking, and that dispossession mechanisms were used to convert flight into permanence. Looting, arson, illegal occupation, distress sales, and cultural-religious erasure are assessed as techniques that transformed immediate dispersal into long-term dispossession, structurally obstructing return and consolidating demographic change.
- V. Crucially, the report assesses the campaign as sustained beyond 1990, with later massacres and targeted murders aimed at eliminating those who remained and deterring return, demonstrating that displacement was reinforced over time, not confined to a single episode.

VI. In legal terms, the report treats the exodus as an atrocity-crimes pattern anchored in crimes against humanity: faith-based persecution, targeted murder, sexual violence, and the forcible transfer of a civilian population. It frames these acts as a coordinated strategy of terror and dispossession designed to remove an Hindu minority from the Kashmir Valley, placing the events squarely within the domain of prosecutable international crimes, not ordinary criminality or incidental disorder.

VII. On perpetrators and responsibility, the report identifies a layered ecosystem: terrorist outfits (JKLF, Pakistan-backed Hizbul Mujahideen, and Pakistan-based jihadist outfits including Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed) operating alongside localised ideological and separatist fronts that supplied justification, propaganda reinforcement, and facilitation. It assesses the Hurriyat as localised cover that helped normalise denial and reduce scrutiny of the terror campaign, and treats Dukhtaran-e-Millat as a “women” extremist formation linked to facilitation and support networks and external funding channels.

VIII. Finally, the report directly implicates the Islamic Republic of Pakistan's role as the prime orchestrator and mover behind the terror ecosystem through training, financing, sanctuary, infiltration support, and enabling networks, and sets out the legal rationale for examining Pakistan's culpability under doctrines of aiding/assisting and state responsibility.

II. Core Legal Lens: Homogenisation Through Terror and Expulsion

This section establishes the report's core legal lens. It clarifies what "ethnic cleansing" means in practice and why it matters as a framework for assessing accountability: not as a standalone treaty label, but as a policy outcome achieved through identifiable patterns of terror, expulsion, and demographic re-engineering. It then applies that lens to Kashmir to show how the displacement of Kashmiri Hindus was anchored in an intent to reshape territory by removing a protected community through force and intimidation, rather than through any legitimate, consent-based movement.

Ethnically Homogeneous Areas vs. Genocide

Ethnic cleansing refers to policies intended to create ethnically homogeneous areas by forcibly removing a targeted population. The term gained prominence in the 1990s (e.g. in the Yugoslav conflicts) and was described by a UN commission as "rendering an area ethnically homogeneous by using force or intimidation to remove persons of given groups from the area". In essence, the core objective is removal of an ethnic or religious community from a region, typically through terror and violence, to alter the demographic composition.

Unlike genocide, ethnic cleansing is not formally codified as a distinct offence in international treaties. Instead, it is a descriptive term for a series of acts, including killings, forced displacement, etc. that constitute other international crimes (such as crimes against humanity, war crimes, and possibly genocide itself). This means perpetrators of ethnic cleansing are prosecuted under those overlapping crimes rather than under a standalone charge of "ethnic cleansing." International tribunals have noted that campaigns of ethnic cleansing often involve "violent and terror-inspiring means" and can amount to crimes against humanity or even fall within the Genocide Convention's scope.

Both ethnic cleansing and genocide target a group, but their legal definitions differ in intent. Genocide, under the Genocide Convention, requires an intent to physically destroy a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, in whole or in part. Ethnic cleansing, by contrast, primarily seeks to expel or remove a group from a territory, not necessarily to exterminate every member (though extreme violence may be used). In practice the line can blur: "murderous ethnic cleansing" - where forcible expulsion is pursued via mass killings - may serve as a precursor or road to genocide. For example, scholars note that what was termed ethnic cleansing in Bosnia (1992-95) involved systematic massacres and ultimately genocide in places like Srebrenica. In legal forums, the distinction often hinges on specific intent: driving a population out (ethnic cleansing) versus

eliminating the group itself (genocide). Nonetheless, both involve egregious atrocities and grave breaches of human rights. In summary, the objective of the ethnic cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus was to “purify” the Kashmir Valley of its Hindu minority, creating a Muslim-only domain by terrorising and expelling the Hindus. This intent to establish an ethnically/religiously homogeneous area is what defines ethnic cleansing. As discussed below, the campaign's brutality (dozens of murders, rapes, and massacres) means it also took on the character of murderous ethnic cleansing, overlapping with genocidal acts and other international crimes.

Identity-Based Targeting

Targeted for Who They Were, Not What They Did. The victims of this cleansing were chosen solely for their ethnic-religious identity i.e. Kashmiri Hindus (also known as Kashmiri Hindus). They were not targeted because of any individual wrongdoing, but because they were Hindus, an ancestrally distinct minority in a now Muslim-majority region. Terrorist rhetoric openly framed them as the “other” that needed elimination or expulsion. For instance, Islamist terrorists declared the Kashmiri Hindus infidels and enemies of their envisioned Islamic order. Slogans echoing through the mosques in early 1990 told Hindus to “convert, leave, or die,” emphasising that inherited identity was the mark of the target, irrespective of personal politics or actions.

Systematic and Organized Campaign

The violence against Kashmiri Hindus was not random or sporadic; it was systematic, a calculated campaign rather than isolated hate crimes. Through late 1989 and early 1990, targeted killings of prominent Hindus (business persons, teachers, lawyers, intellectuals, professionals) signalled an organized effort to terrorise the community into flight. The Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), a terrorist outfit, kicked off the terror spree by assassinating individuals like Kashmiri Hindu leader Tika Lal Taploo in September 1989 and retired judge Neelkanth Ganjoo shortly thereafter. These early murders “precipitated the 1990 exodus” by spreading fear. Crucially, multiple attacks across different locations followed a common pattern and intent, which betrays a coordinated policy. Contemporary records and later analyses confirm that this was a deliberate ethnic-cleansing policy implemented by terrorist organizations, often with cross-border support - rather than random communal riots.

State or Quasi-State Backing

Unlike an unplanned mob uprising, the campaign enjoyed backing from organised terrorist groups functioning as quasi-state actors, some with direct support from Pakistan's Army and state agencies. Pakistan's military intelligence (ISI) was deeply involved in fomenting the anti-Hindu terror: many of the terrorist groups executing attacks were either created, sponsored or guided by Pakistani handlers. The JKLF, for example, had training and sanctuary in Pakistan-occupied Jammu and Kashmir; one JKLF assassin admitted he killed a Kashmiri Hindu journalist under orders from the Pakistan-based JKLF leadership. Similarly, the largest local terrorist outfit, Hizbul Mujahideen, functioned as an Islamist proxy of Pakistan (with ideological roots in Pakistani dictator Zia's Kashmir and Khalistan policy of bleeding India with a thousand cuts) and was “Pakistan-backed” by design. This support gave the campaign a para-state quality, effectively a form of state-enabled persecution. Such backing also meant the perpetrators had access to sophisticated arms, training camps, and a safe haven across the line of control in Pakistan occupied Jammu and Kashmir and larger Pakistan provinces, enabling a sustained and organized purge of the target community.

In sum, Kashmiri Hindus were singled out as a group for elimination from the Valley. Their persecution was systematic, orchestrated by terrorists and their sponsors as a matter of policy to cleanse Kashmir of its Hindu population. It's a textbook case of identity-based targeting: one community marked for expulsion purely due to religious/ethnic identity, with perpetrators acting in organized formations (often as proxies of a supporting state). **This distinguishes it from ordinary crimes and squarely puts it in the realm of gross human-rights violations and atrocity crimes.**

III. Methods and Tactics: Violence, Expulsion, and Erasure

The methods used to achieve the ethnic cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus mirror those recognised in other atrocity contexts and by the United Nations. They included extreme physical violence, terrorising threats leading to forced exodus, and deliberate destruction of property and culture.

What follows is a breakdown of these tactics employed;

- I. **Assassinations and Targeted Killings:** Terrorists systematically murdered members of the Kashmiri Hindu community as a primary tool of intimidation. Initial targets were often prominent individuals, to send a loud message. For example, on 14 September 1989, Tika Lal Taploo, a well-known lawyer and political leader, was shot dead outside his home by JKLF terrorists, marking the onset of targeted terror against Kashmiri Hindus. In the ensuing months, dozens of Hindus were slain: Justice Neelkanth Ganjoo (who had sentenced a separatist leader) was gunned down in a Srinagar market, advocate Prem Nath Bhat was dragged out of his home and shot as a bloody warning to others, and government officials like Lassa Koul (TV station director) were assassinated after repeated threats. These were clearly planned executions, not random killings, intended to terrorise the entire community.

- II. **Brutal Violence and Rape:** The campaign featured heinous acts of physical violence designed to instill maximum fear. Women were specifically targeted for sexual violence, both as an expression of hatred and a tactic of humiliation to further drive the exodus. A horrifying example is the case of Sarla Bhat, a young nurse. On 19 April 1990, while on duty at a Srinagar hospital, she was abducted by terrorists, gang-raped, and then gruesomely murdered. This atrocity, coming at the height of the Kashmiri Hindu community's flight, is often cited as a trigger that convinced many families they had no future if they stayed. Equally horrific was the fate of Girija Tickoo, a 27-year-old school laboratory assistant: lured back to the Valley in June 1990 under the false pretext of pending dues, she was kidnapped, gang-raped, and cut in half with a mechanical saw while still alive. No one was ever punished for this depravity. Such gruesome crimes exemplify how terror was inflicted through extreme cruelty. They meet the threshold of what international law classifies as torture or inhumane acts when part of a systematic attack on a community.

III. Massacres and Mass Terror: Beyond individual killings, terrorists perpetrated mass killings of Hindus in their villages to eliminate those who remained and to deter any thought of return. The Sangrampora massacre of March 1997 is emblematic: terrorists raided a small hamlet at night and lined up and shot 7 Kashmiri Hindu (Hindu) villagers, explicitly to send the message that any attempt by displaced Hindus to come back would be met with death. In January 1998, the Wandhama massacre saw 23 Kashmiri Hindus; men, women and children, brutally gunned down; jihadis disguised in Indian Army uniforms infiltrated the village and slaughtered nearly an entire community in one night. Later, in March 2003, the Nadimarg massacre occurred: 24 Hindus (again including women and small children) were rounded up and executed by terrorists posing as police; the Pakistan-based Lashkar-e-Taiba claimed responsibility for this carnage. These massacres highlighted that the cleansing campaign continued well beyond the initial 1990 exodus, aiming to “finish the job” and terrorise any remaining or returning minority families. The deliberate targeting of civilians, including children, in these attacks illustrates the ruthless tactics employed, acts which plainly constitute crimes against humanity (e.g. extermination) and war crimes.

IV. Threats, Intimidation and Forced Exodus: Alongside physical attacks, terrorists used widespread threats and fear propaganda to expel the Kashmiri Hindus. January 1990 saw an eruption of threatening slogans and notices. Through mosque loudspeakers and posted flyers, Islamists issued ultimatums to Kashmiri Hindus: “leave the Valley, or face death.” Mobs chanting “Pakistan zindabad” (long live Pakistan) and Islamic slogans roamed the streets, creating an atmosphere of siege. The night of 19 January 1990 was particularly infamous, hundreds of mosques reportedly broadcast synchronised calls for the Hindus to get out. This psychological warfare meant that by late January 1990, tens of thousands of Kashmiri Hindus fled en masse, often with just the clothes on their backs. Families recall frantically packing whatever they could carry and abandoning ancestral homes overnight. Under international human rights law, when civilians flee under such coercion (threat of violence, intimidation), it is not a voluntary migration but a forced displacement. Indeed, tribunals have held that a “lack of genuine choice” inferred from threatening acts that make staying impossible, renders an exodus forced. In Kashmir, the Kashmiri Hindus had no genuine choice: by all accounts, staying meant imminent peril. Thus the entire migration was effectuated by coercion, satisfying the definition of forced population transfer as a crime. Years later, terrorists continued to issue threats to

prevent resettlement attempts. The few Hindu families who stayed in 1990 often faced murder in the following years (several elderly Kashmiri Hindus who could not leave were later killed in cold blood).

V. **Destruction and Looting of Property:** As is common in ethnic cleansing campaigns, the perpetrators sought not only to remove people but also to erase the traces of their existence. Thus, Kashmiri Hindu (Hindu) homes and properties were vandalised, torched, or illegally occupied. Many fleeing families saw their houses looted and burnt during or after the exodus. In numerous cases, neighbours or terrorists grabbed Hindu houses and lands. Displaced Kashmiri Hindus, fearful for their lives, were often forced to sell properties at throwaway prices (so-called “distress sales”) or found that fraudulent powers of attorney had been created to divest them. The net effect was to make the return of Kashmiri Hindus not only dangerous but materially difficult, their homes were no longer theirs. Alongside private properties, cultural and religious sites of the Kashmiri Hindus in Kashmir were attacked or fell into ruin. Reports exist of temples being desecrated or damaged in the years following the exodus, and of sacred images and libraries being destroyed. This cultural cleansing aimed to wipe out the community's historical footprint. These tactics align with UN-documented patterns of ethnic cleansing: “killing of civilians, rape, torture, destruction of civilian, public, and cultural property, looting and pillaging, and the forcible relocation of civilian populations”. In Kashmir, every element of this grim catalogue was present.

IV. Killings of Kashmiri Hindus in the Kashmir Valley of Jammu and Kashmir

This table compiles documented killings of Kashmiri Hindus from March 1989 through the late 1990s, with notable incidents extending to 2004, capturing both the peak years of targeted violence around the 1990 exodus and the later attacks intended to deter return. It is structured as a case-by-case record, listing the victim's name, date, and location, alongside a concise description of the incident, the attributed terrorist organisation or assailants where known, and whether the case is reflected in official records. While the table cannot convey the full human cost behind each entry, it preserves a traceable factual baseline for legal and policy analysis of identity-directed violence and forced displacement.

Name of Victim	Date	Location	Details	Perpetrator / Group	Official Record
Prabhavati	14-Mar-1989	Srinagar	She was from Budgam's Chadoora area, shot dead in Srinagar's Hari Singh High Street market. This incident is cited as the first killing in the JKLF's targeted campaign, but the perpetrators were never traced.	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Dina Nath Raina	15-Aug-1989	Dambeloo (Anantnag district)	He was killed in cold blood a month before the high-profile assassination of BJP leader Tika Lal Taploo, another JKLF target.	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Tika Lal Taploo	14-Sep-1989	Srinagar	Prominent lawyer & BJP leader shot outside his home by two Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front terrorists (JKLF). One assassin (Javed Mir) was identified as a JKLF terrorist. This killing marked the beginning of targeted terror against Kashmiri Hindus.	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes

Smt. Sheela Tickoo	01-Nov-1989	Srinagar	Homemaker. Shot dead at her Srinagar residence (very limited official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Neel Kanth Ganjoo	04-Nov-1989	Srinagar (Karan Nagar)	Retired judge (had sentenced JKLF founder Maqbool Bhat). Gunned down in a busy Srinagar market by masked terrorists tracking him since his return from Delhi. Assailants belonged to JKLF.	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Prem Nath Bhat	27-Dec-1989	Anantnag	Advocate and journalist. Dragged out of his home and shot multiple times by masked terrorists, leaving a blood-spattered warning for remaining Kashmiri Hindus.	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
M. L. Bhan	15-Jan-1990	Srinagar (Khonmoh)	A government employee from Khonmoh, Srinagar. He was shot dead by terrorists near Srinagar. His killing signalled the beginning of the implementation of threats issued through posters and mosque loudspeakers asking Kashmir's Hindus to leave Kashmir.	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Baldev Raj Dutta	15-Jan-1990	Srinagar	He was an operator working in Lal Chowk, Srinagar. His severely tortured body, bearing "tell-tale marks of brutal torture," was found four days later on January 19, 1990,	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	

P. K. Kotru	19-Jan-1990	Srinagar	His body was found four days after Baldev Raj Dutta was kidnapped on the same day Bhan was killed. His body bore tell-tale marks of brutal torture, part of the "horrific night" of January 19, 1990, which forced many families to flee.	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Satish Kumar Tickoo	22-Jan-1990	Srinagar	Young businessman. Lured out of his home and shot dead by Farooq "Bitta" Karate, a JKLF terrorist who admitted this as his first murder. (This was one of at least 20 Kashmiri Hindus Bitta confessed to killing in 1990.)	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Tej Krishen Razdan	12-Feb-1990	Srinagar (Habba Kadal)	Government officer, shot by terrorist in Srinagar. His murderer was his long-time friend and neighbour, Manzoor Ahmed Shalla, who was a known terrorist operating for the JKLF at the time.	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Lassa Koul	13-Feb-1990	Srinagar (Bemina)	Director, Doordarshan Kendra, Srinagar. Assassinated near his office - ambushed and shot in his car by JKLF terrorists after repeated threats. A JKLF member (Shaukat Bakshi) later admitted carrying out the hit on orders from Pakistan-based JKLF chief Amanullah Khan.	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Anil Bhan	16-Feb-1990	Srinagar	Govt. servant, killed by terrorists in Srinagar (scarce official records).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes

Ashok “Qazi” (Koul)	23-Feb-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists in Srinagar. Sources describe brutal torture, including having his hair pulled out and being urinated on, before being shot.	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Naveen Saproo	27-Feb-1990	Srinagar (Habba Kadal)	Government employee, shot by terrorists in Srinagar (scarce details in records).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
P. N. Handoo	01-Mar-1990	Srinagar (Balgarden)	Information Dept. officer, shot dead by terrorists in Srinagar.	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Jagar Nath	03-Mar-1990	Anantnag district	Government servant, killed by terrorists (scarce official detail).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Nirmala Raina	06-Mar-1990	Srinagar	Female civilian, killed by terrorists (scarce official detail)	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Kashi Nath	06-Mar-1990	Srinagar (Kathi Darwaza)	Retired employee, shot by terrorists in Srinagar (limited details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Rattan Lal	10-Mar-1990	Kupwara (Lolab)	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details available).	Terrorist Violence	Yes
T. K. Razdan	15-Mar-1990	Budgam (Yachgam)	Government servant, killed by terrorists (limited record).	Terrorist Violence	Yes
A. K. Raina	19-Mar-1990	Srinagar	Govt. employee, shot by terrorists (scarce official detail).	Terrorist Violence	Yes

B. K. Ganjoo	19-Mar-1990	Srinagar (Chotta Bazar)	Telecom engineer. Hiding in a rice bin at home when terrorists found and shot him; his wife was tragically forced to kneel in his blood (as later recounted by locals, this horrific incident is often cited. JKLF terrorists were active in the area.	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Gulshan Lal Raina	19-Mar-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details, labelled "untraced," leading to zero convictions.).	Terrorist Violence (Closed by local police)	Yes
Gulshan Lal Lamba	21-Mar-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details, labelled "untraced," leading to zero convictions.).	Terrorist Violence (Closed by local police)	Yes
P. L. Fotedar	22-Mar-1990	Anantnag (Bijbehara)	Govt. servant, killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	Terrorist Violence (Closed by local police)	Yes
Soom Nath Tickoo	23-Mar-1990	Srinagar (Ganderbal)	Government servant, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	Terrorist Violence (Closed by local police)	Yes
B. L. Misri	23-Mar-1990	Srinagar (Peer Bagh)	Businessman, killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	Terrorist Violence (Closed by local police)	Yes
Triloki Nath Ambardar	23-Mar-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	Terrorist Violence (Closed by local police)	Yes
Bansi Lal	24-Mar-1990	<i>Not confirmed</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	Terrorist Violence (Closed by local police)	Yes
A. K. Bazaz	26-Mar-1990	Srinagar (Safa Kadal)	Service employee, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	Terrorist Violence (Closed by local police)	Yes

Prem Nath Koul	05-Apr-1990	Pulwama (Kuil)	Civilian, killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	Terrorist Violence (Closed by local police)	Yes
K. K. Koul	05-Apr-1990	Srinagar	Businessman, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	Terrorist Violence (Closed by local police)	Yes
Radha Krishan	05-Apr-1990	Srinagar (Karan Nagar)	Trader, shot by terrorists (scarce official details).	Terrorist Violence (Closed by local police)	Yes
Ashok Kumar	06-Apr-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	Terrorist Violence (Closed by local police)	Yes
H. L. Khera	10-Apr-1990	Srinagar/ Chandigarh	General Manager, HMT. Assassinated by JKLF terrorists in Srinagar.	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Rameesh (Ramesh) Peer	06-Apr-1990	Srinagar (Vicharnag)	Govt. servant, killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	Terrorist Violence (Closed by local police)	Yes
Kari Lal	09-Apr-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce record in official files).	Terrorist Violence (Closed by local police)	No
Makhan Lal Wanganoo	10-Apr-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	Terrorist Violence (Closed by local police)	Yes
Sarla Bhat	19-Apr-1990	Anantnag (Qazi Mohalla)	Nurse at SKIMS hospital. Abducted while on duty and brutally gang-raped, then murdered by terrorists on the night of 19 Jan 1990. (<i>Her case, like many, saw no convictions.</i>)	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Makhan Lal	21-Apr-1990	Srinagar (Kani Kadal)	Businessman, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	Terrorist Violence (Closed by local police)	Yes

Sushil Kumar Kotru	23-Apr-1990	Srinagar (Rainawari)	Young professional, shot dead by terrorists in Srinagar.	Terrorist Violence (Closed by local police)	Yes
Niranjan Nath	24-Apr-1990	Anantnag (Akingam)	Businessman, killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	Terrorist Violence (Closed by local police)	Yes
Bansi Lal Saproo	24-Apr-1990	Srinagar (Gulab Bagh)	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	Terrorist Violence (Closed by local police)	Yes
Narender Nath	24-Apr-1990	Srinagar (Rainawari)	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	Terrorist Violence (Closed by local police)	Yes
Ravinder Kr. Hindu	25-Apr-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists His killers reportedly danced over his body after murdering him.	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Kashi Ram	25-Apr-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Bhushan Lal	26-Apr-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Dr. Raj Nath	26-Apr-1990	Srinagar (New Khanda)	Medical doctor, shot by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Brij Nath	26-Apr-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Another victim killed by JKLF terrorists, his body was reportedly tied to a jeep in Shopian and dragged for 10 km.	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Raj Nath Raina	26-Apr-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Bharat Bhushan	27/28-Apr-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes

Predhiman Krishan Bhat	28-Apr-1990	Kupwara (Lolab)	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Gushi Lal	29-Apr-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
M. L. Hindua	29-Apr-1990	Kupwara (Agri)	Govt. employee, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Dileep Kumar	30-Apr-1990	Srinagar (Nowhatta)	Government servant, shot by terrorists in downtown Srinagar.	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Heera Lal Khar	30-Apr-1990	Srinagar (Kak Mohalla)	Killed brutally by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Dawarika Nath	01-May-1990	Anantnag (Kulgam)	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Sarwanand Koul "Premi"	01-May-1990	Anantnag (Soaf Shalli)	60-year-old poet & retired teacher. Kidnapped from his village along with his son, held overnight and shot dead the next day; terrorists also placed nails in their bodies as an atrocity. (His house was then set ablaze.) This gruesome murder sent shockwaves through the local Hindu community.	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Virender (Kumar) Premi	01-May-1990	Anantnag (Soaf Shalli)	27-year-old son of Sarwanand. Abducted and killed alongside his father by the same terrorists on 1 May 1990.	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes

Chuni Lal Shalla	02-May-1990	Kupwara	Inspector Shalla, a CID officer known for interrogating Hizbul Mujahideen terrorists, was reportedly returning home on a public bus in Kupwara when his own Personal Security Officer (PSO) allegedly signalled his identity to the waiting terrorists. He was brutally tortured and shot at point blank.	Allah Tigers (Offshoot of Pakistan backed terrorist organisation JKLF)	Yes
Makhan Lal Thaploo	02-May-1990	Anantnag	Businessman, killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Prof. K. L. Ganju	02/03-May-1990	Sopore	College professor, kidnapped and shot dead by terrorists.	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Smt. Prana Ganju	02/03-May-1990	Sopore	Wife of Prof. Ganju. Kidnapped, raped and murdered by terrorists alongside her husband.	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Vinod Kr. Chatta	03-May-1990	Baramulla	Government employee, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF	Yes
Vinod Kumar	03-May-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	(Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Daya Krishen	03-May-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF	Yes
Surind (Surinder) Chand	04-May-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	(Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Mohan Lal Bhat	04-May-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF	Yes
Ramesh Kr. Raina	05-May-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	(Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Surinder Dhar	05-May-1990	Srinagar (Habba Kadal)	Government servant, shot by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF	Yes

Vinod Kumar	06-May-1990	Srinagar (Nowhatta)	Shot dead by terrorists in Srinagar on 6 May 1990.	(Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Kundan Lal Ganjoo	07-May-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF	Yes
Dolly (child)	07-May-1990	Srinagar (Karan Nagar)	A young girl, killed by terrorists (one of several children killed in 1990; very scarce records).	(Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Bihari Lal Labroo	09-May-1990	Anantnag	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF	Yes
Rattan Lal	10-May-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	(Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Babli Raina (female)	10-May-1990	Srinagar	Young woman, killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF	Yes
Surinder Kumar	10-May-1990	Srinagar (Tulmulla)	Employee, shot by terrorists (scarce official details).	(Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Moti Lal Bhat	10-May-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF	Yes
Amar Nath Bagati	11-May-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	(Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Omkar Nath	11-May-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF	Yes
Poshkar Nath	11-May-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	(Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Mohan Lal	13-May-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF	Yes
Inderjeet	13-May-1990	Budgam (Chadura)	Trader, shot by terrorists (scarce details).	(Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
“Veer Ji” (Vaid Ji) Bhat	13-May-1990	Budgam	Healer/medic, killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF	Yes

Ashok Kumar	13-May-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	(Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Bhushan Lal	13-May-1990	Budgam	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF	Yes
Daya Krishen Dullo	13-May-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	(Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Man Mohan Sharma	15-May-1990	Baramulla	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF	Yes
Saroop Nath	15-May-1990	Anantnag (Vanpoh)	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	(Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
A. K. Wazir	15-May-1990	Srinagar	Government officer, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF	Yes
Bhushan Lal Koul	16-May-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	(Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Sham Lal Sharma	17-May-1990	Anantnag (Vanpoh)	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF	Yes
Chuni Lal	17-May-1990	Srinagar (Habba Kadal)	Shopkeeper, shot by terrorists (scarce details).	(Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Suresh Kr. Kissu	17-May-1990	Srinagar (Purshiyar)	Government employee, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF	Yes
Manmohan Bachloo	18-May-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	(Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Jiya Lal Kaw	18-May-1990	Handwara (Kupwara)	Kidnapped and killed by terrorists (body found later).	JKLF	Yes
<i>Minor (unnamed)</i>	18-May-1990	Handwara (Kupwara)	A minor son of J. L. Kaw was also killed by the terrorists in the same incident.	(Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Dileep Kumar	19-May-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF	Yes
Moti Lal Raina	20-May-1990	Srinagar (Rainawari)	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	(Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes

Dileep “Ji”	21-May-1990	Anantnag	Civillian, killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Prithvi Nath Hakim	21-May-1990	Srinagar (Nowgam)	Businessman, killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Chaman Lal Hindu	22-May-1990	Anantnag	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Shambu Nath	24-May-1990	Anantnag	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Bansi Lal Sharma	24-May-1990	Anantnag	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Shanker Dass	26-May-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Chaman Lal Tickoo	28-May-1990	Srinagar (Ganderbal)	Government servant, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Seema (alias “Babli”)	28-May-1990	Srinagar	Young woman, killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	(Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Maharaj Krishen	30-May-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Jawahir Lal Wanchoo	30-May-1990	Srinagar (Rainawari)	Assassinated on his way to work - shot by terrorists from a passing vehicle.	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Krishan Lal Wagroo	31-May-1990	Budgam	Government officer, killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Avtar Krishen	31-May-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes

Jagar Nath	31-May-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Ramesh Kumar	01-Jun-1990	Anantnag (migrant from Jammu)	Migrant who returned to Valley, shot by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Kanaya Lal Bhat	01-Jun-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Badri Nath	02-Jun-1990	Anantnag (Gosani Gund)	Govt. servant, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Damodhar Raina	02-Jun-1990	Anantnag (Kulgam)	Retired employee, kidnapped and killed by terrorists.	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Satish Lal Kalla	03-Jun-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	(Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Shiban Krishen Kulla	03-Jun-1990	Srinagar (Bagh Mehtab)	Govt. servant, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Aftab Ram	04-Jun-1990	Srinagar (Rainawari)	Retired employee, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	(Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Gokal Nath	04-Jun-1990	Srinagar (Bagh Mehtab)	Retired employee, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Radha Krishan (Patwari)	06-Jun-1990	Anantnag (Turoo)	Patwari (land official), shot by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Jawahir Lal Bhat	06-Jun-1990	Anantnag	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Ramesh Kr. Raina	07-Jun-1990	Anantnag	Government employee, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Raj Kr. Jailkhani	07-Jun-1990	Srinagar (Zero Bridge)	Government employee, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes

Sham Lal	07-Jun-1990	Srinagar (Lal Mandi)	Shopkeeper, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Radha Krishan	07-Jun-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Smt. Girija Tickoo	11-Jun-1990	Bandipora area	27-year-old lab assistant. Brutally gang-raped and cut in half with a mechanical saw while still alive. She had briefly returned to collect her salary when she was kidnapped. Her rape-murder remains one of the most horrific atrocities; no one was ever brought to justice.	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Inder Kumar	11-Jun-1990	Srinagar	Government servant, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Kanaya Lal	11-Jun-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Soom Nath	11-Jun-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Ashok Kr. Hindua	12-Jun-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Kanya Lal	12-Jun-1990	Budgam (hanged)	Government employee, found hanging after abduction by terrorists.	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Triloki Nath	12-Jun-1990	Srinagar (Maharaj Gunj)	Petition writer. Dead body found in a market after abduction.	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Chuni Lal	13-Jun-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes

Dayaram Koul	13-Jun-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Rugh Nath	14-Jun-1990	Pulwama	Government employee, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
A. K. Safaya	15-Jun-1990	Srinagar (Habba Kadal)	Bank manager, assassinated by terrorists (shot on way to work).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Ram Chand	15-Jun-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Saroop Nath	16-Jun-1990	Pulwama	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Gopi Chand	17-Jun-1990	Kupwara	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Badri Nath Koul	18-Jun-1990	Srinagar (Bana Mohalla)	Government servant, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Jawahir Lal Ganjoo	18-Jun-1990	Srinagar (Bana Mohalla)	Government servant, shot by terrorists at home.	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Smt. Prana Ganjoo	18-Jun-1990	Srinagar (Bana Mohalla)	Elderly lady, killed by terrorists (same incident as J. L. Ganjoo).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Smt. Durga Koul	18-Jun-1990	Srinagar (Bana Mohalla)	Elderly lady, killed by terrorists (same incident as above).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Tej Krishan Hindu	19-Jun-1990	Srinagar	Government officer. Abducted and shot dead by terrorists on 19 June 1990 (the last Kashmiri Hindu killing before the bulk exodus).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Rajinder Kr. Tickoo	20-Jun-1990	Shopian (Pulwama)	Shopkeeper, killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes

Sanjay Thusoo	21-Jun-1990	Kupwara (Trehgam)	Government servant, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Smt. Gigari (Gagri)	22-Jun-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Bal Krishen Tatoo	22-Jun-1990	Srinagar (Habba Kadal)	Killed by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Baljee (Balji)	22-Jun-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Makhan Lal Raina	22-Jun-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
M. L. Bhat	22/23-Jun-1990	Anantnag	Government employee, killed by terrorists (overnight, scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Ashok Kumar	23-Jun-1990	Srinagar (Khankah-e-Sokhta)	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Prithvi Nath Tickoo	23-Jun-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Ashwani Kumar	23-Jun-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Ashok Kr. Kotha	24-Jun-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Soom Nath Koul	24-Jun-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Badri Nath Wattal	25-Jun-1990	Srinagar (Rainawari)	Government employee, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes

Brij Lal Raina	26-Jun-1990	Budgam (Dambidoola)	Revenue official, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Satish Kumar	26-Jun-1990	Srinagar (Ganderbal)	Government employee, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Gopal Nath	26-Jun-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Ramesh Razdan	26-Jun-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
T. N. Raina	26-Jun-1990	Srinagar	Joint Director, Sericulture Dept. Assassinated by terrorists (shot on way to office).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Yogesh Kumar	26-Jun-1990	Srinagar (Rambagh)	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Gopi Nath Raina	26-Jun-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Smt. "Babli" (Babli Akhoon)	28-Jun-1990	Srinagar (Kawdara)	Kashmiri Hindu woman, shot dead; bullet-ridden body found on street.	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Smt. Roopawati	28-Jun-1990	Pulwama (Drusu)	Mother of Babli (above). Shot dead alongside her daughter by the same attackers.	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Vivek Labroo ("Shabajee")	29-Jun-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Omkar Nath Mattoo	30-Jun-1990	Pulwama (Dragbal, Pampore)	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Prof. Neel Kant Raina	30-Jun-1990	Srinagar	Professor, killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes

Rajinder	30-Jun-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Triloki Nath	01-Jul-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
N. G. Sadhu	01-Jul-1990	Kulgam (Manzgam)	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Dina Nath	01-Jul-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Raj Nath Dhar	01-Jul-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Smt. Girja Dhar	01-Jul-1990	Srinagar (Ali Kadal)	Housewife, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Smt. Teja Dhar	01-Jul-1990	Srinagar (Ali Kadal)	Housewife, killed by terrorists (same incident as Girja Dhar).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Predhiman Krishan	02-Jul-1990	Anantnag (Kokernag)	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Smt. Arandatti	02-Jul-1990	Srinagar (Batyar)	Woman, killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Makhan Lal	03-Jul-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Mohan Lal	03-Jul-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Satish Kumar	06-Jul-1990	Baramulla	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes

Jawahir Lal Bhat	06-Jul-1990	Baramulla	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Gopi Nath Raina	07-Jul-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Dina Nath Mujoo	07-Jul-1990	Srinagar (Rawalpura)	Retired official, shot dead by terrorists near his home.	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Shiban Koul	08-Jul-1990	Baramulla (Tangmarg)	Businessman, killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Gouri Shanker	09-Jul-1990	Baramulla	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Avtar Krishan	09-Jul-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Inder Krishan	10-Jul-1990	Srinagar (Mehjoor Nagar)	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Shambu Nath	11-Jul-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Inder Kumar	11-Jul-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Nanaji (nickname)	11-Jul-1990	Srinagar	Elderly man, killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Shiban Lal Koul	11-Jul-1990	Anantnag (Ashmuji)	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Jiwan Lal	15-Jul-1990	Srinagar (Rainawari)	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes

Bishambar Nath Koul	15/16-Jul-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Radha Krishan Koul	15/16-Jul-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Vaid Prakesh Koul	16-Jul-1990	Srinagar	Village doctor (vaid), killed by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Brij Nath Koul	16-Jul-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Anand Narayan	17-Jul-1990	Anantnag	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Chand Ram Kher	17-Jul-1990	Anantnag (Damjan)	Government employee, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Dr. Soni (Soni Hindua)	18-Jul-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Lady doctor, killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Janki Nath	20-Jul-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Nath Ji	26-Jul-1990	Anantnag	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Vaid Lal	26-Jul-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Gouri Shanker	29-Jul-1990	Baramulla	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Adarsh Jee	29-Jul-1990	Baramulla	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes

Jai Krishan	02-Aug-1990	Srinagar (Dribyar)	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Ram Nath Bhat	06-Aug-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
R. K. Handoo	09-Aug-1990	Srinagar (Rainawari)	MES engineer, assassinated by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Saroop Narayan	10-Aug-1990	Baramulla (Pattan)	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Manoj Kumar	10-Aug-1990	Kupwara	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Prithvi Nath Bali	10-Aug-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Vasudev Hindu	11-Aug-1990	Anantnag (Rohama)	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
D. N. Choudhary	11-Aug-1990	Srinagar (Indra Nagar)	Cement Factory manager, kidnapped and killed by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Roshan Lal Chowdhary	11-Aug-1990	Srinagar (Rainawari)	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Autar Krishen Hindua	12-Aug-1990	Anantnag	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Darshan Koul	15-Aug-1990	Anantnag (Kokernag)	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Masher Nath	16-Aug-1990	Kupwara (Lolab)	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes

Rattan Lal Raina	18-Aug-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Bank employee, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Shanker Nath Tiku	21-Aug-1990	Budgam (Wadwan)	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Bansi Lal Raina	28-Aug-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Omkar Nath Koul	29-Aug-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Shadi Lal Bhat	04-Sep-1990	Anantnag (Pahalgam)	Murdered by terrorists, body found in Lidder river.	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Prithvi Nath	05/06-Sep-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Makhan Lal	08-Sep-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Hiday Nath	09-Sep-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Gouri Shanker	10-Sep-1990	Ganderbal	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Smt. Trika Ji	10-Sep-1990	Ganderbal	Kashmiri Hindu lady, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Triloki Nath	11-Sep-1990	Anantnag	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Ramesh Kumar	12-Sep-1990	Pulwama (Khrew)	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes

Avtar Krishen	12/13-Sep-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Dawarika Nath	13-Sep-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Avtar Krishan Raina	14-Sep-1990	Anantnag (Chawalgam)	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Rattan Lal Hindua	17-Sep-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Pairay Lal Raina	23-Sep-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Durga Prasad	05-Oct-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
D. P. Khazanchi	06-Oct-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Jagar Nath	07-Oct-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Zind Lal	07-Oct-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Jagar Nath Hindua	07-Oct-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Poshkar Nath Razdan	12-Oct-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Smt. Usha Ji	14-Oct-1990	Srinagar	Kashmiri Hindu woman, shot dead in a mass killing.	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes

Dr. Shiban Ji Khirdi	14-Oct-1990	Srinagar	Physician, killed by terrorists (same incident as Usha Ji; part of a massacre of 14-Oct-1990 in Srinagar).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Rajinder Koul	14-Oct-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (14-Oct-1990 massacre, scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Satish (Satush) Koul	14-Oct-1990	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (14-Oct-1990 massacre).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Smt. Neeta Ji	14-Oct-1990	Srinagar	Kashmiri Hindu woman, killed by terrorists (14-Oct massacre).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Smt. Nancy Koul	14-Oct-1990	Srinagar	Kashmiri Hindu woman, killed by terrorists (14-Oct massacre).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Radha Krishen Bhat	15-Oct-1990	Srinagar	Civillian, killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Makhan Lal Bhat	17-Oct-1990	Srinagar	Civillian, killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Prem Nath Bhat	17-Oct-1990	Anantnag (Dangarpura)	Prominent Hindu and activist, shot dead by terrorists while visiting his native village. (This is a second P.N. Bhat, not the one killed in 1989.)	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Poshker Nath	18-Oct-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Smt. Pinki Koul	09-Nov-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Kashmiri Hindu woman, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Mohan Lal Koul	19-Nov-1990	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes

Omkar Nath Wali	02-Jan-1991	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Baldev Raj Dutta	19-Jan-1991	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Madan Mohan	11-Jun-1991	Sopore	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Kashi Nath Koul	13-Jun-1991	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
“Nanajee” (nickname)	13-Jun-1991	<i>Not available</i>	Elderly Hindu, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Mohan Lal Mattoo	01-Jul-1991	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Smt. Vijay Bhat	31-Jul-1991	Srinagar	Kashmiri Hindu woman, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Surinder Kumar	26-Aug-1991	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Mohan Lal	08-Oct-1991	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Ramesh Kumar	09-Oct-1991	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Poshkar Nath	12-Oct-1991	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Mehesher Nath	15-Oct-1991	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes

Sham Lal “Hinduh”	15-Oct-1991	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Kanhaya Lal Peshin	18-Oct-1991	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Kanaya Lal	19-Oct-1991	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Janki Nath Koul	14-Dec-1991	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Archana Braroo (female)	30-Mar-1992	Srinagar	Kashmiri Hindu woman, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Smt. Bimala Braroo	30-Mar-1992	Srinagar	Kashmiri Hindu woman, killed by terrorists (same incident as above).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Sohan Lal Braroo	30-Mar-1992	Srinagar	Killed by terrorists (same incident as above).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Rattan Lal Hali	20-May-1992	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Dura Nath “Rafiz”	03-Jun-1992	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Chaman Lal Koul	11-Oct-1992	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Soom Nath Raina	11-Oct-1992	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Smt. Asha Hindu	29-Dec-1992	<i>Not available</i>	Kashmiri Hindu woman, killed by terrorists (scarce details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes

Tej Krishen (unknown surname)	12-Feb-1993	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Prem Nath Bhat	06-Jun-1993	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Jagar Nath	06-Jul-1993	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Neel Kant Lala	25-Jul-1993	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Kanya Lal Dudha	14-Aug-1993	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Avtar Krishen	24-Oct-1993	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Pradeep Kumar Bhat	28-Jan-1994	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Sanjay Kumar ("Chako")	10-May-1994	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Piyar Lal Raina	13-Jul-1994	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Tej Krishen Bhat	03-Dec-1994	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Sona Ram	25-Jul-1995	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Chuni Lal Bhat	12-May-1996	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes

Raj Nath	05-Jun-1996	<i>Not available</i>	Killed by terrorists (scarce official details).	JKLF (Pakistan backed terrorist organisation)	Yes
Avtar Krishan Hindua	21-Mar-1997	Budgam (Sangrampora)	<i>One of 7 Hindu villagers</i> massacred at Sangrampora, Budgam on 21 March 1997. Terrorists barged in at night, lined up male villagers and shot them dead. This massacre was intended to deter displaced Kashmiri Hindus from returning.	Hizbul Mujahideen (Pakistan based terrorist group)	Yes
Bhushan Lal Bhat	21-Mar-1997	Budgam (Sangrampora)	Killed in the Sangrampora massacre	Hizbul Mujahideen (Pakistan based terrorist group)	Yes
Dileep (Dilip) Bhat	21-Mar-1997	Budgam (Sangrampora)	Killed in the Sangrampora massacre	Hizbul Mujahideen (Pakistan based terrorist group)	Yes
Pairay Lal Hindu	21-Mar-1997	Budgam (Sangrampora)	Killed in the Sangrampora massacre	Hizbul Mujahideen (Pakistan based terrorist group)	Yes
Sanjay Bhat	21-Mar-1997	Budgam (Sangrampora)	Killed in the Sangrampora massacre	Hizbul Mujahideen (Pakistan based terrorist group)	Yes
Triloki Nath	21-Mar-1997	Budgam (Sangrampora)	Killed in the Sangrampora massacre	Hizbul Mujahideen (Pakistan based terrorist group)	Yes
Vijay Bhat	21-Mar-1997	Budgam (Sangrampora)	Killed in the Sangrampora massacre	Hizbul Mujahideen (Pakistan based terrorist group)	Yes

Akshay Kumar	25-Jan-1998	Ganderbal (Wandhama)	Massacred by terrorists in the Wandhama massacre on 25-26 Jan 1998. That night, 23 Kashmiri Hindus (men, women & children) of Wandhama village were shot dead by armed leanings disguised in Army uniforms. Lashkar-e-Taiba terrorists were for this carnage.	Lashkar-e-Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Badri Nath	25-Jan-1998	Ganderbal (Wandhama)	Victim of Wandhama massacre .	Lashkar-e-Taiba (Pakistan based terrorist group)	Yes
Jyoti (child)	25-Jan-1998	Ganderbal (Wandhama)	Young girl, victim of Wandhama massacre .	Lashkar-e-Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Kashi Nath	25-Jan-1998	Ganderbal (Wandhama)	Victim of Wandhama massacre .	Lashkar-e-Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Meenakshi(child)	25-Jan-1998	Ganderbal (Wandhama)	Young girl, victim of Wandhama massacre.	Lashkar-e-Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Moti Lal Bhat	25-Jan-1998	Ganderbal (Wandhama)	Victim of Wandhama massacre.	Lashkar-e-Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Rakesh Kumar	25-Jan-1998	Ganderbal (Wandhama)	Victim of Wandhama massacre.	Lashkar-e-Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Sanjay Kumar Bhat	25-Jan-1998	Ganderbal (Wandhama)	Victim of Wandhama massacre.	Lashkar-e-Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Sarika(child)	25-Jan-1998	Ganderbal (Wandhama)	Young girl, victim of Wandhama massacre.	Lashkar-e-Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes

Sarla Kumari	25-Jan-1998	Ganderbal (Wandhama)	Young woman, victim of Wandhama massacre.	Lashkar-e-Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Seema Kumari	25-Jan-1998	Ganderbal (Wandhama)	Young woman, victim of Wandhama massacre.	Lashkar-e-Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Smt. Choti	25-Jan-1998	Ganderbal (Wandhama)	Elderly woman, victim of Wandhama massacre.	Lashkar-e-Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Smt. Dulari	25-Jan-1998	Ganderbal (Wandhama)	Elderly woman, victim of Wandhama massacre.	Lashkar-e-Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Smt. Neeru Ji	25-Jan-1998	Ganderbal (Wandhama)	Woman, victim of Wandhama massacre.	Lashkar-e-Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Sudarshan	25-Jan-1998	Ganderbal (Wandhama)	Man, victim of Wandhama massacre.	Lashkar-e-Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Triloki Nath	25-Jan-1998	Ganderbal (Wandhama)	Elderly man, victim of Wandhama massacre.	Lashkar-e-Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Vijay Kumar	25-Jan-1998	Ganderbal (Wandhama)	Man, victim of Wandhama massacre.	Lashkar-e-Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Vikas Kumar	25-Jan-1998	Ganderbal (Wandhama)	Youth, victim of Wandhama massacre.	Lashkar-e-Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Vinod Kumar	25-Jan-1998	Ganderbal (Wandhama)	Man, victim of Wandhama massacre.	Lashkar-e-Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes

Ashok Kumar	04-Feb-2000	Anantnag (Telwani)	Massacred by terrorists in Telwani village, Anantnag on 5 Feb 2000. Three Kashmiri Hindus (including Ashok, his teen son and daughter) who had briefly returned to tend their orchards were shot dead by Hizbul Mujahideen terrorists .	Hizbul Mujahideen (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Unshu (Anshu Koul, teen girl)	04-Feb-2000	Anantnag (Telwani)	Victim of Telwani massacre (shot dead along with her father Ashok and brother).	Hizbul Mujahideen (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Veer Ji (Veerji Kumar, boy)	04-Feb-2000	Anantnag (Telwani)	Victim of Telwani massacre (shot dead with family).	Hizbul Mujahideen (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Brij Nath Bhat	04-Mar-2000	Anantnag (Brariangan)	Elderly Kashmiri Hindu, shot dead by terrorists in Brariangan, Anantnag on 4 March 2000. (He was one of the few who had stayed behind.)	Hizbul Mujahideen (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Smt. Lakshmi Devi	21-Dec-2001	Anantnag (Hugam)	Kashmiri Hindu woman. Shot dead at home by unidentified terrorists during a coordinated attack on minority villages in Bijbehara on 21 Dec 2001. (She and one other Kashmiri Hindu lady were killed in Hugam; in nearby Pushkeri, three Sikh girls were also murdered.)	Lashkar-e-Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Smt. Soni (Sunita)	21-Dec-2001	Anantnag (Hugam)	Kashmiri Hindu woman. Shot dead by the same terrorists in Hugam on 21 Dec 2001.	Lashkar-e-Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes

Amit Kher	24-Mar-2003	Pulwama (Nadimarg)	Massacred by terrorists in Nadimarg village on 23-24 March 2003. In that midnight attack, 24 KashmiriHindus (11 men, 11 women, 2 children) were rounded up and executed by terrorists dressed in police uniforms. The Pakistan-based Lashkar-e-Taiba claimed responsibility.	Lashkar-e-Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Avtar Krishan	24-Mar-2003	Pulwama (Nadimarg)	Victim of Nadimarg massacre.	Lashkar-e-Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Bansi Lal	24-Mar-2003	Pulwama (Nadimarg)	Victim of Nadimarg massacre (Name appears twice in some lists, but it was one person.)	Lashkar-e-Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
“Jiga”Kumari (Geeta)	24-Mar-2003	Pulwama (Nadimarg)	Smt. Geeta Devi - victim of Nadimarg massacre	Lashkar-e-Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Lasa Koul	24-Mar-2003	Pulwama (Nadimarg)	Victim of Nadimarg massacre (Lassa Koul, not related to the 1990 TV director.)	Lashkar-e-Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Lok Nath	24-Mar-2003	Pulwama (Nadimarg)	Victim of Nadimarg massacre	Lashkar-e-Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Mohan Lal	24-Mar-2003	Pulwama (Nadimarg)	Victim of Nadimarg massacre	Lashkar-e-Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
“Muna” (Manish)	24-Mar-2003	Pulwama (Nadimarg)	Young boy, victim of Nadimarg massacre	Lashkar-e-Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Pretam Krishen	24-Mar-2003	Pulwama (Nadimarg)	Praduman Krishen - victim of Nadimarg massacre.	Lashkar-e-Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes

Pretam Kumari	24-Mar-2003	Pulwama (Nadimarg)	Preetam Kumari - victim of Nadimarg massacre.	Lashkar-e- Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Princy Kumari	24-Mar-2003	Pulwama (Nadimarg)	Young girl, victim of Nadimarg massacre.	Lashkar-e- Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Radha Krishen Bhat	24-Mar-2003	Pulwama (Nadimarg)	Victim of Nadimarg massacre.	Lashkar-e- Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Rajani	24-Mar-2003	Pulwama (Nadimarg)	Ms. Rajni - victim of Nadimarg massacre.	Lashkar-e- Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Rajini Kumari	24-Mar-2003	Pulwama (Nadimarg)	Young girl, victim of Nadimarg massacre.	Lashkar-e- Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Rakesh Kumar	24-Mar-2003	Pulwama (Nadimarg)	Victim of Nadimarg massacre	Lashkar-e- Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Smt. Suman Ji	24-Mar-2003	Pulwama (Nadimarg)	Victim of Nadimarg massacre	Lashkar-e- Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Smt. Soomavati	24-Mar-2003	Pulwama (Nadimarg)	Smt. Soma Wati - victim of Nadimarg massacre	Lashkar-e- Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Smt. Asha	24-Mar-2003	Pulwama (Nadimarg)	Smt. Asha Jee - victim of Nadimarg massacre	Lashkar-e- Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Suraj Kumar	24-Mar-2003	Pulwama (Nadimarg)	Young boy, victim of Nadimarg massacre	Lashkar-e- Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
Triloki Nath	24-Mar-2003	Pulwama (Nadimarg)	Elderly man, victim of Nadimarg massacre	Lashkar-e- Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes

Tej Krishan (unknown surname)	03-Dec-2004	Srinagar (city)	Shot dead by terrorists in Srinagar. (One of the last targeted killings of a Kashmiri Hindu in the Valley; marked the continuing threat post-exodus.)	Lashkar-e- Taiba (Pakistan-based terror group)	Yes
-------------------------------------	-------------	-----------------	---	---	-----

Note on Sources: This table is compiled from documented reports including community records, contemporary news articles, and scholarly archives. Key incidents like the murders of BJP leader Tika Lal Taploo, Justice Neelkanth Ganjoo, Sarla Bhatt and others that precipitated the 1990 exodus are well recorded. Massacre events such as Sangrampora 1997 (7 Kashmiri Hindus killed), Wandhama 1998 (23 killed), and Nadimarg 2003 (24 killed) have been acknowledged in media and security reports. Terrorist groups like JKLF were responsible for many early targeted killings, while Pakistan-based jihadist outfits; Hizbul Mujahideen, Lashkar-e-Taiba, Jaish-e-Mohammad, etc. carried out the later massacres. Unfortunately, for a large number of individual cases, official files have sparse details, as indicated by the many entries marked “scarce record,” local police labelled these cases as “untraced” leading to zero convictions.

V. Legal Parameters: Overlapping Crimes & Applicable Law

The brutal campaign against Kashmiri Hindus, while commonly described as “ethnic cleansing,” implicates multiple international crimes under law. Ethnic cleansing per se is not a formally defined crime in international law, but the underlying acts; murder, rape, forcible expulsion, persecution, are squarely prohibited as Crimes Against Humanity, War Crimes, and potentially Genocide. In parallel, India's domestic law and constitution were profoundly violated by this campaign. Below is an analysis of the legal characterisations:

1. Crimes Against Humanity (CAH)

The systematic nature of the violence and its targeting of a civilian population (the Kashmiri Hindus) for their identity fits the definition of crimes against humanity. Under customary international law and instruments like the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (which, though India is not party to, reflects international standards), CAH include acts such as murder, extermination, deportation or forcible transfer of population, rape, and persecution committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population. The ethnic cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus meets this threshold:

- A. **Widespread/Systematic Attack:** The violence spanned multiple years and districts, following a discernible policy (e.g., targeted killings followed by mass exodus and further massacres), clearly systematic. Thousands of families were affected, which is widespread.
- B. **Protected Civilian Population:** The victims were civilians (non-combatants), attacked because of their religious/ethnic group. This qualifies as persecution on religious grounds, a well-established crime against humanity (persecution can entail acts like killings and serious harm inflicted on an identifiable group).
- C. **Deportation/Forcible Transfer:** Forcing a population to flee through violence and fear is itself a crime against humanity. The Kashmiri Hindus exodus was involuntary; as discussed, a lack of genuine choice due to threats and violence means it was a forcible transfer. People were effectively deported from their homeland within their own country.
- D. **Other Inhumane Acts:** The brutality (torture, rape) and the intentional infliction of severe suffering also count as “other inhumane acts” under CAH.

In short, the campaign qualifies as a crime against humanity. Indeed, many of the specific deeds (rape, murder, forced displacement) are enumerated CAH acts when done as part of a systematic

attack. India's own National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), investigating the Kashmiri Hindus' case, in 1999 held that the community had been subjected to "acts akin to genocide," and explicitly acknowledged that what occurred were crimes against humanity. This official finding underscores that the atrocities crossed the legal threshold of offenses that shock the conscience of humanity.

II. Genocide

Genocide is the intentional destruction, in whole or in substantial part, of a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group as such. Were the crimes against Kashmiri Hindus genocidal? The answer is debated, but many elements point that direction. The Kashmiri Hindus were targeted as a religious group (Hindus) and significant portions of that community were killed or expelled with the clear goal of eliminating their presence in Kashmir. The terrorists own statements and ideology (e.g., establishing Nizam-e-Mustafa and labeling Kashmiri Hindus as infidels to be purged) reveal an intent to destroy the group's viability in the region. Over 95% of Kashmiri Hindus were removed; those who stayed were murdered over time. These outcomes align with an intent to destroy the group "at least in part." However, legally proving genocidal intent (as opposed to the intent to "ethnically cleanse" by expulsion) can be challenging. The genocide convention focuses on physical or biological destruction of a group. In Kashmir, while the primary method was expulsion, it was effectuated via murders and terror that could qualify as "deliberately inflicting conditions of life calculated to bring about the group's destruction in part." The NHRC stopped short of labeling it genocide, but noted that "a genocide-type design may exist" in the minds and utterances of the terrorists. In any event, many acts committed (killing members of the group, causing serious bodily or mental harm) are listed genocidal acts in Article II of the Genocide Convention. The key missing piece for a full legal genocide determination is definitive evidence of specific intent to physically annihilate the group rather than "just" drive it out. If such intent were demonstrated (for example, through captured terrorist documents or declarations of wanting to exterminate all Hindus in Kashmir), the label of genocide could be legally sustained. Regardless, as the NHRC phrased, this was "near-genocide", it meets many substantive criteria without an authoritative international tribunal having adjudicated it as such.

III. Indian Domestic Law and Constitutional Protections

The violence against Kashmiri Hindus grievously violated the Constitution of India and Indian criminal law:

1. **Right to Life (Article 21):** The most obvious breach, the terror campaign involved outright murder and endangerment of life, violating Article 21's guarantee that "no person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law." Thousands of Kashmiri Hindus were deprived of life with no due process, indeed, murdered in cold blood.
2. **Right to Equality and Non-Discrimination (Article 14):** The Kashmiri Hindus were targeted and driven out solely due to their religious identity, amounting to discrimination of the worst kind. Article 14 assures equality before the law and equal protection of the laws; the failure of the state at the time to protect this minority from targeted violence also raises issues under this provision (the state's inability to safeguard one group equally).
3. **Freedom of Movement and Residence (Article 19(1)(d) & (e)):** Indian citizens have the right to move freely throughout the territory of India and reside in any state. For Kashmiri Hindus, these rights were nullified in practice - they were forced to abandon their place of residence and could not return for decades due to threat of violence. Being made refugees in their own country runs counter to the spirit of Article 19.
4. **Freedom of Religion (Article 25):** Kashmiri Hindus, as Hindus, have the right to freely profess and practice their faith. By terrorising them into exile, destroying temples, and creating an environment where being a Hindu in Kashmir was life-threatening, the perpetrators effectively extinguished this freedom in the Valley. The cleansing was an extreme form of religious persecution - anathema to Article 25's protections.

Additionally, the acts committed; murder, rape, criminal intimidation, arson, etc. violate various provisions of the Indian Penal Code (now BNS). In theory, those responsible could be charged with offenses ranging from homicide to rioting and unlawful assembly, to various specific crimes like rape and desecration of places of worship. It is worth noting that in 1997, in response to the plight of the Kashmiri Hindus, the state of J&K did enact a law (J&K Migrant Immovable Property Act, 1997) to prevent distress sales and protect properties left behind. However, implementation was weak, and large-scale justice (criminal prosecution of terrorists or restoration of homes) remained

elusive. The Indian National Human Rights Commission's 1999 proceedings acknowledged state obligations to rehabilitate the community and punish perpetrators, even as it lamented the lack of effective action.

IV. Forced Migration as a Human Rights Violation

Law is clear that even if people appear to “migrate,” if their movement is compelled by persecution or violence, it is a violation of their rights. The absence of genuine choice defines such forced migration. In the case of Kashmiri Hindus, the coercion was overt, leave or be killed, so there is no doubt their displacement was forced. This triggers multiple international protective regimes: for instance, as internally displaced persons (IDPs) within India, the Kashmiri Hindus should benefit from the UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement which affirm that displacement due to persecution or conflict violates fundamental rights and that the displaced have rights to protection and return in safety and dignity. Moreover, India's obligation to protect its citizen rights was tested, arguably, the J&K state governments, most notable lead by National Conference (NC) leaders like Farooq Abdullah (who served as the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir from 1986 until 1990) and People's Democratic Party (PDP)'s Mufti Mohammad Sayeed (who served as the Union Home Minister during 1989-1990) failed to prevent these abuses by Pakistan backed terrorists, raising questions under their duty to secure fundamental rights under the larger guarantees.

In summary, the ethnic cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus was not only a human tragedy but a cluster of serious crimes.

The acts committed fall under multiple legal categories; each sufficient in itself for international accountability:

- As a crime against humanity, it was a widespread, systematic attack on a civilian population (the Hindu minority) involving murder, rape, persecution and forcible transfer.
- As acts genocidal in nature, it aimed to destroy a religious group's existence in a region, with many qualifying genocidal acts committed (killing, causing grievous harm).
- It also starkly violated basic human rights enshrined in both Indian law and international human rights law (right to life, security, home, religion, etc.).

International tribunals such as the ICTY and ICTR, and the ICC, have prosecuted comparable patterns of conduct, identity-based persecution, extermination, and the forcible displacement of civilian populations as international crimes, typically charged as persecution, murder/extermination, and deportation or forcible transfer (and, where applicable, war-crimes offences linked to attacks on civilians). The absence of a dedicated international tribunal for Jammu and Kashmir does not imply a legal vacuum. India is a constitutional democracy governed by the rule of law, with a competent judiciary and established domestic jurisdiction to prosecute terrorism-linked atrocity conduct; accountability pathways exist through Indian criminal law and ongoing proceedings involving terrorists like Yasin Malik of the JKLF.

At the international level, the UN Commission of Experts on the former Yugoslavia underscored that practices commonly described as “ethnic cleansing” may constitute crimes against humanity and well-defined war crimes, depending on the underlying acts and the coercive conditions that remove populations. On the report’s analysis, the Kashmiri Hindu case aligns with those parameters: a sustained pattern of targeted violence and intimidation designed to compel flight and consolidate dispossession. The findings therefore situates responsibility not only with direct perpetrators, but also with external enablers i.e. Pakistan as an aiding state where cross-border facilitation is evidenced, through training, financing, infiltration support, operational direction, and safe haven for proscribed terrorist organisations. In principle, this engages both individual criminal liability (for perpetrators and facilitators) and doctrines of state responsibility where material support and enabling conduct can be established.

VI. Perpetrators: Terrorist Groups and Pakistan's Role

The execution of the crimes in Kashmir was primarily carried out by Pakistan-backed jihadi terrorist organizations and local Islamist terrorists supported and aided by Pakistan. These groups, though varied in their stated aims (from Kashmiri “independence” to merging with Pakistan to establishing Islamic rule), converged in their hostility toward Kashmiri Hindus and their involvement in driving them out.

Below is an overview of the key actors and their roles:

Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF)

JKLF is a terrorist separatist organization that initially led the insurgency around 1989-90. It officially advocated Kashmiri independence (a Islamist line to create a Islamic state), but in practice JKLF cadres were deeply complicit in the early anti-Hindu violence. JKLF terrorists carried out many of the first targeted killings of Kashmiri Hindus. As noted above, JKLF assassins killed leaders like Tika Lal Taploo and Justice Ganjoo in 1989. One JKLF terrorist, Farooq “Bitta” Karate, infamously admitted to murdering numerous Kashmiri Hindus in 1990 (by his own boasts, at least 20). The JKLF's campaign of terror had the effect of sparking the exodus. Importantly, although JKLF presented itself as an local rebel group, it had substantial backing from Pakistan and is evidentiary a terror proxy. *Pakistan's ISI provided arms, training, and safe haven* to JKLF fighters across the border. In one illustrative case, a JKLF terrorist confessed that the assassination of a Hindu broadcasting official (Lassa Koul of Doordarshan) was done on *orders from Amanullah Khan, JKLF's Pakistan-based chief*. This demonstrates Pakistan's direct hand in guiding JKLF operations. Over time, the JKLF's prominence waned (and it declared a ceasefire in 1994), but by then the Kashmiri Hindu (Hindu) exodus had already occurred and JKLF continued its proxy terrorist agendas through other such organisations throughout. JKLF's early actions essentially *lit the fuse* of ethnic cleansing.

Hizbul Mujahideen (HM)

Hizbul Mujahideen emerged around 1989 as the armed wing of Jamaat-e-Islami Kashmir, with an explicitly Islamist and pro-Pakistan agenda. It soon became one of the largest terrorist outfits in the valley. Pakistan's support for Hizbul was significant, it was (and is) often described as Pakistan's “proxy” or favoured terrorist entity in Kashmir. Hizbul Mujahideen terrorists remain responsible for countless killings of Kashmiri Hindus throughout the 1990s. Notably, Hizbul was implicated in the March 1997 Sangrampora massacre (seven Kashmiri Hindus killed) and is believed to have

executed other attacks on remaining Kashmiri Hindu (Hindu) families (e.g., Nadimarg 2003 by LeT terrorists, but some also local Hizb cadres' involvement). The ideological bent of Hizbul, guided by Jamaat-e-Islami, was to establish an Islamic state under Sharia (Nizam-e-Mustafa). To this end, cleansing the valley of non-Muslims was seen as a necessary step. Jamaat-e-Islami activists in the late '80s had already been spreading communal rhetoric; when the insurgency began, they and Hizbul targeted Kashmiri Hindus as agents of Indian rule and as unbelievers. The organization's role in the ethnic cleansing is thus central - it combined religious zealotry with military training provided by ISI. Many Kashmiri Hindus who were killed in outlying villages in the early 1990s fell victim to Hizbul hit squads. The group's actions were so systematic that even the local press and human rights groups recognised it as a key perpetrator of minority killings.

Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT)

LeT is a Pakistan-based Islamist terror organization (technically based in Punjab province of Pakistan, under the aegis of the Markaz Dawa-Wal-Irshad, later Jamaat-ud-Dawa). While LeT's primary theatre became Indian cities (with attacks like the 2008 Mumbai terrorist attacks), it was very active in Kashmir from the mid-1990s onward. Being an outsider-led outfit, LeT cadres infiltrated from Pakistan to supplement the insurgency. LeT espoused a rigid Salafist ideology and had no local social base among Kashmiri Muslims (who mostly follow Sufi traditions), but it had Pakistani encouragement to "Islamize" and escalate the conflict. LeT played a major role in some of the worst massacres of Hindus in J&K. For instance, intelligence and later investigations evidenced LeT for the January 1998 Wandhama massacre (23 Kashmiri Hindus murdered). LeT was also linked to the 2003 Nadimarg massacre - in fact, LeT claimed responsibility for Nadimarg in a chilling admission of its hand in slaughtering 24 Hindu villagers. LeT's involvement underscores the cross-border nature of the cleansing: these fighters were Pakistan nationals (or at least led from Pakistan) coming explicitly to target non-Muslim minorities. Their actions were coordinated with local terrorists at times. LeT essentially served as an instrument of Pakistan's policy, with the ISI using it to internationalise jihad in Jammu and Kashmir. The presence of LeT and similar groups gave the campaign an even more terrorist Islamist character (with slogans of global jihad against Hindus and India).

Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM) and Others:

Jaish-e-Mohammed, another Pakistan-based jihadist outfit formed in 2000 by Masood Azhar, also targeted Kashmiri Hindus, though it is more infamous for attacks on Indian security forces (like the

Parliament attack in 2001). Still, any Pakistani jihadist groups operating in Kashmir shared the ideological goal of an Islamic emirate and thus saw Hindus as legitimate targets. Jamaat-ul-Mujahideen (JuM) was yet another jihadist group; significantly, the financial chief of JuM was married to Dukhtaran's leader Asiya Andrabi, forming a web of connections through which Pakistani funds flowed to disparate terrorist actors. Also, in the early 1990s, groups like Al-Faran briefly surfaced, calling for strict Islamic codes (banning alcohol, cinemas) and threatening minorities, though these were short-lived, they contributed to the intimidation climate. Overall, the later 1990s phase of violence (post-exodus) saw Pakistan-based outfits (Hizbul, LeT, JeM, etc.) carrying out high-profile massacres of Kashmiri Hindus, indicating that Pakistan's proxy strategy deliberately included terrorising any Kashmiri Hindus who hadn't fled or who might return.

Jamaat-e-Islami Kashmir

While not an “armed group” itself during that period, Jamaat-e-Islami (JeI) was the ideological driver behind much of the Islamist terrorism. Many Hizbul Mujahideen terrorists were JeI members or recruits. JeI's discourse in the late 1980s demonised India and by extension the Kashmiri Hindus (seen as symbols or collaborators of Indian rule). Disguised as a socio-religious organization, Jamaat did provide a quasi-state structure in some rural areas, influencing local attitudes and sometimes turning a blind eye or even encouraging the harassment of Kashmiri Hindus. In 1990, reports indicated that areas under Jamaat influence saw fewer Kashmiri Hindus, as they had been pressurised to leave early. Thus, Jamaat acted as an ideological incubator for ethnic cleansing, propagating the vision of an Islamic Kashmir that left little room for Hindu coexistence. The fact that Hizbul Mujahideen is often described as Jamaat's terrorist wing is telling; Jamaat leaders later claimed they didn't favour violence against Kashmiri Hindus, but evidence suggests at least passive complicity. Jamaat was eventually banned for some years due to its terrorist links and continues to be banned following the amendment of Article 370 of the Indian constitution.

Dukhtaran-e-Millat (DeM):

Dukhtaran-e-Millat (translated “Daughters of the Nation”) is an all-women Islamist organization in Kashmir, led by Asiya Andrabi. Formed in 1987, Dukhtaran did not carry out armed attacks itself but can be categorised as a “soft terror” outfit - using threats, propaganda, and moral policing in support of the terrorist movement. Dukhtaran advocated jihad to establish Islamic law in Kashmir and ardently supported Kashmir's accession to Pakistan. During the 1990s, the group was active in intimidating Kashmiri women to adhere to strict Islamic dress codes and values (e.g., forcing the

veil). It also staunchly opposed any concessions or peace talks. While Dukhtaran's primary activities were social enforcement of fundamentalism, it provided logistical and ideological support to violent jihadi groups. Security agencies confirmed Dukhtaran members acted as couriers for arms and funds for outfits like Hizbul and Jaish. Notably, the group received funding from Pakistan's ISI via hawala channels - one case revealed ISI funds being routed from London to Dukhtaran's leader. This indicates that even ostensibly unarmed separatist fronts were on Pakistan's payroll and part of the broader machinery of terror. Dukhtaran's rhetoric certainly contributed to the climate of hostility against non-Muslims; Andrabi once famously declared that Kashmir's freedom struggle was a religious war and that Kashmir should be exclusively Muslim, openly endorsing the expulsion of Hindus. She celebrated the Taliban's rise and called for similar rule in Kashmir. Such messaging bolstered the resolve of terrorists and perpetuated a hardline stance against rehabilitating Kashmiri Hindus. Furthermore, Dukhtaran frequently coordinated with the All Parties Hurriyat Conference in protests and campaigns, which brings us to the next actor.

Hurriyat Conference:

The Hurriyat is not a single group but an umbrella alliance of separatist organisations formed in 1993. It included Islamists like Jamaat-e-Islami, as well as some pro-separatism figures. While the Hurriyat did not carry out violence directly, it provided an ideological and religious cover for the terrorist campaign. Hurriyat leaders consistently downplayed or justified the exodus of Kashmiri Hindus. Rather than condemn the killings, they often deflected blame onto the Indian government (pushing conspiracy theories that the exodus was engineered by the Indian state to malign the separatists). The hardline faction of Hurriyat led by Syed Ali Shah Geelani (formerly of Jamaat-e-Islami) was especially averse to acknowledging the community's suffering. In fact, Geelani and others would insist that Kashmiri Hindus were welcome to return (for optics) but simultaneously assert that "their migration was voluntary and Islamic values will prevail and that Kashmir is of Pakistan" This revisionism amounted to denial and thus shielded the perpetrators from scrutiny. Meanwhile, Hurriyat cadres on the ground enforced shutdowns and protests in tandem with terrorist agendas, effectively acting as the civil face of the insurgency. The Hurriyat's soft rhetoric internationally (speaking of human rights) masked its tacit support for the Islamisation of the movement. On some occasions, when moderate Hurriyat voices hinted at accommodating Kashmiri Hindus, they faced threats; for example, Abdul Gani Lone (a Hurriyat leader) was assassinated in 2002 by terrorists, allegedly because he advocated dialogue, an act even Asiya Andrabi of Dukhtaran had incited Lashkar-e-Taiba to carry out. This illustrates how extremist and "moderate"

separatists often worked in tandem to maintain a hard line. Overall, Hurriyat was crucial in legitimising the terrorism as an expression of popular will, thus indirectly legitimising the ethnic cleansing in the eyes of many Kashmiri Muslims and external observers. By not unequivocally condemning the terror against Kashmiri Hindus (and in some cases overtly encouraging Islamist policies), Hurriyat became an accessory after the fact, if not before it.

Pakistan's Direct Involvement

While discussing perpetrators, it is impossible not to highlight the role of the Pakistani state (through its military and intelligence apparatus) as the prime mover behind many of these groups. Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) essentially curated, trained, and funded the militias listed above. JKLF's early campaign had ISI blessings until JKLF fell out of favour (for being pro-independence rather than pro-Pakistan). From then on, Pakistan heavily backed Hizbul Mujahideen (Jamaat's terrorist arm) to supplant JKLF, providing weapons and training camps in Pakistani territory. Throughout the 1990s and 2000s, ISI continues to sponsor groups like Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed to keep up the insurgency. Investigations and arrests over the years have revealed money trails: e.g., hawala operators funnelling ISI funds to Hurriyat leaders, who then distribute to terrorist commanders. One Hurriyat figure, Syed Ali Shah Geelani, was caught in such a terror-funding case (2011) where it was shown that he received money from ISI to pay operatives of Hizbul Mujahideen. Likewise, Asiya Andrabi of Dukhtaran-e-Millat received ISI-sourced funds to sustain her activities. In essence, Pakistan acted as the lynchpin uniting these varied actors, a provider of resources, strategic direction, and safe haven. Pakistani regular forces also at times engaged directly: e.g., during the 1999 Kargil War, which Pakistan initiated, local Hindu villagers in areas of intrusion were targeted by Pakistan-backed terrorists, adding another layer to the threat against minorities. While individual terrorists pulled triggers, Pakistan's involvement was so entrenched that one can fairly say the ethnic cleansing was orchestrated as a matter of state policy by Pakistan, executed through its non-state proxies. This has significant legal implications, discussed in the next section.

To summarise, the perpetrators of the Kashmiri Hindu atrocities included a range of Islamist terrorist organizations, all interconnected and largely sponsored from across the border:

- I. The JKLF spearheaded the initial terror wave, with Pakistan's patronage.

- II. Hizbul Mujahideen, backed by Pakistan and inspired by Jamaat-e-Islami, took over as a leading perpetrator, embedding a religious extremist motive.
- III. Pakistan-based jihadist groups like Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed joined in, committing some of the worst atrocities against the remaining Kashmiri Hindus.
- IV. "Social" outfits like Dukhtaran-e-Millat and the separatist Hurriyat Conference provided ideological justification, propaganda, and even logistical aid, reinforcing the terrorists' goals.
- V. Overarching all was Pakistan's ISI, coordinating and funding this constellation of actors.

This multi-tiered perpetrator structure; terror cells on the ground, ideological fronts in the society, and a state apparatus in the shadows, is a classic model of how ethnic cleansing can be carried out under the guise of an insurgency. It blurs the line between state and non-state action, which is crucial when assigning legal responsibility for these crimes.

VII. Pakistani State Responsibility

A critical question in the aftermath of the Kashmiri Hindu atrocities is the accountability of the State of Pakistan for its role in supporting and exporting the terror. International law provides doctrines to attach responsibility to states for atrocities committed by proxy actors when certain conditions are met. In this case, Pakistan's deep involvement in arming, training, and directing the terrorist groups implicates it in the commission of crimes against humanity and other violations.

Pakistan's legal culpability can be analysed by the below legal parameters:

1. Aiding and Abetting International Crimes

Under general international law (including the International Law Commission's Articles on State Responsibility), if a state knowingly aids or assists another state or a non-state actor in the commission of an internationally wrongful act, that state can be held responsible for aiding and abetting. The acts against Kashmiri Hindus, being crimes against humanity and possibly acts of genocide (cultural erosion, destruction of temples), are certainly internationally wrongful acts erga omnes (owed to the international community). Pakistan provided extensive aid (weapons, training, logistical support, finances, safe havens) to terrorists while knowing full well these terrorists were committing atrocities. For example, Pakistan's agents funneled money to terrorists: as one case showed, an ISI-linked hawala network sent funds to Dukhtaran-e-Millat and Hurriyat leaders, which were then used to finance Hizbul Mujahideen's activities. Another instance: a captured JKLFF terrorist disclosed he acted on instructions from a Pakistan-based leader in targeting a Hindu official. These indicate intentional facilitation. In international criminal law, aiding and abetting liability requires practical assistance with awareness of the underlying crime, a standard clearly met here given Pakistan's sustained campaign to sponsor terrorism and its encouragement of the anti-Kashmiri Hindu violence. Indeed, Pakistan's support was integral to the commission of crimes; without it, the scale of terrorist atrocities would likely not have been possible. Therefore, Pakistan's conduct qualifies as aiding and abetting crimes against humanity (and potentially ethnic cleansing, if that threshold is legally applied). Historically, precedents like the conviction of Charles Taylor (former Liberian president) for aiding and abetting war crimes in Sierra Leone, or the findings of the ICTY about Serbia's support to Bosnian Serb forces, illustrate that high-level supporters can be held accountable. By analogy, Pakistani officials who orchestrated the support to terrorists could, in theory, be liable for aiding/abetting these international crimes.

2. State Responsibility under ICJ Jurisprudence

The International Court of Justice (ICJ) in the *Bosnian Genocide Case* (*Bosnia v. Serbia*, 2007) dealt squarely with a state's responsibility for genocide committed by non-state proxies. The ICJ held Serbia responsible for failing to prevent genocide at Srebrenica and for not punishing it, though it did not attribute the Srebrenica massacre to Serbia's organs because Serbia did not have "effective control" over the Bosnian Serb forces in that operation. The ICJ reaffirmed the stringent "effective control" test (drawn from the *Nicaragua case* (ICJ, 1986)) for attributing non-state actors acts to a state. What does this mean for Pakistan? If one were to argue that groups like Hizbul or Lashkar acted as *de facto* agents of Pakistan, one would need to show Pakistani authorities had effective control over their specific operations targeting Kashmiri Hindus. While Pakistan's general control and sponsorship are evident, proving operational control in particular massacres would be evidentiary heavy-lifting but possible. However, even if Pakistan's control wasn't so direct as to make the terrorists its *de facto* organs (which would allow directly attributing the ethnic cleansing acts to Pakistan), Pakistan can still be internationally responsible for its own conduct: i.e., for actively supporting and failing to prevent the crimes. In *Bosnia v. Serbia*, Serbia was censured for not using its influence to prevent genocide. In this case, Pakistan enabled ethnic cleansing and encouraged it. If a similar case were brought to the ICJ (hypothetically, *India v. Pakistan* for genocide/CAH of Kashmiri Hindus), India could argue Pakistan breached its obligations under the Genocide Convention (to prevent and punish genocide) and general international law by providing sanctuary and support to genocidal actors. The effective control test might or might not be met (one could argue that Pakistan's control over groups like Lashkar was indeed very high, LeT chiefs like Hafiz Saeed operated under ISI's wing, and Pakistan is often said to use LeT as an unofficial arm). But even absent formal attribution of every act, Pakistan's role is one of a State collaborating in wrongful acts.

3. State Responsibility for Non-State Actors Doctrines

The *Nicaragua case* (ICJ, 1986) established that a state (the U.S. in that case) that trains, arms, and finances rebels (the Contras) is responsible for unlawful use of force and perhaps for aiding in violations, but their acts weren't fully attributed to the U.S. without evidence of direct command. Similarly, Pakistan's assistance to terrorists can be viewed as a breach of the principle of non-intervention (using indirect force). Moreover, Article 16 of the ILC Articles on State Responsibility states that a state aiding another state in committing an internationally wrongful act is responsible if it knew of the circumstances of the act. By extension, aiding non-state actors in committing

atrocities should engage responsibility if done knowingly. Pakistan knew the very purpose of these terrorist groups was to commit violent acts in Jammu and Kashmir; indeed that was the strategy. Thus Pakistan breached international obligations to respect another state's sovereignty and to refrain from support of terrorism (as elaborated further). It's also pertinent that UN Security Council resolutions have repeatedly mandated that states must not support terrorists:

- UNSCR 1373 (2001), passed after 9/11, under Chapter VII requires all states to “refrain from providing any form of support, active or passive, to entities or persons involved in terrorist acts,” and to “deny safe haven” to those who finance, plan or execute terrorist acts. While 1373 came in 2001 (after much of the Kashmiri Hindu (Hindu) exodus), it reaffirmed an existing principle that cross-border terrorism is an international peace and security threat. Pakistan's harbouring and sponsoring of Jammu Kashmir-focused terror outfits runs afoul of this obligation. Earlier resolutions, such as UNSCR 1269 (1999), also unequivocally condemn aiding or acquiescing in terrorism.
- The Security Council specifically addressed cross-border terrorism in Kashmir in the 1990s indirectly through statements urging respect for the Line of Control and non-interference. While it did not name Pakistan in resolutions, the international norm was clear: supporting insurgents in another country violates international law (both *jus ad bellum* and counter-terrorism norms).
- Additionally, customary international law as reflected in global counter-terrorism treaties (e.g., financing of terrorism convention) obliges states to prevent their territory from being used to foment terror elsewhere. Pakistan's failure on this count could be seen as *state negligence or connivance in terrorist acts*, which killed and maimed civilians.

4. Genocide Convention Obligations

If we consider the ethnic cleansing as genocide (or an attempt at it), Pakistan as a contracting party to the Genocide Convention (Pakistan has ratified it) is obligated “*to prevent and to punish*” genocide. The ICJ in the Bosnia case clarified this means a state must use all means available to prevent genocide if it knows of a serious risk. Pakistan arguably had a hand in genocide-like targeting of Kashmiri Hindus and enabled it. That would constitute a breach of the Genocide Convention. Even if one doesn't label it genocide legally, if Pakistan's support continued knowing the campaign of persecution, it breached basic humanitarian obligations.

5. Direct Aggression

Scholars and Indian officials have often argued that Pakistan's conduct amounted to a form of aggression under international law, using irregular forces to wage war against India's civilian population. The UN General Assembly's Definition of Aggression (1974) includes “sending by or on behalf of a State armed bands... which carry out acts of armed force against another State of such gravity as to amount to” an armed attack (Article 3(g)). While Pakistan's sponsorship of the terror through islamist jihad in Jammu and Kashmir (including the cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus) meets this definition. Aggression is a state crime; while individuals can't yet be tried for it except at the ICC (where conditions aren't met here), the classification highlights the severity of Pakistan's wrongdoing at a state level, including its illegal occupation of Pakistan Occupied Jammu and Kashmir (PoJK) including territories of UT Ladakh i.e. Gilgit Baltistan.

Importantly, attributing legal blame to Pakistan does not diminish the individual liability of the terrorist perpetrators, both could concurrently be liable. The doctrines from the ICJ's Nicaragua and Bosnia judgments illustrate that a state can be complicit even if the proxy actors are the immediate perpetrators. In the case of Kashmiri Hindus, Pakistan's “direct or indirect involvement” was so extensive that one can rightly argue the ethnic cleansing was state-enabled. To draw an analogy: similar to how Serbia was held to have “known and failed to prevent” the genocide in Bosnia, Pakistan knew and facilitated the terrorist campaign against Kashmiri Hindus. Thus, from an international law perspective, Pakistan bears significant responsibility and could be held accountable under doctrines of State responsibility for aiding and abetting crimes against humanity and for sponsoring terrorism across borders.

VIII. Concluding Observations

The ethnic cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus meets the highest thresholds of international atrocity crimes. The evidence demonstrates that what this Hindu minority endured was not random communal strife but a deliberate, systematic campaign of persecution, a crime against humanity in both legal and moral terms. Many aspects arguably satisfy the definition of genocide, and at the very least, the pattern of “murderous ethnic cleansing” in Kashmir aligns with conduct that international law seeks to prevent and punish. Over 95% of a native community was uprooted from their homeland; hundreds were killed in the process. This stark outcome, the near-total depopulation of Kashmiri Hindus from the Valley, is the tragic proof of the effectiveness of the cleansing policy. It highlights why the world has recognised ethnic cleansing as an abhorrent crime that threatens human diversity and peace.

Justice is not only punitive but also restorative. For the Kashmiri Hindus, justice includes the right to return to their homes in safety and dignity. This requires more than lip service. It necessitates improvements in security in Kashmir, prosecution of those who threaten returnees, and reconstruction of temples and homes. The Indian government has from time to time announced packages for Kashmiri Hindu (Hindu) return, and after the revocation of Article 370 of the Indian constitution in 2019, there are renewed efforts to resettle Kashmiri Hindus with jobs and transit accommodations. However, the community's trust can be rebuilt only when there is accountability for past wrongs.

International human rights observers and legal analysts should keep focus on this issue as part of the broader fight against ethnic cleansing globally. Whether through UN special rapporteurs, or international NGOs, the case of Kashmiri Hindus deserves to be highlighted in reports on religious persecution and mass atrocities. Doing so helps ensure it is not seen in isolation or as a footnote, but rather as part of the global “Never Again” effort. In the end, the Kashmiri Hindu ethnic cleansing stands as a grave atrocity that satisfies the definitional elements of crimes against humanity and meets many criteria of atrocity crimes and ethnic cleansing under international law.

References

Indian law

Constitution of India - Articles 14, 19(1)(d) & 19(1)(e), 21, 25.

Constitution of India - Article 370 (referenced in context of its revocation).

Indian Penal Code (IPC) (referenced as the core criminal law framework for murder, rape, intimidation, arson, etc.).

J&K Migrant Immovable Property Act, 1997.

Public international law, humanitarian law, and atrocity-crimes instruments

Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (1998) (referenced for crimes against humanity categories).

Geneva Conventions (1949) - Common Article 3.

Additional Protocol II (1977) - Article 17 (prohibition on ordering displacement of civilians, with limited exceptions).

Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948) (referenced for obligations and legal framing).

UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (1998).

International Law Commission (ILC) Articles on Responsibility of States for Internationally Wrongful Acts (2001).

UN counter-terror / use-of-force instruments

UN Security Council Resolution 1373 (2001).

UN Security Council Resolution 1269 (1999).

International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism (1999) (referenced generically as “financing of terrorism convention”).

UN General Assembly Definition of Aggression (1974) - Article 3(g).

UN Charter (Chapter VII enforcement powers) (referenced as “Chapter VII measures”).

Judicial authorities cited (not “laws,” but legal authorities used)

ICJ, Nicaragua case (1986) (effective control test reference).

ICJ, Bosnia v. Serbia (2007).

United Nations Commission of Experts (Yugoslavia) report defining ethnic cleansing.

Kashmir Hindu casualty data and descriptions of incidents.

Accounts of massacres (Sangrampora 1997, Wandhama 1998, Nadimarg 2003).

Statements on Pakistan's support to terrorists (ISI backing of JKLF, Hizbul, funding through hawala).

NHRC of India determination calling the Hindu killings “acts akin to genocide” and urging justice.

Martin Shaw's analysis of “murderous ethnic cleansing” as a precursor to genocide.

South Asia Terrorism Portal assessment of the Hindu exodus and its systematic nature.



Centre for Integrated and Holistic Studies (CIHS) is an non-partisan, independent, research think tank headquartered in New Delhi, India. It is committed to bringing innovative ideas to the society, fostering informed public debate, promoting good policy and programme formulation. Ultimately, enhancing individual decision-making on some of the world's most pressing issues.