

Kashmir Sentinel

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Is third-party mediation on in Kashmir

Special Correspondent

A news report that appeared in *Washington Post*, recently took the nationalist circles by surprise. It confirmed the apprehensions that despite the respective official statements of reiteration on third-party role, some sort of mediation brokered by a third party was on. The report mentioned that CIA was playing a crucial role in India-Pakistan detente, including on Kashmir.

Mr Karl Inderfurth, US Assistant Secretary of State and the head of South Asia section also did some plain speaking. While giving the brief on the concluded Talbott-Jaswant Singh talks, he said, "we are impressing upon both the parties that the status quo has to be given up and pragmatist approaches in building new relationships have to be adopted". Mr Inderfurth also hinted that US cannot afford to be on tenter hooks in South Asia

and remarked "it is absolutely essential now that nuclear weapons have been added to this very volatile mistrust that the two countries direct themselves to resolve this dispute as quickly as they can".

Earlier, Madeline Albright, secretary of state had stated that USA will not hesitate to take a positive step if it ensures peace in the subcontinent. The Clinton Administration also communicated that it has decided to lift some of the sanctions imposed on India and Pakistan. What was the hurry for Washington to take this decision? The state department officials explained that the decision was taken after India and Pakistan took some "concrete steps" to address our concerns. And what could be these steps. First both the countries agreed to sign CTBT before September, 1999. Secondly they agreed to resume comprehensive negotiations to resolve the outstanding disputes, including

the Kashmir issue. Finally, the US officials claim that New Delhi and Islamabad have agreed to curb their nuclear weapons programmes.

Interestingly, the official line after the conclusion of foreign secretary level talks was that

'Sharif expressing his satisfaction. Enough evidence is forthcoming to suggest that there is some sort of understanding between the two Prime Ministers on basic issues including Kashmir for which the foundation was laid in their New York meet-

It was also agreed in principle to facilitate trade.

What is most interesting is that sections of media and opinion-makers in both the countries have begun mobilising the respective national opinion towards new positions on third-party role, LoC, autonomy etc.

Third Party Role:

Mr C Subramaniam, a veteran Congress leader and a former minister advocated third party mediation and suggested names of Nelson Mandela, Jimmy Carter and Mikhail Gorbachev for this. He also sought a national debate on possible solutions: Recognizing the LoC as the international boundary, holding a referendum under the UN auspices in the Kashmir Valley on both sides of the LoC (keeping Jammu and Ladakh outside its purview, in view of their ethnic and religious composition).

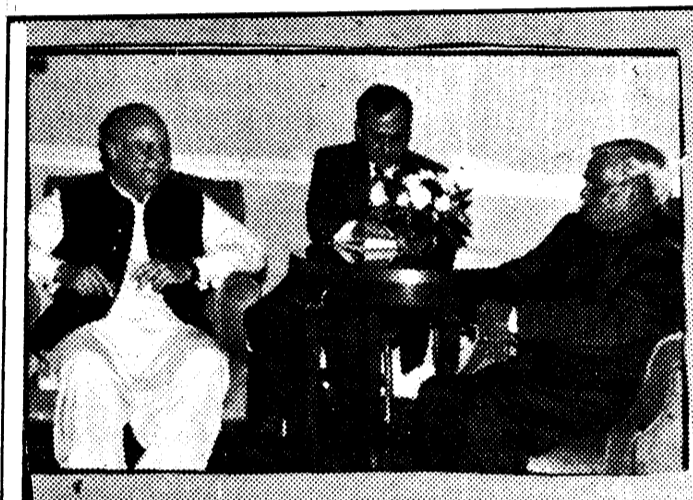
When Mr Narasimha Rao was the Prime Minister, his foreign minister, Late Dinesh Singh had also advocated OSLO type talks for an Indo-Pak detente. He had to retract the statement under nationalist pressure.

Lt Gen (retd.) VR Raghvan, former Director-General (military operations) supports third party mediation on Kashmir only in so far as it is one of "encouragement of facilitation (like providing a venue where the two groups can meet quietly) and providing economic incentives. Mr PN Dhar, a former diplomat also holds a similar view, saying that he is against mediation but not its encouragement for bilateral talks.

Semi-official Indian media also joined the debate on "why fear internationalization of Kashmir issue", "what is wrong with third party mediation", etc. Subtle undertones of this debate were that neither Shimla agreement nor the 1948 UN resolutions were sacrosanct so far as

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these did not break any ice. But the Indian Prime Minister expressed his satisfaction with the talks and even spoke to Nawaz



ing.

Commenting on this conflicting situation an observer writes "...the foreign secretary level talk cannot be called anything but an eyewash. The reality lies somewhere else but for public consumption, the bureaucratic exercise goes on to keep the bureaucracy and the unsuspecting public with their fingers crossed." Commenting on Vajpayee's gesture, a Pakistani columnist noted, "of special interest here is the sudden change of positions by Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee. From threats to attack POK, he has suddenly executed a U-turn and offered serious talks on Kashmir". Around the same time ambassador Shirin Tahir Kheli, senior fellow of the Foreign Policy Research Institute, Philadelphia remarked that senior politicians of India and Pakistan should direct the ongoing dialogue between the two countries. Kofi Anna, UN secretary-General also issued a press note offering his good offices to facilitate the dialogue.

Pakistan's internal crisis has made its government more flexible on Kashmir than it has been at any time in the past nine years. Enough indications are available that New Delhi is also approaching the discussions in the same spirit. Besides establishing a hotline between their offices, the two Prime Ministers also agreed to launch a passenger bus service between Lahore and Delhi.

'Pandits cannot go back at the present time'

Avebury Embarrasses APHC

Special Correspondent

Considered as the most important sympathise in Britain for the so called movement for 'Freedom' of Kashmir, Lord Eric Avebury disappointed his admirers among the separatist groups in Valley during his recent four day visit to the state. Lord Avebury termed the stand of Hurriyat on the democratic, process and elections as "totally fantastic" in his press briefing at New Delhi on 29th Nov. Hurriyat leaders, who had a two hour meeting with him on 26th Nov, had categorically stated their position vis-a-vis elections in the state. They had reportedly contended with Lord Avebury, who presently is also the vice chairman of UK Parliamentary Human Rights Group, that previous attempts at their joining the mainstream through elections had proved abortive as they were marred by 'electoral frauds'.

APHC categorically rejected their participation in elections under Indian Dispensation and opined that they will participate

only if elections are held under UN Supervision and that the thus elected representatives be considered eligible for representing Kashmir in the proposed tri-lateral talks between India, Pakistan & Kashmiris. The position taken by APHC appeared to be thoroughly impracticable for the visiting British MP as the former wanted to settle the constitutional status of Jammu and Kashmir first without suggesting any practical means of working towards the objective. 'APHC is expecting a big bang which is never going to come,' he said while making his assessment of the thinking within the umbrella organisations of separatists within the Valley.

APHC leaders were so much embarrassed by the assessment of the visiting dignitary that they publicly charged that Avebury was on an Indian mission to persuade and pressurise them into joining the elections.

Hurriyat leaders also appeared to be angered by the detailed meetings which Lord Avebury

had with Shabir Shah. The entire itinerary of the visiting MP raised doubts amongst the APHC leadership and they alleged that a London based Kashmir Doctor, who acted as Mr Avebury's PRO in the Valley, had hijacked the entire mission to facilitate his proximity with the moderate secessionist leaders like Shabir Shah.

However, the most significant aspects of the situation in Kashmir which appears to have registered predominantly on the mind of Avebury are the increased indulgence and control by foreign mercenaries of the insurgency in Valley and the increased firing along the LoC. He termed the threat of foreign mercenaries as 'real' and expressed concern on the hotting up of the entire line of actual Actrol between India and Pakistan. "It has to be recognised that even after 27 years of Shimla Agreement, LoC firing is the cause of concern between the two countries,"-Lord Avebury said while talking to the journalists in New

(Contd on page 10)

Attention Readers

This is to inform our readers that the next issue will be a special issue. To make it possible we are clubbing the next two issues together. We invite articles, write ups or any other relevant information from our esteemed readers to make this special issue a success.

-Editor

LETTERS

Duplicity of KP Sabha

Sir,
Apropos your lead story on 'IAKF caucus' you appear to have made only a passing reference to the hobnobbing of KP Sabha Amphalla with IAKF-game plan.

This organisation maintains a public posture of keeping away from any political activity and always quotes itself as a socio-cultural organisation. Isn't it intriguing that in all the meetings of community organisations it not only takes a political position but also exerts to influence the decisions of the other organisations. That this organisation which claims to have taken the responsibility of looking after cultural aspects in the 'Steering Community' organises seminars on the political issues like return in such a way so as to confuse the community responses, is a clear testimony of its duplicity.

It has recently started using the talents of some known pro-government Kashmiri Pandits Professors of Jammu University. There are rumours that one of these Professors is in close liason with Sh Sazawal, who is pinning his hopes on him as all other leading political scientists and experts of community have refused to go with his line.

Sir we have to be on guard not only against some external forces but organisations like KP Sabha which technically have a representative character. Some of its leaders not only continue to soft paddle with some very crucial issues concerning the Pandits but also persist with their efforts to divide the community between migrants and non-mi-

grants.

Lenin Bhat
Garhi, Udhampur
Jammu

Sir,

It was very good of you to use my writeup entitled MY DEAR GRANNY.

I sent a copy to my maternal cousin Dr Brij Mohan Bhan. You might have heard about him. He stayed in Srinagar, sticking it out even when the terrorism was at its worst. He paid the *jaziya* when it was demanded, even treated the free.

Prof Somnath Dhar
Author and Journalist

Sir,

You are making a good, useful job of the 'Sentinel' keep it up. And may you get more power to your elbow.

I saw the Martyr's Day special issue and the next after that there is much need of this type.

Dwarka Nath Munshi
B-8 Pamposh Enclave
New Delhi-110048

Sir,

I am proud of Lt Amit Kaul who has laid down his life for the honour and integrity of our country. On one side we have the great sons like Amit Kaul who sacrifice themselves to fight the terrorism and on the other hand we have some selfish and degraded politicians who nourish the terrorists indirectly by not taking or favouring any means to curb or oppose it. The sacrifices of people like Amit Kaul is a lesson and eye opener for such enemies of nation.

Dr Shailza Bhardwaj
Hindi Biwagh
Faculty Of Arts
M.S. University
Badoda

Sir,

This refers to Shri Jagmohan's article PATEL AND KASHMIR" published in the Kashmir Sentinel (Nov 1-5) incorporated from the Hindustan Times. Sh Jagmohan has effectively highlighted the role and efforts of the Iron Man of India", Sardar Vallabhai Patel, in shaping this nation by binding the 561 princely states in a democratic fabric.

There is no doubt about the nationalistic fervour with which Sardar Patel reimposed the structure of the nation by unifying the states in the Indian dominion. His contribution is matchless. He was a man blessed with dedication towards his Motherland.

If Sardar would have been allowed to handle Kashmir, he would have prevented it from becoming long-term headache for the country. If he was able to unify 561 states into the democratic fabric of this nation, Kashmir would have been no exception. He handled the situation effectively in Hyderabad by crushing the revolt of the Nizam and his loyalists.

As for as Nehru is concerned, he was a certainly a great leader but in case of "resolute practicability", he was nowhere near Patel. Nehru demonstrated his inefficiency in handling the Kashmir issue by taking it to the UN.

In the last eight years and even today, innocent people are being victimised by the Islamic fundamentalists in the J&K State aided by Pakistan. And when turmoil in the Valley was at its Peak in 1990 more than 300,000 Kashmiri Pandits (Hindus) were forced to live as refugees in their own country for being nationalistic and patriotic in their ideology.

It should be a matter of shame for the Congress and pseudo secular forces who are responsible for this sad development. Infact, during Congress party's reign of four decades or so, the Kashmir problem has only worsened.

Nehru became India's first Prime Minister only due to the blessings of Gandhi. In 1946 when Regional Congress Committees assembled to make a vital decision for the post of Indian Prime Minister, 12 out of 15 Congress committees voted in favour of Sardar Vallabhai Patel and only 3 committees voted for Jawahar Lal Nehru. But Mahatma Gandhi sidelined their decision and thus, on the contrary endorsed the Nehru's candidature for the post of first Prime Minister of India.

Mahesh Kaul,
C/o R.E.C. Camp Classes
Canal, Road, Jammu

THOSE WHO LEFT US

(16-11-98--26-11-98)

Kashmir Sentinel and Panun Kashmir Foundation mourn their sad demise and pray for the peace to the departed souls.

1. **Sh Avtar Krishen Mathu** S/o Late Sh. D.N. Mathu, R/o Karan Nagar; presently at Dorai Apts. S-2/36, 3rd cross, Sriram Puram Bangalore. Dt: N.A.
2. **Sh Makhn Lal Bamzain**; presently at 4-Nasib Nagar, Lane-2, Extn. Pamposh Colony, Janipur, Jammu. 8/11/98
3. **Pt. Niranjan Nath Pandita**, R/o Umanagri Anantnag; presently at H.No: 114 Ganeshvihar Lower Muthi, Jammu. 13/11/98
4. **Smt Roopawati** W/o Sh Sukhanand Handoo, R/o Achabal; presently at Camp Gole Jammu. 13/11/98
5. **Smt Vijay Shori Moza** W/o Lt Sh Omkar Nath Moza, R/o Badyar Balla; presently at C/o Sh Trakru, Opp. Sevice Selection Board Indira Ngr. Sgr. 13/11/98
6. **Sh Mohan Lal Kher** R/o Mallayar; presently at Deshmesh Nagar Digiana, Jammu. 14/11/98
7. **Smt Dhanwati Raina**, R/o Chowgam; presently at Fire Service Station Katra, Jammu. 15/11/98
8. **Sh Jia Lal Zadoo** R/o Nayi Sadak; presently at Lakshmi Puram Sector B-1, Chunnore, Jammu. 16/11/98.
9. **Sh Brij Krishen Kaul**; presently at Qtr. No: 51, Rehari Colony, Jammu. 16/11/98
10. **Sh Gopal Krishan Koul**, R/o Natipora; presently at 60, Sector-4 SBI Lane Janipur, Jammu. 16/11/98
11. **Sh Shamboo Nath Dhar**, R/o Bakshiabad Anantnag; presently at 111, Elora Apts. 2 Grya Hut Road, South Calcutta. 16/11/98.
12. **Dr. M.L. Kaw**, R/o Shopian; presently at H.No: 118 Sector: 4 Ext. Marble Enclave, Trukuta Nagar, Jammu. 18/11/98.
13. **Sh Jia Lal Bhat**, R/o Kathwar Budgam; presently at Qtr. No: 2, Block-M, Police Colony, Channi Himmat Jammu. 19/11/98
14. **Smt Prabawati Koul** R/o Exchange Road, Sgr.; presently at M-75-A Near Metrological Deptt. Lodhi Road, New Delhi. 21/11/98
15. **Smt Prabawati Bhat**, R/o Chowdey Gaiind Shopian; presently at Qtr. No: B3/12 Migrant Camp Mishriwala, Jammu. 21/11/98
16. **Sh Jia Kishen Koul**, R/o Narparishtan; presently at 142, Block-N, New Palam Vihar Gurgaon Haryana. 21/11/98.
17. **Pt. Shyam Lal Koul**, R/o Srinagar Raghunath Mandir; presently at 303-B, New Plots, Jammu. 23/11/98.
18. **Smt Jai Kishori Zutshi**, R/o Chunkral Mohalla; presently at Opp. Veternery Hospital Gole Pully, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 23/11/98.
19. **Sh. Pran Nath Fotedar**, R/o Rainawari; presently at Delhi. 23/11/98.
20. **Sh Bal Jee Kondu**, R/o Karalyar Rainwari; presently at H.No: 1238, Sector: 14, Faridabad. 25/11/98.
21. **Smt Sampkufi Dhar**, R/o Resipeer Alikadal; presently at Sec: 7 Ext. Channi Himmat Jammu. 25/11/98
22. **Smt Oma Wati Raina**, R/o Baskuchan Shopian; presently at H.No: 317-318 Jawahar Nagar, Talab Tillo, Jammumu 25/11/98.
23. **Smt Gonawati Pandit**, R/o Khalyar Antg; presently at Qtr. No: 4-(2)-923 Purkhoo Camp, Jammu. 27/11/98
24. **Sh Pyare Lal Tickoo**, R/o Sathu Payeen; presently at H.No: 5, Lane-17 Hari Nagar Pacca Grath Talab Tillo, Jammu. 28/11/98
25. **Smt Roopwati Saproo**, R/o Sathu Bala; presently at G-268 HIG Partap Vihar, Gaziabad. 29/11/98
26. **Sh Madhusudan Kaul**, R/o Shalakadal Sgr.; presently at 3/111, Indira Vihar, Old Janipur, Jammu. 29/11/98

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FOCUS

Jamaat's two-track approach

Special Correspondent

In the factional struggle of Jamaat Islami in Kashmir, discord over commitment to secessionism and Islamisation has never been the issue. In fact Jamaat's totalitarian ideology and its modelling on the pattern of a fascist organisation leave little scope for it. The present controversy raging over the "victory" of moderate elements in Jamaat needs to be analysed more watchfully. It could well be a ploy to push forward the strategic agenda of Jamaat in the changing circumstances. Otherwise why should it wait for ten long years and "two thousand" deaths of its activists to reaffirm its commitment to constitutionalism.

Uptil 1994 Jamaat's tryst with the secessionist movement was smooth. Its armed wing, Hizbul Mujahideen, because of ISI patronage established its pre-eminent position over other groups. Things started going bad for Jamaat when counter-insurgents started taking a heavy toll of Jamaat cadres. And also the understanding that but for Jamaat Kashmir insurgency would never have been a serious factor, has made Jamaat the focus of anti-insurgency operations. Analysts argue that the ongoing campaign in Kashmir is in essence Jamaat's war against India. The elaborate infrastructure and the indoctrination it is providing to Kashmiri youth continues to facilitate Pakistan in its proxy-war. The Jamaat

leadership is under serious pressure from the cadres to take the heat off from them.

Ground situation in Kashmir today is such, which no longer inspires confidence among Jamaatis. More and more Kashmiris who subscribe to HANFI traditions resent Jamaat Islami for forcing Wahabi cultural invasion on them. In their

dian British MP told Hurriyat leaders to test their popularity through elections. Current USA thinking on Kashmir is that autonomy for Kashmir would be the stepping stone to dilution of Indian sovereignty over Kashmir. It welcomes as broad based front for autonomy demand. US trouble shooters informed sources say, have convinced

transpired in these parleys is not known. However, close observers say that Jamaat leadership pleaded for lifting ban on Jamaat, stop on "witch-hunting" of Jamaat activists and facilities for extending its madarassa network. In return it promised to dilute its anti-Abdullah stance and support NC in its autonomy campaign.

Bhutto's hanging, which took heavy toll of its cadre.

Jamaat's short term strategy is to have a breather for saving its cadre and rebuild the weakened organisation. It wants to keep its option of participation in elections open, even while providing local support structure to ISI in its proxy-war. Lastly, it believes it can never come to power directly. It continues to patronise pliable politicians in NC, Congress and Janta Dal to create a situation in future, in which realignment of forces becomes favourable to Jamaat.

It is in this context that Jamaat's two-track approach needs to be analysed. One faction takes care of the political factor and the other the military one. This also settles the issue of power sharing in Jamaat leadership. GM Butt has been elected as Amir-e-Jamaat, whereas Syed Ali Shah Geelani took over as chief of All Party Hurriyat Conference from Mirwaiz Umar Farooq. With it the Jamaat also retains tactical manoeuvrability. Depending upon the situation, Jamaat can own or disown Geelani line of active secessionism.

Intriguingly Jamaat's new posturings have not seen any organised dissidence within the party. Geelani, the only Jamaat leader to express disapproval publicly has also been subdued in his reaction. Beyond reiteration of the traditional Jamaat stand on resolution of Kashmir

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Jamat Islami leaders Maulana Ghulam Ahmad Ahrar, Sheikh Ghulam Hassan, Ghulam Mohd Bhatt and Hakim Ghulam Nabi

perception different armed separatist groups, including JKLF are variants of Wahabism.

Moderation of stance by groups within APHC and outside it besides the changing international scenario has forced Jamaat to feel that sooner than later elections will have the participation of separatists. In fact Lord Avebury, rabidly anti-In-

Jamaat leaders about the desirability of supporting NC's demand on autonomy. Amir-e-Jamaat, GM Butt, before announcing shift in Jamaat's policies met senior NC leaders, including the chief minister. He already shares good relationship with NC and many ministers in the ruling NC government have been his students what precisely

Lastly, Pakistan's attempt at promoting Talibanisation of proxy-war has created scare among a section of Kashmir's articulate elite. Kashmiris apprehend a civil war like situation with its resultant brutalization and uncertainty. Jamaat cadres do not want to be tagged with a stigma and face a situation like the one in 1979 in the wake of

'Qadir Wani's killing

ISI targetting dissenting separatist leaders

Special Correspondent

Why did ISI target Dr Ghulam Qadir Wani, who had apparently changed his role from a fire-brand secessionist leader of yester years to a low profile "social" worker in his area. Was his assassination meant to convey warning to other dissenting separatist leaders is being keenly debated among observers of Kashmir scene.

Dr Wani belonged to a generation of Muslim youth who had their baptism in separatist politics through Plebiscite Front. Late Mirza Afzal Beg, the veteran NC leader had floated a terrorist out-fit 'Al-Fateh' to keep the issue of separatism alive and have better bargaining with centre during forthcoming talks. Wani's colleagues e.g. Shabir Shah, Azam Inquilabi, Fazl Haq Qureishi had been active leaders of Al-Fatah. In the convoluted politics of Kashmir while

Wani reached secessionist politics through Jamaat, the above leaders of Al-Fatah came closer to Jamaat's ideology through secessionist politics.

Wani presently was associated with J&K Quomi Mushawarati Council floated by Fazl Haq Qureishi and Azam Inquilabi. The aim of this organisation, as per these leaders was to bridge differences within Kashmiri political leadership and facilitate talks with India and Pakistan. Attempts were on to rope in Shabir Shah also in this council. It was intended to be a platform for those separatist leaders, who dissented with Hurriyat.

Earlier in 1993, after his release from Allahabad Jail, Fazl Haq had formed People's Front to a similar purpose. The same Fazl-Haq had one time strongly advocated Kashmir's accession to Pakistan in a write up "Independent Kashmir! A Dangerous ploy". He wrote "The choice of

independence was never a part of the scheme of Indian partition and was not given to areas like NWFP, Sylhat and Hyderabad Deccan. It was either India or Pakistan".

Shabir Shah, Azam Inquilabi, Dr Qadir Wani right since 1975 pursued relentlessly the politics of Islamisation and violent secessionism. Their politics played a significant role in building anti-Kashmiri Pandit euphoria in the Valley, which ultimately led to their ethnic-cleansing.

Wani came under Jamaat influence even when he was a primary school boy. He was adopted as son by Jamaat supremo, Geelani. "Catch them young" policy of Jamaat paid rich dividends. Wani emerged as a key Jamaat leader who excelled in oratory, Journalism and organisation. He edited Jamaat dailies like 'AZAN' and 'UQAAB'. Wani played a key role in the formation of Muslim United Front (MUF) in 1986-87.

Under Jamaat's direction, he joined JKLF and became its chief publicity secretary. When ISI withdrew its patronage to JKLF, Wani left JKLF to join pro-Pak Tehreek-e-Hurriyat of Mian Abdul Qayoom. In 1991 Wani moved to Pakistan where ISI sponsored several of his visits to Europe, US and Geneva. He strongly defended secessionist politics. Being under the influence of Pakistani agencies, Wani criticized Hashim Qureishi, an anti-Pakistani separatist leader, for advocating peaceful approach.

Exposure and experience convinced Wani and his colleagues about the costs of the gun and pro-Pak politics for Kashmiris. Two years of stay in Pakistan gave him enough insight into selfishness of Pakistani rulers in perpetrating violence in Kashmir. He told a national daily sometimes back that "every nation was bothered about protecting their own inter-

ests than having any genuine concern about any other community. I felt if Kashmir fitted into the spectrum of their national interest, they would take a stand, otherwise even Saudi Arabia was not bothered." In Pakistan, Wani was appalled to find rights of Kashmiris and people in Pok and Northern Areas trampled. He took even cudgels and for this he was denounced as an "Indian agent".

By the end of 1994, both Wani and Azam Inquilabi became vocal against ISI for using Kashmiris as mercenaries. Azam Inquilabi told press reporters in 1994 that he had given up the gun and that gun was not way. He was also imprisoned in Pakistani jails for sometime for not toeing ISI line in 1994.

Wani took up cudgels with the notorious ISI terrorism Amanullah Khan for describing Shabir Shah, Yousaf Malik as immature, illiterate and Azam

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NEWS BRIEFS

Shardha Teerath to be liberated

KS Correspondent

Shardha Teerath Mukti Samiti (Shardha Shrine Liberation Front), an offshoot of Jammu and Kashmir Vichar Manch, launched a signature campaign to get the resolution of the liberation signed by at least one lakh devotees.

In the inaugural function for the campaign on 29th November at Abhinav Theatre Jammu, Swami Chinmayanand was first to sign the resolution followed by VHP Gen. Secretary Acharya Giri Raj Kishore. Prant Pracharak of RSS, Sh Inderesh Kumar described the campaign as a follow up of the resolution passed unanimously by Parliament of India for liberation of Pakistan occupied Kashmir. Swami Chinmayanand reiterating the same emphasised that the Shardha Shrine was not only the place of worship for the Hindus but for all Kashmiris and Indians. Sh Giri Raj Kishore asked the liberation front to strive to get support from Nepal as well as UNO. All The participants demanded that Central government should arrange for a pilgrimage to the Shardha Shrine on the pattern of Kailash Mansarovar.

Terrorist threat to Mata Vaishno Devi Shrine

KS Correspondent

With the the sighting of at least fifteen Afghan mercenaries, with guns slung on their shoulders, on the Trikuta Hills, the danger of a terrorist strike on Mata Vaishno Devi Shrine has increased manifold. Security has been tightened around the entire Shrine route and the cave, particularly near vulnerable spots near the Bhavan, Sanjichhat and Hathi Matha. The militants as per reports have sneaked into Trikuta Hills about a fortnight ago and carried out a survey of the pilgrimage route.

Last year two Kashmiri terrorists were apprehended near the Bhavan area and they are presently lodged at Koto Balwal jail. As per sources, terrorists after properly entrenching themselves in Rajouri, Poonch and Doda forests, surrounding the Trikuta Hills, were gradually moving to other parts in the vicinity of Jammu. Three foreign terrorists struck recently in the Mahoregarh area in Samba and Kidnapped a boy who somehow escaped from the captivity and returned home. Officials could not explain and remained tight lipped on

how the foreign terrorists appeared in Samba and then escaped despite the presence of police and the deployment of large number of special police officers in the tehsil. There are also reports of presence of terrorists in the forests adjoining Reasi and Mahore areas.

State Human Rights Commission indicts three special police officials

KS Correspondent

Nov 26: Demonstrating unusual haste, SHRC presented a 19 page 'highly confidential report' indicting 3 special police officials working with Army's 9 para unit for the Sailan massacre. Defence sources said that the report was a one side story and alleged that SHRC didn't investigate into the details of the SPOs and their

whereabouts. As per these sources, "on the fateful day 9 para party, which was then located in Bafliaz had no SPOs present in its camp. Out of the three SPO's, who were supposed to be with the army units, Zakir Hussain was killed by a group of militants near Sailan bridge on Aug 3 and two others were out of station."

Defence sources also complained that SHRC didn't make any effort to

contact any army officer through summons and notices.

These sources said that since curfew was in vogue on the ill-fated night there was little possibility of any eye witnesses to be present at the place of the incident. "Even the Chief Minister during his visit to the site of carnage had admitted that there was no eyewitness except for the boy, who was the lone survivor of the killing", these sources said.

'Ireland Type' settlement for Kashmir-APHC

KS Correspondent

Claiming that it has kept various options open, All Party Hurriat Conference disclosed that 'Ireland type settlement is one amongst them'. Addressing his first press-conference after two months tour of S.Arabia and America, Mirwaiz Molvi Umar Farooq former Chairman of Hurriat Conference said, "only UN resolution or tripartite talks can be a viable option to solve this problem. But since international bodies are coming up with different theories we have not ruled out any option for the settlement of this problem". Sh Omar also informed that the OIC contact group on Kashmir decided to send ambassadors of Islamic countries to Kashmir in March next year

to take on the spot view of the situation. He observed that the post nuclear tests have changed the Kashmir scenario and international opinion was in favour of settling the issue at the earliest since worse can happen in a clash between India and Pakistan.

Mr Umar also informed that he had requested the US National Security Council to appoint a special representative for Kashmir akin to other representatives looking after other similar issues like Bosnia, Middle East and Afghanistan. "We have already suggest three names which can act as special representatives. These include former British PM Margret Thatcher, former US President Jimmy Carter and South African President Nelson Mandela," Mr Omar said. He also informed the press about his meeting with Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharief.

About the same he said, "Sharief agreed that Kashmiri representatives of APHC should be engaged in the process of dialogue. He said when the dialogue will start yielding results it will be his wish that Kashmiri representatives should be involved."

Sh Omar during his visit to US had also visited four US Universities-Stanford, Rice, Harevard and Houston and organised seminars and debates over the Kashmir issue.

Auriel stein remembered

KS Correspondent

NEW DELHI, Nov 16: Glowing tributes were paid to the famous indologist Sh Auriel Stein in a seminar 'Remembering Stein', at the Hungarian Embassy in New Delhi on November 16. The seminar was jointly organised by the Information and Cultural Centre of Hungarian mission in India and the Nityanand Shastri Kashmir Research Institute.

Among the participants were Hungarian and Kashmiri Pandit

scholars besides famous indologist Sh Lokesh Chandra.

The contribution of Sh Auriel Stein particularly his phenomenol work of collecting, compiling and translating Rajtarangni-the foremost work on history of Kashmir written by the Pandit scholar Kalhama, was discussed in detail during the seminar.

Many scholars presented papers on the importance of the works of Sh Auriel Stein on Kashmiri history. The most in-

teresting aspect of the presentations turned out to be the contribution of Kashmiri scholars which made it possible for Sh Stein not only to collect and compile the mainscript of Rajtarangni but also translate it unauthentically. In his extempore exposition famous indologist Sh Lokesh Chandra brought out the contribution of Kashmiri Pandits in the fields of arts, philosophy and religion in the entire region encompassing China, Tibet, Japan and India.

Among the main speakers

who presented their papers in the seminar on behalf of the NS Kashmir Research Institute were Dr Shashi Shekhar's Toshkani, Sh SN Pandita and Sh PN Kachru. Dr Shashi Shekhas' paper discussed the ancient geography of Kashmir as depicted in Rajtarangni and the exposition provided very interesting insights. She SN Pandita discussed in detail the association of Sh Auriel Stein with Kashmiri Scholars of those times particularly Pt Nityanand Shastri and others whose role has not yet

been recognised. This presentation invited lot of keen attention particularly from the Hungarian scholars who were amazed at the details provided by Kashmiri scholars about the contribution of Sir Auriel Stein.

The NSKRI also organised the exhibition of Stein's letters written to various Kashmiri scholars and some manuscripts of those times which drew widespread applause and appreciation from the participants. ●

Mercenaries targeting Gujjar-Bakerwals

DODA: Islamist mercenaries have unleashed a reign of terror against Muslim Gujjars in the Doda district. As the response of Gujjars to the separatist campaign in Doda district has been cool they have become the targets of a vicious campaign during the past four months, many people from Gujjar Bakerwal settlements have been kidnapped and remain untraced. Their women-folk are being

subjected to molestation, rape and torture. Many of their lutments have been forcibly occupied by mercenaries and converted into hideouts. Their cattle are also being lifted without any compensation. Gujjar leaders of the district are sore with police and district administration for not initiating any action to ensure their security. ●

Militants loot Rajouri village

RAJOURI: Unidentified separatist struck in a big way in village Choudhary Nar on Nov

22 and looted property worth lakhs of rupees from the residents. A group of 8-10 masked militants intruded into the houses of Pawan Kumar, Hardesh Kumar, Amar Singh Krishan Lal, Sushil Kumar, Subash Chander, Parshottam Lal and Dhuni Chand and looted their valuable things. Looted goods include 25 tolas of gold and Rs one lakh in cash. Reports say the incident occurred even, after pickets of army are just at a stone's throw from the village. The militants threatened the villagers of dire consequences if they dare raised an alarm. Aggrieved villagers later held a

massive protest demonstration against the separatists and the government failure to provide protection to the villagers. They also demanded constitution of VDC's in the area. ●

Was Ghalib a Kashmiri

Every Indian of some worth has a Kashmir connection. Kalidas, Panini, Charak, Sushrata, Mohsin Fani, Salman Rushdie, it has been said they are originally Kashmiris. So far there was hardly any reference linking Ghalib to Kashmir Dr Abid Peshawari created a sensation,

when he traced history to claim that Ghalib's ancestors were from Kashmir. According to him, the name of maternal grand father of Ghalib was Khwaja Ghulam Hussain Kumedan, who was a Kashmiri and hence the mother of the poet was also Kashmiri and hence the mother of the poet was also Kashmiri, Dr Peshawari added that a close look at the facial features of the poet reveals his Kashmiri ancestry. Mr Peshawari made his observations while reading out a paper on the second centenary celebrations of Mirza Ghalib at Danish Kadam, Talab Khatikhan. ●

Govt policy on employment & employees of displaced Pandits

Denial, Delay & Deriliction

Special Correspondent

The state government counsel argued before the National Human Rights Commission that the displaced employees from Valley were not entitled to benefits of house rent allowances and city compensatory allowance as they were not deemed to be at par with regular employees. When the representatives of the displaced employees contended that the state government had twice conceded in principal to grant HRA-CCA to displaced employees and even issued a public statement on the same, the counsel asked for more time to examine the case. At least verbally, the members of the NHRC expressed their displeasure on the attitude of the state government as in the previous hearings in the Human Rights Court the state government had assured the Commission the govt's willingness in the matter. In the next hearing of the

Commission the state government instead of stating its position on the issue challenged the very jurisdiction of the National Human Rights Commission with regards to J&K state and the decision on the matter got delayed indefinitely.

In the apex level meetings during the Governor's rule the demand for HRA CCA was accepted in principal but never implemented. The elected government during its first year again started from square one and refused to treat the displaced employees on equal terms with other employees. The new apex level committee for migrants under the chairmanship of hon'ble minister for revenue, relief and rehabilitation, however, again conceded the demand in principal in its meeting in March, 1998. The committee agreed in principal to the demand of migrant employees in respect of, "release of HRA,

CCA, leave encashment on retirement and in-situ promotions during the period of migration and decided that the case in this respect shall be recommended to the government for approval". For last six months state government as usual sat on the matter and did not formally implement its own recommendations.

Denial, delay or deriliction have been the hallmarks of government policy vis-a-vis displaced employees so far.

Retired employees and those who are on the brink of retirement continue to wait in agony. For last 10 years employee who have retired have been denied leave encashment on retirement leading to critical financial losses which in many cases has been crippling. State government policies on promotions subtly contribute towards exclusion of displaced Pandits from administrative services.

In most of the cases, were regular promotion has been conceded the displaced employees have been posted back in the Valley where life and honour continues to be under severe risk. No promotion till the person assumes charges or nobody will be paid till he joins, have been the thumb rules pursued by the state government with regard to promotions of displaced persons. The displaced employees who were promoted and posted in the Valley had to fore go their promotion which eventually lead to a vacancy to be filled up invariably from amongst the employees belonging to majority community.

A typical case is that of promotion of masters as zonal education officers in early 90's. All the male members of the promoted batch amongst the displaced Pandits were posted in far flung and terrorist infested areas of Jammu while as the female members were promoted and posted in Kashmir valley in such areas as Kupwara or Sopore which at that time were virtually under the control of the terrorists. Most of the females at that time voluntarily gave up their claim for promotions.

As per statistics available with teachers associations more than 300 teachers, majority of whom constitute the gazetted masters grade, have been deprived of their promotion benefits by posting them deliberately in the Valley and as such presenting them a fait accompli of forgoing of the promotion.

The state government apathy and deliberate deriliction is glaringly evident in case of lower class employees. Displaced Aanganwadi workers who used to get honourarium were refused the same after their displacement. They approached the J&K High Court. Both single bench and the double bench orders of the court upheld the contention of petitioners to 'honourarium' and instructed the state govern-

ment to pay the migrants pay/leave salary to the petitioner's. The state government instead of implementing the court orders appealed to Supreme Court of India. In its instruction, the Supreme Court on 11/9/98 again directed the state government that, "In case the respondents are not being paid, any other kind of monetary benefit as migrants, they shall be paid honourarium..until further orders." This directive of the highest court of the country has also not been implemented so far.

Amongst the displaced employees are around 80 daily wagers. They were not adjusted till 1997 and were denied their salary as was given to other displaced employees. Most of them worked with various wings of forest department. After a protracted struggle for many years these daily wagers working with the state forest corporation, were reappointed under order 56, FST, 28th Jan 19967. This became possible after the personal intervention of state Forest Minister Chowdhary Mohd Ramzan. However inspite of clear government directives, subsequent to cabinet decision No 15/2 of 1997, which ordered the regularisation of all daily wagers completing seven years service, the displaced daily wagers have not been regularised so far. When these daily wagers approached the concerned authorities they were reportedly told that the government apprehends that in case of their regularisation they might demand financial emoluments with effect from 1989. The assurance from these employees that they would give a written undertaking for not demanding any retrospective benefit has not moved the government yet to take a decision. Notably more than 2600 non-displaced daily wagers out of which 1300 are in social forestry alone, have been regularised so far.

Many of these daily wagers after loosing hope and because of severe financial stress have already given up their job. The hope that government will soon regularise them and they may get a permanent government job, has however forced many not to pursue any other option of living. Sh.Bharat Bhushan has two children and a physically handicapped wife. Daily charges incurred by him on medicine for his wife are more than Rs 50. The hope that he may be regularised soon makes him to keep on to his daily wagers job which ironically gives him only Rs 33 day. Smt Chrungoo another daily wager lives with his parents in Jammu waiting for his job to be regularised. She has kept her children in Chandigarh with her in laws and her husband is serving in Srinagar. The hope that one day she may get a permanent job has almost torn apart her family

Applying a discriminatory approach for the appointment of Kashmiri Pandit youth, the authorities of the State Cooperative Bank Ltd. Srinagar are reluctant to entertain joining reports of two displaced Pandit youths who were appointed as back as 1991. No such arbitrary rule was applied to 13 Muslim employees who were appointed one year after them by the same appointing authority. Running from pillar to post for over last seven years, these two young men Girdhari Lal and Roshan Lal, still have not got the justice though the additional registrar who was empowered as Arbitrator also decided the case in their favour in January this year. The registrar, during the examination of the case and hearing the arguments of both sides found no justification in debarring the petitioners from joining their duties when 13 candidates of majority community appointed by the same authority after wards, were already working in the bank offices at Srinagar.

Govt. attitude on the new recruitment amongst displaced Pandits only subsantiates the allegations that it is contributing towards 'cleansing' of Pandits from the administration. The fact, that out of 43,000 recruitments done by the elected government in recent years the share of displaced Pandits has been not more than 350 as per the statistics available with various employees associations, clearly brings out the contours of the policy of exclusion pursued by state government. Notably the total number of retirements of displaced employees since 1989 has been around 4000. At the time of exodus in 1989-90 the number of Pandit employees in the state government was around 10,000 out of a total of around 300,000 employees, working with state government and different state government undertakings.

Even those fortunate displaced persons recruited during these years have to experience indefinite delay in their actual appointments. Two years back at the time of Governor's rule, 116 displaced Pandits were district wise appointed as teachers. 28 amongst them were science graduates and posted immediately to Ladakh. Rest 88 were not allowed to join till very recently, when the cabinet took a decision and allowed them to join at Director School Education, Jammu. The cabinet was forced to take such a decision subsequent to the massacre of Pandits in Wandhama.

With a hostile administration and a ruling clique apparently bent upon perpetuating the policy of exclusion, the displaced Pandits continue to persevere the agony of their multifaceted deprivation and hope for a mir.

'We will continue our struggle' - Displaced Employees leaders

◆ **SH RAJ NATH RAINA** is the spokesman of the Displaced Employees Forum. A teacher by profession, he has been associated with trade unionism for a long time. Though frank and rustic in his approach, he has deep intellectual insights on various issues facing the displaced Pandit community.

We reproduce the excerpts of our discussion with him on various issues related to employees of displaced community.

Q: How do you sum up your experience of govt. attitude vis-a-vis various problems of displaced employees?

A: State govt's initial reaction is that of denial be it the policy with regards to the rights of employees or policy of new recruitment. Wherever denial is not possible either delay or sometimes derelictions is the main feature of the govt attitude.

Q: Govt has been paying the displaced employees for so many years. At least they have done something.

A: We have always demanded our pay as a matter of right and not charity. We have not come out of our sweet wish. We will contribute in an atmosphere of safety whenever asked.

Q: What are your main expectations from government?

A: We are the employees of the state and should enjoy all the rights as other employees do. Many benefits of a regular state government employee are still denied to us. We are denied HRA-CCA. We are denied time bound promotion on one pretext or the other. We are not even given full retirement benefits. All these discriminatory policies should stop.

Q: What about new recruitments by the govt.

A: They claim that they have recruited 43,000 youth. Those amongst displaced Pandits who have been recruited since last 10 years is not more than a few hundred. Their has to be a massive recruitment drive amongst the displaced community. Ironically those who have been recruited are not allowed to join.

Q: What are your future plans?

A: We will continue to struggle to achieve our genuine rights.

to Kashmir le in Taliban

pressure is in Afghanistan. Osama Bin Laden. The bombings in had carried out his camps in last. Dr Abdul-Hizb-e-Islami Masood has enough suf- presence has y to it. His pres- a big source for n Afghanistan, terrorism". also criticised ig free hand to 'Al-Hayat', a newspaper vious harms on". Recently hat it had foiled l's group to kill la Omar is also rom Americans f Bin Laden.



in leaders have rican pressures. lohd Mutwakil den as a "guest" ive million dol- apture of Laden it to terrorism. ating from Rus- an suggest that or a secure op- or Bin Laden in rts say it has al- Laden and his w hideout, and f foiling Hizb-e- just to divert at-

ve on Kashmir: l British media sed the attention -ISI offensive in den factor suits taliban. Belea- led by Mulla do something divert attention isis. By playing erventionist role s trying to gain nong Muslim

to encash Bin ma for motivat- of mercenaries the profile of Kashmir. Laden his bases in Af- ain and finance

Islamic terrorist groups world-wide.

Russians have been consistently warning India not to take Taliban threat too lightly. A Russian strategic expert, Rashid Karimov says "Taliban declaration for launching a holy war for the victory of Islam in India and Central Asia is sufficient reason to believe that Kashmir would be the next target". He also warned India saying that the foreign mercenaries in Kashmir were not mercenaries but fanatics fighting for a cause.

RUSKI TELEGRAPH, the well-informed Moscow daily in its front-page story wrote, "infiltration of Talibans into J&K ended their confinement within the frontiers of Afghanistan. J&K, the only Indian state with a majority Muslim population, possibly would be the first foreign conquest of Taliban if they succeed in their game". The paper also said the hard-core Islamic Militia of Talibans has far more dangerous plans in Kashmir. It also said that Taliban has turned its attention to Kashmir after its aggressive design against immediate Central Asian neighbours and Iran were met with a matching response.

According to another report published in Sunday Times, London, Osama Bin Laden had asked Afghan and Arab terrorists to gather in J&K for a major offensive in the Valley and beyond. There is enough data in the report to make the Government of India to sit up and take notice. Enough hints have been given for the defence establishment to sound an alert in J&K and have effective sealing of country's borders.

The Sunday times report merely confirms what is already known about Laden's plans for Kashmir. Laden had told daily JASARAT, Karachi that "he had planned to cross over to Kashmir after the exit of Soviet forces from Afghanistan but was dissuaded by the Pakistani establishment from doing so". He also demanded that "Pakistan should allow setting up of military camps for a Kashmir Jihad and that it should open its borders to enable volunteers to infiltrate the Valley to liberate it".

In furtherance of his plans, as per intelligence sources, Laden has already made trips to Kashmir, Bangalore, Bombay and Hyderabad. Among the terrorists killed in US strikes on Laden's Khost camp, about two dozen were Kashmiris. In Pakistani newspapers Laden has been quoted saying "My main enemies are Americans, Jews and Hindus". Akbar Bhai, an Afghan mercenary, who turned Baramulla into a safe haven for mercenaries had been trained along with others in Laden's camps.

Recently security agencies have recovered photographs of Bin Laden from many mercenar-

ies in Loren, Poonch. About two weeks back Mulla Omar had distributed millions of photographs of Laden among the potential mercenaries. Cassettes carrying highly provocative statements of Laden against India and Hindus have been recovered from some Jamaat activists, as per a report. Security agencies have also intercepted militants' conversations about Laden's plans to send his men into J&K. ISI distributes pictures of Laden among militants before they are pushed into J&K.

To prepare the ground for Taliban offensive, ISI has started luring Kashmiri Muslim youth in the age group of 12-16. In this allurements both money and coercion are used. Nearly 300 such boys were restored to their parents by Army/BSF, while many more crossed over.

Another report carried by State Times, a Jammu daily quoted one Molana Mohd Qasim saying "Kashmiri militants were not good enough to take battle to a new level. The Taliban troops, are here to give a steel frame to Kashmir militancy. We are involving surrendered militants into the fold of militancy". He has been described as the group commander of Taliban militia, Lashkar-e-Hyder.

Rabidly fundamentalist centres in Pakistan, which are aligned to Taliban have also been quite vocal about Kashmir. In the first ever annual conference in Punjab, having joint participation of Harkat-ul-Ansar, Lashkar-e-Toiba and Jamaat Islam, the entire focus was on "strengthening the truly Islamic identity of Jihad in J&K and the need to pattern it on Taliban". Hafiz Mohd, Sayeed, Pakistani chief of Markaz Dawa-ul-Irshad (MDI) stressed that "Kashmir is only the gateway into India to liberate it and eventually the entire world from the yoke of polytheists".

The Prospect:

A section of Kashmiri Muslim intelligentsia has started expressing concern at Taliban infiltration. "The infiltration of small groups of armed mercenaries professing their allegiance to Taliban in J&K and the dwindling involvement of local persons in militancy related incidents is causing widespread perplexity among the local people regarding the designs of Taliban in Kashmir", says a former Professor of Kashmir University.

The official reaction to the Taliban factor so far has been subdued. Mr Girish Chander Saxena, Governor of J&K told a national daily "so if the Talibans do come in large numbers, it will not be a new experience for us. It is the arithmetic that will bother us".

To give adequate response to the Taliban offensive, it is desirable that a comprehensive review of our security is taken. ●

OPINION

By P.N. Koul

Dr Farooq Abdullah is at it again! He seems to have assumed the role of a divine arbiter. Homeland for Kashmiri Pandits, he asserts, would be over his dead body. He however, is not the lone crusader. Before him in the sub-continent, Gandhi, too asserted that the division of India would be over his dead body. Yet India was divided and he continued to live thereafter. Similar nemesis would surely overtake Farooq Abdullah too. He may then opt to live in the Pandit homeland in Kashmir and thereby hangs a tale!

What after all is the Pandit homeland going to be. A closed hinduised society as professed by pseudo-secularists including the BJP which has assumed the same mantle since the assumption of state power with no place in it for persons of different faiths and persuasions and even so, what is wrong with that! Is Pakistan not an Islamic state and are there not a score of them on this globe? If that does not disturb any, why should it, if there is one such small, immeasurably small strip of Hindu homeland. Anyway that too should not be in the scheme of things envisioned for the homeland.

What is and should be understood of the Panun Kashmir concept is that it would be a territory in which the constitution of India is expected to have a full and free flow without any limitation whatsoever, where there would no such provision like the article 370 or similar other limitations. And no preponderance whatsoever of any inhibiting majoritarian precedence like that we have in the J&K State consistently cultivated and nurtured right from the day one the NC administration came into existence in the wake of tribal aggression of 1947 on the state.

And that is now over 50 years during which the state has witnessed progressive, economic, political and cultural squeeze and repeated pogroms against the Kashmiri Pandit minority followed by the notorious ever ethnic cleansing resulting in the slaughter of many thousands of them and their final expulsion from the land of their birth lock stock and barrel, who for all these 9 years now are living the life of penury and destitution in far off places away from their homes and hearths. That is what the 'Naya Kashmir' has meant for Kashmiri Pandits.

Presently Dr Abdullah is trying to kill two birds with one stone. He wants to add a feather to his cap as the one to claim having brought back these "refugees" to their homes and simultaneously also to claim the credit for having brought them back as sacrificed stock for the terrorists to vent their venom upon for their role of having been the worst of the stumbling blocks in their quest for secession of the state from the Union of India. He wants them to return to meet the fate they deserve as enemies of the so called "movement". After all what does it matter if a few thousand more Kashmiri Pandits are killed when according to him many Muslims die daily allegedly fighting terrorist.

Alas! not fighting against ter-

Tantrums of a Knight-errant named....

rorists but surely against security forces and in stray cases as accidental victims of cross firings! The truth is that the Muslims in Kashmir, by and large, opted willingly for the proxy war and were privy to the machinations going on in this behalf long before its onset. Mr Abdullah is, however, trying his utmost to befuddle the minds of Indian leadership by telling them that it is the Kashmiri Muslim who is fighting the terrorists menace and Pakistani proxy war in Kashmir.

The contribution of Abdullah himself in the spread and impact of terrorism in the state has by no means been small. If today he is its loudest condemnor, it is because he has realised that the proxy war and terrorism are destined to meet an ignominious end but he would not let go of Pandits. He would, come what may, contrive to have them back to end the one and only hurdle in the success of fundamentalist onslaught of secession.

Dr Abdullah is much too clever for the Indian leadership. His rhetoric seems to have convinced them of his bonafides, otherwise, how can one understand the positive response and resolve of the Union Home Minister to see the Pandits back no matter whether the ground situation permits. One more Indian politician and a chief minister too of the deep south has issued a carte-blanche to him when he stated that it (the Valley) is the safest place to live in for any one".

Let us examine the track record of Farooq Abdullah since he took over as the temporal lord of the state. In his alleged anxiety to project himself as the saviour of the exiled community let us see in what way he has mitigated their suffering or rather added to their misery since he took over the reins of government--

i) He has denied to them-labelled migrant government employees all perks namely House Rent allowance, compensatory allowances, non practising allowances etc-as are otherwise allowed to other state employees-who though deserved these much more than most for reasons of their displacement and loss of all private and personal belongings including their immovable properties. Besides there is an undeclared moratorium on fresh recruitment in government services of the Kashmir Pandits for the last about 9 years and if at all it is made it is rendered infructuous by the impossible condition of joining in the Valley. The same condition also applies concerning promotions of these employees

ii) Petty traders small time orchardists, contractors and similarly situated sections of the exiled community having lost all avenues of sustenance to whom no assistance whatsoever is extended and have to eke out their living on a miserably paltry dole of Rs 360 per head pm with a ceiling of Rs 18000 for a family of 5 members, no matter if the family strength exceeds this no, against the waiver of loans and grant of compensations to similar categories of Muslims in the Valley.

iii) The estimates of compensation for damage and destruc-

tion of immovable properties of Hindu displaced persons are made with a bias against them and in any case the amount of compensation is limited to Rs 2,00 lacs; one half of which is payable to them as against this the estimates for damages etc, in respect of Muslims are not one only liberal with out regard to actual damage or destruction with no ceiling limits i.e, these are estimated for any level without regard to their real value and are paid in full.

iv) Displaced persons have been imploring the government, to grant them soft loans and other assistance to enable them to make a fresh start in life and matters associated with their rehabilitation have all these years been wilfully neglected. Indeed there are no schemes on the anvil with the government for amelioration of the lot of these displaced people and even if any schemes my have been formulated, these have been put in cold storage. All this callous neglect reflects the intentions of the administration at the highest level.

v) A determined onslaught has been let loose from day one on the displaced student community who are made to suffer in every conceivable way from unconscionable delay in conduct of examinations to the declaration of results resulting in washing of precious 4 to 5 academic years of the students and even dates for interviews and admissions are so manipulated as to deprive them of the opportunity of admissions available in and outside the state. Such discrimination is a vivid exposure of the malafides of the government. The role of Kashmir University has been presently deplorable and vicious in denying and depriving the displaced student community of their due.

vi) Similarly the glaring discrimination in point is the governments, treatment of the Kashmiri Hindu educational institutions which have been deprived of the grant in aid for all these years. The notorious instance in this behalf is the similarly discriminatory treatment meted out to the camp college staff of the Gandhi Memorial College at Jammu vis-a-vis the Islamic college Kashmir staff, which in all respects is identical with the latter. The state High Court has already at long last decided the case in favour of the GM College and the state administration in its vengefulness does not implement the orders of the court and intends to take up the matter in appeal to the Supreme Court with the only intention of delaying the matter.

Dr Abdullah has stated and rightly that Kashmiri Muslims being themselves converts from Hinduism should be trusted by the minority Pandit community as they have yet not wholly lost the original elan of Hinduism. If that were any reason for their return, then the Pandits have vivid memories of Muslim rule including that of NC in Kashmir during which they were made to flee five times and thousands upon thousands killed merely for being Pandits. This tale is long and agonizing and the devastation of the sixth exodus in 89-90 is too fresh and continuing, wrought about undoubtedly through exclusive local initiative. ●

Perils of diplomacy

N.C. Menon on unofficial envoys

Every visiting Indian VIP tells non-resident Indians in every country that they are the unofficial ambassadors of their native NRIs appear to have taken these words a trifle too literally: they not only want to be consulted on every facet of diplomatic activity, but a few even believe that the party in power owes them at least an ambassadorship in America.

Unfortunately, the NRIs, of at least the political activists among them, fall into the error of thinking that the embassy and the consulates work as extensions of the party in power. That does make life difficult for the diplomats manning the missions, especially when successive changes of governments occur with bewildering rapidity.

The syndrome is generic. When Rajiv Gandhi was Prime Minister, an over-smart NRI would manage to meet him both in the US during his visits, and in New Delhi. Having thus "proved" his proximity to the seat of power, the NRI would strut around the Indian diplomatic stage, telephoning everyone from the Ambassador down and sitting in on meetings. Earlier, when the first Janata government came to power in 1977, an NRI with a rather murky background began frequenting

the embassy as if he were the undisputed owner of the place.

When the government changes, the NRI group affiliated to the erstwhile ruling party disappears from the scene. But although the transplanted political entity withers, the seeds lie dormant, to sprout and blossom when the life-giving rain of political power falls on the party again. What baffles apolitical observers here is the emergence, apparently out of nowhere, of new faces as political managers and brokers.

All that is not to say that NRI activists who come to the fore in the diplomatic arena do so for the enhancement of the political or ideological agenda of their respective parties. Their agenda includes the human frailty of self-aggrandisement to a bizarre degree. They trust themselves forward not as Indian Americans, but as Indian American leaders. If the embassy willy-nilly interacts with some of them, they jump to the conclusion that their leadership role has been acknowledged, and if the embassy keeps aloof, they nurse the grouse that they have not been given their rightful due.

For the diplomatic establishment, all NRIs are potential assets, from the bus boy who finds it difficult to send even 50 dol-

lars a month to India, to the high-paid professional who is on first name basis with key Senators and Congressmen. The problems referred to above become worse confounded when VVIPs in India take to favouring a few individuals among the NRIs.

There have always been NRI groups in every city competing against one another in order to monopolise a prime ministerial visit to the US. The recent visit of Prime Minister Vajpayee was no exception. The embassy would have preferred a joint effort by the three or four competing Indian associations in New York, but none of them liked being clubbed together. (The embassy, incidentally, had faced the same intractable problem during the visit of the then Prime Minister Narasimha Rao to Washington).

The battle raged back and forth until the scales were tilted in the favour of one group that produced a letter from someone very high up in the New Delhi hierarchy. After the group carried the day, the others complained that the ambassador had played favourites. Ironically enough, the victor in the tug-of-war too charged the Ambassador had not accorded his group the importance it deserved.

Diplomats have learnt that

developing contacts through NRIs has its own pitfall. All over the world, Indian diplomats enhance their contacts through NRIs, Indian businessmen and professionals. But that does not mean that once the contact is established, the individual who brought about the interaction gains a permanent right to be present at every meeting. Some NRIs do insist on such a right.

There is a new tendency among NRIs to run down the embassy for allegedly having no worthwhile contacts on Capitol Hill. They also criticise the lobbyists employed by the embassy as redundant, and dub the whole arrangement a waste of money. It only shows how oblivious they are of the fact that the political scene in Washington has become so complex and competitive that professional assistance is unavoidable in tackling its ever-changing manifestations.

The NRIs active today have gone off on another track: they claim that the White House is weakened by scandal and has lost clout, and power now vests in Congress. The embassy, they aver, interacts by and large with the administration, and is thus backing the wrong horse. These NRIs demand a better say in India's diplomatic affairs as they

claim to have links with Congressmen and Senators. It goes without saying that this is a blatantly self-serving argument.

The protagonists of this theory conveniently forget that it was the White House, and not Congress, that brought about peace in Northern Ireland, the cease-fire in Bosnia, the economic rescue of Mexico and Russia, and just the other day President Clinton's personal triumph the Middle East peace accord. Having been bested in the budget battle, no one in Congress thinks the president is powerless.

The most execrable effrontery on the part of some NRIs is the idea they are espousing that their own favourite NRI candidate would make a better Indian Ambassador to the US. How can an NRI, who has more or less burnt his bridges with India and is assiduously engaged in transforming himself into a full-fledged American according to his own perceived notion of style, demeanor and (phony) accent, become India's ambassador is beyond imagination. Such diplomatic vigilantism is an idea whose time will fortunately never come.

Ambassador Naresh Chandra's term ends in April next year. There have been inspired news reports that he is being recalled. The Ambassador is the most seasoned among India's bureaucrats, having served continuously in sensitive positions for 42 years. His calm and steady hand on the diplomatic rudder was a comfortingly stabilizing influence during the dark days of the post-Pokhran period, when India was at the receiving end of world condemnation.

It was a fine example of political sagacity on the part of the BJP government to have maintained continuity by retaining Naresh Chandra as envoy in the US even as it recalled Ambassadors from elsewhere. With the ongoing Indo-US negotiations, Ambassador Chandra's undeniable skills are badly needed and it will be imprudent to change diplomatic horses midstream. ●

(Courtesy: Hindustan Times)

Jammu becomes conduit for smuggling of gold, heroin, explosives

By V.I.K. Sarin

JAMMU: The Ramgarh R.S. Pura-Akhnoor sectors of the International border with Pakistan have become the conduit for smuggling of gold biscuits, heroin, weapons and explosives.

Gold biscuits and heroin worth hundreds of crores are being smuggled every year under the very nose of the border police and the Border Security Forces.

According to investigations made by the State Times, over two dozen groups of trans-border smugglers are actively engaged in the border areas of Ramgarh and RS Pura sectors of the international border. The Kingpins of these gangs are based in Akhnoor and Nanak Nagar colony of Jammu.

It is tragic that the police force in the border areas of Jammu is not only fully aware of the nefarious activities of these gangs and have detailed dossiers on these members of the underworld, but also connive in their anti-national activities.

These trans-border smugglers are assiduously sought by

the various intelligence agencies to work for them as their agents in Pakistan. Invariably, these criminals simultaneously work for several intelligence agencies on a nominal retainer. These agencies--Police, BSF, Military Intelligence and Intelligence Bureau--arrange safe passage for these agents in lieu of securing the services of information on Pak security arrangements along the border.

Senior officers of Border Police have quite often utilised the services of these trans-border smugglers to arrange fake recoveries of RDX, gold biscuits, heroin and weapons from time to time to win cash awards and commendation certificates from their superiors.

We have the testimony of double agent Bachan Lal of Shalimar Express blast infamy, how he smuggled gold biscuits, heroin and weapons for a senior police officer for 14 long years to secure safe passage to Pakistan.

Another trans-border smuggler, Kulbir Singh, son of Daya Ram of village Pardi under Ramgarh police station, was

motivated by the Superintendent Police (Border) Mr Kamal Saini in the last week of March 1998 to arrange some "spectacular recovery". In return he was promised a job as Special Police Officer in Jammu and Kashmir Police. As per the understanding reached, one selection grade constable Vijay accompanied by constable Satpal, both posted at police station, Ramgarh, visited village Pardi in a police vehicle. Kulbir dug out a can containing 15 litres of acetic anhydride (used for purifying heroin) from his fields and handed it over to the two cops.

The Superintendent Police (Border), in a bid to earn kudos of his superiors, got the news about the fake recovery splashed on the front pages of the local dailies. The fact that the trans-border smuggler who arranged the "recovery" was not touched by the police was conveniently glossed over. Nor was any action initiated against the cosigner--a top smuggler of Nanak Nagar who had entrusted the can of acetic anhydride to Kulbir for ferrying it across to

Pakistan. Although Kulbir did not get the promised job as Special Police officer, he had a free run to Pakistan till he was arrested on the intervening night of October 18-19, 1998. Kulbir would have remained unharmed if he had got some more contraband consignment of the Nanak Nagar smuggler seized. But, unluckily for Kulbir, reports that he had become a police agent reached the Jammu underworld and he snapped links with him.

According to information available with the State Times, Kulbir, like Bachan Lal was also working for Military Intelligence, which arranged his safe passage to Pakistan through BSF Border outposts.

Kulbir is currently in police custody and is likely to make sensational disclosures during his interrogation.

In view of the rich rewards for being posted in the main conduit for smuggling of gold, narcotics and explosives, police officials move heaven and earth to stay put in the area year after year. ●

Courtesy: The State Times

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--Editor

Kashmir Saivism- A Second Look-II

Prof. M.L. Koul

Caitanyam Atma' is the first sutra of the Siva Sutras stating the fundamental position of the system. It is a reinstatement of the Upanishadic standpoint yet envisages entirely a new stance through the word 'Caitanyam' not connoting the same import as that of 'Chetna'. From grammatical positions *Caitanyama* is formed from *Caina* (conscious being) by the *laddhita* suffix 'Syan' under lining a relationship. Caitanyam implies states of consciousness relating to one who is invested with absolute freedom in matters of knowledge and action. Kshemraja has aptly put it as 'Sarvajnanakriya-Sambandhamayam Paripurnam Svatantrayam Ucyate' i.e. absolute freedom in knowing and doing. Caitanya in Saivadvya philosophy of Kashmir connotes not only consciousness but more than most signifies absolute freedom of will, knowledge and action. The same is put by Somananda in his work 'Sivadrishi' as the unrestrained will, knowledge and action of the Sovereign Lord', *anirudha lchhaprasara prasaradrikriya Shiva*. The excellence of the system can be conceived in the ultimate principle of reality that is sovereign in willing, knowing and doing and though transcendental yet is actively involved in the cosmic process. Humans have consciousness (chetna) but Param Siva is Caitanya implying His sovereignty in matters of will, knowledge and action.

While beings have limited consciousness (chetna), Param

Siva as the ultimate reality has Caitanya. If beings have powers to know and act, they in the parlance of the system are called Jnanta and Karta, but Param Siva's knowing and doing are expressed through the concepts Jnatratava and Kartritava. With the Sutra 'Caitanyam atma' as the bedrock of the system, the three upayas i.e. methods or modes are elaborately dilated upon with a view to enable a jiva (being) to come to a point where he recognises himself as Siva. The three methods as envisaged in the Siva Sutras are Shambava, Shakta and Anava which underline the types of Saiva Yoga leading one not to self-realisation but to self-recognition. The Saivadvya philosophy of Kashmir does not accept the concept of self-realization as envisaged in other Indian systems of philosophy, but it holds that a being is a Siva only bound by the limitations which Siva out of sport or His sovereignty of will has willingly imposed upon himself and what a being has to do is only to recognize himself as Siva and it can happen either through God's grace or by the process of becoming which also needs God's grace at one stage or the other.

Siva Sutras of Vasugupta do not envisage theoretical assertions only but also focus on 'Saiva Yoga praxis.' In other words, they are a combination of both theory and practice. Like different systems of Indian philosophy, Saivadvya philosophy of Kashmir does not only present a world-view but also highlights 'a way of life', a way

how to live a world view.

Modern scholars, in my opinion; have created a lot of confusion of compartmentalising what they call Kashmir Saivism. Dr Bhuler and Dr Bhandarkar have compartmentalised the system into Spanda and Pratibijjna schools of Kashmir Saivism. Shri RK Sidhantashree has made a mention of Trayambaka, Spanda, and Pratibijjna schools of Kashmir Saivism. The way the scholars have compartmentalised Kashmir Saivism misleads thinkers on the subject into believing that these schools are unrelated and have varied concepts and principles to offer. To put things in proper perspective, it needs be said that Siva Sutras is a source book and scholars well versed in the philosophy of Saiadvya consider it as an Agama which includes among others Malinivijaya, Vijnan Bhairav, Svachchanda, Netra, Rudrayamala and Mrgendra. Siva Sutras as an agam have the forte of being on the pedestal of monism (advait) while most of the agamas were containing dualistic or dual-cum-non-dualistic standpoints. Siva Sutras have found interpretations by two disciples of Vasugupta. One such disciple is Somananda who interpreted the Siva Sutras from Jnan i.e. knowledge or philosophical point of view in his monumental work 'Sivadrishi'. The other disciple is Bhatta Kallata who interpreted them from Kriya or Sakti or action standpoint in his Spandakarikas. Somananda's interpretation from knowledge standpoint is a theoretical dis-

cussion of issues relating to the Saivadvya philosophy of Kashmir while Bhatta Kallata's interpretation from action viewpoint presents a discussion as to how the quiescent consciousness (caitanya) of the Lord known as para-Samvit also though transcendental in essential nature vibrates towards external manifestation.

Dr Bhanadarkar is hinting at a correct statement by telling that the two principal works of the system are Siva Sutras or Siva Sutrani and the Spandakarikas, which are fifty-one verses only. Vasugupta is the author of the original spandasutras and Kallata having written a vritti (commentary), on the sutras added his Karikas through which he pays obeisance to his gurubharti or guruvani or teacher's word. Shri Sidhantashree has named Somananda as the founder of the Trayambaka school forgetting that Vasugupta himself belonged to the school of Trayambaka teachers whose elaborate mention is made by Somananda in the seventh chapter (ahnik) of his work Sivadrsti.

The Trayambaka school of Saivism had its roots in Kashmir much before the appearance of Vasugupta on the philosophical scene of Kashmir. The school had teachers who placed Saivism on the footstools of dualistic, dual-cum-non-dualistic and monistic interpretations. Trayambaka, one of the disciples of Durvasas, was responsible for sowing the seeds of monistic thinking in Kashmir and Vasugupta as it can be safely

put had ideological affinity with the Tryambaka school of Saivism. Dr Baljee Nath Pandit, therefore has aptly but him as a teacher in the Tryambaka school. Shri Siddhantashree is absolutely mistaken in his doubts about the placement of Somananda in Pratibijjna school. In fact, Somananda's Shivrishi is the first exposition on the Siva Sutras from the Jnan or Siddhanta or doctrinal point of view which came to be nomenclatured as Pratibijjna at the hands of Utpaldev, the disciple of Somananda, when he wrote his Ishwarprapratibijjna with a view to elaborate the basic thinking of his teacher through a process of subtle conceptualisation. Pandit Mukundram Sastri and Pandit Madhusudhan Koul have described Somananda as the founder of Pratibijjna Sastra and as the follower of the Trayambaka school, respectively. Shri Siddhantashree has not been in a position to make out their statements vis-a-vis Somananda and has mistakenly posed Somananda as the founder of Trayambaka school perhaps at variance with Siva Sutras. In fact, the statements of Pandit Mukundram Sastri and Pandit Madhusudhan Koul are not at variance at all as they take Somananda belonging to the Tryambaka school and also belonging to the Pratibijjna school in view of his work 'Shivrishi' that expounds the monistic thinking of Trayambaka school and in view of that expounds the doctrinal structure of

(Contd. on page 11)

Sculptors Symposium in Switzerland

RAJINDER TICKOO is perhaps the only sculptor of the state who in the recent times has made a mark on the national as well the international scene of creative arts. He teaches sculpture at the Institute of Fine Arts in Jammu and is more known outside, than in his home state as a sculptor of eminence and great promise. Receipt of Jammu and Kashmir award for sculpture (1993), Sh Rajinder Tickoo shot into prominence on the international arena of creative arts when he was awarded 8th Triennale India-international award for sculpture. In a state, where the standard of creative arts has undergone a steep decline and the general apathy afflicts even the sensitive community of artists, the works of Sh Rajinder Tickoo in the field of sculpture are yet to be acclaimed. He was the only Indian artist invited to the prestigious international sculptors symposium at Sion, Switzerland. We reproduce here some excerpts of his impressions about this symposium.

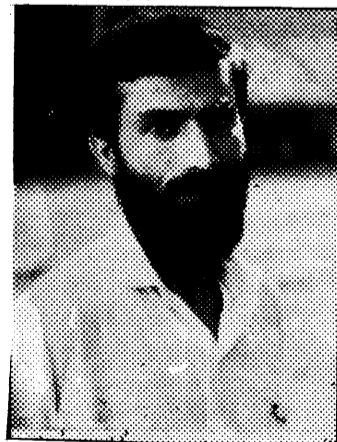
By Rajinder Tickoo

Sion, a comparatively smaller city with its intermingled old and new character hosted a full week of cultural activities, which included western classical music concerts such as festival Tibor Varga, performances by folk artists from Georgia, Spain, Italy Canada, China and many other countries and the festivities that marked Swiss National Day on 1st of August.

The two week sculpture sym-

posium which was participated of Sculptors Josef Briechle-Germany, Jo Fontaine-Geneva, Lou Schmidt-Valais-Switzerland, myself Rajender Tiku-India, Rudolf Tschudin-Switzerland and Marie-Luise Weber-Germany, was supplemented with an exhibition of sculpture which carried on simultaneously at the Gallery Grenette in the heart of the city and a part in the open at the actual symposium site at Ile. In addition to works by the

participating artists of symposium the exhibition included works by 'local Swiss sculptors-Raphael Moulin-Welded Steel, Andre Rabond-Granite, Peter Wenger-Aluminium and Paul Zeller sprinkler mobiles in iron and plastic pipes etc.



While as days were spent working, evenings turned out to be more active and busy with slide shows by individual participants and the ensuing discussions.

Works executed in symposium include a huge sculpture in serpentine rock by Jo Fontaine, a profound sculptor excellent

person and a teacher at Geneva Art school.

My work in Italian marble which comprised of three 5ftx1ftx10' columns finally to be displayed inclined against a raw stone wall, as to indicate flow of water from a higher to a lower level.

The sculpture entitled, water is the element symbolizes the concept that water is a nectar that descends from heaven on to the earth. Approximately 12ft high and 1ft in diameter, multi coloured cement, column with textural variations arranged in tiers by Josef Briechle stands as a testimony for everlasting continuity of tradition-past and present.

A huge and painted iron sculpture by Low Schmidt a very well known Swiss sculptor stands out like a huge flower with a reinforced presence.

While as Marie-Luise Weber the youngest participant in the symposium did a huge painted wooden assemblage called 'hunters chair'-Rudolf Ischudin did an inspiring work compris-

ing three discoid aluminium chapes with air locked inside which makes these to float in the nearby lake creating a serene and meaningful harmony between nature and the man made object.

French sculptor Karen Gulden looked after various aspects of contact and public relations and sculptor Lon Schmidt and her architect husband Kurt Schmidt who are also members of La SPSAS, Societe des peintres, sculptures et architectes Swisses, section Valais were the actual professional organisers of the symposium which was put together jointly by:-

Le Comite d organisation de l' Ete' cultural des Iles, La Municipality de Sion, La SPSAS, society des peintres, sculptures et architectes Swisses, section Valais with total personal involvement of Madame and Monsieur Valmaggia of Swiss Touring Club, Madame Roten of cultural committee des Iles, Monsieur Menta of Sion municipi-

(Contd on page 10)

Bitta for action against Mufti

Rejects talks with militants

K.S. Correspondent

Former President of All India Youth Congress, Mr Maninder Singh Bitta, used no holds bar to severely criticise the former Union Home Minister and senior Congress MP of the State Mr Mufti Mohd Sayeed for his advocacy of a dialogue with terrorist and separatist leaders in the state. Taking a serious note of various public statements issued by Mr Mufti, Mr Bitta urged the party high command led by Mrs Sonia Gandhi to stop Mr Mufti from talking in favour of militants and 'take action against him.'

Addressing a press-conference in Jammu on November 28, Mr Bitta said that an open war

should be declared against terrorists and every possible step should be taken to eliminate them in order to restore peace and tranquility in the state of J&K Kashmir. Alarmed at the role of subversive in the administration Mr Bitta favoured screening of the police force in Jammu and Kashmir to make it more vibrant. He said that the recent jail break in Kot Balwala could not have been possible without the connivance of police officials.

In an obvious dig at Mr Mufti, Sh Bitta while criticising any dialogue with terrorists said, "the sacrifices of former Prime Ministers Mrs Indira Gandhi, and Mr Rajiv Gandhi as well as the formed Chief Minister of

Punjab Mr Beant Singh will not be allowed to go waste". He also criticized National Conference for its failure on all fronts including fight against terrorism and good governance.

Mr Bitta favoured the constitution of a joint front of all political parties to fight against rising corruption and terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir. The ISI of Pakistan was trying to destabilize the country and unity was the need of the hour", he said.

As per inner party sources Mr Bitta was basically articulating the resentment of many local Congress leaders in Jammu who are alarmed at the extension of terrorist ambit into Jammu and disapprove of Mr Mufti's soft paddling with the separatist leaders.

Jamaat's two-track approach

(Contd from page 3)

issue, two-nation theory and role of militancy, he has not gone too far. Jamaat in turn has not questioned his taking over of APHC and continues to support APHC as the representative organisation of Kashmiris.

In the past also, when Geelani as the main, spokesman for JI declared the organisation's commitment to secessionist militancy, neither GM Butt nor any other Jamaat leaders dissented. Contradictory posturings of Jamaat are not a new feature of its political culture. In the late seventies JI floated a number of sister outfits e.g. Jamaat Tulba, Islamic Students League (ISL), Islamic Students Organisation (ISO) to lure Kashmiri youth to militancy. At the same time it feigned distance from them to protect its constitutionalist role.

ISI has not so far reacted to Jamaat's moving to a constitutionalist position and "abandoning" its earlier role. This is significant because ISI has been systematically targeting other dissenting non-Jamaat separatist Kashmiri leaders. Recently many Jamaat workers were arrested while distributing provocative literature and cassettes containing fiery statements of the Osama Bin Laden against India and Hindus. Hizbul Mujahideen continues to provide local infrastructure for foreign mercenary groups like Harkat-ul-Mujahideen and Lashkar-e-Toiba. Its chief Syed

Sculptors Symposium in Switzerland

(Contd from page 9)

palmy and last but not the least Madame Isabelle Nicolin and her staff at restaurant des Iles, who took all care to look after the carried food habits of participants in the symposium.

Although these are only few names which instantly come to my mind while putting these details together, yet I was deeply moved with all out support all of us got from everyone around or actually every single person of this beautiful cordial and culturally rich town-Sion.

Salahuddin told a massive gathering of Jamaat Islami workers at Faisal Mosque, Islamabad that "Kashmir is a part of Pakistan and fighting in Kashmir is a war of survival for Pakistan and asked them to be ready for Jihad in Kashmir".

This all indicates that Jamaat is seriously pursuing both the lines simultaneously. To endorse Butt's statement that Hizbul Mujahideen is not the armed wing of Jamaat, Salahuddin made his task easy by saying, "There is a good number of young liberators who were born to parents owing affiliation to NC and other political organisations. It is unfortunate that our scope of affiliation is restricted to Jamaat".

To legitimize its shift to con-

stitutionalist position, Butt at a press conference said Jamaat had no links with militancy. Those cadres who took to gun did so on their own and were expelled from the basic membership, he added. On resolution of Kashmir issue he did not endorse accession to Pakistan but supported tripartite talks on Pandits issue, he linked Pandits' return to softness towards Jamaat by centre and state governments. Significantly he did not attribute Pandit exodus to Jagmohan but said Pandits migrated because of militancy.

Jamaat Islami in the coming days, needs to be evaluated from its practice and not public posturings. It has already done much damage to Kashmir's social, cultural and political ethos.

'Pandits cannot go back at the present time'

(Contd from page 1)

Delhi and suggested that some kind of permanent cease fire has to be there so that people can get along with their lives on the border. In his view the role of UN observers had assumed importance because of escalation of tension on the borders. As per him firing along LoC had the potential of dangerous consequences for the peace and security and the UN could at least monitor and report 'who initiates the firing', so that the international opinion knows the real truth.

While the visit of Lord Avebury to Kashmir was a high profile one his visit to Jammu was surprisingly kept at a low profile. In Jammu he reportedly visited some 'displaced camps'. However, during his briefing of the press at New Delhi, Lord Avebury categorically stated that Pandits cannot go back in the present situation. "You cannot be certain that outsiders won't single them out". The visiting British MP also expressed his shock on the conditions in the Pandit camps. Condition is utterly appalling, probably because government always

though it was going to be a temporary problem," Mr Avebury opined.

Observers attach a lot of significance to Lord Avebury's observations that there was a need to enlarge political space in Kashmir to encompass points of view which had been ignored so far and encourage trends towards greater pluralism and tolerance. As per the views of many Kashmir Analysts, Lord Avebury's assessments should be seen in the light of his consistent support to the 'pro-independence' groups which in the wake of total control of Kashmir insurgency by Pak sponsored foreign terrorists have become very weak. Many observers also feel that too much should not be read into Lord Avebury's statement unless we know about his final assessment of the visit which he gives in London. As per them in 1991 the shadow Foreign Minister of Labour party Mr Gerald Koffmann visited J&K and when he reached London he gave a different version about his assessment to that what he had given while talking to mediemen in India.

Chronology of Events

From 16 Nov to 30 Nov

Nov 16: Security forces eliminated 2 militants in Kupwara. Unidentified gun-men shot dead a JI activist in Kulgam and a former militant of HM in Anantnag district. A civilian was killed in Tangmarg area. Militants hurled a hand grenade at a security picket in Soura. Cong I MLA from Kalakote in Rajouri survived an attempt on his life when militants opened fire on his house. A SPO was injured in an encounter with militants in Gandoh area of Doda district.

Nov 17: Militants shot dead 2 NC activists in Srinagar, 2 civilians killed and 36 injured in a grenade explosion by militants in Dooru Anantnag. Security forces eliminated one militant and an unidentified gunman killed a former militant in Kupwara. An IED Bandipora leaves 2 prominent pro-India activists severely injured Army gunned down 2 militants of HM including a HM district commander in Rajouri district. Security Forces arrested two militants in the same district.

Nov 18: A powerful time bomb explosion triggered by IED fitted with timer left 4 persons dead and one injured in Surankote Poonch. 2 militants killed by security forces in Rajouri district. One BSF sub-inspector killed and three constables injured in an encounter in Mahore area of Poonch district. 2 Jamaat-e-Islami members and one NC activist gunned down by rival militant outfits in Anantnag, 6 persons killed and 7 injured in an explosion at Army's notified fire disposal range in Anantnag.

Nov 19: Army and STF gunned down 10 hardcore militants in an anti-militancy operation in Udampur and Doda district. Two Army jawans sustained injuries in the encounter. Newly developed quick reaction team eliminated 4 dreaded foreign mercenaries in Rajouri and Poonch districts. An Army jawan and a civilian were also killed in two separate incidents. A powerful explosion rocked a Bus stand in Rajouri district blowing up 2 vehicles and damaging many. Two ISI guides gunned down in RS Pura sector.

Nov 20: Two militants and a civilian killed in search and it combing operations in Doda and Poonch district. A women injured in one of the encounters. Family member of former Union Home Minister Mohd Maqbool Dar had a narrow escape 10 persons got injured and one PSO got killed, in an IED explosion in Anantnag Distt security forces killed a militant in Cherar-e-Shareef. A dead body of a civilian recovered in Kupwara.

Nov 21: Militants rained rockets on Surankote town in Poonch district targeting civilian areas, police station and security camps. 3 militants were killed and one civilian injured in exchange of firing between militants and security forces in the same district. Police arrested a hardcore militant of HM from Batote with 8 kgs of RDX and other weaponry.

Nov 22: Terrorists killed a civilian and left 38 injured in a hand grenade explosion and shot dead three civilians in the same district. Security Forces killed a Pakistani militant in Kupwara district. A NC MLA from Surankote and his family had a narrow escape when a rocket fired by militants, hit their official quarter. SOG arrested a notorious militant in a brief encounter at Mendhar Poonch.

Nov 23: Army gunned down three militants including two foreign mercenaries in Rajouri district. Militants killed a young girl in front of her parents in Poonch district. SOG of J&K police apprehended three militants of H.U.M. and HM in Kashmir. Militants kidnapped four civilians from Ganderbal and Beerwah and injured two civilians in two separate grenade attacks in Valley. Special Task Force and Security Forces gunned down 2 militants in Gool and Gandoh areas of Doda district. A civilian was mowed down by militants in Thathri area of Doda district. Rashtriya Rifles detected and defused a powerful IED planted by militants at Banihal on J&K national highway.

Nov 24: Armed militants attacked and looted costlier goods from eight houses of Hindu community after subjecting them to severe thrashing in Rajouri district. Security forces killed 4 Pakistani militant in Baramulla. One militant was killed and one Jamaat Islami member injured by pro-government militants in Achabal and Bandipora.

Nov 25: Security forces gunned down five top militants and apprehended one in separate encounters in Doda district, three army jawans also lost their lives in these encounters. Militants blew up a vehicle of SOG in a landmine blast killing all the six personnel including a SI and injuring four paramilitary personnel including a CRPF inspector.

Nov 26: Security forces killed one militant in Lolab and one ITBP jawan got injured in militant offensive near Kokernag. Militants threw a hand grenade on a marriage dinner party injuring 11 civilians. Militants also threw a hand grenade on a PCO at Gujwara. Militants looted over a dozen shops in an attack in Dhanore and Lahavan of Poonch district and a civilian was killed in exchange of firing between militants and Army.

Nov 27: Forces eliminated five militants on Hafroda, Handwara north Kashmir. Militants gunned down an NC activist Gulam Nabi Malik in Wayloo Koernag. One Army jawan injured.

Nov 28: Army gunned down 2 militants in Sumbal. One Army jawan also killed in encounter. Army and Special Task Force killed two hardcore militants of HM and HUA in Barshala and Akramabad of Doda district. A powerful explosion rocked a bridge at Thanamandi town of Rajouri.

Nov 29: Security forces gunned down a militant in Rajouri district. Militants gunned down a prominent NC leader in the same district. Security Force eliminated 2 militants in Kupwara. one soldier of BSF got killed in artillery shelling by Pak troops in Handwara few days earlier. Driver of Maqbool Dar injured in IED explosion earlier succumbed to his injuries. SOG of JK Police apprehended a yard master of SRTC with two very high frequency (VHF) radio sets from his office in high security TRC complex. For the first time in 10 years of militancy in J&K Army recovered a powerful 182mm mortar generally used in war.

Nov 30: Explosion rocked government higher secondary school Banihal and militants open fire on police picket at Shiva in Doda. Security forces eliminated 5 heavily armed militants in Nowgam sector of Kupwara district. A minor boy killed and 3 children injured in a mortar shell in Handwara forests. Unidentified gunman kidnapped and subsequently shot dead a forest range officer in Handwara area and assassins slit throat of a constable of J&K armed police in Anantnag. IED planted in a garment shop at Surankote was detected and defused in Poonch. 2 militant were injured in an encounter with SOG in Surankote.

Is third-party mediation on in Kashmir

(Contd from page 1)

the solution to Kashmir was concerned. Camp David reference is emphasized. It is also argued that "India agreeing to a third party mediation does not mean that it would be coerced to accept something that is prejudicial to her national interest." The official Indian position is total antipathy to third party mediation.

What is disturbing is that even the holding of a regional plebiscite is being talked about. The argument given for it is that "Pakistan's credibility today in Kashmir is at the lowest" is as simplistic and wayward as was Nehru's reference on plebiscite.

Significantly, the official Pakistani position on third party role is no more dogmatic. Pakistan Foreign Minister Sartaj Aziz said on third party mediation; "I am not talking about arbitration or mediation but playing a supporting role". Shamsud Ahmed, Pakistan Foreign Secretary echoed a similar view, saying "Pakistan was not averse to trying the bilateral track".

LoC as the international border:

There is greater emphasis on the conversion of LoC into a permanent boundary. Mr JN Dixit and Mr SK Singh have publicly supported the view. This despite Parliament's unanimous resolve to liberate POK. Mr SK Singh said partition along the Line of Control would be the only prag-

matic solution of Kashmir. He also stated that many observers in US and Europe were also veering round to this approach. Mr Jaswant Singh, representing India at the ongoing secret Indo-US dialogues has reportedly said that India was not averse to "seeking a diplomatic revolution", he draws parallel with Europe where France and Austria despite being bitter regional rivals at one time formed an alliance that lasted for 240 years. The writer concedes the entire Indian case on Kashmir and sees merit in the Indian argument that any dilution of sovereignty over cepting LoC as the international border in Kashmir, Dr Farooq Abdullah, J&K Chief Minister twice supported LoC as the new international border. His son and NC member of Parliament also endorsed the view. An editorial in Hindustan Times, decried "political rhetoric" on liberation of POK and emphasized conversion of LoC into the international boundary. A leading columnist, BK Chum described this proposal as the only viable compromise.

LP Singh, former Union Home Secretary traced history to justify the above view on LoC. He said even during Tashkent talks in 1996, Lal Bahadur Shastri had given his consent to Kosygin for converting cease-fire line with some adjustments into permanent India-Pakistan boundary.

Pakistani media and some politicians have also emphasised

the desirability of retreat from the dogmatic position. In an article in the Nation, a Lahore English daily, MA Niazi, calls for a pragmatic alliance between India and Pakistan. In his article Kashmir will have a domino effect on the secessionists in the north-east. However, to keep the average India guessing, he carefully avoids any comment on the compromise formula for Kashmir. Commenting on this article, the celebrated Columnist MB Naqvi writes "on Kashmir the asking price, after suitable haggling, might look quite different from what it seems in the text".

In an interview to Urdu daily JANG, Benazir Bhutto emphasised a "non-insurgent solution" to Kashmir. She said. "As a country, we cannot allow a private militia to send Islamic Mujahideen over to Kashmir....If Israel and Jordan can have an open border can't we...In the past 50 years, Pakistan has followed a policy (vis-a-vis India), of Kashmir or nothing. We have not thought of a gradual solution". She also stressed delinking Kashmir from other issues, particularly trade.

In any case, both the countries are not strangers to discussions on the Kashmir, on a track two (unofficial) level. Several programmes are on at this level, the best known being the wide ranging Nimrana process. Experts from India, Pakistan, China and the US have met several times in the last decade and have occasionally briefed their re-

spective governments on the discussions.

Frank Wisner's speech at command and staff college, Quetta on July 10, 1996 and the US Task Force Report "A new US Policy Toward India and Pakistan" (1997) outline the US perceptions on the parameters within which the problem can be solved. These are: step-by-step approach towards a series of practical interim objectives; forming a "contact group" of external powers to coordinate international efforts; to achieve an interim set of agreements or even informal understandings, rather than to settle what in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process have been termed "final status" issues; emphasizing that a solution does not lie in revisiting the troubled history of the Kashmir dispute and the offer of "maximum autonomy" to the people of Kashmir, in any solution of the Kashmir problem and the existing reality, that of partition, cannot be ignored.

Privately, US experts, in the true tradition of neo-colonialists have been talking about Dixon plan, autonomous greater Muslim Kashmir, soft borders with maximum autonomy, Indo-Pak confederation with joint control over Kashmir, etc. This has been confirmed by National Conference circles and some NRI Kashmiri Pandits visiting Jammu.

To throw the bait for India, Ambassador Robert Celeste during his visit to Kashmir resided

from the previous US position on tripartite talks. He just said that in any final solution to the problem interest of Kashmiris would be taken into account. What transpired during his meeting with Hurriyat leaders is not exactly known? Hurriyat leaders, normally given to overstatement declined any comment. Recently some of them e.g. Umar Farooq have started talking about Irish-type solution for Kashmir.

As per reports, NC government has shelved the report on autonomy. There are also disturbing reports which say a top leader of BJP has allegedly conveyed to NC that if NC went ahead with its autonomy campaign, BJP will not oppose it.

Meanwhile, resentment is brewing over BJP's mishandling of Kashmir issue and its soft-pedaling on displaced Pandits. In the context of secret third party negotiations a note of caution has been sounded by Mr VN Gadgil and Mr Joginder Singh (IPS). While Mr Joginder Singh has supported the homeland proposal for Pandits, Mr Gadgil has said ignoring Pandits by the national political parties has grave political implications for the country. Mr Joginder Singh has also opposed forcible and "sham" return of Pandits. A senior government official also expressed concern over attempts by a section of US Pandits to haste symbolic return of Pandits for subserving the game of "autonomists".

Kashmir Saivism-A Second Look-II

(Contd. from page 1)

Saivadvya philosophy of Kashmir. The sense of confusion running through the entire thought-process of Sree Sidhantshree has led him to establish the Pratibhijna-nahriday of Kshemraja as the basic work of Pratibhijna school. To put it politely prathijna-nahriday is not a pratibhijna work at all and the author of Saivism through ages' is misled by the mere name of the work. The total ring of the work is not that of the exposition of thought-structure but it smacks of a work that has a bias for yogic practices with a strong tinge of mysticism underlying them.

The philosophy of 'Saivadvya' that had its genesis and growth in Kashmir has been wrongly named as Kashmir Saivism. Dr Buhler, Dr Bhandarkar, Dr JC Chatterjee and a host of writers have been trapped by the same error. Some scholars have even named the 'Saiva thought of Kashmir as Trika, Saiva-sasan, Shivagam, Sar, Hriday, Trika, Spanda Sastra, Pratibhijna Sastra which are all lop-sided nomenclatures for the system as they do not seem to include all the branches

and schools of the system within their ambit. Madhavacharya, who authored the Sarvadarshan Sangarha, named the system of Saivite thinking in Kashmir as Pratyabijna-darshan. Such a nomenclature is not broad enough to include various strands of this thought-model. It is imperative to point out that Saiva thinking originally and essentially came to Kashmir from south where Saiva philosophy had matured on a pattern of dualism. But the same thinking in Kashmir was perpetuated by the Saiva Rudra and Bhairava agamasor Tantras ultimately climaxing in absolute monism mainly drawing sustenance from Bhairava Tantras that were monistic in approach and premise to the problems of philosophy outlined in the system.

Be it said that Kashmir Saivism is more monistic than monism itself. The system is a finished product put on the plank of monism with no deviations from the original stand-point. Abhinavagupta has clearly named the system as 'Paradvya' i.e supreme monism and this nomenclature befits the system as it highlights the excellence

and the basic spirit of this thought pattern. Again, to name the paradvya system or Saivadvya system of Kashmir as Trika system is not only wrong but misleading too. Trika is only an aachar or ethical standpoint envisaged in the system. It partially represents the paradvya thought construction and obvious as it is, a part cannot offer the total scenario of the system. More than most, in addition to Trikachar, there were other acharas like Dakshinacar, Vamachar, Matachar, Kaulachar prevalent in Kashmir as they were practised in other parts of the country. Dr Baljee Nath Pandit has named the Trika system as a theology but in my humble opinion it is only an achar which implies not theology but a way of living life in keeping with the doctrinal positions of the system. Achar is how a particular, thinking or world view comes to establish a rapport with life to the point where it shapes, moulds and conditions life. Broadly speaking, Achar is what is called ethics in Western philosophy. Dr Pandit is absolutely correct when he puts that Trika is thus only a part and not the whole of Kashmir Saivism.

'Qadir Wani's killing

(Contd. from page 1)

Inquilabi as a mental case. In March 1995, Wani wrote again to Hashim Qureishi, "Today I am reminded of each word you had spoken and each assertion is vindicated by circumstances. I am sorry that I differed with you but after having gone through experience I find you were right." Subsequently during his frequent meetings with British foreign minister and MPs, Wani had become critical and outspoken on continued violence and called for political dialogue to settle the issue.

Hard realities dawned on many other separatist leaders also e.g. Nazir Gilani, Siraj Shah, Majid Trambo, Khurshid Drabu, Abdullah Raina etc. They now appear to be convinced that no international power could ever dislodge Indian from Kashmir. And by prolongation of the armed conflict and playing the role of a tool for the larger designs of ISI, the Kashmiris were simply conniving at their ethnicide. There separatist leaders now feel if Kashmiris still did not see through the Pakistani game, a nomadic culture will emerge and they will meet a fate worse than the people of Afghanistan as after Soviet withdrawal, more

Afghanis have died in fratricidal fighting. Azam Inquilabi told news men. "I want to save my ethnic community from extinction. We saved 100,000 youth in the last four years in infighting among various groups and in engagement with security forces".

Separatist leaders like Azam, Nazir Gilani, Siraj Shah etc feel if Taliban are diverted to Kashmir, that will serve as the last nail in the coffin of the Kashmiris. Reacting to the killing of Wani, Hashim Qureishi said "The motive of mercenaries in liquidating the intellectuals and ideologues is to create a situation in which Kashmiris become helpless and succumb to intimidation". Quoting the example of POK groups fighting against Pak domination Qureishi opined about the selective killing in Kashmir as, said "it was aimed at foisting a rubber stamp Taliban-type leadership in J&K".

Wani's killing has made other separatist leaders dissenting from ISI more cautious. Earlier in Sept, the state Chief Minister told a Calcutta weakly that Pakistani agents had infiltrated into the ranks of 'moderate' separatist leaders in an attempt to kill them.

The Situation in Kashmir

1953 is a water shed in the contemporary history of Kashmir. Dismissal of Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah as the Prime Minister of the first interim government of J&K was the first adequate Indian response to the Anglo-American conspiracy brewing in Kashmir. Without doubt leading communists of the time Dr Z.A. Ahmad and Dr K.M. Ashraf played a leading part for removal of Sheikh Abdullah. This despite CPI's liberal flirtation with religious subnationalism—a la Adhikari thesis. This document—a resolution adopted by the Central committee of CPI in Delhi on 23-29 July, 1953, even while supporting Sheikh's dismissal amply reflects that CPI's hangover with religious nationalism continued to prevail

The central committee of the Communist Party of India views with grave concern the reports coming from Kashmir that some leading personalities of the Sheikh Abdullah group and its supporters in the National Conference have made public declarations that the state of Kashmir should be made independent of India and that its new status be guaranteed by India, Pakistan and the United Nations.

It is also stated that the areas of Jammu and Ladakh should be allowed to be fully incorporated in the Indian Union.

It is clear that these declarations mean that problem of Kashmir is entering a new and very serious phase of its crisis, as serious as when Kashmir was made an object of invasion five years ago.

These declaration first mean that the Kashmir valley separates itself from even the limited but vital ties it has with India which are expressed in the act of limited accession of Kashmir and Jammu to India and the further mutual aid visualized in the Delhi agreement.

Secondly, it means that Kashmir undergoes a new partition in which the vicious principle that predominantly Muslim and Hindu areas cannot and should not remain together is implicitly admitted.

Such a partition will again encourage those forces of communal reaction and their imperialist inspirers who have so long imposed innumerable atrocities and so much harm on the people of India and Pakistan, Jammu and Kashmir.

The fine traditions of the Kashmir people, who have been immune from the virus, are thus sought to be destroyed to the mutual loss of the people of both India and Kashmir where Hindu-Muslim amity will be put to a new strain.

The third and the most disastrous outcome of the line is the proposal that the United Nations should guarantee this new independent state of Kashmir from any aggression.

Anyone knowing the character of the United Nations as it is today and the way it is dominated by the Anglo-American imperialist bloc, which has been mainly responsible for fomenting dissensions between India and Pakistan on the issue of Kashmir, will see that the guarantee by the UNO means importing American military forces into Kashmir, and, in course of time, its incorporation in the Pakistan areas which are being made the bases of by war-mongering plans of America.

Thus the alluring slogan of independent Kashmir becomes

a reactionary slogan that will hand over Kashmir to the imperialist warmongers, allowing their forces to occupy the strategic valley of Kashmir and threaten the peace of all its neighbouring states, including that of India. The central committee, therefore, calls upon all democratic forces in India and the state of Jammu and Kashmir to prevent this new disaster overtaking our people.

But in order to find the path to prevent this disaster, it is necessary to know how it has come to pass that these leaders, who not long ago were adhering to a non-communal and democratic stand point have now taken to such a line against the interests of the people? What has led them to this path?

The people of Kashmir and Jammu are in the grip of the same economic crisis that has overtaken the economy of India and its people, the same crisis that is affecting all the capitalist countries and under developed countries of Asia and Africa.

The millions of peasants, artisans, middle class people, traders, etc. are suffering from low income, high prices, poverty and unemployment and with no near prospect of any way out of the crisis.

The people of Kashmir beat the raiders back with the help of the Indian army; they fought for a land law that was expected to rid them of the burdens of landlordism; they removed the old Maharaja and had their own constituent assembly with power to make their own constitution. But all that has not been sufficient to resolve the problems of life of the people.

The government of Sheikh Abdullah and the government of India have both failed to solve the main problems of people's living, of land, work and trade.

The agents of American imperialists in the guise of the United Nations observers and landlord reactionaries have taken advantage of the dissatisfaction of the people to put forward the idea that a separation from India and independent existence will enable them to solve their problems with the alluring promises of loans and aids from the UNO and the Americans to develop an independent Kashmir state.

An independent Kashmir can also open the trade whose natural routes lie through Pakistan but are now blocked because of Kashmir's accession to India.

With some plausibility these forces argue that if the India government can follow the path of taking loans from the Americans to tide over its difficulties, why should not an independent Kashmir be able to do it.

The leaders of the Sheikh

Abdullah group, who have held the reins of government so far, now want to pursue this line in order to hide their failures and divert the attention of the masses from these failures and their real reasons.

The reactionaries fail to point out the fate of South Korea that was occupied and devastated by the UNO-Americans, the fate of the nearest neighbour state of Afghanistan, whose economy has been looted by the Americans and the fate of even India which, because of its being tied up with sterling and dollar capital, is unable to take its independent road to progress.

In order to save its own narrow interests, this group is utilising the ignorance of the masses, their discontent with the existing government, to side track them into the worst disaster that would follow Kashmir's separation from India and its lineup with the UNO or Pakistan.

The government of Sheikh Abdullah failed because it did not fully implement the land laws that were intended to rid the peasant of burdens of landlordism. It obstructed and suppressed the peasant forces that were implementing the laws with their own action. It allowed unreasonable levies on the peasant producers, and allowed speculators and landlords to get hold of them in the name of feeding the towns.

It failed to prevent corruption in its own apparatus, which in the early stages of the incoming of the new state, had the advantage of being run by the leadership of the National Conference and was not made of hardened bureaucrats.

But when these new rulers themselves began to be transformed into the image of the old rulers, the Sheikh Abdullah government did not allow the democratic masses to bring up their independent mass organisation and forces to correct the newly-rising reactionaries.

It now wants to hide its failures by diversionary slogans of independence to mislead the people.

The reactionaries in the governmental circles in India have also helped in the development by insisting of full accession, on retaining the Maharaja and the privy purse and by trying to grab the economy of Kashmir in the interests of the big monopolists of India and by refusing to help the new state with greater financial aid unless their terms of full financial integration were accepted.

Moreover, the failure of the Sheikh Abdullah group to satisfy the just demands of the Jammu people in the matter of their language, service-employ-

ment and administrative autonomy with separation from Kashmir, enabled the landlord reactionaries to use the discontent of the people, and the help which certain reactionary Hindu circles rendered them has enabled some leaders of the Sheikh group to easily sow the idea in the minds of the Kashmiri people of a fresh partition and separation from India.

Under such circumstances the democratic forces in Kashmir and Jammu must come forward to save the people from these new designs of the imperialist votaries.

The democratic forces must refuse to separate Kashmir from India as such separation will not mean independence for the people but enslavement and further impoverishment.

The status that Kashmir has today by the act of limited accession, and even the terms of the Delhi agreement, is such that thereby its people not only unite in friendship with India, but they also stand to gain from the vast strength of the economy of India, which is capable of helping Kashmir to grow prosperous, provided the democratic forces on either side were able to make the governments follow democratic policies.

By limited accession, Kashmir retains its right to frame her own constitution, its own fundamental rights, its own laws to abolish landlordism without compensation, its right to remove the Maharaja and the privy purse and the right to be independent of the interferences of the president of the India Republic.

The democratic forces both in Kashmir and India must struggle to let Kashmir retain this status of virtual independence within the framework of the Indian Union to which it accedes in the very sense of limited accession.

The existence of the Indian army must not mean and does not mean the occupation of Kashmir by an alien hostile conquering force interfering in the life of the people.

The Indian army only defends Kashmir against foreign invasion, which task was given to it by the free consent of the Kashmiri people. The Indian army must behave as a friend for defence and not as a police force.

against the people, interfering in the internal affairs of the country.

The democratic forces on either side must see that the Delhi agreement renders adequate financial aid for solving the crisis in the life of the people and is not used as a weapon to draw Kashmir within the vicious grip of the monopoly financiers of India.

They must resist full financial integration of the two states, as under present conditions the powerful finance circles of India and their budgetary maneuvers will ruin the weak economy of Kashmir and sow further seeds of suspicion and discontent.

Mutual benefit and development of people's interests must be the key to all agreements and their implementation.

While today Kashmir with its limited accession has all the advantages of independence and autonomy without being a prey to foreign intervention, the new slogans of separation and partition would land Kashmir in the hands of imperialist warmongers and worst looters of its people.

The democratic forces on either side must see that the peasants of Kashmir are helped to rid themselves of the burden of landlordism. We must see that friendly agreements between India and Pakistan are made to help open trade to the benefit of all and that a prosperous peasant and honest trader helps the artisan to get upon his feet again.

The democratic forces must campaign for the rights of the Jammu and Ladakh people, in the matter of language, services, local administrative and financial autonomy and civil liberties.

Only when democratic forces inside and outside the National Conference and the constituent assembly of Kashmir, basing themselves on the Kisan Sabhas and other organisations of the people, build a powerful democratic front and with the aid of their brethren in India develop a powerful movement and organisation to solve the problem of land, rent, taxes, civil liberties and the development of Kashmir's economy and succeed in thwarting the forces of imperialist intervention, will the state of Kashmir and Jammu progress on the road to prosperity and independence. ●

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