

# Kashmir Sentinel

**INSIDE**

**FOCUS:**  
Where did Pandits Fail.....Page 3  
News.....Page 4  
**DEFENCE VIEW:**  
B.B. Cantt. Incident-Review.....Page 5  
**STATE OF THE STATE:**  
\*Handling Kashmir  
\*Why pre-52  
\*Autonomy no Panacea.....Page 6/7

**ANALYSIS:**  
Allahwale.....Page 8  
**CULTURE:**  
Mehjoor.....Page 9

Largest Circulated English Fortnightly of J&K

Vol 5  
No. 20

Pages 12  
November 15th--30th November, 1999 Price Rs. 7/-

## Violence Unhinges Kashmiri Society

*Special Correspondent*

Movements are characterised by the objectives they pursue. Forward looking movements address social and political emancipation. These movements champion democracy, toleration, religious and political pluralism, social equity and universal human rights. Retrograde movements, on the other hand, have a different agenda--medievalism, religious and political sectarianism. Hate, violence, brutalisation characterise the latter.

### Society Unhinged:

Kashmiri society during the past ten years has been passing through an unprecedented crisis. The movement, which some sections of Kashmiri Muslim elite so proudly owned has unhinged the Kashmiri Muslim society. It has destroyed all the vestiges of Kashmir's religious pluralism, upturned the native liberal tradition, snatched away the freedom of speech and political choice. This movement has legitimised in the process a social order based on intrigue, hate and violence. The privacy of a Kashmiri is being intruded upon daily. The social resentment brewing against this movement among the Kashmiris is being wilfully stifled by the vested interests among the Muslim elite through an emotive sectarian diversionary agenda.

While endorsing the retrograde separatist movement, the articulative Muslim elite was quite careful that its status was not eroded in any way. It sent its wards to the best possible educational institutions in India and abroad, but deliberately pushed lumpens and children of lower socio-economic groups to be consumed by attritional violence. The record number of admissions in the elite institutions in India and abroad of Kashmiri Muslims during the turbulent years is a reflection on the enormous economic power this elite wields. While exhorting the common Kashmiris to continue to support this retrograde movement, this self-centered elite has kept all its options open, so far as the grabbing of political power is concerned.

It is the common Kashmiri, who has borne the burnt of the criminalisation and rigors of the violent separatist movement. The effect on the elite has been minimal and sporadic. This is precisely the reason why the elite has been so indifferent to the criminalisation and brutalisation of the insurgency.

been one of the most glaring features of armed insurgency in Kashmir. Violence has traumatized Kashmiris and women have been the worst sufferers. Traditional Muslim middle class, having its moorings feels out of place. The alliance of elite and the lumpens, which underpins the separatist movement is push-

mailing teachers to seek favours during examination became the order of the day.

The Crime Branch of State Police recently busted a racket involving issuance of fake certificates. On Sept 25, 1999, the J&K Board of School Education intimidated Medical Council of India, MCI that certificates of

influenced the selections for professional colleges, jobs, out-of-turn promotions and lucrative postings.

As the total system collapsed, the teacher too became part of the new process and collaborated in bringing down the system. With teacher becoming part of the corrupted system, there was total erosion of academic discipline. Respect for teachers became a thing of the past. Teachers became the most opportunistic group. They sought to make hay through blackmail and various other pressures. In Kashmir University people reach the post of a Professor in six years from a lecturer. Before 1989, many brilliant academicians had even failed to become professors even before retirement. In the University there are few lecturers, while everybody is a reader or a Professor. The murmuring among a small section of Kashmiris for return of Pandit teachers and doctors is more a protest against the diseased education system. This section, which reached its position through merit is concerned over the loss of accountability and the credibility of the entire system.

### Talibanisation:

Talibanisation of the education system has been effected in many ways. Jamaat Islami, under a plan burnt down hundreds of government run schools to force the new generations to seek admission in its fundamentalist schools. The Jamaat is employing many subtle techniques to seek legitimacy for its institutions. According to a report during the last two years more than 1300 such residential schools have come up, in which elite groups and Saudi agencies have collaborated. These institutions are playing a crucial role in the Talibanisation of Kashmir. The prestige and credibility of the government run schools is being undermined under a sinister plan.

Terrorist groups also imposed ban on Music, and fine arts being taught in schools and colleges. In one such instance, Dr Tahira Abdullah, Principal of Govt College for Women, Nawakadal in 1992 had to move the Music department in the inner recesses of the building, to

(Contd. on page 11)



The phase of Fundamentalism - the house in Safa Kadal used by terrorist Mushtaq Zargar alias Latram as hide out destroyed by irate mob.

It has been able to protect and, even further the education of its wards and save them from being consumed by violence. When lumpens managed to extend their hand to their women, this elite was able to shift them out, while commoners had to face the wrath.

The introduction of gun culture and the fundamentalism has changed the complexion of Kashmiri society in many ways. It has affected Education, Social ethos and value system. The youth are in a state of terrible crisis. Atrocities on women have

ing Kashmiri society back into medievalism.

### Education:

The educational system in Kashmir is facing a crisis from twin effects of Talibanisation and criminalisation. The sanctity of examination has suffered due to the collapse of the authority and the emergence of gun as new power centre.

In the early years of the militancy there was nothing worth the name of examination. Board and university degrees were available easily for a price. Mass copying, impersonation, black-

many doctors trained in Central Asia have proved to be fake. Similar scandal came to the fore, when the certificates of some of the students seeking admission in Aligarh Muslim University were found to be forged. A notification has since been issued to various departments and institutions asking them to refer the certificates of those employees and students for verification, where doubt persisted about the candidate's academic background.

Militant groups and vested interests among elite have also

## LETTERS

## Bleating like a lamb

Sir,

The other day I saw Farooq Abdullah appealing to the various states of India to lend him paramilitary forces to fight the militants who have infiltrated into the Valley in post Kargil scenario taking advantage of the shifting of the army to the Kargil front. He complained that the Central government was not bothered about the Valley.

Why is Farooq Abdullah, son of Sher-i-Kashmir, bleating like a lamb? Has he forgotten the days when his father challenged the invaders... "Hamlawar Khabardar Hum Kashmiri Hai Tayar".

Public memory is proverbially short but a few of us have not forgotten that it was during his decade of Raj-The decade of 80's- that a tolerant Kashmiri Muslim was converted to rabid Muslim fundamentalist. Madrassas were opened; hoards of *molves* came and indoctrinated poor simple tolerant Kashmiri Muslims into hatred of "kafirs". Loudspeakers were mounted on Masjids even around Farooq's residence and anti-India venom was spread out day in and day out and it culminated into the holocaust of 1989-90! It was him who brought these unwanted guests in.

Unfortunately while Sheikh Abdullah knew where he was going and went about it single mindedly, his son does not know whether he is coming or going. If there has been a real change of convictions in Farooq Abdullah of those days, then let him convince the Kashmiri's that Pakistan is heading towards total disaster and their future lies with India. He should organise the local opinion and the local forces including Kashmir police to isolate the not so large group

of pro-Pakistani fundamentalists and throw them out along with the "unwanted" guests. If he succeeds in doing that, the problem wether in the Valley or on the borders will cease to exist.

--S.D. Khanna

Hauz Khas, New Delhi

## Again Martial Law in Pakistan

Sir,

Martial Law was first imposed in Pakistan in 1958' by Governor General Iskander Mirza, after him by General Ayub Khan after him Gen. Yahya Khan and after Gen. Zia staged his coup in July 1977. Nasrat Bhutto had challenged Martial Law in Supreme Court but court said that this doctrine was an Islamic basis for it. Thus Zia became Chief Martial Law Administrator and assumed unlimited powers. This was an extra constitutional step but it was necessary in the interests of Islamic Pak state and for its welfare and for the people.

Now by the grace of Allah again Gen. Musharraf proclaimed emergency to run administration of Pak smoothly and thus ex-PM Nawaz Sharief and his government was removed without any bloodshed. In this way, all Presidents and PM's were removed but Zia died in a plane. Thus Pak remained under Army Rule for 25 years and now the people of Pak accepted latest coup of Gen. Musharraf in a 'calm' and pleasant way. Will the Pak agents in Kashmir learn a lesson from it? Earlier Nawaz had been bringing one institution after another under his head. He had removed Chief Justice and also did away with

the Council for Defence and National Security and curbed powers of Army's rule.

Nawaz lived like a king and turned a Nelson's eye to corruption by his own business concern. Former Chief of ISI, Lt. Gen. Gul said, "Nawaz is a US stooge and there was no other way"

--Omkar Nath Moza

Jammu

## Cement together

Sir,

It was a pleasure to see the appeal made by Sh. P.N. Raina, Chairman Shri Bhat Memorial Trust Udhampur for liberal donations, required to provide qualitative education to the children of the displaced community.

It has been during the last decade that a number of trusts/bodies have been established, by different KP organisations which are almost identical in their ventures. Why couldn't it be possible for all such trusts and bodies of a singular community to cement together, to forge a bigger and broad based "Trust", that could get the funds pooled and help in establishing bigger institutions, academic and technical, so as to render a bigger service to the displaced community.

During the first world Kashmiri Pandit Conference organised at New Delhi in Dec 1992, it was rather resolved to establish a university with the help of educationists, professionals etc. to be named as "Sharda Peeth University" as a long term measure. Could we achieve this dream?

--A.K. Watal

176, Maheshnagar  
Amballa Cantt.

## THOSE WHO LEFT US

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

1. Sh. Chuni Lal Bhat S/o Sh. Saroopnath Bhat, R/o Fatehpura Anantnag; presently at Faqir Niwas Adarsh Colony, Udhampur. 29/10/99
2. Sh. Niranjan Nath Kachroo (Retd. Sr. Teacher) of Sangrampora, Sopore; presently at 313-Vipin Garden Kakrola Mohr, New Delhi. 28/10/99
3. Sh. Makhn Lal Tikoo, R/o Mahanoor, Chadoora Budgam; presently at 100-G, Prem Nagar, Paprawat Road, Najefgarh, New Delhi. 28/10/99
4. Smt. Rani (Mohini) W/o Sh. B.N. Shah, R/o Bongund Verinagar; presently at C/o Darshen Kumar, Bhagat, Ekta Vihar Kunjwani, Jammu. 2/11/99
5. Sh Rajinder Koul S/o late Kashi Nath Koul, R/o Narparistan, Banamohalla, Srinagar; presently at 276, Preet Nagar, Jammu. 1/11/99
6. Smt Ratna Ji Fotedar W/o Sh P.L. Fotedar, R/o Mattan, Anantnag; presently at 9/866 Malviya Nagar, Jaipur. 3/11/99
7. Sh. Arjan Nath Bhat, C/o Little Hut School near J&K Bank Patel Nagar, Jammu. 2/11/99
8. Sh Krishan Kant Koul S/o Sh. Somnath Koul, R/o B-I, Type-V Pusa Institute, New Delhi. 1/11/99
9. Sh. Amar Nath Khar S/o Late Sh. Kanth Ram, R/o Village Ichikote Budgam; presently at 14-B Old Nehru Market Warehouse, Jammu. 5/11/99
10. Sh. Manohar Nath Bhan R/o Kani Kedāl, Srinagar; presently at 275-F, Hari Singh Nagar, Rehari Colony, Jammu. 8/11/99
11. Sh. Ram Chand R/o Kullar, Pahalgam, Anantnag; presently at H.No: 689, Sector, 3 Vinayak Nagar, Muthi, Jammu. 7/11/99
12. Smt. Lalita Ji W/o Sh. A.K. Koul, R/o Drabiyar Habbakadal, Srinagar; presently at C/o Puran Chand Opposite Shanta Hr. Sec School Mandir Wali Gali, Rajpura, Jammu. 6/11/99
13. Smt. Somawati Peer W/o Late Sh. Janki Nath Peer, R/o 41-Pamposh Colony, Natipora, Kashmir; presently at Residential Hostel G.B. Pant Hospital Indra Nagar, Srinagar. 5/5/11/99
14. Sh. Bal Ji Zutshi R/o 41-Rawalpora Housing Colony, Sanat Nagar, Srinagar; presently at 11-Amphalla, Near Dental Hospital, Jammu. 9/11/99.
15. Smt. Mohini Tickoo W/o Lt. S.N. Tickoo, R/o 63-Karan Nagar, Srinagar; presently at 69-A Bhawani Nagar, Janipur, Jammu. 8/11/99
16. Smt. Soma Devi Qazi W/o Sh Somnath Qazi, R/o Malchimar Alikadal, Srinagar; presently at H.No: 32 East Ext-1-A, Trikuta Nagar, Jammu. 5/11/99
17. Sh. Balji Bhat S/o Late Ram Chand Bhat, R/o Chined Baramulla; presently at Muthi Camp-II Qtr. No: 87/A, Jammu. 8/11/99
18. Smt. Somawati Kak W/o Late Jia Lal Kak, R/o Batyar Alikadal Srinagar; presently at H.No: 113-Sector-3 Ext. Vasant Vihar, Trikutanagar, Jammu. 8/11/99
19. Smt. Bodh Jigri (Leelawati) W/o Late Thakur Bhat, R/o Utterso, Uma Nagari, Anantnag, presently at Qtr. No: 17, Raj Bhawan, Mishriwala Camp, Jammu. 10/11/99

## Please Renew Your Subscription

This is for information of all our subscribers that in case you have not renewed your subscription so far, kindly renew it now.

Subscription for one year is Rs 130/- only. Please send your cheque or draft in favour of "KASHMIR SENTINEL" and for outstation cheques please add Rs 20/- as bank charges.

For Overseas subscription send 40 US Dollars or Rs 1700 in Indian currency

BUSINESS MANAGER  
KASHMIR SENTINEL  
149, RAM VIHAR, OLD JANIPUR, JAMMU

## Form for Subscription/Renewal

I am sending herewith Rs..... in words  
(.....) as  
new subscription/renewal charges for one year  
through demand draft/cheque  
No:..... drawn in favour of  
KASHMIR SENTINEL.

Signature

Fill in your complete address in capital letters

Name.....

Address.....

District.....State.....Pin.....

Tel.....

## Kotru's demise condoled

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, Nov 15: The untimely demise of Dr. R.K. Kotru, Director of Industries and Commerce J&K Govt., was widely condoled. Dr Kotru, IAS expired on 14th Nov 1999.

He was as able administrator and dedicated officer who served state in various capacities. Chief Minister Dr Farooq Abdullah and his ministerial colleagues Messers Mohi-ud-Raj Bali, Dr. Sheikh Mustafa Ghulam Ahmad Shah, Abdul Rahim Rather and others condoled his death describing him as a dedicated and outstanding



and dedicated officer who served state in various capacities. Chief Minister Dr Farooq Abdullah and his ministerial colleagues Messers Mohi-ud-Raj Bali, Dr. Sheikh Mustafa Ghulam Ahmad Shah, Abdul Rahim Rather and others condoled his death describing him as a dedicated and outstanding

KAS Officers Union, Bari Brahmana Industries and Commerce Association, Non-gazetted DIC Employees Association, Small Scale Industries Association, Gangyal, District Treasury officers, Sales Tax department, officers and employees of SICOP also condoled his demise.

Panun Kashmir held a special meeting presided by Dr Ajay Chrungoo, Chairman Political Affairs Committee Panun Kashmir, to condole, Dr Kotru's demise. Glowing tributes were paid to the departed soul.

# Where Did Pandits Fail



By Dr. Ajay Chrunoo

## Yardsticks of Judgement

The community struggle during a decade of its exiled existence should be viewed in the light of its social personality prior to the present exodus and the contemporary socio-political environment around it. The displaced Pandit had inherited a 'dishelved personality' with a marked desensitisation to its rights. It for years had been reconciled to a state of 'passive existence' and had got used to speaking in terms of gratitude besides extolling the virtues of its adversary. It was 'politically imbecile' with an irresponsible attitude to its collective historical destiny.

The socio-political environment in which Kashmiri Pandit was placed at the time of exodus was one of extreme isolation. For Pakistan and its international support structures the Pandit presence in the Valley constituted the vital element for secularisation and democratisation of Kashmiri polity. The Pandit also constituted the civilisational frontline. Its destruction had become a pre-requisite for the thrust of Muslim power towards the east. For the forces dominating Indian political scene, the Pandit constitutes the apex of the pyramid of the so-called 'Brahminical order' which they are seeking to dismantle. Kashmiri Pandit also constitutes a very insignificant social group in terms of vote politics. Last but not the least the type of Hindu response which emerged in India during last decade and a half considered Kashmiri Pandit as an extension of Nehru and his political creed. When Bal Thackeray commented sometime back that 'Kashmiri Pandits have to fight both with Pakistan as well as government of India,' he was only underlining the nature of Pandit isolation.

## Perspective of Failure

Judging from such a perspective, the Pandits' failure as a social group during last 10 yrs of exile donot at all fall in the realm of its responses to the militarised fundamentalism and other challenges to the national integrity or the multidimensional genocidal attrition against the Hindus of the state. On all these accounts Kashmiri Pandits have fared commendably.

The failures of this community lie primarily on two scores.

One that it has failed to appreciate its own efforts and their impact in relation to its isolation and the nature and reach of the forces which unleashed the genocidal war on it. Secondly the community has not been able to overcome the obsession over of the 'paradigm of 'community unity' which over the years has nurtured only disunity and caused disfigurement of its personality.

## Ist Failure

Uprooted from its territory without any credible institutional support structure and with an overwhelming isolation engulfing it, the Kashmiri Pandit had to wage a struggle at many fronts. It had to secure, an honourable survival in exile, evolve a perspective of survival for the future and assume a dominant civilian role to fight challenges to the national integrity and unity as a whole. In fact, the Pandits have performed better than many social groups anywhere in similar circumstances.

The eminent journalist and writer Arun Shourie while complimenting the Kashmiri Hindus on their efforts confessed during the World Conference of Kashmiri Pandits, "You have done far better than we Punjabis in responding to the challenges posed by terrorism and fundamentalism." The outbursts of Dr Gh. Nabi Fai the leader of Kashmir American Council in front of Pandit delegates in Geneva after Pakistan was forced to withdraw the crucial resolution against India in UNHRC was only a compliment to Pandits.

"We were defeated by Kashmiri Pandits and not by the Government of India", he said.

A few years back four Kashmiri Pandits were brought down from the bus at the outskirts of Gool and three of them were gunned down. The terrorists were very selective in these killings and had spared the lives of all other local Hindus travelling in the bus. The scrutiny into the causes of this selectiveness revealed that the terrorist mind considered Kashmiri Pandit as a cohesive, articulate and unrelenting social group. It viewed their presence in Jammu with alarm in relation to their future operatives in the province. One reason for the killing was to create an atmosphere of insecurity for Pandits even in Jammu. However, more motivating objective was that they believed that Pandit killing had a more publicity potential. The terrorists had gunned down more than half a dozen local Hindus including a doctor in the area without any significant media attention.

The entire spectrum of the separatists think tank in the state which includes a section of Kashmiri Bureaucracy take Pandit factor more seriously as an impediment to their designs. They openly confess about it and rely on their subversive reach

within Govt of India to neutralise this factor. The Pandit factor is the only factor other than the Kashmiri Muslims, which has got registered on the international mind amongst the totality issues involved in the Kashmir crisis. Leading US expert on Indian subcontinent Stephen Cohen once described the future of Kashmiri Pandits as an 'acid test' to any solution to Kashmir crisis.

We have a paradoxical appreciation of Pandit response. It has a better external recognition and a worse internal appreciation. This is a major failure of the community mind. If only the 'Pandit' could see his struggle and its impact in a broader national and international perspective his persecuted personality will emerge from the inertia created by 'internalisation of his crisis'. He would fix his external enemy. He would realise that for last 10 yrs he was and continues to be in a leadership role spearheading the national response against expansion of Muslim fundamentalism and international intrigue in Jammu and Kashmir.

## IInd failure

The Kashmiri Pandits are yet to transcend and rise above their existing 'paradigm of unity'. On the surface and in common parlance such perspective of community unity underlines simplistic expectations. If groups are controlled or dissolved through a common platform, community action will assume a decisive punch; the government and the political establishment will consider community as an important negotiating partner. So bringing the groups or leaders together has become our foremost concern. We continue to invest lots of energy in such efforts.

But do such unity efforts even when they succeed fulfil even these preliminary expectations? The results of 1997 unity experiment in London are revealing. This experiment did lead to the emergence of a common platform-The Kashmiri Pandit Political Steering Committee. Most of the functional and credible Pandit organisations which included All State Kashmiri Pandit Conference, Kashmiri Pandit Sabha Jammu, Kashmiri Samiti Delhi, two groups of Panun Kashmir and Overseas Pandit Organisations constituted the committee. But neither did such a unity lead to any new thrust in the community action nor did it bring about factorial recognition to the Pandits. The government did not give it any negotiating legitimacy. In fact, while efforts were on for the creation of the 'Steering Committee' to be the sole representative of the Pandits, the government had already started talking to new organisations which had sprung up from nowhere. Scores of Pandit delegations were encouraged

by the government to visit Kashmir by offering allurements. The 'Steering Committee' became just one more group for the government.

And we were back to square one. The emergence of new groups readily recognised by the government created a need for a bigger umbrella. With the existing paradigm we continue to be in a vicious cycle chasing a mirage of unity. Our adversary within and outside has kept us bogged down. He cultivates new individuals and keeps us busy coopting them.

The 'London' experiment also brought out an interesting phenomenon. In any consensual exercise between various groups there should be emergence of a more pronounced stand on such points of view which are common to all the groups as per the simple logic. There were many common areas in the positions taken separately by the constituting units of the Steering Committee. However, this commonality did not get more pronounced through the new formation.

For example, most of the India based functional groups of the Steering Committee had rejected the proposal of the government's sub-committee on return and rehabilitation. Yet the joint proposal by the Steering Committee on the same tended to come closer to the government position. During the presentation to the US ambassador to India, Panun Kashmir, All State Kashmiri Pandit Conference and Kashmiri Pandit Sabha Amphalla had jointly taken the political position seeking 'politico administrative restructuring of the state'. Other India based constituents of the Steering Committee had also taken similar positions from time to time. The Steering Committee even diluted this commonality in political approach which otherwise should have become more, forceful and discreet through the joint venture.

When the senior advisor of the Indo American Kashmir Forum visited Jammu sometime after the creation of 'The Steering Committee' he got very concerned and upset about the all pervading feeling of disunity within the community. A community representative who met him questioned his state of appreciation by commenting, "you say that all the leaders with whom you have interacted expressed a commonality of ideas in front of you. You have brought almost 90% of them on a common platform. The remaining 10% have not opposed your experiment. Why are you still encountering disunity?"

In the mid-eighties, 33 Pandit organisations formed a joint front Hindu Ekta Manch. The inaugural session of the only convention held by the Hindu Ekta Manch witnessed pro-RSS representatives eulogising their

efforts in bringing so many groups on a common platform. Towards the end of the convention, while the leader of the All India Pandit conference was making its concluding remarks the banner of Hindu Ekta Manch was silently brought down and replaced by the banner of the same organisation which had taken the dias. The more comical part of this unity experiment was that none of the individual constituents had any pronounced political position. They agreed with one another so much that they could have neither justified their separate existence nor the need to come together. The entire unity exercise was perhaps to disrupt one another when they were doing better individually. The 1997 unity experiment also caused big disruption. It demobilised all its constituent units which otherwise had done well within their respective perspectives.

Our unity paradigm below the surface is more vicious and our major failure is that we have not been able to see through it. It seeks 'unity of heads' and relegates issues and opinions to secondary importance. Through such a perspective, we try to arrive at consensus before crystallisation of the issues. Here the vision of survival becomes a consequence of herding of individuals rather than thinking of minds.

This paradigm has also created a sociological myth that all other social groups have better cohesiveness than us. It has created a monster of an internal enemy. For its external enemy does not either exist or exists only as an alibi to fight the inner enemy. It nurtures a perpetual state of self blame and self negation. It has created a state of helplessness as if we have some sort of genetic disability which has caused our misery.

And above all this paradigm ultimately strives at rendering us in a state of non-opinion. Such a state suits only our enemy. This unity paradigm is only a disunity trap which our adversary has imposed on us. A close observation of the nature of efforts to keep us in a state of non-opinion does reveal that the paradigm is more externally imposed through subtle processes of suggestion and sabotage than the consequence of our own persecuted personality.

Salvation for persecuted groups does not come from external support. It comes through innovative approaches aimed at breaking or circumventing the defeatism of their persecuted personality. Appreciating our own accomplishments and breaking the gordian knot of inertia is the only way to our Autoemencipation.

*\*Author is the Chairman of Political Affairs of Panun Kashmir and a prominent analyst on Kashmir.*

## CAG report pinpoints the financial muddle

KS Correspondent

No sensitive patriotic Indian would ever grudge special monetary support being made available to J&K from central funds. The state of J&K faces a unique situation and fully deserves this consideration. But any such help provided by the centre, is only as good as the management of it. Unfortunately the administrative abilities of the state government do not inspire confidence. Rampant corruption, wasteful expenditure and unaccountability have neutralised the benefits accruing from the centre's generosity. The regimes of Deve Gowda and I.K. Gujral earmarked special packages, but what has been the positive social effect of these packages.

This is precisely the message implicit in the latest report released by the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG). The CAG has indicted the J&K Govt for its failure to furnish utilisation certificates for Rs 13,468.67 crore allocated through various ministries. The Education Ministry topped the list by not providing as many as 109 utilisation certificates for Rs 6,264.21 crore during the period.

This is followed by Housing and Urban Development Ministry with 87 utilisation certificates still pending for an amount of 5,182.72 crores. The other departments which have not fur-

nished the certificates include Agriculture, Art and culture (Rs 480.69 crores), Tourism, Health and Medical Education (Rs 129.87 crores), Social Welfare Department (Rs 76.08 crores), General Administration Department (Rs 66.75 crores) and Law Ministry (Rs 76 crores).

The CAG report also observed that the ad-hoc payments released by the centre to the state chief electoral officer since 1974-75 had not been adjusted till October, 1998. During 1996-97 and 1997-98, the expenditure incurred by the CEO was found at variance with the accounts compiled by AG whose figures amounted to Rs 18.73 crore and thus a variance of Rs 4.06 crore. No records for monitoring allocation of funds and expenditure there of had been maintained at any level during 1996-97 and 1997-98. In districts of Rajouri and Baramulla, during the assembly and Lok Sabha elections, the expenditure was overstated by Rs 46 lakh.

The report states that nine state departments have failed to furnish the list showing names of various bodies, which have been granted grants/loans for the period 1992-93 onwards. CAG has catigated the state government for acquiring land by excess compensation at the cost of development works. There were short falls in utilisation of funds for industrial and employment

generation schemes in the state. Such delays could also lead to higher compensation due to escalation in land prices, the CAG report added.

Pointing to violation of rules about keeping funds in banks, CAG said about Rs 5.86 crore was deposited in current account in banks instead of state treasury.

Referring to the Industries department, the CAG report says that no records for the recovery of loans amounting to Rs 188.67 crore were maintained. It also spent Rs 7.78 crore without any budgetary provisions, the report added. 172 officials were appointed irregularly during 1990-97 flouting government orders for taking people through Recruitment Boards and Committees.

The report mentions that the State government has also failed to recover taxes which amount to Rs 359 crores. Sale Tax arrears alone amount to Rs 331 crores. The State government also granted exemption from payment of Sales Tax to the small scale industrial units by issuing incorrect certificates of registration. This irregular exemption led to the loss of Rs 4.08 crores to the State government. The CAG report mentions that the State government spent Rs 3712.12 crore in excess of budget provisions, reflecting inadequacies of the budgetary control mechanism.



The ammunition recovered in Jammu.

## Jammu security in danger

KS Correspondent

JAMMU: Recently massive searches were held by J&K Police assisted by the Army in the outskirts of Jammu-Bhatindi, Sidhra and adjoining localities-amidst reports that a large group of militants was spotted in the area.

Even the choppers were pressed into service but all such searches ended in vain. Subsequently, the searches were made in Roopnagar area

also but the result was the same.

Senior police officers including IGP Jammu Mr R Raju and DIG, Jammu SP Vaid supervised the searches. A spokesman of the police said that police received unconfirmed reports about the presence of militants but these turned to be false as subsequent searches failed to arrest or spot any militants. However, hours after these searches the militants targeted

Pooja Express which originated from Jammu and the bomb was reportedly planted in the train at Jammu railway station itself.

The militants were spotted by local people in Samba. Subsequently a militant was arrested by a police naka team in the same area who was travelling in a matador alongwith a weapon. There are reports about large scale infiltration of militants in the area.

## NC govt tampering Ladakh Demography-LBA

KS Correspondent

LADAKH, Nov 8: The simmering unrest amongst the Buddhist population of Ladakh came to the fore with the formal protest by the youth wing of Ladakh Buddhist Association against the NC govt in the state for engineering 'social restructuring' of the Ladakh region to convert it into a 'Muslim Dominant' region. The formal protest was registered by a 11 member delegation of the youth wing of LBA lead by Labzang Nyantak with the Prime Minister of India in New Delhi on 8th Nov.

The LBA memorandum to the Prime Minister expressed shock and resentment over the role of NC govt for encouraging influx of Muslims from Kargil and Kashmir which had reduced Buddhists to a minority status in the region. The memorandum also alleged that a large number of Buddhist girls are also being weaned away to marry Muslim boys by offering material allurements. The LBA youth wing expressed concern that if the trend was allowed to continue the Buddhists of the region might lose their distinctive cultural identity.

Asking the Prime Minister to rein in the Farooq Abdullah government the Ladakh Buddhist Association said that the, "national security interests were inextricably linked with the interests and concerns of Buddhists in the region. what is disconcerting is that the powers that be in the state are encouraging

these developments".

LBA asserted that discrimination was being meted to the Buddhists of the region in the professional colleges and institutions as very few candidates were selected for KAS and medical courses over the years. Besides the representation of the Buddhists in the government was being reduced to almost nil and instead Muslims were given higher representation.

The National Conference government, the LBA alleged, has been consistently down sizing and subverting the Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council, which was granted to Leh in 1995 in the aftermath of LBA Agitation. "Rather than ensuring healthy growth of this democratic institution, the State government under Dr Farooq Abdullah has gone all out to stifle its growth and functionality". The LBA memorandum said.

The memorandum also alleged that recently for the first time large cache of sophisticated arms and ammunition were unearthed from Turtuk area of Ladakh and same were seized from Muslims and 'Pakistani sympathiser'. These arms were meant to be use in Ladakh to create large scale disturbances the memorandum said. It further that CBI should be asked to initiate the interrogation and investigate into the matter as the, "special team sent from Kashmir was trying to hush up the case."

## Blast in Pooja Express

KS Correspondent

JAMMU: Militants targeted the Jaipur bound Pooja Express as powerful explosion took place in general bogey of the train on 11th November, 1999. The blast which occurred near Kandori railway station claimed 14 lives. More than 50 were injured, at least 12 of them seriously. The body of the bogey was completely blown up. The blast occurred

minutes after the train had left Chaki Bank railway station after first halt.

The army, police and railway officials visited the site and supervised the rescue operations. However, the passengers alleged that the police and railway authorities were late in their arrival and main rescue operation was launched by army from a nearby camp.

Militants also succeeded in triggering a blast in the busy residency road some days back.

It is alleged that a large number of Muslims are resettling in outskirts of Jammu city with twin objective. Firstly to bring about demographic change of Jammu and secondly to provide safe heavens for militants. The government is also accused of criminal silence and indifference to these developments.

Some time back, Bajrang Dal activists alleged that the militants are forcing the well off families to purchase land in Jammu. They arrange soft loans for others to allow them to purchase land in Jammu.

Meanwhile, unlike other parts of the state, Jammu is also on the operational map of Punjab militants, who occasionally strike in the area to further endanger the security scenario in the city of temples.

# BB Cantt. Incident: A Quick Review

By Yoginder Kandari\*

An unprecedented though not totally unexpected, militant strike took place in the headquarters of 15 Corps, Valley's most protected premises on Nov 1999. This incident took place within seven hours of Corps. Commanders press briefing where-in the General had claimed that militancy in the Valley had been brought down to manageable levels and that militants were no 'dreaded fighters'.

That militants chose to reply the General so swiftly clearly proves that they have done their home work well in preparing contingency plans for all situations/actions, by the establishment and are capable of executing them to a telling effect. With this single action militants have made mockery of security forces' threat perception thereby raising doubts about adequacy of our response to the problem.

Badami Bagh Cantonment episode could very easily have been averted had due thought been given to the recent trends of militants' actions. This incident was preceded by similar militants' strikes in Kupwara, Bandipur and twice on the Civil Secretariat. Militants were due to strike big there after. One wonders what Unified Command conferences are agendered for. Such meetings appear more

of 'Pakora' parties than an opportunity to exchange notes and to evolve well thought out strategies. How does one otherwise explain wide disparities in threat perception as enunciated by the state DG Police and the Corps Commander during their recent

that correct assessment of strength can be made only after taking a number of factors into account and not just the number of radio stations identified. Intelligence appreciations are complex processes especially so in insurgency environment. Local

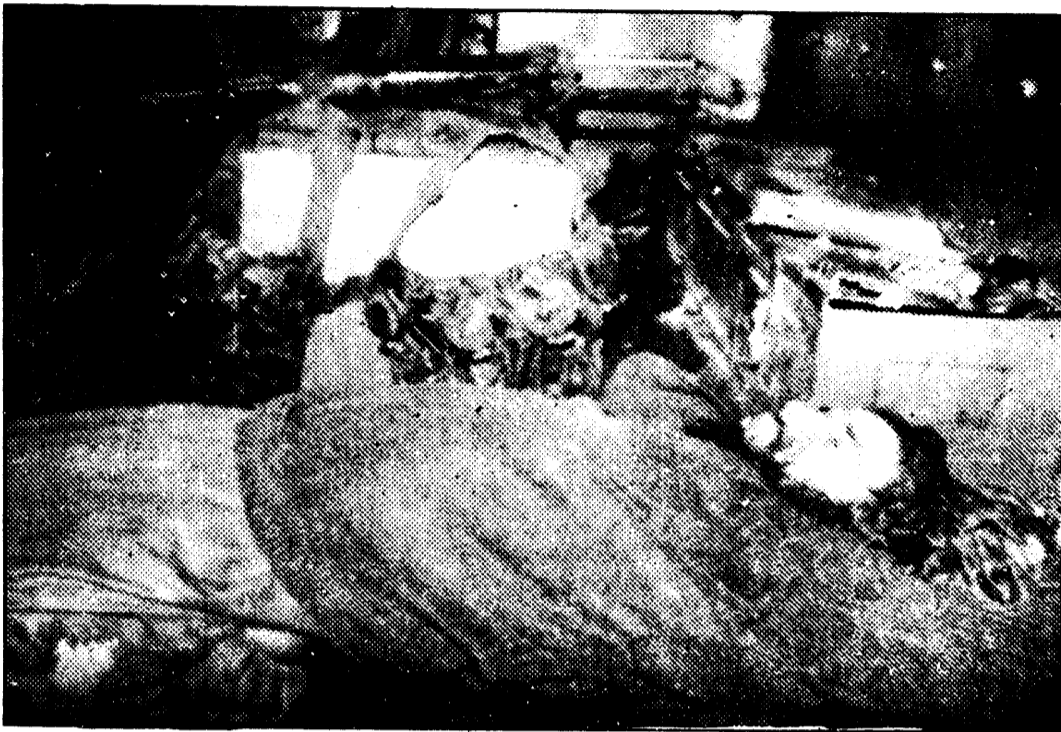
It is abundantly clear that certain basic principles were not adhered to while planning the Hqrs security. It is a common knowledge that security wall around the premises has an uncovered gap which was used by the militants to storm PRO's of-

premises left much to be desired. Hundreds of civilians visit the Hqrs. premises daily, thus diluting the sanctity of all security measures. This concession must have given a huge advantage to the militants in procuring that exact layout of the Hqrs. and in planning the strike. Army has paid a heavy price for such a lackadaisical approach to this sensitive issue.

The melee which would have ensued after the militants stormed the PRO's office can well be imagined. It remains a mystery how the three journalists were the only survivors in the PRO's office. There appear to be much more to this angle than what meets the eye.

It is high time the security forces stop running to the press without well measured statements and concentrate on their basic job to tackle militancy. The think-tank needs to reassess the situation for we appear to have erred in our perception. Otherwise we will continue to hear funny statements from senior Army officers like the one during the press briefing after BB Cantt. incident. Here the General almost exonerated the guilty by attributing the incident to the determination of the militants. One wonders whether it was a statement of fact or admission of retreat.

\*The author is a retired Army Officer.



The militant killed in retaliation in B.B. Cantt.

press briefings. Such contradictory statements expose an acute confusion within the establishment. Corps Commander went a step further by quickly calculating for the press person the strength of the militants operating the Valley. He should know

populations' sympathy to the militant cause and its alienation act as strength multipliers and are difficult to quantify.

Given the current level of militancy one can now only wish that security of the Corps Hqrs had been planned in a better way.

Even the security layout lacked the adequate depth to stall any attempt to storm the Hqrs. A physical barrier is of no security value if it cannot hinder free moment of and intruder. Restricting and regulating the entry of the civilians into the Hqrs

## Ghamedi criticises violence in Kashmir

Renowned Pakistani scholar Javed Ghamedi has joined issue with religious militia leaders and said that violence in Kashmir is self-destructive. He made these comments in an interview to weekly Zindagi recently.

Ghamedi told the news weekly, *The Jihad* which is being practised in Kashmir is simply violence. The armed struggle against Indian forces cannot be described as a holy war. This is a political movement. The path of violence is totally an uncivilised way and can lead to self-destruction. "Describing rampaging corruption, peace and tranquility, weak economy and insecurity as the main problems before the nation, he asked, "Do we want to get Kashmir at the cost of Pakistan's interests'.

Mr Ghamedi praised democratic India and accused Pakistan of initiating trouble in peace-loving India. He said that Kashmiri Muslims have been living in India for centuries. They had been raising the issue of their "independence" peacefully "but the violence which is going on in Kashmir unabated now is only at our instigations." Ghamedi added,

"these Kashmiris started indulging in violence and we gave them a name 'Jehad' to justify their wrong doings. Consequently the Indian military action against law breakers became inevitable".

Ghamedi further added, "In today's modern world no country can take an inch of land by force. What happened to Kuwait? Within few hours of forceful occupation of the country by Iraq, it was freed with the help of the USA. Can Pakistan occupy Kashmir by force? Islam does not permit Jihad or guerrilla war for political purposes. These Jehadi organisation are grave danger to the very existence of Pakistan".

## Pak National facing TADA

SRINAGAR: 61 Pak nationals, 16 of PoK and 4 Afghans are among 352 persons facing trial under TADA in Jammu. 1689 challans were produced in TADA court of which 670 have been disposed off. The militants who escaped from custody since 1996 are among those facing the trial.

## Chapnari massacre mystery resolved

KS Correspondent

The mystery behind the Chapnari massacre (19, June 1998) in which 26 baratis were killed, has been resolved with the arrest of a top activist of Hizbul Mujahideen. This arrest establishes the active connivance of locals, as in the other massacres. Six locals and two Pakistani saboteurs, one of whom was recently killed by security forces in an encounter at Kastigarh, were involved in the carnage.

According to the police, the HM militant Saraj Din code Manzoor, son of Nizam Din Hajjam of Bhatta Bhagwah was nabbed from his hideout in Doda. Saraj broke down during interrogation and spilled the beans. The terrorists involved in the massacre as per revelations made by Saraj, included Saraj Din, Mohd Rafiq alias Tahir, Atta Mohammad, all residents of Bhatta (Doda), Abdul Qayoom alias Salahuddin of Bhatta Bhagwah, Barkat Ali Hajjam of Bhagwah, Farooq Ahmed alias Badshah Khan of Kastigarh. The two Pakistani saboteurs were Abu Mussa and Abu Hasham.

The terrorists appeared by impersonating as Army men,

and made the baratis gather at one place. On being asked who among them were VDC members, the villagers replied that they had nothing to do with the VDC. The militants then robbed

them of cash and gold jewellery. Thereafter they sprayed volley of bullets on the villagers. Later they fired several shots in the air and escaped to the adjoining forests.

## Terrorists' gameplan to defame security forces'

KS Correspondent

To pit the common people against the security forces, the Pakistani operators seem to have invented new strategies. Recently Dukhtaran-i-Millat resurfaced after a lapse of three years.

Its statements indicate that it plans to rake up bogey of molestation of Kashmiri women by the security forces. The terrorist groups during early years had been coercing people to register false charges of molestation in police stations and before the so-called civil liberty teams. In Kunan Pushpora, the accusations of rape against Army were investigated by Press Council of India and proved false.

The terrorists had also been setting the houses of common Kashmiris on fire during encounters and putting the blame on the security forces. Video-films of burnt Pandit houses were being shown by terrorist

supporters in America as Vandalisation of Kashmiri Muslim houses by Indian security forces.

The recent unfortunate incident involving the killing of a couple in Srinagar reflects a new dimension of psy-warfare being resorted to by the terrorists. A J&K Bank employee and his pregnant wife were going in an autorickshaw. According to reports from Srinagar, the BSF man on duty noting the ailment of the woman, allowed the couple to go. But suddenly a terrorist hiding in a neighbouring house firing shots from a window, killing the couple on the spot. The media managers of the terrorists' instead put the blame on BSF personnel. Meanwhile, the Divisional Commissioner, Mr Khurshid Ahmed Ganai has directed the police to collect all the facts about the incident. The Bank management has also demanded an early enquiry.

# KASHMIR SENTINEL

Nov. 15th—Nov. 30th

## Go Deeper

The recent attacks on vital installations, particularly the civil secretariat and the Badami Bagh cantonment are alarming. A pattern is emerging which indicates that the terrorist campaign is graduating to a regular war. This is precisely the reason why casualty figures among our security forces this year have been quite high.

The attack on Badami Bagh cannot be simply treated as an attempt "to draw media attention". General Mukerjee's reaction that "we cannot prevent such attacks. We can only instil in them the fear that they cannot get away with such acts-not alive", is not what the nation wants to hear from one of the finest armies in the world.

The escalation of the terrorist campaign should refocus the attention of security planners to pinpoint elements in bad strategy. Without realistic assesment of the terrorists' aims no proper strategy can be evolved. The terrorists are extending their area of operations. The high influx of infiltrators from across the border indicates the security grid is either non-functional or too loose. The recent attacks suggest the possibility of the existence of moles in civil and security establishment, besides serious loopholes in the security arrangements.

The so-called Unified Command in J&K is not really unified. Different agencies and security forces' organisations are not working in a synergistic manner and work sometimes even at cross purposes. Departmental 'parochialism' is affecting the security operations. There have been very few inputs at psychological and sociological planes in fighting the terrorist gameplan.

The constant mixing of the political expediency with the security imperatives has created this situation. To put the entire blame simply on the security forces is also not wise. The Centre has done well in ordering probe into the Badami Bagh incident. It would be wiser to go deeper into the malaise.

## Kashmir Sentinel

JKENG 00333/26/AL/TC/94 JK No. 1213/18  
Regd. JM-32

Printer Publisher B.N. Kaul for and on behalf of Panun Kashmir Foundation  
Editor SHAILENDRA AIMA  
Printed at The Kashmir Times Press, Gangyal Jammu  
Owned by PANUN KASHMIR FOUNDATION  
Published from PANUN KASHMIR FOUNDATION  
149 - Ram Vihar, Old Janipur, Jammu - 180007 (INDIA)  
Tele/Fax: 0191-547537

## The State of The State--India's Painful Transition

From an ex-colony to a developing industrial democracy, India's transition has been most painful and multifarious problems. From Pan-Indian Vision in the pre-independence era the Indian social polity nation-state-building the approach has been adhocist, expediency-based and not in consonance with the unity and sovereignty of the country. There is no institutionalised approach to the process. Today we are groping in dark for a new ideology of the nation building. In this issue we reproduce the following article.

### Handling Kashmir

## A shallow approach

By Jagmohan

*Superficiality-worse than being blind  
They proceed along with half an answer,  
Bearing their shallowness like a treasure.  
Then would come the snuffing out,  
Their inability to flee or fight:  
And feathers of their tamed wings,  
Would become the nasty pillows of their night.*

(Translated from a Russian poem, "Superficiality")

Such would certainly be the plight of our decision-makers for whom superficiality has become a second nature.

I have no doubt that by persisting with a shallow approach and "proceeding along with half answers, our present-day rulers have not only sown additional seeds for future trouble in the country but also chalked out a self-destructive path for themselves. In this piece, I would show by analysing each item of the "autonomy package" in its historical perspective, how it bears the unmistakable stamp of superficiality.

The first item in the package says that there would be no objection to changes in the nomenclature of Chief Minister and Governor to Wazir-e-Azam (Prime Minister) and Sadar-e-Riyasat (Head of State), respec-

tively, through an amendment of the state constitution by the state legislature.

What would a mere change in the nomenclature do in practice except send a wrong signal to the disruptionists and encourage them to press for a change in substance which would certainly throw the present working relationship between the Union and the state out of gear?

To recapitulate the past development on the subject, after the execution of the Instrument of Accession on October 27, 1947, and adoption of the Indian Constitution on January 26, 1950, the Jammu and Kashmir state was irrevocably brought under the territorial and constitutional jurisdiction of India. Article I made it a permanent part of the Indian Union and Article 370 gave it a special status.

The sum and substance of Article 370 is that, in addition to defence, foreign affairs and communications, the Union Parliament can make laws with regard to the items in the Union and Concurrent Lists, but only with the concurrence of the state government.

To establish a working relationship in legal, administrative and financial arena, a broad agreement, known as the Delhi Agreement (July 24, 1952), was arrived at. The provisions of this agreement included the abolition

of the hereditary rulership; vesting of the residuary powers in the state; continuance of special citizenship rights for the "state subjects"; flying of a separate flag for the state with the national flag also finding a "supremely distinct place"; and subject to certain restrictions and limitations; extension of provisions of the Indian Constitution in the respect of the Fundamental Rights, the emergency powers of the President and the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. The state was also to have its own constitution.

It was in pursuance of this agreement that the Constitution (Application to J&K) Order, 1954, was issued by the President. This order was amended from time to time, extending some provisions of the Indian Constitution to the state. Financial integration was effected through the 1954 Presidential order, and the jurisdiction of customs, central excise, posts and telegraph and civil aviation were extended. In 1959, the legislative entry relating to the census was applied. In 1960, the Supreme Court was given powers to entertain "special leave to appeal" from the decision of the J&K High Court. The supervisory role of the Election Commission of India was also allowed, though the elections there continued to be held under the laws of the state. Article 356 and

358 of the were extend central labo

In these continuance clature, stat mode of a Sadar-e-Riy ronistic, a change was 1966 by wa the J&K Co legislature it erations app of Prime M well as lega considerat change in th

The secc tonomy pa strengthen t the Constitu the aspiratio

It is unfo of removing encourage t gration, Narasimha ing the few exist. Even Kashmir At the impact forces was Indira Gand clock back. to scrap any establishe Parthasarat who review behalf of Sheikh Abd could hard!

## Autonomy no Panacea

By Ramesh Khazanchi

Every incumbent Prime Minister after Indira Gandhi has deemed it politically expedient to promise a fresh dose of autonomy to Jammu and Kashmir, perceiving it to be the way out of the seemingly dead end the Kashmir impasse has reached. This approach can at best be qualified as cosmetic. In the recent past, Mr Narasimha Rao, declared "anything short of Azadi" with a view to alluring militants to the negotiating table.

Similarly, Prime Minister, Deve Gowda's promise for "more autonomy" for the state is a preposterous and retrograde step. For one, the people of Kashmir have never demanded "more autonomy," let alone violently demonstrated against its

erosion--real or imaginary. The insurgency since 1989, is unmistakably Pakistan-sponsored and has nothing to do with autonomy. Any "dilution" of Article 370 has been endorsed and ratified by popular will, that is by the duly elected assembly of Jammu and Kashmir from time to time since 1947. Central laws which have brought J&K under the purview of the Election Commission, the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India and the Supreme Court have undoubtedly benefitted the Kashmiris. And, without a whiff of protest, these "extensions to, or dilution of. Article 370" have in due course become an inalienable part of the state's socio-political milieu.

### Dangerous results

Once autonomy is made "negotiable", as part of the Central

government's ongoing strategy of finding an illusory panacea for Kashmir's ills, it will surely open up a Pandora's box. It is more than likely that demands will be raised to scrap the laws that have been extended to the state since Independence as the National Conference has been vociferously seeking the restoration of pre-1953 status. Any "tampering" with these laws is fraught with dangerous consequences as it will be tantamount to turning the clock back, and further "alienating" Kashmiris from the Union of India. Not only that, it will also amount to subverting the popular will which has granted its seal of approval on these laws through an elected assembly.

Article 370 was envisaged by its architects as a provision

which woul Kashmiri n tional main deciduous le there took r democratic) an ardent a ing Kashmir very incepti 370 was an which was l This was re 1962 letter (Article 370 ing away".

Even the saw Sheikh back to pow a protracted side Kashmir and purpose leemics of a stage, origi titles such a

ful. In this phase the lowering of the guard by the nation has resulted in is becoming increasingly segmentary in character. To the crucial problem of the national interest. The secessionist and communal threats are trying to problems confronting the nation. Concept of strategic thinking is a hated word. with due acknowledgements write-ups on the issue of autonomy to the J&K

--Editor

## ir roach

Indian Constitution ed in 1964 and some our laws in 1965.

circumstances, the of the old nomen- us, functions and the ppointment of the asat became anach- nd the necessary s brought about in y of amendment to nstitution by the state self. Similar consid- lled to the position inister. Practical as l and administrative ons rule out any ie present position.

nd item in the au- ckage promises to he autonomy within ion, keeping in view ns of the people.

rtunate that, instead ; the provisionn that he forces of disinte- Prime Minister Rao intends remov- integrative links that at the time of the :cord (1975), when

of the separatist not so acutely felt, hi refused to set the

She did not agree of the essential links d over the time. hi and Afzal Beg, ved these links on Indira Gandhi and ullah, respectively, y find anything ob-

jectionable in them.

In fact, no provision of the Indian Constitution has been extended to J&K which is not necessitated by practical considerations and which is not in the interest of common Kashmiris. What objection, for instance, could be taken to the extension of jurisdiction of the Election Commission or the Supreme Court or the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India? These extensions merely make available better justice and better accounting and audit arrangements. What fault again, could be found with labour welfare law? In what way do they militate against the identity or personality of Kashmir?

The plain truth is that when other states in the Union ask for greater autonomy, they do not mean separation of identities. They really want devolution of power, so that administrative and development work is done speedily. In Jammu and Kashmir, the demand for the restoration of pre-1952/1953 position stems from a different motivation. It emanates from a clever strategy to stay away from the mainstream, to set up a separate fiefdom, to fly a separate flag, to have a Prime Minister rather than a Chief Minister, and a Sader-e-Riyasat instead of a Governor, and to secure greater power and patronage not for the good of the masses, not for serv-

ing the cause of peace and progress, not for attaining cultural unity amidst "larger" diversity, but for serving the interests of the "new elites", the "new sheikhs", and also for holding power to blackmail the rest of the country.

Those who ask for more autonomy or demand pre-1952/1953 position seldom address themselves to concrete questions. They suppress the fact that in the absence of full financial integration with the Union, Kashmir would have no resource at all for development. It is the Union finances that provide the entire funds for the state's five-year plans and also for a substantial part of the non-plan expenditure. According to the Reserve Bank of India bulletin (October, 1994), the per capita central assistance for 1993-94 was Rs 2291 for J&K as against Rs 192 for Bihar, Rs 233 for Tamil Nadu, Rs 304 for Rajasthan and Rs 331 for UP. In the case of J&K 90 per cent of this assistance is in the shape of grants and 10 percent as loans, while for the four states mentioned earlier, it is 30 percent grants and 70 per cent loans. Like-wise, per capita non-Plan grants for J&K in the same year comes to Rs 699 while it is Rs 64 for Bihar, Rs 26 for Tamil Nadu, Rs 73 for Rajasthan and Rs 20 for UP.

(Contd. on page 10)

## ra for Ills of J&K

d facilitate to bring masses into the na- stream and fall like aves once the people ot in the pan-Indian olity. Pandit Nehru, dvocate of preserv- 's identity, had at the on said that Article "unusual provision, y no means final." iterated by him in a in which he said "it ) was gradually wan-

1975 accord, which Abdullah catapulted er in the state after l incarceration out- ir, was to all intents s evasive-on the po- nomy. If, at this nal nomenclature-- s Sadr-i-Riyasat for

the governor of J&K, Wazir-i-Azam (Prime Minister) for the CM--is reverted to as a sop, among other things, it will, ipso facto, amount to conceding that the state is not an integral entity of India. If J&K is an inalienable part of the Union as claimed, time and again, by India, how can a country then have two PMs at the same time? Is the intention, under the garb of more autonomy that the Centre so enthusiastically proposes, to undo what the Centre has assiduously achieved during the last four decades? If the idea is to declare null and void the laws that have been made applicable to J&K with the consent of the state assembly, the proposition will be more flawed and perilous than one granting total independence to the state.

### Economic Freedom

At this stage political sagacity and realism call for the revival of measures initiated by the late Sheikh Abdullah, such as a 99-year lease for non-state subjects to set up industry in J&K. This would bolster the state's moribund economy and open up employment opportunities for the youth caught in the crossfire of militancy and joblessness. Let the stress be on economic rather than political freedom with a view to winning back the people's confidence in the Indian polity as a welfare state. The amelioration of economic lot of the masses is the clarion call which the Centre must heed without harping on the autonomy issue, if the Gordian knot in the Valley is to be cut.

Courtesy: Times of India

# Why pre-52, why not pre-47 position?

By O.P. Modi

The State Autonomy Committee's recommendations, recently tabled in the state Assembly, are not only preposterous and irrational but also amusing. If the process of Jammu and Kashmir's relations with rest of the country is to be reversed in the manner suggested by the Autonomy Committee, then based on the same analogy it may well be argued that the state be handed over to Dr Karan Singh, the present successor to Maharaja Hari Singh. The Autonomy Committee seems to have ignored the hard fact that the present constitutional status of the state is the result of a prolonged lawful and democratic process, spreading over half a century, which began with the transfer of Maharaja Hari Singh's sovereignty over the state to the Indian Union by means of the Instrument of Accession under the Indian Independence Act. No plausible grounds have been given by the Committee for reverting to pre-1952 position and the logic of the recommendations could be pushed beyond that year to the year 1947; when the Pakistani raiders attacked the state forcing Maharaja Hari Singh to hurriedly decide to join the Indian Union. There could be sufficient reasons, therefore, for a large section of the state's population to demand restoration of Maharaja's rule in Jammu and Kashmir. Such a demand would receive impetus due to the fact that 50 years of misrule has culminated into a ruined economy of the State. Lush green forests abounding all over, during the Maharaja's rule, have vanished, the wild life has been wiped out, lakes have turned into polluted ponds, fresh water resources like Baolies, Chashmas and streams have dried up. The state does not earn enough revenue even to pay its own staff. Billions of rupees pumped into the state from the Indian exchequer have gone through the drains into the pockets of a few. Corruption is rampant. While the state has the potential of producing 15000 Megawatts of electricity it is begging for it from other states. During the past fifty years no effort was made to harness the massive resources of hydroelectric power that this state has. Had this enormous store house of electric power been tapped fully not only its great forests would have been saved, the state could have become one of the richest region in the country by selling that power to other states. Some people would, therefore, say that if the Autonomy Com-

mittee wants the clock to be turned back then let it be turned full circle back to 1947. Since then much water has gone down in Jehlum and Chenab. Half a century has passed. How can the clock be turned back without damaging its mechanism. Like the Autonomy Committee's recommendations the demand for restoration of Maharaja's rule is also illusory and impracticable. *Na rehay bans; Nai bajay bansri*

The Comptroller and Auditor General of India has constantly been complaining that the J&K authorities are not submitting account of billions of rupees the state has received from the Centre over the years. Is it to avoid further embarrassment to those who want to enjoy best of the two worlds that the Committee has suggested that Indian Constitution's Article 149, 150 and 151, which empower the Comptroller and Auditor General to ask for the accounts of the funds provided by the Centre to the states, should not apply to this state in the same form as applied to other states. The Autonomy Committee has also recommended to omit from application to J&K, Articles 248, 249, 250 and 251 of the Indian Constitution, which empower the Parliament to overrule the laws made by the states repugnant to the Constitution or which could prove detrimental to the

National Interests. One may ask what sort of sovereignty will the Nation have if the state legislature are set free to make laws which would go against the Constitution or the national interests as a whole? In other words the Committee would be satisfied if the Centre goes on footing the bill of malfeasance and financial impropriety by the state authorities and keep its mouth shut so far as the account of the Central funds are concerned. It would also be happy if the Parliament becomes a mute witness to the state legislature passing laws detrimental to the national interest. While on the one hand the Committee expects the Centre to go on providing huge amount of funds, take care of its internal and external security, protect and develop the means of communication in the state, on the other hand it wants it to keep its eyes closed on the issue of accountability. According to the Committee's report the Parliament should have no right to interfere if anti-national laws are enacted by the state legislature! It would present a strange scenario; where an impotent Centre would find itself against the national interest. The worst rec-

ommendation is the one suggesting doing away with important provision relating to the Supreme Court's jurisdiction over the state.

### Instrument of accession:

Luckily the fact of the accession of Jammu and Kashmir state with India being final and irrevocable is recognised by the Autonomy Committee. They have not cast any doubt on the basics of this historical truth. There is no provision in the Indian Constitution for any state to secede from the Union. One of the most important fact that emerges from the study of the Instrument of Accession signed by Mahaaja Hari Singh on 26th October 1947, is that, by virtue of its Article 4, any law extended to J&K by the Parliament and ratified by the State Assembly, automatically becomes part and parcel of the Instrument of Accession. The said article is reproduced here. It says "I (Maharaja Hari Singh) hereby declare that I accede to Dominion of India on the assurance that if an agreement is made between the Governor General (now the President of India) and the ruler of this state whereby any functions in relation to the administration in this state of any law of the Dominion Legislature (Parliament) shall be exercised by the Ruler of this state, then any such agreement shall be deemed to form part of this instrument and shall be constituted and have effect accordingly." It should be

clear like the day light that once a central law is extended to this state it becomes irrevocable part of the Instrument of Accession and like Accession itself that law can neither be revoked nor annulled. The Autonomy Committee's report therefore is merely an exercising in futility as it will not be able to stand the legal and constitutional scrutiny. As these recommendations infringe upon the very basis of the Instrument of Accession, any attempt to implement them can cause political, constitutional and social catastrophe not only in the state but elsewhere also.

While this report may provide academic joy to some people inside and outside the state, it could have unwarranted and undesirable effect on the minds of large number of population all over the country. It can have wide repercussions if it is pursued or supported by the State government. It will be advisable to consign the report to the shelf where many other reports like the Gajinderagadkar and Sikri Commission reports are gathering dust.

# 'Allah Wale'--the profile of a Wahabi organisation

By P.K. Kothari

During the 1994 'Amarnath Yatra', sensational details about the shadowy activities of a fundamentalist organisation named Allahwale came up when the security forces apprehended some young Kashmiri boys along the Jammu-Srinagar national highway at Banihal. The arrested boys broke down during interrogation and confessed to being members of the Allahwale Organisation. They disclosed that they had been recruited by the mercenary outfit Harkat-ul-Ansar (HUA) to disrupt the yatra. This linkage between Allahwale Organisation and HUA revealed much more than was known about the 'social' character of this Pan-Islamist grouping.

The enlarged profile of the members of Allahwale Organisation in the strategic border districts of Baramulla, Poonch and Rajouri has been baffling the intelligence agencies. Coinciding with the secessionist campaign in Kashmir, a good number of religious centres came up in these border areas. Security agencies noted antinational political and subversive activity in these centres. Why did Allahwale Organisation choose Baramulla for establishing its zonal headquarters?

In December 1991, security forces arrested some activists of 'Allahwale' organisation and recovered from their possession "Kaseeda-i-Farsi", a 16-page pamphlet carrying inflammatory propaganda. Apparently working for the spread of Islam, these activists were found indulging in antinational activities. These activists belonged to Rajouri and the pamphlet was also published in the name of one Maulana Abdul Rahim Khaki of Rajouri. The pamphlet carried anti-India propaganda and supported the so-called movement launched by militants "to achieve their goal of freedom".

The booklet said that secessionists have launched a great "Jehad" (struggle) and aggressive actions against enemies to secure "freedom". It said that Punjab, Delhi, Kashmir and Jammu city would be conquered "very soon" with unforeseen powers of God.

The pamphlet tried to generate communal passions by saying that RSS would be finished by the guerrillas, who have launched their full and final war against the nationalistic forces of India. It described RSS as its main target.

The book, like a clever astrologer, tried to impress the readers about the predictions it had quoted a number of times earlier. It claimed that it had predicted events of first and second world wars, independence

country—all those came true. Similarly, it said its predictions over militants' movement will also come true. After the recovery of the "Kaseeda-i-Farsi", its author mysteriously disappeared from his native village, located near LoC.

Since 1991, ISI has been trying to build infrastructure for subversion in Poonch-Rajouri by hooking persons who had affiliation with Allahwale organisation. Some of these persons have also been involved in transborder arms smuggling.

Minor children, between the age group of eight to fifteen were utilised for distributing anti-national and provocative literature in Rajouri-Poonch. These children were paid pittance for these activities.

Allahwale Organisation has an international network spanning Africa, Europe and America as well. It has branches even in Russia and China. In India it closely works with pro-Jamaat Islami and other organisations including mainly the Wahabi groups associated with Deoband.

Allahwale, literally meaning 'God's men' is a leading Wahabi organisation with an international character. In terms of ideological outlook it closely follows Tableegi Jamaat of Pakistan. In Kashmir it came into prominence in late seventies as a puritanical religious organisation. On structural plane it is one of the best organised Muslim fundamentalist movements in India. Many of its activities are undercover.

In 1979, coinciding with Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia made strong attempts to forge closer unity among different fundamentalist organisations in Kashmir valley. To begin with, in an attempt to allay the suspicions of the intelligence agencies, 'Allahwale' feigned differences with the approach of Jamaat Islami. In public it said its job was only to make people good Muslims. A whisper campaign even said that this Pan-Islamist outfit was patronised by Government of India to counter Jamaat. All this was to keep their eyes of it.

Kashmir, Sindh and Bengal have been among the few regions in the subcontinent, which witnessed wholesale conversions of the indigenous populations. Even after conversion, the religious world view of the native people carried syncretic elements. These syncretic elements have been anathema to the Wahabi groups for two reasons, one it continues to emphasise the pre-Islamic identity of the converted peoples. Secondly, this reinforces the secular and pluralistic character. In the view of the Wahabi groups, these converted peoples, who practise many non-Islamic beliefs they needed to be

torian Prof Mohd Ishaq Khan in an essay writes "right-wing Islamic groups believe that Kashmir Muslims need to be converted afresh for accommodating Islamic beliefs in the local framework". He adds that "the popular religious culture of Kashmiri Muslims thus continues to be challenged by the Shariat-oriented culture as generally represented by the Ahli-i-Hadith and the Jamaat".

Shrine worship and Rishi movement legacy have been described by Wahabi groups e.g. Ahli-i-Hadith and Jamaat Islamic as main obstacles in the spread of Wahabi doctrines at popular level.

The 'Tablighi' or Ahli-i-Hadith movement, active in Kashmir for more than a century aims at purging Kashmiri Islam of its indigenous elements. It was not able to make substan-

gious world view of Jamaat Islami is same as that of Ahli-i-Hadith and Allahwale, the latter facilitate the work of Jamaat. Cadres influenced by Ahli-i-Hadith and Allahwale have been quite receptive to the political message of Jamaat.

To capture the imagination of the rustic peasantry, Allahwale devised its own idiom. Its message was simple. Allahwale activists wore trousers upto the knees, and kept unkempt beards to create an impression of godliness among the people in rural areas. The cadres carried their personal haversack, stove, food items etc and stayed with families for a few days at a time. They have been jokingly called 'religious trekkers'. Slowly families aligned to Allahwale movement emerged among the rural populace. Allahwale activists maintain a directory of their

infidel and faithful (Kafir and Momin). Allahwale activists also supported a subtle secessionist campaign. Thus a villager with whom a Kashmiri Pandit had continued to live peacefully with a shared tradition, now began to look at his neighbour with suspicion. The efforts of Allahwale activists supplemented work of Jamaat Islami in Rural areas.

It is because of the good work done by Allahwale cadres in rural areas that the secessionist movement found easy going. People of lower socio-economic status, quite active in the insurgency find participation in insurgency and espousing of religious fundamentalist symbol an outlet for upward mobility. It also satisfied their hatred against the high-caste elitist group among their own fraternity, which they have been accusing of having monopolised the gains of development.

In 1987, Allahwale extended its activities to urban areas. Prior to this it had organised four relatively smaller conferences. Of these three had been held in Baramulla and one in Budgam. Allahwale decided to convene an international conference at Idgah, Srinagar in 1988. Its anti-NC understones alerted Dr Farooq Abdullah. He requested centre not to allow the conference on the plea that the State government might not be able to cope with it. Due to strong lobbying by its Indian sponsors, Rajiv Gandhi overruled objections of Dr Abdullah. And the conference was held with great fanfare. Political observers were intrigued over the action of the Union government. Since Allahwale made diabolic moves feigning opposition to Jamaat, the Union government was apparently misled into allowing this conference.

The headquarters of 'Allahwale' is based in BanglaMasjid, Nizam-ud-Din, Delhi. Its present head, Maulana Saad took over in 1995 after Maulana Inamul Hassan's death. Maulana Saad is the grandson of Maulana Yusuf whose father Maulana Elias founded the organisation hundred years ago. Maulana Inamul Hassan was cousin of Maulana Yusuf. Allahwale activists are allowed to become members of other organisations also. Leading theologians of Deoband Maulana Abdul Hassan Nadwi and Maulana Asad Madani subscribe to the ideological line of Allahwale organisation.

Allahwale Organisation holds its annual congregations at Bhopal at Taju'l-Masjid, one of the largest mosques in Asia. Thousands of Kashmiri members of Allahwale would interact with other members during the congregations. This helped them in establishing strong links with Indian chapter



Result of Islamic indoctrination:- Muslim children with guns.

tial headway for two reasons—one the size of educated Muslim middle class was too small. Secondly, in the absence of industrialisation, bulk of Muslim population belonged to peasantry. This peasantry was deeply influenced by the humanist Rishi movement, with predominantly rural character.

With the expansion of its size and existence of deeply entrenched communal politics, urge for exclusivist Muslim identity also grew among substantial sections of Kashmiri middle class. They began responding to Ahli-i-Hadith doctrines. But in rural areas the Muslim peasantry was slow to respond. Allahwale's role has been to facilitate Ahli-i-Hadith's work in rural areas. Ahli-i-Hadith failed to enthuse rural Kashmiris because of its elitist character and manifest rural-urban divide in Kashmir's social scenario. Allahwale took up the challenge of bringing rustic masses in the ambit of fundamentalist ideology. As the reli-

activists in India and abroad.

Bringing about unity among different Muslim religious groups was another task chalked out for Allahwale Organisation. By early eighties the movement had fanned out throughout rural Kashmir. In the urban areas Allahwale activists deliberately maintained a low profile.

Through 'Islamic study circle', Allahwale Organisation was able to make inroads among professionals, teachers and intellectuals. Many of the leading professionals would proceed on leave for months together and go for tableegh. 'Islamic study circle', also brought out 'Tarjumanu'l Haqq'.

The first task, which Allahwale group accomplished was the gradual replacement of traditional Imam of a mosque with an outsider, preferably from UP or Bihar, and wherever suitable even a Kashmiri Moulvi. Next they stressed on strict doctrinaire interpretation of the religion. They asked people to draw a sharp line between an



# Mahjoor--the art of eye and heart-II



Mahjoor

By Dr. R.L. Bhat

*Isha-re-h pae-tithi yod zara  
ko-ruth inkaar ya yak-raar  
Lol-la cha-nae yem-nai don  
Shahan afsaa-na ba-nae-vim;  
Bah mya-ni joshuk as-maan khot  
rud ba-nith aav  
Yim qa-tra-h sa-maan gai  
ti mun dur-daan-h banae-vim.*

[Thy eye and no, even if said, in a gesture faint In love, these twin breaths of thine, I turned into hefty tales. The vapour of my fervour rose, to sky and poured down as rain The drops that gathered down here, I turned into pearls fine]

*Log-mut te-mis chho parmus  
Kya-h taam myon-von-hus  
Na-t-a van-ta be sa-bub tus  
cheshman khumaar aasi-yah*

[Drinking other wines, he is and about me he has been poisoned could, else, without reason, his eyes look so reddened]

*Dop-mus damah tse ro-zum  
kath-a ta-ra-h var-ah bo-zum;  
Dop-num ba boz-h koo-tah  
gra-vun shumara aasyah*

[I asked him to stay through and listen to me deeply a while, how much I'd listen, he replied, can a count of plants ever be supplied?]

This is the height of Mahjoor's art. Here the words flow, thoughts flood and verse becomes poetry, sublime, immaculate, true. The soul speaks out, and feelings fly around giving out the aromas of eternal live-ness. The heart becomes a mirror that shows only the truth, the lines obtain a life of theirs and the poesy becomes a universal experience. Mahjoor employs the signs and symbols that are earthy and local and achieves a result that is beyond any ken of region, locale or language. That is one Mahjoor that will live and enliven, without the support of a Shahi, without the salesmanship of a clever son.

*Kama Deev ka-re sael-i Ddal  
boo-zum shab us gatch-i Telbal  
Darshanus aabus andar  
Pamposh lae-gith prar-na*

[My love cometh to rove the Dal, for might, I hear, he' go to Telbal would that I could wait for him as a lotus in water]

*Vud-na sae-t-i tae-seer gateh-ehy  
yud te-mis san-geen dilus  
Rath doh pan-nev aachev ke-in  
Khon-i ba-raan har-ha*

[If my tears could trounce, that stony heart day and night, through my eyes, I'd weep out my heart]

*Yor-eh von-mus soor kor thum  
dil baro yi wada chha-h  
Tor-eh dopnum Lo-la-rus-teo  
ko-la se-y path maer-zi-hey.*

[Ye have torn me, I told him; was it the promise say? He replied, o ye love-less, couldn't you die for thy word]

*Tsa-leh laar-i vuchh-mukh haal van-hai  
var-eh vuchh-hai roy  
Ga-li zev mai ga-yem osh-vo-thum  
dadrai vanai kya-h*

[I saw ye fleeting through and would've talked to you, seen they face; my tongue failed and my eyes were flooded with tears apace]

Mahjoor sings of love, of heart from the depths of his heart. Many of these feelings, must have torn his heart, how so transiently, during his loveful career. He sang, in short tuneful ditties pouring love and longing out. And created, in the process, a colourful imagery that was as diverse, as it was pithy.

*Naseema-a boo-zum tse bal-a daa-ma-n-e  
Kamand heth chhok shikar tsa-raan  
Ba-e sho-qa cha-ney shika-r-e kye-th  
panun ye-i sar heth ta-rai-ha la-lo.*

[At Naseem [Bagh] I heard, you are roaming the foot-hills with a bow searching for the prey; for thy humour, I would take this head of mine and row unto ye across the waters]

*Wa-ti ash-ka-ni dee-n-ah moo-joob  
husn-a-kis maa-lus za-kath;  
Masa bae-r-i bae-ri khae-i chhis  
daep tos daa-ma-h cha-vi-nah*

[Rites of love demand that beauty must give a little away; cup fuls of wine he hath, won't he give a sip, say]

*kama deev saa-ma-n-h pae-rith  
Nae-r-i ba naazo ada  
Hosh da-li na-h aql na-sh-i na-h  
aash-kun dil raa-vi nah*

[The love-god goeth forth, in full splendour and style and won't the reason fail, rationality of loveful quail]

In these resonating echoes of love, Mahjoor has eyes only for beauty. Beauty of the beloved some times, the splendour of the lover often Love poetry (gazel-in Persian where it has its origin, and Urdu which borrowed it, phrase, idiom and idea) has an uncanny sound of homosexual love; the object of love is invariably a lover-boy, though often imbued with attributes that are discordantly feminine. Kashmiri is different, though Rasul Mir and Mahmood Galmi, do mix the features to some extent. Kashmiri is different because here the songs, come from a matrix, that is not exactly the Persian gazal. It on the contrary, is derived from the distinctly local tradition of vachun. Vachun, is a short ditty, the women of Kashmir, used to sing of the moonlit nights, calling out to their lovers. The thought, tone and tune is all feminine, crying its heart out to the cherished beloved. This is the Habba khaton's poetry, Aarni Mal's pathos. This is the tune to which Mahjoor sang. Though one can see, a gazal in true Urdu-Persian tradition here and there, the predominant feeling is the vachun singing out a Mahjoor's rhythms. Even his long-verses, break of themselves and give out the cadences of this truly Kashmiri diction. The bold lover that breaks out in Rasul Mir, in all masculine brashness, is drowned in Mahjoor's litting lyre. It makes Mahjoor aware of the

realm and light of nature, just as it taught Habba and Arnu to sing in terms of everyday sights and sounds. Mahjoor does one better, as his roving eyes and loveful heart roam the wide meadows, register the rolling ravines and range through the flowery roits, searching for his lover.

*ha gu-lo to-h-i ma sa vuch-von yaar myoh  
Bul-bul-o to-h-e tsa-ri .on dildar myon  
vaen divaan poshun pri-tsom yimbar-za-lun  
Aav ma to-h-i kun su jo-du-gar myon.*

[Oh ye flowers did you see my lover? Ye Bulbuls pray go, search for my lover and Looking around, I asked the flowers, narcissuses Did, he stray towards thee, that my lover]

*Daen poshav joshi yith  
vuz-lae-v baagh varga zam-mus aav  
lo-luk yaar myon*

[The pomegranate flowers, in their rush, reddened the bed, Look how my love has taken a rebirth!]

*Dil myon thaevi ton ma-nz phool daanun  
Yi paleov sunbalistanun manz  
Am-e Kaer banda gi goncha da-na-nur:  
Jaai te-mi raet paristanun ma-nz*

[Pray rest my heart in flower poets; in flower beds, it has grown, tulip orbs it has served;

*His place he's taken in the fairly land]  
Yash yeli kod tae-mi zul-fi pechaanun  
Gash rood tso-ri dur-daanun manz  
Mush-k-a daar vav tsav manz gulistanun*

[When the curly locks [he] opened, the light did hide in pearly lobes, Scented winds blew into the gardens,

*His place he has taken in a fairly land]*

Mahjoor's love feeds on flowers, lives in flower beds, and loves in the idiom of flowers. It talks and sings in Bulbuls' tone, and sees beauty every where. In shale and stone, in hamlet and hills, in the meadows and valley, the beauty spreads out helplessly. And Mahjoor partakes of this expanse in matching helplessness. It has been said that a tourist-guide of Kashmir can be assembled from Mahjoor's verse. Probably a guide book to flora and fauna can also be fashioned, therefrom. For Mahjoor, next to love, is a nature addict.

*vanus ma-nz roz-e-ha tan-ha  
diluk haal ra-yi-lan van-ha  
Ba-ha ruk zor aabuk shor,  
aatsa-vun haar aasun gotch.*

[Alone, I'd stay in a wood, my heart to pines I'd speak good; a spring in fest, a river in zest, and if a Haar [summer] were about to increst]

*Ma-e sae-t-i Mahjoor aav gulzarvuch-ney, chha hi-shar ma-e te tus  
Ba-e pa-na vae-n-e di-vaan paanus  
su-h saamanu, s ba-e tus va-n-h kya-h.*

[Mahjoor came to savour the flower spread with me, but is he any way akin to me? I look out for my self and he for the effects; what shall I tell him]

Mahjoor, unintentionally perhaps, alludes to a truism there. The effects, the tourist guides, hand books, hummable tunes, strumable lines--take an awful lot of Mahjoor's attention. Mahjoor has been called supercilious. The attention to detail of tone and cadence, the word and variety type, must have been a distraction pulling Mahjoor away from deep dives that could take the impression of the eye to the depths of mind. The easy blend of 'aav-lun tehor piya-la heth...' does not allow a deeper cogitation. Cogitation, making a sense of the sights and level smells, lifts poetry to the land of philosophy. Mahjoor, does not attempt it. The limited pitch of the springs that push the flowers and fauna forth, has to be seen beyond the distraction of form and hue. Mahjoor concentrates on the form, interprets it in variegated variations, but stops short of venturing further. His insights are fleeting, almost flirtations:

*Garzus to lolus gov ku-nui  
dod myol aabus saeti  
Kus aasi so yus garza nishi  
byon tsari moha-but*

[Lust and love have become one, milk with water has got mixed who's there as will tell-love from lust apart]

*Gov saaf sae bit duniyi-hus ma-nz  
zulm chho la maz-hab  
Tul-ba-ri pandit kali-m-h paraan  
Noor Jama-lun.*

[Expoilation, it is proved, is religionless in this world: reciting Kalima Noor Jamal, lifted the pandit onto his shoulders].

*Azaad oosus bagh chavaan  
vah-m-e gae-lib gom  
Pan-n-i khaya-luck paansae  
zo-la-nae banae-vim.*

[Free, I enjoyed the garden, but got affrighted; my own thoughts I wove into a cage for my self].

These vanishing visions are the sparse intimations of depth in the huge corpus of his poetry. Unfollowed, the leads die away leaving Mahjoor to ramble on with florets, Bulbuls and golden orioles. It is his tremendous gift, that makes it possible for him to relay and replay the same theme without a hint of nausea. Every verse of his, tells the same tale, every time in a fresh, in a deceptively new form. You follow, him untiringly from one meadow to another, one gul to another, from Bulbul to poshanool. That needs arts, Mahjoor has it; that requires versatility, Mahjoor commands it; that calls for a heart, and Mahjoor has a heart enlarged to stand in for the whole being. But, between the eye and heart, there is little depth. And Mahjoor's heart, is definitely old. Though he sings of love, and love alone, Mahjoor is not able to infuse his verse with the fervour of Mir. Rasul Mir tightens the cords, and when he strums, it is a youthful resonance that stirs up an ardour of love. Mahjoor talks and tells of love but does not live its vibrant heat.

Mahjoor does not live up to the many honours, that his life amassed. Singing of nature he is perfect, living the nature out to its logical end sees him faltering, not following. He sings of freedom, azaadi but, lacking a conceptual frame work, he dithers rather too suddenly. He calls for a new world

*Novui gul teay nov-uu bulbul  
Novui gulzaar aasun gotch  
Nov-uu mus tai nov-uu saaqi  
Nov-uu pai-ma-na aasun goteh.*

[A new flower, a new bulbul, a novel garden ought to be there; new wine, a new dealer, a novel cup ought to be there]

But the cry is caught in its own contradictions. There are fillers not feelings in the visions of a new world. And, it ends in a cringe. Quite naturally, though!

*Chavaan par mus lagaan chhum rus  
setha-h chhus log mud-re-rus  
Ba-e vat-nuk lola mus chem-ha  
Magar mazadar aasun gotch!*

[How I enjoy the alien wines; I, in fact have a sweet tooth. I would certainly drink the wine of nation, if only it were tastier!]

## Dreaded militants bailed out

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, Nov 11: The dreaded militants-Javed Zargar, Showat Bakshi, Manzoor Sofi-allegedly involved in the sensational killing of 4 IAF officers in Srinagar in 1990 have been bailed out by Mr Abdul Hamid Mir designated judge of TADA Court Jammu.

The JKLF chairman Yaseen Malik who was also accused of these killings had been bailed out earlier.

Advocate BL Chatta, who had managed shifting of Irfan and others to Kotbhalwal jail who subsequently escaped from the jail appeared on behalf of the accused.

Meanwhile, there are

reports that the trial of dreaded militants Bitta Karate, who is allegedly involved in killing of 34 persons mostly KPs is being shifted to Srinagar court so that the relations of killed KPs cannot be able to represent the case at Srinagar.

### Mast Gul

ISLAMABAD: The dreaded militant Mast Gul who was responsible for burning famous shrine of Sufisaint Nund Rishi at Chrar Sharif has resurfaced from North West Frontier Province of Pakistan after the army coup. He vowed to once again join the Jihad in Jammu and Kashmir.

## A shallow approach

(Contd. from page 7)

All this shows the tremendous gains that have flowed to J&K from the financial link with the Union. What will happen if this link is now snapped?

Another crucial fact that is being intentionally suppress is that J&K has a vast area under its exclusive jurisdiction. It includes a substantial portion of the Concurrent List and also residuary powers. The citizens of India are not ipso facto the citizens of Jammu and Kashmir. Even if they have been residing in the state for years, they cannot acquire the right of settlement and holding property in the state. They have no right to vote in an election to the state assembly or the local bodies or the panchayats. What is worse, a woman citizen of J&K loses her property and other rights if she marries a non-state subject.

The third item in the autonomy package declares that Article 370 granting special status to the state shall not be abrogated.

Experience over the years has show that, besides breeding a separatist psyche, provisions of Article 370 and the state constitution have been misused, at the expense of the common Kashmiris, to establish a self-serving oligarchy whose interest is to prop up anti-Indian sentiments. The provisions also keep alive the unwholesome legacy of the two-nation theory and, in the context of the present wave of terrorism and subversion, facilitate both internal rebellion and external aggression. The fourth item in the package says that the Centre's resolve to strengthen the autonomy has reference to the entire state, treating all the three regions-Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh--on an equal footing.

The notion of internal autonomy for the regions is also fraught with serious consequences. There would be too many claimants for separate identities, and the claims and counter-claims would divert the

limited talent and energy of the people into fruitless channels.

Now grievances would be dished out and the existing one exaggerated. Given the populist disposition of local political leaders, they would attempt to build separate mosques of one brick each and carve out their own "inmates".

To prop up their leadership, some of them many not even hesitate to undertake ethnic cleansing in their little courtyards. The friction generated in the process could badly singe, if not burn, the entire fabric of the state. While petty ethnic lords would fight over their petty autonomies, the poor would continue to wallow in poverty, the sick would continue to be without a roof over their heads. The recent experience of Yugoslavia shows murderous ethnic warlords could be and to what extent human mind could be demented by the drugs of ethnicity.

Item 5 promises a time-bound revival of the state's economy utterly shattered by militant activity.

In the absence of precise details, hardly any comment can be offered on this item at this stage. But one thing is clear. Unless the civil administration is reconstructed and subversive elements within the services are weeded out, additional financial aid would, by and large, flow into the hands of militants and other anti-Union forces operating in the Valley. From all this, it should be evident that it is not the quantum of the financial assistance but its utilisation that matters.

For most of the period of the last 48 years, "the spirit of Munich" has determined the attitude of the Indian decision-makers towards Kashmir. A vague hope has been entertained: tomorrow it will be all-right. But it will never be all-right. The logic of history is against it. The morality of non-submissiveness to evil is against it.

Courtesy : Tribune

## Chronology of Events

Nov. 1st to Nov. 15th, 1999

- Nov 1: Security Forces eliminated 6 militants in Kashmir valley while militants gunned down a former NC Halqa President Abdul Rashid Bhat at Jawaharnagar, Srinagar. 2 militants were gunned down by security forces while 3 jawans were injured in a blast in Poonch district. STF and RR recovered 35 kg RDX in Doda district and arrested a suspected militant.
- Nov 2: Security forces eliminated 4 militants including a Hizb commander while militants gunned down a former militant in Kashmir valley. VDC Samba killed a Pakistani militant while 5 others managed to escape. A militant was arrested in Doda district.
- Nov 3: Militants stormed Army PRO office at Badamibag Srinagar killing PRO and other 6 army personnel while 2 militant were killed in retaliation. A dreaded militant star Shah was eliminated by forces in Rajouri district who also recovered 15 kg RDX.
- Nov 4: Militants gunned down 4 civilians including a woman and triggered 3 explosions in Kashmir valley. A militant was killed in Rajouri while one another was arrested in Doda district. Militants launched rocket attack on an army camp in Surankot (Poonch).
- Nov 5: Two policemen and a militant were killed and a student injured when militants attacked a matriculation examination centre at Wagoora Baramulla. In other incidents militants killed a police constable and a BSF jawan and injured a NC activists in Kashmir valley. One militant and a civilian were killed, 2 police personnel injured and a militant arrested in an encounter in Surankot, Poonch.
- Nov 6: Militants gunned down a RR jawan and an auto driver while forces killed a militant in Kashmir valley. A prominent counter insurgent Tahir Ahmad Sheikh was injured by militants in Anantnag. 2 Calcutta tourists were roasted alive in a fire in a Pahalgam hotel. Two encounters took place at Arnas (Udhampur) and Sangala (Poonch), however, militants managed their escape.
- Nov 7-8: Security forces shot dead 2 Pak militants at Nad, Surankot while a Pak militant was arrested from a matador in Samba along with the rifle. A civilian couple was killed in crossfiring in Srinagar while a jawan was shot dead by militants in Kulgam (Anantnag). 3 civilians were injured in grenade attacks in Srinagar city.
- Nov 9: 10 Pak soldiers were killed as Indian troops foiled a Pak attempt to capture "faulad" post in Uri sector. 4 army men were killed in an encounter with militants near LoC in Karnah; militants managed their escape. Militants attacked police post Pattan and killed a cop while 9 militants were killed in two different encounters in Kashmir valley. A mercenary was killed in Banihal while a PSO's dead body was recovered from his room in Doda.
- Nov 10: The army claimed to have eliminated 17 Pak army personnel in yesterday's action while militants attacked an army camp at Wakoora, Baramulla killing a JCO and injuring another jawan. Militants also eliminated an Army source in Bandipor. There were massive searches for militants in outskirts of Jammu but in vain. Indian forces today destroyed 4 Pak bunkers in retaliation in Nowshera while bomb was seized in RS Pura. 3 militants were killed in an encounter at Gurdan Bala, Rajouri. Police today arrested burglars who were impersonating as militants to loot people in Rajouri district.
- Nov 11: 14 persons--6 BSF, 4 militants and 4 civilians were killed in a fierce encounter at Panzipora, Sopore; militants also gunned down a civilian and a counter insurgent in Kashmir valley. 4 militants and a JCO were killed in encounter at Ploura Gajral, Rajouri. Two LeT militants were killed in Banihal. Militants killed 4 family members of a police inspector at Karnah. 5 army men were killed in Pak shelling.
- Nov 12: 2 militants were killed by forces at Aragam, Bandipore while a civilian was shot dead by militants at Palpora, Pattan. Militants killed 2 BSF officials including a Sub-Inspector at Chasana, Mahore (Udhampur). Army recovered explosives from Samba forests.
- Nov 13: The death toll in Aragam rose to 6 with death of 3 more militants and a RR jawan. 1 militant was killed by forces in Rajawar (Kupwara) while militants gunned down 2 civilians and an SPO and police recovered 2 dead bodies across Kashmir valley. Troops blasted a militant hideout killing 2 militants in Surankot area. Heavy Pak firing has been reported in Poonch sector.
- Nov 14: A dead body recovered yesterday from Bijbehara turned out of an army source who was gunned down by militants while security forces arrested a prominent HM militant from Pulwama district. Army killed a militant at Kanial Di Gali, Rajouri. While militants gunned down a civilian and injured two others in Hari area of Surankot who had reportedly informed the police about arms consignment which was recovered by the troops.
- Nov 15: 3 militants and a RR jawan were killed in an encounter in Kupwara, while militants launched an unsuccessful rocket attack on army camp at Qazigund. Security forces killed 2 militants at Gamir Muglan, Thanamndi (Rajouri) and 1 militant was killed at Dhaki Kot, Mahore (Udhampur). Police recovered huge quantity of explosives in Ramkot after an encounter with militants who managed their escape.

# Violence Unhinges Kashmiri Society

(Contd. from page 1)

prevent her students from being audible outside.

Academics and research have become more parochial because of the withdrawal of the moderating effect of a pluralistic society. During the last ten years there has been hardly any creative work in art and literature.

**Social Ethos and value system:**

There has been upturning of Kashmir's liberal and humanist social ethos. New value system has emerged, which has given rise to a distorted Kashmiri personality. There is vehement upsurge of material personal agrandisement and opportunism. Temptations of quick and immoral affluence are enveloping the society.

**Indifferent Society:**

There is little outrage in the reacting sections of the society over extortions, grabbing of Pandits' property, cheating and loot that has become so rampant. Kashmiri psyche is also becoming militarised with the society not reacting to brutalisation, unwanted killings, kidnappings and rapes, besides destruction. Mentality of secrecy, non-transparency and paranoid behaviour, reflective of people living in war zones is being internalised.

**Talibanised Ethos:**

What is alarming is the emergence of Talibanised social ethos. Muslim elite is opting for exclusivist-restricted cultural system, where there is no scope for toleration of non-Muslim cultures or groups. Difficulties in return of native Pandits to their homes as a matter of right need to be viewed in this context. The Kashmiri elite is disowning the liberal Muslim symbols and syncretic identity is under attack from these ideologues of the local elite. People are being discouraged from attending the shrines of Muslim saints known for piety and humanism. Previously there used to be community celebrations at these shrines. Now it is strictly an individual or a family affair. In even small villages, Ahli-Hadis mosques are being built to discourage shrine worship. Lot of Saudi funds have flowed for this purpose. A new class has emerged, which corners a substantial portion of these funds.

Even food, dress and manners are being changed to suit the new identity. For example, instead of the traditional Khuda Hafiz (meaning farewell) now Allah Hafiz is said because the word Khuda is of non-Arab origin (Kotayy in Avestic means the Lord). More and more Sanskrit (native Kashmiri) and Persian words in the language are being replaced by Arabic words to link Kashmir to the West Asian-Semitic identity.

How is Talibanisation of Kashmir being effected, a con-

temporary observer writes:

"There is a massive campaign of distortion of place names, legends, traditions and history which has something to do with the pre-Islamic period of Kashmirian history. More than three thousand place names have been changed and adorned

damentalism and sectarian modes of the separatist movement on the social personality and psychology has been considerable. The youth which has been schooled mostly in Jamaat institutions is highly indoctrinated with the ideology of sectarianism and fundamentalism.



Muslim Women take a lead in insurgency in Kashmir: Dukhatran-e-Millat press conference.

with Islamic epithets. Pseudo-historians are trying to rewrite the cultural and social history of Kashmir. A strong lobby has been created to sell the theory that Kashmiris race is not of Aryan but of Semitic origin and that its cultural manifestations are not its own and indigenous but largely or even fully borrowed. The from Central Asia". The symbols of Kashmir's spontaneous identity like Nunda Rishi, the patron saint of Kashmir and Makhdum Sahib, popularly called Mahbulul Alam are being re-evaluated or reinterpreted to suit the needs of an exclusivist identity. When the shrine of Nunda Rishi was burnt down by the Afghan mercenary Mast Gul, the ideologues of the elite ensured that the blame was put elsewhere and the social protest was suppressed. This protest could have unmasked the real face of militancy.

There is concern over the banishment of Pandits. The class, which had a Pandit clientele do talk about secularism in a different context nostalgically but not intellectually.

With this upturning of social ethos, new generations with perverted thinking are emerging. If this trend is not reversed it can pass on to subsequent generations.

**Youth:**

The impact of violence, fun-

It is militarised in its thinking. Since it has grown in a society sanning Pandits this youth is totally opposed to pluralism and liberal ethos.

At the psychological level the youth due to high levels of societal stress has become aggressive, non-respectful to elders, intolerant to criticism, abusive of social and political leadership. Juvenile delinquency and depression, fear psychosis have been reported among the youth by the psychiatrists. Broken families, loss of close kith and kin, constant witnessing of blood-spilling and violence have remoulded the psyche of youth.

**Strain:**

The youth has been deprived of the normal channels of entertainment. Daily life has been squeezed into mere eight hours and outings in the evenings have become unthinkable. Militant groups have intruded the private life of youth. A youth comments, "Militancy has become an alibi for all sorts of pressures. Anybody can stop you, ask any questions. Your privacy is being violated dozens of times everybody. And you cannot even ask why".

Younger generation has come under tremendous strain. Life of uncertainty and insecurity prevails. Dating has been replaced by secretive 'tele-romance'. Cable TV has come under militants' ban of and on. Wearing

jeans can get adolescent girls in trouble. Recently three women were shot in uptown Srinagar. Kashmiri youth are living a strained life without any intellectual freedom. Youth has developed Keyhole vision due to peculiar type of militancy. Moreover youth in the age-group of 18-25 years have been specially the target of allurements by terrorist groups.

**Unrest:**

Is youth showing signs of revolt? This has been the focus of some media stories. Growing addiction to drugs and liquor has been reported. There has been many-fold increase in consumption of liquor. Between January 1997 to May 1998 heroin worth Rs 20 crores was seized. This does not account for the drugs that have gone undetected. Sopore, the most affluent town of Kashmir has now become the hub of drug peddlers. And the victims are mostly boys in the age group of 16-25 years. ISI has deliberately chosen to promote drug addiction to erode the vitality of the populace in the border belt, to subvert the populace and increase the level of criminal activity.

The other reaction of the increased frustration among youth has been the emergence of aggressive promiscuity. Youth of the elite have been more vocal against the repressive cultural atmosphere the insurgency has generated. Snooker clubs, Gyms and Health Club, self-defence courses, special cafes, parlours are becoming new places for their socialisation. Youth is also becoming defiant. A youth who escaped a grenade blast, only next day went to see movie again.

How is the new mood among the elite youth is reflected from

such comments like, "We have unlearned a social behaviour in these ten years. We have to train ourselves to reach a point where we can socialise normally. Before 1989, there was a sense of security here. Everybody was certain about the behaviour of the environment. Now even the sense of familiarity is lost. You become aliens in your own place. That is why youngsters have chosen to retreat into their cocoons."

**The Prospect:**

Sections of elite continue to push common Kashmiris to the path of death and destruction, while they monopolise the benefits accruing from the huge pumping of money into Kashmir. Ideologues of elite arrogantly say that "promiscuity is the price Kashmiris have to pay for achieving their goal" and "during the past ten years it was the 'political dust' or the lumpens who got killed".

Signs of unrest among common Kashmiris are visible but the bad law and order situation and the propaganda of the elite holds them back from actively opposing the separatist upsurge. For the time being Kashmiris have learnt to adopt to the situation.

The people go to offer condolences to the slain militant's family but in private feel elated. There are such numerous instances. Even the parents are informing the security forces about their strayed wards. Two such incidents happened recently in Chinkral Mohalla and Channapora in Srinagar. So long as secular and nationalistic elements fail to mobilise common Kashmiris, the stalemate is going to continue.

## Soz and Tarigami for dialogue with Hurriyat

JAMMU: PDP's Mufti Mohd Sayeed, CPIM leader Mohd Yousaf Tarigami and former minister Saif-ud-Din Soz have advocated dialogue with separatists.

Taking to press persons on Oct 30, Tarigami urged centre to take initiative to hold dialogue with the people of Kashmir. He demanded release of detained Hurriyat leaders to create atmosphere for the dialogue. He also demanded greater autonomy for Jammu and Kashmir and accused the state government of adopting delaying tactics after forming ministry at centre. He described greater autonomy a step towards creating conducive atmosphere for resolution of long standing issues as it will get more sections of people in the main stream.

Prof Soz also urged the government to hold dialogue with secessionist Hurriyat Conference for settlement of Kashmir issue. He described Kashmir situation as serious and accused Central government for delaying the dialogue.

## JK situation alarming-Pilot

NEW DELHI: The former Union Internal Security Minister incharge J&K and senior leader of Congress Rajesh Pilot today described the J&K situation alarming in the wake of recent militant attacks on army cantonment and civil secretariat. He said that though State and Central governments' claim improvement the situation is otherwise very grim.

# Operation Gibraltar: Gauhar's revelations

## Special Correspondent

Mr Altaf is a veteran Pakistan Journalist. Before returning to Pakistan, he had a stint on the Editorial staff of the prestigious magazine South, published from London. In early sixties, Gauhar was Press Advisor to the Pakistan's first military dictator, Gen Ayub Khan. He has also authored Ayub Khan: Pakistan's First Military Ruler.

Gauhar has been closely connected with crucial events during this period. He has recently thrown more light, based on ringside views on the dramatic personae and the events leading to operation Gibraltar in 1965. His revelations about Sheikh Abdullah's role look quite sensational and are bound to provoke lot of controversy in India. Gauhar recently wrote an article in Nation (19/9, 3/10), on "operation Gibraltar".

If Gauhar is to be believed, Ayub Khan was totally opposed to an armed conflict with India. Ayub was torn by a conflict. His political belief was that armed conflict with India must be avoided at all costs. He impressed upon his colleagues that Pakistan could little afford to put its own survival at risk for the sake of Kashmir. Despite this political belief, Ayub like other generals of Pakistan had strong racial prejudice that "the Hindu did not have to guts to fight and a couple of blows would knock him out". It was this racial prejudice that prevailed, when Ayub Khan, despite his initial opposition acquiesced in Bhutto-Aziz Ahmed's plan.

### Rann of Kutch skirmishes:

In April 1965, Pakistan Army as per Gauhar, had launched aggression against India in the Rann of Kutch, with out seeking approval of Gen Ayub Khan. The military dictator was then in Soviet Union. Ayub was really scared that these skirmishes and the jingoistic mood among the generals could provoke a war with India. Ayub is reported to have said "These fellows have started a war on their own".

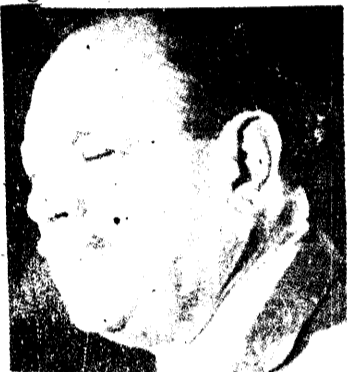
### Bhutto-Aziz conspiracy:

The Pakistan Army generals, and the Foreign Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and the Foreign Secretary Aziz Ahmed had already prepared a plan for a covert operation in Kashmir. Since the end of 1964, Bhutto and Aziz Ahmed had been trying to convince Ayub Khan that India was in a highly vulnerable position and if an operation was launched in Kashmir, the Indians would not be able to offer any response to it.

Gauhar says it was Ayub's determination to see that the dispute did not develop into a war between the two countries which resulted in an understanding between Ayub Khan and Lal Bahadur Shastri in London on

June 1965 that the Rann of Kutch dispute should be sent to an impartial tribunal whose decision would be final. It was decided that there should be a ceasefire from July 1, 1965, and the withdrawal of all troops within seven days. The purpose was to restore the status quo as an January, 1, 1965.

Gauhar further claims that "Ayub had not doubt that the Rann of Kutch accord might serve as a model for the settlement of the Kashmir dispute. He in fact declared that in all cases where peaceful means of settling Indo-Pak disputes prove unavailing the sensible answer is to have



Ayub Khan

recourse to independent arbitration".

The Army and the foreign office were in great euphoria and made Ayub their target for "letting the Indians off the hook". Bhutto and Aziz continued convincing Ayub about the desirability of their military plan. They tried to flatter Ayub by telling him that with death of Nehru, "the world expected Ayub Khan to assume the role of a leader of the subcontinent, in deed the role of De Gaulle in South Asia."

However, Ayub Khan remained unmoved. Meanwhile Sheikh Abdullah visited Pakistan as Nehru's emissary and impressed Ayub Khan deeply. Whether Ayub was really persuaded to visit Delhi is difficult to guess, but the arrangement fell through because of Nehru's death.

### Commando Plan:

By December 1964 Bhutto and Aziz Ahmed okayed the plan to launch commando operation in Kashmir. It was subsequently submitted to Ayub Khan for final approval Ayub asked Altaf Gauhar to examine the plan. Gauhar claims that he reminded Ayub how he (Ayub) had dismissed the similar plan of Mr Liaqat Ali Khan, as 'amateurish', when he was the commander-in-chief.

The Bhutto plan was then put up before the intelligence committee of the cabinet in February 1965. General Musa, commander-in-chief, and his senior officers were present at the meeting along with Bhutto and Aziz Ahmed. Intriguingly, the commanders of the Air Force and Navy were not invited. The plan was explained to the meeting and Ayub Khan asked the participants to give their assess-

ments. Aziz Ahmed, who in later years, flaunted himself as a progressive, dilated upon the international implications of the plan. He said that India was in a highly vulnerable situation as it suffered from lack of leadership and its position in Kashmir had become indefensible. A popular revolt, Aziz claimed, was sweeping the Valley and if Indian forces were diverted by sabotage and subjected to a campaign of harassment by trained soldiers they would be able to offer no response and Kashmir would soon be annexed. The growing friendship of Pakistan with China was also cited as a major factor which would ensure that India would not invade Pakistan even if it was "driven" out of Kashmir. Gauhar argues that Ayub Khan's reaction to the plan was one of extreme anger. He asked the foreign office and ISI why they had drawn up such a plan. It was not their job. All he had asked them was to keep the Kashmir situation under review. They were not called upon to embark on a campaign of military action under govern-

### Bhutto convinces Ayub:

How did then President Ayub Khan made an about turn? Altaf Gauhar says, "it was Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who was primarily responsible for encouraging Ayub to embark on a highly provocative military operation in Kashmir".

After President Ayub's reelection as President in 1965, Bhutto's position in the government had become uncertain. During the election campaign, Miss Fatima Jinnah had attacked Bhutto for personal misconduct in extremely harsh terms. This encouraged some of Ayub's associates particularly the Nawab of Kalabagh to suggest that it was time to off-load Bhutto.

Ayub was disposed to relieve Bhutto who literally begged to retain him. Once re-appointed as Foreign Minister, Bhutto continued to pursue his plan. A day before the president was to see the military plan, Bhutto wrote Ayub a letter explaining that "Pakistan enjoyed relative superiority in terms of quality and equipment." He advised Ayub that India was "at present in no position to risk a general war of unlimited duration for the annihilation of Pakistan". Bhutto warned that if Pakistan did not wrest the initiative by launching his military plan, India would then "seek to launch its final attack for the liquidation of Pakistan at a place and time of its choosing." Bhutto's major concern was to assure Ayub that the risk of India unleashing a war on Pakistan in retaliation for Pakistani raids in Kashmir was negligible and could certainly be contained by Pakistan's diplomatic skill and military superiority.

Ironically it was Bhutto, who roped in senior Army officers for his military plan. He would often call them to his house and impress upon them "the indispensability of launching raids (in Kashmir) as soon as possible". Bhutto in these confabulations bypassed C-in-C, General Musa. The General, in fact complained to the President that Bhutto used these meetings to brain wash his officers.

### Malik's approval:

The military plan was prepared by General Akhtar Malik, GOC 12 Division. On May 13, 1965 a meeting was held at Murree. In this meeting besides



Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah

the President, Gen Musa, Bhutto and some other Army officers were present. The plan was given the name 'Operation Gibraltar' to recall the Muslim hero Zayed Bin Tariq who burnt his boats when he landed on the coast of Spain. As per Gen Malik's plan the first attack was to be on Akhnoor, but Ayub Khan asked him "But why don't you go for the jugular?" Ayub sanctioned additional money and manpower on the spot for attack on the 'jugular'. Altaf Gauhar says that whether Pakistan would 'go for the jugular' at the beginning or during the operation was not discussed at the meeting. The plan was to be kept totally secret to the extent that even the Corps commanders were to remain in the dark. Pakistan also took a number of measures to keep the Indians guessing and to create the impression that Pakistan's Army had no plans to engage in any military operation. Ayub left the capital and went to Swat to give the impression that he was on holiday. Officers and men were allowed to go on leave. Mines planted along Wagah border were removed to "reassure" the Indians that Pakistan had no worry about its border security.

### Sheikh Abdullah's reaction:

In March 1964, Sheikh Abdullah had visited Pakistan as Nehru's emissary. Sheikh has several one-to-one meetings with Ayub. Mesmerised by Sheikh's aura, after one of these meetings, Ayub is reported to have told Gauhar "I wish I had someone like him with me"

Sheikh Abdullah went to En-

gland from Pakistan. Ayub Awan, Director of the Intelligence Bureau, Pakistan at that time was deputed to contact him, as per Gauhar. Mr Gauhar's claims are based on a detailed interview he had with Mr Awan. The purpose of Awan's visit was to offer financial assistance to Sheikh Abdullah Awan was told that Sheikh Abdullah would be going for Umra and would meet him in Mecca.

During their Mecca meeting, Altaf Gauhar writes, "Abdullah told him that he had learnt that some plan had been drawn up to send armed persons into the territory of J&K". Sheikh Ab-

dullah wanted to know that if those plans were based on the assumption that the people of Kashmir would rise in support and the whole Valley would welcome Pakistani soldiers that assumption would prove to be utterly false. Gauhar adds, "Awan admitted to me that he was really taken aback when he heard Sheikh Abdullah talk about a plan which had been kept top secret. How did Sheikh Abdullah discover the plan? To this Awan had no answer"

Awan had no instructions to negotiate any aspect of the plan with Sheikh Abdullah so all he could do was to listen to Sheikh without giving any response. Altaf Gauhar continues, "He (Awan) was utterly startled when Sheikh Abdullah said that he could give his voice to support the plan. 'If I call upon them (Kashmiris) to rise in support of the plan, their response would be overwhelming,'" Sheikh Abdullah said to Awan. "Please don't let me go back to India. Keep me anywhere you like in your Northern Areas or locate me in Sinkiang and let me call upon the Kashmiris from there to give you their full support".

Awan returned to Pakistan and apprised Ayub about Sheikh's message. Neither Ayub nor Bhutto were willing to co-opt Sheikh Abdullah in their plan. They felt Sheikh Abdullah's association with the plan would alert the Indians about Pakistani designs to conquer Kashmir. The duo was also apprehensive that if the plan succeeded, the entire credit would go to Sheikh Abdullah.