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1 *The high cost of restraint: Time to deal a decisive blow*

By Sumer Kaul

What more must Pakistan and its terrorists gangs do before this BJP-led government stirs itself to combative action? We have already seen and suffered twelve long years of bloody mayhem in Kashmir, loss of more than 54,000 lives, unending and escalating terrorist attacks--in towns and villages, on buses and railway stations; on hapless innocent Muslims and Hindu pilgrims and on entire minorities of J&K; on police posts, army convoys and military establishments in the state; and, even more spectacularly, on such fortified and proud monuments of the Indian nation as Delhi's Red Fort--and now the national parliament.

What will it take to make the lumbering Vajpayee dispensation give up its procrastination in the face of the grave provocation from the diabolical ISI-Mullah machine in Musharraf country? When will "the right time" come to deal a decisive blow to the murderous fanatics and mercenaries? Doesn't the government see that its inaction is causing a heaving ground swell of bewilderment and anger in the country?

When the J&K assembly was bombed, the prime minister speedposted a letter to the US president: See what these bad boys have done, please do something about it. Yeah, very bad, said the Big Guy in Washington, but you should continue to be a good boy and do nothing. So, predictably, we did nothing. For domestic effect, Mr Vajpayee said something about India's patience not being unlimited. Now parliament is attacked and the prime minister declares that the non-unlimited patience is wearing thin. Yeah, ok, says Uncle Sam, but don't take any retaliatory action. Having thus spake, Uncle Sam returneth to his "global war" against terrorism in some yet unbombed caves of Afghanistan!

So while the United States goes across continents to bomb the hell out of a poor country in search of one Osama bin Laden, we cannot strike at the Laden-Musharraf bases in PoK, an area which we claim and which legally is part of India! In fact, there would have been no PoK had we done what any other country would have done in the circumstances when Pakistan first invaded Kashmir--thrown them out of the whole state rather than accept the motivated West-dictated ceasefire even as the invaders were fleeing for the lives.

It has been an unbroken caravan of blunders ever since. Space does not permit cataloguing them all but seeing how the original injury has gone on bleeding one cannot cease to regret such blunders as giving up critical areas in Kashmir recaptured in the 1965 war; believing the willy Zulfikar Ali Bhutto that he would bury the Kashmir hatchet forever and therefore again returning all the captured areas, and much else, even when Pakistan was down on its knees in 1971; being content (undoubtedly under US 'advice') with simply retrieving, at the cost of several hundred lives, the areas seized by Pakistan in Kargil, rather than dealing them a punitive blow across the LoC.

It is unfortunate for any country if its leaders lack foresight; infinitely worse if they also lack hindsight. Recall how our present-day leaders while in opposition had lambasted those in power for compromising national honour and national interests in our dealings with Pakistan. Catapulted to power, the same people have made a shambles of our Pakistan policy, abandoned independent thinking and under American encouragement, adopted infinite restraint as a cardinal creed. Newton discovered a law of Physics: Every action has an equal and opposite reaction. This government has evolved its own variation: Every action (against India) has an equal and opposite inaction!

And it has embellished it with high rhetoric of the inane variety. To take the latest, the *fidayeen* attack on parliament, like all previous suicide attacks, has been described (by both ruling and some Opposition leaders) as "dastardly/cowardly". Utterly and even insanely perverse, yes, but, pray, what is cowardly about a man prepared to die for his cause? "The worst terrorists attack"? Extremely sad that half a dozen brave men died in thwarting the attack, but the fact is that in terms of casualties there have been far greater tragedies at the hands of terrorists. "Unprecedented in the annals of democracy worldwide", says the PM. Would it have been a less serious outrage had it been preceded? (And wasn't the bombing of

the Kashmir assembly a precedent in the sense intended?) it was an attack (PM again) on “the largest democracy” in the world. Would it have been less condemnable had we been a smaller country?

What purpose do such utterances serve? Is it a case of unconscious cerebration? Whatever opinion one may have of the intelligence quotient of our political establishment, it is difficult to believe that the pedestrian, cliché-ridden reactions are without purpose. And the only purpose that offers itself is to evoke certain alleged sensibilities in the West generally and in the US in particular by indulging in the “democracy” rhetoric. If this is indeed the purpose then we are being naive in the extreme. When has the West and the US especially really bothered about democracy abroad? To believe that the US will sit up and at last come to our aid because of the “attack on the symbol of democracy” in India is to betray political juvenility.

The United States is going to do nothing of the sort--and it is amazing that we don't realise this even after the experience of the last three months. Recall the government's touchingly innocent expectations that President Bush's avowed resolve to destroy terrorists and their sponsors and harbourers everywhere would mean action in PoK and against Pakistan as well as in Afghanistan. That the so-called global war against terrorism has turned out to be nothing more than a revenge localised in Afghanistan does not seem to have opened our eyes to American duplicity.

Even after the latest terrorist outrage in New Delhi, witness the reaction in official Washington. This time it is not just the perennial advice to exercise restraint. They want us to desist from action across the LoC and, ridiculously enough, share the evidence with Pakistan and hold a joint investigation into the attack! What else should our new-found bosom pal say to make us realise that it is no friend of ours, nor honest about its vow to fight terrorism that affects other countries, least of all Pakistani terrorism against India? In the event, it would be perfectly in order for New Delhi to advise the Bush administration, even now when it has already wreaked havoc on Afghanistan, to share its own evidence against the WTC terrorist attack with the Taliban and hold talks with Osama bin Laden on how to deal with his Al Qaida!

It would need someone like an Indira Gandhi or a Sardar Patel to do this. No one in present-day New Delhi has the spine to stand up to American chicanery. But a question they cannot escape is: Where do we go from here? Continue to look up to Washington and hope that it may yet come to our rescue Or, at least, permit what we may decide to do on our own? If the answer is yes, then we must be prepared for an endless wait and, meanwhile, face more depredations, more attacks, more killings by Pakistan's terrorist network. Are we going to accept this?

The longer this government fails to take the necessary action that less representative it will be of the Indian public opinion. As reported in newspapers, the comments and jokes among the people in Delhi's Connaught Place immediately after the attack on Parliament (“Attack on MPs in public interest”, “Nation's hopes rest on the sixth grenadier holed up inside”) may raise a laugh but the government and the entire political set-up would do well to discern the seething popular anger behind the ‘black humour’.

Enough is enough, Enough of prevarication, enough of kowtowing to the US, enough of hollow rhetoric, enough of petty politicking. We need to and we must now launch condign and conclusive action against the terrorists and their camps, and punish their masters and mentors. Never mind the so-called world opinion, never mind who says what. We have done what was right by us in the past--in Hyderabad, in Goa, in Pokharan, in East Engal. Some powers fretted and fumed on each occasion but sooner than later accepted it all. We gave them no alternative. This is what sovereignty is all about.

A country unable to defend itself is fated to lose, but a country unwilling to defend itself deserves to suffer. Action against the terrorists and Pakistan will not be easy or without costs, but hasn't our “restraint” already cost us a great deal?

**The author is a veteran Journalist based in New Delhi.*

2 General Secretary's Report

By Kuldeep Raina

Today we complete the ten years of our struggle for retrieval of our lost homeland. 28th of December, 1991 was a defining moment in the history of community's resistance against the forces of genocide. It was here, on that day, my community showed determination and vision, when it told to the powers that be that Kashmiri Hindus' exodus was not a fait accompli. It declared that it would fight back for its political rights and the strategic imperatives which were necessary for retrieving Kashmir as a nationalist bastion and a functioning secular society. Out of this vision was born the historic resolution of Margdarshan '91.

This resolution said that the Kashmiri Pandit community will no more submit itself to the operatives of Muslim precedence and it was determined to carve out a union territory on the soil of Kashmir to the north and east of river vitasta for its permanent settlement to put an end to perpetuate genocide. We have assembled here not only to commemorate the tenth anniversary of this historic vision, but also to reaffirm our pledge to work for the aims for which Panun Kashmir was launched.

Struggle of a community, which is in the throes of a genocide, is not a dinner party. The enemy, which has pushed the victimised community towards genocide cannot be expected to sit idle and allow the situation of genocide to reverse. It employs all the strategies - subterfuge, deception, blackmail and force to break the victimised community's will and determination to fight back. The enemy's strategy is to sabotage the victimised community's resistance from within and tighten the siege around the exiled community by declaring no-holds barred assault on the economic, religious, social and political interests of the victimize community. The objective is to break the resolve of the victim to a point where it is forced to welcome and endorse the policies of the perpetrator of the genocide. This is what is happening to our community.

The enemy which wants the perpetual genocide against us to continue, is trying to subvert the agenda that meets our aspirations. It has launched an all round assault on the economic, social, religious and political interests of the community. Never before have the community's educational institutions and shrines been under threat as today. Lastly, the perpetrators of genocide are trying to create a counter-feit leadership. Through such a leadership enemy is trying to rationalise the assault on community's interest as well as break the community's struggle against genocide. The tenth anniversary of Margdarshan '91 is an occasion for us to introspect on enemy's strategies and refashion our responses to move the struggle to the next phase.

Panun Kashmir Movement has completed the first phase of the struggle. It has identified the forces which have pushed our community to a state of continuous genocide and laid bare the historical processes which have facilitated this process. It has prepared a generation of the community to listen to the message of Panun Kashmir. Now it is the task of the next generation to implement the vision of Panun Kashmir. An exiled community that glosses over its achievements cannot struggle. Today Kashmiri Pandit is identified by Panun Kashmir and the 'Pandit question' is the Panun Kashmir question now.

Margdarshan '91 was a continuation of the vision elaborated on 13th and 14th July, 1990. The new leadership of the Pandit community challenged the old guard, which was still unwilling to work out a vision of survival for the community outside the shackles of Muslim communalism. This old leadership had a perspective which reduced the community's resistance to the 'migrant agenda' of the different political groupings. Panun Kashmir soon challenged this dangerous thinking and declared that the community's struggle would be decided by the community itself. It said the Pandit community will live in Kashmir by virtue of its own right and choice and not at the goodwill of Muslim communalists.

The first step in the community's struggle was the territorialization of the community. Resolution No:4 that proposed security zone is thus a key link in the evolution of Panun Kashmir demand. The old leadership, which stood isolated continued to engage itself in manoeuvrings to subvert the agenda of Panun Kashmir and break community's struggle. It gobbled together a coalition of different opportunists, many of whom had been active in working against the interests of the community, to create confusion in

the community. In the process, the old leadership, which had never allowed a vision of survival to develop, got exposed.

Panun Kashmir elaborated the concepts defending the historic and secular regional identity of Kashmir. In 1991, the community under the aegis of Panun Kashmir observed the Vyeth Truvah, the birthday of river vitasta, which had been virtually forgotten by the community due to the constant onslaught by the forces of intolerance. The community members took a pledge on the grounds of Rajinder Park to strive for a future which lies in Kashmir and not in the diaspora. Resolve to return to Kashmir became a chief objective of Panun Kashmir. Observation of Vyeth Truvah also sent a message across to the Pan Islamists who continued their efforts to subvert the secular and historic identity of Kashmir by crafting a putative and sectarian identity.

It took the new leadership one and a half years to concretise the objectives and the broad aims of Panun Kashmir. Its culmination was the Margdarshan '91. For the first time in seven centuries of persecution Pandit community was calling spade by its proper name. It said that Pandit's expulsion was the consequence of the rejection of Coexistence by the majority Muslim community. Pandits declared that they will not live in Kashmir as '*amanat*' of the majority community or as symbols of tokenist secularism or nationalism. Islamic fundamentalist ideology, which has gripped the Kashmir valley forecloses all options for survival of pluralistic and healthy society. This was the vision of Panun Kashmir.

Panun Kashmir challenged the human rights discourse, the nationalists, paradigm on retrieval of Kashmir and the existing paradigm on secular revival. Panun Kashmir reached the global community and sensitized it to two realities. One, that it was not Kashmiri Muslim but the ethnically-cleansed community of Kashmiri Hindus that was the real victim of human rights violations and it was a key factor in any solution to Kashmir. Secondly, the international community was told that Kashmir question is not synonymous with aspirations of Kashmiri Sunni Muslim community, which constitutes just 18% of J&K population. J&K is a heterogenous society, where different ethnic groups have antagonistic aspirations and overwhelming majority was opposed to any form of dilution of Indian sovereignty over Kashmir- be it autonomy or so-called independence. For the first time the nation had an alternative vision for permanent nationalist consolidation in Kashmir. Muslim-Left and the liberal lobbies, which are working overtime to undermine the integrity and sovereignty of India but retain their accessibility to the Indian state have been torpedoing all the nationalist initiatives. It is this lobby which is spearheading the campaign to undermine the relevance of Panun Kashmir as solution to Kashmir and the issue of resettlement of displaced Kashmiri Hindus. Those who are working against Panun Kashmir are the same people who are bent upon sabotaging the nationalist initiatives on Kashmir.

Panun Kashmir emerged as a true mass movement. It forged its links with the masses through countless corner meetings and propagated its vision through seminars, rallies media and wall-paintings, and Prabhat pheris. The distinction between cadres and the masses got blurred. Panun Kashmir cadres reached every Pandit home. This gave new confidence to the Panun Kashmir movement. In 1992 Mr Hamidullah Khan, the then advisor to the J&K government revealed his true colours by stopping the payment of relief to the displaced Pandit community, For four months no relief was disbursed to the members of the community whose sole source of income was the paltry relief. PK organised a massive demonstration of more than 15,000 people at Jammu and the government had no option but to put an end to the anti-Pandit policies of Hamidullah Khan.

A resistance movement of an exiled community cannot be forged without remembering the contribution of the martyrs who have laid down their lives for the survival of the community. Panun Kashmir recalled the day when our ancestor Pandit Kripa Ram Dutt approached Guru Teg Bahadur, the greatest of Indian saints who became the martyr for the survival of our community and faith. We recalled this supreme sacrifice by paying obeisance at Sisganj Gurudwara on Martyrs' Day in 1993. Panun Kashmir organised the Kritagyata Yatra in April 1995 to Anandpur Sahib.

First world Kashmir Pandit Conference brought Panun Kashmir into the national focus. As many as thirteen leading national dailies wrote lead editorials on the movement. This amply demonstrated that

Panun Kashmir as a solution to Kashmir cannot be brushed aside. The conference made a strong plea that unless Pakistan was declared a terrorist state, there can be no meaningful battle against forces of subversion. It has taken Indian state and its political leadership nearly eight years to take preliminary steps now for this.

In 1994, two landmark developments took place. Panun Kashmir sent its own delegation headed by our chairman Dr Ajay Chhangoo to Geneva to tell the world the other side of the coin. Till date it remains the only delegation of Pandits that did not dilute the enormity of human rights violations of Pandits by counterposing the question of killings of the members of the majority community due to varying reasons. This was not obviously liked by those powers that visualised the incorporation of Muslim sectarian subnationalism as a permanent factor in the political landscape of Kashmir.

The second historic development was the launching of Kashmir Sentinel, as the powerful mouthpiece of Kashmiri Pandit community. This fortnightly worked as the Sentinel of the nationalist interests on Kashmir and as the authentic voice of Kashmiri Pandit community. This paper is now in its ninth year of publication and prides in having one of the most enlightened readerships. No paper can survive without funds. It is the strong determination displayed by our community in seeing that the paper survives. However, due to constant financial problems, we have to compromise with the frequency and the space of the paper.

On 28th Dec. 1994, Panun Kashmir dedicated Margdarshan Day to our great saintness, Bhakht Lalleshwari, the great apostle of popular Kashmir Shaivism. Refocusing on her true legacy cleared much of the mist on the Sufi-Rishi interface of medieval times. Panun Kashmir organised seminars in Kanpur, Hyderabad, Udaipur, Chandigarh, Delhi, Bangalore, Mumbai, Jaipur etc. to sensitise the nation to the new challenges in Kashmir.

Panun Kashmir organised a human chain of 1500 children, in the age group of 6-16 years, culminating outside the UN observer's office in Jammu. On the same day its representative in Geneva was speaking to the international human community about the gross human right violations of Kashmiri Hindus.

In 1996, Panun Kashmir refused to accept a role that would depict displaced Pandits as pawns in the political chessboard of Kashmir. Bhuvnesh Chaturvedi the blue eyed man of Narsimha Rao then had said in Geneva '*Agar Pandit Election Mein Hissa Nahi Lenge To Inko Koi Gaas Nahi Chodega*'. Panun Kashmir presented a comprehensive critique of the elections and asked the community to boycott elections till conditions were created for its participation for free elections. It gave precedence to right to live and rehabilitations over tokenist participation in elections. Panun Kashmir demanded a blue print for its rehabilitation, a proper census of the community and guarantees for participatory democracy. This was asking too much for the pro-Muslim lobbies in Indian state. The decision to boycott was endorsed by the entire community, when the leading lights of the community along with the representatives of the camps met at Indian International Centre and served an ultimatum on the government. Anti Pandit sections in the establishment worked overtime to plant disinformation campaigns against Panun Kashmir and its leaders.

Our pleas for survival before legitimising elections, did not go unheard. Despite all the obstacles being put by the state machinery, our delegation managed to meet Mr T.N. Seshan, CEC. He understood our pain but felt helpless. He told us '*Jav Mandir Me Praathna Karo*' our organisation brought out a pamphlet "Why Boycott". It was widely distributed among MP's, Journalists and Opinion Makers. It was the will of the tormented community.

Some of the people who were not prepared to fight out the machinations of the community deserted the organisations. This did create some hiccups but people identify with ideas and not the persons. With the strength of the people, reinvigorated Panun Kashmir challenged the semi-secessionist communal agendas on Autonomy, Resettlement bill etc and the sensitized national opinion thwarted these conspiracies.

Our campaigns against American conspiracies on Kashmir be it the different balkanising plans or the ceasefire deceptions or track-two games have borne fruit. There are signs of national leadership waking upto the assaults on national sovereignty.

No struggle can succeed with out a broad but purposeful unity. The community has enough experience that tokenist or protocol unity only builds inertia. Real unity is the unity of minds and not the heads. With this objective Panun Kashmiri worked as a catalyst in forging the unity of Ladakhi, Kashmiri Hindus and people of Jammu by launching PIPU, Peoples' Initiative on People's of Unity. PIPU has successfully contested the subversive politics of autonomy and is creating a basis for secular-nationalist consolidation in J&K. PIPU organised a seminar in Bangalore in February 2001. It was a clear message that the deprivations of different groups in J&K cannot be removed in isolation from the broad struggle against the forces of nationalist disruption. PIPU organised two bandhs in Jammu to focus attention of people of Jammu to the acts of terrorist war and the game-plan of ethnic-cleansing against minorities of J&K.

Panun Kashmir delegation met Mr KC Pant in Srinagar this year and in the first ever press conference in Valley after the exodus articulated that no exodus can be a fait accompli. Pandits will fight back. Attempts to snatch away Kashmir's historic and secular identity will not succeed come what may.

The next phase of our struggle is to be launched outside J&K by mobilising the Indian Nation to put pressure on Indian state for nationalist intervention in Kashmir.

3 Scholarship in Jammu and Kashmir under the Dogra Rule

Interface with Western Indologists

By S.N. Pandita

The account of my story is about scholars, Kashmiri and Western both, about their achievements and also the patronage, successive Dogra Kings of Jammu and Kashmir lent to them and thus enabled them to write a glorious record of Indological studies in Kashmir during the 19th and 20th century. Perhaps there are few equivalent parallels in the contemporary history of India about the patronage successive rulers of a Royal dynasty accorded to scholarship and spread of learning and education as the Dogra dynasty did to promote Kashmiri and Western scholarship. Indeed for this patronage they have marked their niche in the history of India. Yet, but surprisingly so literary historians have been silent so far on this record of history of Jammu and Kashmir during Dogra rule. In fact I may say that history of Dogra patronage to interface between Kashmiri and Western scholars is completely an unmapped area of Kashmir studies and I have no hesitation to say that it is a story of obscurity of history.

You may agree with me that all areas, be it the Kashmir language, ancient Kashmir history, the works of Kashmir literature or folk traditions, everything was alien to western scholars and yet when we assess and comprehend the results of their works it can safely be assumed that it would have been simply impossible for them to achieve these without the help and assistance of local Kashmiri scholars, while both were supported and patronised to pursue their tracks by the Dogra rulers. It is against this background I shall try to show a close relationship of joint scholarship and try to establish that Kashmir scholars stand as equals to their western counterparts in this glory.

For the health of its own soul West wanted to know everything and exploit that lay within the range of their intellect. The curiosity and spirit of enquiry, this intellectual urge of West was contagious and it was transmitted as a matter of fact to the Kashmiri Pandits also. For the latter also, it became a great mental tonic and spiritual force to awaken and rejuvenate their intellectual sense.

As an old people, worried and wearied by domestic trials and tribulations and consideration of matters both mundane and intellectual, Pandits of Kashmir had suffered the inability to portray the gifts of scholarship to the world.

For a long time Pandits had nothing but some shreds of past memories, some dim recollection of what they were and what they had achieved through their seminal minds. Before all that could have been lost by the advent of so-called modernism the traditional literary wealth of Kashmir was given a fine treatment by Western scholars in association with local Kashmiri scholars under the ample and liberal patronage of the Dogra Maharajas and thus one of the richest oriental literature was prevented from getting lost and instead opened to the world one of the richest stores of knowledge and wisdom. This interface also bridged Kashmiris to the glory of past achievements and deserving claims. It also brings out the role of Dogra regime in shaping the literary and scholarly traditions of Jammu and Kashmir for the gain and benefit of mankind as a whole.

The patrons are Maharaja Ranbir Singh, Maharaja Pratap Singh, Raja Amar Singh and Maharaja Hari Singh. The known icons of the Western scholarship are Professor George Buhler, Sir Aurel Stein, Sir George Grierson, Dr David Brainered Spooner, Professor Sten Konow, Dr H Hultzsch, Professor J.Ph. Vogel, Professor Maurice Winternitz, Dr Carl Kellor, Dr K.de. Vreese, Sir John Marhall and Professor Franklin Edgerton. The barey known Kashmiri scholars are Pandit Govind Koul, Pandit Damodar, Pandit Sahib Ram, Pandit Sahaz Bhat, Professor Nityanand Shastri, Pandit Mukund Ram Shastri, Pandit Anand Koul, Pandit Ishwar Koul and Professor Jagdhar Zadoo.

Soon after his accession to the throne in the year 1857 Maharaja Ranbir Singh consecrated a shrine to the worship of Rama from whom according to Dogra tradition the house of Jammu Rajas claim descent. Maharaja provided rich endowments for founding and maintenance of such religious institutions as the Dharmashastras recommended to be established in connection with the temple buildings, Among these institutions a pathshala or college, a library of Sanskrit works were the foremost objects of the Maharaja's

care and stand forth as solid monument of two main qualities in his remarkable character, pious regard for the inherited religious traditions and enlightend interests in Indian learning. The Maharaja's desire was to revive the study of Vedic texts which in his dominion as well as in the Punjab had practically ceased for centuries. Collections of manuscripts began in the very first year of Maharaja's reign, competent teachers were drawn to the Raghunath Temple and the library and whose names worth to be recorded were Pandit Goukulachandra, the learned head of the temple schools, Pandit Duga Prasad of Jaipur, Rassa Mohan Bhattacharya from Bengal, Pandit Dilaram and Pandit Bhaskara Jyotirvid of Maharaja Ranbir Singh. As Maharaja Ranbir Singh resolved upon the expansion of the Raghunath temple library, collection of Sanskrit works and manuscripts from different parts of India started. Maharaja ordered this to the care of Pandit Asananda who would spend sanction amount of Rs 15000 annually in procuring manuscripts.

Liberal patronage exercised by the Maharaja attracted an increasing number of Pandits to Jammu, where many found employment either at the court or in connection with various scholastic and religious establishments. New opportunities arose for enlarging the collection of library. The rich stores of Sanskrit literature preserved by the Pandits of Kashmir had at an early date attracted the Maharaja's attention. Extensive operations were begun about 1861 under his orders by Pandit Raja Kaka son of Pandit Birabalabhadra the representative of distinguished Pandit family of Srinagar for the prupose of obtaining copies of all Kashmiri Sanskrit works not found in India. He was assisted by well known Kashmiri scholars such as Pandit Balabhadara Kaka, Pandit Sahib Ram, and Pandit Krishan Bhat. Pandit Raja Kaka had obtained large collection of works to the library from Kashmir when he died in 1864. The task was further taken up by Pandit Jagadhara of Jammu with the help of Pandit Daya Ram Jyotirvid and Pandit Sukh Ram of Srinagar.

A large number of works were produced under the patronage of Maharaja Ranbir Singh with the object of spreading a knowledge of classical Hindu learning among the Maharaja's Dogras subjects. Not less than 38 different works were prepared by Kashmiri scholars under his auspices and prove sufficiently the wide extent of the Maharaja's literary patronage. These Pandits included Pandit Sahib Ram, Pandit Vasudeva, Pandit Ganesha, Pandit Ramachandara and Pandit Daya Ram Shastri of Srinagar. Pandit Sahib Ram was undoubtedly the foremost among Kashmiri scholars of this list and was commissioned by Maharaja Ranbir Singh to prepare descriptive survey of all ancient Trithas of Kashmir and to restore the corrupted text of Nilamata Purana with a staff of Pandits placed at his disposal.

With the progress of Raghunath library temple collection, first European interests were drawn towards this treasure. Rudolf von Roth Professor of antiquities at the University of Vienna came to know of a unique Vedic manuscript, an unknown version of the Atharva Veda to exist in Kashmir. Through scholarly and quasi-official channels he persuaded the British authorities in India to try and locate it in Kashmir. After many years it was obtained by Maharaja Ranbir Singh in 1875 who sent the birch bark original manuscript to Sir William Muir. The Governor was non pulsed when the object of negotiation was handed to him, a messay bundle of grimy tattered 287 pieces of birch bark leaves held by a chord passing through the centre. An urgent telegram was sent to George Buhler, then professor of oriental languages in Bombay to come to the viceregal mansion. One look at the manuscript, convinced Buhler that it needed a washing. Reassuring Sir William that the ink used would not be affected. He laundered the same in his bathroom. The manuscript was restored and the act earned Buhler the admiration of Governor. Maharaja Ranbir Singh had obtained this unique manuscript from Pandit Daya Ram Jyotshi through the persuasion of Keshav Bhat Zadoo. George Buhler further worked in Kashmir during 1875 and collected more than 300 manuscripts many of them in Sharada script written on birch bark leaves with the assistance and help of Pandit Damodar under the kind order of Maharaja. Buhler was also assisted by Pandit Radha Krishen in this task. Radhakrishen was the first native Kashmiri to recommend to Government of India the need to catalogue manuscript collection with private individuals. He identified 23 natives with private libraries in the heart of Srinagar itself.

Of Damodar's erudition Buhler remarked that he was a learned scholar who seemed to shake Sanskrit verse and prose out of his sleeves. He wished "I had such teachers in oriental college". George Buhler

looked out to search the most original manuscript of Rajatarangini which he called Codex-archetypus which was then retained by the learned Kashmiri Pandit Siva Ram whose family alone in Kashmir had always preserved a copy of Royal chronicle. Buhler endeavoured to obtain it. He was permitted only a glimpse before the owner took the manuscript away. There his good future deserted him. He left Kashmir in December 1875 for Vienna. At Vienna his student Aurel Stein heard this story from Buhler himself.

With the arrival of first English missionary, Doxey in 1881, Maharaja Ranbir Singh readily agreed to his suggestion to establish a school in Srinagar on the lines of modern education. Doxey was followed by Hinton Knowles as the Principal. He with the help of Pandit Anand Koul collected more than 1600 native sayings and proverbs, a rare work for its rich content of folk wealth of local Kashmiri language. For this help Anand Koul was elevated to be the first Head Master of the Mission School. Together Knowles and Anand Koul wrote folk tales of Kashmir also. Being well versed in English language Anand Koul was appointed as Sherrif by Raja Amar Singh, the President of Council of Regency set under the express orders of Maharaja Pratap Singh in 1891.

Stein followed his teacher Buhler's example and arrived in Kashmir on August 12, 1888, thirteen years after the departure of his teacher. Equipped with the recommendations of the Vice-Chancellor of Punjab University, Dr Rattigan, Stein was received by the European educated Governor of Maharaja Pratap Singh who had ascended to throne after the death of his father Maharaja Ranbir Singh in 1885. Within two days the Governor arranged Stein's meeting with the Pandits in his house. Raja Amar Singh, the Maharaja's brother honoured it with his presence and was introduced to Stein. Stein conversed with the Raja in Sanskrit. He met many Pandits which included Pandit Damodar, recommended to him by Buhler besides Pandit Govind Koul, Pandit Mukund Ram Pandit Ishwar Koul and Pandit Sahaz Bhat. Stein was doing what he wanted to do in the place he had wanted to be and he was immensely successful under the patronage of Maharaja Pratap Singh.

Only one flaw marred the excitement of his first visit to Kashmir. He could not lay his hands upon the Codex-archetypus of Rajataragini. It was a year later in 1889 under the directions of Maharaja, Dr Suraj Koul could obtain the complete manuscript of Rajatarangini for Stein's use. This Darbar arranged for the assistance of Kashmiri scholars, Govind Koul and Mukund Ram to assist Aurel Stein in the edition and translation of Rajatarangini which took, in Stein's own words "eleven years of committed friendship and exacting scholarship of my Kashmiri colleagues". Their commitment to scholarship brought with it lasting friendship too.

In Stein's second holiday trip to Jammu with ready support of the Resident, Parry Nisbet he was received cordially by the Maharaja's brother, Raja Amar Singh, put in the palatial dak bungalow as guest of Court with elephants as part of Royal transportation. The manuscript library of Raghunath temple comprising of about 8000 manuscripts was opened for Stein's access by the order of Maharaja on 19th October, 1889. Following day Aurel Stein had an audience with the Maharaja who received him in the Darbar. He sat on the right side of Maharaja with Raja Amar Singh on Maharaja's left while the entire Court sat on carpet before them. Twelve most learned Pandits summoned by Maharaja's expressed wish which included Pandit Ishwar Koul, Pandit Damodar, Pandit Mahatab, Pandit Govind Koul, Pandit Sehaz Bhat all from Srinagar and Pandit Ganga Ram and Pandit Govindacharya of Jammu, conversed with Stein in Sanskrit. The Maharaja desired Stein to recite verses from Vedas. This Stein did. It convinced the Maharaja of his ability and intent both. In one hour the audience was over. On Stein's departure the Royal guard fired a salute, which "an undeserved honour" according to Stein, made his elephants restless.

On Stein's recommendation the catalogue work was entrusted to Pandit Govind Ram and Pandit Sahaz Bhat who were provided with the services of six copyists also. The inclusion of Sharada manuscripts of Kashmir which were less readable to scholars from India were transcribed into Devnagari, yet at the instructions of Maharaja 12 well preserved birch bark codies were added to library and of whose specimen of calligraphy Stein opined as excellent pieces that truly fit a Royal library. Other Kashmir scholars who were involved in catalogue work included Pandit Damodar and Pandit Ishwar Koul.

Alongside, Aurel Stein studied ancient geography of Kashmir during the summer seasons of 1888, 1889, 1891, 1892 and 1894 and in shorter visits during 1895 and 1896 with the help of Pandit Govind Koul and Pandit Chand Ram. All these great indological works, the edition of Rajatarangini, the motif of which had three movements in Aurel Stein's hand namely the Sanskrit edition in 1892, English translation and commentary in 1900 intervened with publication of Ancient Geography of Kashmir in 1896 was the outcome of Maharaja Pratap Singh patronising these works.

Paying fulsome tribute to Govind Koul and Pandit Mukund Ram for their help Stein recorded, "I am indebted to both scholars for much information and explanation on Kashmirian topics without which correct comprehension of Kalhan's text was unattainable". For Pandit Damodar, Stein said, "he was the facile prince among the scholars of Kashmir and had set himself the task to continue Rajatarangini from the time of Akbar to his own and from what I have seen of the parts composed Kalhan could have found generations past no worthier successor". Regrettably Pandit Damodar died in 1892 itself. The Sanskrit edition of Rajatarangini was dedicated by Stein to Maharaja Pratap Singh as a mark of his deep gratitude and respect. The English edition was dedicated to the memory of George Buhler. Stein thanked Raja Amar Singh the Prime Minister of State too for his generous grants to carry archaeological survey in Kashmir patronised by him for preservation of monuments, ancient culture and literature of Kashmir.

For the catalogue work Aurel Stein recorded his gratitude. "To his Highness Maharaja Pratap Singh who in a spirit of true enlightenment for marks of personal kindness he has favoured me with and who himself having received thorough education in several Sastras and who faithfully cherishes the literary patronage of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, has been pleased to give me personally through communications, most of the history of temple library and the scholars connected with its formation. It is a source of special gratification to me to record this as valuable proof of his interest in my work. The Prime Minister Raja Amar Singh never failed to evince his interest in all matters of my research. I am indebted to him for the arrangements of Pandits and the scholars whose assistance and help enabled me to undertake the publication of the catalogue". Commenting on the help of Pandit Govind Koul and Pandit Sehz Bhat, Stein observed, "their notes slips, and brief commentary on each manuscript have on many occasions most usefully supplemented my printed sources of references". The catalogue was published in 1984 which according to Stein, "was a great store of Sanskrit literature in India."

It is of interest to know that Maharaja Pratap Singh accorded an equivalent deifying status to this rich library collection by getting it deposited in a room adjoining the central Cella of the temple dedicated to Raghunath. Later as the collection increased it was shifted to a gallery forming part of quadrangle which enclosed the temple court but it did not offer sufficient safety from fire and other dangers. Maharaja ordered for the collection to be kept in the central shrine itself. This act bears testimony to Maharaja's laudable foresight and his admiration for achievement of scholars.

While Stein was in Lahore, Lockwood Kiplince father of famous Rudyard Kipling then curator at Lahore museum, gave Stein the need of an example and that was his freedom, "to value such Indian scholars as Pandit Govind Koul".

In 1888 Aurel Stein was invited by Raja Amar Singh to prepare a report on Vangath temple and Pandrethan ruins. The Raja showed his willingness to spend to have them restored. "All in all the Raja was gracious", wrote Stein. While Aurel Stein was still engaged in his Kashmir labours between 1888 to 1900 he had already become the greatest western patron of Kashmiri Pandits and drew attention of Irish linguist George Grierson to Pandit Ishwar Koul's Kashmiri grammar the Kashmiri Shabdarnit which the former edited in 1898 and was published by Asiatic Society of Bengal. Of this work Grierson observed, "It appeared as if written by Hemachandra himself. All I did was to correct only the slips and errs of pen". Towards the end of 1900 Stein shifted the field of his work to central Asian explorations but he was already a pivot in the interface which was to become more racy in the subsequent decade of 20th century between Kashmiri and Western scholars.

In July 1900 Aurel Stein recommended the Dutch indologist J.Ph.Vogel to Kashmiri scholar Pandit Nityanand Shastri who was then a teacher of Sanskrit in the Maharaja's Pathshala in Srinagar. Their

exacting studies in the field of epigraphy connected with Sharada inscriptions on rock in Chamba valley led to discovery and assessment of the earliest 10th century record of Kashmiri script. The work is well known world over as *Antiquities of Chamba* which appeared in 1913. Of Pandit Nityanand's assistance and help Vogel observed that "he was a scholar who dispelled avidya and who had mastered all the shastras and whose knowledge of sciences had reached the other end of ocean". He acknowledged that how grateful he was to fate that Nityanand was acknowledged his teacher as well as friend teacher as well as friend. He called him Hanumana who could cross the ocean with his Shastrik knowledge. Their long friendship lasted more than four decades. Between 1902 to 1908 J.Ph. Vogel was drafted into Archaeological Survey of India to take control of North-Western Frontier Provinces and Kashmir monuments under Maharaja Pratap Singh's express consent.

As Aure Stein had shifted to Central Asia, A.W. Straton took the Registrarship of Punjab University Lahore in 1900 a tenure which he occupied just for two years following his untimely death in Gulmarg in 1902. Straton came in contact with Kashmiri scholars like Pandit Harabhat, Pandit Nityanand and Pandit Mukund Ram. He studied Kavya Drama and texts of various Sastras in Kashmir with their assistance and exchanged lot of correspondence with these Kashmiri scholars which bore the wealth of literary interactions. Subsequently Straton's widow Anna Booth through the efforts of Vogel collected all the Sanskrit letters that her husband A.W. Straton had written to and received from Kashmiri scholars to make a book. This book was published in London in the year 1908 under the title "Letters from India". The English translation of Sanskrit letters was done by Maurice Bloomfield, the famous author of *Vedic Concordance*. It is pertinent to record that Bloomfield was Guru of 20th Century's greatest linguist Noam Chomsky, who for the future generations will be what Descartes, Mozart, Newton, Galileo and Freud have been to ours. With Bloomfield's translation of Sanskrit letters making the content of the book, it is however said that the work is practically unknown in India and in particular to Kashmir intelligentsia and more sadly even a copy of it is believed to be not available at present in India.

In the year 1905 Harvard scholar David Brainerd Spooner visited Kashmir and came in contact with Nityanand, Hara Bhat and Mukund Ram. This interaction led to spread of Sanskrit studies at Harvard University in America and this perhaps is the earliest event when Sanskrit leaning began in America. Spooner desired with Nityanand if the Maharaja could appoint him under his dominions in the area of archaeology. It was however much later that Spooner served the Archaeological Survey of India in 1919 and was incharge of Kashmir monuments under the express patronage of Maharaja. Earlier Nityanand wrote a four volume commentary and translation of Taittiriya Upanishad which found its place in the Harvard University library in the year 1913.

The year 1906 was important politically in Kashmir. The Viceroy Lord Minto came to Kashmir and visited Srinagar on 6th October. He was welcomed warmly by Maharaja Pratap Singh in Srinagar. It was to generous greatness of the Maharaja that he expressed a desire that ceremonial address to the British Royal dignitary was read in traditional Sanskrit language. It was left to two Kashmiri scholars Nityanand and Mukund Ram to read the welcome address and recite some Sanskrit verses in praise of the visiting dignitary. It was yet one more high point of Maharaja's patronage to excellence and Kashmiri scholarship. The two Kashmiris did the job with grace and aplomb which earned them appreciation of both the Maharaja and the Viceroy.

In the year 1908 Pandit Mukund Ram was deputed by the Darbar to assist and help Norwegian indologist Professor Sten Konow of the University of Oslo in his epigraphical works in Kashmir. Of Mukund Ram's erudition Konow recorded in the report he submitted to the Government, "he is an excellent scholar and whose knowledge of history is probably unsurpassed amongst the Pandits of Kashmir." In the same year under the orders of Maharaja, Mukund Ram was deputed to assist Pope Ved in his task to translate Tibetan texts into Sanskrit. After learning Tibetan language himself Mukund Ram translated 1,50,000 shlokas of Tibetan text Kangur Tangur into Sanskrit an astonishing feat which earned him admiration of the Maharaja and a cashprize of Rs 500. The celebrated archaeologist A.H. Franckie of the Moravian mission also came to Kashmir in 1908 for the study of Tibetan inscriptions in Ladakh and Tibet. Seeking local assistance in this task Maharaja Pratap Singh deputed Pandit Mukund Ram. In their tour to Dras

Franckie placed some of the rock inscriptions that William Cunningham had earlier tried to decipher and had thrown them in despair. Mukund Ram read them with ease. In his report later submitted by Franckie to the government he recorded, "what Cunningham had thrown in despair became intelligible in half an hour with Mukund Ram. I recall with satisfaction many hours of work with this excellent scholar".

As the scholarly interaction between Western and Kashmiri scholars was growing steadily, the Russians also started getting interested to work on indological themes. It was in the year 1911 two Russian scholars, a husband and wife team by the names Victor and Luydmill Meirwarth from the Leningrad University visited India on a four year term to acquire manuscripts, artifacts and other related materials of antiquities from India for creating a museum of Indian antiquities at the Leningrad University. During their sojourns in India they also visited Kashmir in 1912. At Srinagar they came in contact with Kashmiri scholar Pandit Jagdhar Zadoo. Meirwaths who had obtained complete works of south Indian poet Basa Kavi desired to have these translated from Sanskrit into Russian language. This was possible only by translating first these works from Sanskrit into English. The translations were made by Jagdhar Zadoo and found their way to the Leningrad University museum in 1914. Jagdhar Zadoo had also a brief encounter with a Japanese scholar Momo Moto Koso who too visited Srinagar in 1914 and acquired good knowledge of various subjects of Kashmir studies.

The year 1912 began much like any other in Kashmir. Aurel Stein was then in Peshawar. There he met the Viceroy Hardinge. Following this meeting he dashed straight to Srinagar. There as the guest of the Kashmir Resident S.M. Fraser, Stein was lodged in the best rooms in the place. He took advantage of following with the Maharaja in May 1912 the prospect of establishing a Kashmir Art Institute with the support of Dr Mitra the Home Secretary. The proposal was well taken by the Maharaja and Kashmir Art Institute became a reality in the next year in 1913. In July 1912 to utter astonishment of Aurel Stein he received a communication from the viceroy's hand about the conferment of title of K.C.I.E. (Knight Commander of Indian Empire). His investiture took place on October 15, at Srinagar in the hotel run by Nedous. The splendid occasion served Stein well. The Maharaja was present with his full Court. His old native friends Mukund Ram and Nityanand Shastri were there to greet him. The Viceroy too was also present on the occasion. But alas! for Stein it was too late for Govind Koul who was no longer among the living. Stein had brief interview with the Maharaja and the Viceroy where he supported the cause of according due recognition for Kashmiri scholars with both the Royal highups. At the ceremony Stein spoke of his best Indian friend Govind Koul by stating, "the first sure steps on the ladder that led me to this fame and success had been made with the friendship and help of Pandit Govind Koul". This was the scholar friend with whom Aurel Stein had discussed every line and word of Rajatarangini on which they had worked together for more than a decade earlier. Emotionally it was hard for Stein to have written finis to a work whose every point he had analysed with Pandit Govind Koul.

Earlier also Stein had mourned the death of his friend. Then in Calcutta on July 13, 1899, he wrote, "This news has moved me very deeply and will remain a sorrow for a long time." And a week later he had still lamented Govind Koul's death, "The loss of Pandit Govind Koul lies heavily on my heart. He died too early and I deeply feel the gap he has left in my Indian life."

After the investiture ceremony, Aurel Stein pleaded with the Maharaja to make recommendations to the Viceroy for allowing appropriate recognition of Mukund Ram's assistance to him. Stein saw that all his labours in Kashmir expounded on Rajatarangini, the catalogue of Ranbir library and studying ancient geography of Kashmir with the help of Kashmiri scholars had become the vehicle that had brought him to the threshold of his self chartered career as a pioneer in Central Asian research. Aurel Stein was a Sanskritist first, archaeologist and explorer later. It was his knowledge of Sanskrit that he used as a tool to dig out the past history of Central Asia. For this boon he owed his gratitude to Kashmir and its scholars.

Two months later on 11th December, 1912 Lord Hardinge the Viceroy conferred the title of Mahamahopadhyaya on Mukund Ram Shastri. He became the first Kashmiri to have Doctor of Literature in Sanskrit. Four days later the Kashmir Resident, Fraser issued the notification of conferment of title on Mukund Ram as a personal distinction, the Viceroy Hardinge of Penhurst, had granted him. If knighthood gave Stein the privilege to sit by the side of Viceroy, the title of

Mahamahoupadhyaya gave Mukund Ram the honour to sit next to the Raja in the Darbar. Recognizing his meritorious achievement Maharaja Pratap Singh appointed Mukund Ram to the post of Head of Research Department in Kashmir in 1913, a position he held until his death in 1921. Of this Kashmiri scholar Sir John Marshall had observed in 1915, "There was no Pandit like of him in India."

While Stein was still engaged with his labours on Rajatarangini the Irish linguist George Grierson had begun his monumental work on linguistic survey of India which included also the Kashmiri language and compilation of Dictionary of Kashmiri Language in 1898. In this monumental task Grierson was chiefly assisted by Pandit Mukund Ram, Govind Koul and Pandit Nityanand Shastri. As Govind Koul died at a very young age of 50 years in 1899, it was left to the scholarly assistance of Pandit Mukund Ram to work on these land marks of Kashmir studies. He carried the work for next twenty years which was snapped only by his death in 1921. As the work on Dictionary of Kashmiri language was still incomplete Grierson was now assisted by Pandit Nityanand Shastri till its completion in 1932.

The completion of Dictionary of Kashmiri language was a task that took 34 years of dedicated scholarship of Grierson and his Kashmiri associates. On its completion George Grierson recorded, "I owe a heavy debt of gratitude to Professor Nityanand Shastri of Sri Pratap College Srinagar for much help in explaining difficult points in Kashmiri idiom and meaning that baffled my unaided knowledge. After the death of my assistant Mahamahoupadhyaya Mukund Ram Shastri this gentleman placed all the resources of his great learning at my disposal. He even wrote for me a commentary on an ancient Kashmiri work Mahanaya Prakasa which I found most valuable in elucidating the history of language. By the regretted death of Mukund Ram Shastri I lost a valuable coadjutor possessed of unique knowledge of his native language in all its forms ancient and modern and it is with genuine sorrow that I recognise that he did not live to see the completed sheets of work on which he spent such fruitful labour".

Grierson further noted, "as my knowledge of Kashmir language was small the real authors of this Dictionary are these Pandits". Commenting on the importance and use of Ishwar Koul's Kashmir Shadbamrita in the making of Kashmiri Dictionary Grierson further observed, "whenever I was in doubt, Ishwar Koul was my last authority".

Following the completion of Kashmiri Dictionary Aurel Stein was greatly happy to commend Pandit Nityanand's help in this work and had taken the first opportunity to write to him about the successful culmination. While Sival arinaya was through the press it was Grierson's delight to write to Nityanand and inform him about the completion of task. Mukund Ram wrote a complete commentary on Kashmiri text Siva Parinaya of the great Lila poet Krishana Joo Razdan which Grierson later edited and published in six volumes between 1914 and 1924.

In 1914 Mukund Ram also collated the first complete and most authentic manuscript of the sayings of 14th century Kashmiri poetess Lalded from the tradition of oral utterances then prevalent in Kashmir. In this great oriental work Pandit Nityanand in 1917 helped Grierson to unlock and understand the riddle of meters used in these poetical sans. It was this record of Lala's sayings which Grierson and Lionel Barnett edited and published as Lalal Vakiyani in London in 1920.

While Aurel Stein was still engaged on his Rajatarangini labours in 1896 he used the opportunity to record the Kashmiri folk tales verbatim in Roman script from the mouth of a peasant bard Hatim which were simultaneously recorded in Devnagri script by his coworker Pandit Govind Koul. The tales according to Stein had, "many humorous idioms unfamiliar to Indian spirit". Appreciating their richness, Stein had recorded them with the purpose of translating them into German. Stein further recorded, "I might well have hesitated about attempting the record of these materials at all, if I had not been assured from the start of Pandit Govind Koul's most competent and painstaking collaboration. The manuscript record of these tales was handed over to George Grierson by Stein in 1912 which the former edited and published from London in 1917 as Hatim's Tales.

Aurel Stein took the last public occasion to remember his old Kashmiri friend Govind Koul by writing a record of his life and his achievements, "A Memorium to Govind Koul". This was published from Oxford in 1923, in which Stein recorded, "whenever Pandit Govind Koul was by my side whether in dusty heat

of Lahore or in the Alpine coolness of Kashmir, I always felt as a historical student in continuity with the past history of India and only regret that a union with him is beyond possibility in this Janama. Kalhan himself the author of Rajatarangini with whose personality I felt, I was becoming so familiar across the gap of long centuries seemed aptly to illustrate this typical combination of features. In Pandit Govind Koul I found them all again and united with a high sense of honour, a bearing of true innate nobility and a capacity for faithful attachment which from the first made me cherish him greatly as a friend and an accomplished mentor". Stein took this opportunity to record the epitaph for Ishwar Koul too whom he described as, "Kashmirian epiphany of panini".

In the year 1916 Maharaja Pratap Singh appointed Pandit Nityanand Shastri as the first Professor of Sanskrit in the college at Srinagar that bore his name. It was yet one more proof of continued patronage of the Dogra rule to Kashmiri scholarship besides recognition of Nityanand's contribution to Sanskrit learning and his achievements as a scholar. Five years later in 1921 Grierson solicited Nityanand's help to translate the first written Kashmiri work Mahanaya Prakasa of Siti Kantha into Sanskrit. Grierson was aware about the importance and need of getting the 14th century Kashmiri work translated in to Sanskrit. He showed keenness about this task as he wrote to Aurel Stein, "I want Nityanand to do same to Mahanaya Prakasa, what Pandit Govind Koul did to Hatim's tales. It is an important work to assess for the elucidation of history of Kashmiri language." The translation later found its way to Grierson's receipt in Glengary, England in 1922.

In July 1923 German scholar Maurice Winternitz, who had earlier served as an amanuensis for 18 years to legendary Max Mueller at Oxford visited Kashmir. Winternitz had come to India in connexion with his monumental work about history of Indian literature and it was also his intention to edit great Indian epic Mahabharata and thus came to Kashmir to know and learn about the tradition of Mahabharata manuscripts in Kashmir. Winternitz sought Aurel Stein's help in this regard. Stein referred Winternitz to Nityanand for the successful achievements in this task. His encounter with Nityanand resulted in Kashmir Mahabharata text edited in 1923 by him, finding place of honour on the shelves of library of University of Prague in Czechoslovakia. Nityanand also assisted Winternitz with history of Naga traditions in Kashmir, the duly acknowledged account of which finds mention in the History of Indian Literature edited by Maurice Winternitz which was published by Calcutta University in 1927.

While Winternitz took assistance of Nityanand for the edition of Mahabharata, Dutch scholar J.Vogel too was attracted to the tradition of Naga worship in India and Kashmir bearing strong references to Naga worship from the legendary accounts available in Nilamata Purana, sought help of Nityanand in compiling these references in his work. The assistance given by Nityanand to Vogel stand as yet one more landmark of his erudition. The monumental work was published from London in 1926 under the "The Serpent Lore-Naga Worship in Legend and Art". It bears the record of Nityanand's contribution in completion of this great work. According to Vogel the persons to whom he was indebted for the successful completion of the task included Sir John Marshall, Sir George Grierson, Professor Julius Bloch, Sir Aurel Stein and Professor Nityanand of Kashmir amongst many other distinguished scholars. The Kashmiri scholar stood shoulder high alongside the Icons of Indology.

American Sanskritist Professor Franklin Edgerton from Yale University came to Kashmir in May 1927 for a year's study on Kashmir Saivism. He too sought assistance of Sir Aurel Stein, who according to Vogel knew better than anyone else the learned class of Kashmir, as to from whom he should seek the assistance in his endeavors in Kashmir. Yet again Stein was quick to recommend Nityanand to him. Following their joint pursuits Edgerton recorded "but for his vast knowledge of Kashmir Saivism I would have been less knowledgeable on this subject and only regret my short stay in Kashmir".

During the decade between 1920 to 1930 Grierson studied Kashmiri texts, Krishna Avtar Lila, Lav Kush Charita and Kashmiri Ramayan. He was confronted with many difficulties in understanding these works. In all these he took assistance of Nityanand Shastri following which these texts appeared in press in 1928 and 1930 published by Asiatic Society of Bengal. Of this collaboration Grierson recorded, "I thank Professor Nityanand Shastri for much help from time to time in editing these texts and to whom I owe much learning of these subjects". The year 1928 was a landmark year for George Grierson. It brought him

the highest British Honour, a title of Order of Merit as recognition of his extraordinary scholarly attainments. As Grierson received a stream of congratulatory messages, one came from Kashmir from Professor Nityanand. Replying this communication Grierson took the opportunity to pay a tribute to Kashmiri scholarship. In a letter to Nityanand dated December 18, 1928, Grierson wrote, "I am indeed happy to have the title conferred on me but my happiness is increased by the knowledge that competent scholars like you who can judge, consider that it has been deserved".

In line to the glorious tradition of Dogra rulers, Maharaja Hari Singh too bestowed his best attention to the cause of scholarship in Kashmir. In the year 1929 the first Maha Hindu Samelan was hosted at Rawalpindi. The Maharaja too was invited to this august gathering. Unable to attend on account of urgent affairs of State that needed his attention Maharaja Hari Singh nominated Professor Gyani Ram and Professor Nityanand Shastri to represent him at the Samelan. It was an act of great patronage that Maharaja Hari Singh lent to scholarship: At the Samelan Nityanand met Dr Madan Mohan Malviya the great scholar and the then vice-chancellor of Benaras Hindu University who in that short meeting expressed his desire to have scholars like Nityanand in his University by saying, "the

Among the last scholarly feats achieved by Nityanand was a Kashmiri and Sanskrit translation of the 14th century Spanish classic Don Quixote which Stein had sought from him in 1935 at the request of his Harvard friend Professor Carl Kellor who then was also President of Harvard Board of Studies. Kellor had translated versions of this Spanish classic in most of the important world languages except Kashmiri and Sanskrit. Down with paralysis still that had struck him in 1934, Nityanand Shastri collaborated on this task with another Kashmiri scholar who earlier had replaced Dr Sideshwar Verma at Prince of Wales College Jammu in 1921 under the orders of Maharaja Pratap Singh while Dr Sideshwar had gone to Oxford for his D.Lit.

Stein informed Grierson about this arrangement. Later in a letter to Nityanand from England Grierson wrote, "I met Sir Aurel Stein and we talked all about our Kashmiri friends. I learned from him that you have begun work of translating Don Quixote. Soon it may be ready for press. I am sure it is bound to be good". The task was completed by both Jagdhar and Nityanand as per the arrangements made by Sri Stein. The Kashmiri and Sanskrit translations of Don Quixote arrived in Boston Harvard in July 1936. Of this feat Stein wrote to Nityanand, "they are now deposited on the shelves of Harvard University library- the greatest library in the world and thus perpetuate your name and fame."

Like Rajatarangini the Nilmata Purana under Vreese's hand had more than one motif. In 1938 Vreese using the good support of Aurel Stein began to work on annotated edition of the Nilmata Purana. He was confronted by many problems in interpreting the text of Nilmata Purana. He again sought Steins's help, who traced his steps yet again to Nityanand. In a letter to Nityanand dated July 14th, 1938 Stein wrote, "I am enclosing as annexed herewith the request of Dr K.de.Vreese who you know wants the explanations of many points as regards his annotated edition of Nilmata Purana. And you will agree with me as to how difficult it is for even a competent European scholar to get to the meaning of such difficult text. I request you to answer Dr. Vreese's enquiries in the same manner as you used to answer the queries of Sri George Grierson and earn a Punya for yourself."

While Stein was losing no opportunity that spanned almost five decades, to make constant contributions to the interface between Kashmiri and Western scholars, his own fascination to Kashmir and particularly to his labours devoted to Rajatarangini and other works never ceased in him. In 1940 while planning for his Afghanistan explorations even though having attained an advanced age of 78 years Stein made a round about trip to Srinagar and then to Jammu. From Jammu December 18, 1940 Stein wrote to Mrs Fred Andrews wife of his life long friend, "I visited again after 50 years the Raghunath temple library. Its 6000 old Sanskrit manuscripts had been catalogued by me with help of Pandit Govind Koul and another excellent Kashmir scholar Sahaz Bhat in what now seems like a previous birth. It had been a dreary task but it saved the collection from being lost. I had a very attentive reception, had to talk Sanskrit again for an hour or so thus purified my tongue by use of the sacred language after all my peregrinations in the barbarian North and West. It was a quaint experience to find myself in the end garlanded in the traditional Hindu fashion for the first time in my life."

In his usual fashion Stein took the occasion to advance his proposed new edition of Rajatarangini with Maharaja Hari Singh. Stein was a guest of the Maharaja who according to him was, “a remarkable figure of the old chivalrous type”. The Jammu Prime Minister assured him that he would argue with the State to help support for the new edition of Rajatarangini. Following Stein’s departure from Jammu the Wali of Swat advised him that tribal conditions till did not permit Kohistan tour for him. Just then with time on his hand, he began on the new edition of Rajatarangini which he intended to revise with illustrations of photographs of ancient sites in Kashmir that he had taken about 50 years back.

A pleasant holiday accorded by fate enabled Stein to complete the work of his youth now with the assistance of a hard working Punjabi Brahmin assistant. All those who had earlier helped him had passed away. It was an amusing experience for Stein to find that he had become as it were a historical record himself. It suggests prudent for the literary historians today, to face this last illustrated edition of Stein’s Rajatarangini. Before his final departure from the dominions of Maharaja Hari Singh, following a route along the Kishan Ganga River Stein wrote in his memoirs, “How grateful I must feel to kindly fate which allowed me to do so much of my work in Kashmir for the last 55 years”. On this observation his old friend Dunsterville equally energetic and adventurous wrote to him, “We all think it is now time for you stop exploring and come home”. Stein agreed with his friend. To him home was where his work took him and that was Kashmir, the green paradise.

But then time lasts for none. The first of this great trio in the edifice of interface between European and Kashmiri scholars, Grierson expired in 1941 followed by Nityanand in 1942 and a year later Stein died in Kabul in 1943. With their end, the glorious chapter of interface also came to an end which had received an unlimited measure of patronage under the great Dogra dynasty of Jammu who for this act have gone in the annals of Indian history among the few Maharajas in India of scholarly disposition, while the mantle of that glory shone pristinely in the crown of Maharaja Ranbir Singh whose foresight and erudite Royal character bears testimony to this interface.

Lecture delivered by S.N. Pandita, Secretary, Nityanand Shastri Kashmir

Research Institute of India International Centre, New Delhi, on April, 18th, 2001.

4 Kashmir's Contribution to Indian Aesthetics-I

By Dr. S.S. Toshkhani

It is really very exciting to think that this small paradisaical Valley nestled in the Himalays has produced a succession of brilliant thinkers who have formulated most of the fundamental concepts of Sanskrit poetics and have given us a whole body of aesthetic thought profound in conception and impressive in volume and value. One cannot but be overwhelmed by the fact that almost all the major schools of Indian aesthetics were founded by Kashmiri theoreticians -the Alankara School by Bhamaha, Riti School by Vamana, Vakrokti School by Kuntaka, Dhvani School by Anandavardhana and Auchitya School by Kshemendra. Though the concept of Rasa was evolved by Bharata, and perhaps by thinkers even before him, it was only the great Abhinavagupta who perfected it as an integrating theory basic to the aesthetic philosophy of the Indians. Nor was the contribution of those Kashmiri rhetoricians any less important who analysed, interpreted, elaborated and commented upon what the original exponents propounded, thus providing the building blocks on which the Indian aesthetic thought stands today. Profound thinkers like Udbhata, Bhatta Lollata, Shankuka, Bhatta Nayaka, Bhatta Tauta, Rudrata, Ruyyaka, Mahima Bhatta and others. The issues they raised, the solutions they provided, the views they propounded provided grist to the great intellectual debates about the relation of aesthetic object and aesthetic experience which raged throughout India for quite a long time.

To understand the full significance of the art-ideas introduced by the successive Kashmiri thinkers, we shall have to look at them in the overall perspective of the development of Indian aesthetical thought. As we know, it is in the *Natya Shastra*, the legendary Bharata's monumental treatise on dramaturgy, that we find the first systematic exposition of Rasa-a concept central to Indian aesthetic thinking. Supposed to have been written between the 2nd century BC and the 2nd century AD, the *Natya Shastra* provides a deep insight into the psychology of aesthetic experience. It conceives of the drama as the perfect synthesis between all arts and integrates in its form poetic text, histrionics, stage-craft, music, dance, painting and even architecture into an organismic whole, with Rasa as its soul. "There is no art", claims Bharata, "no science, no craft, no skill that does not fall within the purview of drama".

Na Tajjnana no tat shilpam

N sa vidya na sa kala

Na sau yogo na tat karma

Natye'smin yanna-drishyate

His well known formulation on *Rasa* in the *Natya Shastra-vibhavnubhava vyabhichari bhava samyogad rasanish-pattih*-explains the aesthetic experience in terms of the prime stimuli or the leading characters in a dramatic presentation, their behavioural features and the transient but ancillary emotional reactions they evoke. Scholars have variously interpreted and translated the Sanskrit terms *vibhava*, *anubhava*, *sanchari bhava* and *rasa* according to their individual perceptions of what these terms mean. Thus, Dr K.C. Pandey translates *vibhava* as the emotive situation, *anubhava* as the physical changes consequent upon the rise of an emotion, *vyabhichari bhava* as transient emotions and *rasa* as the aesthetic object. Raniero Gnoli prefers to use expressions like "Determinants", "Consequents" and "Transitory Mental States" for them, leaving *rasa* untranslated. For the purpose of this paper, however, I have mostly used the equivalents given by Krishna Chaitanya for these key terms for the essential constituents of the aesthetic presentation which enables the aesthetic emotion to be experienced and relished.

We shall have to examine a few more concepts before Bharata's formulation becomes a bit more clear. The *vibhavas* or the primary stimuli arouse the conative dispositional factors abiding in human nature, which cannot be exactly called instincts but could be described as innate sentiments. In Sanskrit poetics these abiding mental states have been given the name *sthayi bhavas*. It is the *sthayi bhava* or basic sentiment awakened by the union of *vibhavas*, *anubhavas* and the *vyabhichari bhavas* that is finally relished as *rasa*. Put in simpler terms this means that when the prime stimuli or determinants, their

consequent behavioural pattern and the transient but ancillary emotional reactions they evoke combine, the basic sentiment is activated and develops into *rasa* or aesthetic emotion.

The *Natya Shastra* distinguishes eight abiding mental states that are latent in a man's psychological organisation. These are Love (*rati*), Laughter (*hasya*), Sorrow (*shoka*), Anger (*krodha*), Heroism (*utsaha*), Fear (*bhaya*), Disgust (*jugupsa*), and Wonder (*vismaya*). To these a ninth one, Serenity (*shama*) was added later. The corresponding nine rasas are: the Erotic (*shringara*), the Comic (*hasya*), the Pathetic (*karuna*), the Furious (*raudra*), the Heroic (*vira*), the Terrible (*bhayanaka*), the Odious (*bibhatsa*), and the Marvellous (*adbhuta*).

With this background we can now proceed to understand how ideas which eventually crystallised to form a cogent theory of *rasa* took off from this point of departure. Going back to Bharata's formulation, the *Rasa Sutra*, we find that it contained two crucial words that lent themselves to various interpretations, unleashing storms of controversy. These were *samyoga* and *nishpattih*. There were other questions also that arose from Bharata's condensed but pregnant statement. Where is *Rasa* located? Is the aesthetic experience subjective or objective? How is it related to the other emotions or states of consciousness? Every participant in the great debate that ensued took a stand on these on the basis of his own philosophical outlook. Among the earliest to address these questions was Bhatta Lollata who lived in Kashmir in the late 8th century or the early 9th. A contemporary of the great Shaivite thinker Bhatta Kallata, Lollata approached those questions as a *Mimamsaka* or grammarian. His works have unfortunately been lost, but from what we learn from the *Abhinava Bharati*, Abhinavagupta's commentary on the *Natya Shastra*, Lollata took only the denotational sense of the word *nishpattih* into consideration and interpreted it as causal origination. *Rasa*, he said, is an effect of which the *vibhavas* or the aesthetic object is the direct cause. It resides in the original historical character (Rama etc.) represented on the stage, as well as the impersonating actor. The actor feels himself as the represented historical personage during the duration of the enactment but remembers his real nature through the faculty of *anusandhana* or recollection (realization, according to Gnoli).

The important question underlying all this discussion is as to how the poetic emotion is transferred from life to art, and Lollata's answer is that the spectator relishes *rasa* or the sentiment located in the character portrayed directly and not through emotional induction by the aesthetic process of activating it. Abhinavagupta quickly rejects this view-point which seeks to turn the sentiment or *sthayi bhava* into an object of perception. Pointing this out, Krishna Chaitanya writes: "Abhinava Gupta's brilliant mind noticed at once that the literalism of the Mimamsakas would annex aesthetics to grammar and bring about as complete an impoverishment in aesthetics as it had brought in philosophy. He saw that Lollata was confusing aesthetic communication with intellectual discourse, the emotive symbol with the denotative sign. Noting that the *sthayi bhava*, which abides as a potential reality and is raised to the relishable state only through the configuration of stimuli etc. (*vibhavadi*), Abhinava argues that it cannot be staticised as an object of perception "existing at only one specific conjunction of space and time." Mammata, an eleventh century Kashmiri aesthete, endorses Abhinava's views by stressing that the object in art is a virtual and not a physical object. It is a virtual object "because the whole phenomenon is processual, the process involving the activity of institution and emotion". Bhatta Lollata's theory, it seems, is totally unconcerned with the spectator's view-point.

Shankuka, another Kashmiri and a younger contemporary of Lollata, approaches the problem of how the spectator relishes *rasa* or the aesthetic experience from the point of view of a logician, *naiyayaka*, which he actually was. *Rasa*, he said, applying syllogistic reasoning, was not produced as an effect as Lollata claimed but could be logically arrived at by the process of inference. Using the analogy of a forest fire he says that just as it can be inferred from the smoke rising from above the top of a cluster of trees, in the same manner the basic mental state can be inferred from the situation presented by the stimuli etc.

Dr K.C. Pandey calls Shankuka's point of view "psycho-epistemic". "In actual life", he points out explaining Shankuka's view-point, "the mental state of a man is revealed by the visible effects of his feeling i.e. the consequents and their concomitant feelings or the transitory mental state. The successful imitation by the actor of the characters and their experiences is no doubt, Shankuka says, artificial and

unreal or illusory but is not realised to be so by the spectators who forget the difference between the actors and the characters and inferentially experience the mental state of the characters themselves". Shankuka, in fact, uses the analogy of a painted horse, *chitraturaga*, to bring out the beauty of this imitation (*anukarna*) and holds that aesthetic experience, which is a peculiar form of inference (*anumana*), cannot be classified under any known forms of knowledge.

Shankuka's views, like those of Lollata, have been presented in brief by Abhinavgupta in his famous commentary on *Natya Shastra*, the *Abhinava Bharati*, as Shankuka's works too are lost. The inference and imitation theories of Lollata and Shankuka, which hold the aesthetic presentation to be "the efficient cause (*karaka hetu*) or the logical cause (*jnapak hetu*)" respectively of the aesthetic emotion, were later demolished by Abhinava and the exponents of the *Dhvani* or Suggestion School of poetics. But before we look at what they have to say in the matter, let us try to appreciate the views of Bhatta Nayaka, a great aesthetic thinker who lived in the late 9th century Kashmir and joined the debate to point out the "inwardness of the whole situation". Here again we have to rely upon the *Abhinava Bharati* as Bhatta Nayaka's work the *Hridaya Darpana*, too is not available. He rejects the idea that *rasa* or the aesthetic emotion can be affected or inferred, and tries to extend the *Sankhya* concept of *bhoga* or enjoyment to the field of aesthetics. *Rasa*, he posits, is neither *atmagata* nor *paragata* nor is it *tatastha vedyā*. That is, it cannot be perceived as located in the spectator or as located in anyone else, whether it be the character portrayed or the actor portraying that character. We can have no perception of *rasa* at all: "*rasah na pratiyate*"!

What Bhatta Nayaka means in other words is that the spectator or the reader does not feel the sorrow or the happiness of the character represented personally as his own because of the aesthetic distance. That is why even a tragic play or a poem does not cause any feeling of pain in him and he is able to "enjoy" or savour its flavour too. Further, he says, ordinary spectator or reader can never identify himself with the extraordinary virtues of such a great hero as Rama. What happens actually is that he enjoys the aesthetic emotion through the *bhojaka-bhojya* relationship. That is, through the relationship of the enjoyer and the enjoyed. Bhatta Nayaka, thus, stresses the importance of *bhavana vyapara* or imagination, which, according to him, comes into play as an aspect of aesthetic experience. Poetic experience, he maintains, has another power besides *abhidha* or the denotational power which enables the *sahridaya* or the aesthetically sensible person to see the characters presented in an aesthetic creation in a generalised way, "independently of any relationship with his ordinary life or the life of the actor or the hero of the play or poem", as Gnoli puts it. This special power Bhatta Nayaka calls *bhavakatva*, the power of generalisation.

The protagonists in their generalised character are perceived to rise above their "specific contextual reference". Thus Rama's love for Sita though particular becomes the universalised experience of love in general. Even pain is transfigured into a sort of pleasure which can be savoured aesthetically. This universalisation of the aesthetic object and subject through the power of *bhavakatva* frees them from all limitations of individuality and is called *sadharanikarana*. The concept of *sadharanikarna* or universality of the aesthetic experience is Bhatta Nayaka's greatest contribution in the field of aesthetic thought.

To explain the relation between the subject and object, Bhatta Nayaka posits another power or function of language - that of *bhojakatva* or enjoyment. It is by the virtue of this power, according to him, that we relish the experience presented in a poetic creation, not at the practical but at the aesthetic level. All practical considerations fade away due to the predominance of *sattva* or innate goodness of human nature, a state of psychological poise which makes us repose in our own consciousness. The other two potentialities described in the *Sankhya* philosophy, *rajas*, physical dynamism and *tamas*, insensibility, are rendered ineffective. Thus the *bhoga* or enjoyment of *rasa* is a process of delectation very much akin to the state of self-sufficient blissful consciousness which one experiences on realising the Supreme Reality (*Brahman*). Bhatta Nayaka's another important contribution, therefore, is that he brings the aesthetic experience at par with mystic experience. By stressing that it is not determined by practical considerations but is a state of being, he makes it more internal and contemplative, bringing the relisher face to face with the ultimate Universal Reality.

In his comment on Bhatta Nayaka's formulation about universalisation of experience in aesthetics, Abhinavagupta does not seem inclined to dismiss it altogether. In fact, he absorbs his core contentions into his own aesthetic theory and develops them in accordance with his own monistic outlook. He admits that aesthetic enjoyment is similar to the joy that comes from realising one's identity with *Brahman*, but he rejects his three-fold classification of the powers of language on the ground that there is no need "to staticise either the generalising function of poetry as a separate power of *bhavakatva* or the appreciative activity of the reader or spectator as a distinct, isolated power *bhojakatva*", as this only leads to unnecessary multiplication of concepts.

We shall refer to Abhinavagupta's philosophy of aesthetics later. Suffice it to say here that he accepted Bhatta Nayaka's view that the aesthetic and the mystic experiences spring from the same source and the bliss we derive from them is a state of independence from all extraneous factors--a repose into our own self. But while the state of mystical consciousness is marked by "the complete disappearance of all polarities, the lysis of all dialectics in the dissolving fire of God", to use the words of R.Gnoli "in aesthetic consciousness the feelings and facts of everyday life remain always present", even though they are transfigured. The fact put so succinctly by K.Krishnamurthy, is that so far as the idea of *rasa* is concerned, Abhinavagupta "takes over where Bhatta Nayaka leaves".

As aesthetic thinking further developed in India, it slowly moved away from the habit of analysing the creative process in terms of dramaturgy alone and looked to pure poetics for further addition to its conceptual armoury till Abhinavagupta synthesized both the traditions. It was Bhamaha, a Kashmiri, who heralded the shift and developed Sanskrit poetics along scientific and independent lines. From all available sources, Bhamaha was the first authority on poetics in the post-Bharat era with an influence that was so strongly pervasive that almost all important theoreticians in the field found it compulsive to refer to him. There is a difference of opinion about the time he flourished, but Anandavardhana has quoted a sentence from him alongside another sentence from Bana, which he considers older, than the latter. Bhamaha's time can, therefore, be safely placed between the 5th century and the beginning of the 7th.

In his book "*Kavyalankara*", on which Udbhata has written a commentary, he emerges as an *alankarist* who gives foremost place to embellishment in poetry, considering figures of speech essential for the enhancement of its beauty. Bhamaha's famous comparison of an embellished expression to the beauty of a lady bedecked with ornaments has been often quoted--and misquoted. Bhamaha has provided definitions for a total of thirtyone poetic figures, giving equal importance to verbal figures (*shabdalanakara*) and ideational figures (*aerthalankaa*). Bhamaha, however, is no mere formalist, his objective is only to lay emphasis on the distinctive quality of poetic expression of which he gives a very significant definition: "*shabdarthau sahitam kavyam*" (poetry is that in which word and meaning coexist). It is from this definition that the Sanskrit term for literature, *sahitya*, was derived by Kuntaka. This makes poetic tissue "an organismic union of word and idea"--a concept also emphasised by several European writers. Baudelaire says that "idea and form are two realities in one. And in Flaubert's view, "Form is the flesh itself of othe idea, as the idea is the soul of life. T.S. Eliot stresses the same idea when he says, "the music of poetry is not something which exists apart from its meaning.

Bhamaha totally ignores Bharata and his concept of *rasa* when he talks of the beauty of aesthetic expression except when he uses the term in defining *mahakavya* or the epic poem. He gives it only a minor role to play as *rasavada alankara*. It is interesting to note Bhamaha's interpretation of *svabhavokti* or natural description, even as he accepts *vakrokti* or deviant expression as an essential element of poetry. He includes *svabhavokti* as an ideational figure (*arthalankara*). He seeks to make a distinction not so much between *svabhavokti* and *vakrokti* but between *vakrokti* and *varta* (news or information). News, whether it is *lokavarta* or a report of current events, or *shastra varta* or technical information does not as poetry, he points out, but *svabhavokti* or naturalistic description does, even though it is devoid of ornament, simply because it is charged with poetic power. It is the poet's imaginative power, *pratibha*, that is the source from which poetry emanates. Abhinava was particularly fond of this quotation from Bhamaha: "Even a stupid man can learn the Shastras from the teachings of his professor. But poetry is only given to the person who has imaginative genius". (Translation: J.L. Masson)

Vamana, the author of *Kavyalankara Sutravritti* and the founder of the *Riti* School flourished in Kashmir in the 8th century and was the minister of King Jayapida. Though he has expressed his views on various elements of poetic composition, he is best known for having claimed *riti* or diction to be the soul of poetry: *Ritiratma kavyasya*. Before him Bhamaha and Dandi had used the term *marga* instead of *riti* to denote diction. Defining *riti* to denote diction. Defining *riti* as “*vishishta pada rachana*” or a special arrangement of words, Vamana seeks to establish that diction has a “higher integrative reality” than figure or image. Elaborating his conception Vamana relates diction to poetic excellences, or qualities, called *gunas*. These are ten in number according to Bharata and their presence or absence defines various kinds of diction or style. Vamana refers to three dictions in particular: *Vaidarbhi*, *Panchali* and *Gaudi*. He is very much clear that these various dictions are only geographical denominations based on characteristics specific to different regions. He considers *Vaidarbhi*, which is characterised by limpid sweetness, as the best of all. In contrast to it the *Gaudi* diction of Bengal is marked for its “ornate vigour”. Earlier Bhamaha had related poetic excellences to poetic temper and mood rather than identifying diction with the verbal texture.

Vamana asserts that the seed of poetry (*kavya bija*) lies in the poet’s creative genius (*pratibha*). Like Bhamana, he treats *alankaras* as an essential element of poetic beauty. He, however, believes that all poetic figures are but aspects of metaphorical expression—*upama prapancha*. Making Vamana’s concept clear Krishna Chaitanya writes in his book “Sanskrit Poetics that when Vamana insisted that simile and metaphor were not only genuine poetry but “a latent juxtaposition” (*aupamyagarbha*), he seems to be thinking of “concretising the theme” and linking it to *rasa*. The affinity between various juxtaposed images thus belongs to “a deeper plane of aesthetic creativity and experience”.

Kuntaka who lived in the late 10th or early 11th century Kashmir should have chronologically come before Abhinavagupta but we are taking him earlier to consider Abhinavagupta and Anandavardhana together. Founder of *Vakrokti* School, Kuntaka’s only work *Vakroktijivit* is found in an incomplete form. In this work, taking the cue from Bhamaha and Dandi, Kuntaka formulated a whole theory of poetic expression based on it. Defining *vakrokti* as a unique turn of expression—*vaidagdhya bhangi bhaniti*—Kuntaka derived it from creative poetic action (*kavi karma*) to which he relates his concept of beauty. He uses *vakrokti* or deviant expression as a generic term of which poetic figures form an important aspect. The value of the figure, he holds, lies in its being a striking form of expression which is a deviation from the ordinary mode of speech. It produces a peculiar kind of charm which he calls *vaichitrya*. By contending that the embellished word and sense (*alankrita shabdārtha*) solely constitute *vakrokti*, and by identifying embellishment with poetic figure and imagery, Kuntaka almost identifies figurative expression with poetic expression.

Kuntaka is diffident of including *svabhavokti* or naturalistic expression in *vakrokti* for the fear that it could lead to “the cart driver” talks finding acceptance in poetry. His difficulty is that in poetic expression cannot be accepted as a figure because it is only the intrinsic nature of the object that should be the ornamented (*alankarya*) and note the ornament (*alankara*). In poetic naturalism the beauty is donated by the object itself and not the poet. And in no way can something not created by the poet be called poetic ornament.

5 Kashmir Terrorism-The National Response

By Dr. M.K. Teng

The militant violence in Jammu and Kashmir, it must be admitted frankly and without any hesitation, is fundamentally communal in character and secessionist in its objective. The Muslim secessionist movements led by All Jammu and Kashmir Plebiscite Front, the Awami Action Committee and the militant youth organisation including the Youth League, were mainly aimed to disengage the state from India and unite it with Pakistan and to ensure the Islamisation of the State. A widespread campaign of disinformation has been in process to provide cover to the real face of Muslim communalism and secessionism in this State. Much of what has actually happened in Kashmir, right from 1947, has either been deliberately concealed or distorted by powers in authority in the Central government as well as the State government for their vested interests. The National Conference which governed the State, by ordinance and decree for three decades, including the most turbulent of the years which followed the Indira-Abdullah Accord in 1975, was avowedly committed to the exclusion of the State from the secular constitutional organisation of India, Muslimisation of its government and society and the obliteration of the Hindus and the other minorities in Kashmir valley and the Muslim majority districts of the Jammu province. The Congress rulers at the Centre acclaimed the Islamicisation of the State as a part of Indian secularism, which the Congress claimed represented parity of power between the special and separate identity of the Indian Muslims and the rest of India.

The war of attrition which is being waged against India in Jammu and Kashmir is a part of the militarization of pan-Islamic fundamentalism and its east-ward expansion in South-Asia. Its main objectives are:

- i) imposition of a second partition on India to bring about the unification of Jammu and Kashmir with Pakistan;
- ii) destruction of the ethno-religious identity of the Hindus and the other minorities in the State;
- iii) disruption of the stability of the north-Indian States to pave the way for the disintegration of the Indian State.

The national response to the tragedy in Kashmir has been self-defeating and determined by commitments to uphold Muslim resurgence, which the Congress leaders believed for a long time, to be a part of the liberal movements among the colonial peoples of Asia and Africa. The Congress failure to assess the impact of the Muslim movement for Pakistan on the Indian liberation struggle was also due to the inability of the Congress leaders to recognise the communal character of the Muslim political movements in India, including that of the National Conference in Jammu and Kashmir

The Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir always enjoyed the freedom and the approbation of State government as well as the Government of India to promote communalism and separatism. The separate constitution for Jammu and Kashmir envisaged by Article 370 symbolised the Muslim separatism and virtually brought about the enslavement of the Hindus and the other minorities in the State.

The attempts made by the State government and the Congress in the Union government and outside it, the so-called secular and left flanks of the Indian politics and the mercenaries of Muslim communalism in India, to bail out the terrorists and the supporters of Muslim crusade in Kashmir, has led to disastrous consequences. By deliberate design or by error, the Congress government has throughout the last forty-two years of its rule in India, put its wrong foot forward and in effect recognised the rationale of the economic crusade without accepting the Islamic crusade itself. The Congress leadership has always balanced itself between the quest for unity of India and the Muslim opposition to the Indian identity. The Congress, true to its tradition, has always sought to use Muslims to consolidate its own power-structure in India. The Muslim communalism, on the other hand, has obtained its price, a fact clearly proved by what happened in India in 1947, and what is happening in Jammu and Kashmir now.

There will be no peace in Kashmir till the war of attrition, unleashed by the separatist and fundamentalist forces against the Indian civilisation is not brought to an end in Jammu and Kashmir. If the Indian nation seeks peace in a state of war, it will meet the same fate that it did in 1947.

6 No Hindu family has returned to Valley

Houses for KPs in Srinagar, Badgam: Rao

From B.L. Kak

NEW DELHI, Dec 19: The Union Government does not find fault with the assessment made by the Jammu and Kashmir government vis-a-vis selection of 'safe' places in the districts of Srinagar and Badgam for the rehabilitation of the displaced members of the Kashmiri Pandit community.

The Centre, in fact, has approved the 'Action Plan' prepared by the J&K government for the rehabilitation of Kashmiri migrants in the Valley.

Doubts, if any, in this regard were set at rest by the Union Minister of State for Home Affairs, Mr Vidyasagar Rao, in the Lok Sabha. He informed the House that the Government of Jammu and Kashmir has prepared an 'Action Plan' for the return and rehabilitation of Kashmiri migrants.

Elaborating on it, Mr Vidyasagar Rao pointed out, while responding to a question by MR Ramdas Athawale, that in the first phase of this 'Action Plan', it was proposed to rehabilitate as many as 2122 families in 1065 houses in selected clusters located in areas having "sizeable Kashmiri Pandit population" and where security was already provided.

MR Rao said that to begin with, 166 houses forming 15 clusters in the districts of Srinagar and Badgam had been identified. And they, according to him, are considered 'safe' for the return of the migrants. He added that the process of contacting the owners of these houses and seeking their consent for return on the basis of a rehabilitation package announced by the J&K government "is in progress".

At the same time, Minister of State for Home admitted that the government had reports making it clear that no family (of Hindu migrants) had so far agreed to return to the troubled Valley.

Mr Rao also informed the House that nearly 55,666 families had been displaced due to terrorism and unrest in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Of these, about 4597 Kashmiri Pandit families are living in the migrant camps in Jammu, 238 families in Delhi and 18 families in Chandigarh.

Mr Rao told the Rajya Sabha during question hour on Wednesday that the J&K government's 'Action Plan' envisaged rehabilitation grant per family at the rate of Rs 1.50 lakhs, grant from repair of houses at the rate of Rs 1 lakh for houses intact and Rs 3 lakhs for houses damaged, grant for household goods at the rate of Rs 50,000 and furniture at the rate of Rs 50,000, interest free loan at the rate of Rs 1-2 lakhs per person, compensation for loss of income from agriculture up Rs 1.50 lakhs per family, interest-free loan of Rs 1.50 lakhs per family for investment in agricultural operations and sustenance of Rs 2,000 per month for one year.

In his reply to a question by Mr Janeshwar Mishra, Mr Vidyasagar Rao made it plain that with a view to achieving the objective "expeditiously", the "Action Plan" will be implemented in phases. The first phase has been estimated to cost about Rs 43.94 crores.

Mr Rao reiterated that the clusters selected by the J&K government in the districts of Srinagar and Badgam were considered 'safe' for the return of Kashmiri migrant owners of the houses.

7 Revenue officials make mockery of Distress Sales Act

KPs' property become sa free for all affair

By Avtar Bhat

JAMMU, May 17: With authorities maintaining no check on encroachments, illegal sale and trespassing by throwing the Distress Sale Act to winds, the migrants property has become a free for all affair in Kashmir valley.

According to sources in many parts of the Kashmir valley the officials of the Revenue department which has been declared as the custodian of this property are in league with the anti-social elements who have forcibly occupied the migrants property. Surprisingly at various places these officials instead of initiating action against the trespassers have made mutations in revenue records by changing their entire nomenclature, the sources added.

Though a large number of such cases have come to light but the authorities till date have failed to take action against the officials responsible for tampering the revenue records, the sources confirmed.

The sources said in Anantnag district alone where the government has identified some localities for the rehabilitation of the displaced people, hundreds of migrants houses and shops have been illegally occupied by the anti-social elements. Emboldened by the militancy and moral support provided by some officials in the Revenue Department hundreds of kanals of the migrants land under paddy fields and orchards is also under the forcible occupation of these elements.

Besides approaching the Deputy Commissioner Anantnag, in various cases the migrants have also served the legal notices to the illegal occupants of their property seeking its restoration. But enjoying the official patronage the encroachers are reluctant to vacate the property.

The sources said this has happened despite the repeated assurances given by the Revenue and Rehabilitation Minister, Mr Abdul Qayoom on the floor of State Assembly and outside it.

The Anantnag district is not the only exception but the trespassing has been made in all the six districts of Kashmir valley, the sources said, adding some elements are even seeking the help of the touts at Jammu in grabbing the migrant property.

These touts in open violation of the Distress Sale Act are fixing the deeds between the parties by taking huge commission and after seeking documents withhold the payments.

This has become a scandalous issue and presently hundreds of displaced families are fighting legal wrangles for restoration of their properties after falling in the trap of these touts, the sources maintained.

Giving more details the sources said in many villages of Pulwama district the revenue officials after taking hefty sums from the land grabbers have mutated the records in their favour. Such cases have surfaced from Shopian Batpora and Wasavhall villages of this district.

In Janglat Mandi Anantnag the houses belonging to Keshav Nath and Gopi Nath Rishi have been forcibly occupied by some locals over two years back. Such is the high handedness of these illegal occupants that Gopinath's House has been converted into a confectionery.

In the same Mohalla five shops belonging to Radha Krishan Rishi have also been occupied by some locals.

In Handoo Mohalla which also falls in the vicinity of the Janglat Mandi number of residential houses of Kashmiri Pandits have been forcibly occupied by land grabbers.

Though these migrants have made a number of representations to the concerned district authorities for restoration of their property but to no avail.

In village Zablipora of tehsil Kulgam in Anantnag district one kanal and 10 marlas of prime land belonging to one Prithvi Nath son of Amarchand has been sold by his relatives without his knowledge some time back. Though Deputy Commissioner Anantnag who under the Distress Sale Act is fully

empowered to declared the sale deed nul and void has till date not initiated any action in the matter despite being approached by the land owner.

In Wasavhall village of Shopian tehsil of Pulwama district 19 kanals of agriculture and horticulture land belonging to Dina Nath son of Tika Ram has been illegally occupied by some people from a near by village.

Though the Revenue authorities of the district are ceased of the matter but till date they have made no attempt to restore the land alleged Dina Nath, adding out of 19 kanals six have been occupied by Gh. Hassan Bhat of Baskuchan, 10 by Khalil Rather of Imam Sahib and three by Mohammad Abdullah Bhat also of Baskuchan. While in village Baskuchan agriculture land of Chooni Lal presently a migrant at Jammu has been illegally occupied by Abdul Ahad Bhat of the same village.

The sources said that people have been so emboldened due to inaction of the authorities that in village Mahend of Anantnag district a local chowkidar who is supposed to be the custodian of the villages property has grabbed the orchard of one Kashi Nath Wachhi. The land is presently cultivated by the chowkidar who is enjoying the full patronage of Revenue Department and police.

At Kani Mohalla Rainawari in Srinagar district the residential house belonging to one Sushil Kumar son of Radha Krishan is also under the illegal occupation of some locals while in village Pehru the locals people have constructed a road from the compound of Radha Krishan.

At village Nunar in Gandherbal tehsil of Srinagar district, over 100 kanals of agriculture land belonging to the Kashmiri Pandits has been grabbed by some goons of the surrounding villages.

The matter has even been brought in the notice of the Chief Minister, Dr Farooq Abdullah by the displaced Kashmiri Pandits here but despite his categorical instructions the administration has failed to maintain the status quo of this property.

8 KPs concern over trespassing over migrant land in Areh village

JAMMU, May 12: Terming the return move an eyewash to hoodwink the Centre, various Kashmiri Pandit organisations today expressed doubts about the State government's credentials in this regard.

Challenging the sincerity of the government on this issue they alleged that various government departments are adopting a tactical strategy to thwart the move and completely right off the names of the community from the Kashmir valley.

They while making a frontal attack on the State government alleged that it is not interested to take any legal action against the people who have forcibly occupied the migrants houses and encroached their land and other property, as certain government agencies are themselves engaged in this menace.

“We have lost all faith in the State government's said Mr RK Raina, vice-president, All State Kashmiri Pandit Conference, (ASKPC) who was all sore over the Revenue department for adopting delaying tactics in restoring the migrants property and initiate action against guilty.

He said the maximum houses of displaced Kashmiris have been set ablaze or damaged by militants in the Valley and those which are intact have been encroached forcibly.

He said in the villages where the houses of migrants are intact a tactful policy is being adopted by the officers of the various department that these houses should not remain worth use for the return of the community.

Citing such example he said under a tactical move the State PDD authorities have laid a high-tension line over the existing migrant houses in village Areh of Kulgam tehsil in Anantnag district of South Kashmir recently.

Mr Raina said that entire community has been shocked over this Action of State Power Development Department (PDD) and though the migrants of the village have sent their representations to the concerned authorities but to no avail.

The KP leader said it is shocking that instead of adopting a 10 chains distance from the village link road to the site of the newly constructed power station, the department has adopted a distance of 33 chains over the houses of Kashmiri Pandits for laying the high-tension line.

This gives the credence to government's inner plans that it is not interested in the return of the displaced community to their homes and hearths, sad Mr RL Bhan, president All India Kashmir Hindu Forum. Had it not been so, the government would have never made tress passing over the Mohalla where houses of displaced Pandits are still existing.

Mr Bhan also lambasted the government for converting seven kanals of land owned by Messers Ashok Raina, TN Raina and Vinod Raina in to a playing field in the same village in open violation of Distress Sale Act.

The KP leaders while demanding the intervention of the Chief Minister in the matter have also sought probe into it as to why the department instead of adopting the shortest distance for laying the line has adopted the longest one.

The KP leaders said that besides informing the Deputy Commissioner Anantnag and AEE PDD Kulgam, the matter has been brought in the notice of Divisional Commissioner Kashmir also.

They also strongly criticised the State government for acquiring the land of Sharika Sanstha at Hari Parbhat in Srinagar Kashmir and warned that in case the land is not restored to the community and encroachments removed the Kashmiri Pandits will be forced to come to streets in protest.

9 Pushed out?

It seems that common sense is dawning upon some Kashmiri Pandits who had migrated from the strife-torn valley to Jammu and other places early this year. If one is to go by letters appearing in the local Srinagar Urdu press, the migrate Pundits living in refugee camps in Jammu are realising now that their massive fleeing was perhaps unwarranted, and that they had become pawns in the communal games of the BJP-Shiv Sena, liticians. They openly acknowledge their mistakes and are expressing their desire of returning to the Valley.

An interesting exchange between some among the Pundit refugees on the one hand, and Kashmiri Muslims (including representatives of a militant organisation) on the other, in the columns of the Srinagar daily *Alsafa News*, indicates the changing mood and also reveals the machinations of the former governor Jagmohan who organised the 'mass emigration' of the Kashmiri Pundits in February-March this year. One KL Kaul living in the Nagrota Transit Camp in Jammu wrote a letter in the paper (dated September 18) stating that Jagmohan sent a message to the Pundits of the Valley in the first week of February to migrate to safer places since the government had planned to kill about 1,50,000 Kashmiri Muslims in its bid to overcome the uprising. "Pundits were assured", the letter says, "that once the massacre of the Kashmiri Muslims was completed and the movement was curbed, they would be sent back to the Valley. That is why most of the Pundits left without their belongings". But things were not all that satisfying for the refugees who came to Jammu. After the initial expressions of sympathy of the local people, now "our community is looked down upon and Kashmiri Pundits are treated as nothing but parasites...Our young men have become vagabonds because they have nothing to do except roaming on the roads. Some of our young men have taken to drugs..." The writer of the letter then appeals to the militants and the Kashmiri Muslims to "forgive my community for the betrayal", adding: "We are ready to return home and we are just waiting for a call from you..."

The responses from the Kashmiri Muslims to this letter suggest the spirit of communal harmony that still survives in the Valley. Barring one letter--whose author is opposed to the return of the Pundits--almost all the letters that appeared in the newspaper appreciate the desire of the Pundits to make amends and come back. They remind their erstwhile Pundit neighbours that their houses and belongings are still intact and well taken care of, express sympathy for their plight in the Jammu refugee camps, gently rebuke them for having deserted their Muslim brethren at the behest of the BJP and Hindu communal organisations and ask them to condemn the atrocities by the security forces. Of particular significance is a letter signed by several office-bearers of a militant outfit, who remind the Pundits that the militants had earlier given a call declaring Pundits as "brothers and part and parcel of the nation (of Jammu and Kashmir)". They then add that since the Pundit migrants now realise that the BJP and Shiv Sena are 'traitors', they must "first of all stone them to death and then think of returning back to the Valley.."

Meanwhile, 23 Kashmiri Pundit refugees living in Jammu in a letter in the same newspaper (September 22) came out with the disclosure that they were threatened with "dire consequences" by the authorities if they did not obey Jagmohan's order to leave the Valley early this year. Acknowledging that they "knowingly or unknowingly committed a great blunder by playing our part in communalising the situation and the freedom struggle", they condemned "the atrocities that are being unleashed on our brothers by the Indian occupation forces" and concluded with the words: "May our dream of living in a free, independent and prosperous country of Jammu and Kashmir be fulfilled very soon".

It is heartening to find the Kashmiri Pundits and Muslims beginning a heart-to-heart dialogue over the heads of the fundamentalist leaders of their respective communities, who have been trying to keep them apart. Quite predictably, the national press (still playing the game of communalising the Kashmir problem) has blacked out this important dialogue. Since people outside Jammu and Kashmir have no access to alternative sources of information about developments there (like the changing mood of the Pundit refugees described above), the Delhi-based civil liberties group--Committee for Initiative on Kashmir--has decided to bring out a news bulletin called *The Kashmir Dossier*, collating reports from diverse sources. It is hoped that this effort to provide readers with a comprehensive picture of happenings

in Kashmir could initiate a debate among all sections of our people and lead to a consensus towards the solution of the Kashmir imbroglio.

10 Minorities' migration from Valley was encouraged

By Brij Bhardwaj

SRINAGAR: If the events of May 21 were bad, what happened earlier in terms of mass exodus of Kashmiri Pandits including officials from the Valley was no better. It was strange case of administration instead of stepping forward to provide protection to minorities encouraged them to migrate by providing transport and other help.

The worst was the case with respect of government staff. As if the move to allow the government staff to leave for Jammu was not bad enough even the men in uniform were allowed to go. It was strange that while the local Muslim employees were being asked to report for duty as they were a part of the essential services an employee from the minority community was being allowed to migrate to Jammu or in some cases even to Delhi and draw his salary there.

Even if one could make a case for civilian employees who were living in different areas and came under tremendous pressure following the threat issued by Hajbe-Mujahid, the militant wing of the Jamait Islami, there could be no justification for allowing mass migration of men and officers in uniform.

It was strange that men in uniform who are to protect the ordinary citizens were allowed to leave Kashmir in mass because they could not protect themselves from militants even though they were armed. An officer on duty at airport told this reporter how come the girls serving in central forces were in services in Srinagar but the local police-woman have been allowed to migrate in the interest of security.

This led to question by different sections who asked how come the security of people serving in Central forces was not so important as compared to locals. The ground situation today is that all police officers or men belonging to the minority community today are out of Valley and few still remaining in senior positions are devising ways to leave at the first opportunity.

This has also led to a strange situation where the banks are not being allowed to function because the minority community employees who formed nearly ninty per cent of the total strength are not prepared to come back and fresh recruitment can not take place till the fate of old employees is settled. The same applies to postal services, telegraph office and offices of Union government including the electronic media.

Even the State government is finding it difficult to run the schools even though it had been announced long ago that all educational institutions will reopen with shifting of offices to Srinagar. The schools in cities are yet to become operational, but the schools in countryside are reporting near normal attendance. The studies are not possible because a large number of teachers belonging to minority have migrated and are not returning.

The same position holds good with respect of technical staff in medical institutions and some allied offices. The result is that there is a growing demand that either the existing employees should come back or new hands be recruited in their places. In either case the solution of the problem will not be easy.

11 Handling of Kashmiri Pandit migrant problem

First priority should be close all Migrant Camps in Jammu and make arrangements for their return to the Valley wherever they came from before migration. This task could best be achieved by using good offices of the All India Kashmir Samaj whose President is Mr J.N. Koul who is also President of the S.O.S. Its General Secretary is Mr. M.L. Kaul, the Secretary Mr L.C. Kaul.

One senior government officer may be detailed to liaise with the All India Kashmir Samaj. There is quite a number of K.P. migrants in Jammu who are permanent officers of the J&K government drawing their salaries and benefits but are not being utilised for government duties which is a loss of government funds as well as their employment of government.

This could be the Ist important and realistic approach to the K.P. migrant returning to their homes.

It has to be borne in mind that those K.P. migrants who have since got established and having got good jobs cannot be expected to return to the Valley. It is strongly felt that All India Kashmir Samaj as already suggests with its Samajs in all parts the country could also be very usefully utilised in determining and recommending as to what could be best done in this task. We have to face this problem realistically and most practically. All that has been said above is for migrants after 1988/89.

But those who migrated in 1947 or soon after cannot be expected to return to the Valley. They are spread all over the country and fully established with their houses established with their houses and employment.

All the KP political parties talk politically and not practically. It is rather sad to say not one government officer has ever visited any migrant camp and on the other hand delegations of foreign governments of USA/UK have reached to see the camps. Those migrants who are not in a position to return should be paid compensation for their base and home as well as their houses which are occupied by militants or allotted by them to others.

It is also to be noted that there is already a large number of highly qualified Muslim young men and girls without employment and no one helps them. No doubt there are no potential avenues and openings for them in the Industries which do not exist. This reminds me of my talks with Sher-i-Kashmir Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in Kolkata on his visit in 1982 or so. He felt with numerical strength of 2 to 3% of KPs, their chances and scope of absorption in government services could not be more than 2 to 3%. He strongly advised the members of the Kashmir Sabha whose president, I happened to be at that time and who met him. He advised KP men should find employment outside State as they could find opportunity to do so. He felt this should earn money and then visit Kashmir to spend their holiday sand there. In fact in the get together in the telco house in Kolkata he offered he could allot 200 to 300 kanals of land at Pakhribal down Ramji temple in Hari Parbhat.

He offered he would donate one lakh per family and the government would help to built the multi storey buildings at the cost of the migrants who had not their houses in the Valley and were settled outside could own such falts which they or their relations and friends visiting Kashmir would be able to use them. He told us he would ask Chief Engineer Mr N.N. Dhar to handle the community project on his return and that he would correspond with me. It was so tragic Sheikh Sahib passed away soon after his return to Srinagar.

Courtesy: K.T., Nov 25, 1996

12 Ashoo's first statement in presence of Magistrate

"I saw my world end before my eyes"

"I ran to nearby government quarters but found no one there. Crestfallen I lay under the outer wall of the quarters to see the flames smouldering. By then everything inside had perished. I started shivering with biting cold and in desperation rushed back home, which was not engulfed by the fire. When I entered inside I found my family members dead. *I cried but there was none to respond. I went back to the government quarters, only to find myself alone. The parental love brought me back home again. I laid myself under their feet. Kissed them, hugged them hoping that they would respond.*

But alas, they were dead. Besides being shocked to see all my family members lying dead, I was also frightened with the thought that the killers might come back and shoot me dead too. I again went to top storey of the house and hid myself under the heap of cow dung, motionless, for many hours. I wanted to weep but the very thought of killers being around stopped me from doing so.

"It was a long agonizing wait till dawn. With the first ray of the sun becoming visible, I came down and lay under the feet of my parents again. Then the thought came to me what to do alone. I got up, collected my school bag, the dearest of my belongings and put it around my neck. Then I collected the papers regarding ownership of the house and land we own, from my father's suitcase and also took out the "mangalsutra" which my mother was wearing. I put both these things in my school bag. Then I turned around to see my sister, Poonamba, whom I loved most. The only thing she was having was a small handkerchief in her "pheran" pocket. I took it out too and put in my bag. I wanted to leave but where I didn't know? It was around 6.30 by my watch which was gifted to me by my sister that I heard some movement from outside the house. I got frightened and peeped from the window to see some people in police uniform looking around. I thought they too were the killers and rushed back to my hide out, heap of cow dung on top floor of the house. After sometime, policemen came upstairs looking for me. I started shivering. Their officer asked me to come out saying we are policemen and have come for your protection. I didn't believe. They came and caught hold of me. I thought it was the last moment of my life and next I will be shot dead. However, they brought me down, called for a glass of water which I refused to take. Then they took me along and searched each house. I identified the dead bodies except the four of the family from Shopian, who were the guests of our neighbour Moti Lal. I did not know them. By then Army also came and came so many officers to see me. The villagers also returned, started wailing and weeping. An officer asked me about the bag which I was holding. They wanted to take it away despite my imploring. Someone got the idea that I was carrying something dear to me. I then explained to the officer what was inside my bag.

"Another hell broke me in the day when I lit the pyres of my family and witnessed the mass cremation of those who loved me much. I saw my world destroyed in flames. I have lost everything except the house where I was born and which I don't want to leave. That is the sacred relic for me which I will always keep"

Courtesy: Himaliyan Mail, 29/1/1998

13 Voice of distress

Kuldeep Kumar on why the Pandits are demanding a homeland

Once the Kashmiri militants opted to give up faith in Kashmiriat in favour of Islamic fundamentalism, it was but natural for the Kashmiri Hindus to follow suit. The recently held World Kashmiri Pandit Conference provided enough evidence that Pakistan has been successful in using the militancy in the Valley to tear as-under the age-old Kashmiri identity which encompassed both the Hindus and the Muslims. Consequently, today the emphasis is not on Kashmiriat but on religious identity. No wonder that the Kashmiri Pandits are raising a demand for a homeland which can offer them safety and security in the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Howsoever tragic-and impractical-the demand for a homeland may seem, the Kashmiri Pandits appear quite determined to achieve it. Moreover, they want to become a player in the resolution of the Kashmir imbroglio as they argue that the voice of the Kashmiri Pandits should also be taken into account while hammering out a solution to the problem.

The articulation of the homeland demand by Kashmiri Hindus has come as a fresh reminder that the Kashmir valley should not be mistaken as the entire Jammu and Kashmir State which is a conglomeration of heterogeneous geographical regions inhabited by diverse but distinct ethnic, religious and linguistic people. The Valley accounts for only 3,000 square miles in a State whose total area happens to be nearly 84,000 square miles. During its invasion in 1947, Pakistan succeeded in annexing one-third of the State.

The Valley is predominantly Muslim with a small presence of Sikhs and Hindus who are essentially Kashmiri Pandits. Ladakh, the largest segment of the State, is sparsely populated and most people here profess faith in Buddhism while the neighbouring Kargil is predominantly Muslim. The Jammu region has a preponderance of the Hindus but in some districts, both Hindu and Muslim communities are evenly represented.

What has so far been a unique feature of the Kashmiri society is the complete lack of differentiation between the life-styles of the Hindus and the Muslims. Their language, clothes and food is just the same. Both share the same common cultural heritage which saved itself from the process of communalisation witnessed elsewhere. Yet, that phase seems to be over because the Kashmiri Pandits too have started laying much more emphasis on religious identity than the common cultural bonds-a natural reaction to the concerted attempt of the militants to Islamise the Valley.

The Kashmiri Pandits are claiming that they are the original, indigenous people of Kashmir and should, in accordance with the international conventions, be accorded the same status as the endangered indigenous people in other parts of the world.

It was in December 1991, that Panun Kashmir (Our Own Kashmir), an organisation of Kashmiri Hindus, had first raised the demand for a homeland at its convention held in Jammu. A resolution adopted at this convention, and reiterated at the recently held World Conference, spelt out that the homeland should comprise the regions of the Valley to the east and north of river Jhelum. It is indicative of the Kashmiri Pandits' mood that in the true revivalist tradition, they have started calling Jhelum by its ancient name Vitasta. And an organisation "Daughters of Vitasta" has also been floated.

The Kashmiri Pandits want that their homeland should enjoy the status of a Union Territory with full application of the Indian Constitution so that "it evolves its own economic and political infrastructure." Like the Jews before the creation of Israel, they have also started a "Back Home Movement" so that all those Kashmiri Pandits, who were forced out of the Valley during the past six centuries because of fear of death or conversion into Islamic faith, can return to their land.

Against this background, it is hardly surprising that the Kashmiri Pandits have started talking about "genocide" and "ethnic cleansing" of the Hindus in the Valley. They plan to make the international community aware of this stark reality in the course of their worldwide campaign.

Consequently, the emphasis is more on the Hindu aspect of the Kashmiri culture with memories of forcible conversions by Muslim rulers haunting the proponents of the homeland. It is being alleged that the original “*Sharda*” script of the Kashmiri language was destroyed and the language was forcibly Persianised. It is claimed that the Kashmiri language has its roots in the Rigvedic Sanskrit and not in the Central Asian Dardi and Semitic Hebrew as is currently believed.

The Kashmiri Pandits have also come out against agrarian reforms carried out in the Valley. They allege that these reforms have hit their economic interest the most as their lands were distributed among the Muslims. One of their other grievances is the deliberate delimitation of Assembly constituencies in such a manner which disabled the Kashmiri Pandits to send their “true representatives” to the State Assembly. They were denied access to professional colleges as well, forcing them to leave the Valley.

Yet, the question to be asked is: Will the creation of a homeland for Kashmiri Pandits solve their problems? Or, will it only add an additional factor to the on-going Kashmir dispute in which India and Pakistan constitute the two opposing sides and the Kashmiri separatists want to become a new party? Indications are that at least for the time being, the Kashmiri Pandits are raising the demand to attract international attention to their plight and apply psychological pressure on militants and their Pakistani patrons.

All these efforts might make it difficult for the intelocutors in the Kashmir dispute to ignore the Kashmiri Pandits’ aspirations.

Source: Pioneer, 11/1/1994

14 KPs concern over conversion of shrine into water supply scheme

JAMMU, Dec 13: Peeved over the Government's reported move of converting the Hindu religious shrine of Mangleshwar into a water supply scheme, the Kashmiri migrants from twin villages of Monghama and Sirnoo in Pulwama district of Kashmir have demanded immediate rescinding of the decision.

The Mangleshwar is the ancient Shrine of Kashmiri Pandits and the same is mentioned in revenue records, said Mr Pushkar Nath one of the office bearers of the Mangleshwar Asthapan Management Committee while talking to this correspondent.

He said as per the revenue survey number 992/349 the total land possessed by the shrine is one kanal and two marlas, out of which the holy spring exists on two marlas.

He said every year the religious functions are being performed at this shrine and devotees from the adjacent villages throng there to pay their obeisance.

He said the Kashmiri Pandits are in no way averse in using the water of this holy spring for drinking purposes by constructing the water supply scheme outside the shrine. But the way the government is going to close the shrine by ordering construction of water supply scheme within the premises of religious place has hurt the sentiments of the entire Hindu community, he added.

While criticising the move Mr Dwarika Nath another Kashmiri migrant from the village said the decision is bereft of sincerity on the part of the State government and the move is totally aimed at grabbing the Hindu religious place existing from years together.

He while challenging the decision of the government said from one side it is making the loud claims of the minorities return to Valley and on the other it is trying to grab their religious places which is the main link of the minorities to the land.

The decision has come even when over 15 Kashmiri Hindu families are putting up in the twin villages and visiting the religious shrine regularly.

Apprehending the move aimed at usurping the shrine. Mr Pushkar Nath said in the past Muslims at a number of times made claims over the shrine but their moves were scuttled by the authorities of the time.

He said a dispute over the religious place also took place in 1980 when the Hindus of the twin villages managing the Asthapan were given a permission by Divisional Commissioner Kashmir to take the possession of two felling Chinar tree in the shrine.

However, the Muslims objected to it and the Tehsildar Pulwama who was deputed as inquiry officer for onspot verification after going through revenue records released the wood in favour of the Hindus as the records showed the shrine belonging to them.

He said the government's reported move has come as a rude shock to entire Kashmiri Pandit community.

In a letter to Deputy Commissioner Pulwama and Chief Minister, the migrants of the twin villages have apprised him of factual position regarding the Hindu Shrine.

They have expressed the hope that good senses will prevail on the authorities and they will not go ahead with the decision. However, these migrants have maintained that they have no objection if the water supply scheme is constructed outside the shrine and the sanctity of the religious place is maintained.

15 Places of Sarada pilgrimage in Kashmir valley

By Dr. Ramesh Kumar

As per religious tradition in Kashmir, Gangashtmi is observed every alternate year as *Saradaashtmi*. On Gangashtami day, Kashmiri Hindus visited Gangabal lake to immerse ashes of the dead and offer *shraddhas*. Many of the pilgrims who could not reach Sarada shrine on *Saradaashtami*, would however visit places connected with Sarada goddess in Valley proper itself. Presently there are five such places in the Valley proper, two of these being in and around Bandipore town itself.

In the *Saradamahatmyas*, only *Sardakunda* at the village of Tsatsa, close to Harvan and Sarada at Khuyhom is mentioned. The former is located about one and a half miles from the north-east corner of the Dal Lake. Stein has recorded this Sarada and says, "owing to the place being so near to the city and easily approached by boat, large crowds of pilgrims assemble from Srinagar to pay their devotion to Sarada". This spring was visited on *Saradaashtami* day only.

Sarada at Khuyhom, Bandipore is recorded by Pandit Sahibram in his *Tirathasamgraha*. While Sahib Ram describes its location in village Kulyandi, Prof Buhler mentions the place as Horil, also in Khuyhom. Kashmir's celebrated historian, Hasan, who lived in 19th century belonged to Khuyham.

In Yachkoot, near Budgam and slightly away from the Pandit locality is a groove of 5-8 Chinars. In the hollow of a Chinar is housed the idol of Sarada goddess. A clay wall encloses the Chinar groove. This served as a local temple. On *Chitrashtmi* and Navmi, Pandits of Yachkoot and surrounding villages performed *havan*. Pandits describe the place as *asthapan* of Saradamajj.

Traditions linked with the origin of the above mentioned places, connected with Sarada worship seem to have been lost in the folk memory. It is only in-case of Sardabal at Kaloosa, Bandipore and at Tigr and Gushi that the tradition is still well preserved.

Sardabal at Kaloosa is located on the right bank of Madhumati. The river on which the historic shrine of Sarada is situated is also known as Madhumati. Kaloosa's old name was "*Kalash*". Sarada *asthapan* in Kaloosa has a big spring with two shilas on two Celtis (Brimij) trees. There is a fencing of stone wall with a raised platform. The temple on its left was constructed in 1925. Previously Pandits used to perform *havan on any day during the year*. For the last forty years *havan* is performed only on the day of *Saradaashtami*.

The legend describing the origin of Sardabal is not dissimilar to the ones describing the emergence of Venkur and Saadmalinu as places of Ganges worship. Pandit Akalal's ancestor was a great devotee of goddess Sarada. He visited Sarada on every *Saradaashtami*. When he grew old, the goddess came to him in a dream. She told him, "Now you are old. You need not come here. I myself would come and reside at your place". The devotee was astonished and asked her how would that be possible. She replied, "there would be heavy rains, followed by floods. In a mulberry garden, you have to watch the movement of a crow resting on the branch of a tree. The moment the crow starts flying, you begin pulling the branch of the tree. A spring will emerge, with two small pebbles in it. Take these pebbles home and put these in a puja room, Thokur Kuth, duly cleaned for the occasion. Thokur Kuth is not to be opened for seven days."

The devotee complied with the divine message, but his strong curiosity drew him to open Puja room only after three days. Pebbles did grow in size but remained small. These shilas are worshipped in Sardabal temple. As per the tradition prevalent, the goddess told the devotee that he would not have son for seven generations, for not complying with her instructions fully. Pandit Manohar Bhat is the direct descendant of this family.

Gushi and Tigr are the places, where Sarada goddess took rest, while on her way from Lanka to Sardi. In Gushi the sacred site is situated a little above the groove of Rangvor. There is a small walled enclosure, which houses ancient idols. At Tigr on the sacred site there are seven chinars besides a temple, alongwith Sri Chakra.

16 *Flawed Secularist Argument*

Kashmir - The tumbled crown of Indian Secularism

By Dr. Ajay Chrangoo

The eruption of the fundamentalist separatist insurgency has exploded many myths in relation to Kashmir. For nearly five decades Kashmiris were described as ‘unique’ people, who rejected the two-nation theory of Jinnah. The ethnic-cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus from the only Muslim-majority province of India has debunked the claim that Kashmir was the crown of Indian secularism, or a secular oasis in the communally torn subcontinent.

Indian political leadership, failed in formulating the nation’s stakes in Kashmir. The stakes could be either strategic or ideological. By conceding the strategic northern areas in 1947, Indian leadership had conveyed that the stakes were not strategic. Successive Central governments connived in the policies of the Kashmir-Centric state leadership, which destabilized Kashmir Hindus in particular and Hindus in general in J&K.

For the nation stakes were always clear. Strategically Kashmir formed the northern frontier of India and ideologically active pluralism in Kashmir strengthened secular nation-building in India. Congress leaderships perspective for advocating accession of Jammu and Kashmir with India was however convoluted. Congress leaders had rejected the two-nation theory but accepted the partition. Accession of Kashmir to India for Congress leaders was a matter of pure expediency on three counts. One it deflected the criticism that Congress had accepted partition of the country on two-nation theory basis. Secondly, it allowed Nehru to fight his factional battles within Congress to outmanoeuver Hindu nationalist lobby of Sardar Patel, BC Roy and GB Pant. Thirdly, Congress wanted to cultivate Muslims as a votebank. Muslim minority in UP and Bihar had strongly supported the Pakistan movement. Thus concessions for these Muslims could be wrested only if compulsions flowing from accession of Kashmir to India were cited.

Glorifying Sheikh Abdullah and Kashmiris for their nationalism and secularism became a matter of expediency for the Indian political leadership. Clean chit to the Kashmir political leaders encouraged separatist blackmail and emboldened them for pursuing destabilization process of Kashmiri Hindus in Valley and people of Jammu and Ladakh. In early years when such great leaders like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru tried to focus Nehru’s attention on the destabilization schemes of Sheikh Abdullah’s government, he snubbed him saying, “I have not done accession for Kashmiri Pandits.”

The expediency of Congress leadership was also exploited by alienated westernized secular Indian elite to fight its turf battles with those forces who wanted positive engagement with the genius of Indian civilisation. Secularists’ argument that Kashmir was the crown of Indian secularism rested on three arguments.

- i) Sheikh Abdullah repudiated two-nation theory by acceding to India;
- ii) National Conference saved Hindus from virtual destruction in the wake of tribal raid of 1947. Sheikh Abdullah built the foundations of secularism and Kashmiriat;
- iii) and absence of communal violence in post-1947.

Close scrutiny of the historical details exposes the flawed basis of the secularist argument.

Rebuffing of the two-nation theory:

Historical data, which has since become available clearly points that Sheikh Abdullah’s role during accession has been exaggerated. Nehru’s strong dislike towards Hari Singh was responsible for Hari Singh’s delay in making up mind on accession to India. There is documentary evidence that Hari Singh had been pressing Indian government hard for accession since September 15, 1947. Nehru’s priorities were abdication by Maharaja in favour of Sheikh Abdullah rather than accession. After analyzing the declassified material, late Dr NN Raina, the father of communist movement in Kashmir remarked that “Hari Singh’s role needs to be rewritten”.

Role of Sheikh Abdullah in 1947 reflects expediency rather than any conviction to rebuff Muslim nationalism for a larger Indian nationalism. Since 1943 NC had been trying to mend fences with Jinnah. The essence of the conflict between NC and Jinnah lay in refusal of Muslim nationalism as represented by Muslim League to accommodate local Muslim nationalism as articulated by National Conference. This antagonism had nothing to do with supposed rejection of two-nation theory by NC in favour of secular nationalism.

Jinnah's rejection of NC's claim as popular party of Kashmiri Muslims in favour of Muslim conference left little options for Sheikh Abdullah. Even then NC continued to hold olive branch to Jinnah and Muslim League. Krishan Dev Sethi, veteran communist leader narrates in his memoirs that NC tried to rechristen itself as Muslim conference in 1945 to gain the goodwill of the Muslim League. During 'Quit Kashmir' agitation Sheikh Abdullah's slogan was not accession to India but "Freedom before accession". Sheikh Abdullah made the last effort to win the confidence of Jinnah, when he sent his two lieutenants Bakshi and Sadiq to Pakistan. The purpose of their visit was not to discuss the quantum of accession but to seek a commitment that Muslim League recognised NC and Sheikh Abdullah as main spokesperson of Kashmiri Muslims. Egoistic and overconfident Jinnah refused to accommodate Sheikh Abdullah and paid the price. Sardar Shoukat Hayat Khan admits that Bakshi-Sadiq mission was mismanaged.

Jinnah and Sheikh Abdullah hated each other. Both were autocrats. Jinnah left no options for Sheikh, who saw for himself no future in Pakistan dominated by Jinnah and Muslim League. He even knew of a secret Pak plan to kidnap him. Not very confident of India accepting accession, he was reconciled to a state of permanent political exile in India. Sheikh Abdullah, had already despatched his family to Indore (reports say in the same aircraft in which the Maharani of the state travelled around 24 October, 1947).

Sheikh as a mature politician had an elaborate game-plan for his rehabilitation. The first step of it was to prevent Kashmir from being annexed by Pakistan. Annexation by Pakistan would seal his future for all times to come. Tribal raid left him the only one option available i.e. accession to India.

Once the accession had been signed and the die was cast, Sheikh began unfolding his version of two nation theory. After Jinnah's demise Sheikh tried to rebuild the bridges with the Muslim League through the instrumentality of Aga Khan. Sheikh also started cultivating pro-Pakistani section of Kashmiri Muslim bureaucracy. Justice Shahmiri was asked to head the committee set up to initiate dialogue with Indian leaders on Kashmir's constitutional relationship with India. He made no secret of 'great' divergence with Congress Muslim stalwarts like Maulana Azad and Rafi Ahmad Kidwai and tried to undermine their prestige. Sheikh raised the bogey of communal representation in Central services to strengthen secessionist tendencies among the Kashmiris.

Sheikh's arrest in 1953, was not only supported but actually implemented by Maulana Azad Rafi Kidwai, Dr KM Ashraf and ZA Ahmed. They understood well what Sheikh's betrayal meant to millions of Indian Muslims still not out of traumatic conditions of the aftermath of partition. As early as December 1947 (barely three months after the accession had been signed, Ram Manohar Lohia had, in a sensational report, told Nehru, how the Sheikh was nursing separatist tendencies. This report had been passed on by Nehru to his two senior Muslim cabinet members.

Had Sheikh Abdullah's support for accession been genuine, secularisation of Kashmiri Muslim society and its emotional integration with Indian people would have been his priority. Sheikh rather insisted on separate identity for Kashmiri Muslims and demanded Article 370 with right to secession to reinforce it. Where did the need of seeking this reaffirmation arise when the Indian constitution provided all the necessary guarantees. Pt. Prem Nath Bazaz commented on this, says, "If religious nationalism is to be a political creed, it is clear that Kashmiri Muslims will one day prefer Muslim nationalists or league to Hindu nationalism of Congress".

From 1953 onwards, the Sheikh started the main separatist organisation called Plebiscite Front, which played the crucial role in building the separatist psyche among Kashmiris.

Not in vain did his official biographer state in a seminar in 1989 that "If Sheikh Sahib had been alive today, he would have been in the jail".

How does the credit of 'saving' the Hindu minority of Kashmir go either to Sheikh Abdullah or the NC? Was not the Sheikh's position more precarious than that of the Hindus of the Valley? Were the hundreds of thousands of Hindus and Sikhs in the now Pakistan occupied part of the state saved by Sheikh's activists in those areas? No, they were massacred in their own places most brutally. Did not the locals join the bands of the tribals when Baramulla fell and these marauders spread out in the rural areas singling out the Hindu and Sikh houses and families and subjecting them to loot, rape and killing? It is true that top NC leadership did not promote direct violence against Pandits. Had it done so, Nehru would have found it difficult to bail out Sheikh Abdullah, in the heat of partition aftermath.

If the Sheikh's slogan of *Sher-i-Kashmir Ka Kya Irshad etc.* had made any real impact on the Muslims of Kashmir, their response to the savagery of the raiders would have been totally different. By the same logic we can say that if the Muslims of the Valley really believed in and acted upon what they called *Kashmiriyat*, then they would not have provided all conceivable logistic support to the armed Islamist insurgents in the ongoing situation. This falsifies the oft-repeated excuse "We have guns on both sides, what can we do". The gun on one side is by choice and also the result of not resisting the ideological imposition.

Such was the impact of communal violence in 1947 that in Baramulla district no fewer than half of the Hindu and Sikh population was either killed or forcibly converted (even if only temporarily) or obliged to leave their homes and hearths for good.

The slogan of secularism was the key to induce the visionaries of New Delhi to throw their full support in favour of Sheikh Abdullah. Never before has this double edged weapon been used so effectively by any politician in the subcontinent. The only intellectual who could penetrate into the mind of the Sheikh in those fateful fears was Prem Nath Bazaz, of course his friend, colleague and political sympathiser.

Sheikh Abdullah as the torch bearer of secularism

Sheikh Abdullah, as a popular leader of a majority region (by which we mean the state of J&K) did not fall outside the Muslim League leadership's perception of Muslim majority region leadership. It has to be noted that the Muslim League primarily represented the interests of Muslims in minority provinces and feudal-salariat groups. The conflict between the League and the Muslim leadership in Muslim majority provinces was resolved only after 1946. Active role of GM Syed (in Sindh) and the Unionist leaders in the Punjab in the affairs of the League thereafter and overtures of Sheikh Abdullah to the Muslim League were part of the same process.

W.C. Smith, the noted historian, in his seminal work, '*Modern Islam in India*', rightly notes that Sheikh Abdullah was not superceding Muslim subnationalism in larger Indian nationalism but was on the contrary undercutting it still smaller local loyalties, expressing as Kashmiri Muslim subnationalism."

We have already noted that so far nobody has tried to address fundamental issues in relation to NC's commitment to secular nationalism.

One of the tasks of far reaching consequence which Sheikh accomplished when in power was to carve out Gool Tehsil in Reasi, Doda district in Jammu region and Kargil district in Ladakh division. Nothing but communal undertones justified this machination. The people quickly realised how the administration looked at things. Exacerbation of communal tension in otherwise prosaic societies of these regions was engineered.

In 1978 during the second stint of the Sheikh, gerrymandering of electoral constituencies pushed the minority groups, Gujjars, Shias and Pandits to the political Junkyard and established firmly the dominance of the Sunni Muslims of the Valley.

The crowning act of non-secularist character was the introduction in the Legislative Assembly the most dangerous Resettlement Bill in 1982. As leader of the ruling party, he piloted the bill. The official record of the debate will show the vicious communal undertones at work when member after member from the treasury benches supported it fiercely. Even a cursory glance on the pamphlet '*Kashmir Mein Aksariyata Ko Aqalliyat Me Bedelne Ki Sazish*', published by ruling NC gives the background in which the

Resettlement Bill was drafted. This pamphlet, highly treasonable and provocative (it was later on withdrawn after having seen limited circulation) gave clear indications that the NC was anything but a secularist group. The aftermath of NC attack on Jamaatis in the Valley in the wake of the hanging of ZA Bhutto, brought about a radical change both in the precept and the practice of NC. Here the Wahabi element exported by the Saudis came to play its role in Kashmiri and the Sheikh's role during this period needs to be refocussed. Islamising the historical names of nearly 800 places in Valley, and Sheikh Abdullah's speeches at Ganderbal in 1978 and at Hazratbal in 1982 do not portray Sheikh Abdullah as an outstanding secularist.

Secularism has become a much profaned word. Conventional secularist wisdom recognises communal violence particularly the major conflagrations only as manifestations of communalism. Subtle and often imperceptible undermining of the interests of the religious minorities are no less detrimental socially and politically. Pseudo-secularists characterize the present secular breakdown in Kashmir as an aberration and hence ignorable. But it is here where once must dig deep into social phenomenon to arrive at the root of the problem.

Communal violence is only the flash-point of communalization process, which can be subtle, slow and lengthy. Communal violence is contingent on a number of factors like a) size of the minority b) minority's attitude to assault on its cultural, political and economic rights c) its cohesiveness d) its vote-bank potential. Smaller numbers, peaceful disposition, non-retaliatory behaviour, historicity of cultural values and its non-votebank structure explain the relative absence of large scale communal orgy. Communal riot is a situation where the two communities not numerically highly disproportionate attack each other. Even 1986 program against Pandit minority at Anantnag was more of a communal aggression, where violence went only one way. Even if no minority member was killed, yet the scale of attack on minority property and places of worship was comparable to any major riot.

What then were the visible manifestation of communalism in Kashmir? These were individual attacks on community members, kidnapping and forcible conversion of Pandit girls, raking up false disputes over Pandit places of worship, grabbing of Pandit property through politico-administrative connivance and erecting boards of *Maqbooza Ahle-e-Islam* on disputed or unattended Pandit land, attacks on and desecration of Pandit places of worship. Even known left wing Pandit activists like Tej Bahadur Bhan and HN Wanchoo were not spared by the rank fundamentalists. In 1986 in many villages of district Pulwama and Baramulla and also earlier at other places call for boycott against the Pandit minority was given. And whosoever won or lost the Indo-Pak cricket match, the Pandit became the hapless victim of Vandalism by the majority community hooligans. Their holier-than-you wards, looked on in gleeful sadism.

The exodus of the Pandits inter-mittently from 1947 till the mass exodus in 1990 is the result of a carefully drawn plan of ethnic cleansing. This passed on as 'Kashmiriyat. Dr Farooq Abdullah government's strong Pandit-baiting in 1983-85 period and totally hostile attitude against exiled community, aimed at destroying Pandits' roots for ever in Kashmir is in itself an eloquent commentary on subtleties of communalisation process in the 'secular crown' of India.

Modern Muslim elite and mainstream political groupings in Kashmir have not lagged behind fundamentalists in fomenting communal hatred against religious and ethnic minorities. It is this leadership that is busy pursuing apartheid against displaced Kashmiri Hindus and is creating obstacles in Pandits' complete and sincere return. Its public posture on Pandits' return is for the consumption of Indian public.

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17 Sarada Legends - Different Versions

By Dr. Romesh Kumar

So integral is Sarada tradition to Kashmir, that Kashmir is more often called by the name of *Saradadesha*. Goddess Sarada is the presiding deity of Kashmir. Besides Kashmiri Hindus, Saraswat Brahmins, presently scattered along the Western Coast of India, Venerate Goddess Sarada as their principal deity. The puranic literature is replete with details about goddess Sarada's journey to Kashmir.

Two Sarada *mahatmyas* are presently extant. These describe the significance of pilgrimage to Sarada. One is a part of *Bhrngisasamhita*, while the other is based on *Adipurana*. Pandit Sahib Ram's excellent composition, *Tirthasamgraha* is also a valuable source on the history of Sarada Tirtha. An attempt is made in this article, to reconstruct the origins of Sarada pilgrimage, based on the oral tradition, collected from the Pandits of village Gushi (ancient Ghosa) and Lidderwan, the villages intimately connected with Sarada pilgrimage.

Origins of Sarada Tiratha

Ravana was a great Worshipper of Lord Shiva, who had bestowed him with extraordinary powers. Goddess Parvati was also kind to Ravana. One day Parvati told Lord Shiva, "We don't have a house of our own," and desired one. Lord directed Vishwakarma to construct a house for them in Lanka. During the Greh Pravesh ceremony, Ravana was also among invitees. Ravana wondered why a godly saint with ashes smeared all round his body needed a house of his own. He asked Lord to hand over the house to him. So long as the Lord was in the house, he ignored Ravana's pleadings. After the Lord and Parvati left the house, Ravana was asked to take over the house.

Meanwhile Ravana was engaged in war with Rama. The former asked Lord Shiva for his blessings. The Lord gave him a *Shivling* and told him that "so long it remains with you, nobody can defeat you". He warned him not to put it on ground. Narad, an old man happened to pass by. Ravana went somewhere and handed over *Shivling* to Narad. The latter told him that he had a curse that he could not stay at a place for more than half an hour. Ravana agreed and said he would return quite soon, but more than thirty minutes passed. Narad put the *Shivling* down and left. On return, Ravana turned sad on finding that *Shivling* was missing.

Knowing that Lord Shiva was angry with him, Ravana turned to Goddess Durga. She asked him to perform Yagna but told Lord Ram, "If I stay here, you cannot destroy Ravana. Take me from here to Utterkhand". Lord Ram asked her, "How could I take you". She replied, "you have Hanuman". Hanuman was called but he refused, arguing he would not take a female along with him. Parvati replied, "I will go in the form of water. You have only to lift the Kamandal and drop me where I ask". Hanuman agreed. In a slightly different version, it is said that it was after Lanka (*Lanka dahan*) was set on fire that Parvati asked Lord Rama to take her out of Lanka.

Hanuman took the Handawara (ancient Hantwara) route to Gushi, passing by Masabhavan spring. As he crossed the place where Masabhavan spring is situated, a drop of water from Kamandal fell down to form the spring Masanag (Masa literally means fish). After resting a while at Gushi, Hanuman went to Tikr. Here again a drop of water fell down from Kamandal to form Devibal spring. The water of the spring demonstrates different colours at different times, like the famous spring of Khirbhawani. A little above the Devibal spring, Parvati asked Hanuman to stop a while. Goddess rested here. This place presently has seven chinars. There is a temple of goddess Sarada, along with Srichakra.

The next destination of Hanuman was Hayhom, eight miles away and Krsnag. Hayhom spring has an area of hundred square feet but is not much deep. Sarada yattris take bath at Krsnag. From Krsnag Hanuman went to Tehjan. There is also a spring here. Three miles ahead, on the banks of Madhumati on a hillock, Parvati asked Hanuman to end the journey and keep the Kamandal down. She asked Hanuman to leave.

The place, where Hanuman kept the Kamandal is the Sanctum Sanctorium of Sarada shrine. Originally a spring, presently it is covered by a large rough slab, measuring 6 by 7 feet, with a thickness of about half a foot. This spring or Kunda is the object of special veneration for pilgrims. There is another spring which

lies a little higher up but within the precincts of Sarada shrine. It is said that water from that spring flows into Sarada Kund. Same story is told about Masabhavan spring whose waters are reported to reach Sarada spring. A legendary account of Dandhori is given in this context.

This story is based on the oral tradition conveyed by Sansar Chand Raina of Gushi and Nand Lal Pujari of Sarada to his descendants. Masabhavan spring is a large spring with an area of seven hundred square feet. Its good depth gives the water a blue hue. There are two big *Shivlings* in the spring. The sanctity of *Shivlings* in the spring has been validated by a unique incident in recent times. Jagarpur village is irrigated by the waters of Masanag. In early seventies local villagers wanted to clean the spring but could not do it fully. They asked Pandits of Nagari village to shift the *Shivlings*. They complied and *Shivlings* were shifted to a nearby temple. Incessant rains followed, leading to flash floods. Jagarpur villagers got worried and went to seek intervention of a Kraal Derwish, Qadir Saab at Heer, four miles away from Kupwara. Acclaimed as a good antaryami, he told the villagers, "I cannot do anything, when you have removed it". People could not discern its meaning.

Meanwhile, DC Baramulla in a dream saw somebody catching him by the neck. He told him, "If you do not put me back in the spring, even your smell will not stay." DC woke up that very moment, 12 O'clock in the night and rushed to Jagarpur. He called the villagers and asked them to put the *Shivlings* back in the spring. He warned them, "If you fail to do so, you will die along with me". The *Shivlings* were brought in a truck and under the direct supervision of DC, these were lowered into the Masabhavan spring. Rains stopped immediately in the morning and villagers heaved a sigh of relief.

Pt. Shamboo Nath Thusu of Lidderwan gives a different version of the legend, which explains the origin of Sarada spring. Pandit Ganmalo of Seer Jagir (Nandkishwar) was a pujari at Sarada, appointed by Dharmarth Trust. Ganmalo was well learnt in scriptures and a poet also. In 1940, when he had put ninety years behind him, he retired. He often talked about the origins of Sarada *tirtha* to his nephews Satlal and Niranjan Nath and to Nandlal Pujari of Goeteng. Satlal was pujari at Sarada in 1947. Pt. S.N. Thusu heard this story from them.

Once Samundar Mathan (cleaning of ocean) was undertaken by fourteen ratans, with an objective to get Amrit. In the process, Amrit fell into the hands dyats and not devtas. It was a fearful situation. Devtas, thought of a compromise. Goddess adopted 'Mohini Roop' and agreed to distribute Amrit. As expected dyats fell out. In the process the goddess left along with Amrit to Sardaji. Goddess Mohini poured it over a place, now known as Sarada spring. Dyats would come and desecrate it. Goddess put a shila over it to prevent desecration.

Legends of Muni Sandilya

There are two different versions on how Muni Sandilya reached Sarada. The first version is based on what Sansar Chand Raina and Nand Lal Shardi relate. The other version is based on Bhrnghisasamhita and is recorded by Sir Aureil Stein, in his translation of Rajatarangini.

Rishi Agastya was a *brahm rishi*. He performed *tapasya* in a forest. Rishi was childless. One day his wife told him that she desired a child. Rishi kept quiet. When she persisted, Agastya suggested to her that she should seek the divine intervention for this. He advised her, "you get up at 2 AM and pour eleven tumblers of water over *Shivling*, everyday for forty days. You may get a child after that." Rishi however told her that no one else should see her performing this unique puja. A Coirmaker overhead this conversation. He too was childless. He was on way home from the forest. As it rained heavily, he took shelter under the cover of roof projecting out. Matanga, the coir-maker went home and asked his wife to try this 'formula'.

Soon both ladies gave birth to sons. Matanga's son Sandilya was of a very dark complexion. As he grew up, he would frequently visit men of religious merit and thus came in contact with Acharya Agastya.

Sandilya began visiting Rishi Agastya frequently. The latter told his wife that though Sandilya was born in identical circumstances as her son but he was higher in wisdom. When he reached ten to twelve years of age, Sandilya asked Rishi Agastya for 'Guru Shabad'. Rishi told him, "you cannot get it. Only those who have undergone Yagneopavit ceremony qualify for it." Sandilya in his innocence asked the Rishi to

perform his yagneopavit ceremony. Agastya told him that only Brahmins can undergo Yagneopavit ceremony. Sandilya did not relent. Then Agastya suggested, "There is a way out. You go to Sarda and offer penance to the goddess. If she is kind enough, then your Yagneopavit ceremony is possible". Agastya told Sandilya that the goddess lived in Utterakhand.

Sandilya began Wanderings in search of the goddess and found out from people that the goddess lived in Kashmir. It took him two years to reach this region. He followed the track taken by Hanuman in carrying goddess Parvati. Sandilya took the traditional bath at Krsnag and came to Tehjan. He mistook Tehjan spring for that of Sarda and camped here. After resting a while, he took bath at Tehjan spring. His dark complexion was gone. However, Sandilya was enveloped with a feeling that Tehjan was not the resting place of goddess Sarda. He got up and followed the bank till he reached near the Sarda spring. Sandilya rested here. Goddess Sarda came to him in a dream. This confirmed the authenticity of her abode. Sandilya began his tapsya. Goddess came to him and asked what he wanted. Sandilya told her, "I need no riches. Nobody is agreeing to perform my Yagneopavit ceremony. Only you can help me. For my Yagneopavit ceremony you be the Jajmanbhai and rishi Agastya the Brahmin". Goddess Sarda, the incarnation of Parvati agreed. Yagneopavit was performed and Sandilya received 'Guru Shabad' from Agastya. Thus it is on the soil of Kashmir that caste system was delegitimised by none other than the presiding goddess Sarda. Caste system remained extremely weak here. Its historical significance is outside the scope of this story. Devtas, had lost contact with goddess Parvati, when she escaped from Lanka. It was Sandilya, who led them to Sarda.

Sir Aureil Stein gives a different version of the legend, based on Bhrangisasamhita. Muni Sandilya was practicing great austerities in order to obtain the sight of the goddess Sarada. Divine advice prompts him to proceed to Syamala Maharashtra, the present region of Hamal, Dengiwacha. At Gushi Mahadevi appears to him and promises to show herself in true form in the Sarada forest. The goddess vanishes from his sight at Hayasirsasrama, present Hayhom, four miles from Gushi. Sandilya next proceeds to Krsnag and takes bath in the spring. After emerging from the spring, half of his body turns golden. This is interpreted by Stein as complete liberation from darkness. Since the Krsnaganga is situated above the village of Drang, local Brahmins also call Drang as 'Sona-Drang' or 'Gold-Drang' (Suvarnardhangaka in Mahatmya).

While ascending the mountain range to the north, Sandilya sees a dance of goddess in a forest called Rangavati. He then passes the Gostambhana forest and arrives at Tejavana, modern Tehjan, the residence of rishi Gautam. Then Sandilya crosses a hill and sees the God Ganesa and finally reaches Saradavana. It is at the Sarada spring, the sancutm sanctorum of the shrine that the goddess appeared to Sandilya. She rewarded his long austerities by inviting him to her residence on Srisaila.

Pityrs also approached Sandilya and asked him to perform their Sraddhas. On his taking water from the Mahasindhu for the purpose of the Tarpana rite, half of its water turns into honey and forms the stream hence known as Madhumati. Mishra (Gangetic Plain), Saproos, Sadhus (Kashmir) trace their Gotra to Sandilya.

18 Wandhama's agony retold

Wandhama failed to live up to its name everytime in recent history. Wandhama in Kashmiri means 'hot in winter' i.e. providing comfort to its people. There is an interesting story about how Wandhama came to be inhabited by human population. In old days gone by, it was a dense forest, full of thorny bushes called by Kashmiris as Krahdazand. Extreme poverty forced Mansa Ram Bhat and his brother, Ramchand to abandon their ancestral village Kaloosa in Bandipore. While Ramchand settled down in Manigam, Mansa Ram came to Wandhama.

Mansa Ram had a big family of seven sons to support. He spent first year taking shelter under the thick Krahdazand. Then he built a thatched small hut called Pahri during the second season. Soon two more families of Naba Shah, a Pir family and Babas, a peasant family came and settled down in Wandhama. The descendants of three families today form more than ninety families. Of these twelve families are Kashmiri Pandits. Most of the Peers have deserted the village. The ethnic-cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus has made Wandhama a one community village now.

Tribal Raid:

On the eve of the tribal raid, six Pandit families of Narayan Bhat, Tarak Bhat, Govind Bhat, Shankar Bhat, Prasad Bhat and Maheshwar Nath Bhat were living peacefully in the Pandit Mohalla of the village. Diversion of raiders to Sumbal made Pandits of Wandhama vulnerable to attacks.

In Wandhama, National Conference influence was virtually non-existent. Saifullah Shah (Peer) was the local politician, who owed allegiance to pro-Pak Muslim Conference. His house was situated at one end of the village, bordering Barsoo. Despite tension, Kashmiri Pandits of Wandhama had refused to leave. They belonged to poor peasantry section of the village. Extreme insecurity forced them to stay put in the village.

When raiders entered Sumbal, Saifullah Shah invited them for a dinner. Raiders stayed in Wandhama for two days. Locals informed Pandits that raiders had come to Saifullah's house and for their safety it was desirable that they must move out. All the six families left but separately. Some left in the evening and some later during the night. However, one member from each family stayed back. Shankar Bhat, Maheshwar Nath, Ram Bhat, Tarak Bhat, Sarvanand Bhat and Narain Bhat hoped to salvage their property.

After Pandit families moved out, two Muslim Conference workers Kamal Sheikh and Ahad Sheikh of the adjoining village, Thuir hoisted Pakistani flags over their houses. Soon after, a local mob instigated by AS Shah of Wandhama came to loot and burn Pandit houses. Kashmiri Pandits who had stayed back on seeing looters apprehended danger to their lives. They managed to escape, before the looters could burn the houses. Loot was started in their presence. Even Paddy stores of Pandits were opened and looted.

These Pandits could not keep contact with one another when loot started and left individually. While moving towards Srinagar, Indian Army mistook them for tribal raiders. Narain Bhat was killed at Beehama, while Tarachand and Moshar Nath were injured at Duderhama. Narayan Bhat's body lay on road for three days. It was cremated later by two Pandit volunteers. Wandhama Pandits were lodged in a refugee camp at Shiv Mandir in Rainawari.

Raiders were seven in number and left after Indian Army reached Wandhama. Those days justice was speedy. Strong action was taken against Saifullah Shah and three other Muslim Conference workers who had hoisted Pakistani flags. Saifullah was arrested and died in jail. His two sons Ahmed Syed and Mohiuddin left behind their families in Wandhama and went to Pakistan. They remarried there and never came back.

Rise of Terrorism:

After tribal raid, Badri Nath Dhar from adjoining Laar village settled down in Wandhama. In 1990, when the terrorists put the Pandit community on hit list, Narayan Bhat's family took no chances. It migrated along with eight other families of Wandhama. A big mob from Barsoo had come and entered Pandit courtyards. They had used abusive and provocative language asking Pandits to leave. Pandit Sudershan

Bhat, who was among those killed in 1998 massacre also advised his son Dileep Kumar and his two daughters to leave. Dileep had received some threats. Only Sudershan, his brother and Mrs Sudershan Bhat stayed back. Dileep had met his parents last time in January 1996. His parent's last communication to him was in the form of a letter in December, 1997 in which they had mentioned that they would visit them by January-end. But that was not to be.

After putting plan of ethnic-cleansing of Pandits into action, terrorists allowed few pockets of Kashmiri Pandits to stay on. It served a dual purpose. To the international gallery they claimed that their terrorists movement was non-communal and cited the instance of these Pandits. Secondly, when government drew up any plan for return of Kashmiri Pandits or the terrorists wanted to make big news, these 'captive' Pandits were made the soft targets. This has been happening since April 1997 Sangrampura massacre.

Terrorists would dole out false assurances of safety to these 'captive Pandits'. Assadullah Mir, a hardcore terrorist and local 'commander' of Hizbul Mujahideen had also told Wandhama Pandits, "you are safe were". Wandhama Pandits continued to live on his "assurances" and also on the security guaranteed by a security pocket.

Wandhama was waiting to happen. In the first week of January, 1998 two militants were killed in Wandhama in an encounter. The entire belt from Safapur to Kangan had become a free zone for foreign mercenaries. Media reports even talked about the political patronage these mercenaries enjoyed from the local politicians. For reasons best known to them, neither the state government nor the Army bothered to launch any concrete counter-insurgency campaign to throw away these mercenaries and deny them the hideouts. This despite the fact that a strategic national highway passes through this belt. Secondly, the state government made experimentations to enact a tokenist return of Pandits to soften lobbies at Centre, which pressed it for return of displaced Pandits. It made these experimentations in the absence of any concrete and cogent policy frame work for minority protection. Earlier also, when NC government built media hype on Pandits' return, seven innocent Hindus were woken up in the middle of the night at Sangrampora on 22nd March, 1997 and brutally massacred. NC government was making attempts to enact a tokenist return on the eve of Wandhama massacre. It is established by circumstantial evidence.

A virtually non-existent group Nov Soan Kashmir Front had sent its members to Srinagar on January 25. It wanted to impress upon that fears of Displaced Kashmiri Hindus were exaggerated. Its activist Vinod Bhat was quoted by a national daily as having said, "the ghost of threat that was clinging us so far is no more troubling us. We are roaming freely in various parts of Srinagar city without any fear. Our main object is to visualise the thoughts of Muslims regarding we people. This fear is basically nothing but media-hype". Only hours later occurred the Wandhama carnage. Shadi Lal, the leader of the group reacted by claiming, "Kashmiri militants can never indulge in such barbaric act. This is the work of fanatic mercenaries who know only to kill, kill..." The Divisional Commissioner remarked, "I don't understand what for they want to go there. Everybody who is surviving has bid adieu to the place, so with whom will they talk."

A splinter faction of Panun Kashmir had also said that it would declare the so-called return module at a function in New Delhi, which was to coincide with the Republic Day. Unmindful of Wandhama carnage, Abdul Ahad Vakil, Minister of Revenue and Rehabilitation in his address to the Republic Day gathering at the Bakshi Stadium had said, "The state government is making efforts for the safe return of the Kashmiri Pandits. We will not let any stone unturned to get them back as they are part of our culture and heritage".

Carnage:

Terrorists struck on the intervening night of January 25 and January 26. Eyewitness accounts said twenty five terrorists in army dress swooped on the village at around 10 PM on Sunday. The terrorists first entered the house of Moti Lal Bhat, a Medical assistant in a local dispensary. From here groups of four terrorists were sent to other Pandit houses and the rest were asked to cordon the village. Moti Lal was a popular medical practitioner in the area and treated everybody who came for help with compassion. The

family of his niece, Pinki had come from Shopian to fix up an engagement proposal for one of his children. Her husband, Shadi Lal had been recently transferred to Ganderbal as a wireless operator.

In Badri Nath's house, there was a knock. Bearded terrorists, clad in Army dress asked permission to enter. It was not unusual for the family to give entry to such people in the past. The terrorists demanded tea which was served to them. Badri Nath's family had come from Laar after 1947 and settled down in Wandhama. Around 11 PM, Badri Nath's family had come to know that three other Pandit families living nearby were entertaining similar guests. After the tea was served to them, Badri Nath's family members asked terrorists when would they leave. The terrorists assured them not to worry and said they would move out soon. One of the gunmen told Vinod (14) son of Badri Nath, "you are talking sweetly, we will not kill you".

An hour later the radio set carried by one terrorists turned on and some one from other side cracked a message "*poora gaon cordon ho gaya hai*" (entire village has been cordoned). That was the moment one of the gunman stood up and ordered to shoot the family members down. Vinod alias Ashoo himself quickly sneaked to take refuge in the upper storey of his house. He heard bursts of gunfire and people shrieking. Vinod hid himself under the heap of dried cow-dung stored there. Within fifteen minutes everything fell silent. He was now the lone survivor among twenty-four Kashmiri Pandits who were staying in Wandhama.

Terrorists before escaping set ablaze the house of Moti Lal and the local temple. The gunmen in other three houses had also resorted to indiscriminate firing killing 15 Hindus. After the guns fell silent, Vinod came down to see the fate of his five family members. He thought that the villagers could provide help to his family members. To his dismay the villagers had gone to mosque for offering night long prayers on the occasion of Shab-i-Qadr.

There are different versions how the locals reacted after the massacre. According to one version locals heard the gun shots while they were offering prayers in the local mosque. They came out and visited the scene of devastation. Later they went to the Army camp at Barsoo, 3 kms away and informed the officers about the incident. As per locals, the Army refused to visit the village. Other reports said a group of women raised an alarm outside the mosque and informed the men-folk that the Pandit, houses had been attacked. The villagers seeing Moti Lal's house and temple in flames deserted the village and returned only in the morning. Moti Lal's limbs had been chopped off by the terrorists. Among the victims was a one-year old boy who had received 18 bullet wounds.

When correspondents visited Wandhama next morning, the small area behind the house of Moti Lal looked like a slaughter house. 17 bullet-ridden bodies were lying in a pool of blood. The policemen were pulling out charred bodies of six, including two women and two minors. A mother had unsuccessfully tried to save her infant by hiding him in her lap but both got killed together. The cop trying to separate them couldn't. There was burning smell of the human flesh everywhere. Muzamil Jaleel, of *Indian Express* who went to cover the Wandhama massacre wrote, "As the flames of Moti Lal's and Badri Nath's houses were being extinguished, there was a feeling everywhere that the price of this co-existence is high. The tragedy that struck during a night when the Sufi shrines of the Valley were all full of devotees."

NC's Role:

Pandits of the neighbouring villages, who had not moved out came to Wandhama and shouted slogans against Farooq government. They refused to cremate the dead bodies. They told the officials, "No, we will not allow you to perform their last rites here. We will take them to Jammu and show our countrymen what your government is doing to us". They said Farooq government had failed to protect their lives and property. Police had to resort lathicharge to disperse them.

The role of NC government came under strong criticism. Chief Minister Dr Abdullah's utterances were described irresponsible. He had said after the incident, "there is no possibility of Kashmiri Hindus' honourable return to their homes in Kashmir in view of the wicked gameplan of Pakistan to create communal clashes". He also added "...We will give training in the use of arms and even provide arms to the Kashmiri migrants desirous of returning home". Despite this tragedy, Governor KV Krishna Rao did

not cancel "At Home" function in Raj Bhawan. State BJP leaders boycotted this function. The state government went ahead with the winter games at Gulmarg scheduled for January 28. Even the Pandit community artists were forced to take part in the cultural programme despite their reservations. Hypocrisy of the Prime Minister IK Gujral was exposed when he went to Gulmarg and became a part of the extravaganza that was staged there. He had told Kashmiri Hindus of adjoining villages in Wandhama only few hours back, "I am here only to share some grief of yours. It is a day of mourning for all of us". The state government did not even discharge its responsibility of bringing the ashes of victims to Jammu for Kriya despite repeated pleas by the relatives of the victims. Ashes were brought by JK Awami League members.

NC-Army Row:

Massacre created a row between Army and state government. Mr Ali Sagar, State Minister for home had stated that the Wandhama massacre was a security lapse, as it had occurred under the very nose of the local army camp. The Army said foreign militants having links with certain local political leaders and responsible for the massacre of 23 Kashmiri Pandits at Wandhama had been identified and would be neutralised soon. A Defence Ministry spokesman said that 10 to 12 militants carried out the massacre with confidence because of links with certain political leaders of the area. Army said security forces cannot provide security to each and every individual in the Valley. Their task was to ensure a generally secure atmosphere for the government and public to function and live peacefully which had been achieved. If at all threat existed to an individual or groups of individual, it was the duty of police and paramilitary forces to provide adequate protection. Col. Ghosh, the Army spokesman claimed that in this case, security forces had for the past one year maintained a general peaceful environment better than other areas of the Valley. He added on the night of the massacre, two-third of the strength at the post was out dominating surrounding areas to ensure that activities related with Eid were not hindered. Due to the din and noise of prayers broadcast through loud speakers from mosques on Shab-e-Qader, the sound of firing could not be heard and hence they could not react. Col. Ghosh further claimed that when troops noticed the blaze from the village they moved immediately and reached the site. The civilian intelligence was also unaware of the incident till the morning. The security forces were the first to react, he added. However local villagers claimed that despite assurances, soldiers came several hours after the massacre.

Wandhama could not have been avoided, because both the Central government and the State government ignored the intelligence reports which spoke of heavy infestation of foreign mercenaries in areas of Ganderbal, Safapor Mansbal besides Hajan in north Kashmir. In spite of these reports no indepth study was made by the State government or the unified command on the nature of the security cover and offensive required to checkmate the militants. Prior to 1996, when NC government took over, the counter-insurgents led by Kuka Parrey had created terror in the hearts of terrorists' sympanthisers and kept this area free of foreign mercenaries and Hizb militants. Sustained campaign against counter-insurgents by many mainstream politicians and their disowning by the Central government only facilitated the ISI gameplan. The security picket in the village had also been removed at the instance of Muslim elders, who were allegedly instigated by terrorists.

Massacre accused killed:

On March 13, 3000 Rashtriya Rifles gunned down Hameed Gada at Sheikhpura, 3 kms from Ganderbal town. Gada alias Bombar Khan was affiliated with Hizbul Mujahideen and was at large for the last eight years. Gada was said to be the main mastermind behind the Wandhama carnage. Early in his carrier he killed two Kashmiri Pandits at Waskoor in Ganderbal as part of the Hizbul campaign to drive out even the remnants of Pandit community. He was also the killer of Pandit Janki Nath in Sumbal.

The other accomplices of Gada at the time of his elimination were Mohd Abdullah of Tulmulla and Mohd Maqbool Sheikh of Ganderbal. Gada himself belonged to Tulmulla.

Intriguingly the State and the Central government had at the time of massacre blamed the foreign mercenaries. Only Sudarshan Bhat's son in Jammu had said that there was a local hand in the killings. Mr IK Gujral, the then Prime Minister had roared in Wandhama, "who were the killers and why did they act

like this?” and had himself answered, “They had come from across the border. They were neither Kashmiri nor speaking local language”. Infact in every massacre involving the minority community, the active involvement of the locals of the area has been established by none other than state agencies. Mr Gujral granted Rs 20 lakh as relief to Vinod, the sole survivor in the massacre. This was done not out of genuine sympathy for the displaced Pandit community. It was to cover up his government’s callous disregard for the security of Pandits and connivance in the State government’s game of tokenist return.

The epithet to the Wandhama massacre was written by Dr Ajay Chrungoo, Chairman, Panun Kashmir. Fixing responsibility for the Wandhama carnage, he had remarked, “We are being made pawns in the dubious game of establishing ‘symbolic secularism’ in J&K and building legitimacy for National Conference regime. Time has arrived that the entire task of internally displaced Pandits and their return should be undertaken by the Central government in view of the reports of New Delhi’s own agencies about the presence of undesirable elements in state bureaucracy and allegations against some members of National Conference.

19 Murdering Minorities

By Balraj Puri

Concept of human rights, specifically applicable to wars and warlike situations, covers a wide ground. But we have specially focused our attention on the right to survival of noncombatants, unarmed and uninvolved innocent civilians. We have raised our voice against the threat to this right from whichever side it came.

When three Sikh and two Kashmiri Pandit girls were killed at Kreeri Posh and Hogam villages in Kashmir, it highlighted a special case. The victims belonged to a minuscule Sikh and Hindu minorities who opted to stay on in the Valley after the mass migration of the rest of their communities in more than one phase. Their killing by what were called "unidentified" gunmen poses a threat to the moral, human and cultural basis of Kashmiris as also to their political aspirations much more than all the excesses from either side.

This danger is fortunately realised by most of the Muslim leaders and the people of the Valley as was attested by the massive response throughout the Valley to the call for strike given by the Hurriyat on December 28. But have they seriously pondered over the ways and means to prevent its recurrence; which despite their protests has not stopped? Can they ease their conscience by insinuating the hand of Indian agencies behind the gravest threat to the soul of Kashmir? A similar plea was used by sympathisers of Osama bin Laden who alleged that the attack on World Trade Centre on September 13 was organised by the Jewish groups. Or those who alleged that assault on Parliament House in India was stage managed by Indian government. Such a plea has been used whenever minorities were killed in J&K State - in Chhatisinghpora, Mehjoor Nagar, Pahalgam, Doda district or Railway Station in Jammu.

Even if the government evidence about various incidents of mass killings of Hindus and Sikhs is not fool proof, how credible is the proof for government hand behind these killings? If a government that could not keep a secret of the responsibility of its army in killing five innocent Kashmiri Muslims described as killers of the Chhatisinghpora Sikhs and of the killing of some Amarnath Yattris in a cross firing between the CRPF and the militants, can it keep a secret of its complicity in the alleged conspiracy of killing Hindus and Sikhs in dozens - one hundred on 1 August 2000 alone - at so many places through so many agencies? At what level such a devilish plan would be hatched? Nobody short of the Prime Minister could he get it implemented without the help of the Home Minister and the Defence Minister? How many channels of command the instructions have to pass and how many people have to be involved in implementing it?

It is not a defence of the lapses of the security forces and intelligence agencies. The governments of the state and the centre cannot be absolved of their responsibility of providing security to lives of the citizens. But let not leaders of Kashmir indulge in self-deception and divert the attention of their people from identifying the real culprits. The least that they must realize is that it is the prevalence of gun culture which helps in shrouding their identity. After all none of the secessionist leaders today have a control on any militant gun. How are they in a position to absolve them for the excesses they commit or alleged to have has forced committed? The spate of minority killings in various parts of the state is an additional reason for the leaders and people of Kashmir to realise that gun has far outlived whatever utility is claimed for it.

20 Re-Affirmation Day Celebrations

By Dr. M.K. Teng

Sometimes possibly it is true that people have warned me against inflicting very long and tedious and as a matter of fact atrocious speeches on an audience and in that respect may be there is a justification which a limitation there has been placed on me and my other colleagues is what I believe and very sincerely and very honestly that what I have endured during lost twelve years, what my community has endured during last twelve years, and possibly what my community has done to keep alive against forces, which out to destroyed forces and fortunated which were arranged against my community in enemy, openly and outright, like Pakistan the Muslim of Kashmir, the Muslim secessionist movement the terrorist organisation the days in 1991 when the *Margdarshan Resolution* was under discussion and it took around 18 long protracted meetings to thrash out every word, every syllable, every concept that constituted the margdarshan resolution. I still remember that at that time too the MD Resolution was being thrashed out, drafted out, it was passed by a unanimous vote of the community. It was not accepted with the favour and approval by the forces that were then in power. The government of the state possibly withstood the most benefit by the resolution. The Government of India again with stood the benefit of the resolution. They opposed it to their nail. The forces like the Muslim terrorist regimes, who are against us also opposed. I don't want to go into the contents of Margdarshan resolution especially the Resolution No: 1 which was adopted on this day 10 years earlier and which is equally important, which, hu.. accept was also drafted by me. It is 10 years now after the resolution was adopted that we are still in exile. There is much less and little hope that appears to be expressed anywhere in the corridors of power in Delhi or those of Jammu and Srinagar, of their return. That as a matter of fact is the greatest section of the sincerity with which PK Organisation adopted the MD resolution. The exit and exodus of KP's from Kashmir was not as the GOI has so far insisted not only on the national fora, but even on the international fora was that prompted by, was that incidental to the terrorism in Kashmir. It was a well planned conspiracy of converting J&K state or at least the part of J&K on right of Chenab into a purely Muslim state. Reduced the resistance that the Hindus of Kashmir had given for four decades to the long secessionist movement, and not only that after the exodus is completed of the Hindus (entire community) was lifted out of its abode in Kashmir and thrown into the wilderness of world the deep...the land of Jammu, that constitutes the part of J&K State. After that what happened is interesting, that is where I want to point out and that is reflective on the point and that is the fulcrum, which was considered to be basic over the adoption of the *Margdarshan Resolution 1991*.

After 1990 migration took place to Jammu, there is much less that was ever done No:1 for the return, and may I submit Mr Chairman for now consideration there is much more less that was ever done for the stabilisation of the community even in Jammu. Now it must be clear to you that Jammu is gradually becoming a clearance house for a major diaspora. We disappeared in 1990 from Kashmir and will disappear from Jammu in next 10 years. If the State of India does not look ground and see for itself that ultimately. This community is lost as it was lost from Kashmir, and so is lost from Jammu, there will be nobody to look for their interest in Himalayas. My point is not that I do want to point that I want to communicate, hurriedly suggest that please consider for a moment that we disappeared from Kashmir, halt a million people suddenly were lifted out and thrown into dust. In the last 10 years of *Margdarshan Resolution* were gradually disappeared from Jammu, and next 10 years will disappear from Jammu also, and I humbly submit. Mr Chairman that in next 10 years more will disappear from India also, and that is exactly what we insualised what PK visualized in 1991 and we said that like the Jews, life any other people in the world, the Japanese, the Philipines, why even the Muslims of India, who constitute Pakistan now, if they had a right to the determination of their self determination of their nation, we home also a right if not to the determination of a nation, atleast determination of our self, and that formulated the basis of *Panun Kashmir Margdarshan Resolution*, that we go back and we don't go back any more to live in a Muslim state which the GOI had actually instituted in J&K right from 1949, it is clearly that we don't go back in Muslim state. The type of the Muslim state that was constituted under article 370. Article 370 in

fact creates a Muslim state, legally, constitutionally. It creates a Muslim state on the territories of India, outside the constitutional framework of the Union of India. We lived for four years in a Muslim state and even after that we lived in subservience and slavery of the Muslim state. We lived as a surrogate people. We accepted to do that also till 1990, when we were told that even this is not enough. If we desired to live there, we should do that as the citizens of Pakistan. When we said no, the first bullets of Muslim Jihad were received by us. A student whom I had taught who loved me very much, whom I don't know whether I loved him or not, but that poor boy was hit by bullets near Zaindar.

Advocate Sunil Hali

Mr Chairman member of the presidium and distinguished gathering, I mindly remember exactly on Dec. 28th, 1991. I was called upon to speak in favour of the resolution. Many descending notes were expressed in this auditorium by some of the invitives and perhaps an impression was given that this resolution was an outcome of some revenge and desperation. I had said that it is not out of desperation or frustration that we are abling this resolution to be passed. I had said that Kashmiri Muslim had refused to co-exist with us. When I talk of coexistence I don't talk of only physical coexistence but that of as a fellow citizen, as a state subject of this state.

If you are living in a democratic polity there has to be equal distribution of rights amenities. If one section of the community denies that to the other, that does not want to coexist with the other. On Sept. 11th. When terrorist attacked the Americans, an American was asked as why has it happened, his reply was. "Look here America is a free country. He allow everybody to come and live here, we allow everybody to enjoy the freedom and benefits of this country. But what can you do when somebody misuses this liberty." This is exactly the problem which is engulfing this world and the threat emanates only from than, our Muslim friends.

The demand of homeland as Dr Teng has said, Toshkhani has said is recognition of our rights. He are seeking our place in our country in our own state. When this demand was made there was an element of surprise, disbelief and cynicism, because our community was not prepared to accept this fact. Can we ask for a separate homeland in Kashmir? He can't blame our community members because the post-Islamic era in Kashmir had strangulated our political rights and only rights we were aware was the right of survival. We already knew, how to individually throne and make a way for ourselves. This was too big a demand and rightly so the community was not prepared to accept this with a pinch of salt. When you exert your rights you are not asking for something which outside this world.

We have a constitution which gives equality to all citizens of this country. The word equality is a broad concept. The demand of homeland was marked by some of friends also, present ruling party of our state also had said that this is a hollow demand and that they are not interested to go back. They are only raising these voices to blackmail and how to create some sort of a leverage. Recently our CM had gone to camps and told, "I am going to provide employment to every family. Aprox. 20,000 people have filled in the forms. While did they do so, the government developed cold feet. The KP's game the response that we want to go back to Kashmir.

They were fully conscious that there are all hollow promises of the CM. When they filled 20,000 for getting jobs in Kashmir, that is how when a community develops political sense, it responds like this. Otherwise most of us who filled in the forms may not for the community, what gestures have been shown by the ruling party. If we look to the statistics for the last 10 years. I don't think more than 200 to 300 people have been employed. They too have not been employed its only a paper appointment. Unless they join there in Kashmir, they are not supposed to be employed. Who is going to go to Kashmir? Will it be a physical or a cosmetic presence there? What I said in 1990, i) that they don't want to co-exist with us. That is today also. The mindset of the Indian leadership, media still addresses to the alienation of Kashmiris. We are told that there are three sets of voices coming from Kashmir, one asks for Pakistan, other for Azadi and third for Autonomy. We are told that the third operation is a moderate one. How are we to be accommodated in the third option. Who has discussed the contours of the Autonomy. Day-in and

Day-out today the ruling party says that we are fighting a battle for India, but give us Autonomy. Now there is a premium on patriotism. Government of India may ultimately grant Autonomy for states, but that is not a pre-condition for being a part of this country. The mindset of the Indian intellectuals has not gone any change.

If they allow it will undergo the change. It can't avoid the change we have PK has over period of time tried to galvanize the opinion of the people of India. It has tried to convey to this country that it can't take the patriotism of everybody for granted. You have to live in this state, you must have right to do so. Those sitting in Delhi must realise that stage has come to address the every section of people living in this country particularly the state of J&K. The Muslim leadership in J&K has failed to carry people with it. We said in 1990 to give us homeland, Jammu is asking for a statehood, Ladakh for a separate UT status. Whole failure it is? It is of Indian state and Muslim leadership of the state. These issues are crystalising more.

There is no need to get desperated we have launched the struggle be serving the state. They may be out of the state. I am told that some of the engineers working outside the state also applied. This is a befitting reply that we have not given out our claim on Kashmir. It is stuck on our minds that we belong to that place and we have to go back. Now the present political scenario in the country has started taking shape. Ours was a love voice in 1998 when we said that this is not an onslaught on KP's only. The Muslim fundamentalism is going to take over the whole of country. We had not anticipated that they take America also. At that time we were told that the unrest in Kashmir is not because of fundamentalism, but the Kashmiri Pandits had usurped all the jobs and all other avenues of Muslims. One of their is our defence minister today. It was not like that. I recollect that the seminar was held in Mumbai. Dr Ajay and some other of our friends had also gone there. Again it was told there that this is not an onslaught on Kashmiri Pandits only, but onslaught on Indian state as a whole. And immediately after some days we hand seen bomb blasts in Mumbai.

This community did not feel depressed. We have thrown the light to the people in India, look the problem is somewhere else. Now the country is gearing up to the external threat. We have borders, which are hotting up, but there is no paradyme shift in the political mindset of this country. Day in day-out we are told that KP's should go back to Kashmir. Let us see for the last 10 years what has been done and this struggle has to carry forward. The time for recurring has come now. You have to call a spade. I shall again ask the members of my community, wherever or in whichever political party they are, that there are no shortcuts to the political process. Personal interests will have to be sacrificed. We have to ensure that our progeny does not suffer now. There is a talk of going back to Kashmir. We must understand one thing that our physical presence is not important. We have to take the strength to logical conclusion i.e. creation of a homeland and re-affirmation what we said in 1991.

Shailendra Aima

Mr Chairman, the honourable members and friends. It is exactly 10 years after which I again take this opportunity of addressing you here. You had born me with patience on that day when exactly on this day at 6.20 in the evening this entire hall, when most of you were here, when there was breaking up a dance here. When entire gathering passed the homeland resolution. It creates a tremendous hope, provided us a vision, that of survival and for the first time in the history of last more than 600 years, Kashmiri Pandits developed a doctrine of survival of their own. This doctrine of survival was for entire Indian state. This doctrine came at a time when this community was hounded out of its homeland and was in its first year of exile. The honourable speaks before we have talked in detailed about the times, about the eventual context in which that resolution was passed. I would like to talk about what has happened after that outside the hall there is movement of tanks as we stand today troops, so many trains cancelled. We are heading for a war, a showdown with Pakistan. There is a great enthusiasm.

Jeet Hamari Hogi Aur Pakistan Defeat Ho Jayega. Aur Hamari Samasya Ka Hal Ho Jayega, Muje Aisa Lagta Nahi Hai. Yeh Hamari Aek Tendency Rahi Hai, Khaskar Dus Sub-Continent Ki Tendency Rahi

Hai. To invent enemies outside and to ignore the enemy's feelings and that has been a repetitive compulsion of the Indian state and the Indian mindset for the last several hundred years. We don't address to the enemy within so. This enemy remains with in and it borrows deep into foundations, and we may ultimately build above it that crumbles. In 71 war we were in school, most of you were doing your job. There were many who were not born that time. Comprehensive defeat to the enemy, great hope of peace security in the sub-continent, Did we achieve that. And now there is an excuse from Pakistan militants that we should not have humiliated them. Where do we ultimately get a solution. The solution is only when we addresses the enemy within. Our resolutions of *Margdarshan* addressed to this malaise. We need to come out of contradictions.

We invent our enemy outside and try to deal him, but inner conflicts are not being addressed by us. Gained independence in 47 made two dominions of India and Pakistan. Pakistan was clearly evolved as a theocratic state, where Quranic Precepts are its guiding principles. It is connected with the Afro-Asian-Arabic civilisational fundamentals. That is its eastern flank and Pakistan has a foundation of that. Three days before salutations were offered in Chandni Chowk Society has a special knack to coin misnomers.

This Ganga-Jamni Civilisation was defined in a couplet as *Kaafle Baste Gaye Hindustan Basta Gaya*. This is how you define India. A conglomerate of carvans coming here and living here and building up this India. No civilisation was ever made like this. We have closed our eyes ourselves to see our truth.

Why? because for the negation of the bases of making Pakistan, we had to say that we are Ganga-Jamni Civilisation, a conglomerate of Hindu and Muslim civilisation. A very clear demarcation is there. These two identities i.e. Hindu or the Muslims have no meeting point anywhere. The pivot of Hinduism is the concept of equality. Where it says that Brahma is omnipresent and all living or non-living entities are its forms. In Islam the concepts are different i.e. Man, Satan and God and then Momin and Kafir, Dar-ul-Islam, Dar-ul-Harab. This ideology made partition of India, and the present problem is on that account. But Indian state is not ready to face it. We are trying to weave a civilisation of Ganga-Jamni and with that weaved a new Kashmiriyat concept. We Indians are experts in falsification of historical facts and truth. We have exposed this falsification in our *Margdarshan* resolution. We have squarely pointed out these distortions, in Jammu and outside even abroad. Two years before, we had given an article in Kashmir Sentinel, as how the distabilising forces in US and outside, are being encouraged by the US and we had made it clear as which senator, politicians, strategists the role of CIA. The America which sangs that we have got a big perspective of our survival. We need to open our Indian eyes and this is our duty. Dr Teng had just referred to Sanskrit civilisation, of which we are the major in heritors and to save that is also our duty and the resolution of homeland, if we read it, it provides us an Indian survival it valve systems etc. That is our survival. I am trying to remind all of us our responsibility. We have been doing it in the past 600 years and further we will continue to do it. We must reaffirm today, in this big fight that we have taken upon our shoulders, that we are going to carry forward this fight for a thousand years and there our survival exists. Thank you very much.,

21 *A spy and a gentleman*

Few saw him and fewer heard him, but Rameshwar Nath Kao's shadow spread far and wide.

A tribute by MK Narayanan

With the passing away of Rameshwar Nath Kao (Ramji to his friendship and a legion of well-wishers) on January 19, a glorious chapter in the history of Indian intelligence has ended.

For nearly half a century, Kao straddled the world of intelligence like a colossus, casting a benign shadow on more than two generations of intelligence officers of this country. Kao was much more than an icon. He was the very personification of intelligence, a most worthy successor to the legendary Bhola Nath Mullick who set the intelligence compass for much of post-independent India.

Indian intelligence is indeed fortunate that it had two legends within a brief time span of less than fifty years. The difference between the two could not, however, have been more striking. One was taciturn, aloof and never wavered in his determination to see that the Intelligence Bureau of post-Independent India did not become a Gestapo. Kao, on the other hand, pulsed warmth and was essentially a father figure to all those who worked with and under him. Both were, nevertheless, 'stand-alone visionaries' and deserve the gratitude of a nation for their contributions to intelligence and security, which have stood the country in good stead during its long years of travail.

Kao had several firsts of his credit. He was the first 'Hindu officer' to join the Intelligence Bureau just prior to independence, when the organisation was still the captive preserve of the British and a sprinkling of Muslim officers. Another first for Kao was when he was chosen as Security Adviser to Prime Minister Nikrumah and the Government of Ghana in the mid-fifties. His responsibilities included assisting the new nation to set up an intelligence and security organisation. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, who felt that the newly independent state of Ghana deserved the best, hand-picked Kao for the assignment.

In 1963 in the aftermath of the Sino-Indian war, when it was decided to set up a super-secret technical intelligence gathering agency - the Aviation Research Centre (ARC) - Kao was once again the obvious choice.

Perhaps, Kao would himself agree that his most enduring legacy is the creation of the Research and Analysis Wing (R&AW). India's premier external intelligence agency.

After the Sino-Indian war of 1962 and the Indo-Pak war of 1965, pressure greatly mounted for the setting up of a separate external intelligence agency hiving off the foreign intelligence responsibilities of the Intelligence Bureau to a new body. Kao's election as the person to set up and head this new outfit was by no means automatic given the raging 'turf battles' despite the fact that he was eminently qualified by virtue of his professional ability, standing, reputation, and skills in the area of the organisation and management of intelligence.

The choice however proved eminently sensible as the newly constituted R&AW could draw heavily upon Kao's knowledge, experience and expertise of foreign intelligence organisations such as the Secret Intelligence Service of the United Kingdom, the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States, and West Germany's BND.

Kao's finest hour, and that of the R&AW probably came in 1971. This was the period when East Pakistan was being torn apart under the jackboots of Yahya Khan's storm-troopers and the birth pangs of Bangladesh under Mujibur Rehman were beginning. To this day, Kao's role remains hidden from the public, and the achievements owed a great deal to the 'behind the scenes' work of Kao and his band of operatives. When an unvarnished history is written of the birth of Bangladesh, and credit for India's role as a facilitator is acknowledged, hopefully then the stellar contribution of Kao and others who assisted him will see the light. This 'purple patch' in the history of intelligence success must not remain hidden for ever.

Few intelligence officers in a democratic set up have been so privileged as to have the kind of relationship that Kao had with Indira Gandhi. Gandhi's reliance on Kao for most matters concerning intelligence and

security was almost total and his advice was inevitably sound and often heeded. On occasions, even though he was the head of the R&AW, Gandhi depended on Kao's advice concerning the internal problems of the country. Canards were a plenty during this period, including one that Kao was among those who had advised Gandhi to promulgate the Emergency - a lie which has since been nailed.

Kao's relationship with Gandhi dates back many years, to the period when Kao as a deputy director in the Intelligence Bureau in charge of VIP security was responsible for the security and protection of Nehru. She had the occasion then to see Kao's intelligence skills at close quarters, specially his meticulous attention to detail, his ability to be firm without ruffling feathers and in managing her father who usually tended to complain that security came between him and the people. She also came to appreciate his fine sensitive mind and transparent honesty and sincerity. This, perhaps more than anything else, apart from his diplomatic and management skills, apparently led to his being chosen on the head of the new external intelligence outfit.

When the Janata Government under Morarji Desai took office in 1977, Kao went into retirement, only to be resurrected as Senior Advisor in 1980 after Gandhi came back to power. The years 1980-84 saw him operating below the radar-screen, but he carried out several invaluable tasks, some in close association with Arun Singh and later, after Rajiv Gandhi came into political prominence, with the latter.

The setting up of the National Security Guard was one, which has since proved invaluable in dealing with hijackings and terrorist actions (including Black Thunder in 1988). A little-known secret is Kao's visit to China in 1984 laying the ground work for the subsequent 'historic visit' of Rajiv Gandhi to China in 1988. For much of this period, Kao continued to function as the 'eminence grise' of the security establishment.

After Gandhi's unfortunate assassination, Kao gradually withdrew from active involvement in intelligence and security matters. As Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, however, often consulted him. Other prime ministers used various interlocutors to seek his advice.

Ramji Kao as a veritable giant - a gentle giant at that. For most of us who spent a lifetime in security and intelligence, he was the ideal and our inspiration. With his passing away, the age of civility in intelligence will in all likelihood come to an end. Many of us will be tempted to ask 'will there be another like him?'

**The writer is former director, Intelligence Bureau)*

22 Kao, the doyen of Indian intelligence

K.N. Daruwalla

RN Kao, the founder of R&AW (Research and Analysis Wing), passed away in the early hours of January 20. He was survived by his wife, Mrs Malini Kao, and daughter, Mrs Achla Kaul. After BN Mallick, he was the biggest name in the Indian intelligence.

To find a parallel in the Raj days one would have to go back to Col. Sleeman of anti-Thungee fame. (In the 1830s, Sleeman was the first to float the idea of a specialized intelligence unit for the country).

Rameshwar Nath Kao, Raji to friends, joined the Indian Police (IP) in 1940, and was allotted the UP cadre. A post-graduate in literature, he found himself in the Police Training College, Moradabad, where he was uncomfortable with his British conferees, who had merely written their Senior Cambridge exams and were too boisterous and crude for his liking. Always dressed immaculately, he had a fetish for cleanliness. He came away on deputation to the Intelligence Bureau just before 1947 and set up camp for the rest of his illustrious career.

He was deputed to jointly investigate (along with the Chinese and the British) the crash of the “Kashmir Princess” just before the Bandung Conference of 1956. The plane was carrying Chinese delegates to the conference. Fortunately, the delegation leader, PM Chou en Lai, was not on board. It is generally known that there was considerable pressure from the Chinese side to involve the KMT government, a pressure he withstood.

In 1963, he took over as the founding director of the Air Research Centre (ARC). Five years later, he broke from the IB, forming, with Indira Gandhi’s blessings the Research and Analysis Wing, better known by its shadows sobriquet, RAW. With the Samyukt Vidhayak Dal brand of no-holds-barred politics surfacing in 1967, the IB could not pay sufficient attention to external intelligence. He and Sankaran Nair (“Shanks”) organised the outfit meticulously, burning midnight oil and going into every micro detail.

With the unrest in East Pakistan and the 1971 war came his finest hour. The R&AW and the Directorate General Security, also under him, played stellar roles in the whole affair.

The Janata Government eyed him suspiciously but never found anything against him or the R&AW. (The IB, cleverer by far, got away unscathed). With Mrs Gandhi’s return in 1980 Kao came back as special adviser to the Cabinet, overseeing both IB and R&AW and coming closest to the position of an intelligence czar. He was the first to float the idea of a special security unit for the PM.

Kao got on famously with colleagues of other services. He never threw rank or his powerful connections at them. He helped those in distress and sometimes people took advantage of this attribute of his. Suave and polite to a fault, he was never known to raise his voice. Tall and pale, with a prominent Roman nose, he was a striking figure. But those who have worked with him will remember him for his kindness and generosity. He will be sorely missed.

(Sh. S.N. Daruwalla is former Chairman Joint Intelligence Committee)

23 Terrorists declare war on minorities in Jammu

KS Correspondent

What is the responsibility of a state? Protecting its people or its borders. The withdrawal of Army from several interior areas of Jammu province in the wake of 'coercive diplomacy' resorted to by the ND government, has exposed the non-Muslims living in these areas to terrorist attacks. In their game plan of massive ethnic-cleansing in Jammu province, the terrorists have been attacking non-Muslims all over Jammu province Udhampur, Doda, Rajouri, Poonch etc. These attacks have shaken the confidence of the minorities and there has been migration from many places.

As part of 'Peace Diplomacy', Army had withdrawn its 29 Mountain Division from Mahore sector. Following this, terrorists launched many attacks against Hindus living in Mahore, parts of Doda district, Budhal and Rajouri. The recent withdrawal of 13 Sector Rashtriya Rifles has left the hapless civilian population only two choices either to surrender to the diktat of terrorists or migrate to safer destinations. Many of the pickets of security pickets in these areas now stand abandoned. It has paved way for free movement of the terrorists. Thirteen families have left their homes in Kot and Charal villages of Budhal, while from an adjoining village 25 people have migrated. Most of these areas have no communications and villagers have to trek for 24 hours to reach the nearest motorable road.

Surankote Killings

The withdrawal of Army from Thannamandi, Bafliaz and Surankot has made the passage of minorities through these areas risky. On December 5, the terrorists gunned down a sitting Sessions Judge, Vijay Kumar Phull, near Dehra Ki Gali in Surankote tehsil of Poonch district. His two bodyguards and a friend were also gunned down by the terrorists. Interestingly, the killers remained on the spot for half an hour after these killings. Before fleeing they shot at and injured the cleaner of a truck, which was carrying chicken for an Army unit in the area. The cleaner of the truck was hit but the driver did not stop and drove on. Troops reached the massacre site around 2.30 PM, three hours later.

The terrorists were in combat dress and had already stopped a bus to check the I-Cards of passengers when Judge's vehicle reached there. The terrorists then allowed the bus driver to take away his vehicle along with the passengers. Reports said two of the terrorists had approached Phull's car and asked him for his I-Card. Before the Judge could respond, the militants opened fire, killing all of them, including one who tried to flee. A group of six to eight terrorists had laid a naka at village Donar, about two kms ahead of Dera Ki Gali. In the bus the terrorists had been looking for police personnel but did not find any. The Judge in seriously injured condition had come out of the car after the terrorists left and crawled about 40 metres in a bid to reach a house but succumbed to his injuries immediately thereafter. Terrorists also took away the weapon of his PSO. It was the bus driver, who informed the shoot-out incident at Thannamandi police station at 12 noon and security officials took 2½ hrs to respond. His bodyguards Prem Kumar and Kamal Singh belonged to Rajouri and RS Pora respectively. His friend VK Sodhi hailed from Krishna Nagar Jammu. There was strong resentment against the killings. Nearly a crowd of over fifteen thousand people joined the funeral of Phull in Poonch. In a careless act, the administration floundered by sending Sodhi's body to Phull's family. Sodhi's funeral thus got delayed by a day. Except for a single CID cop, no other personnel of Rajouri district administration, despite prior intimation by authorities in Jammu, was there when Mrs Phull reached from Jammu at 9.30 PM. On December 24, Romeo Force of Army in Surankot claimed that the killer of Phull, Mohd Zafran Khan alias Abu Asram, 'area commander of LeT has been killed in an encounter. The killer belonged to Abbotabad.

Only a day before the terrorists had shot two Ayurvedic doctors--Dr Kulbhushan Sharma of Jammu and Dr ML Sharma of Mendhar. Reports said, a group of terrorists had laid an ambush in Dundak area and opened firing on a Maruti car and a truck, which had left Poonch for Surankot at 7.15 PM. Conductor of the truck was killed on spot. Dr Kulbhushan was posted in Mandi. The two were going to meet their relatives in Surankote when their car came under the terrorists' firing.

Poonch Massacre

On the new year's day at 5-45 PM, two terrorists dropped at the house of one Makhan Lal at Magnar Top. The village has a scattered population of Hindus. As it was dark, the inmates lit candles and offered the terrorists chairs to sit. Makhan Lal's family also gave them food, which the militants refused to accept. The terrorists made all the family members to sit on floor of a room and began interrogating them. They started searching for excuses and told the family members, "we have definite reports that you people have been harassing Muslims of the area and committing atrocities on them." When the family members said it was untrue, the terrorists opened fire on them killing Baldev Raj his sons Kuldeep (2) and Sunil, (six months) and brothers Khetar Pal and Ashok Kumar and Khetar's wife Geeta.

Baldev's wife Champa sustained serious bullet injuries. Khetar's daughter Anju Devi (12) and Baldev's son Sanjay Kumar (8), who were also sitting on the floor along with the other family members survived unhurt as bodies of some of the dead fell on them giving them a cover. The dead bodies were brought to Geeta Bhawan, Poonch by people, who held a protest demonstration in the town. Magnar Top is 10 km from the town. By evening the crowd at Geeta Bhawan had swelled to more than ten thousand, and refused to cremate the dead bodies till a central minister visited the town. This was second such massacre during past forty eight hours. Earlier, four persons of a family were killed in Rajouri district, at Kainthal.

The lone survivor Champa Devi, who was shifted to GMC, Jammu told mediamen that the two terrorists who intruded in their house were in combat dress and supporting beards. They introduced themselves as army jawans. She was sore that during the firing and even after the incident none of their neighbours had come out for help. She said both ultras were talking in Kashmiri. They entered the kitchen and asked Champa Devi to join other family members. Baldev's paternal uncle Puran Chand, living in the adjoining house, was also brought to the former's house. She further said that as soon as all the members assembled in the room, the terrorists locked the door and started firing indiscriminately on them killing five of them on the spot. Till 9 PM when police reached she and other surviving members were lying in the closed house unattended. The Army reached on the spot only next morning. Champa Devi had been shot only at her leg and fell down unconscious. Puran hand somehow managed to escape, carrying away two children Anju Devi and Sanjay Kumar. The police killed three terrorists, identified as Ibrar Bhai, Afrid Bhai and Abu Mujhid, all Pakistanis and affiliated to LeT, in an encounter at Kalai on January 5. It claimed they were instrumental in the killings at Mangnar Top on December 31 evening. The terrorists had taken shelter in the house of one Shafiq Hussain at village Kalaban in Mendhar after the massacre.

Ethnic-Cleansing in Rajouri:

During the past one month, the terrorists have been making determined attempts to force a demographic change in this district. Between December 15 and January 16, there were six major attempts at targeting the minority community in the district.

On December 15, a group of heavily armed militants entered the house of Chowkidar Kali Dass in village Sher-Makri in Bhawani sector, about 2 kms from LoC in Nowshera at midnight. The militants, numbering eight asked chowkidar to help them cross the border. Kali Dass's wife Shanti Devi, his son Vijay Kumar and grandson Rinku were present in the house that time. The militants threatened Kali Dass with death in case he did not oblige them. Kali Dass bravely told them that he faced death in both situations and would prefer death in his own country. This infuriated the terrorists. They lined up all the family members and opened full burst of fire on Kali Dass and his wife, killing both of them on the spot. 15 bullets were fired on Kali Dass. His wife received 10 bullets.

Rinku managed to escape along with his mother, brother and sister and hid in the house. Vijay Kumar, received serious injuries and fell down unconscious. Rinku raised an alarm in the village and the villagers remained awake throughout the night. Police came to know only at 6 AM. Villagers were furious at the callous attitude of district administration. After the terrorists had killed Kali Dass and his family members, Pakistan army opened heavy firing from across the LoC to provide cover to the fleeing terrorists. Before exfiltrating, they planted four IEDs in a small religious place located close to the LoC.

On December 29, in Niro Jal area of Thannamandi, a group of terrorists entered the house of Gulshan Kumar and shot him in the head. He died on spot Gulshan was a VDC member. In this village first the Army was shifted and later on the only police post removed without citing any reason. All the fifteen Hindu families abandoned their village and shifted to Rajouri town. Earlier the villagers had met Superintendent of Police and Deputy Commissioner, demanding the setting up of a picket. They decided to migrate after the district administration expressed helplessness in setting up a picket due to shortage of manpower. Nirojal falls on the infiltration route of militants, who after crossing over to this side from across the LoC, take Dodasan Bala Darhal route. In the recent past, many IED blasts took place near Nirojal, while at least half a dozen IEDs were recovered live. An imaginative administration, engaged in counter-insurgency campaign would have acted differently.

Four members of a minority family were gunned down by the terrorists on December 30. A group of five to seven militants reached at the house of Madan Lal a leading businessman at 8 0'Clock. Three of the terrorists entered the house, while the rest stood guard outside. Immediately they began demanding Rs 7 lakh towards Jihad fund from Madan Lal. His mother Lakshmi placed Rs 60000 before them saying that there was no more money at home at that time. Family members swore that they would collect the amount the next day from the bank and neighbours to meet their demand. Terrorists took sixty thousand rupees and then shot dead Lakshmi Devi. Then they killed Madan Lal and Moti Ram, maternal uncle of Madan Lal. However, Madan's younger brother Rakesh managed to escape and informed the police about killings. Before leaving the house, the terrorists looted the house and set ablaze Madan's house alongwith the bodies lying there.

Local people managed to shift the injured Yashpal, Madan's brother to hospital. He told the police, two terrorists who attacked the house, looked like locals, while others were foreign mercenaries. This was the third militant attack in the village in the past one week.

On December 30 night terrorists threw a grenade on a house at Choudhary Nar in Rajouri town. Police reports said heavily armed militants struck in the locality adjoining Government Degree College and knocked at the house of Trilok. When the occupants did not respond, the terrorists hurled a grenade at the window, it exploded outside the house and damaged a major portion of the house, besides injuring Trilok's son Rakesh and his wife Ashu Bala. After the attack, terrorists had opened indiscriminate fire targeting the house. This was the first such incident in town.

A group of militants descended on the village Kenkhas in Budhal area on the night of January 15 to attack the minority community. Prabhat Singh, a VDC member spotted four terrorists. He challenged the terrorists all alone and killed one of them. Other terrorists were reported to have fired back killing Prabhat and his wife Shanti Devi. Police party reached the place in the morning. A CRPF patrol party had spotted the dead bodies of the couple and the terrorist.

Earlier, in a daring incident VDC member Chain Singh gunned down a terrorist in Dharamsal and thwarted an attempt to execute yet another massacre. Chain Singh after observing the movement of five terrorists took position in his house at village Dagal Halaal near Taryath. At midnight, when terrorists started firing on the houses of minority community, the VDC member immediately retaliated. He fought alone for 20 minutes and was later joined by five other VDC members. The terrorists fled after their colleague was gunned down.

Doda-Udhampur Belt

Following reports of heavy concentration of militants at various places in Mahore and Chenani and fearing the repeat of Pancheri type of massacre at least 25 families from Chakka Khartal area in Pancheri block of Udhampur tehsil migrated to Udhampur town or Jammu in third week of December last. Before migration, the villagers had gone to DC Udhampur to remind him of his promise to erect a police post in their village. Additional SP had promised them of providing police posts both at Tringli and Chakki Khartal area. The villagers told media persons that, "even after fifteen days after the massacre not a single police post has been erected in our area". They added that a year before the massacre they had been telling police about the possible threat to their lives from militants but all their requests fell on the deaf

ears. The villagers revealed that for the past one year the terrorists have been freely roaming in their area. The militants used to stay and have their meals at the house of either Hashim Devi Gujjar or Shia Gujjar. But when asked to send their sons across for arms training, both Hashim and Shia showed reluctance, villagers said. Hashim then trekked down to inform Pancheri Police Station. The police took no measures. Subsequently, the terrorists gunned down seven people, including four VDC members in the area. In the wake of massacre, more promises followed. Instead of setting up police post at Mudidhar, which is the hub of militancy, the police post was erected in Janwal, where it hardly has any use.

Ramsu Massacre

Yet another massacre was enacted at Luroo and Maligam Sonwa, a remote village near Ramsu in Banihal on the night of January 7. Reports said a group of heavily armed terrorists went to the house of Baldev Singh, a VDC member at Luroo. When inmates of the house refused to open the door, militants hurled a grenade inside. The blast killed Baldev, his son Karan Pal and a relative, Sharda Devi. Baldev's wife Durga Devi, daughter Mansoo, Anita Devi and SPO Surjit Singh sustained severe splinter injuries. The house was also badly damaged in the blast.

The terrorists then went to nearby Maligam Sonwa, where people have, for the past few months, been sleeping in the nearby forest for fear of attacks. The militants set fire to one of the houses. The terrorists, believed to be locals, knew that the village was empty. As fire engulfed the house, the owner, Baldev Singh and his family came out of the forest. The terrorists opened fire, killing three brothers including two VDC members and causing serious injuries to 12 members of their families. While fleeing, the militants snatched away the weapons of two VDC members Chattar Singh and Bharat Singh and set ablaze five houses of minority community. The deceased were identified as Baldev Singh, Chattar Singh and Bharat Singh, all brothers and sons of late Dhian Singh. Injured included Kashu Ram, another son of Dhian Singh, Nain Singh, VDC member, Barmata Devi, Goli Devi, daughter of Bharat Singh, Romeo Devi, wife of Nain Singh, Ansa Devi wife of Chattar Singh, Koshali Devi, daughter of Dhina Singh, Darshana Devi, daughter of Nain Singh, Hoshiar Singh, son of Chattar Singh, Anuj Singh, son of Nain Singh and Dharmi Devi, daughter of Nain Singh. Reports said for more than half an hour no body in village came to their rescue.

Both the villages lacked security force pickets. Information about the two carnages reached Ramban police only next morning. Reports added that at Luroo, immediately after the grenade blast VDC members took position and saved other members of the minority community. Sources said that the exchange of firing between the VDC members and the terrorists continued till next afternoon, due to delay in arrival of security forces. Later the terrorists fled away to a nearby forest area. The injured confirmed that the terrorists were speaking the local language.

The villagers refused to cremate the bodies and were planning to bring the dead bodies to Ramsu town on January 8. People in Ramsu and Ramban staged massive protests and shouted slogans and burnt effigies of Mr LK Advani, Dr Farooq Abdullah and Mr Bali Ram Bhagat, BJP MLA. Senior officers of district administration attended the cremation of carnage victims at Luddu on January 8 but none of the civil or police officers visited Ukhral, where three massacred brothers were cremated by the locals, in the presence of over three thousand people. The locals had waited till late afternoon for the arrival of local officers to join the cremation. The mob also raised slogans against BJP and NC leaders, who were conspicuous by their absence at the funeral.

Revealing details about Luddu carnage, Gamo Devi, wife of slain Baldev Singh said her husband alongwith other VDC members of the village fought with the terrorists from 0200 hours to 0730 hours and till then no enforcement of security forces or police had reached the village. She added, "It was due to a brave front put up by the VDC members that about 150 to 200 members of minority community in the village were saved". Her husband fell to the terrorists' bullets at 0600 hours.

Govt Response

Could these carnages have been prevented? The kith and kin of the slain villagers believe that had there been no power cuts, the two villages would not have lost seven lives. The long power cuts have rendered

the communication sets to VDC members redundant. So villagers could not inform the security forces about the terrorists' attacks. Had these sets been working, the VDC members who engaged terrorists for several hours could have called reinforcements from army post at Ukhral or police post at Ramsu. Police Chowki at Ramsu is without a telephone. Even the policemen at Kanihal post, 2 kms from Sohnwa remained unaware of the incident. It was the fourth massacre in the area. Despite this, these villages are without electricity and security pickets. About 45 families migrated from Sohnwa and Maligam villages on January 9 after the carnage. Of these 25 families belong to Maligam. The refugees have taken shelter in Ukhral. These families comprising about 300 members trekked for full day to reach Ukhral. They were demanding setting up of security forces pickets at Kot, Panchal, Sohnwa, Maligam and Gwala villages for protection of the minority community. The villagers said an army post at Sohnwa was withdrawn by authorities in September last despite resistance and protests by the local people.

Army post at Sohnwa was set up following Kunda massacre. On January 12, the security forces claimed that three terrorists involved in the two massacres had been eliminated in an hour long gun-battle at Neil Parinder area in Banihal. The terrorists were identified as Abu Rizwan, resident of Trehgam, Riaz Ahmed Bhat, resident of Gagoni and Zakki Rehman, resident of Sialkot. They belonged to LeT outfit. The first two belonged to Banihal.

Following strong criticism of the role of Union Home Ministry in displaying cavalier attitude to security of minority community in the strategic Doda district, officials in the ministry sought to make amends.

A report said that the home ministry had decided to give grenades to VDCs in Ramsu and Banihal areas. .303 rifles, provided to VDC members are grossly insufficient against militants' modern weapons. The home ministry has been slow in providing assault rifles to VDC members. Police officers have said at least the grenade blasts will alert the security forces nearby. Presently, the minority community in the adjoining districts of Jammu is keeping its fingers crossed over the government response to war against the minorities by the terrorists.

24 Separatists try to drive out last vestiges of minorities' presence

KS Correspondent

SRINAGAR, Dec 24: In their drive to create Kashmir as an Islamic fundamentalist enclave, the separatists have stepped up the drive to push out the few remaining outposts of Pandit and Sikh presence in Kashmir. In three days there were four major attacks. There have been reports of forcible conversion also.

On December 23, at late night, terrorists tried to force their entry into Mahind village (Anantnag) and kill the minority members. Alert policemen immediately after noticing their movement swung into action and fired at them. The terrorists fled from the scene without causing any damage.

In Pulwama also on the same day terrorists sought to attack minority community at Panzer village. Policemen on guard duty fired at the terrorists, forcing them to take a hasty retreat. The two places have dozens of minority families.

Poshkreeri

On December 21, at around 8 PM, a group of terrorists entered Poshkreeri village, 18 kms from Anantnag town and opened indiscriminate fire towards the houses belonging to Sikhs. In the shoot out three Sikh women who were sitting inside the house were killed. A couple identified as Manjit Kour and her husband Trilok Singh sustained serious bullet injuries. The deceased were identified as Sunny Kour (18), Rosy Kour (20) and their cousin Julie (12)

Hogam

The terrorists next moved towards the adjoining Hogam village and in a similar fashion opened fire killing two Kashmiri Pandit women, Lakshmi wife of Govind Ram and Sunita wife of Mohan Lal. Her two daughters-Doora and Shoba sustained injuries. Two families which migrated in the wake of killings told press persons in Jammu that they were sitting in their rooms after dinner, when terrorists started indiscriminate firing. Sunita was the first person who fell victim to the bullets of terrorists. Her three-year old son Ashu Raina is unaware of what has happened. Her other son Pankaj is in a state of shock. Recalling the incident, Sunita's brother-in-law, Vijay Kumar said at about 7-15 PM family was watching TV when terrorists knocked at the front door. He added, "we sensed trouble, switched off all the lights and huddled in the back room of the house. The gunmen broke open the front door. They finally smashed the door of the room where four children, three ladies and we two brothers were hiding. Groping in dark, one of the three gunmen then fired a burst towards the room. My sister-in-law who was trying to block the door, was hit in the chest and died on the spot, while we had a miraculous escape".

As the firing stopped, he said the family members ran away through the rear door and rushed towards the fields. "My mother and sister-in-law cried loudly. Hearing their cries, the neighbouring Muslim families took us to their homes," said Vijay Kumar.

Govin Ram's Family

Doora Kumari and Suba Kumari, admitted in SMHS and Bone and Joint Hospital respectively with injuries remained unaware about the death of their mother. As if poverty and disease were not enough punishment for them, terrorist attack has left them shattered. Their father had died long back. Three years back, three of the five members had lost their eye-sight. Their two brothers are semi-blind. One of them is a casual labourer in PHE department earning less than Rs 2000. The family had been selling land regularly to ward off poverty and meet expenses for treatment. Suba is being treated for fractures in a leg and an arm and has lost her mental balance after the attack.

Narrating the incident, Doora said some gunmen barged into their house and started firing indiscriminately on family members. "We were three family members in a room and all of us were injured in the firing. But nobody raised alarm because of the terror. Blood was oozing out of our wounds but we were so terrorised that nobody shouted for two hours. Later I mustered some courage and shouted from the window. Then whole village assembled in the compound and took us to hospital." She added,

“when I heard the knock I smelt a rat. I first went into the room where my brothers were staying. I put a blanket over their head to save them from onslaught. Then I took the lantern and opened the door. Luckily the gunmen did fire toward us and the room in which my brothers were staying were spared”. Explaining the motive behind the attack, she said, “I felt it was an act of intimidation to force migration. We are not in a condition to migrate. We will die here.”

Of the 45 Kashmiri Pandit families living in Hogam village, more than twenty had migrated in 1990. Many other had abandoned their homes after Sangrampora, Wandhama and other massacres. Only seven families had stayed back, which too want to leave at the earliest.

Jarnail Singh, brother of Mohinder Singh said, “three to four gunmen encircled the two houses and asked the inmates to come out of their houses. As there was no electricity in the village, we switched off the lantern. The gunmen broke open a window and fired volleys of bullets. The three girls who were studying they were instantly killed.”

Hizb Angle

Sources said four days before the killings, Abu Obieda, “divisional commander” of Hizb for Anantnag had spoken to a local news agency, *News and Feature Alliance (NAFA)* on telephone. He had asked Jaish and Lashkar militants to stop killing of innocent locals. He had not mentioned anything about safety of non-Muslims. A section of the media, however, claimed that the killings were engineered to give a bad name to Hizbul Mujahideen, Obieda belongs to Syed Salahuddin group of Hizb. Hurriyat Conference, the political arm of different terrorist groups spearheading the ethnic-cleansing of non-Muslims to wash off its role called for a bandh on December 28. Instead of condemning the killings forthrightly, it sought to relieve criticism of the terrorists by demanding a “probe” at international level. It also made an attempt to link the militants’ killing engaged in crimes with the ethnic-cleansing of Pandits.

Police Role

The Sikh community members were furious at the role of police guards stationed in Poshkreeri. Trilok Singh, one of the injured said, “the guards did not open a single fire despite being few hundred yards away from the massacre site. Had they fired the gunmen would have left the place at once. Senior officers of police claimed that police guards chased away the militants and even one of their constables was injured. Residents, however, did plain speaking to Director General of Police, AK Suri when he came to attend cremation. They told him that the police guards had bolted themselves in a secure room till the assailants showered bullets and killed three young girls. It was found that three to four of the nine guards were also on unauthorized absence when terrorists struck at the village. DGP issued on the spot suspension orders for negligence and dereliction of duty for Head Constable Ghulam Qadir, Constables, Gh. Mohi-ud-Din, Abdur Rehman, Nisar Ahmed, Bashir Ahmed, Riya Ahmed, Bashir Ahmed and Mohd Ashraf, besides SPO Jung Bahadur.

However, the role of two police constables at Hogam (Dachinpora) was appreciated and they were promoted as SGC. One of the constables, Shamsuddin was admitted in bone and Joint hospital with multiple fractures Shamsuddin said he was surrounded by around eight terrorists when he was fetching water from the public water-tap post. He added. “They asked me to accompany them to a Pandit house. When we reached there, around 10 to 15 gunmen were waiting. They asked me to shout at the inmates to open the door. But I resisted saying that I cannot do it. A local shopkeeper Shadi Lal, who was passing by saw us discussing. He then called the inmates to open the door. As the door opened they rushed towards it. They pushed me inside and fired indiscriminately. After a while they fled from the scene, I crawled to the police post and narrated the tale to my fellow colleagues, who then took me to hospital”.

Fear gripped the members of the Sikh community again. The community has so far witnessed four massacres in last two years leading to death of 50 members. The massacres took place at Wanpoh (5), Chattisinghpora (35) Mehjoor Nagar (7) and Poshkreeri (3). Recently there were also posters pasted on the walls of Amirakadal Gurudwara, asking Sikhs to leave the Valley. Sikhs have substantial business interests in this area. Presently Sikhs are scattered over 115 villages in Valley besides some townships. During 1947 Sikhs had been special target of tribal raiders and suffered maximum. Most of the Valley

Sikhs have already constructed alternate homes in Jammu for shifting in case the things go bad for them in the Valley.

25 Wandhama Ganv

By Maharaj Krishan Bharat

Muje Aaj Phir Katal Kiya Gaya,
 Poore Parivaar Ke Sath,
 Aur Main Dekhta He Rah Gaya,
 Kuchh Nah Kar Saka
 Nah Beti Ko Bachaa Paya, Nah Bahu Ko, Nah Patni Ko,
 Nah Manh Ko, Nah Bete Ko, Nah Powtahr Ko, Nah Pohtri Ko,
 Nah Pitaah Ko, Nah Navjhaat Sishu Ko
 Aur Nah Apne Aastha Kendar Ko
 Mein Bar-Bar Katal Hota Rahaa Hoon
 Har Bar Meri Hatya Ka Karan Banta Hai Mera Nam
 Main Ihs Bar Bhe Maara Gaya/Phir Maara Jaonga
 Har Bhaar Mere Marne Ke Bahd Manenge Matam
 Pardarshan Honge, Police Ki Lathian Chalengi
 Kuchh Gaayal Honge
 Akhbaroan Ke Mukhprisht Par Chapengi
 Mere Maatam Ki Badi-Badi Tasvirain
 Aur Kisi Neta Ka Meri Hatya Se Pahle
 Taiyar Kiya Gaya Vaktvay
 Phir Sab Kuchh Samanaey Ho Jaiga
 Meri Agli Hatya Hone Ki Pratiksha Ke Liye
 Sabha Purv Taiyariyon Mein Jut Jayenge
 Agli Bhaar Phir Unhe
 Aapne Takat Ki Aazmahish Karni Hogi--
 Kisi Pardarshan Mein Police Ki Lathian Sahne Ke Liye!
 Aur Main Lavaris Hi Marta Rahoonga!
 Har Hatyakand Ke Bhaad
 Meri Suraksha Ke Bahre Mein
 Sansad Mein Prastav Paarit Honge
 Aur Tab Tak Ban Chuka Hoga
 Pura Kashmir.....
 Wandhama Ganv
 (Source: Kashur Samachar)

Wandhama Village

I was butchered again today
 with whole of my family
 and I watched the killing helplessly
 could do nothing
 neither I would save my daughter

nor my daughter-in-law, my wife,
nor could rescue my mother, my son,
and grand-children,
neither my father nor the newly born
and also couldn't save my
centre of faith.

I have been butchered times and times again
And each time the nomenclature is
cause of my murder
I am killed now and will be killed
thereafter
And after every killing of mine
the mournings will be arranged
demonstrations carried out
police resorting to lathicharge
injuring a few mourners
The blow-ups of my mournings
will appear
on the front pages of Dailies
And the statement of any leader
prepared in advance in anticipation of my murder
And again, everything will become so normal
And will get busy in preparations in advance
in anticipation of my next slaughter
For they have to test their might next time
to bear the brunts of lathicharge
in future demonstrations
And I will continue being
killed unclaimed
After every such massacre of mine
the resolutions will be passed
in Parliament
for my security
And by then
entire Kashmir
will turn into
village Wandhama
*Translated from original Hindi by Indu Bhushan, former diplomat High Commission of India in
Mauritius

26 Wandhama Victims

- I. Moti Lal S/o Sri Kanth; Chotli W/o Moti Lal; Sanjay Kumar S/o Moti Lal; Seema Kumari D/o Moti Lal; Sarika D/o Moti Lal (Lady Police Constable); Vijay Kumari W/o Sanjay Kumar; Vinay Kumar (minor) S/o Sanjay Kumar; Neemu (minor) S/o Sanjay Kumar.
- II. Shadi Lal (wireless operator); Mrs Shadi Lal; Vikas (minor) S/o Shadi Lal; Akshay Kumar S/o Shadi Lal.
- III. Badri Nath S/o Shambu Nath; Ashaji W/o Badri Nath; Vinod Kumar alias Papu, son-in-law of Badri Nath; Jyoti, D/o Badri Nath; Meenakshi, D/o Badri Nath; Rakesh S/o Badri Nath
- IV. Kashi Nath S/o Shridhar Bhat; Vinod Kumar S/o Kashi Nath
- V. Sudarshan S/o Tarachand; Dulari W/o Sudarshan Bhat, Triloki Nath, B/o Sudarshan.

27 Exile

Edward W. Said

Exile is strangely compelling to think about but terrible to experience. It is the unhealable rift forced between a human being and a native place, between the self and its true home: its essential sadness can never be surmounted. And while it is true that literature and history contain heroic, romantic, glorious, even triumphant episodes in an exile's life, these are no more than efforts meant to overcome the crippling sorrow of estrangement. The achievements of exile are permanently undermined by the loss of something left behind for ever.

Mahmoud Darwish

But I am the exile.

Seal me with your eyes.

Take me wherever you are--

Take me whatever you are

Restore to me the colour of face

And the warmth of body

The light of heart and eye,

The salt of bread and rhythm,

The taste of earth...the Motherland.

Shield me with your eyes.

Take me as a relic from the mansion of sorrow.

Take me as a verse from my tragedy;

Take me as a toy, a brick from the house

So that our children will remember to return.

28 Teachers' Managing Committee destroying the Minority Character of Hindu Education Society

Stage Set For Gandhi College Take Over

By Govt. Special Correspondent

The entire displaced staff of the Gandhi Memorial College had then frantically implored with the Managing Committee of the Hindu Education Society Kashmir that they should be allowed to continue on the staff roll of the college. The camp college should in no case be wound up; they were ready if the college pays them even a paltry sum of rupees one thousand; their entire prestige and credibility was linked to their continuing as the teaching staff of the college; the label that they were the teachers in the prestigious college would at least make them find private tuitions so that they could earn some livings. They argued that all the Hindu Education Society cannot function just as any other private institution driven primarily by commercial considerations; the Hindu Education Society has to protect the interests of its Hindu staff displaced and ravaged by the communal cauldron in the Valley. Developments subsequently revealed that these teachers were least driven by any commitment to protect and uphold the Hindu minority status of the society.

Invoking the very spirit for which Hindu Education Society was registered way back in 1944 served the purpose the displaced Hindu staff in early nineties. The Hindu Education Society, despite the fact that the entire government aid which it received got consumed in running its college in Srinagar, payed its displaced Hindu staff almost the whole salary and ensured that the Gandhi Memorial Camp College functioned. For this it had to divert funds from revenues generated in other ventures of the education society. The staff which in 1990 had visualised a state of abject penury in the wake of their imminent dismissal from the rolls of the employees of the college, saw their income going up many notches. They received their emoluments from the college, had enough time to attend to private tuitions due to almost a non-functional camp college and many of them clandestinely ensured that they even received government relief. The same teaching staff after securing their interests are now working overtime to destroy the minority character of Hindu Education Society and paving way for its eventual takeover by the state government.

Enquiries by Kashmir Sentinel have revealed that a section of displaced Hindu teachers of the Gandhi Memorial Camp College Jammu lead by Mr Thusoo and Kamlesh Parimoo have been meeting NC functionaries in the government including Ali Mohd Sagar and Dr Abdullah. As per reports they have been pleading with them to take over the institution on the line of Islamic College. For this they have also enlisted the support of Muslim teachers recruited in the Gandhi Memorial College Srinagar after 1990. This coterie for quite sometime has been flirting with the idea that if the government takes over the institution it would permanently secure the interests of the present staff and at the sometime spare them the hardwork of ensuring the viability and success of the camp college Jammu under the aegis of Hindu Education Society.

Knowing very well that take over of Gandhi Memorial College has always been on the agenda of communal politics in the Valley, these teachers have been putting the bait in front of the NC leaders quite regularly. As per unconfirmed reports NC functionaries in the government had expressed their inability to take over the institution because of the immunity which it enjoyed for being a minority institution and as such suggested them to change the constitution of the Hindu Education Society.

The subsequent sequence of events points that a meticulous plan has been devised to pave way for the eventual takeover of the institution. This coterie in contravention of the constitution of the Hindu Education Society started enrolling pliable members to the General Council. This Council held an extra ordinary meeting of General Council on 10/6/2001 and amended the Constitution of the Hindu Education Society. In the subsequent elections of the Managing Committee a group of persons having pro-NC learnings was elected.

The fact that the constitution amendment effected in fact had changed the very governing clause which underlined the Hindu minority character of the Hindu Education Society was hushed up. Sh. A.K. Diwani the new President of the Society lead this cover up campaign. When the secretary of the previous Managing Committee brought this fact to his notice along with the dangers to the Hindu Education Society by the amendment, Sh. Diwani indulged in a mischievous subterfuge. "Saying that the attempt has been made to alter the Hindu minority status of the HESK is totally a misrepresentation of the facts...the clause has not been omitted. It has been amended objectively after detailed deliberations to which you also contributed," Sh. Diwani wrote to the former Secretary of HESK who also happened to be the chairman of the Constitution Amendment Committee.

The investigation made by KS revealed that not only has the governing clause HESK been changed in essence but the amendment to the constitution was made bypassing the Constitution Amendment Committee created by General Council itself. The Chairman of the Constitution Amendment Committee had forestalled any move to bring any change in the governing clause of the institution.

The Hindu Education Society was registered as a minority institution way back in 1944. The main governing clause which underlined the minority character of the institution was as, "the objects of the society are:- a) Propagating liberal education in consonance with the ideals of Hindu religion and culture among the inhabitants of Kashmir.." This clause was framed and introduced into the Memorandum of Association of Hindu Education Society by the such galaxy of eminent Kashmiri Pandits with impeccable secular credentials like Pt. Shiv Narain Fotedaar, Pt. Bal Kak Dhar, Pt. Jia Lal Kalam, Pt. Amar Nath Kak, Pt. Janardhan Teng, Pt. Shambu Nath Dhar, Pt. Sana Koul Madan, Pt. Tara Chand Trisal, Pt. Ram Chand Pandita, Pt. Avtar Krishan Kitchloo and Pt. Prem Nath Sahib Kanaw.

The new General Council of the Society created through an illegal procedure changed this crucial clause on 10/6/2001. The changed clause now reads as. "The aims and objects of the society are--2.1 Propagation of liberal education within and outside the country."

A prominent KP bureaucrat of the state government after knowing about the whole affair expressed dismay and disappointment. "They have paved the way for the destruction of an educational institution which was pride of the community and had survived the vicissitudes of the times". Many other prominent Kashmiri Pandits have felt outraged by such a decision. Advocate Sunil Hali wrote to the present President of the Hindu Education Society Sh. AK Diwani thus, "the deletion of the aims and objectives from the *earlier Memorandum of Association adopted in the year 1944, is contrary to the law and the constitution. It is for the protection of religion as also of the language spoken by such minorities, which clothe the institution with the power to seek protection under Articles 29 and 30 of the constitution. If in the aims and objectives this is deleted the Institution ceases to be a minority institution.*"

The response of Sh. AK Diwani to the letter only betrayed the dangerous motivations behind the whole issue. She Diwani responds as, "...the objective under reference in the Memorandum of Association of the Society was decided to be changed after long deliberations in the constitution amendment committee as also in General Council of the Society. In both the forums it was felt that in the changed scenario, the society should not make education subservient to a particular thought and at the same time restrict it to a particular territory...In this context it was decided that minority character of the society can be retained by restricting the entry of non-Hindus to its GC and the Executive Body which constitute source of authority and exercise of powers". As per reports neither was any legal counsel sought nor was the saner voice allowed to prevail on the matter. The contentions of Sh. A.K. Diwani on the subject betray a suicidal ignorance.

Sh. Sunil Hali responded to the contentions of Sh. Diwani again hoping to persuade those at the helm in Hindu Education Society. "I have gone through your letter wherein you have informed me about the reasons which have necessitated the change of aims and objects in the Memorandum of Association on 21/6/2001. It seems to me that the legal contentions raised by me have not been appreciated. The deliberations which have preceded the change of aims and objects have been made without any legal assistance. As already mentioned in my earlier letter the deletion of the Hindu minority character of the

society is not in consonance with the provisions of Articles 28 and 30 of the Constitution of India and the reasons which have been expressed in your letter cannot be a circumstance to delete the object.”

Diwani chose to remain silent subsequently. Having been chosen to lead the coup in the Hindu Education society Mr Diwani cannot perhaps overstep his limits. So far he has avoided holding any General Council meeting to discuss the issue. His regularly attending meeting of the minority cell of NC, becoming member of Kashmiri Pandit General Council and also being made important member of the government sponsored trust for the management of Kashmiri Pandit Shrines and temples in Valley, it appears his involvement in Hindu Education Society has more in it than appeals to the eye. Prof Thusoo has already been made Principal of Gandhi College in Srinagar.

Meanwhile a group of prominent Kashmiri Pandits have debated the issue thoroughly. They have taken the legal advice and appear to be convinced that the amendment has to be annuled by all means. As per reports some General Council members have approached Mr Diwani to call the General Council meet to discuss the issue. Many General Council members have started appreciating the dangers of the change. The issue is gradually becoming a focus of community discussions in Jammu. The issue may snowball into a controversy of wider dimensions.

29 Panun Kashmir Observes Re-Affirmation Day

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, Dec 28: It was a solemn occasion. Despite bitter cold, nearly a thousand delegates heard speaker after speaker in Abhinav Theatre today with rapt attention. Panun Kashmir, the frontline organisation spearheading the demand for separate homeland for displaced Hindus in Kashmir valley, was observing the tenth anniversary of Margdarshan Resolution as Re-Affirmation Day. The star speaker were Dr M.K. Teng, former Head of the Political Science Department University of Kashmir, Dr. Ajay Chhangoo, Chairman Panun Kashmir, Mr O.N. Trissal, a veteran freedom fighter, Mr Sunil Hali, a leading advocate and Mr. Shailendra Aima, a founder member of Panun Kashmir and Editor, *Kashmir Sentinel*, Jammu. Dr Shashi Shekher Toshkhani, a leading linguist, poet and author came all the way from Delhi to attend the function. Mr Sunil Shakhdar, President Kashmiri Samiti, Delhi delivered the presidential address. Mr Kuldeep Raina, General Secretary, Panun Kashmir read his report deliberating on Panun Kashmir's role since its inception. Mr Bihari Lal Koul and Sh. Pran Raina compared the proceedings. A variety cultural show, in which students of Abhay High School, Alaxender Memorial High School and leading artists of the community took part, was also organised. Students of Abhay School performed the famous Kashmiri play '*Akanandun*', under the direction of veteran playwright and director, Sh. Moti Lal Kemmu.

These speakers had also defended the Margdarshan Resolution in 1991. Prof M.K. Teng gave a brief background of the events leading to the formulation of Margdarshan Resolution. He criticized Govt. of India for speaking bundles of lies on the ethnic-cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus. Dr Teng added that not only at national fora but also internationally GoI was saying exodus of Pandits was incidental to terrorism in Kashmir. He said forced expulsion of Pandits was a well-planned conspiracy of converting J&K State or at least the part of J&K on the right of Chenab into a purely Muslim State. Dr Teng explained that when people everywhere were exercising right to self-determination, at least the Pandits should have the right to determination of their self. And this was the basis of Margdarshan Resolution.

He declared that Pandits, after the experience of ethnic-cleansing will not return to Muslim state. He said GoI had created a Muslim state on the territory of India through the instrumentality of Article 370. Pandits lived for four decades in subservience and slavery of Muslim state, he added. Dr Teng said in 1990 Pandits were told that even that was not enough. "If we desired to give there, we should do that as the citizens of Pakistan. When we said no, the first bullets of Muslim Jihad were received by us," Dr Teng told the audience. He argued Pandits chose to leave because they could not have lived in Pakistan. The fate of non-Muslim minorities in Pakistan started them in their face. Dr Teng told the gathering that GoI was pursuing perverse secularism creating a Muslim state on the territory of India and special rights for minorities were part of this perverse secularism. Dr Teng described the ongoing conflict as the war of civilisations.

Mr Sunil Hali made a resolute defence of the demand for homeland. He said the demand was born out of rejection of co-existence by Kashmiri Muslims. He argued, "the demand of homeland is recognition of our rights. We are seeking our place in our country, in our own state. When this demand was made, there was an element of surprise, disbelief and cynicism, because our community was not prepared to accept this fact. Can we ask for a separate homeland, they asked. We can't blame our community members because during the past six centuries our political rights had been strangled. And the only rights we were aware was the right of survival. Homeland was too big a demand for the community".

Mr Hali came down heavily on the ruling National Conference for spreading canards and practising politics of discrimination against a community in throes of genocide. He said ruling party members were telling GoI that Panun Kashmir was a hollow demand and Pandits were raising this demand as they are not interested in going back. Mr Hali referred to the drama the ruling party played over the issue of job recruitment with Kashmiri Hindus. He praised the community members for calling the bluff of Chief Minister. Expressing concern, he said even those 200 to 300 people who were recruited--their appointments have only been paper appointments. Mr Hali said the mindset of the Indian leadership and

media only addresses the so-called alienation of Kashmiris. He wondered whether Autonomy was a moderate option and asked, "How are we to be accommodated in the third option". He explained that by linking autonomy to accession, NC was putting premium on patriotism.

Mr Hali said that some Indian leaders had been trying to underplay the Islamist threat to the country. No less than the present defence minister had been going around and telling people that cause of unrest in Kashmir was due to the usurpation of all jobs and other avenues by Kashmiri Pandits. Mr Hali praised the vision of Panun Kashmir, in forewarning the people of Mumbai about the impending threats.

Mr Shailendra Aima, the Editor, *Kashmir Sentinel* said homeland resolution, "created a tremendous hope and provided a vision of survival". "For the first time in the history of more than six centuries Kashmiri Pandits developed a doctrine of survival of their own", he added. Mr Aima observed that there was a sinister conspiracy at work to undermine India's unity. He said Indian civilisation was not conglomerate of different refugee groups i.e. "*Kaafle Baste Gaye Hindustan Basta Gaya*". He dilated upon the dichotomy between Hindu civilisation and Semitic Arab concepts.

Mr O.N. Trissal, a renowned freedom fighter who spearheads AIKPSC praised Panun Kashmir leaders for countering disinformation on Pandits' genocide and giving political content to the struggle waged by nationalistic groups in J&K. He said rejection of co-existence with *Kafirs* was the very essence of the ideology of Islamic fundamentalism. He declared displaced Pandits can not return to Kashmir under these circumstances. "You can't go there. The only alternative is a Union Territory for Kashmiri Pandits. To attain that you have to talk to people of India," he told the gathering. In this context he recalled the prophetic advice given by late Giri Lal Jain, a renowned journalist way back in 1990. Late Jain had asked Pandits to spread throughout India and sensitise the locals there to enormity of their genocide and the dangers India faced. Mr Trisal suggested, "you must spread and give the people there the message that India is in danger at the hands of Pan-Islamists. You have seen the barbarism, as to how the terrorists amputated the limbs, gouged out the eyes of our fellow community members. You are the real mesengers to bring home this to the world community." He said despite all the hardships and privations, Pandit community never wavered in imparting quality education to their children.

Dr Shashi Shekhar Toshkhani described Margdarshan Resolution of 1991 as a defining moment in Kashmiri Pandits' history. Pandits positive history begins from that day, he added. Tracing the context of Margdarshan Resolution, he observed that Pandit community stood besieged them and all sorts of disinformation and distortion on community's genocide were being spread by vested interests. The community was disillusioned and stood directionless. Disoriented intellectuals were repeating cliches of '*Izzat* and *Aabru*'. Funny formulae were being advocated. Dr Ajay Chhangoo, Dr MK Teng, Mr Shailendra Aima and others at this juncture chalked out a different course for the destiny of Pandit community, Dr Toshkhani added. This leadership put for the first time clear-cut demands, which held the potentiality of reversing the genocide process. Dr Toshkhani described the vision of Panun Kashmir as path-breaking. This vision had spelt out that whatever may be the ultimate solution to Kashmir, Kashmiri Pandits will not go back to that Kashmir which was unsecular and legitimised Muslim precedence. For the first time Panun Kashmir was speaking the truth about trials and tribulations the Pandit community underwent during six centuries, he remarked.

Dr Toshkhani criticised Indian leaders like Jaipal Reddy and VP Singh for trivialising the Pandit genocide. He narrated the poem he had composed that time, criticising their indifference. The poem read:

*Muthiyan Kiyon Tante Ho Hawa Mein,
Tumh Toh Bahs Muthi Barh Log Ho,
Jan Loh Sab Log Kih Hamari Hi Muthi Meh Suraj Hai,
Andhere Keh Virudh Ihs Ladai Meh Ham Uthe Hain,
Ek Tanhi Hui Muthi Ki Tarah.*

History has shown that Pandit genocide was not a trivial thing. It goes to the credit of Panun Kashmir which became a pioneer to warn about the clash of civilisations. Pandits' genocide has to be seen in this

light. Dr Toshkhani came down heavily on Indian intellectuals. These intellectuals, he said were building pro militants portraits larger than life and were only talking about the human rights of terrorists.

Dr Toshkhani praised Prof. Teng for changing the fossilised mindset of Kashmir Pandits and referring the contribution of Kashmiri Pandits in *Sanskritising* the Himalayas. He added the real inheritor of Kashmir's rich *Sanskritic* Civilisation was Kashmiri Pandit, and no one else. Referring to the cultural invasion on *Sanskrit* Himalayas, he said before Ibn Batuta, the historic name of Hindukush was Nishad Parvat. Dr Toshkhani enlightened the audience about close cultural relationship between Kashmir and Afghanistan in ancient times. It was an irony of history that the same Afghan people have become today, the instruments for destroying Kashmir's rich civilisation.

He observed that despite holocaust Kashmiri Pandits has shown the will to survive. Pandits' voice has been marginalised because the Indian leaders have turned myopic in the game of power summing up this predicament, Dr Toshkhani said:

Banduk Ki Nok Se Zayada Cub Rahi Hai,

Hamare Dilonh Me Dili Ke Simhasan Ka Paya,

Iski Lakdi Apne Hi Paid Ko Khojtiha Hai.

Dr Toshkhani implored the community to reaffirm its pledge to fight for Panun Kashmir. He concluded:

Hamara Nam Phailega Phaileh Gah Hamara Nam,

Samundra Ke Pani Meh Shahe Hue Nanak Ki Tarah,

Dhoop Jo Karta Mas Dhoop Ki Jhanta Ka Andhere Se Hota Hua,

Gutham Guth Mange Ma Apne Liye Ek Puri Zamin.

Dr. Ajay Chrangoo, Chairman Panun Kashmir observed that he saw a ray of hope in what the Prime Minister said that "we will fight a lasting battle against terrorism". He said it was at long last that the Indian state has started defining threshold of tolerance against the proxy-war.

Panun Kashmir chief said all along his organisation has never dithered in criticising the government, when it felt national interests were being undermined. In this context many a times Panun Kashmir has waged a lone battle. He recounted a number of instances in this regard.

He remarked that when a country and the government talk about the limits, they primarily mean the national interest. During the past three decades, no consensus has evolved on what we are defending in Punjab, J&K and northeast. So whenever any crisis emerged, the Central governments reacted without a clear perspective, he opined.

Dr Chrangoo referred to the attempts by a section of intelligentsia to undermine nationalist consolidation. He traced a pattern in the activities of this group. Kargil martyrs' bodies were sent to their home places, wrapped in national tricolour. These intellectuals indulged in slander, accusing government of indulging in coffin politics. The very same people are involved in so-called Track-II diplomacy, which seeks unilateral surrender of Indian interests to Pakistan. These disoriented people also held a seminar in Jammu University, articulating against the interests of the nation. To bail out terrorists' of the charge of genocide, these vested interests were disinforming people that Pandits' exodus was a result of panic reaction.

Panun Kashmir leader said Indian secular paradigm suffered from an inherent fait accompli, and describes Hizb as internal dissidents. Dr Ajay Chrangoo questioned the wisdom of Indian leaders in doing hair-splitting between internal insurgency and sponsored terrorism. The internal insurgency and sponsored terrorism. The internal insurgency seeks same dispensation as sponsored terrorism - a rabid fundamentalist state, outside the sovereignty of India, he explained.

Dr Chrangoo strongly criticised former bureaucrats like Muchkund Dubey and Salman Haider for undermining India's civilisational links with Kashmir. He said talks of porous borders by some Indian intellectuals smacked of secessionist intentions. He added both the foreign office and the other institutions of state policy were groping in dark about short-term and long-term demands in Kashmir. There was no attempt to tackle the internal dimension of subversion. He wondered how could Army top brass take a

position on Kashmir in a recent seminar, which said, “ *We have to dilute our position on Kashmir. We cannot look to our constitutional nuances, and integrity of those..Autonomy as advocated by ruling NC is the best solution*”.

Dr. Chrangoo said none of the mainstream parties in Kashmir has come out against political culture of Islamic fundamentalism. He also raised doubts about the desirability of going for massive recruitment in State government sector. He also spoke about the incomprehension and defeatist mindset of some Kashmiri Pandit Sabha leaders. These leaders he said, were advocating a policy of total surrender by displaced Pandits to National Conference. There was an attempt to hand over community’s minority institutions.

On self-determination for Kashmiri Muslims, Dr Chrangoo said it was not abiding. Were the Indian people given this right at the time of partition of India, he questioned. So how do Kashmiri Muslims qualify for this right. Dr Chrangoo referred to some intellectuals, who were trying to counter pose Indian identity against Kashmiri identity. He said Kashmiri Hindus always considered Kashmir as an extension of India and never felt any contradiction between the two.

Dr Chrangoo criticised the role of Pandits’ political elite over the years, explaining how it let down the community quite often. He said the strategies of this elite revolved round seeking space within Muslim communalism for survival. This was being justified as pragmatic politics. He declared to a thunderous applause from the audience. “If you call compromise as pragmatism, surrender as pragmatism, then we are not with it. We will in that situation go alone, even if we are reduced to a few people. We will always speak the truth”.

In his eloquent address, Mr Sunil Shakhdar President, *Kashmir Sentinel* recalled Margdarshan 91. He said he was distressed at yesterday’s seminar organised by Prem Nath Bhat Memorial Committee. He said NC workers are not dying for the country, but for the third agenda of autonomy. Mr Shakhddhar said he was not happy at Mr GM Shah’s comments the previous day. Secularism is always safe in India but not in Kashmir, Mr Shakhddhar added. He said the State government had already snatched our right to live but now had also snatched the right to death. In this context he referred to the death of Mr Handoo, killed in bomb blast at State Assembly building. He said State government did not have any courtesy to send his body to his family members in New Delhi. Kashmiri Samiti chief said Kashmiri Samiti, Delhi and Panun Kashmir will work jointly for the cause of community.

Prof ML Koul’s presentation on temples of Kashmir and details about cultural programme will appear in next issue.

30 Letters

Compensation for house

Sir,

This is in reference to a news item “No Hindu family has returned to Valley” (DE 20-12-2001).

In this connection I would like to say that I alongwith my family returned to the Valley to my native village of District Pulwama on 18/10/2001 and stayed there in a rented room of one of my Muslim friends. My house has been damaged in 1995 during the period of militancy.

On 6th of June 2001, I appeared before the Deputy Commissioer of Pulwama requesting him to provide me financial assistance as well as full accomodation as I have returned to my native village six months before. I also requested him to release my compensation to reconstruct my damaged house as per plan approved by State and Central governments. The DC Pulwama assured me that you case will be given top priority and will be considered within days.

On 22/10/2001 I appeared before the Revenue Minister of the State requesting him about compensation and free accomodation. The minister marked my application to the Divisional Commissioner Kashmir with the remarks that the case of the applicant may kindly be looked into.

On 15/11/2001 I again appeared before the worthy DC District Pulwama requesting him again to provide me financial assistance and shelter to live in as the house owner where I am residing alongwith my family directed me to leave the room immediately.

The DC Pulwama forwarded my application to the Divisional Commissioner Kashmir requesting him that the returned migrant be paid financial assistance as per action plan duly sanctioned by the State and Central Government. Besides, DC Pulwama also directed the Tehsildar Pulwama to accommodate the returned migrant in the safe zone of the identified cluster and report compliance immediately. Since then neither tehsildar Pulwama took any action and nor he visited to my village. I am crying for mercy and requesting him and the government that I have returned to my native village in October 2001. I may be provided financial assistance to reconstruct my damaged house as mentioned in action plan approved by the State and Central government.

Mr Vidya Sagar Rao, Union Minister of State for home affairs informed the LoK Sabha that “No Hindu Family has returned to the Valley so far”. I wonder that there is absolutely. Besides it seems that the State government does not want the return of Migrants to the Valley. Statement given by the said Union Minister in the Lok Sabha is totally baseless and false. This also seems that the State government is keeping the migrants in darkness but God sees the truth but waits.”

--ML Koul

Returned Migrant

Village Turkwangam

Distt. Pulwama J&K State

Canard against KPs

Sir,

Our attention has been drawn to the letter purported to have been written by the undersigned in “*Daily Alsafa*” dated 22/9/1990 published from Srinagar.

We would like to make it clear with full authority at our command, that we have never written such a nasty letter to the above paper. The letter is totally fake one with the sole purpose of maliging the Kashmiri Hindu migrants and causing friction.

It is for the first time since Independence that members of our community were brutally killed in a very systematic manner. Fearing total annihilation of the community at the hands of militant organisations with no protection from the Administration. The minority community were forced to leave their homes, hearths and the entire belongings worth crores of rupees, and migrate to other parts of the country. The few fortunate who could bring some immediate belongings in trucks had to pay huge amounts from Rs 2000/- and above. However, in this hour of turmoil, it was the Dogras of Jammu who open heartedly welcomed the hopeless and dejected migrants gave shelter and provided the other required facilities. The Kashmiri Hindus are grateful to their Dogra brethren and will always remember that they have been raising their voices at appropriate forums for proper rehabilitation. After having done all this by the Jammuites it is beyond one's imagination that some members of our community should have expressed their anger and resentment against Dogras and call them nicknames which is a totally false propaganda. This is only to denigrate our community in the eyes of Jammu people. Our homes are now burnt and those who had not migrated are being killed. The fake letter published in the daily is a conspiracy hatched by some militants organisations against the minority community in Kashmir with the sole purpose that this community should be driven from Jammu also. Had been so, photostat copies of the above newspaper of the date would not have been circulated in Jammu.

The above facts will certainly remove the misgivings, if any, of the people of Jammu.

--Prof. R.N. Koul

(Prof M.N. Man),
and others, Jammu.

Route of a community

Sir,

The microscopic minority of Kashmiri Pandits is facing the threat of total annihilation at the hands of self styled militants of the so-called Kashmir Liberation Front and the other numerous militant outfits spread throughout the length and the breadth of the Valley.

Their tall claims that they stand for all the communities residing in Kashmir have been falsified with the gunning down of Kashmiri Pandits working in both State and Central governments.

Whereas Lassa Kaul, the Director of Door Darshan Kashmir was gunned down, the Director of Radio Kashmir was not touched at all. At other places people belonging to this community were killed, wounded, beaten-up, humiliated, threatened, harassed and terrorised. These people are threatened with dire consequences and asked to leave forthwith. At various places their houses have been burgled and burnt down to ashes. If the KLF permits them to stay, the other gun totting people ask them to leave.

Generally threatening letters have been sent to all the prominent persons of the community to leave or face the consequences. There is no administration which could provide protection. The militants rule the roost. Nearly one and a half lac people have fled to Jammu, Amritsar, Delhi, Hardwar, Lucknow and other places in the plains for safety and security. leaving their movable and immovable properties worth billions of rupees.

What is their fault? What have they done? Is it the result of their being honest and true citizens of India? The people who founded the land (Kashyap Rishi, the founder of Kashmir may not be forgotten) are wandering in the plains in a helpless and hopeless condition. Though they were always discriminated against at each and every step; the treatment they bore patiently for the sake of the country, should not have made them suffer like this now.

Prior to this tragedy also, people belonging to this group migrated to the plains for safety and security. This is a sufficient proof to falsify the secular image of the State government administering justice. There are tragic examples in each and every field to prove this. The spectacle of misery and the wailing of women at the Gita Bhawan, Jammu sends shivers down the spine of persons, who visit it.

Who is responsible for all this? Don't they deserve the protection from the Government? Why is this scare? Had there been any Government worth the name before the appointment of Mr Jagmohan as Governor?

Whereas the refugees deserve assistance at the hands of the society and the Government in this hour of distress and agony, their permanent rehabilitation is needed on priority basis Temporary assistance won't solve the problem. It is high time that the authorities at the helm of affairs give a serious thought to it and rise to the occasion.

Before any political solution is thought of by holding talks with the militants the leaders of the refugees (not the leaders who head Pandit associations) be taken into confidence, so that a permanent HOMELAND is carved out in the Valley for these people, the safety and security of which should be guaranteed both by the State and the Central government. It may be done on the analogy of a Muslim District in Kerala. Unless a permanent Homeland is carved out in the Valley for this community, their migration will continue making them worse than beggars.

The refugees do not want to be at the mercy of the militants and majority community and suffer the hazards of becoming the scapegoats of Islamic rule in Kashmir. Why push them into the jaws of death? Will the tragic lot of these unfortunate people awaken the authorities from their deep slumber before it is too late to mend? Nothing less of a homeland will solve the grave problem.

Source: Excelsior, 14/6/90

Who will answer?

Sir,

As a teacher I have been teaching the students of various classes. I lost my identity while teaching and I had become a part of the students. There was not a single house in Illaqa Phaq, Srinagar where I did not force the students to move forward for a better future. My students gave me a lot of respect and love for which I shall remain thankful throughout my life.

With this thing in view I and my family members did not migrate. On May 26 at about mid-night there was knock at ourdoor. We opened the window and came to know there were two young men with weapons. They swore in the name of God and Prophet that we will not be touched. We opened the door and after many questions and answers we thought ourselves to be safe. They also told us to leave for Jammu for some time. On their way back they rewarded me for my dedication and unselfish work of life with a bullet and this time I am helplessly struggling with my wound and fractured leg. Where are my students whose number is in thousands? Where are the people who I loved? My eyes are full of tears when I think what I have done and what I got. The young men also swore that I was not a CID. Then why they shot at me? I want the answer.

--Mohan Lal Bhat

Harwan

Woeful tale

Sir,

With reference to the columns of the *Daily Excelsior* (6/7/1990) regarding migration to Jammu due to atrocities of militants in the Valley, the following lines are submitted for drawing an inference by the concerned.

My husband, now late Shri Makhan Lal Raina, senior Medical Assistant (Loonar, District Budgam) did not return home on June 22. My frantic search for him landed me at the police station Nai Sarak, Habakadal, Srinagar, Kashmir. The concerned Police officer after registering my FIR in this behalf, advised me to seek details the next day, whence he would apprise of the response of the Police signal sent to control room.

My second visit on June 24 proved to be futile and I was directed by the Police office to personally seek details from the control-room, which I instantaneously did. Despite my misery I was subject to irrelevant questioning, discourtesy and rudeness which promoted me to contact Army control-room.

By the assistance from that end I alongwith my daughter was carried to Budgam Police Station, in a J&K Police jeep guarded by three JKAP jawans. I reported to SHO Budgam about my misfortunate but to my misery and misfortune the officer used such a language which is unbearable to a human being. He (SHO) said '*Kya Goya Agar Makhan Lal Katal Goy, Toye Tee Rooziv Tayar*'. (What happened if Makhan Lal is murdered, you too be ready for the same). He continued and said that he (Makhan Lal) was cremated by the Police as an unidentified body, when one person had given the evidence that the deceased was one ML Raina, once worked in Raithan as Medical Assistant, but later on that unknown person under the police pressure had withdrawn his statement. To my bad-luck BMO Block too did not identify my husband under whome he (my husband) was working since eight to nine years at different places. It is reported that my husband was dragged out from the dispensary where he was posted, by the cruel and unhuman militants.

The concerned SHO Budgam refused to handover the belongings of my husband and said he was carrying a chit from the Hizbul-Mujahideens the outlawed militant body. When I saw that myself and my daughter was unsafe before. SHO Budgam and his Agencies, I fled from the spot and left the Valley in a grief and sorrow.

I want to draw the attention of the government administration to the fact, that what were the reasons of killing of my husband.

- 1) Was it his fault, that he was a Kashmiri Pandit?
- 2) Was it his fault that he was attending his duties daily?
- 3) Was it his fault, that he didn't dis-obey the orders of the government?
- 4) Was it his fault, that he love of his job and motherland?

--Chuni Raina

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Presently at Jammu

Kashmir Sentinel

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