



KashmirSentinel.com

LARGEST CIRCULATED ENGLISH MONTHLY OF J&K
A News Magazine of Kashmiri Pandit Community

Page Intentionally Left Blank

Kashmir Sentinel

July 2003

July 2003

Copyright © 2000-2010 by **Panun Kashmir** (<http://panunkashmir.org/>)

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced in whole or in part, or stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without written permission of Panun Kashmir. For permission regarding publication, send an e-mail to

webmaster@PanunKashmir.org

Contents

	page
Contents.....	v
1 Editorial	1-2
2 Kashmir	2-4
3 Upanayana or Yugnopavit	3-10
4 Battas' Kashmir and beyond.....	4-13
5 Are we a defeated people	5-16
6 Beginnings of Kashmiri language and literature-II.....	6-18
7 Cross border terrorism.....	7-23
8 Pandits denied migrant status	8-26
9 Jammu and Kashmir.....	9-28
10 'Hurriyat In Crisis'	10-30
11 Letters	11-32
12 Ansari Seeks Iranian Intervention	12-33
13 Registration eludes Pandits	13-34
14 News	14-35
15 Tribute	15-36
16 PK delegation meets minister	16-37
17 Media Scan	17-38
18 Those who left Us	18-40
19 Chronology of Events.....	19-44

1 *Editorial*

Decay in Politics

POLITICS, it is said, is the art of possible. In India it has turned out to be the art of confusion. No limb of the Indian polity has escaped this malaise.

Mr. Digvijay Singh, the MP Chief Minister said recently that Kashmiri Pandits had made a great mistake in leaving Kashmir. Major General Arjun Ray, the General who commanded counter-insurgency operations in Kashmir observed that Kashmiri Pandits would have faced Bosnia-like situation had they dithered in leaving Kashmir in time.

It is true, politicians make statements to escape reality, while generals speak on the basis of ground reality. Did Mr. Singh's remarks convey Indian political leadership's total helplessness in restoring Pandits back to their lost homeland?

In 1990, Mr. George Fernandes went around the country telling Indians that Kashmiris were forced to take up arms because all the jobs had been grabbed by Kashmiri Pandits. Pandits, at that time, held 13,000 odd jobs in an employees' strength of 3.5 lakhs. Of these 6000 alone were teachers, a profession in which Pandits have excelled over generations. This disinformation cost Pandits heavy. Recently the Defence Minister conceded that Pandits were gripped by severe unemployment. He declared that special recruitment drives will be launched soon to recruit them as soldiers in the Army.

Local Congress leadership has been crowing that Jammu region was being discriminated against. This, despite the fact, that the Congress enjoyed unbridled power for 22 long years. Should not the local Congress leadership introspect on its own role rather than blame others for discriminatory treatment meted out to Jammu?

Mr. Omar Abdullah, President National Conference strongly opposed third party mediation on Kashmir. The following day Dr. Farooq Abdullah suggested that Nelson Mandela should mediate on Kashmir, leaving Indians confused on what exactly was the NC line on the issue. Earlier Mr. Omar had criticised Mr. Vajpayee for advocating serious compromises on Kashmir. Subsequently the NC chief went on to describe the retrograde terrorist movement as "Indigenous Freedom Struggle".

Ms. Mehbooba Mufti, the PDP President pleaded before the Indian Industrial community to invest in Jammu and Kashmir. She argued that it would be investment for peace. Her wisdom on this count cannot be faulted. Which other state requires urgent doses of industrialisation than J&K, where the state government has to feed a whooping employee population of around 5 lakhs and has very little funds left for investment in infrastructure? But Industrialists, as a rule, do not invest for peace. They invest for profit and invest where their capital is safe. What signals do we send to them, when we demand total ban on outside labour in the state?

Sangh Parivar has often described ideology and organisation as its forte. Mr Sudarshan, the RSS chief criticized Advani for advocating 'Give and take policy on Kashmir'. The RSS spokesperson, Madan Dass Devi said it was his personal view. Does that imply RSS endorses 'Give and Take' approach on Kashmir? When RSS chief remarked Mr Vajpayee betrayed lack of vision on Kashmir, BJP's General Secretary, Mr. Mukhtar Abbas Naqvi commented it was his personal view. Mr. Ashok Singhal, VHP leader demanded the resignation of the Prime Minister on Ayodhya issue. The RSS spokesperson hit back, saying it was Mr. Singhal's personal view. The following day RSS announced that Ayodhya, Kashi and Mathura were all on its agenda and endorsed VHP line. Average Indian is confused. If leaders of the Sangh Parivar are speaking out of turn, is it a case of simple factionalism or a larger issue of the decline of the ideology and organisation?

Recently, Sudarshan Ji was in town to address his workers at the conclusion of a training camp. In his presentation RC Kak and Nehru emerged as the sole villains in the Kashmir drama. In this discourse, which smacked of taking a reductionist view of history, Sudarshan Jee went over board and forgot even to make a passing reference to the ethnic cleansing of Kashmiri Pandits, what to talk of their aspirations. This left Pandit activists, who had turned up in good numbers, red-faced. RC Kak and Nehru stood poles

apart so far as Kashmir was concerned and viewed the happenings of their era through conflicting prisms. Verdicts on history are delivered on the basis of cool analysis of facts and not on prejudices and biases.

Last week a middle-ranking telecom official posted in J&K made big news. At a press conference he forgot to assure the telephone subscribers that his department would provide 'state of the art' service to them. Instead he lashed out at the Home and the Defence ministries for stalling extension of mobile phone service to J&K. Who authorised him to make comments on such sensitive issues? It only reflects on the state of coordination between various ministries of Govt. of India and the uncalled for competition between them to score points, ignoring the issues having bearing on national security.

It is being said that Swami Commission has of late come out with recommendations that only CRPF should be deployed for internal duties, even where the internal disturbances were a spill-over of the low-intensity conflict. BSF, a force, which has developed an expertise in counter-insurgency operations over the past two decades, is being asked to pack up to the borders. After the sordid drama of disbanding SOG and humiliating the best officers of the police force are we seeing a new process unfolding? why is there an attempt to deprive the nation of the expertise of BSF in countering the terrorist campaign?

In India, the decolonisation process has been accompanied by the fragmentation of polity along caste, religious and regional lines. This has put tremendous strain on the polity. The rise of new elites has seen an intense scramble for power, with little concern for national interests. Politicians today are identified as the most unscrupulous class in the country. Besides forging nexus with criminals, they have steadily undermined the bureaucracy and other institutions of governance. This paradigm shift in politics has also seen erosion of ideology and organisation. Giri Lal Jain once said, "the old order is dying, the new is yet to be born". Nation awaits the rise of a new order.

2 Kashmir

By Shamim Ahmed Shamim

THE accord that took place between Mrs. Gandhi and Sheikh Abdullah in February 1975 after two years' prolonged parleys, marks a watershed in the politics, if not the history, of the state. The arrest of Sheikh Abdullah in 1953, his imprisonment, subsequent externment, and declaring the Plebiscite Front an unlawful party had not only eroded the legitimacy of the accession but cast a shadow on the democratic institutions and the functioning of democracy in the country. Undoubtedly the use of force, repression and other unlawful practices had started in the Sheikh's regime itself in the 1951 State Assembly elections. But, after 1953, what passed under the pretence of elections in the State, and the manner in which the country's political parties and national press entered into a conspiracy of silence, accepting the suppression of justice, democracy and moral values as an unpalatable yet inevitable reality, left an indelible stigma on the fabric of Indian democracy.

I am firm in my opinion that all the experiments put to use in other parts of the country to pervert the electoral process with the help of government machinery, political repression and money power, were initially tried and tested in the laboratory of Kashmir. The repeated use of these reprehensible devices so dulled our democratic sensibility that the clamping down of internal emergency became not only possible but also acceptable, at least during the earlier phase. The facade of Assembly elections in 1951 and then bypassing the same Assembly in 1953, deposing and arresting Sheikh Abdullah, signalled the starting point of a journey which twenty two years later finally culminated in overwhelming the nation with an internal emergency.

Against such a back-drop, the Indira-Addullah accord of February 1975, was a significant step towards normalising the political process in the State; and Mrs. Gandhi quite rightly deserves kudos and credit for this act of statesmanship and farsightedness. Without conceding a single demand, she persuaded the Sheikh to accept the Chief Ministership of the State on Congress support.

Having remained in political wilderness for 22 years, Sheikh Abdullah, accepting the realities of the situation, renounced the slogan of self-determination, plebiscite and demand for restoration of the 1953 status of the state. For some time, however, he stubbornly insisted that he should be called the Prime Minister instead of the Chief Minister. Mrs. Gandhi granted it partially, allowing him to call himself Prime Minister if he so wished, but making it clear that the Centre would refer to him only as Chief Minister.

Although it is true that India's stand on Kashmir, its constitutional position and international commitments have in no way been affected or influenced by the accord, the State undoubtedly has undergone a qualitative change: a semi-balance of peace, stability and normality has entered the political scene. Notwithstanding his controversial personality, erratic politics and short-sighted perspective, Sheikh Abdullah continues to be the most charismatic figure dominating Kashmir politics, holding the centre of the stage for the last 50 years as a symbol of Kashmiri nationalism.

To cap it all, his dismissal, arrest, imprisonment, externment, in fact every insult and injustice inflicted upon him has given him a martyr's halo, making him more and more popular. Consequently, he has emerged as the most outstanding example of Kashmiri aspirations. The efforts of his successors and the Centre to keep him out of politics and power proved so counter productive that to extern or imprison him at every subsequent election in the State, became an unavoidable necessity upto 1971. The Sheikh and the Plebiscite Front made their task easier by boycotting those elections. But when he decided to participate in 1971, the State government had to impose restrictions on his entry into the State and to meet this danger the Centre had to declare the Plebiscite Front an unlawful party.

These undemocratic and high handed methods gave rise to a self-seeking, pelf-seeking class which wielded unbridled authority to do whatever it liked in the name of loyalty to the Central government and the ruling party. To deal with Sheikh Abdullah and his incendiary politics, the Centre was compelled to support these 'loyalists'. Thus, we got into a vicious circle, with little hope of extricating ourselves.

Whatever the motives and considerations that weighed with Mrs. Gandhi and the Sheikh in forging the accord, its incontrovertible end product is the possibility of breaking this vicious circle, and being released from the anomalous and monopolitical strangle-hold of the Congress on the politics of the State. The March 1977 revolution has given to these possibilities a clear and concrete shape. As a result, for the first time after Independence, the Sheikh and his party, the National Conference, have come into power, after the conduct of what were comparatively free and impartial elections. In fact, it is such an extraordinary and revolutionary change that it would have been impossible even to think of it a year earlier. This pleasant but unexpected turn to the situation must have been a surprise for even Sheikh Abdullah and his colleagues.

In January 1977, before the declaration of general elections, the Sheikh held talks with Mrs Gandhi on the distribution of Assembly seats between the Congress and the National Conference on a basis of equality. The distribution of parliamentary seats had in fact been done on this very principle of fifty-fifty. Had Mrs. Gandhi won the elections, it was likely that he would have found it difficult to secure even 50% seats. But, whereas the March 1977 elections liberated the country from dynastic rule and bondage of fear, it also set free the Sheikh and his party from the shackles of political compromise and agreements.

The manner in which the Sheikh lent his unreserved and unqualified support to Mrs. Gandhi and the Emergency after having become the Chief Minister, pointedly highlights the fact that he had not accepted the realities of a changed situation resulting from a change in ideology or mental attitudes, but as the single entry-point to the place of power. For this very reason, the political accord proved the starting point of many of his compromises on principles and points of view and, right up to Mrs. Gandhi's debacle in March 1977, he continued making compromises with his avowed stands at every step. Such a climbdown, though hardly in harmony with his political stature and popular image, was an inevitable consequence of the Sheikh's political style and the background against which the accord was forged.

For Mrs. Gandhi, the accord had all the advantages. Without conceding anything she achieved all that her father failed to achieve in his life time. The process that had been set into motion with the withdrawal of the conspiracy case against the Sheikh in 1964 had been left half way through because of Nehru's death. Eleven years later his daughter led it to its logical conclusion. Jawaharlal was unhappy with Sheikh Abdullah's separatist political and pro-Pak stance. He wanted the Sheikh to accept the accession as final. The Indira-Abdullah accord represents the fulfillment of this wish. But, for Sheikh Abdullah, the agreement was no more than a charter of unfulfilled hopes and shattered dreams.

It was the outcome of his frustration and disillusionment. In spite of 22 years of imprisonment, exile and isolation from the position of power, he had seen no light emerging from anywhere. Meanwhile, a new generation had come to the fore. And this generation was free from the kind of emotional attachment which bound the elders to him. On the other hand, they held him responsible for those involved political entanglements, the complexities of which had shadowed their birth and growth. On the one hand, notwithstanding his stature and popularity, the fact of his being out of power coupled with the demands of practical politics had gradually rendered him irrelevant; on the other, the power blocks had lost interest in the Kashmir issue and the Security Council resolutions on Indo-Pak relations attracted the idle curiosity of research scholars only. Pakistan too had ceased to sustain life in a receding hope which petered out finally in 1965.

Dejected by Pakistan, the Sheikh eventually gave up the politics of non-cooperation and decided to participate in the elections in 1971. It is a pity that the State and Central governments prevented him from doing so, imposing restrictions on his re-entry into the State. This frustrated him further. The defeat of Pakistan in the Bangladesh war of 1971, shook him to the roots, delivering a crippling blow to his determination and resistance. Not only had Sheikh Abdullah refused to condemn the barbaric policies that Pakistan pursued during the early days of military intervention in Bangladesh, but in an interview published in a Hyderabad Urdu daily, he had justified the actions of General Yahya Khan and the notorious Tikka Khan.

The breakdown of the Pakistan war machine and the creation of Bangladesh now fully and finally convinced him that Pakistan could no longer keep the Kashmir issue alive. Thus, he turned to rebuild his broken bridges with Mrs. Gandhi. It must be said to the credit of Mrs. Gandhi that she seized the opportunity and encouraged the move. Had the present Prime Minister, Morarji Desai, been in her place, he would possibly have lost the opportunity by his stubborn attitude and rigid behaviour. In fact, after the creation of Bangladesh, when Sheikh Abdullah chose the path of reconciliation, giving up the posture of confrontation, Mrs. Gandhi got him installed as Chief Minister with the help of the Congress majority in the Legislature.

In spite of being a significant step towards normalising the political life of the state, fundamentally the accord was an agreement between two individuals and nothing more. It had no legal or constitutional validity. Between February 1975 and March 1977, it came to breaking point on many an occasion and the credit goes to the Sheikh that he saved it from getting snapped, albeit at the cost of his self-respect and personal pride. Precisely for this reason, the Congress Party withdrew its support to Sheikh Abdullah from the legislature and practically finished the accord after its defeat in March 1967. What followed has put a stop to the artifices and artificeries of the politics of agreements, providing an opportunity to build the state politics on more firm, lasting and purposeful foundations.

The recent changes in the politics of the State must be welcomed from this point of view. The present government and its leadership has come into existence through free elections and public confidence, instead of political agreements and personal expediency. Thus, for the first time during the last 30 years, the democratic process has been allowed a free flow along its natural course.

There is no denying that to win the Assembly elections Sheikh Abdullah had fanned feelings of communalism, internal autonomy, parochialism and regionalism. He had created such an atmosphere that quite a few political observers, while conceding the elections to have been free, refuse to accept them as fair. But, to use a biblical image, would there be any politician in the land who could pelt the first stone at him?

It is worthy to note that to ensure his success at the polls the Sheikh, instead of banking upon his sacrifice, popularity and charisma had to take recourse to such trite and tried manoeuvres which are used by ordinary professional politicians. Some say that to influence the voters and evoke their sympathy, he even prolonged his illness. Whether this is true or false no one can tell. But there is no doubt that Sheikh Abdullah staked everything to win the last elections.

It goes to the credit of the Janata Government that it allowed the freest elections to the State, for the first time since independence, thus proving to the people of Kashmir that they too have the same fundamental democratic rights which the people in the rest of the country enjoy and exercise. In particular, for the Muslims of the Valley, it was an incredible phenomenon that only two candidates of the ruling party at the Centre-the Janata Party--were returned out of the 42 seats it contested. In the past, some eighty to ninety percent candidates belonging to the ruling party used to win with 'large majorities'. From this point of view alone, the July 77 elections represent an important experiment in the politics of the State which are bound to yield good results.

While the results of the '77 Assembly elections have demonstrated in full measure, Sheikh Abdullah's impressive strength they have also set limits and exposed the shortcomings of his success and influence. For instance, it is significant that the National Conference, in spite of its secular and noncommunal cast, has emerged only as a representative party of the Muslims in the State. That explains its slender image in Jammu where it received only seven out of a total of 32 seats and its all pervasive position in the Valley where it bagged all but three of the 42 seats.

It was the direct result of communal preaching and regional stance projected by the party during electioneering. In fact, if the Janata rebels had not contested the officially fielded candidates and thus divided the vote, the National Conference would hardly have managed a seat or two in Jammu.

Another significant factor to note is that in spite of the charismatic personality of Sheikh Abdullah and the calmly thought out slogans, calculated to heartwarm sectarian feelings, the National Conference was able

to muster only 46% of the total votes polled, even though it secured 49 seats. In other words, the Sheikh won the election but lost the plebiscite. Let alone the fact that the Janata Party and its allies got a severe bashing at the hustings, it has brought stability to State politics and promoted the national cause in an extraordinary measure.

The recent political changes and developments in Jammu and Kashmir affirm that there are no shortcuts to political stability and national stability and national integrity other than the democratic ones. The traumatic experience that the country passed through during the Emergency, and the current political situation in Pakistan, emphasised its importance even more clearly. Likewise, it is certain that the democratic system cannot be sustained, much less strengthened in the rest of the country if it is suppressed in a part of it, be it Nagaland or Kashmir.

Now that a normal political process has been set into motion in Kashmir, it should not be prevented from taking its logical and natural course by raising the sceptre of the threat to national solidarity, the country's interest and territorial integrity as in the past.

In view of his earlier secessionist postures, some quarters are some what apprehensive about Sheikh Abdullah's recent statements and utterances regarding the internal autonomy of the State. In my opinion, however, there is no need to read any far-reaching ambition in these public postures and statements. The fundamental fact is that he accepts Kashmir as an integral part of India, and regards Kashmir's accession as irrevocable and final.

It is well known that in spite of getting tremendous moral and material support from Pakistan during the last 22 years, the Sheikh has at no stage been in favour of Kashmir's accession to Pakistan. Having now acquired power through free elections, he could have little use for Pakistan. On the contrary, he has been talking of the return of State. His demand for his inclusion in any talks that India holds with Pakistan regarding Kashmir, betrays a psychological aberration rather than any political ambition. This is the nostalgia of the fifties, when big power interests in Kashmir and debates in the United Nations and other international forums kept him in the limelight, making him an international figure.

The most interesting aspect of Kashmir's current politics is the absence of any ideological base and economic programme in the State's most organised and influential organisation, the National Conference. True that it had a socio-economic programme called 'New Kashmir' before independence. But in the present day context, the document is an historical anachronism. In the euphoria of the newly acquired power in 1975, no attempt at redefining political aims and economic goals was made, while the Plebiscite Front was rechristened the 'National Conference'. On the contrary, Sheikh Abdullah repeatedly emphasised that we should give a 'holiday' to politics for some time and get down to work.

After the imposition of Emergency, he was even more emphatic about this. But when all the equations of power and politics underwent a sea change, consequent upon the March 77 election, the National Conference leadership became keenly aware of the absence of political ideology and economic programme. To tackle this problem, Sheikh Abdullah tried to smoothen the way for an understanding with the new Central government and Janata leaders, so that under a new arrangement he continued to hold the reins of power. Fortunately for the State, the Janata leadership refused to have any such understanding and Kashmir was saved from yet one more spell of the 'politics of agreements'.

It was only when he had failed to strike this bargain that the Sheikh, raising the issue of internal autonomy and of safeguarding Article 370 during the Assembly elections, created an artificial atmosphere of confrontation between the Centre and the State, although the Foreign Minister, A.B. Vajpayee, while participating in the debate on Karan Singh's motion of adjournment against the imposition of Governor's rule in the State, had clearly stated that no change would be made in Article 370, without consulting the people of the state. Despite the fact that he too knew fully well that the Janata government had no such intentions, the Sheikh, in search of an election issue, 'invented' the spectre of danger to internal autonomy and Article 370, generating tremendous sympathy for him and support for his party.

The true nature of Sheikh Abdullah's interest and concern for the State's internal autonomy and safeguarding of Article 370 is, however, betrayed by his and his party's unconditional acceptance of the

42nd amendment during the Emergency. A committee appointed under the chairmanship of Afzal Beg, the Vice-President of the National Conference, described the amendment as 'consistent with the needs and demands of the time,' although it considerably eroded the country's federal structure and the State's internal autonomy. In terms of the amendment, if Parliament chose to abrogate Article 370 of the Constitution, the State government and Sheikh Abdullah could not have knocked at the Supreme Court gates, and Sheikh Abdullah and his party, instead of protesting against it, welcomed it.

The recent Sheikh-Jyoti Basu talks and statements regarding more and more autonomy to the States should be assessed against this background. With the Sheikh, autonomy is his total politics; with Basu an important weapon to carry forward his social aims, in conformity with his political ideology. It is only to emerge as the 'defender of the faith' and make up for the absence of a politico-economic programme, that the Sheikh wants to create a sense of insecurity among the people of the State. Personally I am in favour of granting a greater measure of internal autonomy to the States, particularly in the economic field; but the manner in which Sheikh Abdullah and his successors have used it throughout to suppress the democratic rights and civic freedoms of the people, leaves much room for doubt about its concept and content.

It would not be out of place to mention the Public Safety Ordinance promulgated by the Sheikh and his government in this connection. Sheikh Abdullah's demand for internal autonomy is qualitatively different to the demand of greater powers, by the other states. The Sheikh's demand has overtones of secessionism and communalism, because he links the issue of autonomy with accession. The State comprises three units, Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh. The demand for internal autonomy represents, at best, the aspirations of the Kashmiri Muslims. On the contrary, the people of Jammu and Ladakh consider it as part of a plan of Kashmiri domination. Considered in this context, Sheikh Abdullah's leadership of this rightful demand of the other States is likely to prove a liability rather than an asset.

The Sheikh's advantage is that he has no political or intellectual commitment and that is why he can flit across freely and without invitation, from a Marxist Jyoti Basu, a fascist Indira Gandhi, to an orthodox Imam Syed Abdullah Bukhari. The greatest contribution of Sheikh Abdullah to the politics of the State is that he played a prominent role in secularising it. But it is an irony of history and a paradox of present times that he himself has been in the fore in creating communal and separatist feelings among the Muslims. The reason is that he has throughout made use of the religious idiom to preach secularism; so that whenever he has had to seek support of religious sentiment for personal advancement and aggrandizement, he had conveniently made religion a tool of politics, and politics a tool of religion.

At any rate, that is his political style and there is no escape from it. The tragedy is that Kashmir politics have stagnated under this style and stunted the growth of the Kashmiri people. Consequently, in this last quarter of the 20th Century, Kashmiris find themselves in the darkness of tribal ways of thought and reaction, prejudices and fears. The geographical conspiracy of nature of shut Kashmir up in a trap has been further strengthened by politicians by strengthening these barricades rather than breaking them down.

In this analysis, I have dwelt in detail on Sheikh Abdullah's personality and political attitudes. It was unavoidable. For, the Sheikh has been the fountain-head, centre and pivot of Kashmir politics for the last 50 years. Any objective analysis of Kashmir politics is bound to prove incomplete without an analysis of this subjective aspect of his personality. This undoubtedly sets the seal on Sheikh Abdullah as an extremely popular leader, wielding tremendous political influence; but it also points toward the mental and political backwardness of Kashmir, where persons matter more and issues and ideologies less. The fact is that politics in Kashmir has yet to be released from the strangle-hold of religiosity and ritual.

Consequently, the population, in terms of alignment and allegiance, is divided between different religious leaders, the Sheikh and Mirwaiz Farooq being the main contenders. The former uses the famous shrine of Hazratbal as his political platform and the latter the historical Jama Masjid of Srinagar as his political fortress. Taking their cue from them and encouraged by their successful manoeuvres both Shia and the Jamait-Islami leaders have joined the political game. Jamait-Islami, ironically, was encouraged by the

ruling Congress Party in its efforts to enter the political arena with a view to steal Sheikh Abdullah's thunder. That explains why the party secured 5 seats in the State Assembly in the 1972 elections.

But is it almost impossible to beat the Sheikh at his own game. The political influence of the Jamait vanished overnight when it clashed with him in the panchayat elections of 1974 and in the recent Assembly elections. The party has managed to get only one seat in the State Assembly. The Shia leaders are also busy organising their followers for political purposes and thus renewing the age-old Shia-Sunni conflict. The recent clashes between the two sects is symptomatic of the growing politicalization and exploitation of the two communities.

Among the other political parties the Janata Party, the two Congresses and Mirwaiz Farooq's Awami Action Committee deserve some mention. The Janata sapling is unlikely to strike roots in the Valley. Its constituents, Jana Sangh, BLD, Organisation Congress and Socialist Party, did not exist in the Valley; hence there was no ready-made cadre available to the Janata Party when it started functioning in the State in April 77. Sheikh Abdullah too delivered a stunning blow to it by calling it the 'Jana Sangh in a different garb'.

Finally, the utter defeat it suffered at the polls has completely disheartened those who rallied under its banner. The state of the party in the Valley can be judged from the fact that it cannot get a couple of rooms for its central office in the city of Srinagar. In other words, the party has no postal address.

As against this, in Jammu, it built up on the existent Jana Sangh base. Whereas the party has not even a central office in Srinagar, in Jammu it has several parallel offices. On account of the tug and pull between the Jana Sangh and non-Jana Sangh elements in Jammu, the party is in utter confusion which the Central leadership has yet to sort out. The increasing influence of the erstwhile Jana Sangh spells grave danger for the party's future as the minority community in the region would prefer joining the Congress or the National Conference rather than the Janata.

In the Valley, the existence of the Congress, right from the beginning has depended on the prestige of the Central government, the power and the vested interest that surround it. That explains its disintegration after its removal from the seat of power. The split at the top has staggered it further, and sizeable sections of Congress workers are switching over to the Janata and National Conference. In Jammu, the Congress though in a more stable position, has suffered considerably due to the split at the national level. The emerging position has exposed and exploded the myth of Karan Singh's popularity and influence in Jammu where the bulk of the Congress has gone with Indira Gandhi, whose faction appears stronger than the Reddy Congress. This may be partly due to the Sheikh's support and sympathy for Indira Gandhi.

Mirwaiz Farooq is essentially a religious leader but his political ambition is not unknown. During the Assembly elections in July 77, he threw his lot in with the Janata by supporting it. However, only one candidate fielded by his party, the Awami Action Committee, won. He and his party are considered to have Pak leanings. But changes in the Indo-Pak political scene have reduced his influence which is anyhow restricted to the few areas of Srinagar city alone. One of the healthier aspects of the process of normalisation of State politics since July 1977, is the complete eclipse of the secessionist elements in the Valley. Mirwaiz Farooq's support to the Janata Party (and he continues to be friendly) was a significant factor in this direction. Whatever may have been his reasons for supporting the Janata Party against Sheikh's National Conference, it clearly indicates the qualitative change in the extremist politics of Kashmir and Kashmiri leaders.

Source: SEMINAR, April, 1978)

*The author, a former MP edited 'AINA' and was a talented journalist in Urdu. Recently an anthology of his writings in AINA, has been brought in two volumes.

3 Upanayana or Yugnopavit

*Yugnopavitam paramum pavitram
prajapateyrth sahjam purastat
ayusham agrim pratimoincha shuibrem
yugnopavitam balam astu tejah*

By Pushkarnath Nehru

1. What is Upanayana?

Upanayana is one of the most important SAMASKARAS (symbolic events) in the life of the child.

In the ancient times a child was initiated into the pursuit of secular knowledge (like astronomy, mathematics, metaphysics, logic, medicine and other vedic literature) as well as into the realm of spiritual development by putting him on the task of learning and practicing such disciplines by way of his parents handing him over to a Guru for the purpose of learning and practicing them under his guidance. But eventually this institution became out of vogue due to the socio-economic changes. The Upanayan ceremony is now restricted to and revolves around the investiture of the sacred thread or the ‘*yugnopavit*’ and the teaching of *Gayatri Mantra* to the child.

By virtue of the performance of the *Upanayana* ceremony, which connotes the taking of the charge of the student by the teacher, the student is supposed to have second birth (*Dvija*) in the world of knowledge through education. This is done after staging symbolically all the previous events (*Samaskaras*) right from his or her birth. In the Vedic birth of the student, symbolised by wearing the “girdle” and the sacred thread, *Savitri* becomes the mother and *Guru* the father.

2. What is Yugnopavit (sacred thread) ceremony?

This initiation of a student by the teacher, entailed various functions, such as selection of *Guru*, auspicious time, preparation, wearing of garments, the girdle, the sacred thread (“*Yugnopavit*”), presenting of deer skin, the staff, *Savitri Mantra*, sacred fire (*agnihotra*) and alms etc. Later on when the conception of *Upanayana* underwent a change in the course of time, the mere initiation of the child by the teacher became a sacred lore. The original idea of initiation for education got overshadowed by the mystic significance of *Upanayana* which lead to the idea of second birth (*dvija*) through the *Gayatri Mantra*. The initiation, which marked the taking over of the charge of the student by the *Guru*, revolved around the establishment of connection between the student and *Savitri* (through the *Gayatri Mantra*) performed by the *Guru* and his teaching of this *mantra*.

The *Upanayana* in the present form is the investiture of the sacred thread (“*Yugnopavit*”) on the child which involves the initiation and symbolically staging all the said *Samaskaras*. The most important part of this ceremony is the wearing of the sacred thread and the accompaniment of the recitation and teaching of the *Gayatri (Savitri) Mantra* which is one prayer that is the crux of the whole vedic wisdom.

The wearer of this thread is supposed to be constantly reminded of his commitment to the secular and spiritual goals which he has set upon himself on this solemn occasion. That this life may not pass away just in unconscious striving but become a means of the expansion of our ‘being’; That it may provide a view of one’s self and the world without being in conflict with the action that comes by ; That life, even at its worst, may still provide us a source of sharing the joyousness of our existence; This is the greatest art of life, which comes, not through wanton experimentation, but through prayer and humility alone and through that the divine grace.

Abiding by the secular obligations towards his *Guru*, his family and the society are some of the definitive prescriptions that cannot be separated from his spiritual goals. Firstly the sacred thread has three folds which represents the trinity of existence symbolizing the three worlds; Earth, Space and the Heaven or

Brahma (the unfolding of the world and this life), Vishnu (the sustenance) and Mahesh (the re-absorption). The central knot of the sacred thread and tying together of the three strands, represents Parambrahma (the supreme expansion of consciousness) into which all the three 'tattvas' (aspects of Godhead) such as Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh merge. This knot is known as 'Brahmagranthi'. The three cords remind the wearer that he has to pay the three debts he owes to the ancient seers (*rishis*), the ancestors (*pitras*) and the *Devatas* and that his consciousness has to expand into all the three worlds. The threads are doubled at the time of marriage signifying the additional sacramental obligations towards his consort.

3. Gayatri Mantra (also called Savitri)

The focal point of the whole Upanayana ceremony is the recitation of the Gayatri Mantra and teaching its essence to the initiated. The *mantra* is considered to be the most sacred and according to Manu 'there is nothing more exalted than the *Gayatri*'.

Om tat savitur varenyam

bhargo devasya dhimahi

dhiyo yo nah pracodayat

This original 'Gayatri Mantra', which is also known as 'Savitri', is a Rigvedic hymn (RV III, 62-10) which usually is preceded by the recitation of 'Om Bhur, Bhuvah Svah' which upon translation connotes :

Om bhur bhuvah svah

tat savitur varenyam

"That splendid magnificence of *Savitre*, the Cosmic Sun, permeating the three worlds, the Earth, the Space and the Heavens is assuredly *Savitri*; the inspirer, life giver, the stimulative force"

Bhargo devasya Dhimahi

"May we meditate on the life giving divinity, *Savitri* assuredly is God, and therefore I meditate on his splendor".

dhiyo Yyonha prochudayat

"May He himself illumine our intelligence. May He himself breath it into us".

The Gayatri Mantra derives its name from the metre in which it is written, the Gayatri being a Vedic poetic metre of 24 syllables of which, as per tradition, is authored by the sage *Vishvamitra*. The *mantra* consists of three sections (PADS) having eight syllables each and have to be recited in a particular sequence. Therefore the *Gayatri Mantra* is not a magic formula nor is it merely a logical sentence. It connects in a very special way the objective and subjective aspects of reality. It is neither a mere sound nor sheer magic. Words have not only sound but also meaning which is not apparent to all those who simply hear the sound. Such living words have a power that transcends the mental plane. To acquire this energy of the word one has to grasp not only its meaning but also its message, or its vibrations, as they are sometimes called in order. Therefore the phonetic quality of the *mantra* demands that it be recited in a particular way. Faith, understanding and physical utterance as well as physical continuity (since the *mantra* is supposed to be handed down by a master) are the essential requisites. Every word links up with the source of all words. The ultimate character of the word (*Shabada Brahma*) is a fundamental concept in spirituality.

4. Abhid (the alms)

The alms giving (Abhid) is now a symbolic act reminiscent of ancient institution of obtaining voluntary contributions made for the sustenance of the *Guru's Ashram* in which the initiated students used to study.

Presently during the Yugnopavit ceremony the act of alms giving is symbolically staged and is known as Abhid. This has now taken the complexion of “*Dakshina*” for the presiding *Guru*.

5. Relevance of Yugnopavit in the present times

The Yugnopavit ceremony used to be one of the most exalted functions in the life of a Brahmin, particularly in respect of the Kashmiri Brahmins. But due to major changes in the social and economic factors its importance in the course of time has significantly dwindled. In recent times it has lost its vitality and sublimity. It has unfortunately now been reduced to a social “*Tamasha*” without any attempt by us to restore its former sanctity. This sacrament used to be one of the most important instruments for inculcating and imparting discipline, values of life and the principles of right conduct.

Now, in the aftermath of our exodus from Kashmir it is doubly important to try and restore the intrinsic sanctity and usefulness of this *samaskara* so that we are able to give a worthy gift unto the young. Whereas modern education with its scientific spirit and vocational training is important for our children, but at the same time cultivation of matrices of right conduct, overall personality development with humane values of life so as to develop a vibrant ethos are the very essential credentials that would enable us to face the challenges of the present world. At present our children are facing a cultural cul-de-sac which suggests a drifting and a meaningless existence.

A sense of direction is needed more than ever before. The infusion of the spirit behind the “*Yugnopavit*” ceremony which also aims to promote compassion, love, benevolence, non-violence, fraternity, self-discipline and finer human relationship etc. in addition to the urge to meditate on the resurgence of the Supreme Consciousness can act as one of the most important instruments for achieving this goal.

The intrinsic message of the *Gayatri Mantra* engulfs a wide gamut of ideals such as what the *Isha Upanishad* says:-

*Yastu sarvani bhutanyatmanayay vamu pashyeti
sarva bhuteshu ch atmanam tato na vijugupsate
yasiman sarvani bhutanyatmyabhdi janatah
tatra ko moha kah shokah eikatva manupashytaha*

“He who sees all creatures in himself, himself in all creatures, does not show abhorrence to any one; knowing all beings to be ones own-self and seeing the unity of man-kind, how can there be for him delusions, sufferings and sorrows”.

4 *Battas' Kashmir and beyond*

Dwarka Nath Munshi

WHEN one turns it in the mind as to what is the world of today like, or where does the J&K stand or even more difficult, what is the position of Kashmir and more particularly of the tiny Kashmiri Pandit community, one's mind gets bewildering images and perspectives and more of the same with each deeper perception.

Talking of the Kashmiri Pandit—a 'Batta' in common parlance in Kashmir and easily recognised by that name—the community has suffered brutish treatment over the centuries. They have borne this repression and persecution and repeated fleeing from home and return with an extra-ordinary tenacity and an abiding love for the land, the culture and the spiritual tenets and attainments of its sublime philosophy.

Emotions such as these palpable and bear influence on the psyche of many evolved people and communities. But that is not all. Our sufferings, continuing from the past should be unforgettable lessons for looking into the future. In fact, the last decade and a half bears these lessons live and fearfully vivid which are etched in our mind and as much in what is recorded the world over.

As I look back a little further at our past of a half century, a dismal picture arises before me. We were then standing at a forked road pointing in two different directions. It was a difficult choice. Fortunately we took the correct direction, yet with some trepidation. Soon that was dissolved and we took it increasingly and willingly.

The first steps in leaving the past behind can understandably be heavy with nostalgia. That is now past history. In the past most of us didn't know what a magazine looked like as we didn't know much else. Yet like frogs in the well we celebrated our little dark world, loved it and wouldn't let go of it. Those few of us who did, opened their eyes on what looked to them as wonders. Luckily they had found in them what it takes to make these wonders work. Leaving the past far behind they gloried in the present and an increasingly promising future.

From behind them, the past was watching them with an admixture of admiration and a bit of avarice and jealousy. Altogether it was something to be proud of.

More than half a century ago, opportunity knocked at our doors. This time it was alarming. We were being edged out. The signs were circumstantial, sometimes, and subtle and clear at others. The perceiving amongst us recognised them well in time and set about to forestall them, and succeeded.

The defining moment:

Within just four decades, by 1990, the adversary had made much further preparations for a final, lethal frontal assault. That was the defining moment and it had left us just one option, to leave the field, our home, and escape for life and honour.

Leaving home for ever is no less painful than losing a near one. Yet 'time' the 'healer' can soothe the pain and even gradually bring back calm and happiness, getting away from the past and its challenge.

We, the Battas are in such a situation now. The vast majority are outside the Valley in relatively safe stations, albeit a big proportion of those who had to flee continue to be living out their misfortune in sub-human conditions in 'camps'. Yet one can take comfort in the fact that our progeny are fortunate to be part of a world of opportunities in our mother country India as well as the wide world where they don't have to face man-made discrimination at every step and the frustrations of being treated as second class unwanted ones.

But we cannot ever forget that there are still around 2000 families of KPs (Battas) scattered over the Valley who braved the barbarities and stayed back all these turmoil-filled years, now about 14 years, of facing the foe at great peril.

The Laughing Hyena

The recent past has deepened their feelings of loneliness surrounded by a palpable helplessness and the risk of calamities descending from anywhere all too suddenly. The most recent massacre at a large scale is that of Nadimarg where the terrorist wolves appeared from all sides inside the victims' homes, demanded food, had a fill of it and then, and there, slaughtered them indiscriminately, from kids to the old, women and men and then marched away non-challantly. That says it all about how safe we are there and how long.

The 'democratic' elections of half a year ago had brought a thaw and a breath of relief from such atrocities, with the State government-composed of the majority community in coalition with what is left of the Congress creed and elements in the state, assuring to do everything to usher in peace and governance of what they termed as 'the healing touch'. Ironically, however, the 'healing touch' has till now reached only those who had years of active participation in the militant camps and activities on their records. Those who have been the victims of it all, are waiting with fading hope for the 'touch' to reach them, however, feeble it be. With Nadimarg staring in the face, more and more families are treading away even when they are yet not decided on their destination. What has made this more sinister and a 'heating touch' rather than 'healing' are the usually daily official reports of unmasking of none less than the State's security functionaries themselves training, transporting and guiding the '*fidayeen*' in their mission of sabotage and slaying of the defenceless innocents.

The terrorists, the Taliban type fundamentalists have got so sunk into this swamp and are drunk so deep of this poison that they have even lost their capacity of discernment in that they have not spared even their co-religionists, Bakerwal, in the Jammu Rajouri area.

Seeking Safe Haven

In this sordid, inhuman scenario it is but natural that the minority Batta (Kashmiri Pandit) community has within it people who demand security and safety from the continuing calamitous situation in the form of 'Panun Kashmir' where peace and progress should reign supreme under the democratic, secular constitution of the mother country India.

This was recently put across in a well argued analysis by Dr. Chrangoo, President of Panun Kashmir Organisation to the Central government's current interlocutor in a meeting in Jammu.

The interesting point of the proposition is that, put another way, it is an eminently reasonable and irrefutable argument and assertion. The state of Jammu and Kashmir is so structured that it has consistently failed to reach the point of holding the scales even in respect of justice and equity and even the first charge of any state--that of guaranteeing the security and honour of its citizens. Obviously, thus, the plan contains a strong appeal to the Government of India and its people, unstated in words but pointedly focussed on the core purpose, that the State be brought in line, in spirit and letter, of the Constitution of India and its sublime promise.

That, indeed, would lift Kashmir to be truly called the 'heaven on earth' where beauty floats around and the spirit takes wings and flies in freedom and joy.

But, alas, Kashmir's problems are plagued by the seemingly irreconcilable Pak factor. And that factor itself is a web of Pakistan's internal and external pressures and political and military compulsions. These all exert a direct influence on its existence as a dictatorial or democratic system, its relations with the neighbour in particular and other countries of the region in general. That also explains its jumpy actions and reactions as dramatically exemplified in relation to India's initiatives of Lahore and Agra among others and Pakistan's reply at Kargil and so on.

In this scenario, one can only wait and watch to see what would be the fate of the US efforts (of course primarily in its own interests) currently going on, when India on its part is clearly showing how bold it is to go the extra mile to break the deadlock.

What has gone above provides the backdrop to what the Battas (Kashmiri Pandits) will be doing to build their future. The happy beginning is that we have not let our teardrops blur what is our main target and long-term goal; and no one walks backward to reach the future. Clearly, we generally didn't allow ourselves to be overwhelmed by our adversary; we rather overcame it in many ways. Yet our glory should be complete essentially when we would have survived the oppression and change and developed the potential to lead it to stunning success.

It is not an empty but exciting thought that we are not the children of abyss. We shall do what we have to do to achieve our own renaissance. We trust that what we will do will better our own condition and also contribute to the success of our nation's splendour. A time-tested axiom has it that those who pay their own fees score the highest. Now what we had to pay over the last decade and a half has taught us many lessons, to score well indeed. First, the adversary failed miserably to break our spirit and resolve. Secondly, its deep desire to destroy us physically, socially, intellectually, not to speak of our lofty faith and beliefs stood frustrated. What it succeeded in, however, was to break the chains that bound us to negative, fossilised ritualistic, traditions and practices. This set us free to walk in step with the progressive aspects of the modern world.

Batta Buoys (Universal)

How wonderful it looks today when we see our youth, girls and boys, enter with gleeful ease, any field of modern-day high technology, Corporate Management, scientific excellence, academic perfection, cultural and entertainment fields, in brief any challenging occupation under the skies and over the seas, and put their quality mark everywhere.

Today we see them wherever we go, or even our imagination and our thoughts travel. What they are doing is amazing beyond belief.

In a manner of speaking, the Batta Buoys (Brotherhood) or (the community) light up our lives with hope and pride and fill the world with their welcome presence. Let us then give them and unto ourselves a priceless memento, a Batta Buoys (Universal) organisation, a legacy for all time and all purposes, a sharing of undying love and remembrance.

5 *Are we a defeated people*

By Kuldeep Raina

THE inclusion of Central Asian Sayyids in Kashmir valley in 14th Century and the subsequent conversions under coercion created tumultuous social and political change in Kashmir valley. The native population became a conquered people. They lost everything that a community loses when it becomes a subject race. It lost its faith and tradition. Its life style underwent a tremendous change to conform to the requirements of new rulers and religious apparchicks. The magnificent and historical temples were raised to the ground. Our revered shrines became a thing of the past. It was a clear case of cultural and architectural genocide. Sacred books and the treatises on learning aesthetics, philosophy etc., were either consigned to flames or thrown into the Dal Lake. The survival of only eleven Pandit families in the face of continued religious and political persecution is a part of the race memory of my community.

This sustained genocide went on for nearly four hundred and fifty years. A century of Sikh and Dogra rule was too brief an interlude in which the community could shed off its acquired mind-set that was necessitated for sheer-survival.

In 1947 when the people of the sub-continent woke up to freedom, Kashmiri Pandits faced a dispensation which was no different from the medieval persecution. The new Muslim political leadership of Kashmir wanted to craft an irrendistist Muslim-subnationalism on the ruination of Kashmiri Pandits. It unleashed a twin phenomena of communalism and fundamentalism and changed the social milieu. This prepared the ground for gradual destabilisation of Kashmiri Pandits, culminating in the total ethnic cleansing by 1990. During the last 45 years the Kashmiri Pandit community suffered enormously and lived practically as second class citizens. Many of the members of the community who did manage to do well did so through shameless compromises which no self respecting community will ever accept.

Issac Shamoun, the noted Jewish anthropologist was provoked to remark, “this community is suppressed to the extent that its dignity as human beings is disfigured its personality debased; making the community its worst enemy. Only such a community deserves to be lifted upto the level of proud and dignified human beings.”

Are we a defeated people? A race that has been disinherited by the conquerers and disowned by the Indian establishment and the high preachers of Cultural Nationalism. The escapist attitude adopted by this community gets often reflected in its social behaviour.

A defeated community and a Vibrant Community will react to the situation of disinheritance in two different ways. A defeated mind-set has no sense of pride. The emergence of Panun Kashmir has all the trappings of a renaissance moment. It rejects the politics of subjugation. It contests the Kashmiri separatist ideology in all its manifestations. It made the issue of ethnic-cleansing of the community a live political issue and rejected the contention that ethnic cleansing of the community a fait accompli. Panun Kashmir also challenges the national vision on Kashmir. It does not spare even the ideologues of “Hindutva” on their consistency and double speak. The fundamental contribution of Panun Kashmir however remains in that it gives a new hope of survival to the community in its historical habitat.

A moment that was treated as a pariah in early nineties, Panun Kashmir has emerged as a central pillar of alternate politics in Kashmir. It has created serious compulsions for the national leadership, Kashmir political leadership and the global public opinion for engaging Panun Kashmir and not by-passing it. There is a Pandit question today because there is a Panun Kashmir moment. It is true that the Muslim leadership of Kashmir has not entered into a serious dialogue with Pandit community but it does not mean it under estimates the importance of Pandit question. Its present strategy is to make the Pandit question a non event by manipulating the national opinion. It is a challenge before Panun Kashmir to see that the ethnic-cleansing issue caused by secular and fundamentalist distortions in Kashmir remains constantly on the radar screen of the Indian politics. It shall be our endeavour to keep the Kashmir Muslim political leadership permanently accountable on the issues of communalism, Islamisation and minority bashing. There can be no secularism in India if there is no secularism in Kashmir. We shall never give sanction to

a tokenist return with infringed rights. A return would mean return only when the entire Pandit community is resettled in its Homeland with fully restored rights.

Our fourteen years struggle has not been in vain. Thousands of our boys and girls have benefited by the educational concessions offered by the Maharashtra government. Hundreds of our youth were recruited by the Delhi government as teachers. The impact of our struggle is reflected in other spheres as well. Where we have failed is not the failure of the leadership. It is the failure of the community, both at subaltern level as at elite level. The leaderships plays its role as the vanguard. It demonstrated that despite all odds it had a will and vision to struggle. A great leader once said, if leader takes one step the people must take two steps. The failings in our struggle are the failings of the people who have not supplemented the leadership.

The Jewish and the Palestinian moments would never have attained a status that they have gained had their people played a half hearted role. Freud in his writings describes a phenomenon which he calls anti hero attitude. He explains it as the situation when a beleaguered community unable to counter its oppressor wants to find a scape goat for its failings. It finds an easy way out in attributing all its failings and helplessness to the community leadership. By developing this 'anti-hero' attitude, the community with a defeated psyche creates a psychological situation where it is at peace with dispossession and all the humiliations heaped on it and at the same time absolves itself of its failure to generate a strong resistance.

The role of our intellectuals, both traditional and organic has been, to say the least, the most disappointing. Why the role of our doctors, lawyers, teachers etc in mitigating the rigors of genocide and contributing in full measure in building a powerful resistance moment does not come under scrutiny. In what way have these people contributed during the last fourteen years. In fact, the community has helped these professional groups tremendously. What have they given to the community in return? Why are there constant attempts to whitewash the positive gains of the last fourteen years?

Resistance moments are not dinner parties, where issues are settled in one sitting. The resistance movements of the exiled communities are waged over decades and the positive benefits of the struggle come gradually. There are no defeated communities. There is only a defeated psyche. It is this psyche which the members of my community and intelligentsia are trying to internalise. A valiant exiled community does not believe in Vayih-Vayih culture (we are finished-we are finished!) and escapism. The situation of exile creates a new man out of a refugee who never forgets the pain of being exiled. Yahudi Amchai, Edward Said, Mehmood Darwesh are what they are because they never accepted ethnic-cleansing as the fait accompli.

A community which takes exile with sensitivity has to as a rule reject its own history-the history of compromise, the history of defeated psyche and subject everything to scrutiny with full transparency. Do we have will and vision to investigate the large scale family breakups? Do we understand our own failings because of incomprehension and betrayal etc? Why have we failed in creating a strong deterrent to make the members of the community more responsible, to delegitimise the mushroom outfits and check the erring behaviour of a section of community leadership. A serious introspection will lead to a new Pandit whose literature in exile would be comparable to that of the great masters of Jewish and Palestinian literature and whose struggle will play a critical role in removing all the obstacles for the recovery of Homeland. It does not behove an-exiled community to portray the ethnic cleansing processes as syncretic movements.

6 Beginnings of Kashmiri language and literature-II

By Dr. S.S. Toshkhani

Lal Ded was followed by Sheikh Nur-ud-Din (1376-1438), popularly known as Nunda Rishi, as the most significant representative of the creative upsurge that was taking place in Kashmir in the 14th century. Revered greatly by Kashmiris for founding the Muslim Rishiorder, the saint poet left a tremendous impact on the religious and cultural life of Kashmir. The transformation of the Vedic Rishi into Islamic Rishi is regarded as a very significant event in Kashmir's spiritual history. Sheikh Nur-ud-Din's disciples believed in preaching through personal precept, laying stress on the need for inner discipline and purity of conduct and a balance between spiritual and material life. Self-abnegation, abstention from worldly pleasures, contentment, penance, vegetarianism and frugal eating habits, belief in oneness of existence and human brotherhood were some of the characteristic features of this new cult. This made Dawood Mishqati to say that the Rishis "followed the practices of the Brahmans and the Buddhists".

It is not without significance therefore that Nand Rishi's verses are known as "shruks" or "shlokas". Generally "didactic in content and exhortative in tone", these verses reminded one again and again of the transitoriness of life and insubstantiality of worldly pleasures, stressing the need for a total surrender before God's will and seeking His grace.

Sheikh Nur-ud-Din does not forget to acknowledge the debt of gratitude for Lal Ded, his senior contemporary who is said to have deeply influenced him. In fact there are many verses of Lal Ded which have been attributed to the Sheikh. This has created confusion about the authorship of as many as 35 verses which are found in the works of both. The main reason for this is that there is no critical text of Sheikh Nur-ud-Din's verses. The Nurnamas and Rishinamas in which they were recorded were compiled nearly two hundred years after him with numerous interpolations and insertions. Though structurally there is not much difference between the 'vaks' of the Lal Ded and the 'Shruks' of Nunda Rishi, the two are considerably different in style and content making it not much too difficult to distinguish between them. Here are two much much quoted and illustrative verses of the Sheikh:

Kuniray bozakh kuni no rozakh

Ami Kuniran Kotah dyut jalav

Aqal ta fiqir tor kot sozakh

Kami mati chyath hyok su dariyav

(Know the one, and you will cease to be

The one whose radiance pervades all around

Reason and wisdom will never take you there

There is no one who can quell that perennial flow.

—Trs. Shafi Shauq)

Kivaly kor nerakh panthani

Travith shury-mury to gih-bar

Yim kas bar Ladakh papani

Bar khvadaya pap nivar

(To what destinations art thou wending thy lonely way?

Renouncing hearth, home and family?

Whom wilt thou encumber with thy load of sins?

Great God absolve from my sins

Great God absolve me from my sins.

—Trs. Prof. B.N. Parimoo)

A number of Sheikh Nur-ud-Din 'Shruks' have refrains with one verse running into another. Some of them have the form of the 'vatsun' short lyric also. However, it would be wrong to say that the 'shruk' is modelled after the quantitative 'bahar' of Persian". The Sheikh was virtually illiterate and so he could not have been able to read or understand any Persian poetry. As far as language is concerned, we find that the Sheikh's vocabulary is predominantly of Sanskrit origin retaining some of the most archaic words despite all the interpolations and additions made from time to time which is illustrated by the occurrence of the such words in his verses :

'Kival' (< 'keval', 'panthani' (< 'panthan'), 'gih-bar (< 'griha'+ 'bhara'), 'pap', 'nivar' (< nivarana), 'niz' (< 'nija'), 'subhav' (< svabhava), 'ambi' (< 'amba'), 'vodari' (< 'udare'), 'gambir' (< 'gambhirah'), 'prakrath' (< 'prakriti'), 'das', 'dulut' (< 'duhita'), 'samsar-', 'ann', 'van', 'krey' (< kriya), 'vinat', (< 'vinati'), 'antah' ('antah'), 'laz' (< 'lajja'), 'svargas' (< 'svarga'), kosam (< 'kusuma'), 'tap', 'ahar', 'bavasende' (< 'bhavasinduh'), 'sondari' (< 'sundari'), 'yavan' (< 'yauvana'), 'shunitav' (< 'shrunu'=hear), 'velu' (< veta), 'hahakar', 'padan' (< 'pada'), 'lubh' ('lobhah'), 'krudh' (< 'krodah'), 'khag', 'duji' ('dvija'=twice-born bird), 'sahaj' (< 'sahaja), 'kartavi (< kartavya'=duty), 'Shunyakar' (< shunyah+akarah), 'shit', 'vishve', 'amrit', 'guru', 'avtar', 'diva' (< devah), 'gyan', 'varzit (< 'varjit'), akash', 'bhakti', 'karan', 'tran', 'nirgun', 'kaitas', 'disha', 'sakalan' (< 'sakalena'), 'vish-as' (< 'visha'), 'hetu', 'kval' (< kula), 'asur', 'vahanta' (< 'abhyantara'), 'ang', 'shish', 'muh' (< 'moha') 'ahankar', 'shubh', 'vopakar' (< upakara), 'nayan', 'svazan' (< 'sujanah'), 'min' (=fish), 'vopas' (< 'upavasa'), 'tranan' (< 'trina'), 'lavan', 'sadbhav', 'turag' and so on.

The 'vaaks' of Lal Ded and 'shruks' of Nund Rishi had a direct appeal because they were composed in what can be called the ordinary speech of the people. Yet the form in which they have come down to us is not reflective of the actual linguistic situation prevailing in, their age their language being not much different from the Kashmir, that is spoken today but for the archaicisms, as pointed out earlier. However, their 'temper and tone is so characteristically Kashmiri that, have moved and enthralled generations of Kashmiris, catering to both their spiritual and literary needs. That their language is relatively modern can be seen only when we place them alongside works of a later age, like the 'Banasur Katha' and 'Sukh Dukha Charit'. Both these extant works, retrieved by Buhler, were penned down at definite points of time in the 15th century and both therefore, present the actual picture of literary expression in Kashmiri in that age.

Shrivara, Sanskrit scholar and chronicler who wrote the Jaina Rajatarangini in Kalhana's tradition, has mentioned the names of several other Kashmiri works written during Zain-ul-Abdin's reign (1420-1470)-- "Zaina Prakash" by Yodh Bhatt, "Zaina Charit" by Nottha Soma and 'Zaina Vilas' by Bhattavata or Avtara Bhatt-but none of these has survived. What needs to be noted, however is that in keeping with the tradition in Prakrit and Apabhramsha, panegyric works in Kashmiri too were given titles like 'Charit', 'Prakash' and 'Vilas' .

'Banasur Katha is a long narrative poem of haunting beauty written by Avtar Bhatt or Bhattavtar of Lar in 1446 A.D. Based on the story of Usha and Aniruddha as given in the Harivansha Purana, it abounds in depictions of love and war. The lilting cadences and soft music of its verses and the supersensuous images of Usha's beauty make it a masterpiece of early Kashmiri literature. Avtar Bhatt seems to have been a poet who revelled in presenting the physiology and psychology of erotic love in a manner suggesting that he had cultivated some of the graces of classical Sanskrit poetry. As a poet whose sense of beauty matches that a poets like Vidyapati and Jayadeva, Avavtar Bhatt is at his best when he is describing physical charms of the heroine, Usha, as in those melliflous lines :

*Sa Usha amar nependas dullabh
Varkamin vadana zan shashi pabh
Lat zan kshavun pike -
Pushbhar gan ada niret kshane ake
(v.60)*

[The same extremely attractive, 'lady, Usha was very charming and difficult for even the king to obtain. Her face was radiant like the moon. Enjoying that flowering creeper like a cuckoo-bird, he (Pradyumna) went away in a moment]

While the poet excels in describing feminine beauty and various shades the erotic sentiment, he displays equal poetic brilliance in depicting the valour and courage shown by at men in trying circumstances as in this image of Aniruddha preferring to fight unarmed than hiding his face in the tresses of the beautiful usha:

Dhik-dhik myanes Yadav jammās

Vanati atśā majj kachān

Yudh kara namet svakamnas

Uśhe atha-chhon in than

[Shame upon my Yadav birth' O lady, shall i hide behind your tresses or shall I fight here, even though I am bare-handed]

Apart from the narrative charm of the work that shows poet Avtar Bhatt as a consummate and conscious artist employing his verbal skills with great effect, we find him making sensitive use of the short lyric to depict the mental states of the characters. Coming at dramatic turns in the narrative, the lyrics that punctuate the descriptive passages in Banasur Katha reflect the poet's ingenuity as well as his subtle sense of accoustic values. Enthralling pieces like "Piya ma gatsh marnay" (Love do not go there, for they will kill you) and "Kar iya so piy mye nikato" (when will my love come to me?) can be seen as the earliest specimens of the Kashmiri short lyric form, the "Vatsun", beautifully expressing tender feelings of love and longing. The present writer was pleasantly surprised when he came across the word "piya" in these lyrics, but then Sheikh Nur-ud-Din has also used it--"Ada kavay piy praznavnay" (How will your lovers recognize you then?).

Another important aspect of Banasur Katha as a poetic work is its metrical system. The poet has employed well known Sanskrit syllabic metres like Matim, Mandakranta, Sragahara, Narkataka, Shardulvikriditam, Mattamayuri, Tanumadhya, Vaitali, Pushpitagra, Vasantatilakam, Drutavilambit, panchapaja, shatpada, etc. and also what appear to be some original Kashmiri metres based on Sanskrit the metrical pattern like Thaddo, Phuro, Dukatika, Kadokdya etc. Later, we find the author of "Sukha-Dukha Charit" also using the similar metres. Obviously the tradition of using such metres in Kashmiri poetry have been long and popular one. This should be enough to blast Grierson's view that Kashmiri prosody is basically Iranian in character.

But it is from the linguistic poet of view that a study of "Banasur Katha" is most rewarding. Together with the "Sukha-Dukha-Charit", it sheds significant light on the medieval development of Kashmiri, being an actual record of the language as it was used for literary expression in the 15th century. This also help us trace earlier forms of a number of Kashmiri works which are in use today. For instance, various forms of the Kashmiri auxiliary verb 'chhu' occur in it as ksho, kshi, kshem, kshiyiy, suggesting that these have evolved from the Sanskrit root 'kshi', which means 'to be similarly, 'Dittho' (modern Kashmiri 'dywith' <Skt. drishtwa and 'ditto' (mod. ksh. 'dyut') <skt dattah meaning having given' are among some of the intermediary forms that one finds in Banasur Katha.

The language of Banasur Katha is predominantly Sanskritic, with hardly two or three words of Persion, although 'Persian' had by then become the court language in Kashmir. There is also quite a large number of such words in its whose eitymotogyas not clear. There is also another category of words in which the etymology does not pose much of a problem, but which have become totally obsolte, as for instance 'yakhet' (like', as, 'just as', 'as it'), 'takhet' (like that, 'thus', 'so'), 'kakhet' (how', 'like what' 'in what manner'), 'jave' ('quickly', 'speedily') etc. The use of several synonymous words to denote the same meaning is one of the main linguistic tendencies, found in Banasur katha. For instance to convey the sense of 'he says', a host of words like 'vadis', 'nigadis', 'dappi', 'vachi', 'giri' have been used.

A linguistic feature of greater interest is the use of rural Kashmiri dialect here and there by Avtar Bhatta. Thus we have words like 'kod' ('where'), 'prad' ('wait'-imperative), 'khadet' ('having seated'), 'dapavan' ('saying') in Banasur Katha, which have added a sweet rustic flavour to its language. More importantly, Banasur Katha, shares most of the phonological and morphological features of Mahanaya Prakash as well as the "Sukha-Dukha Charit". These works document the transition of Kashmiri from its medieval Prakrit—Apabhramsha form a modern Indo Aryan language. Before we make a mention of some of these changes, it would be good to say a few words about the "Sukha-Dukha Charit".

Written by Ganak Prashast during the reign of Sultan Hassan Shah (1475-1487), Zain-ud-Abidin's grandron" the "Sukha-Dukha Moha-Maya Jal Charitam" or the "Sukha-Dukha Charit" as it has been notified in its abbreviated form by Buhler, who obtained it from Bikaner alongwith 'Banasur Katha', is important only its linguistic value. Written in the form of an "advice" to a "friend" it is a work divided into four parts dealing with subjects like jyotishya or astrology, 'garud' or tretament of snake-poison, 'Vaidak' or treatment of common diseases and 'Kam Shastra' or the art of sexual love. The 'friend' is advised by the author about how to lead ones life while keeping in view the transient nature of the world and the vanity of its pleasures. To call the work poetry is to stretch the definition of the term to its furthest limit. The author, however, does show occasional flashes of imagination and a sense of music, the outward structure of his work being that of a narrative poem. He frequently indulges in verbal artistry, embellishing his lines with devices like aliteration, pun and other figures of speech.

The 'Sukha-Dukha-Charit' is composed of the same Sanskrit and Kashmiri syllabic metres we find in "Banasur Katha"--and that is the last we see of them. We also come across "dwiphuro", or double "phuro"-a metre Avtar Bhatt has not used. The language, as we have already pointed out, shares most of the features of that has been used in 'Banasur Katha' and Mahanaya Prakash', a chain of linguistic continuity passing through all the three. Its vocabulary gives us an idea of the kind of Kashmiri spoken in the last decades of the 15th century, containing words for some articles of daily use, common medicines and parts of the body which continue to be ued today with slight changes. Let us note a few examples :

1. *Kshe shastra gane kate komo bujji*

Vaidak garud jyotish buddh

Sar-sar gahenas pazzi

Hans yakhet jalo majja dudth

[The Shastras are very profound, who can explain them-

The science of medicine, treatment of snake poison, astrology

We should try to grasp their essence

As the swan separates the milk from water]

2. *Him zantape vigtos pape kukarma chilla*

[Remembering my bad deeds and sins, I melted down as snow melts in the heat of the sun]

It is important to note that phonological changes in "Mahanaya Prakasha", "Banasur Katha" and Sukha-Dukha Charit take place much in the same way as they do in later Middle. Indo-Aryan dialects. While the language of Mahanaya Prakasha is comparatively older, "Banasur Katha" and "Sukha-Dukha Charit" show Kashmiri emerging as a modern Indo-Aryan language through the intermediary stages of Prakrit and Apabhramsha. It will not be possible here to discuss their morphological or phonological features in detail, but some broad outline of their common characteristics can be indicated.

For instance, in nominative singular feminine forms a > a (Usha > Usha, bala > bal, mata > mat, puja > puj, duhita > dahit), i > a (rashmi > rashm, buddhi > buddh, agni > agna, shakti > shatta; i > i (Saraswati ? Sarswat, ramani > raman, gauri > gaur. Likewise in Nom. Masa. Sing., medial a > u as in modern Kashmiri (Mod. Ksh.):> balak > baluk, rakshak > rakshuk/rakhuk, Narada ? Narud, anala > anul, i > a:narapati > narpat, dinapati ? dinapat, rishi, risha (e.f. Mod. ksh. ganapati ? ganapat, ravilh > rav). In all the three works we have examples of elision of initial 'a' and ri) > a, i, u, though at several places it

survives. Elision of 'ch', t, d, p and introduction of the glide 'y' or 'v', elision of 'r' and the doubling of the following consonant, -th>-d,-m>-v,-pt>t, ntm>mmdy>jj,dhy>jj are other common phonological features.

So far as morphological features are concerned Accusative/Dativ Mash. Sing forms are made by adding '-s' or '-as' (Skt. -asya, Pali-assa): jantus, Parama Shivas, Banas, nipas, janas, nishibuddhas, hamsas, kumbhas, hridayas, charanas, samsaras etc. Feminin singular forms have been formed by adding the suffixes '-n' or '-yi' : devi, pithi, bali, vissi, ushi, anuradhi, vaggi etc. Acc/Dat. Masc. and Fem. plural forms have been made by adding the suffixes '-n', '-an' and '-an' : tattva-ganan, panchan, padakamlan, deva-daitan, nayanan, vananitan, virvaran, shishyan, kamalan, ratsun, rashun etc. The instrumental masculine singular is marked by '-e' (paramathe, nathe, kumbhande, kishne, chature, anande etc! the feminine forms are formed by adding '-i' to the stem (suti, bali, chitra lekhi, dayi, kuvalayanyani, giritanayi - cf. Mod. ksh. ashi'_. The locative singular is formed by adding the suffix '-i' or 'e' as in modern Kashmiri. The Ablative Masc. Sing forms take the suffix 'a' (< skt. '-at' : spanda, chandra, bhaya, nala, kamala, '-akasha' At certain places the suffixes '-u' and '-u' have also been used nabhu, nayanu, guhu, dishavu, dishu etc. which is nearer to the Mod. Ksh. form. The past, participle '-et' < Skt. -itva is an earlier form of Mod. Kash. '-ith' '-e' an '-i' being interchangeable in Kashmiri (bhakshet, takshet, bhavet, gahet vandict, shunet, karet, gahet, manget, thavet, chhonet, jalet, puret pehet etc), the present perfect is formed by the participles and, '-ani' '-an', which are all derived from Sanskrit '-anti' (karan, phiran, pratshan, dharan, vyapan, ativan, avtarand, pishand, karand, natsand, pathand).

There is a lot of similarity in the three works in pronominal and verbal forms too. However, one thing can be discerned clearly, the language of 'Mahanaya Prakasha' is comparably of an earlier age, while 'Banasar Katha' and "Sukha-Dukha Charit" record the earlier form of Kashmiri as Indo-Aryan Language. Together, the three document the medieval development of Kashmiri in its successive stages.

References :

1. Banasurkartha, Ph.D. Dissertation, S.S. Toshkhani (Hindi) 1975.
2. Kashmiri Sahitya Ka Itihas, Dr. S.S. Toshkhani, 1985
3. Banasar Katha, Manuscript, Bhandarkar Oriental Reserach Institute, Pune.
4. Sukha-Dukha Moha-Maya Jal Charitam, MSS, BORI, Pune
5. George Buhler. Tour in search of Sanskrit Manuscripts Made in Kashmir, Raiputuna and Central India, Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay, 1877
6. The Antiquities of Kahmiri-An approach Dr Siddheshwar Verma
7. Some Important Aspects of Kashmiri as Language, Prof S.K. Toshkhani.
8. Jammu Kashmir and Ladakh-A Linguistic Predisement, Har Anand and Co.
9. Shri Mahanaya Prakasha, Rajanaka Shitikantha, Research Department, Sringar, Kashmir.
10. Historical Grammar of Apabhramsha, G.V. Tagare Motilal Bonarasi Das, Delhi, 1987.
11. A comparative Grammer of Modern Languages of India, Jhon Beames.
12. The Structure and Development of Middle Indo-Aryan Dialects, Vit Bubenik, Moti Lal Banarsi Das, 1996.

7 Cross border terrorism

A fit case for retaliation under international law

By: R. Kaul*

Cross border terrorism has many a times in past given rise to retaliation by the country affected. Since its creation Pakistan has always adopted duality in approach on the Kashmir question. In October 1947 the Pakistan regular army personal were given the name as Kabailis and forced to intrude inside the Kashmir along with other hill /tribal people. These Pakistani army regulars proceeded and plundered wherever they reached and to which they laid their hand. Again in 1965 the intrusion in the valley was under the guise of Mujahideen, in fact the regular army personal of Pakistan Armed Forces. This was an undeclared act of aggression short of war, which finally culminated into war (referred to as *CONFLICT* in strict legal sense). The border intrusions wherever effected in world coupled with the commission of unlawful acts on the soil of other country have in past resulted in retaliations and as consequences thereafter aggressions wars and/or settlements.

CASUALTIES DUE TO TERRORISM SINCE 1990

Keeping India in mind, period earlier to 1998 witnessed 514 infiltration attempts both along the line of control and along the international border in Jammu areas. However, after 1998, Cross border activities shot up to 1943 in year 1999, 1043 in 2000 and 1136 in 2001. As per one estimate since 1990 there have been over 55,550 incidents of terrorist violence on Indian side of Kashmir in which about 40,000 people lost their lives. About 45000 weapons were recovered by the police and security forces, which include 24,000 AK series of assault riffles with 31,100 magazines, 9500 pistols about 1000 universal machine guns and several other kinds of weapons. The RDX and other explosives recovered weigh approximately over 60 tones and number of mines and grenades comprise about 60,000. The security forces said to have lost their lives due to cross border terrorism comprises of over 3500 while injured among them are estimated to be over 5000. This trend is still continuing reminding one about attack on Indian Parliament, JK Assembly, besides, resulting in sangrampora, chattisingpora, Rajendra Nagar, Kaluchak, Nandi-Marg massacres and like attacks including that on radio Kashmir Srinager, Aksardam etc sponsored by cross border terrorism. More than five Lac people have become Refugees in their own country. Comparing to wars / conflicts earlier, the figures assume importance in their number, manner and modus operandi on the part of India's neighbour in conniving /conspiring and performing acts to make India to bleed. But despite this, from our side there exists no sign of retaliation / intervention at least in self-defense as permitted under international law. The patience of Indian nation is on test.

TERRORIST CAMPS INSIDE POK & PAKISTAN

It is established that the terrorists are trained across the border. Pakistan as quoted from different sources including Kashmir Sentinel is said to have established such training camps since 1987 at least at more than 70 places inside Pak occupied Kashmir and Pakistan. The training camps include two for women at Garhidupatta and Chakmugam, besides, one camp at Murree especially for imparting training to Afghans in Kashmiri language and topography of the Valley. Pakistan ISI has created /funded Religion-terrorist groups under different names .The men, material including weapons seized by security forces inside Kashmir bear the evidence of Pakistan involvement in cross border terrorism. The Pakistan is openly admitting but twisting the issue by defining terrorists as freedom fighters. The fact of Pakistan's admission and reaction from international community can be borne out from the statements made during SARC meet at Kuala-Lumpur. Recently statement of US secretary of state Collin Powell in the press to the extent that Pakistan shall end cross border terrorism is of importance. Similar statements have also come from the heads of other countries including those of Britain, France, Russia etc.

STATE DUTIES / TERRORISM UNDER INTERNATIONAL Law's

International law imposes obligation on Nations in International sphere and also permits Pre - emotive and / or actions in self-defense and also Intervention to meet breach of duties on part of state especially giving rise to terrorism. It is gathered that the then League of Nations affirmed two Duties on every state, namely: -

*Neither to encourage nor to tolerate on its territory any terrorist activity with a political purpose.

*To do all in its power to prevent and repress terrorist acts of a political character and for this purpose to lend its assistance to governments, which request it.

The aforesaid affirmation vis-a-vis to referred duties emerged while settling the dispute regarding assassination at Marseilles by certain terrorists of Yugoslav monarch - King Alexander. Arising out of this dispute, the League in 1937 promoted the conclusion in a convention for the repression of International Terrorism. International law otherwise also imposes numerous obligations upon member states inter-alias:

- I. the duty not to perform acts of sovereignty on the territory of another state;
- II. the duty to abstain and prevent agents and subjects from committing acts constituting a violation of another states independence or territorial supremacy ;
- III. the duty not to intervene in the affairs of another state .

Further the said political terrorist activities directed against foreign states are prohibited as expressed in article 4 of the Draft declaration on the rights and duties of states prepared by international law commission in 1949 .In wider and more general terms adopted by general assembly in 1970. Further in February 1971, the duties on states were affirmed in article 8 of the convention to prevent and punish acts of terrorism. This was also approved by the general assembly of the organization of American states and in section VI of the Helsinki declaration adopted on 1st August 1975 by 30 European states, the Holy Sea, the United states, and Canada. The declaring states pledged themselves to refrain from direct or indirect assistance to terrorist activities.

The subject regarding measures to prevent international terrorism came before the United Nations General Assembly in December 1972, when the assembly established an Ad Hoc 35 member committee on terrorism. This committee considered various drafts and proposals. The subject has since come before the general assembly which in December 1985 condemned as criminal all acts, methods and practices of terrorism. Similarly the council of Europe opened for signature in January 1977 a European convention on the suppression of terrorism and in January 1982 the council of ministers adopted a recommendation concerning International co - operation in the prosecution and punishment of terrorism.

REMEDIES

From the aforesaid it has been placed on record as to how terrorism is making us to bleed as nation resulting in death of innocents and destruction of properties both public & private. The fact also remains as to how a Pakistani state is not adhering to obligations imposed by law inter-alias referred herein before. If that were the case, then why such a state can not be named as Rouge State an idea already propounded and action permissible is not taken. Entire world knows about evidences of Pakistan's involvement in cross border terrorism but remedies to prevent the same are suggestive of dialogue. India attempted that many a times and even at present the Prime Minister has shown his inclination towards that in his public speech at Srinager and also for restoring the relations while addressing in parliament. Can Pakistan be trusted in sincerely adopting peaceful means for resolving the issues? Keeping the track record of that country into consideration since 1947 on this aspect there exists nothing but the doubt. Therefore it is imperative on India to think beyond for contingency. Towards that and to prevent Cross Border terrorism shall our action be:

- I. *PRE -EMPTIVE* i.e. anticipatory self-defense as suggested at one time by India's foreign minister and the like one launched by Israel in 1967 upon its Arab neighbors. (It is of importance that the United

Nations in its debates in the summer of 1967 apportioned no blame for the outbreak of fighting and did not condemn Israel) OR

II. Action in *SELF-DEFENCE* as also recognized under International Law OR

III. Dialogue as peaceful means for settlement of issues and / or in settling at least the dates for future deliberations.

In relation to cross border terrorism adopted by Pakistan and keeping entire scenario in view, the *PRE-EMPTIVE* stage has already gone. Dialogue is at dead lock. Pakistan is privy to terrorism and its ISI, other organizations born and brought on its soil are instrumental in providing sustenance to all the refereed prohibited activities resulting in cross border terrorism. India's neighbor Pakistan has failed to adhere and / or give due respect to international obligations as imposed by Law / conventions on the sovereign states. Is the dialogue conducive or is it for general consumption or otherwise to address international compulsions. Can the dialogue and Cross Border terrorism go together? One has doubt. Therefore it appears that the Indian Nation is left with its right to exercise actions in *SELF DEFENCE* as International law like Municipal law permits it and / or adopt other coercive recognized means. This right of self-defense has its origin in customary international law especially in Caroline case related to an incident of 1837 in which British subjects seized a vessel in an American port. Later this customary self-defense got its recognition in article 51 of the Charter and when read with article 2 (4) it specifies the scope and limitations of the Right of self-defense. . Added to it, the International Court of Justice in the Nicaragua case has clearly established that the right of self-defense exists as an inherent right under customary International law as well as under U N Charter. It was held that:

Article 51 of the Charter is only meaningful on the basis that there is a "natural" or "inherent" right of self- defense and it is hard to see how this can be other than of a customary nature, even if its present content has been confirmed and influenced by the Charter ——. It cannot, therefore be held that article 51 is a provision which "subsumes and supervenes" customary International law.

The international Court of Justice also discussed the notion of an *ARMED ATTACK*. The court noted that armed attacks not only mean the action by regular armed forces but also include the dispatch of armed bands or groups for carrying out unlawful armed acts across the border. The unlawful armed acts may be of such gravity that they amount to an actual armed attack conducted by regular armed forces or its substantial involvement therein. Besides providing logistical, other support and / or provision of weapons even to subject /rebels of other state could constitute a threat or use of force, or amount to intervention in the internal or external affairs of the state. Thus there exists every justification for an action in self-defense for limited purpose of destroying camps across the border, the terrorist hideouts, and the terrorists and for other related corresponding actions. At the same, action in self-defense if attempted even for limited purposes, then we must be prepared for reprisals, conflict or war as the case may be depending upon Pakistan's psyche at that time. This is the price we need to pay to end cross border terrorism and /or proxy war to preserve our future generations and facilitate for their peaceful future. Let the Indian Nation arise, awake and stop not till the menace of this dreaded crime against humanity under the guise of cross border terrorism is eradicated.

*Writer is Law Officer & Research Scholar in Law.

8 Pandits denied migrant status

KS Correspondent

Ambala

It sounds surprising but it is true that some Kashmiri Pandits who look refuge in neighbouring state of Haryana after their mass exodus in 1990 and afterwards are without any registration and not to speak of any relief. The callousness of the governments is visible from the fact that Jammu and Kashmir government has not replied the query about the status of these migrants sought by the Haryana state government despite number of reminders and the Haryana government has refused to register these hapless Pandits in absence of the definition of the status by the Jammu and Kashmir government though verification formalities have been completed since long. Frustrated by the total indifference and lack of sensitivity towards the genuine problems of these Pandits by the governments of their native state, Jammu and Kashmir and the Haryana government, the migrant families at Ambala are to start a hunger strike from July 16, 2003.

The question of registering the Pandits living as migrants was put up by the state unit of Panun Kashmir Ambala with the Haryana government and the list of about 100 families putting up in and around Ambala was furnished to the state government for registration purposes. The Haryana government wrote to Jammu and Kashmir government vide letter number 27/32/92 requesting J&K government to convey their comments in connection with status of J&K migrant staying in the Haryana state. The letter also referred to the list provided by Sh. J.L. Koul, Secretary Panun Kashmir, Ambala who deserved registration and subsequent relief. But the J&K State government did not bother to reply the letter though a number of reminders were sent to the commissioner/secretary to Government of Jammu and Kashmir, General Administration Depart on 13/9/2000, 27/9/2000, 19/11/2001, 8/1/2002, 24/9/2002, 18/11/2002, 27/12/2002, 17/1/2003, 17/3/2003. "We had heard of the bias of Jammu and Kashmir towards the Kashmiri Pandits. But, it is height that the government has refused to respond to Haryana government despite so many reminders. The approach not only betrays the Jammu and Kashmir government's callousness towards migrants but also the administrative unaccountability", said J.L. Koul, the state secretary of Panun Kashmir. He said that though the Haryana government got verification of migrants residing at Ambala conducted by the Police department, still refuses to issue any identity cards to these exiled people in absence of clarification by the J&K government.

The absence of registration has jeopardized the career of children of these Kashmiri Pandits. "Our children can not take benefit of reservation policy for migrants in academic and professional colleges including in Maharashtra government. As we have no documents to substantiate our migrant status and even we can not get state-subject certification," said one another Pandit. The PK unit put up the matter with Relief Commissioner Jammu but he informed them that he is authorised to issue state-subject certificates to only those who are registered migrants.

After failing to get any positive response from Haryana government, these Pandits knocked the doors of Central government. In a recent application addressed to Director K-2, Kashmir Affairs, Ministry of Home Affairs of Indian government, these Pandits sought intervention of Central government in this regard." It may be stated that this organisation (PK) has been moving from earth to heaven for grant of relief, registration and issue of identity cards to Kashmiri migrants living in different districts of Haryana. The total number of such migrants is about 1000 families. In some districts even the police verification has already been carried out and report, there of, sent to concerned quarters...You are, therefore requested to very kindly look into the matter personally and necessary ordered may kindly be issued for grant of relief, registration and identity cards to Kashmiri migrants". This was stated in the application. The application described denial of extension of relief and registration facilities to Pandits residing on Haryana state as discriminatory and against the spirit of Indian Constitution as same facilities have been extended to Kashmiri migrants at Delhi, Chandigarh, Amritsar, Gwalior etc. Responding to the request, Director (KII), Government of India, Ministry Home Affair (J&K Division) asked Chief Secretary

Haryana to take immediate action in the matter with an intimation to Union government. The letter was sent to Haryana government in the month of May, but the action was awaited till date.

When Joint Secretary (Home) Haryana government was approached by a correspondent of a Hindi newspaper, he admitted about receipt of the list of Pandits living in Ambala and added that Deputy Commissioners of other districts have been asked to furnish the lists. He, however, expressed helplessness of registering any of migrants till the clarification from Jammu and Kashmir government. He said that any relief facility will be extended to these families only after they are duly registered.

Fed up with the official apathy at the level of Haryana and J&K governments, Panun Kashmir state secretary J.L. Koul threatened to launch chain hunger strike if the Haryana and J&K governments failed to full their genuine demands. He questioned the initiation of status verification by the Haryana government as the police verification has already been completed and described it a mere delay tactics. Mr Koul said that 'we want extension of relief facilities to only those families who have migrated to the state after 1990 and not those who were settled in the state before 1990.

9 Jammu and Kashmir

Is There A Solution?

The presentation was made in the Fifty Ninth Session on UNHRC held in Geneva from 17th March-24th April 2003

Presented by : Mr. Paul Beersmans, Associate Director of 'International Movement for Fraternal Union among Races and Peoples' and President of the Belgian Association for Solidarity with Jammu and Kashmir

'Recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world'. General Assembly of the United Nations came to this conclusion in 1948 by adopting and proclaiming the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. However, the realisation depends on national action, on international co-operation and on the existence of an environment of peace and stability.

The world has become a global village and in many parts of this global village environment of peace and stability doesn't exist and this leads to violation of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms.

This is, for example, also the case in Jammu and Kashmir where, since the end of 1989, a spiral of violence erupted resulting in endless suffering of the Kashmiris. Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms of the Kashmiris are violated by both foreign jihadi fighters, or holy warriors, with the constant support from across the border and by the Government.

What could be considered as a normal striving for more autonomy or even for total independence of a portion of the Kashmiris is funneled by foreign mercenaries and turned into a jihad, a holy war. Not only members of the Hindu community in Jammu and Kashmir, but also moderate Moslems who are propagating tolerance and peaceful co-existence are the target and the victims of the so-called mujahideen, the holy crusaders. Instead of bringing the dispute closer to a solution, this interference is in fact blocking any progress towards a lasting peaceful solution. The activities of the jihadi groups, having the blessings and the support from across the border, are inimical to the interests of the Kashmiris and to a resolution of the Kashmir issue.

As long as violence is used all gates to successful negotiations and to a diplomatic, democratic and political solution remain closed. International bodies are convinced that a process of dialogue must start, but this is only possible when cross-border infiltration and interference come to an end. Pressure has to be brought on those who are using violence or who are supporting it to stop their activities and to use peaceful means to reach their goal.

It is my strongest conviction that the common people in Jammu and Kashmir have suffered enough for the past 13 years. During my last study tours in Jammu and Kashmir, I witnessed an overwhelming desire of the Kashmiris to return to peace and normalcy. This observation was confirmed while monitoring the latest Legislative Assembly elections of September-October 2002. In general, these elections are considered to have been free, fair and transparent. Under the given circumstances, participation was high and this is a clear indication that the Kashmiris wanted a change of government and a peaceful solution through a democratic process. There is need for the liberal and progressive forces to respond to this expression of the will of the Kashmiris and to struggle for a solution which lies in a pluralistic democracy. A good number of initiatives have been initiated by the newly elected Government of Jammu and Kashmir State. These include :

- *Release of number of militants from the jails;
- *Re-structuring of Police and Security Forces and their operations;
- *Improvement in civic amenities like electricity, water, roads, etc.
- *Appointment of Mr. N.N. Vohra, ex-Home Secretary of the Government of India as 'Central Interlocutor' to talk to various sections of the society to redress the grievances of the people. This has

been appreciated by the local population as well as the international community about the Government of India's commitment to solve the Kashmir problem.

Notwithstanding all this, it will need a lot of goodwill from all the political parties concerned to extend their co-operation in the fight against terrorism.

Our Association urges the Governments of India and Pakistan to respect conscientiously the mutual commitments, declarations and agreements and to resume bilateral and meaningful negotiations over Jammu and Kashmir. The situation has to be normalised before it takes an ugly turn. Initiatives for confidence building measures should be taken to create room for the supporters of negotiation and squeeze the space for religious extremists. The governments must implement their promise not to let use their territory for terrorism against any country.

The future of South Asia and its more than 1.5 billion people should not be kept a hostage to the fifteen million Kashmiris. A broad-based foundation of peaceful regional collaboration can provide a strong material basis for solving many a disputes that are surfacing in this region and for meeting the aspirations of the Kashmiri people. The Kashmiris have the basic Human Right to live in peace without being the victim of violence from what side ever this may come.

10 'Hurriyat In Crisis'

KS Correspondent

HURRIYAT Conference is facing the worst ever crisis since its inception as two of its main constituents—Jamaat-e-Islami and People's Conference are draggers drawn and fued between the two has put the survival of the separatist conglomerate in Peril.

The behind the scene parleys to avert the crisis suffered a set-back as Jamaat leader Geelani and People's Conference chairman Sajjad Lone launched scathing attack and asked for expulsion of each other publicly.

Responding to the allegations levelled by Sayeed Ali Shah Geelani against Hurriyat Conference, People's Conference Chairman Sajjad Lone not only alleged Geelani for participating himself in last years Assembly election through proxy but accused the pro-Pak leader for provocative statements which led to the assassination of Abdul Gani Lone.

Demanding an investigation by Hurriyat into the matter, Sajjad Lone said, "Let a committee be formed to investigate whether the statements especially those issued by Geelani Sahib were provocative enough to have triggered the assassination of Abdul Gani Lone." He claimed that "people are of the view that Geelani Sahib's statements were a major contributory factor in the assassination of our leader".

It may be recalled that People's Conference Chairman, Abdul Gani Lone was gunned down by terrorists at Idgah, Srinagar on May 21, 2002 during a function which was organised to pay tributes to Late Molvi Farooq on his death anniversary. Soon after the assassination of Mr Lone, his sons accused Pakistan and their agents for facilitating the killing of Abdul Gani Lone. The Jamaat leader, Mr. Geelani was reportedly humiliated when he went to breave the family. Lone brothers, however, back tracted from the statement then only to implicit Geelani now during a press conference.

Repaying the Jamaat-e-Islami leader's allegations about People's Conference's participation in the elections, Sajjad Lone alleged that Abdul Khalief Harief, a close confidant of Geelani, contested the elections on advice of Mr Geelani. To further embarrass the Jamaat leaders, Mr Lone alleged that Jamaat Islami activists voted in favour of Mufti Sayeed's Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) candidates in South Kashmir and PDP was returning the favour by "pampering some Jamaat men".

People's Conference Chairman described Geelani "an ideological nightmare for the Kashmiri struggle" and "a dream gift" for Indians who has come to split Hurriyat as per the wishes of India. "Geelani should convince us, in words or deeds, that he has not hammered a deal with India during his stay in jail to split the Hurriyat at a time when peace talks are in full swing and the Hurriyat could have played a key role in it", said Mr Sajjad Lone and questioned if that was the price "Kashmiris have to pay in exchange for release of someone's son-in-law".

Sajjad Lone's press conference came after all efforts to buy peace and persuade Syed Ali Shah Geelani not to press for the expulsion of People's Conference failed. Few days back, pro-Pak separatist leader refused to attend Hurriyat Conference meetings unless the amalgam threw out People's Conference which he accused of compromising "the sacrifices of martyrs by fielding proxy candidates" Mr Geelani even threatened to form a parallel platform to run the movement. Many lower rung separatist leaders also attended the public rally of Geelani in his home town Sopore and extended their full support to Mr Geelani in his efforts to give new direction to separatist movement.

Thought the sharp differences had crept in the separatist camp soon after Abdul Gani Lone advocated for change in modus operandi of separatist movement in aftermath of terrorist attacks on World Trade Centre and Pentagon in September 2001, yet the Hurriyat had managed to tone down these differences. But the Assembly elections brought fore the differences yet again an Syed Ali Shah Geelani demanded expulsion of People's Conference from the Amalgam accusing conferences participation in the elections through proxy candidates.

The People's Conference expelled the members who contested elections from primary membership of the party and Hurriyat Conference accepted the explanation of People's Conference. But, once Mr Geelani

was released from the jail and returned after treatment in Mumbai reportedly on the expenses of the government, he renewed demand for action against People's Conference alleging that the forest ministry was run by 'Lone brothers' which is contradictory to Hurriyat Constitution. Forest Minister Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Sofi was a close associate of Abdul Ghani Lone and prominent leader in People's Conference. He was expelled from party when he jumped in the election band wagon but Geelani feels the expulsion a mere hoodwinking act as Mr. Sofi is still close to Lone brothers. Mr Geelani boycotted the meetings of Hurriyat Conference.

To over come the stalemate, Jamaat-e-Islami Ameer Ghulam Mohammad Bhat nominated Ali Mohammad Sheikh to replace Syeed Ali Shah Geelani as the Jamaats' representing in Hurriyat Conference citing Geelani's health conditions as reason for his replacement. But the act deepened the crisis as the terrorist groups put their weight behind the radical leader Syed Ali Shah Geelani and even accused the Hurriyat Conference of working on the directions of Indian government. Ravidly fundamentalist women's terrorist outfit 'Dukhtaran-e-Milat' Chairman Aisya Indrabi launched scathing attack on Jamaat as well as Hurriyat Conference for siding Syed Ali Shah Geelani. She described People's Conference as 'headquarters of India's Home Department' and alleged that Hurriyat Conference was pursuing the agenda of India's Home Ministry. She implored upon Syed Ali Shah Geelani to come forward to take leadership of the leaderless separatist movement. United Jihad Council also questioned the isolation of Mr. Geelani and upheld his stand as principled stand and asked Hurriyat to give satisfactory explanation to Geelani's queries. The stand taken by terrorist outfits forced Jamaat to change its stand but Geelani did not relent and did not attend Hurriyat meets. Describing Geelani's stand a principled stand, a Jamaat activist asked "how would be we a part of the forum, where People (People's Conference) are part of the government, what can we discuss there-freedom struggle or government business?"

Earlier Sajjad Lone had even questioned the rigid stand of Hurriyat Conference and accused the Hurriyat leaders for making career of their children but giving graveyards to the children of common masses.

The war between the two main constituents of Hurriyat has put Hurriyat Conference in a situation where exodus of any of the constituent can imperil the existence of Hurriyat itself.

11 Letters

Bhagvaan Gopinath

Sir,

I am a regular subscriber of your esteemed journal for the last so many years. I would like to congratulate you for bringing out always the inner-voice of our community. After going through it, I am sending it to America for onward circulation on my one expenses.

Secondly I would like to inform your that recently our (small) organisation Jagat Guru Bhagvaan Gopinath Ji Foundation, New Delhi has come out with a new biography of Bhagvaan Ji authored by Shri T.N. Dhar 'Kundan'. The book is quite beautiful, presentable and highly vibrant. It has been accepted as a V.good piece of literature by those who have gone through it.

I am enclosing synopsis of this book with the humble request that the same may kindly be highlighted in your esteemed journal. It could be regarded as a service to Bhagvaan Ji and to his true followers.

—B.L. Bhan

New Delhi

In-depth analysis

Sir,

Your paper portrays the Kashmir problem in depth, also our cultural heritage, history and the like. Please, do keep up all this. Details about Iqbal the great poet, were revealing. We had a very hazy impression about his links with Kashmir, especially with Pandit community was amazing. This photograph is, in itself, an antique and need to be preserved.

With all the best. I shall be sending a list of Kashmiri Pandits living in Hyderabad and Secunderabad to help extend links with other members of our community to whom you can send your paper.

—M.L. Chaku

Hyderabad

12 Ansari Seeks Iranian Intervention

KS Correspondent

Whether it suggests a shift with far reaching implications or a mere tactics of Sunni dominated power politics, Shia leader Maulvi Abbas Ansari has been elected chairman of the separatist Hurriyat Conference unanimously in a meeting not attend by Jamaat Islami. Ansari replaces Prof. Abdul Gani Bhat of Muslim Conference who completed his term of two years. Talking to various media agencies after his election, new Hurriyat Chairman talked about tripartite talks involving Kashmiris, a role for Iran, rubbished Vohra mission and tried to down play the differences among Hurriyat constituents.

Describing any intervention of big powers like US, UK as shame, the Shia leader advocated for involving Iran to find a solution to Kashmir crisis. "It will be a shame if a big power comes and tells India and Pakistan what to do. The two countries should be able to resolve the issue between themselves", said Mr. Ansari. Making a case for Iran as mediator, Mr. Ansari said, "Tehran is a well wisher of India and has friendly relations with Pakistan also. The two countries can seek services of such common friends in resolving the dispute." When Mr Ansari's attention was drawn to Farooq Abdullah's suggestion of involving Nelson Mandela, he said that he was not against it.

It may be recalled that Hurriyat had been demanding the involvement of powers like US in the Indo-Pak talks and today's demand of Iranian involvement may be a policy shift. After non-participation in election, US has been cold shouldering Hurriyat. The US led war on Iraq has further compounded the position of Hurriyat and demand for involving Iran signals that the present struggle is the struggle of MILAT.

Refusing to entertain the invitation of Mr. N.N. Vohra for dialogue, Hurriyat chairman described Mr. Vohra as a mere retired bureaucrat and projected himself as equal as to the Prime Minister of India representing the aspirations of Kashmiris. Let Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee offer dialogue without conditions, we will talk to him. Let me tell you if there is sincerity in resolving the crisis, it has to be dealt with at the highest level. If he comes for talks, I will talk and if he sends his secretary, I will also send my secretary," said Mr Ansari in a tone filled with arrogance.

He referred to 1975—Indra-Sheikh talks and wanted dialogue with Hurriyat on the same pattern as they represented people as Sheikh did in 1975.

Ansari reiterated Hurriyat stand for a seat on the table with India and Pakistan saying that it is good for both the countries to sit together with Kashmiris and seek a lasting solution".

Hurriyat chairman described differences between Hurriyat constituents as media creations but to further push Geelani to the corner, he over ruled need of any action against People's Conference saying that the members who contested elections stand already expelled from the party.

13 Registration eludes Pandits

Did Advani really mean it?

KS Correspondent

The refusal of state government to register “Post Nadimarg Migrant Pandits” has put about 200 such families in state of shock and helplessness. Haunted by the uncertain future, even some youth threatened to end their lives if migrant status was not given to them at an earliest. What is more shocking that betrays anti-Pandit attitude of the present government is the fact that more than 150 families belonging to the Muslim community have been registered in recent past without any verification, while the cases of genuine Pandits, who were living under the shadow of death, are being denied the same.

A Jammu and Kashmir relief organisation official disclosed to PTI that “we have registered 152 Kashmiri Muslim families as fresh migrants in Jammu during the last six months of the coalition government”. He admitted that these migrants were registered on the direction of Revenue and Relief Minister, Hakeem Mohammad Yaseen without any verification whether they have migrated to Jammu from Valley or what was the level of threat perception.

But, the government has registered only 10 families of Pandits from Nadimarg while the government has reportedly refused to registered about 160 families who migrated from other places of Valley as government failed to take any measures to fortify their security set up after Nadimarg carnage and even their majority community neighbours advised them to flee amidst continuing pressure from terrorists.

Frustrated by the reported rejection of their cases by the Divisional Commissioner, Jammu headed screening committee, a fresh migrant Kamal Handoo threatened of self immolation. “We will self immolate if government did not consider our registration,” said he to a national daily.

It may be recalled that politicians had made a beeline to Nadimarg and even the Deputy Home Minister had assured the left out Pandits that the government will take care of them within Valley or outside Valley if they decided to migrate. “If you are not safe here, we shall make alternative arrangements for your safety. It is the aim of the enemy to force the few Pandits left in the Valley to move out, but if that is what is needed to protect you, we will not hesitate to move you out,” said Advani to Pandits who had assembled at Nadimarg to register their protest and demand their rehabilitation out-side the Valley.

As the Pandits started pouring in Jammu sensing insecurity, Relief Minister Hakeem Mohammad Yaseen talked of motivating them to return back but added that “if they do not return, then those Pandits would be registered and relief given to them.”

Despite these assurances, the denial of registration to Post Nadimarg migrants has put these families on cross roads. These Pandits decry the double standards of Mufti Mohammad Sayeed’s government and want Advani to live to its word and issue necessary instructions for, their registration.

“Advani Sahib has to prove that his visit and assurance for our rehabilitation was not mere publicity stunt to address to his Hindu constituency that his government was concerned about the miniscule Kashmiri Pandit community. He shall not only instruct state government to register us but he should provide us with proper accommodation and rehabilitate our youth and students,” said a dejected Pandit.

Meanwhile, relief organisation has refuted the media reports about denial of registration to these Pandit families and said that the verification reports are awaited from their concerned districts.

14 News

Five Hindus killed in Nowshera

KS Correspondent

JAMMU : Continuing their campaign of ethnic cleansing, the terrorists killed five Hindus including two women in a broad day light attack at village Dandhok in Nowshera and escaped without any resistance. The village is close to the “Line of Control” and the broad day strike has put a question mark on the working of security agencies.

Sources claimed that the terrorists in military uniforms asked from civilians, about the way leading to the LoC. The civilians turned suspicious and raised an alarm to sound the security agencies. The security agencies, however, failed to come to their rescues, but the terrorists opened indiscriminate fire on them killing five and injuring a woman. The civilians killed have been identified as Joginder Lal, Kali Das, Munshi Ram, Taro Wanti and Babli Devi.

The security forces cordoned the area but the success eluded them. Security forces were even clueless about the appearance of the terrorists on the scene. While some suggest that the terrorists had crossed over to this side on that very morning while others did not rule out the possibility that the terrorists might have been of the same group which escaped after killing an army jawan and injuring three others in an encounter in Kalal area.

The terrorist have maintained heat on the minority community living in Poonch, Rajouri, Doda and higher reaches of Udhampur and Kathua districts. The continued attacks have forced these hapless people to abandon their homes and hearths but the government is refusing to recognise this ethnic cleansing process.

Kashmiri Pandits let down by India: French journalist

Castigating successive governments for their mute and half-baked response towards the unmitigated plight of Kashmiri Pandits, eminent French journalist and Indophile Francois Gautier today exhorted the passive Hindu community to seek extra-political and extra-governmental solutions to end the Hindu tragedy.

“In 1941, there were 15 percent Hindus in the Kashmir valley; in 1981 five percent; in 1991, 0.1 percent. And today?” Gautier asked pointing at the continued neglect and government apathy towards the agony of Kashmiri Pandits.

With as many as 450,000 Kashmiri Pandits living in abysmal conditions in refugee camps in Jammu and Delhi, 2000 of them brutally assassinated in the past five years, 1800 of their homes destroyed and many of whom are surviving on a meagre government dole of Rs 2400 per month, India has ‘let down’ Pandits in their hour of need, Gautier told here.

Blaming government for utter failure to convince the Weston incessant Kashmiri Pandit genocide, Gautier said, “when Pakistan harps on human rights abuses in Kashmir and succeeds in fooling the West, it is nothing but a propaganda. It is a fiasco on the part of Indian government”.

“Hindu indifference, pretentious cut-off from the roots, elite and minority politics are playing havoc with Indian cultural and racial multi-polarity, consequentially one of the brightest section of Hindu community is on the verge of extinction,” he said.

Gautier is organising a six-day exhibition from July 18 to 23 here to sensitise the Indian public and secularist intelligentsia on the Islamic jehadi holocaust in Kashmir.

Source: PTI

15 Tribute

The complete swayamsewak

If he was strict with others, Rajju Bhaiyya was also strict with himself

By Govindacharya

I first met Rajendra Singh, or Rajju Bhaiyya, in February 1961. I was studying at Benaras Hindu University, and as a student leader I had invited him to a function we had organised. It struck me then that here was a man who combined a love for academics with a passion to introduce students to the higher realms of life. He was interested in the student's all-round development, no matter what that person's ideological background. At that point, he taught physics at Allahabad University and was active in the RSS at the state level. He tried to do justice to both his callings. The free time he got from teaching responsibilities he devoted for RSS activities.

He was simplicity personified, down-to-earth, methodical and logical in thought and action. For him, 50 minutes meant 50 minutes. In fact, he was able to calculate and quantify even the concept of austerity. He was interested in things like, how long would a bar of soap or a packet of blades last, or how the fuel in a motorbike could be optimally used.

Although they were well-off, his family believed in a spartan lifestyle. Food meant bajra roti with makaan and butter-milk. If there was dal, there was no sabzi; if there was sabzi, no dal. That austere lifestyle remained Rajju Bhaiyya's trademark all his life. He used to tell RSS workers not to go to people's homes for a meal in large batches—only four people, at the most, should visit a home. The logic was simple. Ordinary homes would find it difficult to cater to large numbers and contact would be restricted only to the richer households who could entertain larger numbers. He knew that if the RSS was to grow, it would have to be in touch with ordinary people. He wanted to feel the pulse of the people. He would often visit a local bazaar to check vegetable prices, just to understand their hardships better. He was also firm that RSS cadres must not become comfort loving or status conscious. True, at times he came across as harsh and cold. But if he was strict with others, he was also strict with himself. That won him respect.

He kept a diary, meticulously gathering data. This helped him analyse situations with great insight. I am sure those diaries would today be a rich source of information on the RSS as there were few who knew the organisation as well, and as methodically, as Rajju Bhaiyya did.

During the emergency he went underground, touring the entire country. He was instrumental in organising the human rights convention presided over by Justice Tarkunde, in Delhi in 1976. He was also responsible for setting up the Friends of Indian Society, International. He was an excellent organiser and it was logical that he became the joint general secretary of the RSS in 1977, and went on to become its general secretary in the '80s—it was a period that saw tremendous activity centred around the Ayodhya movement. His health problems—the onset of Parkinson's—forced him to relinquish his post in 2000 and he spent the last years of his life in Kaushik Ashram, Pune, the home senior RSS pracharaks retire to. I am sure that until the last he drew great satisfaction from the fact that he had lived his life as a complete and active swayamsewak.

Source: Indian Express.

16 PK delegation meets minister

KS Correspondent

JAMMU: A Panun Kashmir delegation called on Minister of State for Education, Maharashtra government, Mr Rajinder B. Shingane and discussed various issues regarding the admission of displaced students with him.

The delegation paid its gratitude on behalf of the exiled community of Pandits to the Maharashtra government for coming to the rescue of their youth by reserving seats in professional colleges of the state. The delegation expressed its satisfaction on the process evolved for the admission to engineering colleges but said that the seats of the medical colleges were not properly advertised and most of the people failed to avail the opportunity. The minister assured the delegation that a mechanism will be evolved for publicity of all the courses which are open for the migrants. The delegation comprised, PK Genral Secretary Kuldip Raina and Secretary Organisation Satish Sher.

17 Media Scan

Kashmir calling

Francois Gautier on the systematic terrorist assault

on Kashmiri Pandits and their Shaivite culture

Do you know some of these facts about Kashmir? Over four lakh Kashmiri Pandits, constituting 99 percent of the total population of Hindus living in the Valley, have been forcibly pushed out by terrorists? Since 1989 they have been forced to live the life of exiles in their own country. Terrorism has unleashed in Kashmir a systematic campaign of terror, murder, loot, arson and rape against the Pandits in Kashmir. About 70,000 of them still languish in makeshift refugee camps in Jammu and Delhi. Scores of temples in Kashmir have been desecrated and looted.

Then, more than 900 educational institutions have been attacked by terrorists. Properties of Pandits have been vandalised, their businesses destroyed or taken over, and even hospitals have not been spared. Do you know that this immense human tragedy is taking place in independent India? Kashmir was known as “Sharda Peeth”, the abode of learning. Now the Pandits, the original inhabitants of Kashmir, have been forced to flee. Their 5,000 years of civilisation is at stake.

The role of Pakistan in Kashmiri terror is clear: Terrorism in Kashmir is an ideological struggle with specific fundamentalist and communal agenda. Terrorist violence aims at the disengagement of the State of Jammu and Kashmir from India and its annexation to Pakistan. It is the continuation of the Islamic fundamentalist struggle. The major dimension of terrorist violence in Kashmir is the terrorists’ commitment to the extermination and subjugation of the Hindus in the State, because Hindus do not subscribe to the idea of separation from India, nor will they allow governance by the tenets of Islam. Kashmiri Pandits have always been in the forefront of the struggle against secessionism, communalism and fundamentalism. Hence this peace loving minority with a progressive outlook became the main victims of terrorist violence.

The strategies involved in the terrorists’ operation against the Hindus in Kashmir are simple: The extermination of Hindus, that is, subjecting Hindus to brutal torture, and to instill fear among them in order to achieve their submission. The aim is to engineer a forced mass exodus of Hindus from the land of their ancestors by issuing threat letters, kidnappings and torture deaths on non-compliance of the terrorists’ dictates, thereby ensuring the destruction of the secular and pluralistic character of Kashmir society.

This is being done by attacks, kidnappings and gang rape of the women folk of the Hindu Pandits to instill fear and humiliation. The terrorists have destroyed and burnt down residential houses of the Hindus who have been compelled to abandon their homes. Then, looting of their properties and appropriation of their business establishments take place to ensure they do not return. Attachment of the ancestral and landed property of Pandits and destruction of social and religious institutions of the Hindus is done through the desecration and destruction of their places of worship. The properties of Hindu shrines are routinely appropriated.

Burning of books and pillage of culture is an important part of the terrorist gameplan. Kashmir was the crucible of knowledge and spirituality, a hallowed centre of learning and the cradle of Shaivism. Kashmiri Pandits excelled in philosophy, aesthetics, poetics, sculpture, architecture, mathematics, astronomy and astrology. Sanskrit was studied, propagated and spoken by women and men. Scholars and saints such as Kalhan, Jonraj, Srivar, Abhinavgupta, Somanand, Utpaldev, Somdev and Kshemendra created here an intellectual centre of unrivalled fame.

However, fundamentalism and terrorism have been ruthless in their assault on “Sharda Peeth”, zealous in ravaging its heritage, and consistent only in bloodthirsty intolerance. The destruction of Hindu places of worship, forced conversions of Pandits and death and ignominy to those who resisted, were accompanied with a savage assault on literary activity. This process has been going on since centuries.

Commencing 1989, the assault on learning began afresh. How else to erase a 5,000-year-old civilisation? The Jamat-e-Islami, a fundamentalist organisation, launched a campaign to ransack libraries in the educational institutions and flared ban on books which did not correspond to their ideas about man, world and God. The Kashmir University funded by the University Grants Commission and headed by the Governor of the State was robbed of 2,000 books including the works of Milton, Shaw, Shakespear, HG Wells and tomes on Hindu philosophy. Bookshops were looted in broad daylight at Batamaloo, Srinagar. The library of the Information Centre run by Government of India was set on fire. As a correspondent covering India for more than 20 years, I have witnessed the terrible damage that terrorism has inflicted upon Kashmiris' lives, their family, their culture, the very fabric of society, not only of the Pandits, but also of the Muslims of the Valley, who, after all, are victims too of Pakistan's bloody designs. Hence, with two journalist friends, we started a foundation: FACT -- Foundation Against Continuing Terrorism.

The first task of FACT has been to mount a photo-exhibition on terrorism, focussing on the plight of the Kashmiri Pandits so that people of Indian who do not suffer directly from terrorism understand what it does to others. This exhibition will run at India Habitat Centre, Lodhi Road, New Delhi, from July 18 to 23, between 10 am to 8 pm. We need the support of *The Pioneer's* readers and invite all of you, regardless of your class, caste, religion, or ethnic origin, to come and witness it. Come and see the FACTs. Later, we would like this exhibition to travel not only to all major Indian cities, but also to the United States, England, France and Switzerland, so that the world understands what India has been going through since the last 50 years. *Source: Pioneer*

18 Those who left Us

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

1. Sh. Pushkar Nath Pandita S/o Sh. Aftab Ram, R/o Zalooria Sopore; presently at 23/1A, Shantipuram Muthi Jammu. 1/6/2003
2. Smt. Indrawati Bhan W/o Sh. Nath Jee Bhan, R/o Uma Nagri Anantnag; presently at Community Hall, Kathua. 1/6/2003
3. Master Sunil Kumar Bhat S/o Sh. Moti Lal Bhat, R/o Uttersoo Anantnag; presently at Qtr. No: 3, Block-M, Channi Police Colony Jammu. 1/6/2003
4. Smt. Shanta Kaw W/o Sh. R.N. Kaw, R/o Shalla Kadal Sgr; presently at 110/10 Sector-1, Pushp Vihar New Delhi. 2/6/2003
5. Smt. Meenawati Budoo W/o Lt. Sh. Amar Nath Budoo, R/o Mattan Anantnag; presently at 28-C, Muthi Camp Phase-II Jammu. 3/6/2003
6. Smt. Soomawati Thusu W/o Late Sh. Lassa Koul, R/o Tankipora, Dadi Kadal Sgr; presently at Sector B-1, Laxmi Nagar, Chinore. 3/6/2003
7. Smt. Soomawati W/o Lt. Vasudev Pandit, R/o Levdore Anangnag; presently at 89/7, Laxmi Nagar Muthi Jammu. 3/6/2003
8. Smt. Chander Mohini Dhar, R/o 999 Upper Sathu Sgr; presently at H.No: 66, Lane No: 8, Upper Laxmi Nagar Sarwal Jammu. 3/6/2003
9. Sh. Radha Krishen Hangloo, R/o Hangalgund Kokernag Anantnag, Kmr; presently at H.No: 83, Sector-1, Laxmi Nagar Muthi Jammu. 4/6/2003
10. Sh. Jia Lal Koul S/o Lt. Madhav Ram Bhat R/o Kulgam/Nai Basti Anantnag; presently H.No: 41 Amit Nagar Church Lane Sector-1, Muthi Jammu. 4/6/2003
11. Jia Lal Geeru R/o 132-Ganesh Vihar, Lower Muthi Jammu. 4/6/2003
12. Smt. Choni Chowdhary W/o Lt. Pt. Raj Nath Chowdhary R/o Rajouri Kadal Sgr; presently at Galli No: 6, H.No: 531 Raja Park Jaipur. 4/6/2003
13. Sh. Bhasker Ntah Ganjoo, R/o Sehyar Ali Kadal Sgr; presently at Lane No: 17, House No: 37, Surya Vihar Bohri Jammu. 5/6/2003
14. Sh. N.N. Koul S/o Sh. Dina Nath Koul, R/o Noorpora Tral Kmr; presently at H.No: 356 Sector-4, Gangyal Garden Jammu. 5/6/2003
15. Sh. Sat Lal Dhar R/o Khankah Sokhta Safakadal Sgr; presently at 25A, Mohinder Nagar Jammu. 6/6/2003
16. Sh. Prem Nath Koul S/o Lt. Sh. Tara Chand Koul, R/o Kharyar Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at H.No: 248/C Lane No: 4, Durga Nagar, Sector-I, Jammu. 6/6/2003
17. Sh. Triloki Nath Ganju S/o Lt. Pt. Radha Krishan Ganju, R/o Motiyar Rainawari Sgr; presently at AN/7C Shalimar Bagha Delhi. 6/6/2003
18. Smt. Prabhawati Karnail W/o Lt. Amar Nath Karnail R/o Zaindar Mohalla Sgr; presently at 299-D, Shipra Sun City Indrapuram Delhi. 7/6/2003
19. Sh. Satish Kumar Pandita S/o Lt. Sh. Vedh Lal Pandita R/o Nuner, Ganderbal; presently at H.No:6, Sharika Vihar, Lower Roop Nagar Jammu. 7/6/2003
20. Smt. Gunwati Bhat W/o Lt. Sh. Ved Lal Bhat, R/o Hanjiwara Pattan; presently at H.No: 53 Govind Nagar Gole Gujral Jammu. 7/6/2003
21. Smt. Roopawati Kotha W/o Lt. Sh. Badri Nath Kotha, R/o Ganpatyar Sgr; presently at 247 Friends Sector Lane-7, Subash Nagar Jammu. 7/6/2003

22. Sh. Jia Lal Safaya R/o Khrew Kmr; presently at H.No: 129-B, Sainik Colony Jammu. 8/6/2003
23. Smt. Sedh Lakshmi Suri W/o Lt. Sh. Ved Lal Suri, R/o Sopore Kmr; presently at H.No: 108/4 SBI Lane Pamposh Colony Janipur Jammu. 8/6/2003
24. Smt. Parmishori Dhar W/o Late Sh. Amarnath Dhar, R/o KK Sokhta Nawa Kadal Sgr; presently at Delhi. 8/6/2003
25. Sh. SN Koul (Sher) S/o Lt. Pt. Gawash Lal Koul (Sher), R/o Bulbul Lanker Sgr, Kmr; presently at S-437 Greater Kailash Part-II New Delhi. 9/6/2003
26. Sh Sat Lal Wali R/o Hanad Chowalgam Anantnag; presently at HIG-49, Sec-C, Ayodha Nagar Bhopal. 9/6/2003
27. Smt. Kamlawati Shahabadi W/o Sh. Jagannath Shahabadi, R/o Karan Nagar Sgr; presently at 26/C, Kamlasons Chambers Om Nagar, Udheywalla Bohri Jammu. 9/6/2003
28. Smt. Pushpa D/o Lt. Sh. Lachmi Narayan Shastri, R/o Ganpatyar Sgr; presently at Punjab. 9/6/2003
29. Smt. Sushma Kundu W/o Sh. Sanju Kundu R/o H.No:5, Lane No:2 Naseeb Nagar Janipur Jammu. 9/6/2003
30. Master Parth Kundu S/o Sh. Sanju Kundu, R/o H.No:5 Lane No:2 Naseeb Nagar Janipur Jammu. 9/6/2003
31. Sh. Badri Nath Koul, R/o Kralkhud, Nai Sarak Sgr; presently at Subash Nagar Jammu. 10/6/2003
32. Sh. Ashok Kumar Koul S/o Lt. Sh. Dina Nath Koul, R/o Kharyar Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at 6/A Amar Colony Talab Tillo, Jammu. 10/6/2003
33. Sh. Soom Nath Kher, R/o Karfali-Mohalla Sgr; presently at Munshi Chak Gole Gujral Camp Jammu. 10/6/2003
34. Sh. Mohan Lal Khosa S/o Lt. Pandit Prem Nath Khosa, R/o Karapora Khushki, Rainawari Sgr; presently at 167, New Surya Kiran Apartments, IP Ext. Patpargang Delhi. 10/6/2003
35. Smt. Gauri Kaul W/o Sh. R.N. Kaul, R/o Jawahar Nagar Sgr; presently at 701, Kalash Apartments Sunder Van Complex Andheri West Mumbai. 11/6/2003
36. Smt. Sonabatni Bhan W/o Lt. Sh. J.L. Bhan, R/o B-101, Anand Lok Mayur Vihar Phase-Ist Delhi. 11/6/2003
37. Smt. Gauri Shori Wazir W/o Lt. Sh. R.N. Wazir, R/o Karan Nagar Sgr; presently at 56-C Bhawani Nagar Janipora Jammu. 12/6/2003
38. Sh. Girdhari Lal Hakim S/o Lt. Sh. Bal Kak Hakim R/o Dalhasanyar Sgr; presently at Saki Vihar Building No: 3, Andheri East Mumbai. 12/6/2003
39. Smt. Prabawati Raina W/o Lt. Sh. Triloki Nath Raina, R/o Malik Angan Sgr; presently at H.No: 10, Bhawani Nagar Talab Tillo, Jammu. 12/6/2003
40. Smt. Leelawati W/o Lt. Sh. Sansarchand, R/o Bomai Sopore; presently at H.No: 58/2 Vijay Nagar Talab Tillo, Jammu. 13/6/2003
41. Sh. Virendra Razdan S/o Lt. Sh. Govind Ji Razdan, R/o Shutra Shahi Sgr; presently at A/303, Akansha Apartments Mumbai. 13/6/2003
42. Smt. Tarawati W/o Lt. Sh. Maheshwar Nath Bindroo, R/o Baji Sunder Bala Chattabal Sgr; presently at Ponichak Gomanasa Road, Jammu. 13/6/2003
43. Sh. Jawahar Lal Parimoo S/o Lt. Sh. Radha Krishan Parimoo R/o Purshyar Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at G-39, Dilshad Colony Delhi. 14/6/2003
44. Sh. Prem Nath Razdan S/o Lt. Sh. Nand Ram, R/o Vessu Anantnag; presently at Qtr. No: 10, Block-4 Police Housing Complex Channi Himmat Jammu. 14/6/2003

45. Smt. Prabhawati W/o Lt. Sh. Sarwanand Pandita, R/o Hakura Anantnag; presently at J-215 Sarvati Kunj Durga Nagar Sec-II Jammu. 14/6/2003
46. Sh. Prem Nath Koul R/o Babapora Sgr; presently at 7166-B-10 Vasant Kunj New Delhi. 14/6/2003
47. Sh. Prem Nath Akhoon S/o Lt. Lal Chand Akhoon, R/o Karihama Kupwara Kmr; presently at Ganesh Nagar Patoli Brahmana Jammu. 14/6/2003
48. Sh. B.K. Vaishnavi R/o 2166-DII Vasant Kunj New Delhi. 14/6/2003
49. Sh. Brij Lal Bhat (Dadroo), R/o Nazuk Mohalla Anantnag; presently at H.No: 206 Sector-D, Bharat Nagar, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 15/6/2003
50. Sh. Bal Ji Raina S/o Lt. Sh. Madhov Ram Raina, R/o Uaroposh Ganderbal Kmr; presently at Purkhoo Camp Phase-III, Jammu. 15/6/2003
51. Sh. Ravinder Raina S/o Lt. Dr. Sri Kanth Raina, R/o Karan Nagar Sgr; presently at H.No: 108 Lane No: 3, Patoli Jammu. 16/6/2003
52. Smt. Kanta Zutshi W/o Sh. P.N. Zutshi R/o Darbagh (Harwan) Sgr; presently at H.No: 4 Lane No: 1(A) Bohri Jammu. 16/6/2003
53. Smt. Kamlawati W/o Lt. Sh. Laxman Singh Raina, R/o Sajam Anantnag; presently at Qtr. No: 809 Phase-III Purkhoo Camp Jammu. 17/6/2003
54. Sh. Janki Nath Kaul, R/o Verinag Kmr; presently at H.No: Z-70, Vitasta Enclave Kashmiri Colony Najaf Garh Jammu. 17/6/2003
55. Sh. Nand Lal Koul, R/o Ranipora Kulgam Kmr; presently at H.No: 55 Lane-5 Buta Nagar Paloura, Jammu. 18/6/2003
56. Prof. Avtar Krishan Sharma S/o Lt. Sh. Bal Ji Sharma, R/o Qazi Hamam Baramulla; presently at H.No: 6 Lane No: 16, Surya Vihar Patta (Bohri) Jammu. 18/6/2003
57. Sh. Lachman Koul S/o Sh. Krishan Koul, R/o Dewan Bagh Baramulla; presently at Plot No: 913 G-3, Chinar House-II Shalimar Garden UP. 18/6/2003
58. Sh. Janki Nath Koul S/o Sh. Tara Chand Koul, R/o Wagoora Baramulla Kmr. 18/6/2003
59. Smt. Shanta Durani W/o Lt. Sh. Amar Nath Durani, R/o H.No: 142, Sector-15-A Chandigarh. 18/6/2003
60. Sh. Badri Nath Pandita S/o Lt. Sh. Dina Nath Pandita R/o Serru Dangarpura Baramulla Kmr; presently at 11 RM 64-B, Sector-2 Rajinder Nagar Sahibabad UP. 19/6/2003
61. Sh. Moti Lal Kaul, R/o Rugh Nath Mandir Sgr; presently at 299-Kamla Niwas New Plots Jammu. 20/6/2003
62. Sh. Jagar Nath Wangnoo R/o Traperpara Shopian Kmr; presently at Kasim Nagar Jammu. 21/6/2003
63. Sh. Kashi Nath Kaul S/o Lt. Ram Chand Kaul, R/o 178-Bana Mohalla Sgr; presently at H.No: 4 Hazuri Bagh Bohri Jammu. 22/6/2003
64. Miss Neetu Bhat D/o Sh. PL Bhat Nagam Chadoora Kmr; presently at 180/3, Vikas Nagar Patoli Jammu. 22/6/2003
65. Sh. Kirti Razdan S/o Shashi Shiban Kishen Razdan R/o Nai Sarak Sgr; presently at D-25, Nehru Market Jammu. 22/6/2003
66. Smt. Mohini Pandita W/o Lt. Sh. J.N. Pandita, R/o Bonpora Anantnag; presently at H.No: 107-P, Mandir Lane Sector 1-A, Ext. Trikuta Nagar Jammu. 22/6/2003
67. Smt. Kamla Kallo W/o Lt. Sh. Radha Krishen Kallo, R/o Badiyar Sgr; presently at H.No: 42, Sector-4, Trikuta Nagar Jammu. 23/6/2003
68. Smt. Aran Datti Dhar W/o Lt. Pt. Balji Dhar, R/o 126/3 Vivek Vihar Paloura. 23/6/2003

69. Smt. Madri Dhar W/o Lt. Sh. Bal Ji Dhar, R/o Herman, Tehsil Shopian; presently at 76-E, Pocket A/Z, Mayur Vihar, Phase-III Delhi. 23/6/2003
70. Sh. Kirti Razdan S/o Sh. S.K. Razdan R/o Nai Sarak Sgr; presently at D-25, Nehru Market, Jammu. 23/6/2003
71. Sh. M.K. Mattoo, R/o Govt. Qtr. No: 561, Block (X) Top Sherkhanian Jammu. 24/6/2003
72. Sh. Kashi Nath Saproo S/o Lt. Sh. Sarwanand Saproo, R/o Indra Nagar Sgr; presently at Lane No: 17, H.No: 23 Surya Vihar Bohri Jammu. 25/6/2003
73. Sh. Kashi Nath Shashoo S/o Lt. Sh. Anand Ram Shashoo R/o Devsar, Kulgam Kmr; presently at H.No: 300/B Durga Nagar Sector-I, Bantalab Jammu. 25/6/2003
74. Sh. Kamal Krishen Raina S/o Sh. Hirday Nath Raina, R/o Batapora Sopore; presently at Sharda Colony Patoli Barahmana, Jammu. 25/6/2003
75. Sh. Radha Krishen Tickoo, R/o Kral Khud Sgr; presently at B-605, DDA-MIG, East of Loni Delhi. 26/6/2003
76. Smt. Amrita W/o Dr. M.L. Pandit R/o Kakran, Kulgam, Kmr; presently at 7-Priyadarshini Lane Patta Bohri, Jammu. 27/6/2003
77. Sh. Amarnath Khah S/o Lt. Pt. Mukund Ram Khah R/o Mattan Anantnag; presently at 108 Indira Vihar Janipur, Jammu. 28/6/2003
78. Sh. Janki Nath Koul, R/o Karapora Khushki Rainawari, Sgr; presently at HMT Colony, Pinjore Haryana. 29/6/2003

19 Chronology of Events

June 13, 2003 to July 13, 2003

June 13: Terrorist beheaded two civilians at Dharam Chowki, Ramban while forces busted a terrorist-hideout in Banihal area. Terrorists killed three civilians, including mother and a wife of a counter insurgent in Handwara, Kupwara.

June 14: 10 terrorists, a police cop and a civilian were killed at Hari Safeda, Surankote; one more jawan was killed in another incident in Poonch. Security forces defused an IED and busted a terrorist hideout in Rajouri and arrested a terrorist sympathiser in Banihal. Two army jawans were killed in Pak shelling in Nowshera sector.

June 15: BSF killed a TeJ Comdr. in Srinagar. Two terrorists were gunned down while five others escaped back to Pak in Manjakote, Rajouri.

June 16: Terrorists gunned down a woman in Marmat, Doda while forces busted a hideout and recovered arms in Kishtwar, Doda. An intruder was killed in RS Pura sector. Magisterial inquiry was ordered as people protested against alleged killing of two civilians in north Kashmir.

June 17: Five people including two terrorists and son of a PDP leader were killed in Kashmir valley.

June 18: A JCO, an SI of BSF, two terrorists and a civilian were killed in different incidents in Kashmir valley. Terrorists gunned down a VDC member and two kins of VDC members in different incidents in Mahore, Udampur. A BSF jawan was killed and two others injured in a blast in same area. VDC members arrested two Bangladeshis in RS Pura sector.

June 19: A JuM Comdr and two TeJ terrorists were killed while a tragedy was averted by timely detection of an IED in Kashmir valley. A civilian was killed and another injured in different incidents in Poonch and Bhaderwah. Forces recovered and destroyed huge bomb making material in Banihal.

June 20: Security forces killed four terrorists in Banihal and a terrorist each from Nowshera and Arnia. Terrorists beheaded an ex-serviceman in Surankote while an army major and a Lieutenant were among four security personnel injured in Mahore and Samba. Twenty seven people were injured in a grenade attack in Pulwama and three more in Char-e-Sharief. A terrorist was killed in Baramulla district.

June 21: Terrorists killed a woman in Surankote by injecting poison in Surankote and killed one another and injured her daughter in Rajouri. BSF Comdt. was injured in an encounter in Gool, Udampur.

June 22: Six terrorists and three army sources were killed in Kashmir valley. Terrorists again killed a civilian by injecting poison in Surankote. BSF killed two HM terrorists in Gool, Udampur.

June 23: Two civilians were killed and 50 others injured in a grenade blast in Shopian, five civilians including three family members were killed in Lolab valley.

June 24: Terrorists raped and later killed a girl at Sam Samed, Rajouri. A terrorist and an intruder were killed and a jawan hurt in other incidents in Jammu region. A terrorist and a jawan were among six people killed in Kashmir valley.

June 25: A civilian was killed and a timber smuggler injured and a boy rescued from terrorists' cultches in Kashmir valley. A civilian was killed and five others injured in Jammu region while forces recovered poisonous injections and syringes from a terrorist hideout in Thannamandi.

June 26: Eight terrorists, two Ikhwanis and a civilian were killed in different incidents in Kashmir valley.

June 27: Six terrorists, one soldier and a jawan were killed in Kashmir valley. An Army Subedar was killed in Pak shelling in Nowshera sector while 49 Burmese were nabbed in RS Pura sector. 12 army jawans were killed and seven others injured in a *fidayeen* attack on an army camp at Sunjwan, Jammu; two *fidayeen*s were also killed.

June 28: Terrorists killed two civilians in Kashmir valley. Three terrorists and a civilian were killed and five other civilians injured in different incidents in Jammu region.

June 29: An Army major, five terrorists and a civilian were killed and three others including two securitymen were injured in Jammu region while army launched a search operation in and around Sunjwan, Jammu. Four HUJI terrorists were arrested from a truck near Lakhanpur and Rs 8.50 lakh and arms and explosives recovered from them.

June 30: Two terrorists and three civilians including a Panch and a girl and one another civilian injured in Jammu region. Four terrorists were killed in Kashmir valley. One civilian was killed and a HC judge had a narrow escape as Pak resorted to shelling in Drass, Kargil.

July 1: Three terrorists, two jawans and a civilian were killed in Jammu region. Ten civilians and a CRPF jawan were injured in a grenade blast at Achabal Adda, Anantnag.

July 2: Two SPOs and two Ikhwanis were killed and one another Ikhwani injured while a DySP disappeared in Kashmir valley. A terrorist and a Panch were killed in Jammu region.

July 3: A terrorist, a securityman and a civilian were killed in Kashmir valley while DySP who went missing in Sopore was reportedly kidnapped by terrorists and latter released. A jawan was killed and an SPO kidnapped while a civilian was injured in Pak firing in Poonch. A Pak national was arrested by BSF from village Paharpur in Kathua district.

July 4: Minister Rural Development Peerzada Mohammad Sayeed was amongst 28 injured and one killed as terrorists attack him at Larnoo, Anantnag. A girl was killed and two others hurt in Pak shelling in Baramulla. A BSF jawan was killed and three others injured in explosion triggered by terrorists in Gool area.

July 5: Security forces killed three terrorists in Ganderbal area and two more terrorists including a Battalion Comdr. of HM in Tral. Terrorists killed a civilian in Barshalla, Doda and snatched two rifles from VDC members in Gandoh while forces arrested a terrorists' harbourer in Mendhar, Poonch.

July 6: Two children died and one was injured in a grenade explosion in Sopore while a Battalion Comdr of Al Badar and a government employee were killed elsewhere in Kashmir. A JeM financial Adviser a, jawan and a civilian were killed in Rajouri, while five infiltrators escaped in Nowshera sector. A terrorist was killed in Mahore, Udhampur.

July 7: Terrorists killed five civilians including two women and injured one another in Nowshera. Rajouri. Security forces killed a terrorist and apprehended two others in Chatroo, Doda.

July 8: Two persons including a HM Comdr were killed and six others injured in different terrorism related incidents in Kashmir valley. An SPO was killed in Doda and a terrorist in Surankote while Nowshera observed a complete bandh against yesterdays killings.

July 9: Terrorist shot dead a retired police officer who had joined PDP in Kulgam and beheaded Police Post Yaripora (Kulgam) incharge Ghulam Hassan Rishi.

July 10: Security forces killed two terrorists in Kashmir valley while Rural Development Minister Peerzada Mohammad Sayeed's PSO and a woman succumbed to their injuries sustained during attack on the minister in Kokernag area.

July 11: Two terrorists and a civilian were killed and 20 other civilians injured in different incidents across Kashmir valley. Four terrorist, a police constable and a civilian were killed and two civilians and a SPO injured across Jammu region. A Pak national was arrested in Pargwal sector.

July 12: Four persons including two Al-Badr terrorists were killed and a police constable injured in Jammu division. Three people were killed and 13 others injured, including five students from outside state of B.Ed College in Bandipore, in different incidents in Kashmir valley.

July 13: Nine terrorists and two soldiers were killed in different encounters while terrorists killed five civilians in Jammu region. A terrorist and a civilian were killed in Kashmir valley.

Kashmir Sentinel

A
Panun Kashmir Publication
(<http://PanunKashmir.org>)