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1 *BJP's Kashmir Policy*

IN INDIA the politicians change their statements like weather. In an interview to a German daily, *Der Spiegel*, Prime Minister Vajpayee said that the resolution of Kashmir problem would require serious compromises. He even warned that he will retire if his third peace initiative with Pakistan fails. On return to India, he backtracked from his earlier statement and claimed that talks with Pakistan over Kashmir would start on Pak occupation of PoK.

There were few takers for Prime Minister's subsequent clarification. Did not he express similar sentiments in his Kumarakom Musings? Mr Omar Abdullah, the former Minister of state for External Affairs in Mr Vajpayee's cabinet demanded, "the Prime Minister must clarify that compromises are to be made from bothsides". Mr Abdullah further reiterated, "we will not allow India to make compromises alone...Lines cannot be drawn from just one side". Mr Natwar Singh, a former diplomat and now a Congress think-tank, even went to the extent of charging NDA-government with surrendering India's rights to a third (read U.S.) country.

Why are the most responsible people raising doubts over Central Government's handling of Kashmir? Last month, the Americans intentionally leaked out a goal paper, prepared by the U.S. Embassy in Pakistan, to test the waters. The paper claims to "promote" peace in South Asia. It envisages joint India-Pakistan patrolling of LoC in 2004 and "final" solution of Kashmir problem by 2005.

The objectives set apart for the final solution include Demilitarization of Siachen, Re-adjustment of LoC and its ultimate conversion in to International Border, Porous Borders, Maximum Autonomy to Kashmir valley, sharply reducing the Indian military presence in Kashmir to match the end of Jihad. These proposals, if allowed to go through, would mean for India - Increased Chinese threat to Nobra valley, recognising an autonomous Islamised Kashmir within a secular Indian Union and enhanced subversion through porous borders. Total silence on the future rehabilitation of Displaced Kashmiri Pandits and Prime Minister's reiteration that in new arrangement also Jammu and Ladakh will continue to be tagged to Kashmir have raised serious doubts that India is being coerced to grant unilateral concessions to Pakistan and separatist lobbies in Kashmir valley.

The Americans, on whom the present dispensation in New Delhi relies too much, have been cold to India's legitimate concerns. Mr Richard Armitage during his recent visit, did not give any concrete assurance on putting enough pressure on Pakistan to halt cross-border terrorism. The US State Department spokesperson, Mr Richard Boucher, refused to comment that J&K was an Indian State. He continued to harangue on "taking in to account the wishes of the people of Kashmir" in an eventual political settlement.

The Americans are caught in a serious dilemma. With entire Islamic world arraigned against them on the issue of Iraq, the US wants to offer some strategic concessions. Kashmir comes handy. Why is BJP leadership so naive as not to understand where India's long-term security interests lie?

The BJP's Kashmir policy is built on sand. Its think-tanks blame Nehru for persistent acrimony with Pakistan and hold him responsible for the creation of Pakistan. They believe that a deal could be cut with Pakistan on Kashmir. BJP leadership's second untenable premise is that India's pro-Soviet tilt over the years hardened US position on Kashmir. Another illusion, under which a section of BJP leadership labours, is that strategic concessions on Kashmir would deliver Indian state for faster economic development and rapid march towards attaining the status of a global power. BJP's willingness to sacrifice the interests of J&K state's 42 percent minorities and weaken the strategic northern frontier need to be viewed in this context.

The role of Sangh Parivar, with the sole exception of VHP, also leaves much to be desired. It has shown total reluctance in putting pressure on BJP on any of the issues involved e.g. Genocidal attrition against minorities, pliant and weak diplomacy, blatant US interference, strategic demographic assaults on Jammu and ham-handed counter-insurgency operations etc. The general impression is that Sangh Parivar is not bothered about Hindus, particularly where they are in the minority.

In a few months from now, BJP will be going to the hustings to seek a renewed mandate. The BJP's performance during the past five years, on security issues, is bound to be keenly debated. It is time that the Sangh Parivar goes for earnest introspection on what holds it back from evolving a policy on Kashmir, that is nationalistic in essence, incorporates the long-term security needs of the country and meets the aspirations of J&K's 42 percent minorities.

2 *Beginnings of Kashmiri language and literature-I*

By Dr. S.S. Toshkhani

Introductory:

As a daughter of Sanskrit, Kashmiri has a number of traits that it shares with other modern languages of Aryan stock, and yet it has its own peculiarities also. What makes it a unique language in the Indian Linguistic context is the fact that it is analytic and at the same time synthetic holding many a secret of the development of modern Indo-Aryan languages.

That is perhaps, what Dr. Siddheshwar Verma means when he says that Kashmiri reveals linguistic strata of various ages - "Vedic, Buddhist Sanskrit, Pali, Kharoshthi Prakrit" etc. No wonder then that Georg Buhler considers it to be of greatest importance in the study of a comparative grammar of Indo-Aryan languages, preserving, as it does, not only several old word forms but also revealing how new word-forms evolved from old bases. Grierson too seems to endorse the same view despite his controversial classification of the language. The study of Kashmiri, he says, is an "essential preliminary to any inquiry" regarding "the mutual relations of modern vernaculars of India".

Distribution:

Kashmiri or Kashur' as its native speakers numbering over 31 lakhs according to the 1991 census call it, is spoken in the region extending from Uri to Matrigam in the north, Verinag to the Pir Panchal ranges in the south, Zojila to Kashtawar in the east and Shopian to Lagan in the West, covering an area of about 10,000 sq. miles. Besides the Kashmir valley, there is a sizeable concentration of the speakers of the languages and its dialects in Kashtawar, Ramban, Pogal Paristan, Reasi, Poonch and several other mountainous areas of the Jammu region. Today a large number of its speakers-around 5 lakh Kashmiri Pandits have been displaced from their original linguistic habitat and relocated in Jammu, Delhi and other places in India. There is a clearly perceptible dialectic variation in respect of accent and usage in the Kashmiri spoken in Kamraz (Skt. Kramarajya-North Western Kashmir) and Maraz (Madvarajya-South Kashmir) and the standard Kashmiri of Srinagar and adjoining semi-urban areas. The main areawise dialects, however, are Kashtawari, Pogali, Siraji and Rambani which preserve several old and archaic elements of the language. Unfortunately, there has been no attempt to study these dialects systematically which could well reveal secrets of its development of Kashmiri from the regional. Prakrit and Apabhramsha.

Origin:

There exists a very strong evidence to show that Kashmiri has descended from the vedic speech or, as Buhler has pointed out, from "one of the dialects of which the classical Sanskrit was formed." The presence in Kashmiri vocabulary of a large number of lexical and phonetic items that can be directly traced to Vedic corroborate this fact. For instance, the Kashmiri word 'yodvay', meaning 'if' is the same as Vedic 'yaduvay', the corresponding word for it in Sanskrit (and Hindi) being 'yadi'. Similarly we have the word 'ada' in Kashmiri, meaning 'so, then, thereupon, yes', which can be hardly distinguished from the Vedic 'addha' of which the Prakrit form too is 'addha', Again, the Vedic 'sanna' appears as 'son' in Kashmiri having an identical meaning 'deep'. Or take the Kashmiri word 'basta' which comes straight from Vedic 'bastajin' meaning 'goatskin', 'bellows'. It is from the Vedic root 'taksh' that the Kashmiri word 'tachh' (to scratch, 'to peel', 'to plane', 'to scrape') is derived, Sanskrit 'ksh' changing to 'chh' in Kashmiri as in Laksha>lachh, vaksha>vachh, draksha>dachh, akshi>achhi etc. And from this very root comes the Kashmiri word 'chhan', 'a carpenter'.

Generally, Kashmiri words have evolved from Vedic or old Indo-Aryan through intermediary Pali or Prakrit forms. Thus, Vedic 'prastar', from which the Hindi 'patthar' (=a stone) is derived, changes through the intermediary Prakrit 'pattharo' to 'pathar' (=on the floor) and 'pothur' (=the floor) in Kashmiri, retaining the original sense. Vedic 'atyeti', 'comes upon, goes by', 'enters' is another example. It becomes 'achcheti' in Prakrit and from it the Kashmiri 'atsun'. (=enter) is derived. In fact, numerous

such examples can be adduced to show that Kashmiri preserves not only phonetic and semantic but also morphological elements of Vedic speech.

The phonetic aspects of the tendency in Kashmiri to retain some most archaic word forms has been analysed at some length by Dr. Siddheshwar Verma. It will be interesting to look at some of the examples he gives to provide evidence on how Kashmiri shows contact with older layers of Indo-Aryan vocabulary. One such word that Dr Verma examines is 'kral', the Kashmiri for 'a potter'. While all other modern Indo-Aryan languages, he points out, except Nepali and Sinhalese, have words for it derived from the Sanskrit 'kumbhakar', post-Vedic development, Kashmiri alone preserves the phonetic remnants of the Vedic 'Kulal', an older word. Similarly, the Kashmiri word 'tomul', uncooked rice, he says, has retained the initial 't' of the Sanskrit 'tandulam', while in other modern Indo-Aryan languages, 't' has changed to 'ch', as in Hindi 'Chawal', Bengali and Oriya 'Chaul', Sindhi 'chavir', Nepali 'chamal' and so on.

It is on the basis of such linguistic evidence that eminent linguists like Morgenstierne, Emeneau, Bloch and Turner have arrived at their conclusions about Vedic origin of Kashmiri. Supporting this view, Prof. S.K. Toshkahni goes even further to point out some pre-Vedic developments in the language like the existence of words like 'sost' and 'rost' which later become 'sahit' and 'rahit'.

Grierson's folly:

Grierson, however, disregards all this massive evidence and holds an entirely different view about the origin and affiliation of the Kashmir language. Kashmiri, he insists is "a mixed language, having as its basis a language of the Dard group of the Pishacha family allied to 'Shina'. He accepts the fact that there is a predominance of Indo-Aryan vocabulary in Kashmir, but attributes this to a powerful influence of Indian culture and literature for over two thousand years. Almost echoing Grierson's views, Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji observes that "the Kashmiri language is a result of very large overlaying of a Dardic base with Indo-Aryan. But neither Grierson, nor Chatterji have cared to show what this Dardic base or substratum precisely is. Nor have they been able to produce any evidence of this 'overlaying'. Grierson's view are largely confined to the realm of hypothesis and fly in the face of actual facts of the language. This insistence on equating Kashmiri with Paishachi and therefore, with Dardic and Iranian makes little linguistic sense.

The Paishachi speech exists only in the few examples that Prakrit grammarians have given of it, there being virtually no other record available. And a glance at the phonetic and morphological features of Paishachi as given by them proves beyond any shadow of doubt that linguistically it has nothing to do with Kashmiri.

Grierson has further muddled the issue by placing Kashmiri in the Shina-Khowar group of Dardic languages and clubbing these in turn with the Kafir group. Both Morgiensterne and Emeneau have rubbished this classification and shown very clearly that Dardic languages "are of pure IA (Indo-Aryan) origin and go back to a form of speech closely resembling Vedic". Emeneau has further pointed out that though the Dardic languages are Indo-Aryan, "they did not pass through the MIA (Middle Indo-Aryan) development represented by the records".

The problem with Grierson is that he bases his arguments on a false premise, overlooking the fact that if there are some cognate words in Shina and Kashmiri, it is not because of any Dardic connection, but because both the languages draw upon Sanskrit or the old Indo-Aryan as the basic source for their respective vocabularies. He also ignores totally the fundamental differences that exist between the Linguistic features of Shina and Kashmir. What is more unfortunate, however, is that many later scholars have accepted his views uncritically, giving rise to a fallacy that still persists. As P.N. Pushp has clearly pointed out, "the data adduced by him in this regard is just confined to tentative resemblances: just some casual sounds and vagrant vocables regardless of the evidence offered by the structural framework that the Kashmiri language shares with sister languages including Sindhi, Panjabi, Marathi, Gujarati and Bengali".

Structural Framework:

What this structural framework actually is and how it developed can be known only when the language is “historically studied and structurally analysed”. In other words when we examine the written evidence of its gradual development through various periods of time. Like other Indo-Aryan Languages, Kashmiri too started assuming its distinct shape as a modern language around the 10th century after emerging from the MIA stage of Prakrit and Apabhramsha. And though much of its early literary output has been lost, whatever written evidence is available to us today of the language is sufficient to help us draw a clear outline of the process of its development.

The earliest extant record of Kashmiri we come across is in the form of a commentary on the verses of a work titled “Chhumma Sampraday”, which can be assigned to 11th century or so. The work, though in verse form has nothing as such to do with poetry but with the teachings of an esoteric Tantric sect of the times. A scrutiny of these verses shows that linguistically they are closer to regional Apabhramsha, though Prakrit forms also abound. This will be clear from the following two examples from the work:

Bhava sabhave sab avinashi

Sapan sabhavan vi uppanna

Te aj niravidhi agam prakashi

Idassa dishti Kali vipachhanna

Vigalani shunnya ashunnya swarupa

Vividh padarthu sathu kavatet

Ashayu chitti sada nirupa

Vichchi viju virtha prghatet

The nascent features of early Kashmiri that appear in the 'Chumma Sampradaya' take a more pronounced and distinct form in later works like the 'Mahanaya Prakasha', 'Banasur Katha' and Sukha-Dukha Charit, presenting a somewhat continuous picture of linguistic development from the 10th-11th tury to the end of the 15th century.

Surely Kashmiri must have acquired a distinct form in the 11th century for we have Kshemendra, a great stalwart of Sanskrit Literature recommending to upcoming Sanskrit poets of his times to study *bhasha kavya* or poetry written in the regional dialect alongside Prakrit and Apabhramsha works. Bilhana, another great Sanskrit poet, who lived in the 12th century, admires women of his native land for having the same command over Sanskrit and Prakrit as they had over their 'janma bhasha' or native tongue- obviously Kashmiri.

In Kalhana's Sanskrit chronicle "Rajatarangini", also written in the 12th century, we come across a curious piece of linguistic evidence in the form of a single sentence-"Rangassa Helu dinna" (the village of Helu was given to Ranga). But it is Amir Khusro's 'Nuh Siphir' that we find the nomenclature 'Kashmiri' being used as such for the first time (c.1300). Khusro has placed Kashmiri along side Lahori and Sindhi as one of the prominent languages spoken in India at that time.

If 'Chhumma Sampraday' presents the earliest recorded form of the Kashmiri language, 'Mahanay Prakash' documents the next stage of its development. Grierson considers it to be a work of the 15th century, but Prof PN Pushp and Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji assign it to the 13th century which seems nearer the mark as an examination of its language with its tendency for Prakritisation shows. Grierson confuses its author Shiti Khntha with Shiti Kantha the author of a grammatical work, 'Balabodhini Nyasa' who lived in the 15th century. Interestingly, the author of 'Mahanaya Prakasha' has described the language of his work as "Sarvagochara desha bhasha", or "the regional dialect intelligelbe to all".

According to Dr G.V. Tagare, the term 'deshi', 'deshya' or 'deshi bhasha' generally imply the spoken language of a particular province. It is in this context that the term "desha bhasha" used by Shiti Kantha has to be understood. This is made further clear by repeated references to "attharasa desha bhasha" or

eighteen provincial languages in Jain Prakrit works. There is little doubt that Kashmiri too must have one of eighteen languages in the early medieval period.

"Mahanaya Prakasha" (Illumination of the Great System or the System of the Great Meaning) is work of the Krama (Gradation) School which is akin to the Kula (Familial) School and is based on Shaktopaya or the Energetic Way. It deals with the Goddess, the Wheel of Energies and ritual sex and emphasises that the Great Meaning or the Absolute Sense expresses itself gradually through the four forms of speech: para (transcendent and undifferentiated), pashyanti (visioning), madhyama (interjacent) and Vaikhari (displayed) word. Obviously all this terminology and the esoteric practices of jnaansiddhi, mantrasiddhi and melapsiddhi associated with the propitiation of deities like Vameshi, Khechari, Bhuchari, Sambarbhakshini and Raudreshwari cannot by any stretch of imagination be taken to be poetry. But the importance of Mahanaya Prakasha lies in the fact that it is the only written evidence we have of the Kashmiri in the 13th Century. Its linguistic stratum appears to be definitely old, revealing how the language was emerging from its Prakriti-Apabhramsha form. Here is one example:

Yasu yasu jantus samvid yas gas

Nila pit sukh dukh sarup

Udyisdatta Samani samaras

Kamkampan tas tas anurup

In this verse the Kashmiri pronouns yasu-yasu-yas-yas (<skt. 'yasya', Pali-Prakrit 'yassa', whoever, whomever) and 'tas-tas' (< skt. 'tasya', Pali-Prakrit tassa', to that person. can be clearly recognised and also the genitive marker - 'as' (< skt-'asya') used with 'jantu' ('a c-creature') in 'jantus'. in fact a large number of Kashmiri words can be found in their older forms in Mahanay Prakash - an aspect dwelt at some length by Grierson in 'The language of the Mahanay Prakash'. It is a brilliant analysis in which Grierson accepts that the vocabulary of the work is predominantly Indo-Aryan, but attributes it to the authors being a Sanskrit scholar- something that does not appear to be convincing in view of Shiti Kantha's claim of having composed it in 'sarvagochar desbhasha'. Surely, Shiti Kantha's would not have made this claim without any basis.

While "Chhumma Sampraday" and "Mahanay Prakash" are the earliest recorded specimens of Kashmiri language and literature, the first heartbeats of Kashmiri poetry in the real sense of the word can be heard in the vaaks or verse sayings of Lal Ded only. Born in the early decades of the 14th century when Kashmir was in the throes of an unprecedented political upheaval with a collision between two cultures, the indigenous and Islamic, threatening to tear the entire social fabric apart, Lal Ded played the dual role of a poet and spiritual leader to ensure continuity and stability. No other Kashmiri poet has scaled the poetic heights that she attained and influenced Kashmiri psyche so deeply as she did. Even today her vaaks or verse sayings are a source of immense spiritual solace to Kashmiri speaking people, suffused as they are with great wisdom. Her mystic insights, and her vision of the relationship between the individual soul and the supreme being, her awareness of the human condition and a deep sense of compassion, her protests against everything that demeans a human being and restricts his freedom of will and her Shaiva world-view of the oneness of all consciousness make her - what she is regarded to be - the greatest cultural icon of the Kashmiris.

Lal Ded translated her existential anguish into soul sterring poetry, emphasising the inwardness of spiritual experience and lashing out at religious formalism and external ceremony. But more than anything else, she chose to speak to the common masses in their own mother tongue rather than the literary language of the elite, borrowing her imagery from everyday life and making accessible to them the subtle truths of Kashmir's Trika philosophy.

This direct contact with the life and concerns of the common people charged her language with tremendous power and made her poetry glow with a unique incandescence. In fact she shaped and enriched the Kashmiri language in a manner that it formed the basis on which a new Kashmiri identity was forged. Here are a few of her representative 'Vaaks' which are etched indelibly on the collective memory of Kashmiris :

**Ami pana sodaras navi chas laman*

Kati bozi day myon mye ti diyi tar

Amyan takyan pony zan shraman

Zuu chhum braman gara gatshaha

(With a rope of loose-spun thread am I-towing my boat upon the sea.

Would that God heard my prayer
and brought me safe across!

Like water in cups of unbaked clay

I run to waste.

Would God I were to reach my home!

(--Tr. Prof Jaya Lal Kaul)

(Gagan tsuy bhutal tsuy

tsuy dyan yavan tu rath

Arga, tsandun, posh, pony tsuy

Tsuy sakal tu lagizi kyah?

(Yea, Thou alone the heavens, thou the earth,

And Thou alone the day, the air, the night

And Thou alone the slumbering and rebirth

Thi offerings of sandal oil and light!

Yea, Thou alone all these, for Thou art all,

What, then, to offer Thee, what name to call?

(--Tr-Nilam Cram Cook)

**Gwaran vonanam kunuy vatsun*

Nyabra dopnam andar atsun;

Suy gav Lali mye vaak tii vatsun,

Tavay hyotum nangay natsun.

(My Guru said, "But one thing you must know

How, from within, still further in to go!"

The words became my precept and my chance

And so it came I, Lalla naked dance.

(--Tr. Nila Cram Cook)

If we look at the diction of these verses, we will find that Lal Ded uses words which are commonly used in the colloquial Kashmiri of today. In fact, her language appears to be surprisingly close to modern Kashmiri. Obviously this must not have been the language of her vaakas at the time they were composed. What it must have actually been like, we have no means to ascertain today. As these were not written down when they fell from the lips of the poetess but passed on through oral tradition from generation to generation till Bhaskar Razdan translated sixty of them into Sanskrit in the 18th century. In the intervening centuries it must have imperceptibly changed with each generation introducing its own linguistic elements and these accretions finally adding up to massive interpolations. The only way left for us to come as close as possible to the original language of the vaakas would be to critically edit the text in light of the diction of the extant works written immediately before them and after them.

However, even in the form in which the vaakas are available to us today we find that Lal Ded has used quite a number of Sanskrit and Saanskrit-derived words, pointing to the form of the Kashmiri language in

her times. Here are some examples of such words: 'gagan', 'bhutal', 'dyan' (< 'dina'), 'pawan', 'sakal', 'sahaj', 'kusum', 'mudh', 'jnana', 'turag', 'desh', 'wopdish' (<updesh), tset ('Chitta'), 'Svaman', 'amritsaras', 'lay', bhan (<bhanu'), 'mukur', zanam' (< janma), tubh (<tobha), ahar, 'bhavaruj', 'artsun' (< 'archan'), 'akshar', 'rasayan, 'brahmand', 'rav' (<ravih), 'varun', 'salil', 'lavan', 'rasani' (<rasana), 'prakash', 'shishir', 'pran', 'sham', 'dam', 'muktidvar', 'neshibod (< 'nishbuddhih'), 'shunya', 'vag' (< 'valga'), 'vak', 'manas', 'kul', 'akul', 'pashya' (< 'pashya), 'vimarsha' (< 'vimarsha), 'rajan' (< 'rajani'), 'ambar', 'laz' (< lajja), 'mrig', 'shrigal', 'nishpath', 'chidanand-as', 'jnanaprakash-as', 'jnanamarg', 'varna', 'aham', 'antar', 'nabhi', 'tslitan' (<'chetana'), 'atsitan'- (<achebra), 'ashvavan', 'geh' (<'griha') 'svalabh (<'sulabhah'), 'kesari', 'van', 'anna-s', 'dwish' (< 'dvesh), 'zal' (< 'jala') 'chamar', 'rath', 'simhasana', 'ahlad', 'charman', 'trin', 'ahar', 'ahlad', 'chhatra', 'panka', 'pad', 'hridi' (< 'hridaye), 'shank (< 'shnka), 'karan', 'vatsun' (< vachana') and so on.

Lal Ded chose 'vaak' as the verse form to convey her personal experiences and mystic insights and used it with such perfection that it acquired a serene dignity and subtlety of tone which no one has been able to surpass. Her mastery over the medium suggests that she must have come at the culmination of a long poetic tradition rather than having started a new one. It is difficult to say with certainty whether 'vaak' is based on any Rigvedic metrical pattern or Prakrit-Apabhramsha metres like 'arya' and 'gaha'. But one thing is certain-Lal Ded contributed the best of her creative genius to make the four-lined stanza an ideal medium for expressing philosophical and mystic content.

(To be concluded)

3 Tribute to Nadim and his comrades

Pandit Communists and Left Movement in India

By Dr. M.K. Teng

THE Communist outlook which pervaded the contemporary marxist ideology, cast its shadows on the evolution of the Communist movement in Jammu and Kashmir. In its earlier phases, the main inspiration for the movement was the revolutionary movement in Russia and the rise of the Soviets to power. In the Indian context, the Marxist movement spread out into an anti-imperialist struggle. Lenin did not conceive nationalism as the basis of an anti-imperialist struggle. Confronted by the anomaly of an anti-imperialist struggle in India, without recognising India as a nation, the Indian Communist Party adopted categories of change, which were not Indian in content and which rejected the continuity of Indian history.

The traditional leadership of the Communist Party in India, in utter disregard of the historical process which Karl Marx claimed, determined the evolution of the human society, committed the fateful error of ignoring the continuity of Indian history. The communist movement in India, did not recognise the civilisational ethos with its social linkages, the forms of intellectual experience which evolved in thousand of years of social change, and the value-structures which survived relativism of time. The Indian civilisation determined the categorical imperatives of the Indian society. The Indian society grew into social forms and heirarchical gradations, the substructures of the social culture and the forms and institutions of authority and political control.

The Indian renaissance which formed the foreground of the liberation movement from foreign dominance, marked the re-assertion of the historical continuity of India. The Indian renaissance did not form an expression of the Indian reaction to the replacement of the Mughal rule by the British power. It represented the recognition of the continuity of the Indian history and sought to locate the basis of the content and contours of the Indian nation.

Dina Nath Nadim the poet of Kashmir and one of the founding fathers of left movement in Kashmir, born and brought in an Kashmiri Pandit family shared the processes of socialisation to which his generation was exposed. The liberalist English education had revolutionised the Kashmiri Pandit mind, leaving him alone in a context which was dominated by the frigidity of a society which resisted change. The Kashmiri Pandits, isolated by their commitment to liberal reformism and also to the earlier moderate movement for the Indian freedom, romanticised their loneliness. Nadim actually, was the harbinger and the bard of the spiritual satisfaction the Kashmiri Pandit community found in its dreams of the nation of India and the Sanskrit content of its civilisation. This, incidentally formed the basis of the Indian national movement as well. Indian history was a universe of experience in which the Indian people had borne indescribable persecution. Nadim sang of the revolution, which was aimed to change the world in which he was born. He looked to the destruction of the historical forces, which sustained the British colonialism in India. He yearned for the demolition of the whole super-structure, which had caught him and his community in a strangle-hold. His poetry reflected a world of desire to breathe freedom, which his community had always been denied, and which he too was denied even after the British colonialism ended.

He talked to me for long hours at his home in Srinagar, where I went to meet him. I saw deep inside him, a sorrowful quest still unfulfilled of a world in which he would see himself rise into a Sphin. He did not rise. The sorrow of his helplessness expressed itself in poetic pathos, a deep sense of unfulfillment and impatience with the slowly moving process of history, which, he was, as a Marxist, trying to accelerate.

The imagery he used was very native to his race memory and basically reflected a deep link with the ethos of the Sanskrit civilisation of which Jammu and Kashmir was a part. His fundamental concept of good, was not a catagical imperative as the left movement in India held it to be. This concept of good was local, tinged by liberalist influences.

The Communist Party of India perhaps, due to the psychological reversion of its leaders, mainly men of the English-speaking intellectual class of India, were unable to overgrow their liberalist outlook. They simply did not visualise revolutionary movement in the context of the Indian modes of production and the

super-structures of social gradations, institutions, values and instruments of authority which had grown over them. Their struggle against colonialism was not a natively organised war to end it. They attempted to Semitise Marxism and methodologically apply the conceptual framework of the conflict between Marxism and Semitic theology, to India. They tore the revolutionary movement in India from its civilisation moorings. Lenin had Semitised Marxism, for the national consciousness of Russia was dominantly Semitic. Mao Tse Tung Sinified Marxism, perhaps, realising that any attempt at Semitising it in China, would isolate the Communist Party of China from the Chinese milieu.

The Indian Communist Party attempted to apply the conceptual Marxist framework of conflict between Semitic theological precept and revolutionary change to the Indian conditions. They were isolated. The Sanskrit theological precept did not conflict with change and even with revolutionary change. Marx had refused to recognise the history of India, for his oft quoted, "Asiatic mode of production", was based upon the assumption that during the incredibly long history of India the modes of production had remained unchanged.

The Indian communists also rejected the reality of Indian history. The Muslims in the Communist Party also insisted upon the rejection of the Indian civilisation as a reality. Their denial of the Indian history was inspired by different considerations. In the static economic order which the Communists in India underlined as the basis of the Indian history, they identified the Marxist categories of dialectics of history such as the classes, with castes in India and caste-war with class-war. They identified the ethnic centricism, including Muslim separatism, with independent nationalities.

The self-determination for nationalities which the communist party of India adopted as the basis of the freedom of India, was a negation of both the unity of the working class as well as the unity of India. The Muslim intellectual class rejected the civilisational unity of India and the continuity of the Indian history out of commitment to the separate Muslim nation in India and its separate freedom. The Communist Party in the Punjab and in Bengal suffered dissolution in 1947, due to its commitment to the freedom of the nationalities in India.

Iftikar Ahmad, a senior communist party cadre of the Punjab, arrived in Kashmir after the partition to canvass for the support of the National Conference to the accession of the State to Pakistan. The left flanks in the National Conference, then led by Niranjan Nath Saraf (Raina), a thoroughbred Marxist, rebuffed Iftikhar. When I asked Pran Nath Jalali about the resolution on the right of self-determination of the nationalities, the National Conference had adopted, he explained that the resolution for the self-determination of the nationalities was conceived within the broad framework of the Indian unity.

The Communist ranks in Kashmir, who formed an influential flank of the National Conference, did not reject the continuity of the Indian history, as the basis of the revolutionary struggle in India. The conflict between them and the Communist leadership in India, was far deeper than it appeared to be. Nadim's political outlook and its expression in his poetry underlined a spiritual belonging to the history of the Indian civilisation. *Vitasta* he insisted symbolised the "five thousand years of history" and therefore, formed the vehicle of his famous Opera.

The Communist Party cadres in Kashmir began to disintegrate under the pressure of the Muslimisation of the State. N.N. Saraf (Raina) ran away to England. The other senior leaders wobbled in frustration. The outlook of the Communist Party of India, still under the shadows of Adhikari doctrine, which in effect sought to Semitise Marxism almost on the lines Lenin had done in Russia, identified the Muslimisation of the state with the class conflict in Kashmir. It reduced the communist cadres in Kashmir to mercenaries performing the "historical role" of facilitating the Islamisation of the political culture of Kashmir.

During those fateful days in Kashmir, I was present in a meeting between Nadim and Late Moti Lal Misri. The two men talked in hyperboles of the abandonment of Marxist categories in the political process that had unfolded in the Kashmir. Misri was disconcerted and in agony, his head clean shaven, which gave him a stoic bearing. Misris were able people. Moti Lal's younger brother Mohan Lal Misri, was one of the few scholars in economics of growth in India and taught at the university of Kashmir. He too was a Marxist, more of a traditional stock. Moti Lal, had broken up under the dichotomy in the Indian

Communist movement, its rootlessness, its commitment to Semitise Marxism and its attempt to relate Marxist categories to the rise of the movement for the unity of the Muslim Ummah. The unity of the Muslim Ummah, was incidentally used by the Soviets as an instrument of cold war. Remorse was writ large on the face of Misri, Nadim wore the pathetic smile of the poet in him perhaps, expressive of greater sorrow, which gnawed at his conscience. While Misri was leaving, he looked back at Nadim as he reached the door way. Then suddenly Nadim told Misri "Moti Lal, read Bhagwat Geeta: it will give you a sense of detachment". Misri looked back, his sardonic smile frozen on his face. He said "alright" and left.

I did not ask Nadim any questions on what he had told Misri though he looked at me, with the expectation that I would. There was no need. I had suddenly realised that the Communist cadres in Kashmir rejected the Semitisation of Marxism, the Indian Communist Party had attempted and met the disaster it did not expect. The Communist Party ideologues and men in Kashmir, mainly the Kashmiri Pandits did not forsake the civilisational basis of the revolutionary change in India nor did they reject the continuity of the Indian history.

Nadim's poetry in its major appeal transcends, the "incorrigible laws of history" and reach out to a new epoch, which unfolded with the rise of New Marxism or Euro-communism, during the last decades of the cold war. He visualised revolutionary change in continuity of the Indian history and though that brought him in conflict with Muslim establishment in Kashmir, he did not cut off from his historical moorings. His poetry gleams with pathos of the elemental tragedy of the history of Kashmir. END

4 'Operation Sarpvinash' - What the media says

A security blindspot

Recent media reports including one in this newspaper, indicate that an intelligence failure of Himalayan proportions has taken place in the Surankote areas of the sub-Pir Panjal region in J&K. If these reports are correct, the failure to know that jihadi terrorists had infiltrated into a vast area more than 30-km deep behind the Line of Control over the past few years amounts to a gross dereliction of duty by the people concerned. The agencies responsible to a large extent are obviously the State Police intelligence, the Intelligence Bureau (IB) and the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW). The army's intelligence services have no role in internal intelligence although their signals intelligence assets were either inadequate or inefficient in locating terrorist operations launched from this area.

It is true that everywhere in the world it is intelligence failure that comes into spotlight far more than intelligence successes. But that makes it all the more important to reduce the potential errors and blindspots. Regrettably, intelligence failure had led to the Pakistan army's aggression across the LoC at Kargil going unnoticed for months and the need to vacate the aggression had cost hundreds of young lives. The Kargil Review Committee had clearly highlighted this aspect, and came under extensive criticism for its efforts. A task force had been set up to look into the changes needed in our intelligence system. This, in turn, had led to a range of recommendations of the Group of Ministers to improve the management of national security. The Union government had adopted the recommendations more than two years ago. These reports, understandably, were not made public, but the common citizen has the right to expect an improvement in the system after Kargil. The recent revelations clearly belie those expectations.

What is perhaps equally worrisome is that our policy makers seem to have ignored the true dimensions of the nature of the war through terrorism that we have been facing for two decades. For years, Pakistan, its intelligence agencies and jihadi groups have used terror as a conscious strategy. Of late, Islamabad has come under severe pressure to curtail infiltration across the frontiers. The inevitable direction of policy by the jihadis then would be to shift their command and control infrastructure inside India, especially in J&K. Such a move provides Islamabad the basis for denying any role in the violence perpetrated in the state. The government must immediately institute a high-level inquiry into the latest evidence of the failure of its intelligence and arrive at an assessment of Pakistani strategy. You just cannot hope to fight terrorism without good intelligence.

Source: Indian Express

5 Dereliction of duty

The discovery of terrorist camps on the Indian side of the border is a scandal which even outdoes the shame of the initially undetected Kargil incursion. The Indian government never tires of pointing out Pakistan's double game when it comes to turning the infiltration tap off. Unfortunately, the sin of being caught napping at the border post--with the knowledge that there are constant machinations under way which put the nation's security in serious jeopardy--is unpardonable. India has been caught as much sinning as sinned against in this department.

The news that Pakistani militants have managed to cross deep into the Indian side of the Line of Control is a shocking expose of the shortcomings of those entrusted with the duty of protecting the nation. But what is appalling is that the army did have an inkling of the terrorists setting up camps 35 kilometres inside the Indian LoC around Hilkaka in Jammu and Kashmir four years ago. The disturbing question is: what was the world's second-largest army waiting for? *Jehadis* to break into song around the campfire?

For some inexplicable reason, the army launched an operation to flush out the insurgents only on April 21 this year. This, after claims by the army itself that the camps were being jointly used by various terrorist outfits--including the Lashkar-e-Toiba for 'planning, coordination, transit and safe-keeping of arms'. So far, 40 percent of the area has been allegedly 'fumigated'. With the army informing that 'only 62 of the 350 terrorists suspected to be manning the bases' have been eliminated, even the country's defence establishment knows that there has been a major dereliction of duty. One shudders to think of the possibility that other terror camps inside Indian territory remain undetected.

One would have thought that the Kargil experience--in which it was left to locals to blow the whistle signalling the presence of infiltrators from Pakistan--would have taught us to be on guard. Nothing of that sort seems to have happened. It seems more than a little pathetic that while our external affairs minister suggests India and Pakistan hold joint patrols along the border--countering Islamabad's standard excuse that infiltrators are 'beyond its control'--our defence minister can only watch in puzzlement as the security forces are caught snoring at their posts.

Source: Hindustan Times

6 Time up for militants?

The organised media trip to Surankot in Jammu and Kashmir by the Indian security forces may prove to be a public relations disaster for the military top brass. The description of Operation Sarp Vinash by most newspapers bore a close resemblance to the report of the blind men on the shape and size of an elephant. However, a close reading of most accounts of the handling of the operation does raise uncomfortable questions about the level of alertness of the security forces in Jammu and Kashmir. The “take-over” by the militants of an area of about 35 kilometres inside Indian territory was a disturbing revelation. The official insistence that the incursions by the militants should not be equated with Kargil raise more than routine doubts about what was really happening in the Hilkaka area. The militant outfits launched some of their most potent operations in Jammu and Kashmir from this piece of land. Major-General Hardev Liddar, general officer commanding of the Romeo Force, has been quoted as having said that some of the field fortifications destroyed in the operation were evidently constructed with the help of Pakistani regulars. The fact that over 100 bunkers were destroyed by the Romeo Force points to the long presence of the militants in the sensitive belt kissing the LoC. Bunkers are not make-shift tents that can come up overnight. They were being used for storing arms and ammunition and providing shelter to the militants.

Be that as it may, the good news is that the Hilkaka operation has helped the Army ferret out information about similar "cluster camps" in other parts of Jammu and Kashmir. With the help of helicopters, a facility denied to them earlier, the security forces are hopeful of smoking out most militant groups through coordinated action. Of course, the fact that about 60 militants were killed in an operation last month does not add up to much. There are over 400 militants, representing various jihadi groups, currently active in the Indian side of the LoC.

With the construction of helipads at sensitive points in the difficult terrain, the coming days may see the Army taste bigger success. The members of the Romeo Force of the Rashtriya Rifles, backed by Victor Force across Pir Panjal, are for the first time in a position to take complete control of the dense forests along the LoC because of the air-support that is now available to them. The administration too has played a key role by preventing the migrant shepherds from entering the militant-infested territory. Good luck Romeo for the different mission you have chosen for yourself. *Courtesy: The Tribune*

7 Kashmir-1954

In the vicinity of Jhelum

KS Correspondent

Nature has created Kashmir as one of the most scenic Valleys on earth. From time to time, foreign travellers have captured this beauty in their cameras. Others have painted this beauty on canvas and in drawing sketches.

In the summer of 1954 Laxman alias Sudhakar Ganesh Khasgiwale, an artist from Poona, visited Kashmir to capture and sketch Kashmir in its beauty and life-style.

Ganesh Khasgiwale was trained in Art (Painting) by Late Shri M.R. Achrekar, the celebrated artist of India. The Art society of India granted him scholarship. He used the opportunity to visit Kashmir and stayed there for six months. It was the time when the coloured photography techniques were not reached to India. With a very old camera viz Ziess Ikon-Ikonta model 1936 he photographed Kashmir's beautiful nature in black and white. In his collection there are beautiful photographs of the old city of Srinagar, on social life of Kashmiri Pandit community and its shrines, on day-to-day life of Hanjis, the boat-people etc.

Khasgiwale was awarded first prize and trophy from Achrekar's Academy of Art. He won numerous awards from exhibitions held at different places. In his one-man exhibitions at Pune, Mumbai, Delhi, Srinagar and Ahmednagar he had tremendous success.

Laxman got practical experience in photography and commercial art during his apprenticeship in the RK Films of the famous actor and director Late Sh. Raj Kapoor. Subsequently he was to float his own concern "Khasgiwale Chitrayan" in Pune. He made a big name in printery and book decoration. Khasgiwale was honoured to decorate a book 'Lamps of India', a prestigious publication of Govt. of India.

In 1971 Laxman started an Advertising Agency, "Shree Padma Publicity". He designed folders, informative literature, publicity material for industrial houses, educational institutions, commercial establishments and offices.

His highly informative articles on art and allied subjects in various periodicals and books have been well-received. Laxman's radio talks were highly appreciated. He published a book on 'sketching' for the students and for those who have a desire to learn painting. At present he is working on a favourite subject viz. 'Indian Art and Design'. Khasgiwale, during his sojourn in Kashmir, studied the Arts and Crafts of Kashmir. In the process, he became one with the nature--human beings, flora and fauna. The humanistic and the Connoisseur attitude inspired him to pen and pencil some of the characters he met. These sketches, have been published in the book 'Chinarchi Pane' in Marathi language. The book is also scheduled to appear in Hindi and English.

For the exiled Pandit community in Pune, May 2002 was a big moment. Khasgiwale organised an exhibition of his photographs - In the vicinity of Jhelum. His book 'Chinarchi Pane' was also released during the exhibition. The exhibition was inaugurated by Lt. Gen. Moti Dar (Retd.), whereas the book was released by another Kashmiri, Shri Pran Kishore, a noted playwright.

8 Pandits to be relocated in housing clusters

KS Correspondent

SRINAGAR, May 25: The State government has acceded to the demand made by Kashmiri Pandits in Valley for housing them in clusters. As per the state government the clusters are to be set up at district headquarters. Hindu Welfare Society, a Kashmir-based organisation put off the hunger strike, which was to begin today. The government has asked Pandit leaders to provide a list of members, who intend to move into these clusters. No further details were available.

In a significant move the Central government has agreed to consider issuing of special identity cards to the displaced members of the community, who left the Valley after 1990 and were not registered as migrants. The move is expected to benefit at least 50,000 displaced persons. The Union Home Ministry has, however, refused to re-open the registration of Pandit migrants in Delhi. "If the bonafides of the Kashmiri migrants are proved, they could be considered for registration in Jammu and the Government of Delhi could accordingly be intimated for the issue of identity cards," the ministry said in a communique to the Kashmiri Samiti, Delhi. Its President, Sunil Shakhder was asked to intimate certain details in respect of each of the families to the Home Ministry for verification through J&K government.

Mr Shakhder termed it as a landmark step towards establishing the identity of the displaced people. He said this was urgently needed as the future identification of a large chunk of Pandits is dependent on it. He added that if the revenue records in the Valley were somehow destroyed, Pandits would lose their claim of belonging to Kashmir.

9 *KPs lambast Digvijay Singh*

KS Correspondent

AMBALA, May 28: Indian politicians can sacrifice everything to keep intact their votebank. What better way to appease Muslim communal lobbies than alleging that the Pandits abandoned Kashmir of their own. This is precisely what Mr Digvijay Singh, Congress Chief Minister of MP, said at Jalandhar on May 25. The Chief Minister, who had been called to speak at a special Shaheed Parivar Fund function, organised by the Hind Samachar group of newspapers, left his audience stunned. He claimed that the decision to shift Kashmiri Pandits from the Valley to Jammu was a major historical mistake.

Haryana Panun Kashmir Working Committee Secretary JL Koul condemned the statement of Mr Digvijay Singh. He said Mr Singh was not aware of the ground realities in Kashmir and comparing its situation with Punjab militancy was improper. Kaul said the policy of appeasement pursued by the Congress in the state had backfired. Panun Kashmir leader alleged that massive development funds released by the Central government had led to amassing of wealth by politicians and bureaucrats in that state. Kaul added that nobody leaves his place of origin by will and blamed it on the weak policies of the government.

10 Cop as a 'fidayeen'

KS Correspondent

SRINAGAR, June 8: In a filmi style story, a cop has turned out to be a terrorist '*fidayeen*'. Two days back, the Kupwara police arrested ASI Gh. Rasool Wani, SHO Sogam and Constable Abdul Ahad for allegedly facilitating a suicide strike on Lalpora Police Station.

On June 3, a young man in police uniform appeared at the main entrance of Lalpora Police Station in Lolab valley. With an AK-47 in his hand, he introduced himself as a Constable of the Kupwara police and asked the Sentry to open the gate for him. Alert Sentry did not take him at his word and pounced upon him. He snatched his AK-47 rifle. The terrorist ran away and vanished into a thin group of residents. The policemen laid siege of the area but did not open fire due to the presence of school children in the direction, the militant fled.

The two cops, Wani and Ahad had accompanied the terrorist to the police station, a few days before the attack, to familiarise himself with the area and facilitated his movement around security frisking points. ASI Wani was arrested following identification by a policeman in the market two days ago. His interrogation led to the arrest of Ahad. The two confessed their involvement in suicide attack on Lalpora Police Station and a CRPF camp in which two jawans were killed and four injured. Kupwara SP, SD Singh Jamwal said the two might be involved in more such cases and they would be charged with murder, waging war against the state and harbouring militants under the Arms Act. He added there was enough evidence to convict the two on all counts.

11 Gen Sinha takes over as J&K Governor

KS Correspondent

SRINAGAR, June 4: Lt. Gen. (Retd.) SK Sinha today took over as Governor J&K State today. Gen. Sinha is no stranger to J&K. He described his appointment as more like a home coming. He recalled, "I was in charge of the massive airlift operation on October 2, 1947. We carried out 800 sorties (of ferrying troops to Kashmir in view of tribal invasion from Pakistan) in 18 days, which was the largest airlift operation in the world till the Berlin airlift years later".

The new Governor said he had served in the state as part of the army for 12 years in every sector. A prolific writer, he has authored five books and contributed more than 300 articles on various issues in several national newspapers. His books "A Soldier Recalls" and "Operation Rescue (1947-48)" have been widely acclaimed.

Gen. Sinha had a major contribution in formulating the new counter-insurgency policy in Assam. He has clear-cut views on J&K. With his vast experience of handling the unified command in Assam, his appointment in J&K assumes significance. Soon after taking the oath, he said the Unified Command in J&K needs some refinement. His views on resettlement of displaced Hindus reflect his strategic acumen.

12 Kangri and Kashmiris

By Dr. Ramesh Kumar

'What Laili was on Majnun's bosom, so is the Kangar to a Kashmiri'. This Kashmiri proverb sums up the relationship between a Kashmiri and the Kang'r, the brazier that keeps the Kashmiri warm during harsh winter.

Environment influences the culture and the life-style of the people. It is emerging as an autonomous factor in the new historiography. Kangri, Pheran, Shawl, Numdah, Gabba, Hamam, Samovar etc., were evolved by Kashmiris over centuries to beat back the rigors of a hard winter. Many of the hilly regions do have variants of these items.

In winter, the Kashmir valley experiences freezing temperatures and the frozen snow used to block lanes and bylanes for months together. Kashmiris devised an innovative brazier to keep themselves warm. The impoverished peasantry that could ill afford bukharis and hamams had only Kangri to fall back upon. Hamam construction remained confined only to the mohalla mosque. Kangri is a cheap source of warmth and also keeps Kashmiris mobile during the winter. It is only during the last few years that hamams are being built in private constructions also.

Each family member has a Kangri. For guests also a few Kangris are kept reserved. Small children have smaller Kangris. Many Kashmiris use Kangris round the clock. Sometimes the two members share a Kangri and this form of warming up is called 'Shalfa'.

Origin:

Not much is known about how Kangri came into use. It has led to lot of speculation on its origin. It has been suggested that the Kashmiris learnt the use of Kangri from the Italians in the retinue of the Mughal emperors, who usually visited the Valley during summer months. In Italy and Spain braziers were made in great variety of shapes and ornamented. They bore medallions with figures, heraldic devices and complex bas-reliefs. In the seventeenth century France also, the braziers were in use. They were placed on tripods, with fire-irons attached, or made portable with bars on the movable top to rest the feet upon.

Historical data contradicts the claim that Kangri has come to Kashmir from Italy. Kang'r, as Kashmiris call it, has been in general use in Kashmir since early times. According to Sir Aurel Stein, Kang'r name is in all probability derived from Sanskrit, *Kasthangarika* (Kash(wood)+Angarika(Fire embers)).

Earliest references to Kangri are found in Mankha's *Sri Kanthcharitam* and Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*. Mankha describes it as '*hasantika*', i.e. a pot that could be carried in hand. He says it was in regular use in his times. In fifth Canto, Verse 462, Kalhana writes, "Long lasted the discussion as to the disposal of the crown, while those (Brahmans) whose beards were scorched by smoke, wished to raise this man or that to the throne". Though not a very complimentary, it gives life-like description of the assembled Brahmans. It refers here evidently to the burn-marks left by the Kang'r.

Kang'r has fascinated European travellers too. Bernier, Moorcraft, Hugel Vigne and others have all noted the unique importance that Kangri holds in the life of an average Kashmiri. In Indian Antiquary two monographs on Kang'r were published by European traveller-scholars. J.Hinton Knowles, the distinguished student on Kashmir's folk lore wrote in detail on Kang'r, in 1885 (Vol. 14, pp 256-266). Dr. Hultzsch's monograph was published in the subsequent issue, XV p.57.

Utility:

Once a certain hakim from the plains visited Kashmir valley during winter to see how Kashmiris beat back the cold. At Baramulla, where visitors changed their horses and coolies for boats, for onward journey to Kashmir, he saw a boatman squatting in his boat in the cold wind. The man wore just a thin shirt. The hakim thought that the boatman had turned mad and would die due to cold injury. Suddenly, hakim's eyes fell on Kangri struck between hanji's knees. On seeing this, hakim decided to return to the plains. He left saying, "The Kashmiris have got their own antidote for the winter cold. No need is there for me to go to them".

Besides Kashmir valley, the use of Kangri is also in vogue in some Kashmiri speaking cold regions of Jammu province. It has travelled there alongwith the migrants. With the total displacement of Kashmiri Pandits to Jammu, members of the Dogra community are opting, for Kangri and discarding the old 'Sagri'.

The utility of the Kangri would have remained limited, had the pheran, a voluminous gown, which the Kashmiris use, not come into use. Like Kangri, the origins of Pheran are lost in antiquity. Kashmiri, wherever he goes, or even when asleep holds Kangri close to him. He loves Kangri and adores it. A Persian Ode to Kangri describes its usefulness:

Aye Kangri, aye Kangri

Qurban tu Hur-o-Pari

Tu Az Pari Nazuk Tari

Az Bargi Gul Raina Tari

Chon Dhar Bagal Se Gheer Mhat

Dardi Az Dil Mahn Se Bari

Bahr Chand Vaspas Se Kahm

Az Vasp Azan Bala Tari

Hkaih Ajaib Dil Bari

Translated into English, it reads:

Oh Kangri! Thou art

lovelier than houries and fairies

Thou art more delicate than a fairy

And fresher than a rose-petal,

When I take thee in my loving embrace,

The stresses and strains of life take leave of me,

Words fail me to adequately praise thee

Truely, thou art a wonderful companion.

Kangri has also been described as a 'Sheena Maharin', the Snow-Queen. Its loss means terrible for a Kashmiri. He cannot bear it:

Kami Sana Kundalay Niyi Myani Kangar

Kya Kara Chas Tsalan,

Kapay Yiviham Kopuy Kadahas

Kya Kara Chas Tsalan,

O! which wrtech of a woman has stolen my Kangar?

What can I do! I bear the loss

Could I catch that wretch, I would tear the hair

Out of her head.

What can I do! I bear the loss.

Kangri:

The Kangri is a small earthenware bowl of a quaint shape, held in a frame of wicker-work. The earthen ware bowl, containing fire is called *Kundal*. In Sanskrit *Kundala* means ring. The outer encasement of wicker-work may at times be very pretty with its ornamentation of rings and brilliant colouring. A simple protective covering ensheathed over the upper portion of wickerwork is called *Woluhd*.

Tsalar is a little wooden or metal (Iron or Silver) spoon tied to the handle for adjusting (Wokhur) the fire embers in the Kundal. The Kangri may only consist of an earthenware Vessel, sometimes ornamented. It is then called a *Manan*.

The best Kangris are made in Tsrar, the resting place of Sheikh Nur-ud-Din Wali, the patron saint of Kashmiri's Rishi order. Sir Walter Lawrence, the author of '*The Valley of Kashmir*' says: "Among the most prized of the Chrar Sharif fairings is the pretty painted Kangar". Anantnag, Shahabad, Bandipore are also noted for good Kangris, which are known after the places where they are made. The crudely made Kangri, used by peasants has a bigger Kundal and is known as *Graes Kangri*. The finely worked and coloured ones are known as the *Khoja Kang'r*.

Wicker-work is an industry of importance in Kashmir. Most villages have artisans, who make the encasing basket for the Kangri. The Kashmiris use a special kind of charcoal-*Tapan Tsini* for Kangri. The best fuel for the Kang'r used to be 'hak', the small drift wood, collected at the mouth of the hill rivers by nets.

Peasants living near the forests make charcoal from Pohu wood and Chenar leaves during autumn and store them till winter. These then fetch a good price in cities and towns. Cowdung, and other dung mixed with dried Chenar leaves is also commonly used as fuel for the Kang'r.

Previously Chulha was a common mode used for cooking purposes. Its fire embers were used for preparing the Kangri fire. With Chulha going out of fashion, Katha Tsini/Pana Tsini are now used for this purpose. Better communication with Jammu has seen the advent of a new type of Charcoal-Kola bassih. In Jammu, this is the only type of charcoal used by Kashmiris Pandits.

Social Life:

Kangri has also found a place in our festivals and religious observances. On *Makar Sankranti* day, which falls in the cold month of January, Pandits give Kangris with fire embers in it, to the family priest (gor), in the name of their departed ancestors. This practice simulates Nirajala Ikadashi day in the plains. On this day, which falls in summer, Hindus give a gharra of cold water in alms.

Shishur day is observed by Pandits, to protect the new bride against cold injury. A Shishur 'gore' is tied to the saree of the bride and a grand feast is organised. The bride holds a specially-prepared Kangri in her hands and the guests offer cash. During Herath (Sivaratri), the daughters take decorated Kangris alongwith other presents to their husband's house. Kangri also finds use when 'Isband' is used to ward off the evil on auspicious occasions. *Tilaashtami* marks the end of Sivaratri celebrations and the heralding of Spring. Old Kangris, on this day, in the evening, are consigned to flames. A rope is tied to a Kangri. Grass twigs are put in it and then it is set on fire. The person who holds the rope swings the Kangri round his head, Chanting 'Jatanh tah, Jatanh tah' till the Kangri is totally burnt. Same evening earthen lamps are lighted and put in river, as on Vaeth Truvah (Birthday of Vitasta/Jehlum) day. It is a grand spectacle to watch. The Muslims generally present Kangris in charity to the mullahs.

Hazards:

Kangri has its hazards too. Few people from the older generation have escaped without burn marks (nara taht), caused by careless use of Kangri. It is a pre-cancerous condition. The Textbooks on Surgery have noted the cancer caused by Kangri. It has been named as Kangri Cancer. Many times, the Kangris have caused major fires. During quarrels Kashmiris often hurl Kangris at others.

Young boys and girls use Kangris to roast Potatos, Eggs and Singharas. There have been other claims as well, which look far-fetched. It is said that Kangri aids digestion. Some patriots have claimed that Kangris were imposed on Kashmiris by alien monarchs to reduce their proud spirit.

13 US Congressmen concerned over Pandits's future

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, May 30: Two US Congressman, Frank Pallone and Sherrod Brown have expressed serious concern over NDA-Govt's apathy towards displaced Kashmiri Hindus. In a letter to the Prime Minister Vajpayee, they expressed, "We are deeply concerned about the apparent lack of a sustained effort to create a political and economic safety net for Kashmiri Pandits and therefore, we respectfully urge you to address this issue immediately".

The Congressmen said Vajpayee's inability to mention the Nadimarg massacre during his visit to Kashmir in April left a lasting impression that the community was being ignored. They reminded him, "on April 19th in Srinagar, you expressed your sentiments towards Kashmiri Hindus who feel disenfranchised within Indian polity. We request that you make a public address about how they can be included in Kashmir polity and in the peace process between India and Pakistan".

Mr Pallone and Mr. Brown said no community in J&K has suffered more violence than the Kashmiri Pandits, "who have been brutalised by Islamic fundamentalists, which has resulted in their mass exodus from the Kashmir valley since 1990's". Pointing to the Govt. apathy towards displaced Hindus, the two Congressmen said, "we fail to understand how the State and Central governments can continue to ignore the long-standing situation in J&K. Unfortunately, there does not appear to be a coherent and sustained process to restore the Valley to its diverse history. As strong supporters of India we have heard concerns from our Indian-American constituents that both local and Central governments have failed in their outreach to all constituents of J&K".

14 NHRC lends ear to Pandits

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, May 16: NHRC Chairman and former Chief Justice of India, Justice Adarsh Sein Anand and his special rapporteur, Chaman Lal visited Jammu to take stock of the serious human rights violations complaints made by displaced Kashmiri Hindus against the state government. The special rapporteur visited Muthi, Purkhoo and Mishriwala camps today. The displaced people complained about inhuman conditions in migrant camps, inadequate educational and medical care, non-granting of ex-gratia for burnt houses and non-payment of rent of the houses that have been occupied by security forces in the Valley.

The refugees told NHRC that there was a conspiracy to elbow out Pandits from the State government service and Pandit youth were not being given employment in state government sector. The displaced people charged that Relief and Revenue Ministry was indifferent to their problems, which included relief enhancement, division of ration cards and new registration.

Regarding the disappearance cases in the Valley, Justice Anand said, "we would also like to know how many Kashmiri Pandits have disappeared so far. The disappearance cases and problems of the Kashmiri Pandit refugees, he said, were the two crucial issues that concerned the NHRC at the moment. It may be recalled that there are many Kashmiri Pandits, who have been declared dead but their dead bodies were never traced. These include two people in Tangmarg-Mirgund, two in Baramulla, one in Kupwara, besides others.

15 Trisal lambasts politics of 'Kashyap State'

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, May 29: Veteran Congress leader and President of the All Kashmiri Pandit Solidarity Conference, Mr ON Trisal has strongly criticised the demand for so-called 'Kashyap' state, put forth by All State Kashmir Pandit Conference, a Pandit outfit. He said this demand, put forth recently, was aimed at sabotaging the thrust of the homeland demand.

At a meeting of its working committee, convened here, to discuss sinister implications of 'Kashyap State', the members of solidarity conference charged that the proposal has subversive connotations. Mr Trisal observed that the "demand is aimed at sabotaging the thrust of homeland demand". The demand has come at a time when the demand of "Homeland for Kashmiri Pandits to north and east of Jehlum" has assumed respectability both at national and international level.

The Working Committee described the demand of Kashyap state as vague and ambiguous and made in the prelude to NN Vohra's visit to Jammu. The Conference members said the demand of Kashyap state also underscores the fact that the sponsors of this demand are working relentlessly to make the politics of Kashmiri Pandits appear ridiculous and farcical. They said, "a serious effort appears to be afoot to create an impression that Kashmiri Pandits have no concrete political aspirations".

The solidarity conference warned the community members that the real brain behind the demand of Kashyap state are those who have been pursuing the politics of porous borders, shared sovereignty and limited sovereignty.

The conference members said that the irony of the situation is that those who claim to be RSS activists have openly joined hands with those forces who seek compromise with Muslim separatism. "With Hindu organisations like VHP having publicly endorsed Homeland for Kashmiri Pandits, these so-called Hindu leaders have chosen to undermine the same", said conference members.

It may be recalled that on May 23, ASKPC had passed three resolutions--seeking separate state (Kashyap State) for Pandits, constitution of district development committee for expending Central funds on migrants and launching protest against state government's apathetic attitude towards unemployed Kashmiri Pandit youth.

Sources say, that a senior Jammu-based RSS leader with strong anti-Pandit prejudices been from the very beginning trying to derail Pandits' struggle for fulfillment of their legitimate aspirations. He had been using his access to Pandit community to create multiple shadowy outfits and scuttling the agenda of Pandits' organisations. This leader had been trying to present a distorted picture about displaced Pandits' in New Delhi and elsewhere. By creating numerous cover organisations, he has been trying to project Pandits as a divided lot with no clear-cut aspirations. In 1991 he did his best to scuttle homeland demand. When he did not succeed, he engineered the first split in Panun Kashmir. It was at his behest 'SAAM-1992' was organised to oppose Panun Kashmir demand. In this jamboree all groupings with known anti-Pandit stances were invited.

The fantastic logic behind the demand for 'Kashyap State' is "Panun Kashmir is a smaller but relevant share sought for Pandits and secular people who believe in the constitution of India. But we are asking for our due share, which is a much larger area than just Panun Kashmir which is North-East to Jehlum river".

Ironically, the elements who are counter-posing 'Kashyap State' demand to that of Panun Kashmir have been in recent times tailists to politics of National Conference. On the issue of management of shrines and future of displaced students, they ganged up with leaders of NC, trying to scuttle Pandits' genuine aspirations. ASKPC has been trying to rope in all those, Pandit leaders, who have been derailing Pandits' struggle from within.

16 Terrorists resort to ethnic-cleansing in Bani

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, June 11: The terrorists, have let loose a reign of terror in the hilly villages of Billawar and Bani tehsils. Last month, a special police officer and a woman were killed in two separate militancy-related incidents in Roulka village of Bani tehsil. In both the encounters, which followed, the terrorists managed to give slip to the security forces.

In Malkar also, which comes in the jurisdiction of Billawar tehsil, the terrorists continued to strike off and on, resorting to killings, kidnappings and extortions. On June 8, in broad day light, a group of terrorists, whose number was stated to be between five to seven, descended to the village Sadrota from the upper reaches. At gun point, they kidnapped four civilians and took them to an isolated area. They were later shot dead.

Next morning the police recovered their bodies from a forest area near Kamleo Gala village. The killed civilians have been identified as Sudesh Kumar (28), Hans Raj, both brothers and sons of Paras Ram. They belonged to village Raya Sayal. The other victims included Dhian Singh (40) S/o Jodh Singh and Prakash Singh (50), S/o Mast Ram, both residents of Morha Channa near Seri Galla, falling in village Sadrota.

The terrorists escaped after the killings. Tension gripped Malhar and Billawar as soon as the report of civilians killings spread. People resorted to shouting of slogans against police, alleging inadequate security arrangements in the area that led to the killings. Authorities disclosed that two army companies would be deployed at Sarthal, one company each would be stationed at Taggar and Bani. People have been demanding 'seek and destroy' operations against terrorists in this area, for quite sometime.

Meanwhile, a youth who was kidnapped by terrorists on the night of June 8, from a Dhok in the upper reaches of Punera in Basantgarh, Ram Nagar, was found murdered in forests on June 11. The victim, identified as 25-year old Rashpal Singh, son of Saneetu, had gone to the higher reaches to graze his goats. After kidnapping him, he was taken to some other dhok, where he was forced to cook their food and carry their belongings to other destinations for a few days. Efforts of Rashpal's family members to search him proved futile.

It was only after Basantgarh police intercepted a message of the terrorists regarding killing of Rashpal, the police and the villagers traced to body from the forest. His neck had been slit by the terrorists and the semi-decomposed body witnessed marks of torture.

17 Ladakhis demand special status

KS Correspondent

LEH, June 3: The Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council (LAHDC) has demanded that Ladakh be given special status within J&K. Ladakhis, a distinct ethnic minority fear threat to their identity if outsiders continue to have rights of ownership in Ladakh. They want a special status, where the ownership rights would be restricted only to Ladakhis.

LAHDC Chairman Thupstan Chewang told reporters at the end of the three-day seventh Sindhu Darshan Festival, "No body in the state should be allowed to exploit the provisions of Article 370 of the constitution. If outsiders can't buy land in J&K, why should Kashmiris have the right to purchase property in Ladakh, which has its own distinct culture? Provisions of Article 370 should be applicable within the state as well".

Mr Chewang reiterated that Union Territory status to the region was desirable for its overall social and economic development. He observed ideally Article 370 should be abolished and the state should be brought in the mainstream. "We should also be integrated with the rest of the country", he added. About the demand of granting of UT status to Ladakh, Mr Chewang said being in J&K, Leh is treated like a district only and plan allocation is done accordingly, though its size is as big as a state. The situation would change with granting of UT status. LAHDC chairman remarked that Ladakhis elected two MLAs unopposed on the demand of Union territory.

18 'Operation Sarpvinash'

Hill Kaka - A military or a political failure

KS Correspondent

The disclosures, made in the wake of launching of 'Operation Sarpvinash' regarding the extent of subversion well inside Indian territory, is a matter of shame and agony for all Indians. How the second largest army in world allowed a terrorist enclave, spread over hundred square kms, to come up, has shocked Indians. Hill Kaka represents a colossal military and a political failure. Many have drawn parallels between Hill Kaka and Kargil intrusion. Are there many more Hill Kakas that have still to engage the attention of the Army top brass?

Media reports said that the Intelligence Bureau had been warning Army continually to clear off the area, of nearly four hundred foreign mercenaries camping at Hill Kaka. The Army, as per these reports, had been ignoring these advisories. Terrorists had been ruling the area. The neighbouring nomadic population had been following their diktat out of fear or other considerations. Intelligence Bureau is further reported to have taken higher-ups in confidence about many such other areas, where terrorists hold total sway and were impairing troops' mobility along the major national highways. On Shopian, recently, an IB team was attacked, when its members were returning to their base camp.

The locals in terrorist-infested areas of Poonch-Rajouri and other places had been complaining that Army was no where to be seen during night hours. It would remain in bunkers and refuse to come out till morning. The general grievance is that soldiers do not respond at the time of crisis and take hours to reach. It has even been alleged that at times the soldiers allowed columns of terrorists to pass by their bunkers and ambush areas for they do not want to court trouble. Army would play safe to avoid casualties, was the general local assessment.

Officers commanding field units say that they had brought the matter to the notice of superior officers, but no counter measures were taken. The Army top brass discounts all this. It says the intelligence on presence of ultras in Hill Kaka was not backed by definite information. It has been trying to pass the buck to the political leadership, blaming it for withholding the use of air-cover for 'seek and destroy' operations and not meeting its demands for increased troop deployment. This fortnightly, in its November and December issues, had focussed on how abandoning of Pir Panjal areas by the Army, had multiplied security threats. Hill Kaka is thus a larger lapse, denoting the failure of strategic vision and political will. In a country, where elections are not contested, on the basis of security policies, political leaderships, even after committing major blunders, emerge unscathed.

Hill Kaka busted:

Hill Kaka base was busted by the Army in operations on April 21. It was only a month later that Army publicised details of the operation and its successes. The Army recovered 7000 kgs of stored rations, besides huge stockpile of weapons, ammunition, anti-personnel mines and explosives. The Army also laid its hands on sensational documents, which detailed the wider contours of subversion. Sitting in Hill Kaka, the terrorists communicated over satellite phones with their masters sitting across the border, and also with their agents in Aligarh, Mallapuram, Ahmedabad, Mumbai, Kolkata, Kanpur and Salem. Recovery of 20 kgs of urea and Internet IDs, as well as telephone diaries from killed terrorists indicated how the terrorists used to communicate and get orders from their bosses, as wireless messages are tapped by interceptors.

Rations were brought from the Surankote town, where the dealers and the porters were paid many times more to maintain the confidentiality. It is amazing how all this escaped the field intelligence units. Even the nomads who frequented the area had been paid handsomely to remain silent, sources claimed. Among other things the Army discovered full-fledged surgical facility for managing the casualties and a seal of a Kulgam magistrate to stamp forged identity cards.

The documents recovered included receipts of grocery shops and PCOs frequented by terrorists in Surankote. Among them is of a call made to Gandhi Nagar on September 23, 2002, a day before the

attack on Akshardham temple. A killed terrorist had even photographed himself, while on 'sight-seeing' trip to Parliament House. Other documents recovered from Hill Kaka base include a register of accounts, giving details of money transaction worth Rs 1.87 crore between October 2001 and May 2003. Funds were being distributed from the base to various terrorist tanzeems.

Hill Kaka was a terrorist enclave that lorded over 100 square ksm. of strategic area, which comprised thick jungles and snow-bound ridges at 4,000 metres. It was a hub-where terrorists of all 'tanzeems' (groups) infiltrating from Pakistan were assembling before being sent off for missions unhindered. Several terrorist organisations, most notably, Lashkar-e-Toiba, were jointly using bases for planning, co-ordinating, transit and safe-keeping of arms. Meticulous records were kept documenting the arrival of infiltrators, their addresses, expertise, training, education and weaponry. A seized register revealed 183 arrivals of LeT alone in a seven month period in 2002. Of them 80 percent were Pakistanis. Many of the terrorists were post-graduates. Terrorist manuals found there suggested that the infiltrators were being trained in the handling of explosives and poisoning water sources. There were also sensational details on how Hill Kaka terrorists intended to engage in large-scale subversion in Mumbai, particularly in commercial nerve centers. The base was also being used for indoctrination of Kashmiri youth before they were exfiltrated into Kotli and various other terrorist training camps in PoK. The sheer magnitude of terrorist operations at Hill Kaka left the security forces stumped.

Fortifications:

Fortification built were military like and could be compared with similar ones built by Bin Laden near Jalalabad. The bunkers could with stand aerial and artillery attacks. Two bunkers had been constructed at the snowbound point 3689 at Derawali Ridge to take any challenger approaching from the Doba Gali access. One of the bunker measured 60 ft x 20 ft, big enough for 50 terrorists. This area remains snow-bound until April. The Army also found signs of active involvement of Pak regulars in creating these fortifications. Terrorists fortifications were spread out on mountain tops to ensure they dominated the angle of fire. Concrete bunkers were also found in dense forests of Hari Budha, Faisalabad, Sangal, Shindra top etc. Terrorists would slither out of their remote Hill Kaka base to strike at their targets. Having wrought havoc, they would quickly retreat to their fortified underground hideouts in high hills. Hill Kaka dominates Surankote bowl and was a launching and strategic area for terrorists for disrupting communications and fomenting subversion in Kashmir valley.

A month after launching of 'Operation Sarpvinash' the Army claimed that it had only cleared 30 percent of the area and smashed 94 hideouts. 60 terrorists were killed, 290 escaped and three were captured. A command post 'Dhok', where all groups coordinated activity was also busted at Ban Labda. Army casualties were just two men killed.

Urgency:

Why did the Army wake up late? There has been some debate. It is said that in the context of ongoing Indo-Pak dialogue, to escape international censure, ISI is trying to shift the command and control of Jehadi infrastructure, well inside Indian territory. This could affect Indian manoeuvrability in negotiations. Secondly, there was a looming threat of Pakistani army joining terrorists in Hill Kaka and adjoining areas to cut off supply lines to strategic Poonch area and snap the road link between Surankote and Poonch from one side and on Indian troops in Krishna Ghati that connects Poonch with Mendhar.

Frequent forays of Unmanned Air vehicles from across the LoC alerted Army to the threats that Pakistan may paradrop' its regulars and also provide aerial support to terrorists. Choppers can reach Hill Kaka from Cobra Hills on LoC in less than five minutes time. The Army top brass visualised that the threat was real and acted.

For last six years Army, despite precise information, sat quietly. Since 1989 Poonch-Rajouri served as transit points for infiltrators and exfiltrators. Hill Kaka is linked with Surankote, Bafliaz, Thanna-mandi on one side and on the other side it is linked via Chor Ghali to Shopian, Gulmarg and Yusmarg. In 1996-97 terrorists set up bases and bunkers here. Two and a half years back in 2001, 17 RR of Army had launched a similar operation. Even though 196 terrorists were killed, the army too suffered heavy

casualties. It retreated subsequently. This emboldened the terrorists. They reoccupied the hideouts and their bases multiplied. In Poonch-Rajouri, conservative estimates put the terrorists' strength at 1100-1200.

In Hill Kaka area, the terrorists had bases spread to 35 villages. At the time of operation there were 350 terrorists.

‘Operation Sarpvinash’

Initially, at the time of launching of the operation the Army was unsure about its success. Utmost secrecy was maintained. It successfully persuaded the Central government to allow the use of Helicopter gunships, and increased deployment. The services of Srinagar-based Victor Force, which eliminated 20 of the 65 terrorists were enlisted. The State government was approached for stopping grazing population to black operational areas. A liberal compensation of Rs 7.5 crore was settled with nomadic Gujjars.

‘Operation Sarpvinash’, devised by Maj. Gen. Hardev Lidder of Rajouri-based Romeo Force, was planned in four phases. In Phase-I three helipads were built at 10000 feet. Mule tracks were laid over a distance of 16 kms. Supplies were stockpiled. This phase lasted from January 29 to April 1.

In phase-II the Army laid siege and firmed up bases, occupied on fringes of Hill Kaka. This continued until April 20. The Phase-III, which included assault began on the night of April 20. The operation started with 10,000 men, mobilised from ten battalions. The borders with neighbouring states were sealed. More security forces were deployed at Doda-Chamba border. The Phase ended on April 30. The Last Phase, to pursue 300 terrorists, who had escaped, began from May 1. This included search and combing operations. In the 'Operation Sarpvinash', Army used Bofors artillery and Helicopter gunships to smash the fortification of the terrorists. Chetak Helicopters were used to identify militant fortifications, hideouts and other places in hills. On May 31, Lt. Gen. TPS Brar, Commander 16 Corps disclosed that Army had plugged all escape routes of Pir Panjal range. He informed that the Army would lay roads to the would-be-hideouts and keep its men stationed permanently at the bases destroyed. He added six new Battalions of border youth would be raised to meet the terrorist challenge. The Army claimed that there could be ten Hill Kaka type enclaves in Pir Panjal ranges. Besides this, there were 80 odd rocky vestitudes and 120 natural cave hideouts, housing 1500-2000 terrorists. Presently, the Army said it was targeting 17 rocky vestitudes for clearance. It would be a long haul for Army to re-control Pir Panjal ranges, sources added.

Phase-III

Sources said when the first helicopter attack took place on April 15 by 13 RR, five terrorists were killed and there was absolute panic. A thirteen year old local boy, Mohammad Altaf, captured by the Army said, same night LeT “Divisional Commander” Idris convened a meeting and terrorists were instructed not to move out of bunkers. Within three days the terrorists changed their hideouts and shifted essential goods to a new place.

On April 21 night, 30 terrorists were killed and two local boys captured. Others fled to take refuge in local villages. The terrorists dumped their weapons and equipment to avoid detection. Many of them were Pakistani regulars and highly-trained mercenaries. The terrorists disguised themselves as 'Gujars'. The Army warned locals not to provide shelter to the terrorists and inform security agencies immediately. Intelligence agencies have recruited spotters to trace out terrorists.

Mohammad Bashir, a resident of Surankot and "Divisional Commander" of Jamiatul Mujahideen, arrested from Hill Kaka told Army that he escaped after 35 terrorists were killed, and others fled to Rajouri and Pulwama. This notorious terrorist had undergone seven months training in subversion in Afghanistan two years back and had also received training at Kotli where, he disclosed, 4500 terrorists were undergoing arms training at the hands of ISI experts.

Successes:

The Army during ‘Operation Sarpvinash’ achieved notable successes. Border guides, with whose help terrorists' infiltration was going on, went into hiding. Many hard-core terrorists were eliminated. This included a “District Commander” of HUJI, two hard-core Jaish terrorists, a a HUJI “Divisional

Commander” and coordinator for Poonch, Rajouri and Udhampur, HUJI “Commanders” for Poonch and Rajouri.

Revenge Killings :

The terrorists, before the launch of operation had been targetting innocents, branding them as informers. One document seized listed ten “spies” from Poonch, whose throats were slit. This included two women and three children. One Choudhary Ghani, was cut to pieces in June, 1999. The launching of ‘Operation Sarpvinash’ has also seen decrease in the number of revenge killings. As compared to two incidents of revenge killings in Poonch sector, in the period May 6 to June 6 this year there were nine gruesome massacres/torture killings in Chingus-Budhal sector where there is heavy infestation of terrorists.

The Prospect:

The Defence establishment is slowly waking up to the challenge, posed by the domination of Pir Panjal ranges by terrorists. There are reports that terrorists even possess shoulder-fired stinger missiles. The Defence Minister, Mr George Fernandes, declared recently that Hill Kaka-like operations are to be carried out everywhere. Doda, Shopian, Kulgam, Tral, Lolab, Kupwara, Kokernag, have been targetted as the new areas for ‘Operation Sarpvinash-II’. Thrust of the new operations would be Wadhawan and Marwah, where terrorists even impart military training to locals. Ground-Sensors and hand-held thermals have been ordered to be issued to every battalion. Instructions to use Helicopters and special commando units have also been given.

Efforts are on to re-activate the disbanded SOG force and attach it to Rashtriya Rifles Units, engaged in counter-insurgency operations. Phasing out of BSF has been deferred till December. The success of ‘Operation Sarpvinash-II’ demands far greater political will and hard perseverance.

19 The Intrusion at Hilkaka

The report about how Mohammed Ishaq, a 20-year-old Pakistani from Sialkot took off on his bicycle in a huff after a tiff at home recently and unwittingly found himself in India is interesting to say the least. The fact that he was apprehended by villagers near Jammu mocks at our claims of having turned this sector into the most heavily defended border in the world. This is not the first time this border was pierced in this manner. In 1994, a Pakistani motorcyclist likewise crossed over and was caught only when he tried to pay for petrol with Pakistani currency. These crossings were inadvertent, quite unlike the famous flight of Matthias Rust, 19, who on May 28, 1987, flew a single engine Cessna 172B aircraft from Hamburg and landed bang on Red Square in the heart of Moscow. Rust pierced the muchvanted Soviet air defence system and landed near Kremlin even as Soviet commanders were scrambling their fighter planes. A Moscow traffic cop arrested Rust.

The border region Ishaq crossed over from is a sliver of territory the Pakistanis call the Akhnur Dagger and the Indians, the Chicken's Neck. It has seen the fiercest fighting in 1965 and 1971. The international border here is supposed to be secured with barbed wire fencings, ditch cum bund defences, minefields, large concentrations of BSF, and a crack Indian Army division. None of which obviously stopped an angry Mohammed Ishaq. While Mohammed Ishaq's tiff and huff ride might get him seven years in an Indian jail, as Indian authorities so obviously with egg on their faces, will seek to wipe it off with the severest punishment possible. That will be indeed sad, for if anybody deserves punishment it is the people who are responsible for keeping the border secure. Ishaq's escapade can even be dismissed as just one of those sad and funny things that occasionally inject mirth into the humourless Indo-Pak relationship.

But not quite as funny is what has been happening in Hilkaka a hilly area in the forests of Surankote in Poonch district abutting Doda district and about 35 kms from the LoC. We now learn that several hundred foreign terrorists and Kashmiri militants have had a clear run over an area spanning more than a hundred square kilometers for several years. It was only in April or May this year that Indian forces went into this terrorist dominated enclave and have so far claimed killing about 65 terrorists and recovered more than seven tonnes of food supplies, and huge quantities of sophisticated arms and ammunition. It would seem that the terrorists were running training camps and providing medical care to their wounded and sick compatriots. According to many sources, the terrorists were buying supplies in the local markets and engaging porters to carry them over to their camps by paying several times the going rate. It is also known that the terrorists were using the STD booths in the area to keep in touch with their compatriots in other parts of India. They had taken to calling this area "a liberated zone", just as Sopore town was in the early Nineties. It is now believed that Pakistan was preparing to set up a National Liberation Army here under the command of Amanullah Khan to overcome US insistence that it close its terrorist camps in PoK.

This is truly a shocking state of affairs and has been in the making for some years now. In mid-1998 the Indian Army's Victor Force headquartered in Anantnag sought the deployment of helicopters to interdict terrorists in the upper reaches of the Pir Panjal. The home minister, on the specious plea that it would amount to an escalation and could cause much embarrassment if a helicopter or two were brought down, turned it down. Now we discover that the Deputy Prime Minister, who has made quite a habit of threatening raids across the border on terrorist camps, has been oblivious to the fact that the biggest camp of them all has been functioning literally under his nose deep within Indian territory. No one, not even one with a way with words like him, can by any stretch of imagination call this cross-border terrorism. This is nothing but a gross dereliction of one's duties and somebody in this government must be held responsible for it. Are you reading, Mr Advani?

Unlike in Kargil, this occupation of such a large swathe of territory cannot be ascribed to intelligence failure. By all accounts, it is now clear that the absolute control over more than one hundred sq. kms. of territory well inside 'India has been in the knowledge of the security forces for several years now. Maj. Gen. Hardev Lidder, the GOC of the Romeo Force, the counterpart of the Victor Force in the Jammu region, has acknowledged as much and has added to good measure that since force were not made available earlier no action was taken. It seems that the Indian army had asked for permission to deploy

helicopters and attack aircrafts to destroy the terrorist camps, but the government denied this to them. The denial of troop support is even more surprising considering that the 25 Division headquartered in nearby Rajouri has as many troops as a regular corps of the Indian Army. If this is indeed so, then it truly indicts the BJP-led government for its failure to defend Indian against externally sponsored aggression even deep within our territory. The Prime Minister, Deputy prime minister and Defence minister owe the nation an explanation, even if the main Opposition party, the Congress has once failed by not seeking this from the government.

We seem to be facing another problem now. This is the formation of a "Southern Economic Union" by the four South Indian states, namely, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Kerala, in a supposed bid to harmonise economic and development policies of these states. But this is actually in an incipient bid to forge an exclusive economic union among them. This would have indeed been laudable if they were independent states and were coming together to forge a large unity. But this is just the reverse. This seems to be a first step to forge a sense of separateness and will have severe implications for national unity in the future. It might have even been done without being cognisant of the possible consequences. What is truly a matter of concern is the broad support this seems to have among the full spectrum of political parties in power in these states and at the Centre such as the Congress, BJP, TDP and AIADMK.

For a few years now, it has become the norm to selectively quote statistics purporting to show that the southern states are doing better when measured against certain economic and social yardsticks. It has also been the fashion in certain circles to suggest that the Hindi speaking states the so-called BIMARU states, were pulling down the rest of the country, suggesting that non-Hindi states, particularly the southern states, will be better off without the rest. This is truly a dangerous notion and the fact that it has support across the political spectrum but concentrated in a geographically contiguous region is even more ominous. It is well known that the so-called economic reforms instead of leading to more even development caused severe regional imbalances and a flight of capital from the hinterlands of all regions to certain pockets. Even within these supposedly faster developing states, growth has been concentrated and has excluded the majority of people.

It is bad enough that some states have tried to forge independent relations with multilateral agencies like the World Bank and Asian Development Bank, but this attempt to form an exclusive economic union is actually a bid to unionise and is a prelude to demands of greater separation. From economic union to political union is a logical progression. The Government of India must act immediately and scuttle this move. Not to do so expeditiously would be to jeopardise our hard won independence and national identity. This then represents a far greater threat than any terrorist group has posed so far.

The issue that was at the core of the BJP's propaganda in its quest for power was its promise of strengthening national security. The testing of nuclear weapons and their full deployment were meant to symbolise this commitment to make India strong and powerful. It has so far proved to be a hollow symbol of a bankrupt policy, for the reality is that India has never been so exposed to internationally sponsored terrorism and has never before paid for it with so much blood as during the BJP's tenure at the helm of affairs. In this period, families of Army personnel living in cantonments were killed, pilgrims visiting temples at places like Jammu, Amarnath and Akshardam were killed, as wantonly as other innocents were killed in villages and towns all over India. Terrorists have struck with impunity in the Red Fort, the J&K Assembly and even India's Parliament and this truly exposes the enormous failure of the BJP led government in safeguarding India's unity and security. In just the last five years we have lost no less than 4,000 security personnel to the bullets and bombs of terrorists. And now we face a new problem spawned in the seminar rooms of multilateral agencies.

All these happenings have however not stopped the BJP president, Venkaiah Naidu, from anointing Sardar Advani as the "*Lauhpurush*" for the next Lok Sabha campaign. Nothing can be more inappropriate, for the record so far is only suggestive of a papier-mache *purush*!

20 Vohra's Jammu visit

Cross section demands re-organisations

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, On his visit to Jammu to know about the wishes and aspirations of the people with a view to find a solution to Jammu and Kashmir problem, Mr Vohra met a number of delegations representing various shades of the society. Most of the delegations opened their hearts to Vohra to express the discrimination and neglect they have been subjected to by the Valley centric and Muslim dominated political establishment of the state. The common demand of these delegations was to reorganise the Jammu and Kashmir state and even those who did not directly support the demand asked Mr Vohra to evolve a mechanism in which their regional and ethnic political and economic aspirations are addressed. Most of the Kashmiri Pandit delegations underscored inevitability of creation of "Homeland" with Union Territory Status.

A delegation of Jammu and Kashmiri National Panthers Party (JKNPP) led by party chairman Prof. Bhim Singh met Vohra to present his party view point about the resolution of Kashmir imbroglio. The delegation decried the discrimination meted out to Jammu and Ladakh regions and demanded reorganisation of the state on the basis of cultural, linguistic and geographical identities to strengthen the national integration and restore peace and rule of law in the state.

The party submitted a detailed memorandum to Centre's interlocutor for Jammu and Kashmir which besides re-organisation of the state, demanded implementation of Wazir Commission Report, Constitution of Delimitation Commission to give them due share in Assembly, inclusion of Dogri in the 8th Schedule of Indian Constitution, Justice to Pak refugees, resettlement of Kashmiri Pandits and liberation of all areas under occupation of Pakistan and China.

Talking to media persons, Mr Bhim Singh said that Jammu and Ladakh regions have been subjected to slavery by Kashmir dominated political set up since independence and as such reorganisation of the state was inevitable. He once again demanded extension of formal invitation for talks to Hurriyat and described them "as much Indians as Bhim Singh". He added that the Hurriyat leaders were the worst victims of violence. Prof. Bhim Singh, who had earlier refused to meet Vohra in absence of formal invitation, claimed that his party was extended formal invitation but Mr. NN Vohra denied of any such invitation.

Alleging continued political and economic neglect and discrimination at the hands of Kashmiri rulers, a delegation of Jammu State Morcha (JSM) led by its president Sri Kumar demanded trifurcation of the state. They demanded statehood to Jammu and Union Territory status for Ladakh to allow these grossly ignored and marginalized people to shape and control their political and economic future under the Indian Constitution. JSM delegation lamented the policy pursued by Congress government since independence vis-a-vis Jammu and Kashmir which ignored multi dimensional dissimilarities between Kashmir and Jammu and remained valley centric. They also opposed the inclusion of Article 370 in Indian Constitution which guarantees special status to Jammu and Kashmir and added that the article was used to perpetuate absolute powers wielded by Valley's ruling elite. The delegation reiterated its opposition to separatist demands ranging from greater autonomy to independence.

Alleging immense political and economic losses suffered by Jammu and Ladakh divisions at the hands of Valley dominated state governments, the delegation said that reorganisation of the state will not only result in political and economic emancipation of marginalised sections but will confine area of strife. The delegation emphasised that in resolution of Kashmir problem, they will have only such solution acceptable which incorporates reorganisation of the state as per their demand and described the demand as a means to bring the state closer to the rest of India.

Talking to media persons, Sri Kumar described Hurriyat irrelevant and added that there was no need to involve Hurriyat conference in the dialogue process as they did not represent any larger section of the society.

Most of the delegations which met Centre's pointman of 6th day of his interaction with the cross section of society demanded statehood for Jammu region and gave a detailed account of the neglect they are faced with because of the discriminative policies of the successive state government. The delegations of Jammu Mukti Morcha, Jammu Statehood Front, Vishwa Hindu Parishad and Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh told Vohra about the neglect of Jammu region in political, economic and employment spheres and implored upon him for the need of statehood to Jammu to meet the aspirations of the people there.

Jammu Mukti Morcha delegation led by Prof. Virendra Gupta had a dig at secessionist forces and ruling elite for forcing migration of minorities including Kashmiri Pandits, Sikhs, Punjabis etc from Valley and expressed apprehensions about settlement of Muslims in Jammu to smother pro-India voices. The delegation said Mr. Vohra that Jammu constitutes 50% population of the state but has been allotted only 37 seats in Legislature Assembly. The Morcha leader demand Trifurcation of the state saying that these regions have 'distinct cultural, geographical, historical and political identities'.

Echoing same feelings, the Jammu Statehood Front told Vohra about the discrimination Jammuites have been subjected to by the Kashmiri rulers and had a dig at Delhi government for pursuing appeasement policy. The delegation asked Vohra to delink Jammu and Ladakh from the Kashmir valley as these regions do not support any secessionism and have suffered at the hands of Kashmiri rulers.

The Vishwa Hindu Parishad delegation led by the state President Ramakant Dubey had also same story to tell to Vohra. He gave a detailed account to Mr Vohra about the discrimination with Jammu region in case of Assembly seats, economic share, state employment etc. The delegation said that about 1.4 lakh unemployed youth were given state employment by the previous government but only 20,000 were absorbed from Jammu region. The delegation complained of Islamisation of the polity reflected in carving of Assembly seats on communal lines and even manipulation of census records to favour majority community, demography change, encroachment of Hindu Shrines etc.

The Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh delegation linked the demand of statehood to Jammu region to the discriminatory treatment meted out to Jammu region by the successive governments. The Sangh delegation termed the reorganisation demand to give Statehood to Jammu and Union Territory Status to Ladakh as integrationist movement devoid of secessionism and separatism. The delegation termed the inclusion of article 370 in Indian Constitution, separate constitution and flag for the state as historical blunders that served as breeding ground for secessionists. The Sangh delegation implored upon State and Central governments to have a dialogue with Kashmiri Pandits for their safe and secure rehabilitation in Kashmir valley.

Though Bhartiya Janata Party delegation did not make an open demand for statehood to Jammu but demanded a definite political instrument invested with legislative executive and financial powers for Jammu region. The other demands made by the BJP included abolition of Evacuee Property Act, greater power to army and security forces and strengthening of VDCs.

Talking to media persons after meeting Vohra, BJP state president Prof. Nirmal Singh had a dig at People's Democratic Party (PDP) and Hurriyat Conference for claiming themselves as representatives of the people. He said that PDP and Hurriyat Conference do not represent the legitimate aspirations of the people and, therefore, talking to them will lead no where. BJP president also lashed out at Prof. Bhim Singh for advocating for the involvement of Hurriyat Conference in the dialogue process and added that such approach of Bhim Singh has exposed him.

"So, you also support this homeland demand". This statement of Centre's pointman to a delegation of Kashmiri Pandit is indicative of the fact that most of the Pandit delegations that met Mr. N.N. Vohra have underscored the need for creation of "Homeland" with Union Territory status for permanent settlement of Kashmiri Pandits in Kashmir valley. Most of the Pandit delegations putforth the demand of "Homeland" vociferously before Sh. N.N. Vohra and refused to live in any defacto or dejure Muslim state. The creation of "Homeland" to the north and east of river Jhelum with Union Territory status was described as only means to reverse the exodus forced upon the nationalist and peaceful minuscule community by the Islamist fundamentalist forces from within and outside. The Pandit delegations also gave a detailed

account to the Centre's Interlocutor on Jammu and Kashmir about their political isolation and economic persecution perpetuated upon them by the successive state governments. They implored upon Mr Vohra that if Central government was sincerely concerned with the welfare of the Pandit community then the government shall build their stakes in the state by providing employment opportunities of the community and address their other genuine concerns.

A delegation of All Kashmiri Pandit Solidarity Conference (AKPSC) under leadership of its President Sh. ON Trisal met Mr Vohra and strongly built the case for creation of "Homeland". The memorandum and the discussions with Mr Vohra focussed on the imperativeness of the homeland demand. "Kashmiri Hindus will neither accept a defacto or a dejure Muslim state. Rejection of coexistence by Kashmiri Muslims has thrown up a political imperative for us to pursue. The demand that Kashmiri Hindus be settled in Kashmir valley north and east of river Jhelum with a Union Territory states where there is free flow of Indian Constitution is basically a resolve to permanently reverse the genocide inflicted on Kashmiri Hindus and defeat the pan-Islamic designs as well as nefarious Dixon proposal All Kashmiri Hindus are wedded to pursue this political imperative". This was the crux of the memorandum presented to Mr Vohra by the organisation.

Mr ON Trisal made it clear to Mr NN Vohra that their (Pandits) expulsion out of Kashmir valley was the result of "Muslim social milieu rejecting the coexistence as an ideological necessity to pursue its aspirations. "Religious cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus is not an aberration of the armed separatist campaign. Our experience clearly states that bereft of wide spread societal connivance the religious campaign would not have succeeded", added Mr Trisal.

The delegation demanded a massive employment drive to the tune of 20,000 amongst the displaced Hindus to build their stakes in the state. They also requested Indian government to give up its present policy on return and not to pursue the return plan in symbolic terms but in its entirety. They demanded that the community shall be helped to live a better life in Jammu and other parts of the country till their return and rehabilitation in "Homeland".

All State Kashmiri Pandit Conference (ASKPC) delegation headed by Amar Nath Vaishnavi also met Mr NN Vohra and demanded creation of "Kashyap State" (homeland) with Union Territory status. The delegation also demanded their involvement in the search for solution to problem. The other demands included reservation in professional colleges, right to visit Sharda Peeth in PoK and creation of a Council for displaced Kashmiri Pandits.

Echoing the demand of "Homeland", All India Kashmiri Forum delegation linked the demand to the return of Pandits to the Valley. The Forum delegation led by its Chairman PL Dhar also demanded special recruitment drive for the community youth, better civic and medical facilities in the camps and release of HRA, CCA and promotional benefits in favour of displaced employees.

Rejecting return plans pursued by state government, the memorandum of the forum read that 'Nadimarg massacre has once again underlined that 'return policies' pursued so far are not only wrong but sinister as well. Return of Kashmiri Hindus is linked to the resolve of the Government of India and the nation to reverse religious cleansing in Kashmir valley. Displacement of Kashmiri Hindus was not a local aberration. Nor is the return a trivial issue. Any attempt to delink return from the causes which brought about displacement will be self defeating". The delegation demanded that "Kashmiri Hindus cannot go back to Valley without the emergence of a socio-political set up where social milieu is secular and Indian Constitutional process flows without restriction. The demand for Homeland north and east of river Jhelum should be seen in this context. We want to convey to you that we support such a demand as it provides us only hope to return."

Panun Kashmir Movement (PKM) also reiterated the demand for separate homeland for Kashmiri Pandits and demand a chair on the negotiating table if Muslims were accommodated on it. After meeting Vohra along with other delegates of the organisation, PKM President Ashwani Chrungoo said that they demanded Homeland not only with territorial control but political control as well. He added that their

return should not be symbolic but should be aimed at retaining in the Valley on a lasting basis so that no exodus takes place in future.

Demanding inclusion of Pandits in dialogue process if Muslims were involved in it, Mr Chrungoo said we have made it clear to Mr Vohra that if there is any internal or external pressure to make Kashmiri Muslims a party to any type of talks or negotiations with Pakistan, then Kashmiri Hindus should also be made party to the same as we are “natural and first party”.

Womens Wing of “All Kashmiri Pandit Solidarity Conference” also met Mr NN Vohra under leadership of Ms Rajini Bhat and reiterated demand for “Homeland”.

Kashmiri Pandit Sabha, “Action Committee of Return of Migrants” and “Jammu Kashmir Vichar Much” also met Vohra. Mr Vohra gave a patient hearing to all the delegations and his seriousness generated a hope that this time the aspirations of Pandits will get registered and reflected in any solution to Kashmir crisis.

Many other organisations including Janata Dal United (JDU), Janata Dal Secular (JDS), Jammu Adikar Morcha, Akali Dal etc. met Mr Vohra. The common complaint of almost all the delegations and individuals was about the discrimination they have been subjected to and demand for inclusion of their aspirations in any solution aimed at solving Kashmir problem. The problems of PoK refugees, border migrants also figured prominently during discussions with Vohra.

Mr N.N. Vohra had discussions with Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister Mufti Mohammad Sayeed, former Chief Minister and patron of National Conference Dr Farooq Abdullah and JK Chief Secretary S.S. Blouria before winding up his tour to Jammu.

21 ISI Controls terrorist movement in J&K; Vohra

KS Correspondent

Centre's Interlocutor on Jammu and Kashmir Mr N.N. Vohra has described threats to internal security in India as an outcome of Pakistan's unceasing attempts to seize J&K and pursue a sustained campaign to launch subversive activities in various parts of India.

He also emphasised on depoliticising police force and underlined the need for comprehensive and well coordinated strategy to effectively safeguard the national security.

Delivering lecture on "Some Concerns About Internal Security Management," at a function organised in connection with remembrance of Kashmir Saviour Brig Rajinder Singh, Mr. Vohra said that large threats to internal security of India emanate from Pakistan's continued efforts to seize Jammu and Kashmir and launch subversive activities in various parts of India. He said that Pakistan's Inter Service Intelligence (ISI) first succeeded in inducting terrorism in Punjab in early 80s and then launched a proxy war in J&K around 1989.

He added that continued terror and ethnic cleansing resulted in enormous human loss, rendered lakhs as refugees, ruined the economy and shattered the secular fabric of the state.

Referring to the troubles in North-East region, centre's pointman on J&K and former Home Secretary Union of India, said that ISI supported intrusions and illegal immigrations from Bangladesh have caused a demographic upheaval and bred serious communal, political, economic and social tensions in the region.

Mr. Vohra said that emergence of Pan-Islamist outfits have resulted in indoctrination of Muslims that resulted in communal unrest in many areas of India, particularly border regions.

Mr. Vohra said that ISI supported Jehadi groups are controlling terrorist campaign in Jammu and Kashmir.

Mr. Vohra had also a dig at growing nexus between the underworld, mafia and the subversive terrorist network which is a major concern for the country.

Mr. Vohra advocated coordination between centre and state governments, depoliticising the functioning of police force and strengthening of intelligence network to uphold the national security of the country.

22 Dassi's Chander Vaakh' released

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, May 31: Smt. Chandra Dassi's poetry collection "Chandra Vaakh" was released in an impressive function organised by "Nagrad Adbi Sangami" at Press Club Jammu here today. The book which belongs to the genre of mystic poetry was released by guest of honour Prof. O.P. Sharma, Dean Academic Affairs University of Jammu and the function was presided over by the renowned Shaivism scholar Dr. Balji Nath Pandit.

In his welcome address, president of "Nagrad Adbi Sangam", Sh. Mohan Lal Aash congratulated Chandra Dassi and described her book as a precious contribution to Kashmiri Literature. He said that "Vaakhs" do not form part of traditional poetry but these are 'expressions of experiences with spirituality'.

Presenting his paper on the book, Dr. B.L. Koul gave an in-depth evaluation of the book, ranging from its literary value to technical aspects. Referring to the release of many other 'Mystic Poetry' books since 1990, he described it as the revival of the 'Mystic Poetry' era. Dr. Koul said that 'Chander Vaakh' has been written in both *Nastalik* and *Devnagri* scripts. Many other Kashmiri Hindus have also published their literary works in *Nastalik* as well to reach the Kashmiris on other side of the tunnel and wondered "if there is even feeling among those people to write in Devnagri to reach the Kashmiris living on this side of the tunnel".

Chandra Dassi, in her address, thanked the people for their participation and recited some new "Vaakhs" that are not included in the book. She said that she got the inspiration of composing Vaakhs from her Guru Swami Hari Krishna.

Speaking on the occasion, Prof. O.P. Sharma said that he was just representing Vice-Chancellor University of Jammu, Prof. Amitab Mattoo, who could not make to the function because of his engagements regarding preparations for the coming convocation. He said that though he cannot understand Kashmiri, but from occasional Hindi descriptions by the speakers, he could gather that the book is the outcome of hard work and expressed satisfaction that more and more women are coming forward to contribute to the literary world.

Dr. Balji Nath Pandit, Dr. Roshan Saraf and Dr. R.L. Shant also spoke on the occasion Mrs. Kailash Mehra recited some "Vaakhs" from the book in her melodious voice. The function was attended by galaxy of writers, poets and artists.

23 Critical Times Need Correct Responses

By O.N. Trisal

FOR last two years I have felt an earnest desire to speak to my community on certain developments within my community. The desire has perhaps been driven by the realisation that we are placed at a time in history when momentous and critical events are happening around us which have crucial bearing on our future. Having seen the partition days as a prominent contributor to the freedom struggle in Kashmir, I feel the present times are perhaps more important in the sense that whatever is happening around will decide the fate of Indian civilisation and also my own community. 1947 era was time which determined whether India will emerge as a modern nation state and at what price. We know it very well the price we paid for freedom.

I have felt it intensely during last couple of years that the contradictions on which Indian Nation State was built are taking its toll in such brazenness and speed that unless they are addressed the entire edifice of nation will collapse. It is a depressing conclusion. However, as I see this grim reality staring at me I also see hope. This is because the experimentations of perverted secularism in India are meeting their end one after the other and the space for effecting fundamental correctives is enlarging.

I am feeling proud that during the years of exile since 1989 my community has played a role which is revolutionary. It has voiced the elemental contradictions facing our nation fearlessly and coherently. It has refused to legitimise communalism and subversive processes in the name of national interest. Perhaps for these very reasons I drew closer to Panun Kashmir ideology. I see it very clearly that Panun Kashmir politics is subtly pushing the national discourse towards revolutionary changes. It is also evolving a survival vision for Kashmiri Pandits which has been almost absent for a long long time.

For all these reasons I think these are critical times for us. We have to guard against internal saboteurs, renegades and lumpuns. To render such enemies within us ineffective we have to understand the processes through which they operate.

Take for example the very present times. Sh. N.N. Vohra was in Jammu as an interlocutor of Govt. of India to talk to various shades of opinion. A series of Kashmiri Pandit deputations met him. And most of them supported the 'homeland demand'. Not only that a striking unanimity was evident once they expressed their views be it the genesis of Kashmir problem or the day to day problems. Very few discordant voices raised by Pandits need to be understood in boarder perspective. All State Kashmiri Pandit Conference was one such voice.

A few days before Mr Vohra arrived this organisation assertively came up with the demand of 'Kashyap State'. To some it appeared that the organisation perhaps has realised the dangers and futility of cliches like 'return with dignity and honour' and was moving gradually towards taking a concrete political line. However, if we look at the proposition of 'Kashyap State' closely it will glaringly become evident that it is aimed at sabotaging the political thrust created by 'homeland demand'. The proposition argues that it aims at more share than the homeland demand envisages without giving any basis for the same. In fact the leaders of the organisation have comical understanding of the demography of the state which they put forward as a basis of their political demand. I do not believe that these leaders are innocent, foolish or ignorant. The demand of 'Kashyap State' aims to give an impression that Kashmiri Pandits have a farcical politics. It subtly aims to create an external projection that Pandits have no solutions to offer and as such create dismissiveness in the organs of Indian state and political establishment about Pandits. The organisation has persistently gone against the consensus of the community be it elections, dealing with Muslim ruling class or the mainstream political parties.

The example is quoted here only to explain the subtlety of the process which sabotages main political thrust. 'Kashyap State' gives an impression that it is a new political demand when there is nothing new in it. By advocating a line on ridiculous premises it tries to creates an indirect suggestion that the 'Panun Kashmir' concept also lacks substance.

Behaviour of the community responses in Jammu in the aftermath of Nadimarg massacre reveal more about the nature of the processes aimed at stifling community struggle and politics. In the morning of 23rd March when the sad news broke in Jammu, spontaneous demonstrations erupted. Panun Kashmir immediately responded to channelise the uproar into a proper and effective movement. 24th March was declared by them as a day of mourning and people were asked to gather at Rajinder Park to condole the deaths. Some important RSS activists prevailed upon Panun Kashmiri leaders to attend all party meet at Shardha Sanjivini Kendra to finalise the programme for the next day.

When I reached the Shardha Sanjivini Kendra in the evening I was surprised to find such persons invited to the meeting who in the past had been desperately trying to find favour with Muslim establishment in the state and had no perceptible line on Kashmir. All of them tried to coerce the decision of the meeting in a way which would suite the Mufti Government. There should be no vocal protest, no demonstration and Pandit leadership should seek audience with Mufti to discuss the issue. Fortunately the coercion did not work and despite physical intimidation in meeting the decision of Panun Kashmir for the next day protests could not be changed. Next day during the public rally at Rajinder Park the same elements tried to create a pandemonium. When leaders of various shades were offering their condolences these elements tried to disrupt the proceedings by asking the people to leave out in the form of a protest demonstration. And when the community leaders actually decided to come-out in the form of a rally the same people chose to stay back.

All these mischievous manoeuvres failed. The community protested most stridently and the impact was global. Everybody from Secretary General of United Nations Organisations, President of USA, Prime Minister of UK, as well the entire leadership of country condemned the gruesome tragedy at Nadimarg. Never before has Pandit issue received such a widespread attention.

But the question is why should some RSS activists encourage lumpun brigade run by a ruling minister. The same activists were responsible for honouring Balraj Puri through the aegis of Prem Nath Bhat Memorial Trust. RSS activists, honouring of Balraj Puri is an the intriguing association. The same Trust has worked over last many years to bail out the communal leadership of NC, provided them platform as well as public honour to comment and deliberate upon displacement.

I have always considered renegades as more dangerous than the open adversaries. A leading community physician who claims to be the originator of 'Homeland demand' recently advocated 'Homeland' or 'Kashyap State' as solution to Kashmiri Pandit problem. Why should he equate as diverse and contradictory propositions as these and project as if they are the shades or variants of the same solution process. Another colleague of his had shaken hands with Pervez Musharraf hoping that the plight of Kashmiri Pandits would be mitigated by the act. Such gestures only mean that commitment to the political ideal in them has long died. And what are propagated as tactical processes to further 'homeland goal' are basically deft manoeuvres to surrender the ideal.

I see a definite socialisation of community taking place which is transforming it into a political entity. This transformation is the biggest achievement in the history of ruthless persecution of our community. The transformation will not only redeem the community but the nation as well. Only beware of saboteurs, renegades and lumpuns.

24 Letters

Searching for Pandit roots

Sir,

It was interesting to read the article "Allama Iqbal--Searching for Pandit Roots", by Dr Ramesh Kumar in the May issue of *Kashmir Sentinel*. However, I would like to suggest a correction. The person shown standing in the left in the family wedding photograph is not of Shri Hriday Narain Hundoo but is of his son, Shri Swaroop Narain Hundoo. I know this as I too am, in a way, related to the Sapru clan. The relationship? Well, the old lady in that 1931 photograph is sister of my mother's mother's mother!

--**Sh. Y.N. Madan**

E-293, East of Kailash

New Delhi

US double Sandards

Sir,

It has reference to the Editorial "*US Double Standards*" published in your esteemed fortnightly (May 1st-31st issue).

United States is pursuing its agenda under the garb of war against terrorism as is reflected in its approach.

US is continuously ignoring the fact that Pakistan is the epicenter of terrorism.

It has overlooked India's genuine concerns and is counselling India to hold dialogue with Pakistan which is pursuing terrorism as a State policy.

Though our leadership continuously speaks about winning the war against terrorism on its own strength, yet it always pleads with US to force Pakistan to stop fomenting terrorism in India.

In fact Indian leadership is allowing the American intervention by its own policy.

While India needs to fight terrorism on its own strength with or without the support from the international community, US will have to give up its double standards vis-a-vis terrorism.

- **Surinder Kumar (Babbu)**

713, Bawe Wali Gali,

Shaheedi Chowk, Jammu

25 Politics of Blackmail

Text of the Press Statement issued by President All State Kashmiri Pandit Solidarity Conference Sh. O.N. Trisal and Panun Kashmir General Secretary Sh. Kuldeep Raina on June 13, 2003

We are observing keenly the reports which have appeared in the media about the interactions of various organisations and individuals with the interlocutor of Govt. of India Sh. N.N. Vohra. It is saddening that a large section of Indian political establishment still nourishes a dangerous view that success of any venture in Jammu and Kashmir is determined by the sanction of the Muslim population of Jammu and Kashmir particularly the various shades of separatist opinion. Such an attitude has nourished politics of blackmail which destroyed the democratic movement in the state and bred communalism.

We are aware of the dangers of the major initiatives taken by Government of India to buy peace with those who are waging war against our nation. We have communicated the same to Mr. Vohra including the dangers of his mission. But what saddens us most is that Indian political establishment cutting across party lines always adopts a line which confers veto to communal secessionist politics in Jammu and Kashmir.

The Hurriyat line that dialogue should take place with only those who do not believe in the sanctity of Indian Constitution and Govt. of India which by implication represents all who have faith in Indian Constitution is a fascist and exclusivist line. Mainstream political parties in India have been complementing this approach by judging the success of any process in the state on the basis of its acceptability to separatists. We condemn this attitude as strongly as we condemn the separatist line.

Some Muslim leaders in various mainstream political parties are playing a very intriguing role. It seems to us that they are trying to undermine the diversity of political opinion which is getting registered on the national mind through the dialogue process which has been initiated. Such a communal attitude should be resisted by all who believe in democracy, secularism and integrity of the country.

We also take a strong exception of various statements emanating from the leadership of the present PDP lead government in the state which tend to communicate that the dialogue process initiated has a far reaching scope which transgresses the boundaries of national sovereignty, integrity and imperatives of secular nation building. The statements by the chief minister advocating 'porous borders' do not fall in the realm of his responsibility and have far reaching implications particularly when Government of India wants border to become sacrosanct by the stoppage of all infiltration into the state.

26 Those Who Left Us

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

1. Smt. Santosh Dhar W/o Sh. Mohan Lal Dhar, R/o Channi Himmat H.No: D-7 Police Housing Colony Jammu. 1/5/2003
2. Dr. Prem Nath Brar S/o Lt. Sh. V.N. Brar R/o 260-D, Sainik Colony Jammu. 1/5/2003
3. Sh. Maharaj Krishen Koul S/o Lt. Sh. Radha Krishen Koul, R/o Shashyar Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at H.No: 62, Sector A-1 Laxmi Puram Chinor Jammu. 2/5/2003
4. Smt. Somawati Raina W/o Sh. Radha Krishen Raina R/o Gund Gushi Kupwara; presently at 676, Sector-III Vinayak Nagar Muthi. 2/5/2003
5. Prof. Som Nath Dhar S/o Late Sh. Anand Joo Dhar R/o Khan-Khah Sokhta Safa Kadal Sgr; presently at 62-A Shastri Nagar. 2/5/2003
6. Sh Shyam Lal Sadhu S/o Sh. T.C. Sadhu, R/o Ganpatyar Sgr; presently at H.No: 28 Lane No: 3 Bharat Nagar Bantalab, Jammu. 2/5/2003
7. Sh. Bal Krishen Gadru S/o Pandit Kanth Ram Gadru, R/o Kani-Kadal Sgr; presently at F-65, Mohalla Dalpatian Jammu. 2/5/2003
8. Smt. Mayla Devi W/o Sh. Radha Krishen Raina, R/o Gund Gushi Kupwara Kmr. 2/5/2003
9. Sh. J.L. Zalpuri S/o Late Sh. Govind Joo Zalpuri R/o 203-204 Jawahar Nagar Sgr; presently at H-29, Sector-4, Trikuta Nagar Jammu. 2/5/2003
10. J.N. Mattoo, R/o Zaindar Mohalla Sgr; presently at H.No: 188, Sector-2 EWS Colony Roop Nagar Jammu. 3/5/2003
11. Smt. Nirja Kak W/o Sh. O.N. Kak R/o Bagh-e-Jogi Lanker Rainawari Sgr; presently at Shivpuri Colony Jaipur. 3/5/2003
12. Dr. Anita Mattoo W/o Dr. Roop Krishen Dhar, R/o Frisal Kulgam Kmr; presently at Govt. Qtr. No: V-131, Poonch House Talab Tillo Jammu. 3/5/2003
13. Smt. Mohan Piyari Dhar W/o Sh. Mohan Lal Dhar, R/o Nunar Ganderbal; presently at Kamal Nagar Lane No: 3, Sector-2 Bantalab Jammu. 4/5/2003
14. Sh. Dina Nath Bhat, R/o Wazir Baga Kmr; presently at 28-Vandana Apartments Plot No: 41 I.P. Extension Patpatganj Delhi. 4/5/2003
15. Sh. Maheshwar Nath Zutshi S/o Lt. Sh. Neel Kanth Zutshi R/o Motiyar Rainawari; presently at Patoli Mangotrian Jammu. 4/5/2003
16. Smt. Veena Koul W/o Sh. ON Koul, R/o H.No: 508 Sector-2 Extension Durga Nagar Jammu. 5/5/2003
17. Sh. Dwarika Nath Bhat S/o Late Sh. Dina Nath Bhat, R/o Maimorh Baramulla; presently at H.No: 68, Amar Colony Talab Tillo Jammu. 5/5/2003
18. Smt. Mohini Wali W/o Sh. B.N. Wali, R/o Zaina Kadal Sgr; presently at B-5/77-C Dawalgiri Apartments Sector-34, Noida UP. 5/5/2003
19. Sh. Triloki Nath Qazi S/o Late Pt. Prem Nath Qazi R/o Karan Nagar Sgr, Kmr; presently at USA. 6/5/2003
20. Sh. Omkar Nath Jalali S/o Lt. Sh. Dina Nath Jalali, R/o Rainawari Sgr; presently at 72/B Trikuta Nagar, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 6/5/2003
21. Smt. Sheela Ji Yachoo W/o Sh. Kanaya Lal Yachoo; presently at H.No: 105, Sector-2, Munshi Chak Revenue Complex Road, Govind Nagar Gole Gujral Jammu. 7/5/2003

22. Smt. Subagh Wati Kakpori W/o Lt. Sh. S.N. Kakpori, R/o Zaindar Mohalla Sgr; presently at Gawalior. 7/5/2003
23. Smt. Indrani Koul W/o Lt. Pt. Raghu Nath Koul, R/o 378-Jawahar Nagar Sgr; presently at R-4, 122, NEWADA Housing Complex, Kakrola More, Uttam Nagar Delhi. 7/5/2003
24. Sh. Mohan Lal Pandit S/o Lt. Vishamber Nath Pandit, R/o 163/A, Sheliting Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at Barnai Bantalab Jammu. 7/5/2003
25. Smt. Chanda Devi W/o Sh. Jaggar Nath Pandit, R/o Murran Pulwama A/P Mishriwala Camp Qtr. No: 116. 7/5/2003
26. Sh. Shamboo Nath Bazaz, R/o Nazuk Mohalla Anantnag; presently at H.No: 690 Near Mango Garden Vinayak Nagar, Muthi. 8/5/2003
27. Sh. Harday Nath Tickoo S/o Late Sh. Hari Ram Tickoo, R/o Raghunath Mandir Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at H.No: 32 Sec-1, JDA Colony Rajinder Nagar Bantalab Jammu. 9/5/2003
28. Sh. Soom Nath Koul, R/o Late Gopi Nath Koul, R/o Rainawari Sgr; presently at H.No: 2-B Sector-A, Subash Nagar Jammu. 10/5/2003.
29. Sh. Radha Krishan Raina S/o Lt. Sh. Lassa Ram Raina, R/o Khiram Anantnag; presently at Jekhani Udhampur. 10/5/2003
30. Sh. Shiv Ji Pandit S/o Sh. Ram Ji Pandit, R/o Wagam Chadoor; presently at Vas Niwas Subash Nagar. 10/5/2003
31. Sh. Soom Nath Raina S/o Lt. Raghu Nath Raina, R/o Kulgam Kmr; presently at Ganesh Vihar Lower Muthi Jammu. 10/5/2003
32. Sh. Maheshwar Nath Zutshi S/o Lt. Sh. Neel Kanth Zutshi, R/o Motiyar Rainawari Sgr; presently at Patoli Mangotrian Jammu. 11/5/2003
33. Sh. Soom Nath Raina S/o Late Rugh Nath Raina, R/o Kulgam Kmr; presently at Ganesh Vihar Lower Muthi Jammu. 11/5/2003
34. Sh. Tej Krishen Koul S/o Lt. Sh. Soom Nath Koul, R/o Khan Bazar Anantnag; presently at 88/2-B, Shantipuram Lower Roopnagar Muthi Jammu. 12/5/2003
35. Smt. Tarawati Dhar W/o Lt. Sh. Shankar Nath Dhar, R/o Peth-Makahama Magam Kmr; presently at Rohini Mode RS Pura. 12/5/2003
36. Smt. Dhanwati Koul W/o Lt. Sh. Lal Koul, R/o Malapora Sgr; presently at Barnai Jammu. 13/5/2003
37. Sh. Jawahar Lal Bakshi S/o Lt. Sh. Kashi Nath Bakshi, R/o 295 Mohalla Jullaka Jammu. 14/5/2003
38. Sh. Dina Nath Razdan S/o Lt. Sh. Jia Lal Razdan, R/o Wanpoh Anantnag; presently at D-6/1, Flat-II, New Delhi-95
39. Sh. Mohan Koul S/o Sh. Lt. Nand Lal Koul R/o Bag-Jogi-Lankar Rainawari Sgr; presently at B-6, Sunder-Park New Link Road Andkari West Bombay. 16/5/2003
40. Sh. Santosh Koul S/o Late Sh. Prithvi Nath Koul, R/o 35 Wazir Bagh Sgr; presently at Haridwar. 16/5/2003
41. Smt. Raj Rani Ganjoo W/o Lt. Pt. Vish Nath Ganjoo, R/o Bana Mohalla Sgr; presently at Ganga Nagar Sector-3, Ban Talab Jammu. 17/5/2003
42. Sh. Parthavi Nath Koul S/o Late Amar Chand Koul, R/o Gudbugh, Pulwama Kmr. 17/5/2003
43. Sh. Anand Ji Ganjoo, R/o Ganjoo House, Hazoori Bagh Lane No: 11, Bohri Jammu. 18/5/2003
44. Smt. Vijay Durani W/o Sh. Shibhan Krishen Durani R/o Sheilteng, Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at H.No: 516, Sector-17, Gurgoan Haryana. 18/5/2003

45. Sh. Jia Lal Bhat S/o Lt. Sh. Chander Bhat R/o Wachi Pulwama, presently at H.No: 381, Sector-3, Gangyal Garden Jammu. 19/5/2003
46. Sh. Manoj Kumar Raina S/o Late Sh. Shyam Lal Raina, R/o Noida UP. 19/5/2003
47. Sh Pushkar Nath Hashia S/o Sh. Govind Joo Hashia. 19/5/2003
48. Pt. Amar Nath Dhar. 19/5/2003
49. Sh. Kashi Nath Muthoo (retd. Major) S/o Late Sh. Shanker Nath Muthoo, R/o Bul-Bul Lanker Ali-Kadal Sgr; presently at H.No: 56, Sector-II, Govind Nagar Camp Road, Talab Tollo Jammu. 20/5/2003
50. Master Satvik Thaploo S/o Sh. Satish Thaploo, R/o Lane 24, H.No: 7-C Bawani Nagar Janipur Jammu. 20/5/2003
51. Sh. Soom Nath Pandita S/o Late Pt. Aftab Ram Pandita R/o Hakcharpora Hatmulla Kupwara, Kmr; presently at H.No: 414-415 G-26, Sector-3 Rohini New Delhi. 20/5/2003
52. Sh. Predhman Kishan Wattal (Koul) S/o Late Sh. P.N. Wattal R/o Ghat Jogi Lanker Rainawari Sgr; presently at Kamal Nagar Bantalab Lane No: 2, Jammu. 20/5/2003
53. Smt. Rajni Pandita D/o Lt. Sh. Damodhar Lal Pandita, R/o Bonapora Akingam Anantnag; presently at H.No: 45, Sector-7, Trikuta Nagar Jammu. 21/5/2003
54. Sh. Mohan Kishen Tickoo (ex-Cabinet Minister J&K Govt), R/o 178 A/D, Gandhi Nagar Jammu. 21/5/2003
55. Smt. Shanta Kapoor (Kaw) W/o Lt. Sh. K.L. Kapoor, R/o Mumbai. 22/5/2003
56. Smt. Radha Krishen Raina S/o Sh. Nila Kanth Raina, R/o 196, Jawahar Nagar, Sgr; presently at 16-A, Bhawani Nagar, Janipur, Jammu. 23/5/2003
57. Smt. Arni Devi W/o Sh. C.L. Tak, R/o Kupwara Kmr; presently at Qtr. No: 16, Purkhoo Camp Jammu. 23/5/2003
58. Sh. Saroop Nath Bhat S/o Late Sh. Dina Nath Bhat R/o Sangri Colony Kanil Bagh Baramulla Kmr; presently at Adarsh Nagar Opp. Navdeep Public School Paloura Jammu. 24/5/2003
59. Sh. Badri Nath Koul S/o Lt. Pt. Tara Chand Koul, R/o Chowgam; presently at D/172, Lower Shiv Nagar Jammu. 24/5/2003
60. Smt. Sumawati Shishoo W/o Lt. Pt. Lambodhar Nath Shishoo, R/o 12, Mahinder Nagar Jammu. 24/5/2003
61. Smt. Oma Devi Koul W/o Late Sh. J.N. Koul R/o F-201, Mast Garh, Jammu. 24/5/2003
62. Sh. Manohar Nath Koul Saraf S/o Late Sh. Badri Nath Koul, R/o Sonawar Sgr; presently at 4/28, Pandoka Colony Patoli Jammu. 25/5/2003
63. Smt. Tulsi Devi Jatta W/o Lt. Sh. Kanth Joo Jatta, R/o Karan Nagar Sgr; presently at 7, Ashok Nagar Canal Road, Jammu. 25/5/2003
64. Smt. Vidayawati Monga, R/o Babapora Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at H.No: 256, Sector-17 Faridabad Haryana. 25/5/2003
65. Smt. Meenawati Dhar W/o Sh. Jia Lal Dhar, R/o Hugam, Anantnag; presently at H.No: 116, Bohri Udheywalla Jammu. 25/5/2003
66. Sh. T.N. Punjabi R/o Sathu Bar-Bar Shah Sgr; presently at H.No: 330, Sector-5, Malviya Nagar Jaipur. 26/5/2003
67. Sh. Chaman Lal Trakroo S/o Lt. Sh. Prem Nath Trakroo, R/o Safriyar Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at H.No: 460, Sector-2, Vinayak Nagar Muthi Jammu. 27/5/2003
68. Sh. Dwarika Nath Bakshi R/o Wachi Pulwama, Kmr; presently at Hamirpur (HP). 27/5/2003
69. Sh. Durga Nath Raina S/o Late Sh. Kanth Raina, R/o F-6, Deepali Apartments Ram Prastha Colony, Chander Nagar Opp. Vivek Vihar Delhi. 27/5/2003

70. Smt. Kamla Thusoo W/o Lt. Sh. Shivjee Thusoo, R/o Karihama Kupwara; presently at 366-A, Rajpura Shakti Nagar Jammu. 28/5/2003
 71. Smt. Prabhawati Razdan W/o Late Sh. Srikant Razdan R/o Shivpora Sgr; presently at L-13/6 DLF Phase-II Gurgaon. 28/5/2003
 72. Smt. Lachkuji Hangloo W/o Lt. Sh. Jagar Nath Hangloo, R/o Sathoo Barbar Shah Sgr; presently at H.No: 112, Lane Zero Tomal Bohri Jammu. 29/5/2003
 73. Sh. Chuni Lal Pandita S/o Lt. Anand Ram, R/o Gund Gushi Kupwara; presently at Muthi Camp Room No: 332. 29/5/2003
 74. Sh. Soom Nath Raina S/o Sh. L.K. Raina, R/o Mandura Trall; presently at H.No: 193/12 Shankar Nagar Udhampur. 30/5/2003
 75. Sh. Shyam Lal Kachroo R/o Pazipura Kupwara; presently at Near V.B. School Lower Muthi Akalpur More Jammu. 31/5/2003
 76. Smt. Shobawati Bhat W/o Lt. Sh. Sarwanand Bhat, R/o Khrew (Kmr) presently at H.No: 496 Sector-II, Vinayak Nagar Muthi. 31/5/2003
 77. Smt. Reeta Koul W/o Late Sh. Maharaj Krishen Koul, R/o Baramulla Kmr; preently at 7A, Purkhoo Camp Phase IInd. 31/5/2003
- Smt. Nancy Bhat W/o Late Sh. M.K. Koul. 31/5/2003

27 Chronology of Events

May 5: National Conference leader Ghulam Ahmad Saloora was critically injured in a car blast; two terrorists were killed and a BSF jawan and a civilian injured in an encounter in Kulgam. A body was recovered from Sofshali, Kokernag while terrorists lobbed a grenade on SICOP building in Srinagar. Two terrorists were killed in Kot Darha, Rajouri and a civilian was killed and 33 others injured in a blast at Doda bus stand.

May 6: An army major and 12 terrorists including three comdrs were killed in different operations in Poonch, Rajouri and Doda districts. A civilian was killed and 30 others injured in a grenade attack at Bus Stand, Pulwama; a driver and a conductor of a civil bus were injured in yet another explosion in Lasjan. A terrorist was killed in Shopian and a civilian in Tral.

May 7: Three army men, including a captain, and five terrorists were killed in an encounter in Yusmarg; five more terrorists and three soldiers were killed in other encounters across Kashmir valley.

May 8: Two terrorists were killed in Lolab, Kupwara and three HM terrorists were arrested in Pulwama district while an IED was seized near "Civil Secretariat" Srinagar.

May 9: Three PDP activists were killed in and around Bijbehara and an NC activist was killed in Pampore. Body of a mentally upset person was recovered from Lolab, Kupwara. Two terrorists, a VDC member and a civilian were killed in Rajouri and Doda and 15 terrorist hideouts were destroyed in Hill Kaka, Surankote.

May 10: Three terrorists were killed and two other surrendered in different incidents in Poonch-Rajouri. Terrorists attacked Police Post at Roulka, Bani in Kathua district. Terrorists killed four civilians in Kashmir valley while a boy was killed and three others injured in Pak shelling in Tangdar sector. A Pak national was arrested in RS Pura sector.

May 11: Two civilians and an SPO were killed in Kashmir valley. Four terrorists, an army havaldar and a civilian were killed in Surankot, Poonch. An SPO was killed and six others including an SHO injured in a grenade blast at Roulka, Bani in Kathua district.

May 12: Two cops were killed while foiling an attempt of bank robbery in Shopian; two soldiers and a *fidayeen* were killed in Kupwara. Terrorists killed a civilian and injured another in Rajouri; security forces smashed a terrorist hideout and recovered arms and ammunition in Surankote.

May 13: Security forces gunned down seven terrorists in Shopian while terrorists killed a Police SI in Srinagar and a woman in Kupwara. Two jawans and two civilians were killed and six others injured in different incidents in Poonch-Rajouri.

May 14: Two Pak terrorists were killed in Lolab, Kupwara; an SPO's body, who was kidnapped by terrorists, was recovered from Tral and body of another civilian from Qazigund. Three terrorists, a jawan and two civilians were killed in Jammu region.

May 15: Three civilians were killed in Kashmir valley. Two terrorists, an SPO and a civilian were killed in an encounter at Banyali, Mendhar; five civilians were injured in a blast at Azmatatabad, Thannamandi while a jawan succumbed to his injuries.

May 15: One jawan, a civilian and a terrorist were killed in different incidents in Kashmir valley while a gun battle was going on in Bandipore. Two terrorists and an army jawan were killed in Chingus, Rajouri and a *fidayeen* was killed in Poonch.

May 17: Security forces killed three terrorists in Noorkot, Chingus and arrested a JeM terrorist in Kalakote; terrorists killed a woman and injured her ex-serviceman husband at Bhadoon, Rajouri. Terrorists killed two Police constables at Dalgate Srinagar and a soldier was killed and two others injured in an encounter in Bandipore.

May 18: A terrorist and three civilians were killed in Kashmir valley. Security forces killed two terrorists in Koteranka, Rajouri and defused an IED in Gool, Udhampur.

May 19: Terrorists beheaded six members-four women and two children-of a family at Chowkian, Kot Dhara in Rajouri. A jawan, an SPO and a civilian were killed in an terrorists' ambush in Surankote. A woman was killed in crossfiring at Koti, Bani. Security forces killed three terrorists in Kokernag area and recovered Rs 50 lakh in Shopian while terrorists killed a cop in Awantipora.

May 20: Security forces killed four infiltrators in Machil sector; terrorists slaughtered a mother daughter duo at Argam, Baramulla shot dead a civilian at Paner, Tral and blasted a bridge in Bandipore. Terrorists fired two grenades on police station Bhaderwah.

May 21: Terrorists killed a female teacher and injured one another in a grenade attack on a Missionary School in Anantnag; six terrorists, three civilians and an IB official were killed elsewhere in Kashmir valley. Three HUIJI terrorists were killed in Darhal and two terrorists in Poonch.

May 22: Security forces killed 12 infiltrators near LoC in Nowgam sector. Terrorists killed a HM terrorist of Majid Dar group Bashir Ahmed Dar of Waripora in captivity; a body was recovered from Rafiabab area while terrorists injured two more persons in Kashmir valley. Two more terrorists were killed in Mandi, Poonch. A civilian was injured in Pak firing in Rajouri.

May 23: A terrorist and two civilians were killed in Kashmir valley two JeM terrorists were killed in Rajouri.

May 24: Security forces killed a guide and arrested one another who were helping terrorists to infiltrate into India in Sunderbani sector. Two SPOs were injured in a grenade attack in Bhaderwah.

May 26: Terrorists wiped out a whole family of five members, a couple and their three children, at Seri Khwas in Koternaka, Rajouri with the killing of three more terrorists and succumbing to injuries of an SPO rose the death toll in Surankote encounter to six. A civilian was killed and three civilians and an army soldier injured in Pak shelling in Nowshera sector.

May 27: Terrorists killed a surrendered militant Rafeeq Khan and his father and wife at Arin Dardpora, Bandipore. Four terrorists and two civilians were killed and one another injured elsewhere in Kashmir valley. A terrorist, an army jawan and a civilian were killed and two terrorists were arrested in different incidents in Jammu region.

May 28: Four HM terrorists were injured in Pampore while fabricating an IED; a soldier and a civilian were killed in another incidents in Kashmir valley. Eight terrorists including four infiltrators were killed in different operations in Shahpur Karnelian (Poonch), Mahore (Udhampur) and Sunderbani (Rajouri).

May 29: Three terrorists were among seven people killed in Kashmir valley. Five terrorists were gunned down while four terrorists belonging to JeM and TUJI surrendered in Poonch. Two terrorists surrendered in Doda while terrorists torched two houses in Ramban.

May 30: Two students were killed in an IED blast at Karyot, Thannamandi; a terrorist hideout was busted in Ramban. Terrorists killed two civilians and other two were killed in a mine blast in Kashmir valley.

May 31: Four terrorists and six civilians were killed and three others, including two SPOs, were injured in Jammu region. Four terrorists and three civilians were killed, 13 injured while DIG BSF and a commandant had a narrow escape in Kashmir valley.

June 1: Three Hindus were killed by terrorists after kidnapping at Bhatta Dhar, Bhaderwah, body of a Gujjar was also recovered from the same area. Two terrorists were eliminated in Marmat, Doda. Two more terrorists were killed in Hill Kaka. A civilian escaped from terrorists' captivity from Tiryoli, Akhnoor.

June 2: Terrorists killed three civilians in Jammu region while six Austrian made grenades were recovered from a terrorist hideout in Kalakote, Rajouri. Terrorists gunned down an SPO at Amirakadal, Srinagar. Police on duty to guard a minority picket at Matrigam, Handwara fired apprehending terrorist attack.

June 3: An alert sentry foiled a *fidayeen* attack by snatching the weapon of the *fidayeen* at Lalpora police station; two terrorists were killed near LoC in Kupwara sector. A terrorist was killed in Dharmshal, Rajouri.

June 4: Three terrorists of JeM and an army jawan were killed and three other soldiers were injured in an encounter in Surankote, Poonch. A terrorist, a jawan and a civilian were killed elsewhere in Jammu region.

June 5: A terrorist and a civilian were killed and 60 kg RDX recovered in Kashmir valley. BSF killed an infiltrator while three others escaped back to Pakistan in Samba sector. Five people were killed and eight others injured as Pakistan resorted to shelling in North-Kashmir.

June 6: Security forces killed eight terrorists at Zainapora, Shopian; two terrorists, two civilians and an SPO were killed elsewhere in Kashmir valley. Terrorists killed three members of a marriage party at Samot, Budhal. Three terrorists and a civilian were killed in other incidents in Rajouri district.

June 7: Three terrorists and an SPO among five killed in Kashmir valley. A terrorist and an employee were killed and 12 Bangladeshi and one Myanmar were arrested in Jammu region.

June 8: Terrorists gunned down four Hindus at Sadrota village in Billawar tehsil. Two terrorists and two civilians were killed in Kashmir valley.

June 9: Security forces killed a HuM terrorist while terrorists killed a civilian in Kashmir valley. Army killed five terrorists near Nangali Sahib, Poonch. Two army jawans and a civilian were killed in Udhampur and Doda districts.

June 10: A terrorist was killed while another surrendered in Kashmir valley. A terrorist and a government employee were killed in Rajouri-Poonch. A jawan was killed and three others injured in Pak shelling in Jammu region.

June 11: BSF killed four intruders in RS Pura sector. A youth was kidnapped and later killed in Basantgarh, Udhampur. Four terrorists and a civilian were killed elsewhere in Jammu region.

June 12: 11 terrorists, two jawans and two Gujjars from Rajouri were among 18 killed in Kashmir valley. Two infiltrators were killed in Poonch sector.

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