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Contents

	page
Contents.....	v
1 Editorial	1-2
2 Sectarian violence in Pakistan	2-3
3 First Kashmiri Chief Engineer.....	3-8
4 14th Balidan Divas on 14 September 2003	4-12
5 Bloodier flows Vitasta: Wages of our fumble-bumble peace initiatives.....	5-13
6 A remarkable year for PDP govt.....	6-15
7 Durva-Kusa Ghas : Rituals and Legends	7-17
8 Book Review	8-21
9 Panun Kashmir--Logic and Relevance.....	9-25
10 Our Ally, Our Problem	10-27
11 Ideal solution to Kashmir problem.....	11-29
12 Exile is a dream of glorious return.....	12-34
13 Pattern of Civilian killings in terrorist violence.....	13-37
14 Sayyid Sufis—Muslim Theologians-II.....	14-43
15 Letter.....	15-46
16 Those Who Left Us	16-47
17 Chronology of Events.....	17-50

1 Editorial

No Dialogue With Islamists

IN a situation of war, Generals rather than the politicians articulate the ground reality better. At a press conference in Jammu, held recently, General Vij the Army Chief did some plain speaking. Besides referring to the presence of Al-Qaida elements in J&K, he expressed alarm over sharp escalation in incidence of terrorist violence which shot up from 201 to 281 per month. Nearly 4500 terrorists are undergoing training in subversion at 85 camps in Pakistan and are waiting to cross over. During the past 40 days alone, there were as many as 34 infiltration bids to push in the subversives. Even the Jammu Pathankot belt was as badly affected by the violence. There has been media spotlight on internal subversion and nexus between local Kashmiri terrorists and other subversive elements in rest of India.

Notwithstanding the killing of over 750 terrorists in J&K this year, Islamist terrorists have resurfaced in hitherto sanitised areas. Increased infiltration and massive smuggling in of the arms and munition have helped the terrorists to create their bases in many parts of the state. Deceptive lull in the Srinagar city which coincided with the tourist season was a tactical ploy by the terrorists to hoodwink security forces, while ferrying arms to the capital city and creating new hideouts. It was also to keep sections of Kashmiris happy by allowing the tourist season to go on unhindered. Soon after, there were as many as 26 incidence in Srinagar city alone in two months.

The situation that has unfolded reveals three new features. One, infiltration of the locals, which had been reduced to a trickle over past few years, has assumed alarming proportions. Secondly there have been well focussed attacks against the top counter insurgent leaders, informers and other patriotic civilians. The complaint of the security forces that their 'sources' are drying up needs to be viewed in this context. Lastly Hizbul Mujahideen, the armed outfit of the fascist Jamat-e-Islami which was in total disarray has reemerged with a bang. Almost all the major terrorist attacks and the killings of the pro-India element of late have been carried out by this terrorist outfit. It has utilised the political immunity to regroup itself and create new cadres. ISI has welcomed this development whereby it can use the 'indigenous card' and to counter the flak for exporting cross-border terrorism.

It is beyond dispute that bulk of the terrorist combatants in Kashmir constitute foreign mercenaries. Can they operate without a reliable local support structure? Why the pursuit of policy of 'Healing touch, good governance and liberal central largesse,' has been accompanied by large scale exfiltration of local youth, resurfacing of Hizbul Mujahideen and increasing attacks against the patriotic elements? Where are the fault lines? It has also been suggested by some Kashmiri politicians that GoI should declare unilateral ceasefire and hold dialogue with Islamist elements. Won't it lead to the total surrender to terrorists and acceptance of the theo-fascist ideological regime?

There has been too much rhetoric and too little internal security. Kashmir remains hostage to the absence of a well articulated policy, sub standard and prolific governance and a reactive doctrine by the security forces.

In view of the complex regional situation it would be a long-hand for India in Kashmir. Jihadi intransigence which dreams of creating new Islamic caliphates, the perceptual attitudes of Pak army Generals who see stability of Pak state in balkinisation of India and US super power arrogance which fails to realise the long term consequences of providing diplomatic space to Kashmiri Islamists—all these factors complicate the solution to end the terrorist menace in Kashmir.

For India it is necessary to see that the area of terrorist conflict remains localised and the costs of proxy-war are brought down. It is desirable to create adequate effective diplomatic, military and political deterrants to make Pakistan desist from playing this adventurist game. At the local level dealing firmly with internal subversion and taking deterrant action against the local politicians who are soft to terrorists will deliver a mortal blow to the terrorist game plan. At the sametime a firm message should go that GoI will deal firmly with terrorist violence and will not hold dialogue with Islamists be it Jamat-e-Islami or other neo-fundamentalists outfits.

2 *Sectarian violence in Pakistan*

The Domestic Roots

By P.K. Kothari

GIVEN the plural nature of most societies, some sort of sectarianism is inevitable. In a traditional society it may manifest as discord over doctrinal beliefs, whereas in modern societies uneven development and selective patronage leads to communal conflict. In the Islamic societies the warring groups have used religion to sharpen the inter-group cleavages.

It was sheer hypocrisy when Jinnah told Doon Campbell that he desired new state to be a modern democratic state, with no denial of rights to non-Muslim groups. How could a confessional state be secular also? Rise of Islamic parties and ideology, soon after the creation of Pakistan proved Jinnah wrong. Pakistan remains a highly fragmented state. As successive rulers came to power through extra-constitutional means, religious identity was fostered by the state and official sanction was given to the religious organisations. Analysing its impact, Mumtaz Ahmed told US commission on International Religious Freedom, "this instrumental use of Islam at the level of the state created an environment in which the religious groups could claim an equal legitimacy to use Islam for their own particularistic sectarian purposes".

In recent years, Islamism in Pakistan has found a new face. This new trend is less concerned with ideology and those issues that pre-occupied Islamism. It instead places emphasis on sectarian posturing and violence. Its advent has deeply impacted society and politics, and portends to have broad regional implications.

Sectarian clashes were unknown before partition in the areas, which now form Pakistan. Influence of *pirs* and *Sufis* on the traditional society had positive impact on blurring sectarian antagonism. The migration of *Mohajirs* to Pakistan introduced Sunni-Shia conflict, which led to occasional riots (Tahir, Sind-1963) or minor clashes during Moharram ceremonies. But the state was neutral and had no sectarian agenda.

Sectarianism in Pakistan is a Deobandi-Shia rather than a Sunni-Shia conflict. It comes from the belief that the sect which one professes is the only true one and that the followers of other sects should be converted to one's own sect or exterminated.

Sectarian violence in Pakistan has assumed menacing proportions. In the decade 1987-1997 in 1000 incidents 478 persons were killed, 2300 injured. In 1997 alone over two hundred people were killed in 97 incidents. In 1998 there was Mominpura massacre. Till 1995, the killings were confined to leaders and activists of both sects. Then targeted attacks on religious gatherings and specific mosques followed. Hand grenades and time devices were used. In 1996 there were targeted killings of office bearers of organisations and government functionaries. The year 1997 saw a total change with indiscriminate gunfire on ordinary citizens, not involved in sectarian activity and tit-for-tat killings targeting doctors, lawyers and traders.

Heightened sectarian militancy has domestic roots as well as regional linkages. Zia's attempts to implement the Sunni Hanafi Fiqh, Iranian revolution and Iran-Iraq war, Afghan Jihad and the rise of Taliban, opening of Kashmir theatre by Islamists have created a Jihadi generation and deepened schism between sectarian groups and led to militarisation of sectarianism.

Changing Rural Scene :

Central and South Punjab are the worst affected areas, where sectarianism thrives. It contributes majority of the foot-soldiers for sectarian groups. The domestic roots of this phenomenon have virtually gone unnoticed. Instead the entire emphasis has been on regional factors or on the role of religious groups.

South-Central Punjab has been neglected since partition. It had not only the lowest literacy rate but was also the most economically deprived. Large landholders in these areas converted their estates into orchards. These were exempted from the limits on holdings. Subsequently marked increase in

mechanisation displaced landless labour. They joined the ranks of already surplus labour in the Punjab. A large number of small landholders were also displaced by the novie-rich Kulaks. With no industrialisation, there was massive influx of disadvantaged sections to cities.

In north-west Punjab there were options for employment—Army or a job in the middle East. In South Punjab such a relationship with outside employment did not exist. Allotment of land to military and civil officers at the expense of the locals has also produced a strong feeling of being neglected. The new class of capitalist landlords also eliminated small farmers, owning land between 12.5 and 25 acres. These farmers sold their lands and moved to town and cities or became small shopkeepers.

The realignment in class structure created strong sense of insecurity and hopelessness. Sect thus became an identity marker, a temporary refuge and a platform to articulate grievances and get access to power. Extreme poverty in South Punjab coupled with illiteracy and population explosion have turned sectarianism into a phenomenon of collective anger, an emotional outburst against structures of power which must be pressurised or done away with.

The locals displaced from the lands found avenues blocked in urban areas. As the Seraiki belt concentrates on agriculture, there has been no industrialisation. Trade in the market towns is in the hands of Punjabi immigrants, especially the mohajirs from Rohtak, Hissar and Karnal areas. Alienated people found expressions to their sentiments by supporting Seraiki national identity or aligning with PPP. When the latter joined hands with the feudals of the Multan area, they distanced from it.

Lack of educational facilities, betrayal by mainstream groups and Zia's Islamisation campaigns brought the alienated people closer to fascist religious groups.

Madrassa Culture :

Landlords of South Punjab were hostile to opening of schools. They also feared that Their educated sons were least likely to stay back in the village. In a survey conducted in 1999 it was found over 5000 such schools in Multan division and 800 in Sargodha divisions, the buildings were being used by feudals as dera or cowsheds. With schools non-existent and a vast alienated populace ready to listen to the message, madrasas filled the vacuum. In 1995 out of a total of 2512 registered madrasas in Punjab, 1619 were located in South Punjab only. Out of these 883 were in Bahawalpur alone, a very poor area. There were 411 madrassas in Dera Ghazi Khan, while in Multan the number was 325. Jhang district has over 500 madrasas. The number of madrasas in 1947 in West Pakistan was just 137.

The total number of students at any time is about 214,000 with Bahawalpur division on top. About 100,000 students graduate every year. Ninety percent of Pakistani mercenaries who come to Kashmir to take part in Jihad belong to Bahawalpur, Sargodha, Multan and Jhang, the areas worse affected by dislocation of landed families from land.

Why do these people go to madrassas? Mariam Abou Zahab, a well-known scholar says, "the sons of these uprooted peasants did not go willingly to the madrassas, they were forced by poverty. Peasants send their children to the madrasas because they have no other alternative to ease their financial burden. Students come from the poorest and far away places.....Madrassas are also the only means of social advancement for these children and the only hope for a career in the future. The parents gain the respect of the local mullah for sending their children to these schools, for the parents of a Hafiz-e-Quran will be blessed with a luminous crown on the day of judgement".

Sending sons to madrasas eases economic burden of parents, who have less mouths to feed. Students get free lodging, meals and receive an average of 100 rupees a month.

In the madrasas the boys are taught that if they kill a member of other sect, called a Kafir, God will reward them because they have protected the true faith. Students are taught in a language they do not understand. Physical abuse is the norm. It is considered a good method of ensuring discipline and the parents agree to it most of the time. Fear of god is put in children. 80 percent students in madrasas of Lahore studying the Hifz and Darse-e-Nizami courses do not belong to the city. In 1998 there were 649

madrasas functioning in Lahore. Stress is on children from rural areas because the mullahs feel city students may find it easier to escape from the madrasa. Students from Lahore are sent to other cities. Children cannot watch Television, or read newspapers, magazine etc.

Since these students are conscious of their low social status, they seek to compensate it by serving the cause of religion. It is an opportunity the sectarian organisations would not like to miss. According to Prof. Eqbal Ahmed, a noted scholar, "the madrasas have provided the religious parties with a potential constituency and a pool of cadres, workers and martyrs".

Madrasa graduates have two options. Either to earn living by becoming the Imam of a Masjid or rent a shop from the mosque complex. It has led to increase in number of mosques. Investing in a mosque is a tremendous source of social prestige. Half of them are built on public or disputed land. In Okara there was one Sunni mosque in early fifties. In 1994 the number increased to 160 Sunni Barelvi mosques and dozens of other Sunni mosques and Shia Imambargahs. About the role of these mosques, Mariam Zahab writes, "mosques are no more open houses where everyone can come and pray, there is a system of sectarian apartheid and the names of the mosques often indicate their affiliation clearly. Sectarian interpretations of Islam have replaced traditional perceptions and the mosques have been taken over by extremists who are outsiders, the local community being marginalised".

Zia-ul-Haq had opened another avenue for these madrasa graduates. A few of them could become teachers of Arabic and Islamic studies. Zia had compelled the UGC in 1980 to recognise the Wifaqs and treat their degrees as equivalent to M.A. Arabic Islamiyat. Only Peshawar University agreed. After Zia's death the practice stopped altogether.

Most of the madrasa graduates remain unemployed and feel bitter. Hated by the westernised elite and with no links to their own village, these students are deeply alienated, thirsting for revenge. Religious fascist parties use them as canon fodder for sectarian violence, and Jihad in Kashmir, Afghanistan and elsewhere.

Non-Madrasa extremists :

The other section of sectarian extremists are not the products of madrasas. They are school drop-outs, half-educated and with non-qualifications and no connections to get a government job. Their anger and frustration are utilised by sectarian groups to give them a sense of belonging and power. They will have access to arms in a society where the display of arms and their utilisation to intimidate one's rival is a widely accepted practice.

Tariq Rehman writes, "they are misfits in a society because they have no skills and no relevance to the job market. They cannot go back to their families who are too poor to support them so they find themselves rootless, with no place in traditional society. Frustrated and bitter, they do not believe in politics and elections, they cannot identify with the corrupt elite which has failed to deliver and place no trust in the traditional religious parties, too ready to compromise. They are looking for a messiah, a charismatic leader who blames everything on another group and exhorts them to exterminate it".

Talat Aslam believes sectarianism has been used as an umbrella for the struggle of the emerging classes against more entrenched interests and the beginning of a challenge to feudalism. The new middle class--Sunni immigrants from East Punjab with a strong sectarian tradition controlled 80% trade and the business in cities. To counter the opposition of the traditional elite they raked up anti-Shia feelings in 1980s and found allies in the ideologically motivated madrasa graduates. SSP, a sectarian militant outfit was thus joined by most people for getting access to the political arena and to counter powerful feudal families. Both Ayesha Jalal and Mumtaz Ahmed agree that sectarian politics has become a surrogate for political empowerment and material gains. Religion became a tool and a social demarcation rather than a faith. The members of the other sect are viewed as rivals and as a threat to the material status of one's community.

The presence of a large number of mohajirs in the small towns became a catalyst for violence. This new under-class of small traders finances the SSP while physically staying out of the conflict. Sectarian organisations create a feeling among alienated Sunni youth that government supports the Shias and they are discriminated against. These jobless Sunni youth are often recruited by extremist groups as bodyguards for the leaders or 'muscle men' for political rallies. A gun gives them a sense of power. Violence is a thrill. Having tasted blood, they become highly motivated to engage in senseless killings in the name of jihad. With little stakes in society, they respect neither the traditional religious parties nor the state. They are willing to kill and to die. Sectarian organisations persuade them that what they are doing is perfectly legitimate and they will go straight to paradise. The role of Tablighi Jamaat in fanning this dangerous sectarian hatred has been deliberately underplayed by some left scholars in India. Tablighi Jamaat's role in India in alienating Muslim population from pluralistic ambience and recruiting them as foot-soldiers for subversive war has still not invited strong state action.

The Role of State :

Students and staff of educational institutions supported by religious leaders exploit sectarian differences to extract concessions. The Pak state does not want to disavow sectarian extremists as they are handy for Jihad in Kashmir, Afghanistan and elsewhere. Judges and policemen are reluctant to act because of threats and the protection sectarian henchmen enjoy from the organs of state.

Society has evolved its own response to cope up with this state of affairs. It does not resist either physically or intellectually. Even political parties with no sectarian orientation enter into alliances with the sectarian organisations.

The Prospect :

Pak state's sponsorship of fascist sectarian groups has invited strong critique from the national and international scholars. Pakistan now faces a typical principal-agent problem : the interests of Pakistan (the principal) and those of the militant groups (the agent) are not fully aligned.

Irregulars may serve Pakistan's interests in Kashmir but its impact locally and regionally is disastrous. According to Jessica Sterne, a top authority on international terrorism, "these damage Pakistan's already fragile international reputation...By facilitating the activities of the irregulars in Kashmir, the Pakistan government is inadvertently promoting internal sectarianism, supporting international terrorists, weakening the prospect for peace in Kashmir, damaging Pakistan's international image, spreading a narrow and violent version of Islam throughout the region and increasing tensions with India--all against the interests of Pakistan as a whole".

Sterne wants U.S. to contribute in terms of strengthening Pakistan's secular education system and encouraging educational exchanges among students, scholars, journalists and military officials. She says, "helping Pakistan educate its youth will not only cut off the culture of violence by reducing ignorance and poverty, it will also promote long-term economic development".

Mariam Zahab believes the solution lies in "creating a new culture through an education which emphasizes nationhood, teaches tolerance and restores Islam to what it truly is....a message of love and peace...." SVR Nasr, a political scientist feels it is difficult to eradicate a religio-political force that has grown roots in society and a place in politics and has a strong institutional base. He describes Pak government's continued commitment to the Taliban and HUA/HUM as the main hurdle. This fuels militancy and the culture of sectarian violence in Pakistan. Nasir pronounces, "elimination of any one organisation or the work of any one committee will fall short of the intended goal, unless the foundations for sectarian militancy in Afghanistan and Kashmir are dealt with". Massive industrialisation, removing inequities in distribution of wealth, creation of large-scale secular educational infrastructure and winding up unjust wars waged by Pak state in Afghanistan and Kashmir will deliver Pakistan people from the

monster of sectarian violence. A society that is at peace with itself will be least tempted to engage in adventurism outside its borders.

3 *First Kashmiri Chief Engineer*

Pandit Sri Krishna Gurtu

By Dr. B.N. Sharga

Pt. Sri Krishna Gurtu's ancestors used to write Raina as their surname in the Kashmir Valley. They subsequently started writing Raina Gurtu as their new surname. His ancestor Pt. Narain Das Raina Gurtu was basically a resident of Habba Kadal in the Kashmir Valley. After completing his traditional education in Urdu and Persian language he came to Oudh during the rule of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula (1775- 1797) probably at the fag end of the 18th century. He built a big '*haveli*' in Kashmiri Mohalla, Lucknow and started living there He got some good job in the court and became so much fascinated with the affluence of the Nawab that he started writing his own name as Nawab Narain Das. Some people say that he went to Calcutta along with the last Nawab of Oudh Wajid Ali Shah when the latter was dethroned by the British in 1856. However, there is no documentary evidence to substantiate this claim.

Pt. Narain Das Gurtu had a son Pt. Gulab Rai Gurtu and a grandson Pt. Mehtab Rai Gurtu "Miskeen", who was an Urdu poet. It is said that this Gurtu family after the Mutiny of 1857 migrated from Kashmiri Mohalla, Lucknow to Delhi for better future prospects there under the British dispensation and started living in Bazaar Sita Ram. This mohalla was a big centre of the Kashmiri Pandits' population at that time.

Pt. Mehtab Rai Gurtu "Miskeen" had four sons. They were Nand Kishore, Karta Krishna, Suraj Nath and Ayodhya Nath. Pt. Mahtab Rai Gurtu's second son Pt. Karta Krishna Gurtu was a noted scholar of Urdu and Persian language in Delhi. He was also a poet of repute like his father. Some of his poetic compositions have been published in Bahar-e-Gulshan-e-Kashniir. He had three Sons—Amar Krishna, Maharaj Krishna and Prem Krishna.

Pt. Karta Krishna Gurtu's second son Pt. Maharaj Krishna Gurtu had his traditional education in Urdu and Persian language in a Delhi College. He was married to the daughter of Pt. Swaroop Narain Haksar. Pt. Maharaj Krishna Gurtu on the suggestion of his father-in-law, Pt. Swaroop Narain Haksar migrated from Delhi to Gwalior for better future prospects under the patronage of Pt. Dharam Narain Haksar there. Pt. Dharam Narain, brother of Pt. Swaroop Narain, was tutor of Maharaja Madhav Ram Scindia of Gwalior. Pt. Maharaj Krishna Gurtu subsequently got a job in the Gwalior state service on the recommendation of Pt. Dharam Narain Haksar.

The history of the ancestors of the ruling Scindia dynasty of Gwalior is very interesting. It starts from carrying the slippers of the mighty Peshwas to become the rulers of the Gwalior state.

Pt. Maharaj Krishna Gurtu after coming to the Gwalior state started living with his family members at Morar. He had three Sons and three daughters. The names of his three sons were Sri Krishna, Hari Krishna and Raj Krishna besides three daughters Shivwanti who was married to Pt. Onkar Nath Dar of the Jaora state, Premwanti who was married Pt. Prem Narain Taimni and Jaywanti who was married to Pt. Kali Sahai Sharga of Lucknow.

Pt. Maharaj Krishna Gurtu's eldest son Pt. Sri Krishna Gurtu was born May on May 1872 in Morar in the Gwalior state during the rule of Jayaji Rao Scindia. He had his traditional education in Urdu and Persian in the Gwalior state under the supervision and guidance of learned Maulvis there. He did his matriculation from the Victoria College around 1890. Then he went to Delhi from Gwalior for higher studies and took admission in St. Stephens College which was affiliated with the Punjab University of Lahore then. He did his F.A. in 1892 and B.A. in 1894 from this institution.

Pt. Sri Krishna Gurtu was a keen sportsman during his college days. He used to make very good drawings and sketches. He made a beautiful drawing of a parrot and got the job of a drawing master in a college in Indore on Rs. 60/- per month. He later on put up the painting of that parrot in his house "La Makan" which he built in Gwalior with the words "Anna Data" inscribed below that painting. He did this job of a drawing Master for about a year.

Pt. Sri Krishna Gurtu then started some business in Indore which he continued for about two to three years and simultaneously studied for the M.A. examination . He did his M.A. in English literature as a private candidate from Indore in 1897. He had some god gifted qualities. Although he was never a science student but he wrote some original books on engineering which took every one by surprise. He passed the engineering examination of the Punjab University, Lahore as a private candidate in 1899 without going to any college or attending any class and obtained M.I.C. degree from it.

Pt. Sri Krishna Gurtu then went to Gwalior, where he got a job in the Gwalior state service. He had his practical training under Khan Bahadur Syed Jaffar Hussain who was the divisional engineer of the irrigation department then for about two years from 1900 to 1901. Pt. Sri Krishna Gurtu after completing the training period was made a member of board of revenue. Due to his hard work and devotion to duty he got quick promotions in service and became a right hand man of Maharaja Madho Rao Scindia. Pt. Sri Krishna Gurtu then succeeded Sidney Preston C.I.E., C.B.E., M.I.C. to become the chief engineer and member board of revenue for irrigation around 1908.

Pt. Sri Krishna Gurtu executed a number of important civil engineering projects in the Gwalior state. He performed many engineering feats and constructed the Water Works of Gwalior, Lashkar and Morar. He built a number of roads, bridges, schools and hospitals. He executed the project of laying the railway line in the state. His main expertise was in the field of Dam construction and developing flood protection schemes and in taming the rivers for irrigation and hydro electric projects to generate power.

In 1917 Pt. Sri Krishna Gurtu published an original research paper on the theory of flood absorption in tanks which was widely appreciated by the experts in this field. He high lighted how the big dams were built by the ancient rulers for the proper management of natural water resources without any knowledge of hydraulic engineering. The builders of that period tried their “prentice” hand in the construction of canals.

Being highly impressed by the original theory propounded by Pt. Sri Krishna Gurtu regarding the flood absorption technique, F.C. Rose, a British expert proposed the name of Pt. Sri Krishna Gurtu on 3rd March, 1919 for the membership of the Institution of Civil Engineers, London. This was duly accepted by the executive body and Pt. Sri Krishna Gurtu got that honour to become its member.

Prior to this in 1916 Pt. Sri Krishna Gurtu took up the Parbati river project which was originally taken up in 1906 by his predecessor Sidney Preston, a British engineer but later on abandoned by him due to difficult terrain. Pt. Sri Krishna Gurtu’s main contention was that this river which flows near Mohna if tamed properly could increase the prospects of irrigation tremendously besides generating the electricity for the state, though it would involve a heavy expenditure. The river could be carried straight to Karaira through the hills, where reservoirs could be built to generate electricity. He mentioned in his note that “if this scheme is carried out properly then it will be possible to supply water, power and light to Lashkar, Morar and Gwalior in the 6th year after starting the work”.

But later on some differences cropped up between him and Maharaja Madho Rao Scindia over the implementation of this scheme. Pt. Sri Krishna Gurtu was a man of principles. In utter disgust he submitted his resignation and left in 1920. He then went to Madras from Gwalior and was made an engineer by the British on Rs. 1200/- per month He was subsequently promoted as Chief Engineer with a salary of Rs. 2000/- per month.

In 1924 Pt. Sri Krishna Gurtu went to Ratlam from Madras to execute the Ratlam Water Supply and Irrigation Scheme there. He submitted his report on the feasibility of Gin river hydro-electric and irrigation project for Sinnoor state of Punjab in 1924 and executed this work.

Pt. Sri Krishna Gurtu made a thorough inspection of the working of the Water Works of Bombay, Poona, Delhi, Kanpur and Madras to acquire first hand knowledge of their functioning. Around 1926 he became the Chief Engineer of P.W.D. in the Baroda state where he used to live in Anand Villa with his family members. In Baroda he developed the scheme for collecting run off water and its storage for proper utilization apart from other important civil engineering works.

Pt. Sri Krishna Gurtu at the fag end of his life was serving in the Kutch Riyasat in Gujrat as the Chief Engineer where he fixed the marriage of his third son Pt. Ram Krishna Gurtu to Bulbul, the daughter of Pt. Arjun Nath Takru, a leading businessman of Agra in 1934. In April 1935 he went to Agra along with his family members from Kutch to perform the marriage of his son. The Barat party stayed there in a big bungalow which had a haunted room. The caretaker of the premises advised Pt. Sri Krishna Gurtu not to open that room to avoid the ill effect of the evil spirit. But Pt. Sri Krishna Gurtu turned down his request and got that room opened. He occupied it and said that he did not believe in such superstitions and ghost stories.

After the lunch when the members of the marriage party were having a nice time and were busy in chatting in the verandah they saw an English lady with a parasole on the road coming towards the bungalow. They thought her to be the land lady of the bungalow. But instead of entering through the gate she came inside the compound through the wall with out any obstruction as if the wall was not there for her. This phenomenon stunned everybody present there. That lady then quietly entered into the room in which Pt. Sri Krishna Gurtu was relaxing. The people then heard aloud noise of gun fire, but when they entered into the room they found Pt. Sri Krishna Gurtu in a terrible condition, who subsequently died after vomiting blood before any medical aid could be given to him at the age of 63 years.

Pt. Sri Krishna Gurtu was married in 1888 to Brijpati, who was the daughter of Pt. Bishambhar Nath Bakaya of Multan. He had five sons Kunwar Krishna, Praduman Krishna, Ram Krishna, Pratap Krishna and Brij Krishna besides four daughters Kishanpati (b. 1901) who was married to Pt. Trijugi Narain Sapru of Allahabad, Bishanpati (b. 1907) who was married to Dewan Sumer Nath Madan of Lahore, Dhanrajpati (b. 1909) who was married to Pt. Gyan Nath Raina at Kanpur and Munishwari (b. 1915) whose marriage was arranged to Pt. Kishan Mohan Nath Raina but who died before her marriage could be performed.

Pt. Sri Krishna Gurtu's eldest son Pt. Kunwar Krishna Gurtu was born in 1893. He did his B.Sc. LL.B. and became a lawyer. He used to do his legal practice in Kanpur. He was married to Janak Dulari who was the daughter of Rai Bahadur Pt. Shyam Manohar Nath Sharga of Kashmiri Mohalla, Lucknow. He had three Sons Swaroop Krishna, Tej Krishna and Autar Krishna.

Pt. Sri Krishna Gurtu's second son Pt. Praduman Krishna Gurtu was born around 1895. He died quite young. He was married to Kishan who was the daughter of Pt. Sangam La! Chak of Kashmiri Mohalla, Lucknow. He had a daughter Swaroop Kumari who was married to Pt. Parmeshwar Nath Tikku of Ajmer.

Pt. Sri Krishna Gurtu's third son Pt. Ram Krishna Gurtu was born in 1905. He was a qualified engineer in Bombay. He was married to Bolbul who was the daughter of Pt. Arjun Nath Takru of Agra. He has seven sons Narendra Krishna, Ravindra Krishna, Virendra Krishna, Surendra Krishna, Bhupendra Krishna, Jeetendra Krishna and Shri Krishna besides a daughter Rita who is married to Mohan Razdan.

Pt Sri Krishna Gurtu's fourth son Pt. Pratap Krishna Gurtu was born in 1911. He married an Anglo Indian lady who was then named as Indira. He has a son Kuldeep Gurtu.

Pt. Sri Krishna Gurtu's fifth and youngest son Pt. Pratap Krishna Gurtu was born in 1913. He did B.Sc. (Agr.) and got employment in, the Agriculture department of the U.P. government at Kanpur. He was married to Shyama who is the daughter of Pt. Kishori Lal Takru of Lahore. He has a son Mahendra Krishna. Pt. Maharaj Krishna Gurtu's second son Pt. Hari Krishna Gurtu was married to Shivanti (b. 1885) who was the daughter of Pt. Kanhaiyya Lal Munshi. He had a son Pt. Autar Krishna Gurtu, who was born in 1905. He was a divisional engineer in the revenue department of the Gwalior state posted at Ujjain. He was married Jwala, the daughter of Pt. Suraj Krishna Ganju.

Pt. Maharaj Krishna Gurtu's third son Pt. Raj Krishna Gurtu was married. Leelawati who was the daughter of Pt. Behari Lal Nehru of Allahabad.

Pt. Sri Krishna Gurtu had English temperament. He was a great disciplinarian and a hard task master. He was true to his words and never believed in loose-talk. He was a veiy good tennis player and fond of hunting. He used to love classical Indian music and was a good Sitar player. His great passion was photography. He had a lab in his house for developing, printing and colour painting of photographs. He

was a widely travelled person. He was quite social and frank in his dealings with others. He always commanded great respect and regard from his junior officers for his originality and for his deep knowledge about his subject. Some of his original research papers are well preserved in the archives of Institution of Civil Engineers on Great George Street, Westminster, London. He was a man of firm convictions and never compromised with his set principles even under adverse circumstances.

4 14th Balidan Divas on 14 September 2003

On 14th September, 2003 Kashmiri Visthapit Seva Samiti observed Balidan divas to commemorate the 14th Martyrdom of Sri Tika Lal Taploo.

The speakers, Mr Opendar K. Bali (Sachiv), Mr. Kuldeep Pandit (Organizing secretary) highlighted the life struggle of Sri Tika Lal Taploo, veteran leader of Pandit community. Late Tika Lal Taploo was the first to sacrifice his life, when the terrorists assassinated him in the broad daylight near his home at Habba- Kadal on 14 September 1989. Tika Lal Taploo was a towering personality of the community and senior Vice-President of the BJP. He was a dedicated soldier against the secessionists and fundamentalist forces.

This was followed by torture, atrocities and killing of thousands of Kashmiri Pandits, men and women in cold blood from all sections of society - teachers, lawyers, doctors, nurses, political activists, media persons, resulting in the exodus of Kashmiri Pandits from their motherland. They are refugees in their own Country leading the life dejection, depression, desperation, painfulness, fighting for the survival in order to live with dignity and honour.

The speakers said though our pathetic condition was exhibited by Francis Gautier which touched the core of Kashmir problem. During last 14 years threats of these forces have grown so strong that entire nation is getting frequent shocks one after the other and unending assault against security forces.

Kashmiri Pandits fail to understand why Indian Civil Society is indifferent to the tragedy of Kashmiri Pandit's ethnic Cleansing by terrorists, but they are prompt to issue Performa statements dished out by different Elite groups of Political hues from time to time as cosmetic touch.

This gathering of Kashmiri Pandits appeal to the Government of India & Civil Society of Country to Awake, Arise & Act to rehabilitate the real victims of terrorism and not to fabricate equations for appeasement policy.

Two minutes silence was observed in memory of those who sacrificed their lives for honor and dignity of the country.

5 Bloodier flows Vitasta: Wages of our fumble-bumble peace initiatives

By Sumer Kaul

THE Central and State governments may be shy of admitting it yet but the terrorist scene in Jammu and Kashmir is becoming alarming again, making a mockery of what our wishful thinkers at the helm had confidently predicted just a few months ago.

During his so-called historic visit to Srinagar last April when, the Nadimarg massacre a few days earlier notwithstanding, the prime minister yet again extended his hand of peace to Pakistan, he "assured" the Kashmiris and the rest of the country that "the situation has changed and a defining moment for Kashmir has come" and "my current visit has reinforced my belief that darkness and despair are departing, that light and hope are indeed arriving".

In the five months since then what Kashmir has indeed seen arriving are hordes of heavily-armed terrorists from across the Line of Control. In fact, there has been what defence sources describe as "a quantum jump" in infiltration and a sharp increase in fidayeen attacks on "high-value targets". In September alone, as against 130 terrorist incidents last year, there were 180 in just the first two weeks of the month this year. In a span of three weeks since the inter-state council meeting in Srinagar on August 27-28, nearly 100 civilians and 50 security personnel have died at the hands of terrorists.

According to Army Vice Chief Lt. General Shantanu Chowdhary, Pakistan has "revived" terrorist camps in occupied Kashmir and an estimated 3000 of them are being trained and armed there with a definite plan to send them across the LoC before the winter snows block the high-altitude infiltration routes. Apart from covert terrorist operations and suicide attacks, there is a vivid possibility of the situation hotting up on the LoC itself. Going by the recent report of RAND corporation, the American think-tank which specialises in security matters, another "Kargil type" crisis may well be on the cards.

Given all this, what is one to make of Mr. Vajpayee's "light and hope" assurance? Was it a case of naivete and wishful thinking, a condition characteristic of the mindset of the ruling dispensation? Or was it an act of deliberate pretence to justify his (undoubtedly American advised) peace initiative vis-a-vis the devilish military-mullah regime in Islamabad? Either way it once again shows up our national leadership as a weak-kneed confused lot.

How much longer must this fumble-bumble go on? The state of Jammu and Kashmir has seen death and destruction for 14 long years. Tens of thousands of Indians, civilians and soldiers, have perished in the bloody mayhem, and there is still not even a flicker of light at the end of the tunnel. True, our dedicated armed forces are doing a commendable job. The killing of Gazi Baba and some other top-ranking jihadi commanders in recent weeks has delivered a major blow to the terrorist network. But these successes do not detract from the fact that our action against the terrorists is essentially reactive.

There are limits to what the security forces can do when the political direction is confused and often contradictory. To put it differently, you cannot want the forces to be restrained and only reactive in the face of a ruthless enemy and then expect conclusive results. The closest New Delhi came to launching a retaliatory and pre-emptive strike was Operation Parakram, only to chicken out eventually, leaving a trail of 900 casualties among our security forces (in mine laying and removing) without even one shot being fired!

Mr Vajpayee's spring spasm of so-called statesmanship may have won him plaudits from the Big Brother in Washington and some other equally Janus-faced western leaders but, as this writer had sadly warned, this initiative is also proving to be a damp squib. It is all very well for MPs and businessmen (and women) from the two countries to walk across Wagah but to see in this and the other so-called Track-II exchanges a turning point in India-Pakistan relations is to indulge in self-delusion. I don't deny that Pakistani businessmen would like to trade with India. I have also no doubt that a majority of the people of Pakistan want peace and normal neighbourly relations with India. But it is not they who make Pakistan's India policy, it is the jackboot-jihadi dispensation headed by the fork-tongued willy 'diplomat' by the

name of General Musharraf, and neither he nor the all-powerful ISI nor the rabid fundamentalists are interested in peace with India.

This situation is not going to change one whit because of heartfelt exhortations and emotional rhetoric from New Delhi, much less by our namby-pamby policies and ding-dong rhetoric, and least of all by our continuing to beseech Washington to make Pakistan cease and desist. By now it should be clear even to dim wits that beyond the regulatory condolence call after every major terrorist strike the Americans couldn't care less about Pakistan's terror war in Kashmir. Why, in his UN speech Bush did not mention India as a victim of terror, not even in the company of one-incident victims like Saudi Arabia and Indonesia. To him Musharraf is a dear pal and, never mind if the double-dealing general continues to harbour and protect Osama and company, he will remain a dear pal.

In the event, there is a no other way, none whatsoever, of defeating Pakistan's bloody game except to fight it on our own. And whether Uncle Sam likes it or not, we have to fight it with single-minded resolve and all means at our command, and not only in Kashmir but wherever else necessary. We have to hit hard and pay back in kind the terrorists and their mentors and masters. We have to raise the costs of their bloody mischief so high for them that they are compelled to sue for peace. The sooner we realise this the sooner we will see "light and hope" actually arriving in the subcontinent.

*The author is a veteran journalist based in Delhi.

6 A remarkable year for PDP govt

By M.L. Kotru

THE PDP-led government in Jammu and Kashmir will have been a year in office within the next few weeks, a remarkable year that began on a high note of optimism, marked by pledges of transparency, accountability and economic betterment of a people ravaged by 13 years of unending militancy. Indeed the first few months of the Mufti Sayeed government were notable for the sense of unalloyed euphoria it generated. It was inevitable that this should be so.

Consider the years of indifferent governance by a succession of State administrations headed most notably by Farooq Abdullah, interrupted by equally unresponsive spells of Central rule in the State. Mufti, who, so to speak, had waited in wings all these years grabbed the opportunity once it came his way and even with just 15 members to show for his efforts in the newly elected house he managed to keep the spotlight on himself, aided and abetted no doubt by his redoubtable daughter Mehbooba who has since taken over as the party president.

The uncertainty that marked the early post-election days in the State may have rung alarm bells elsewhere but Mufti, for one, was certain that his time to lead had come. The alliance which he worked out with the larger Congress legislature party, helped, no doubt, by men like Dr Manmohan Singh, who played significant role in persuading Sonia Gandhi to say yes, saw Mufti donning the Chief Minister's mantle. The Congress party never the one to miss an opportunity made the deal subject to its nominee sharing the second half of the six-year Chief Ministerial term.

In the lead up to the elections and its outcome, Mufti had largely succeeded in challenging the National Conference's overwhelming sway on the Valley. The NC may in the end have had the satisfaction of seeing itself as the single largest party but it obviously was not good enough for it to lure independents and other splinter groups into its fold. For one thing Omar Abdullah, Farooq's son, who had led the NC campaign and was projected as the party candidate for Chief Ministership, lost his seat putting a question mark over his chances.

That though was not the only reason for the National Conference not to stake a claim to office. Given its shoddy record of performance over the years it was perhaps the right thing to do for Omar Abdullah to opt out of the race. Maybe given his youthful dynamism he will one day be able to revive the once mighty State party or, who knows the demise of the Farooq Government may well be a harbinger of a new era in the State politics dominated now by men and women like Omar Abdullah, Mehbooba Mufti and Maulvi Umar Farook in the Valley and other younger men in Jammu and Ladakh.

As noted in this column on several occasions the emergence of the Mufti regime coincided with a world-wide campaign against terrorism. A reluctant participant in the campaign has been Pakistan, itself the biggest exporter of terrorism not only across our border in Jammu and Kashmir but providing a breeding ground for Taliban of Afghanistan and a haven for the Al-Qaeda men now safely ensconced along Afghan-Pakistan border, with Waziristan as the hub of their activities.

Indian peace initiatives, including the hand of friendship offered by Prime Minister Vajpayee at his public meeting in Srinagar and sustained American pressure on General Musharraf to stop cross-border terror in Jammu and Kashmir may have caused some reduction in terrorist activities in the State. But only briefly. The lull was just the kind Mufti had hoped for and he used it well too. He virtually robbed the Hurriyat Conference of its agenda by his repeated calls for the healing touch, by releasing many separatists, including some with militant links, and above all by advocating across-the-board talks with all parties, including the separatists in Jammu and Kashmir. The rest was cosmetics. Packages of Central aid came to be announced with boring regularity. The visits by the President, the Prime Minister (twice), the Congress Chief Ministers, the Inter-State Council comprising Chief Minister began to enhance the image of normality which Mufti had been desperately trying to project.

The successful conclusion of the Amarnath Yatra became yet another feather for Mufti to flaunt in his cap. In the circumstances it was not unexpected of Mufti to make a pitch for tourism. Mumbai, Lucknow,

Chennai, Kolkatta et all became halting places for the Mufti to seek out tourists. It became an obsession, as it were, as was evidenced most pathetically by his appeal to the EU ambassadors to withdraw advisories putting Jammu and Kashmir off limits for tourists from these countries. Mufti evidently forgot that the near-normalcy which he was witnessing in the Valley did not inspire much confidence, and rightly so, among his EU listeners. In any case no country would deliberately put the lives of its citizens at risk just to score a few diplomatic brownie points.

Terrorism and turmoil do not go together. It should have been obvious to the Chief Minister that Pakistan was holding its hand somewhat only to hoodwink the Americans. Its terrorists agenda in Jammu and Kashmir is in tact. The happenings of the last six weeks should at least now have brought it home to the State Government as well as to those in power in Delhi that there has been no serious let-up in Pakistani backing to terrorist activity in Jammu and Kashmir. The nightmare of the preceding months and years has come to haunt the State once again. The terrorists are back in action as are the hard-liners among Kashmiri separatists. The Hurriyat Conference which had not so long ago seemed horribly weakened has split with the separatist archpriest Syed Ali Shah Geelani putting himself out front at the centre-stage of Pakistani terrorism.

And the language the sickman of separatist politics speaks is not one that bodes well for the future. Mufti who got him released and his huge medical bills paid for by the government will have to do a rethink about Geelani's role rather than keep harping on misplaced tourist promotion gimmicks. Holding of *mushairas*, or staging golf tournaments for elitist, highly sanitized groups cannot be a substitute for peace and normality. It will be a pity if Mufti Sayeed were to allow himself to be swayed by the deceptive images being projected to him by an essentially sycophantic bureaucracy and politicians. He continues to enjoy a lot of good will in the State and one hopes it is not frittered away at the altar of Royal Springs Golf Course which was once condemned as Farooq Abdullah's hobby horse and has now transformed into the pupil of Mufti's eye.

Mufti Sayeed has the potential to offer the State an alternative to National Conference in the Valley and his PDP has started making its presence felt even in other regions of the State. In Mehbooba Mufti, the Chief Minister has an able organiser but even she will have to be restrained in the observations she makes. Like, soon after the very tragic incident involving the killing of a 22-year-old bridegroom, ostensibly an Army guide, who, the Army itself later claimed, was killed in an IED explosion as the soldiers were taking him away.

It was and will remain one of the most reprehensible killings of an innocent youngman who had been married a few hours earlier. It's a matter that needs to be thoroughly investigated and those guilty, be they from the Army or the Rashtriya Rifles or whatever, be given exemplary punishment.

But it ill becomes the President of the PDP to tarnish a professional Army with the same black brush she used for the terrorists. Security Forces do have mechanisms in place to deal with odd incident like the killing of the youngman mentioned by me.

The President of PDP would have done well to emulate the Chief Minister and confined herself to having the incident investigated. She did the right thing, though, by visiting the bereaved family. She has been doing it for some years now but, for heaven's sake, don't let the Army be seen as if it were a mercenary force.

*The author is a veteran journalist based in Delhi.

7 *Durva-Kusa Ghas : Rituals and Legends*

By Dr. Romesh Kumar

MAN, during his long struggle against nature, came to regard many plants, trees and types of grass as sacred. These were invested with mythology. In some cases the sacredness stemmed from commercial use or everyday utility. In other cases the association with religious belief was due to the resemblance to the emblem of a particular deity or the name of a sage associated with them. For example Nyagrodha (Banyan Tree) is the tree of Enlightenment of Kasyapa Muni, as per Visnu Purana. Dr Shakti M.Gupta observes, "the conservation of plants by worshipping them was very likely an important factor in making them sacred".

Tree Worship in Kashmir:

In Kashmir from the times immemorial people have been worshipping Chinar (Booni original Bhawani), chest-nut tree (Han Doon Kul), Mulberry Tree (Tul Kul), Elm tree (Bren) and Durva ghas, with great veneration. Chinar, with its cool-breeze is being worshipped as mother-goddess Bhawani. Chest-nut tree is a part of Bhairva worship. The two halves of the chest-nut fruit symbolise Siva and Sakti.

Mulberry tree is associated with goddess Ragniya. Tikker (Kupwara), Manzgam (Kulgam) and Tulmulla (Ganderbal), the important places of Ragniya worship in Kashmir all have mulberry tree adjacent to the holy-spring. The fact that the main seat of goddess Ragniya is named as Tulmulla, the Mulberry twig, it clearly indicates that worship of Mulberry tree is synonymous with Ragniya worship. Mulberry twig is very sacred and used in many ceremonies e.g. during Yagneopavit, on the coffin box as Viman, on 10th day Puja rituals of the dead.

Linkage of Mulberry tree with Bhairava is a later day innovation. Bhairav-buzan (symbolically linked to mulberry fruit) and Sakti aspects of Bhairava have linked it to the mulberry tree.

Elm tree (Bren) is linked to Ganesh worship. This is unique to Kashmir. Kashmiris have a festival, 'Pun' (Thread) in the month of August. On this occasion ghee-bread is prepared for Ganesh Puja. Originally Vinayak Chaturthi used to be the day for this form of Ganesh Puja. This Puja involves use of cotton (kaps) and Barley (vushk). Since cotton used to be a major crop in ancient Kashmir and the puja is named 'pun', it seems that the puja was performed to obtain good harvest of cotton. The linkage with Bren tree and Ganesh are not accidental. The wood of Bren tree was used for preparing agricultural implements. Invoking Ganesh, as the Lord of Beginnings, is must for starting every good work.

Durva Ghas :

A large number of grasses are called Durva but the plant associated with the legends is Cynodon Dactylon Pers. In Sanskrit it is called Durva ghas or Haritali, while in Hindi it is described as Durbha or Dubha. Closely related to it, both in its mythology and ritual significance, is Kusa ghas, Desmotachya Bipinnata. The names for Durva ghas and Kusa ghas are interchangeable. Both belong to Poaceae, family Gramineale.

Durva and Kusa ghas are sacred to Hindus all over India. At the coronation ceremony of Yudhishtira, after the battle of Kurukshetra, among other items there were jars of Kusa ghas. As per belief, the use of this grass, wards off evil. Its everyday use in ritual ceremonies is linked to its property of being a purifier. Durva ghas is often mentioned in the Rigveda and Atharvaveda, as a charm against baldness and anger.

Blades of Durva and Kusa ghas soaked with curd, honey, clarified butter are repeatedly cast into the sacrificial fire in the homa ceremonies which are celebrated for the propitiation of the planets such as the Sun. Durva ghas is sacred to Rahu and blades of Kusa ghas to Ketu.

Mahabharata, Vol. VIII Karna Parva mentions rules of conduct for a man who has taken the vow of Brahmacharya. It says "such a man be taking himself to the path of abstention, should seek to extinguish his dependence on both the external and internal sources. Sitting on Kusa ghas, with a Kusa in hand and binding his coronal locks with Kusa, he should surround himself with Kusa and have Kusa for

robes...reciting the highly beneficial composition Gayatri, he should mediate with the aid of his intellect on Brahma alone".

A *pavitram*, i.e. an amulet made of 3,5,7 stalks of Durva, plaited together in the form of a ring is worn by Brahmans to scare away evil spirits and devils. A few stalks kept around the ear, Vopayam also serve the same purpose. On Durbha Amavas, a few stalks are put at the main door of the house to ward off the evil spirits.

The pavitram sanctified by dipping in holy water and placed on the ring finger of the right hand is efficacious as it possesses the virtue of purifying everything that it touches. J.A. Dubois in his Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies has noted its importance at length.

Kusa ghas blades are used for sprinkling clarified butter upon the sacrificial fire. There is a mention of Kusa ghas in the cult of Soma rasa.

During Havan, at every step Durva ghas is used e.g. as Pavitram. When any Devta is to be invoked, its seat (Aasan) is prepared with Durva ghas. Except for Durga, the ghas is used in the worship of all gods and goddesses. In Havan ceremony the use of Durva ghas is as a purifier vehicle.

An hour before the eclipse, a stalk of Durva, 'Durba Tuj' is kept in water, vegetable oil, spices, bakery to make it immune to the deleterious influences during eclipse.

Pityrs :

Durva ghas has special significance for dead. When a person dies, the dead body is put on Durva ghas. After the cremation of the dead body, a handful of Kusa ghas called Kurcha is brought and sprinkled on the floor where the dead body lay in the house. A hymn is chanted which means: "The soul has departed from this house but may those who are left behind prosper and flourish and may their life be as green as this grass".

During shradh ceremony, while invoking the Pityrs, *aasan* (seat) is prepared of Durva ghas. Food is also served to them on Durva ghas. In the shradh season, called by Kashmiris as Kambaer. Pach, (shradh fortnight) the Kamberi Amavasaya is also called as Durbi Mavas. It is in the Dark fortnight of Bhadra. The significance of Durbi Mavas is that any pending ceremony of Pityrs can be completed on this day. During the ceremonies connected with the dead, the use of Durva ghas is to ward off the evil spirits.

An annual feast is celebrated in honour of the Durva ghas on the eighth day of the moon in Bhadra, called Durva-ashtami. Immortality and blessedness for ten ancestors is secured by offering Durva as sacrifice on Durva-ashtami. The prosperity of the person making the offering increases and multiplies like the Durva ghas which is a prolific multiplier of the vegetable kingdom.

Legends :

Dr Shakti M.Gupta, a well-known Botanist and expert in Oriental Archaeology in her excellent book Plant Myths and Traditions in India, has done a good job by collecting the prevalent legends regarding the sanctity of Durva and Kusa ghas.

Durva Ghas Legends :

All the legends extant are related to different versions of the legend of the churning of the milky ocean to extract *amrita*.

Devatas and Daityas engaged themselves in churning the sea of milk to extract amrita, the drinking of which would make a person immortal. Mount Mandara was used as the churning stick and serpent vasuki as the rope. While this was being done, Durva ghas made its appearance. As per another version Vishnu in his Turtle incarnation himself was used as the churning rod as he was supporting Mount Mandara. During the churning process some of the hair of Vishnu fell down and were cast ashore by the waves. These took root and became Durva ghas.

Another story says that as the gods were in hurry to keep amrita safe from asuras, a few drops of the precious drink fell on the grass on the earth, which became Durva ghas.

Yet another version of the legend is that Vishnu made appearance as Mohini, an exceptionally beautiful courtesan. She carried the vessel containing amrita, as she was the last one to emerge out of the ocean of milk. Devtas and Daityas fought one another to take its possession. Mohini favoured the Devtas. While handing over amrita, a few drops fell down on earth from where arose the Durva ghas. Vaishnavites consider the grass as Vishnu himself, as it grew from the perspiration of Vishnu. It is a remover of sin because in its roots Brahma resides, in its middle Vishnu and at the top, Siva. In the Vishnu Purana Kusa ghas is considered as Vishnu or Hari.

Kusa Ghas Legends :

Kusa ghas also drives its sanctity and immortality from having been sprinkled with Amrita. Vinata and Kadru were the two wives of Sage Kasyapa. They had a bet over the colour of the horse *Uchchairsravas*, which came out of the ocean of milk during churning. In the bet Kadru bluffed Vinata and the latter accepted defeat. She became slave of Kadru. The latter agreed to free her, if she could get *amrita* for her. Garuda, son of Vinata stole the amrita from Indra's heaven. As he was flying with the vessel, he felt tired and placed the vessel on Kusa ghas. A few drops of amrita fell on Kusa ghas and it turned sacred for the Hindus. NM Penzer, the author of '*The Ocean of Story*' narrates an interesting legend. He says the nagas licked the sharp-edged grass, which had drops of amrita on them. The cleft on their tongues is attributed to this licking.

Ramayana Story :

The story of the origin of Kusa ghas and its religious sanctity is given in Ramayana, Bhagvat Purana and Mahabharata. Ramayana says that Sita felt humiliated and angry when Ramachandra left her, even after she had undergone the fire ordeal to prove her innocence. After her children grew up, they made their father realise the injustice he had done to his wife. Sita did not wish to go back to him. She being the daughter of Dharani, the goddess of earth, prayed to the mother earth to accept her back if she was innocent. An earthquake opened the earth where she was standing. She was buried under it. As Kusa, her son saw this happening, he ran forward to save her but could only catch her few hair. The earth closed, while these hair remained outside. The hair turned into grass and were named after Kusa.

According to Bhagavata Purana, Sita while in forest, had one son Lava. While going out, she would leave him behind in Valmiki's ashram. One day she carried him along. On not finding Lava there, Valmiki thought some beast had carried away Lava and felt Sita would not be able to survive grief. So he made a baby with Kusa ghas resembling Lava and placed him in Lava's cot. When Sita returned, she found another baby in the Cot. On being asked about this strange phenomenon, Valmiki replied, "Blameless one, receive this second son named Kusa because I, by my power have created him out of Kusa ghas".

As per Ramayana, Sita gave birth to twin sons. Valmiki performed the Rakshasa rites to avert the evil eye. He used Kusa ghas for this. Since the first born was rubbed with Kusa ghas and blessed by mantras to avert the evil eye, he was named Kusa. The second born was carefully dried by female ascetics with Kusa ghas, he was called Lava.

Ascetic Powers :

According to a legend in the Mahabharata, Rishi Manakanaka, the son of Vayu had great ascetic merit. After this became known, one day his hand got pierced with the blade of Kusa ghas. Instead of blood, vegetable juice flowed from it. On seeing this Rishi felt happy and began non-stop dancing. Siva Mahadeva then visited him and demonstrated how instead of blood snow would come out of Siva's wound. Then Mahadeva told Rishi that ascetic power the Rishi demonstrated was in the Kusa ghas and not in his person, that was capable of turning blood into vegetable juice.

The epic Mahabharata, in Anusasana Parva narrates how Balakhilyas, the diminutive rishis sprang from the blades of Kusa ghas spread out in a sacrifice. From the same blades of Kusa also sprang Atri. Kusa dvipa, the sacred mythical island is so named because of Kusa ghas found there. The island is surrounded by the ghrita sea or the sea of butter.

*The writer is a keen Researcher on History and Culture of Kashmir.

8 Book Review

Indutva—A vision of a strong India

Dr. Ajay Chrungoo

INDIA is on the threshold of becoming a major regional power. Its adversaries have been trying to thwart these ambitions by unleashing a proxy-war against it. What is intriguing is that a section of our own people should facilitate these designs. These people need to be identified and isolated from the decision-making process. National security has emerged as India's foremost concern. Assaults on social unity and ideological subversion by the Left-Liberal establishment have undermined the efforts to consolidate national security. 'Indutva', the book under review, by Prof. MD Nalapat, a top Defence analyst answers all these concerns. Indutva is a vision of a strong India. Ideologically, it represents the fusion of the essential concepts of secularism and nationalism into a single coherent dialogue structure.

National Security :

In India, in recent defence policies, there is not only absence of strategic thinking but even tactical thinking. Consequently, there has been lack of appreciation on having adequate defence systems on security. Pakistan's proxy war and bullying attempts by global powers are the fall-out of our indecision to fashion effective nuclear and political deterrents. In the past also the defensive mindset of our rulers and the fragmentation of the social milieu led to India's enslavement twice, first by the Turks and then by the British. Prof. Nalapat lucidly explains how blunders by the Congress leadership during the anti-colonial struggle strengthened Muslim communalism and delayed the freedom. Emotion was given precedence over reason and ground realities were ignored while working out strategies.

Prof. Nalapat criticises the current policy of 'nuclear ambiguity'. He remarks that the deterrent value of this policy would be effective only when joined to a vigorous programme of development of launch vehicles, creation of fissionable stock-piles and development towards miniaturization of war heads. He declares that the development of Agni and the deployment of Prithvi will improve the security environment significantly and act as a deterrent to Pak adventurism.

Who are the guilty men of India that are throttling India's defence capability? A spineless political class has been ever-ready to barter away the national interests. Nalapat attributes this psyche to the result of the memory of a thousand and more years of servitude to Afghans, to Persians, to the European power. Despite the engulfing proxy-war, the successive Central governments are reluctant to mobilise popular support by enlightening people about the nature of subversive threats from within and without. The same government has abandoned the frontline victims of the proxy-war and dumped the groups, who could be useful allies, to win the war against terrorism. Warmer references to a terrorist state and willingness for dialogue by the Central government and the political big-wigs only serve to demoralise the nation.

Bureaucracy, which used to be called the steel-frame, has become an instrument to undermine the national security. The Politician-Bureaucrat nexus has led to the neglect of security systems. This is what Nalapat seriously believes. This nexus wants to turn India into a lackey of Washington. Morarji Desai, Narsimha Rao etc. all created hurdles in India's nuclear programme. Rao starved country's strategic programmes by withholding funds. During his regime Prithvi was capped, Agni was rolled back and the nuclear deterrent made defunct. A powerful lobby even tried to hound out Dr Abdul Kalam from India's missile programme.

A domestic lobby has been more concerned about the security interests of China and U.S. rather than India. This lobby has been encouraging the external backers of subversion. Nalapat says the way to expose the allies of this lobby in India would be to call their bluff and propose and implement policies "that will guarantee security rather than a continuation of the slow bleeding that has been inflicted on this country as a consequence of the timidity of its political leadership. India needs not only secularism but also security". He also establishes a correlation between the declining effectiveness of Indian diplomacy

and the increase in externally-backed insurgency within our borders. Doesn't it warrant a parliamentary probe to fix the responsibility for negligence of our security?

An influential lobby, toeing the U.S. line justifies the capping of India's nuclear programme, arguing U.S. would provide the security umbrella. It also pleads unilateral concessions to U.S on nuclear issue saying this would be reciprocated by economic concessions. There are also demands to slash down the expenditure on defence. Prof. Nalapat brilliantly exposes the contradictions in this fallacious approach.

U.S. Role :

Entrusting the security of India to a power which has had a history of putting pressure on India to compromise its security concerns to accommodate a hostile Pakistan, would be an act of irresponsibility. U.S. is more a part of the problem. It has been creating security concerns for India in the form of fundamentalist terrorism. The network of Islamist mercenaries it created in the 1980s is a major security challenge to India to preserve its integrity. U.S. policies of bringing up Islamist mercenaries through ISI led to substantial sections of the Pak army coming under the spell of fundamentalism. U.S. drive to back up "moderate Islamists" to beat back "radical Islamists" has reinforced Pakistani assaults against India. An extension of this debate in U.S. establishment has led many think-tanks to propose a "moderate Islamic nation", Kashmir. The entire Track-II diplomacy on Kashmir is sponsored and guided by this lobby. It is desirable to probe the motivations of Indian Track-II groups also. Nalapat rightly asks, "How else is one to interpret the fascination with the "Third option" for Kashmir (i.e. independence) on the part of those attending seminars on "conflict resolution" in South Asia? He adds that should the 'Third option' become a reality, the new state is likely to become as fundamentalist as Iran.

Stretching the argument further, Nalapat asks Americans if they are committed to the territorial integrity of India then why do they, dispute Kashmir's accession. The truth remains that the agenda of U.S. on Kashmir is to internationalise the issue and hopefully secure a result in accordance with the wishes of the Pakistanis. Americans ignore the link between Kashmir and the very survival of the Indian state. Every expression of doubt on the finality of Kashmir's accession provides oxygen to the terrorist movement in the state. American expressions of concern over "rights" of Kashmiris is the driving force in sustaining fundamentalist terrorism in Kashmir.

U.S. is also covertly backing ISI in training Islamist elements for fomenting trouble in Chinese Xinjiang. For these elements Karakoram highway is a vital route for supplies. Nalapat observes that U.S. pressure on India to withdraw from Siachen is to facilitate this subversion, away from the watchful eyes of Indians.

Nuclear Programme :

The direction of the present American policy towards the sub-continent is to wipe out the tactical and strategic advantages that India has over Pakistani and ensure parity between the two. This can only be done if Indian technological advances and defence procurement are checked, while Pakistan's is not. The Americans consciously allowed China to transfer its nuclear technology to Pakistan. It has taken no action against North Korea. On the contrary, the Americans are hyping up the Pakistan programme "to convince the Indian public that a capping of both would be an even-handed measure rather than directed against India, which is the factual position". U.S. design is not only to curb nuclear and missile programmes but to roll back the all capabilities the country has achieved during the past four decades in this field.

U.S. is using three sticks to throttle India's nuclear programme. One, it is dangling the carrot of economic concessions. Secondly, it is indulging in moralisation by its references to global disarmament. Lastly, it abets Pakistan's nuclear blackmail against India. U.S. has been trying to persuade India to give up the deterrent using a rationalise of the 'danger' of Pakistan emerging as a nuclear power. Nalapat does not hesitate in pronouncing that those who endorse demands that crucial strategic programmes be aborted are encouraging fresh assaults on Indian sovereignty.

Even the argument that yielding on nuclear issue would placate U.S. in reciprocating through economic concessions, does not hold water. India's unilateral concessions were reciprocated by renewed American

pressure on sensitive issues like defence technology and Kashmir. Henry Kissinger, in his book *Diplomacy*, himself says that unilateral concessions are to be taken as signs of vulnerability and the effort should, therefore, be to squeeze out yet more concessions, rather than reward such naivete by positive gestures.

How do we deal with Americans? Nalapat is not opposed to economic and strategic links with U.S. but warns against conceding anything on strategic interests-Kashmir or nuclear issue. He wants India to give depth to its policy on CTBT by much more active development of nuclear and missile technology, despite the risk of U.S. retaliation. India's strength as a secular democracy and its economic potential may change U.S. ultimately. As a pragmatist he asks Indians to explore Russia-India-China strategic relationship in case U.S. intransigence continues. Recently, there has been loud thinking on build an Asian NATO, where Indian would play its rightful role and would be less vulnerable.

Pakistan :

India's ham-handed approach to Pak provocations may encourage Pakistanis to extend the proxy-war to other states. Nalapat warns against making any strategic concessions to Army-dominated Pakistan. However, trade, cultural and other relationship may have positive impact on common Pakistani. In the ultimate, Pakistan may not be able to withstand rising economic burden. Popular anger may burst out and call for an end to unjust wars being waged by Pak state.

Kashmir :

In Nalapat's view no Kashmiri politician is a saint. NC patronised cross-border infiltration to seek leverage with New Delhi. After 1997 NC hampered counter-insurgency effort by getting terrorists released. All political groups in Kashmir have patronised religious extremists of fascist Jamaat Islami. State Congress too followed a policy of patronising Kashmiri Sunnis, the group most pampered and mainly involved in the separatist movement. Nalapat criticises Mufti for toeing pro-Hurriyat line, patronising religious extremists in VP Singh's time and helping Pakistan get a foothold in Kashmir by his refusal to take preventive action against many who had been won over by ISI. On Rubiya episode, he quotes a senior state officer who said, "the situation got out of control in 1990, when VP Singh was the Prime Minister. The minister had two options. He could have acted as the custodian of the nation's security and refused to deal with the abductors. Or he could have resigned and appealed as a father to the Kashmiri people to force the terrorists to release his daughter. He did neither. Instead, the government surrendered". Since the credibility of a government is an important factor in controlling an insurgency the Kashmiris thought *azaadi* was round the corner and the bulk of the population crossed over to the terrorists' side.

There are no long-term solution in view so long as regional factors continue to destabilise Kashmir. Indian state has yet to send a message that terrorism will be fought whatever be the cost. There can be no discussions on the status of Kashmir. Nalapat wants this to be made explicit. On autonomy he says that Article 356, the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, C AG and the Election Commissioner, in any internal dialogue, are non-negotiable. An important element in counter-insurgency war is that Indian state should also see that the nationalistic groups in J&K are not being penalised for being loyal to India.

Tolerance :

Prof Nalapat belongs to a family, known for holding rationalist beliefs. Abrey Menon and Naryana Menon were his uncles. Nalapat has very strong views. He says respect for India will not flow from a repeat of past barbarity but from the rise of national income to a reasonable level. His other assessments are also scathing. Nehru is blamed for nourishing communalism. He finds much in common among Nehru school graduates, the Left and the religious exclusionists. He ardently believes that the anti-majoritarian definition of "secularism" has only led to Hindu anger. Mulayam Singh's appeals to Muslim and Yadav

groups are dubbed as communal. The other contributions of Mandalites to social disharmony include fanning insecurity among minorities and distancing them from BJP.

Nalapat has remarkable sense of humour. This pervades throughout the book. It is a book every Indian, who has good of his country at heart, should find time read.

INDUTVA

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9 Panun Kashmir--Logic and Relevance

By Dr. Ajay Chrungoo

Introduction :

Panun Kashmir was born as a comprehensive response to the challenges faced by the nation in Kashmir. An in-depth understanding of the reasons which lead to the forced displacement of Kashmiri Hindus formed the substratum of its political perspective. This understanding did not trivialise the religious cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus by considering it as a mere aberration in the local political expression.

Panun Kashmir realised the linkage of the religious cleansing in Jammu and Kashmir to the civilisational and political challenges to the nation-building process in the state.

The organisation has been acutely conscious of the grave implications of the process which sought to insulate the national discourse on secularism and human rights from the happenings in Kashmir.

Panun Kashmir developed a firm opinion that the causes of displacement of Kashmiri Hindus underlined issues which were of fundamental importance to the nation. The efforts, particularly from within aimed at ensuring that the internal displacement of Kashmiri Hindus becomes a non-event constitutes one of the crucial elements of the subversive war to balkanise India and cripple the Nation state.

Political Approach :

While formulating its political approach Panun Kashmir took into account following realities :

*Kashmir has contributed substantially to the fund of Indian civilization in almost all fields. Kashmiri Hindus pioneered the movement for Sanskritisation of Himalayas, which ultimately paved the way for the evolution and consolidation of Northern Frontier of India. Kashmiri Hindus therefore constitute the Indian Civilisational Frontline in Kashmir.

Religious cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus is one more concerted attempt to snap the civilisation link of Kashmir with India. Its wider implication is to prepare the platform for dismantling the Northern Frontier of India by destroying its cultural content.

*Kashmiri Hindus also constituted the Political Frontline for the geopolitics which aims to undermine Indian position in Kashmir. This social group acted as a symbol of Indian nationalism a vital component of the pluralistic identity of Kashmir and the powerful impetus for democratization of Kashmir polity.

Kashmiri Hindus contested all the variants of Muslim communalism and separatism in the Valley. Their destabilisation was always visualised by the anti-Indian forces in Kashmir as a crucial step towards breaking down of the indigenous political resistance to the separatist politics.

*Muslim separatism in Jammu and Kashmir has three genres which include demand for accession to Pakistan, carving out an Independent State of Jammu and Kashmir and seeking greater autonomy on the basis of Muslim subnationalism.

Relevance :

*The political demand of Panun Kashmir seeks to decisively change the paradigm of politics practised by Kashmiris. This politics was primarily determined by the Muslim religious identity. It had same ideological connotations as that of Muslim League before partition of India.

*The Panun Kashmir demand links the return of Kashmiri Hindus to the free flow of Indian Constitution. By seeking such a dispensation Panun Kashmir declares the compatibility of Kashmiri identity with the constitutional process governing India. It also proclaims that the communal separatism in Kashmir is an inherent consequence of the constitutional fortification of Muslim identity rather than erosion of the constitutional right.

The demand brings to fore the historical and secular imperatives confronting the Kashmir identity.

Panun Kashmir as Corrective :

*Panun Kashmir seeks to act as a decisive corrective so far as the National discourse on Human Rights and secularism is concerned.

*The discourse on Human Rights at the national level has been primarily driven by a subversive drive to undermine and cripple the state responses to the challenges confronting national integrity and sovereignty.

This discourse has selectively focussed on state action in a situation where terrorism has established sway on the social milieu.

It has sought to insulate the individual and the organs of the Kashmiri society from the responsibility of upholding human rights. By implication it has provided space and immunity to the terrorist operatives.

*Panun Kashmir through its campaign has sought to focus attention on the individual and group responsibility in upholding the Human Rights.

Panun Kashmir has stressed the role of state action rather than inaction in fighting terrorism. It has tried to widen the moral space for the actions of a democratically-elected government to curb terrorist violence. Panun Kashmir has sought to delegitimise terrorism in all forms and with all justifications.

*Through its campaigns of focussing national and international attention on religious cleansing and terrorism Panun Kashmir has stripped off the terrorist movement in Kashmir of its pretensions of being a freedom struggle.

Secular discourse in the country particularly vis-a-vis Kashmir has suffered from a serious drawback. It recognises any accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India as the only yardstick which should determine judgement on the secular behaviour of the polity in the state. The communal content of the local politics has always been ignored or rationalised. This attitude helped in strengthening the Muslim communal stridency in the state. It has also accorded respectability to Muslim subnationalism in the state.

Over the years the Muslim subnationalism in Jammu and Kashmir and the fissiparous tendencies in many parts of India have developed a symbiotic relationship. Dilution of Indian sovereignty in Kashmir is being visualised as a decisive in put to redefine principles of Indian federalism along divisive subnational denominators for its eventual balkanisation.

*Panun Kashmir demand essentially brings to surface this contradiction of the secular discourse. It exposes the linkages of Muslim separatism in the state with the separatist tendencies elsewhere in the country. It seeks to sensitise the nation to the dangers of flirting with religious subnationalism.

Last but not the least, Panun Kashmir deals a decisive blow to the Dixon proposal or its variants. These seek the solution for the crisis in Jammu and Kashmir by advocating division of the state along the flow of Chenab river which roughly divides the state into Hindu and Muslim areas.

The demand for rehabilitating 700,000 Kashmiri Hindus north and east of river Jhelum in Kashmir valley brings a new perspective into play. It shifts the emphasis from communal division of state to the fractured political cravings of the Kashmiri population. Panun Kashmir demand renders separatist politics full of stakes for the future.

*The author is a founder member of Panun Kashmir.

10 Our Ally, Our Problem

By Marin J. Strmecki

AS the Bush administration moves into the next phases of the war against terrorism, it will need to confront a profoundly difficult problem: Pakistan is at the same time an indispensable partner in that war and a principal and continuing source of the terrorist threat. (...)

The genesis of Pakistan's role in the jihadist terror network was President Ziaul Haq's shift toward Islamist ideology in the 1980s. Interpreted in the West merely as an attempt to legitimize his military rule, Zia's adoption of Islamist views was in fact part of a wider political and geostrategic vision: He sought to use radical Islam to conquer Afghanistan through proxy forces and to create an alliance with states such as Iran and Saudi Arabia. The objective was to create an Islamist coalition--one that combined Pakistani nuclear weapons and the oil wealth of the Persian Gulf--that would serve as a 'dagger' aimed at India and that would expand its influence into Central Asia. (...)

The threat in Pakistan stems not from popular support for the Islamist cause--radical parties typically receive 5% of the vote in national elections--but from Islamist influence in the military and intelligence services. Therefore, the US response should focus on finding points of leverage to purge this influence and on returning Pakistan to the moderate and secular path from which it departed under Zia.

Musharraf is a vital--but profoundly flawed--vehicle for such a strategy. He was the leader of Pakistan's reckless military adventure at Kargil in 1999 and was involved in Islamist charities that funnelled support to al-Qaeda. At the beginning of the current war, he only reluctantly supported the United States, describing his decision as the lesser of two evils. Yet as a result of this choice, he has crossed the Rubicon. The Islamists in his government and society view him as a traitor; he cannot go back. This means that the United States is in an ideal position to enforce its demands on him. (...)

First, the United States should do what is necessary to destroy the dream of a rising Islamist coalition that has animated Pakistani radicals since Zia. While the destruction of the Taliban regime was a vital first step, the United States should work to ensure that a moderate, pro-western regime takes power and succeeds in Afghanistan. The United States should also use its influence with such a government to promote friendly relations with Pakistan and ease Islamabad's fear of a two-front threat from India and Afghanistan.

The last hope of Islamist opponents of Musharraf is to stage a comeback in Afghanistan through a Pashtun nationalist backlash against the Tajik-dominated interim government created under US power. The danger is real if the Bush administration fails to adjust its policies. Yet if the United States uses the current Afghan tribal assembly to redistribute control over the power ministries--and particularly if it creates a non-political and professional military--the likelihood of a Taliban comeback will be substantially undercut.

At the same time, the United States should use the current crisis between Islamabad and New Delhi to destroy the prospects that Pakistan can make gains in Kashmir by employing Islamist paramilitary groups. (...) Furthermore, the Bush administration should also make clear that the US will address Islamabad's interest in resolving the Kashmir question in the future only if the Islamist insurgencies are permanently curtailed. (...)

Second, the United States should engage Musharraf in an effort to purge Pakistan's military and intelligence services of dangerous influences. Below the senior leadership, the ISI remains a hornet's nest of radical Islamists. This state within a state has close ties with retired ISI personnel--particularly those around Hamid Gul--and Islamist political parties. They appear to be trying to foment general insecurity in order to reduce the western presence that serves to support Musharraf's government. The recent attacks on churches, the murder of Daniel Pearl, and the fatal bombing of French engineers may stem from this strategy. Their hope is that, once isolated, Musharraf will be more easily toppled through a combination of street protests and an internal coup.

Third, the Bush administration should be far more generous in offering to help rebuild Pakistan's secular school system. The thousands of madrassas in Pakistan funded by Saudi Arabia create a breeding ground for Islamist opposition to Musharraf and recruits for the international jihadist movement. The initial \$36.5 mn US aid programme is just a down payment on what is needed.

Fourth, the United States needs to look for ways to restore civilian and constitutional rule in Pakistan without destabilizing the country. Though Pakistan has always been a difficult partner even under civilian governments, the natural allies for the United States are its secular political parties, not the generals with imperial aspirations. The process of transition should be structured so that Musharraf has the burden of dismantling the Islamist presence in the Pakistani government, ending ISI interference in domestic politics, and creating the mechanisms for genuine civilian control over national-security policy. Only then will a shift to civilian rule involve a genuine transfer of power.

(...) Stability in the region--and victory in the war against terrorism--can only come once the imperial dream of Ziaul Haq has finally died.

11 Ideal solution to Kashmir problem

The Neelam Plan

By Arindam Banerji

YOU have probably started hearing the repeated refrain of something called the Chenab Plan to solve the Kashmir imbroglio. In its essence, it is a plan being sponsored by Islamist extremists from Pakistan and some of their friends in the US. This generous "Pakistan keeps whatever it has, but let's negotiate over what India keeps" plan aims to give all of Indian Kashmir valley independence, while letting Pakistan keep all the territories it now illegally and forcefully occupies.

In other words, this is the same kind of odious thinking that has led to the ethnic cleansing of all minorities from Pakistan: "Kashmiri Muslims cannot live with the infidels, hence they have to cleanse their territory and must make it a different country." If you prefer the more politically correct rendition, it is often called division along ethnic lines; sounds a lot better doesn't it, but make no mistakes about its intent.

Unfortunately, it would seem that this jihadi Islamist plan has gathered support within some US circles. Saleem Shehzad seems to confirm this report in the *Asia Times*, "Sources in the Foreign Office familiar with the agenda say that key decisions likely to be agreed on by Musharraf and Bush at Camp David include the following: A clear road map for resolution of the Kashmir conflict in which the "Chenab" formula, which envisages the division of Kashmir along religious lines, is likely to be adopted. Thus, the Muslim-majority areas would be allowed to join Pakistan, while the areas where Hindus and Buddhists are in the majority would remain with India".

The reason for such an obnoxious plan seeing the light of day is simple: India has never bothered to propose anything better. Pakistan, on the other hand, has consistently defined the Kashmir imbroglio over the last 57 years; it has defined the problem, it has defined the issues, it has taken a lead in actions and it is now defining the solution. Starting with canards like 8,00,000 Indian soldiers in Kashmir, to the rancid 'indigenous freedom fighters' it is Pakistan that has always defined the issues, not we. The Chenab formula is just another step in this direction.

While, we Indians have excelled at criticising anything and everything, and even made grandiose empty statements like 'let the talks begin with PoK' or 'let's take over Lahore, we have never bothered to propose any rational plan that would work in India's interests. Where are the superior ideas, the better solutions and focused strategic actions?!

They don't exist--only the vacuous flatulence of the extreme right and whimpering connivance of the anarchists accentuate this void.

So, here is a potential starting point -- I'll call it the Neelam Plan, as suggested by some friends at Bharat Rakshak.

Background on the Neelam Plan

The Neelam Valley is a 144 km long bow-shaped, deeply forested region that makes up much of what Pakistanis call Azad Kashmir. The Neelam River enters Pakistan from India in the Gurais sector of the Line of Control (LoC) and then runs west till it meets the Jhelum north of Muzaffarabad. The mighty Neelam River cuts a breathingly beautiful furrow in the land--the Neelam Valley; a valley of death and a Valley of hatred.

The Neelam Valley and the region around it are infested with every kind of terrorist vermin that the Pakistanis have been able to rustle up, with the buying power of their extortion, drug-running and charity money. So, when you think of the Neelam Valley, think about four year old Suraj from Nadimarg, who was shot and killed in his mother's arms; think of Sharita Bi of Mandi, who was first set on fire and subsequently had these flames extinguished, forcing her to die in slow agonising pain. For, it there's ever

a terrorist brutality in Kashmir, you can bet that the perpetrators were trained, launched or passed through this Valley of Death.

What we call PoK, the Pakistanis call 'Azad Kashmir' and Northern Areas. The Northern Areas consist of the Gilgit and Baltistan districts of Jammu and Kashmir. The natives of Gilgit and Baltistan are the most oppressed people in the entire Indian subcontinent. They have no economic development; they have been occupied by Pakistani Punjabis who ill-treat them; they have no constitution and few, if any, human rights. Unlike the people of J&K, whom we have treated with special privileges (Article 370), extreme government charity and now even reservations in colleges, the people of Gilgit and Baltistan are truly under brutal occupation. In fact, our friendly neighbourhood dictator, Musharraf, first rose to fame in 1988 by massacring thousands in this region to put down a revolt, with the able help of a then unknown fanatic-Osama bin Laden. But, that is another story.

Now why don't we know all this about Gilgit/Baltistan? Well, depending upon who's been in power, our Foreign Ministry has either been hugging the terrorists or making plans to capture Lahore.

The Neelam Plan

While the Chenab Plan is based on the bigoted principles of 'division along ethnic lines', the Neelam Plan is focussed on clamping down on terrorism and prevention of religious clashes in India. Clearly, these principles apply only to India, since terrorism is revered as freedom-fighting in Pakistan other religions have mysteriously disappeared (from 20% to about 3% in 5 decades) from the land of the pure. Unlike the Chenab Plan which does nobody any good apart from a few hallucinating Generals in the GHQ at Rawalpindi, the Neelam Plan actually has a sound basis, namely :

*Artificial countries based on religion alone, are a hassle-Britain has already tried that with the creation of Pakistan - been there, done that; doesn't quite work.

*Any plan that does not explicitly take into account US strategic interests in the area will become road-kill - so, ensure easy US access to the Chinese border.

*Water is the biggest strategic issue in the subcontinent - talk about it, don't hide it, avoid the next war.

*Terrorism and not the over-hyped repression of the people of Kashmir will cause the next nuclear war - so, address it.

There are 6 basic principles and 5 associated actions that constitute the Neelam Plan :

Absorption of Integrated Areas

India has demonstrated through its fair elections of last year, the enormous money spent in economic development (US\$ 5B) in Kashmir and the special attempts at integration such as reservation in out-of-state colleges, that J&K is well on its way to full-fledged integration with India. For better results, arcane constitutional artifacts, such as Article 370 need to be done away with and improved industrial investment will follow. Pakistan, however, has never managed to integrate any part of its country, let alone PoK. A vague case may be made that what they call "Azad" Kashmir has been integrated as an armed camp, but this should be subject to LoC alterations, as described below.

Freedom for the Oppressed :

The brutally oppressed people of Gilgit and Baltistan have faced complete abrogation of their constitutional and human rights, with hardly any economic development for the last 55 years. Their lands have seen murderous occupation and their standard of living makes the sub-Saharan Africans feel mighty posh. According to the Neelam Plan, the Northern Areas (Gilgit and Baltistan) will become a free country and Pakistani garrisons currently encamped there, will have to depart. Naturally, the Pakistani Punjabis currently usurping people's rights in this land would immediately become illegal aliens and over a period of time, will have to obtain appropriate work visas to remain there. Both India and Pakistan would need to

officially obtain transit rights through this land. This will bring about a demilitarisation of the Deosai Plains and thus effect a natural stabilisation in places like Siachen, Kargil and Drass.

From the perspective of the main interlocutor, the US, direct access to the Deosai Plains could be a strategic coup in its oncoming superpower battles with China. There possibly is no better strategic location for US forces in the northern regions of South Asia-certainly, far better than being located in the Kashmir valley. All this comes with the added benefit of not having to upset the burgeoning relations with potential strategic partner-India.

Clamping down on Terrorism:

The only terrorism of consequence in South and Central Asia seems to originate from Pakistan. There are two problems here - first, the Neelam Valley has become the launching pad and terrorism training ground; second, Pakistan views terrorism as a legitimate instrument of state policy.

For the first problem, the solution is quite clear - reduce drastically, the scope of Neelam Valley to act as the biggest terrorist training camp in the world. This is achieved by moving the LoC into the Neelam Valley and better international mediation, the specific steps are:

*Move the LoC north of Gurais till it covers all the infiltration routes emerging from the Burzil Pass.

*Move the LoC in the Kupwara area to enclose the Neelam Valley segment north of Muzaffarabad.

*Move the Haji Pir Pass within India, since it is the entrance point for most terrorists in J&K.

*Move the LoC south of Poonch closer to New Mirpur, perhaps along the Poonch River, this will drastically reduce terrorist breeding grounds.

*Have UN troops guard the rest of "Azad Kashmir".

*The independence of Gilgit and Baltistan to the north will bring about a closure of terrorist training and coordination camps in Gilgit, Astore, Skardu and the Deosai Plains area.

The second issue, that of Pakistan using terrorism as a state policy is a little more difficult. Here, international lenders in return for monetary aid must ask for intrusive UN monitoring within Pakistan to ensure that the ISI and other groups do not engage in terrorism. Connecting monetary aid directly to stopping Pakistani terrorism is the only way to ensure that there isn't a terrorism induced nuclear war in the subcontinent. The IMF has always used this policy to open up markets for the west; so, why not use a similar approach to contain the scourge of jihadi terrorism in the country that has been referred to as the "epicenter of terrorism".

Equitable distribution of water :

The Indus Water Treaty (IWT) is inherently inequitable-it does not take into consideration that India's population is about 8 times that of Pakistan and that Pakistan has eliminated or pushed into India almost all of its ethnic minorities, since independence. This treaty must be declared invalid and must be renegotiated on the basis of the population balance on either side of the border. An equitable distribution would imply that India get around 40 per cent of the waters that are currently earmarked for Pakistan. Pakistan has so far depended upon India's inability to use its water resources aggressively and as a consequence not developed its water resource infrastructure adequately. Without such a re-negotiation, Pakistan may not realise the criticality of doing so on its own-leading to disaster for Pakistan within this decade. If this issue is not solved, the Indus Water Treaty and not Kashmir will lead to the next nuclear war - water has already become the most precious resource in India.

No one-sided guns to anybody's head:

The only hope for the Pakistan economy is transit fees from oil pipelines. These pipelines will remain pipe dreams unless India agrees to be the key destination market for this oil. One of the main reasons for

US interest in peace in Kashmir is related to the big dollars that would roll into the pockets of US oil giants if these pipelines do not flow through Iran. Unfortunately, if these pipelines become a reality, Pakistan just obtains a large economic gun to India's head. To be fair, any gas pipelines should only be considered, if at the same time, India is allowed to build up the infrastructure required to completely stop water to Pakistan. In other words, if Pakistan has the ability to shut off energy supply to India, then India must have the ability to shut off water supply to Pakistan. No one-way weapons, please.

Plan Summary:

Summarising the modalities of the Neelam Plan :

- *Complete and equal integration of J&K into India.
- *Freedom for Northern Areas and removal of all Pakistani garrisons therefrom.
- *No international charity for terrorists and permanent clamp down on the Valley of death and the Valley of hatred--the Neelam Valley.
- *Incorporating Haji Pir into India.
- *Moving the LoC from Gurais to Tithwal northwards until it covers the Neelam Valley all the way up to Muzaffarabad.
- *Move Naushara LoC to New Mirpur.
- *UN monitoring in "Azad Kashmir".
- *Renegotiate the Indus Water Treaty (IWT) according to population distributions.
- *No pipelines through Pakistan without equal water shut off capabilities for India.

Where do we go from here ?

Division along ethnic lines is pure bigotry. Even if such a strategy makes some twisted short term strategic sense for the superpower of the day, in time such a division will lead to the same kind of problems that Palestine and Pakistan cause today. Thousands and hundreds of thousands will die - we must, therefore, learn from the historical mistakes of the British. Why repeat the greatest mistakes of the last century?

Remember, the problem is not Kashmir, it is and has always been terrorism - just take a look at the hordes of Pakistan-based Talibanis beginning to kill Germans, Afghans and Americans in Afghanistan at regular intervals. Nobody believes that the solution to this problem is to give back Afghanistan to the Taliban. Thus, no problem in Kashmir will be solved by rewarding the jihadi terrorists or the Islamist fanatics. Clamping down on terrorism and preventing it permanently, has to be the basis for any peace on the Indian subcontinent. This is the goal of the Neelam Plan and should be the basis of any settlement that is reached.

As I finish this article, there are reports on India being pushed towards the Chenab Plan. The main protagonists seem to be Pakistani Americans with only Pakistani strategic interests at heart. For the sake of India and the rest of the world, I hope that the editors of Kashmir Telegraph are wrong when they say :

"Kashmir *Telegraph* has reasons to believe - beyond any shadow of doubt - the United States is 'arm-twisting' Pakistan - more specifically, India, in accepting the 'Chenab Plan'. A 'sinister plot', which if America has its way, brings about the division of the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir on religious lines — with Muslim-majority areas accorded a quasi-sovereign status. BJP-the ruling party- it seems, has all along been clandestinely involved in this sinister plot, which undermines the basic principle-rejection of the two-nation theory- on the basis of which India was founded. It is in this context that one must examine the remarks of General Jay Garner, setting December, 2004 as the American deadline for resolving the Kashmir issue".

In the past, India has happily given away precious water of the Indus, the Coco Islands, the Tibetan buffer, control of Haji Pir Pass, 90,000 Pakistani POWs and other strategic advantages without any payback at all. This time, the hope is that our leaders will not give away strategic strangleholds, for minor personal or political gains.

The Neelam Plan represents the beginnings of a proposal that represents Indian interests, as opposed to placing India in a position of constantly fighting off Pakistani expeditions. Let us at least start here.

**Source: Indian Defence Review, Apr.-June 2003) END*

12 Exile is a dream of glorious return

By Shyam Kaul

MORE than two hundred years ago, when Kashmir was under Afghan rule, a Kashmir Pandit, who wrote fine poetry in Persian language, had to go to Kabul, while in the service of Wazir Wafadar Khan Sadozai. Spending his days in alien land, it was not long before Daya Ram Kachroo started pining for his beloved Kasheer. Its memories haunted him all the time. In one such nostalgic moment he wrote :

*Mata ra hub-e-watan ashufta kard,
Ze Josh-i-girya chaishmum Achhaval shud,
Aveth shud, Maar shud, talab-e-Dal shud.*
I have gone insane for the love of my land.
Why my fate turned me out, I do not know,
With deep sorrow my eyes have become Achhaval,
AND Veth, Maar and the Lake Dal.

(Achhaval and Veth are Kashmiri names, respectively, of Achhabal, known for its gushing spring waters, and Vitasta or river Jhelum. Maar is the canal that once ran through Srinagar city).

When I read Daya Ram Kachroo's verses, I get a feeling that he is a displaced Kashmiri Pandit poet of today, writing the verses in amusement of exile. I feel I am writing this poetry or it has been written for me. One would not know what were the circumstances and compulsions that sent Daya Ram to a distant country. But perhaps it had happened against his wishes. Two hundred years later, a descendant of his, Vijay Kachroo, was wrenched out of his home in Kashmir by a frightening environment of terror and fear of death, much against his wishes. Both were helpless. If Daya Ram had disobeyed and refused to join his master to travel to Kabul, he could perhaps have been beheaded, for in those days it cost an Afghan nothing to behead a Kashmiri, any one of them. If Vijay Kachroo had refused to move out, he could have been summarily shot dead by a gun-crazy zealot, as had happened with many of his fellow Kashmiri Pandits.

The Pandits has been out in the wilderness of exile for fourteen years. And during these fateful years he has lost his home, his land of birth, his roots and his identity too. Now he is a mere 'migrant', or, to put it more aptly, a 'homeless vagrant'. He does not know where he actually belongs, though his heart and soul have not for a moment ceased to belong to the soil which brought him into this world, and to which his ancestors belonged from times immemorial. This is a truism despite the deliberate, calculated and systematic attempt made by some in recent years to cut his roots, his ancient morning and deny him the inherent right of belonging to his land of birth.

One striking facet of the historical personality of the Kashmiri Pandit has been his relentless struggle for survival centuries of persecution. This came in good stead to him in early 1990s when the cult of terror, dyed in religious fundamentalism struck Kashmir with lightning speed, striking a stunning blow to the traditions of tolerance and brotherhood. Absolutely stupefied by the terrifying turns of events in the Valley, Pandits fled for their lives. Soon after tented camps came up in Udhampur, Jammu, Delhi and other places for the displaced Pandits, given the name of 'migrants'. But whether living in weather-beaten tents, hurriedly built shacks or rented single rooms, Pandits always stood by himself. He stood firm in his honour and dignity and commitment to his younger generation. Packed like sardines, in rows of tents and improvised hutments, Pandits made it sure that the future of their children did not suffer. Small boys and girls pored over their books in dingy corners of crowded tents, often under the light of kerosene lamps, to build a better tomorrow for themselves and for their community. Today a whole generation of displaced Pandit boys and girls, exuding self confidence, has come up with credentials of excellence from educational institutions of high standing all over the country. A community whose destiny is in the hand of such builders of future can neither perish nor be deprived of its rights. It was in 1998 that a high profile

U.S. Congressman, Fran Pallon Jr had said, "I am impressed by the dignity and determination that Kashmiri Pandits have maintained despite their horrible conditions."

Of late, one question which a Pandit in exile is frequently asked by non-Kashmiri friends and strangers is whether Pandits will go back to Kashmir or not. One feels that there is more of dubiety than curiosity in the question. Many people have doubts and they argue that after a decade and a half living out and away from home, Pandits have reconciled to this kind life. Many Pandits, they say, have built houses outside Kashmir and continue to build more. It is also said that their children were brought up and educated away from Kashmir with greater opportunities of employment here than in the Valley. These youngsters would be little interested in going back to Kashmir. There was a funny comment by a writer in a local newspaper who said that Pandits had got "fully Indianised" and therefore were not likely to go back to Kashmir. Such remarks are not irritating any more. For was it not said once that Pandits had flocked to Jammu because the then Governor Jagmohan, had promised them free essential plots in the winter capital. Or that Kashmiri Muslim youths had taken up[guns because Pandits had monopolised the government services.

For an average Pandit, the question, 'whether he will go back to Kashmir', is like asking him whether a man who has lost his home would like to be taken back there. Whether a starving person would want food and whether withered crops in parched fields would crave for rains. The question is simply impertinent. In fact it is the displaced Pandit himself who has a whole lot of questions, of the answer of which he has been groping in the uncertainty of these past years of his homelessness. Some of these questions are :

Is the government (in Delhi and Srinagar) really honest, sincere and serious in making the return of displaced community to Kashmir, possible? If so, has the government ever drawn up a comprehensive plan of action, after an in-depth study of the problem, in consultations with experts and representatives of the affected community? The exodus of Pandits from Kashmir at the commencement of 1990s was almost complete within three months. In the initial stage, due to lack of awareness regarding the eruption of militant violence and its ramifications, there was a tendency to blame the Pandits for having over reacted to the situation. However, during the course of subsequent years, the truth about eruption of terrorist violence in the Kashmir dawned on people everywhere. Has there been a change or substantial improvement in the ground realities to the extent that it could be safe for an ordinary Pandit to go back and live in his home? What would Pandits go back to? How many of their homes escaped burning, destruction, demolition and ravages of time? What is the state of their agricultural land and orchards? It is a myth that majority of Pandits have 'sold' their properties. Not even twenty percent have done so, especially in rural Kashmir. Was it not incumbent on the government to have made a comprehensive survey of Pandit properties and provided the information to them. It would not only have kept the community fully in know of the fate of its properties, but it would also have acted as a confidence building measure and a healing touch, of which we hear so much these days. Is the existing political, social, economic and psychological milieu in Kashmir prepared to accept Pandit back into the fold, especially in view of continuing acts of terrorism? There is also much talk of people to people contact to revive relationships but has anything be done in actual practice? No effort appears to have been made to do something, at least, to tackle the problem of unemployment in the displaced community. A so-called drive was once announced during the National Conference government. Thousands of Pandits boys and girls all prepared to work anywhere in the state, sent in their applications, indirectly providing an answer to the question whether Pandit would go back or not. Nothing was heard of the drive later. There is a growing feel in the displaced community that the exodus of the educated Pandit youth is being covertly engineered by closing the doors of government jobs for them. The instance of Pandit government employees is given in this regard, at least sixty percent of whom have retired in past fourteen years, with hardly any new entry points open to them. The displaced community is fed, year after year, on slogans like "return with honour and dignity." All that has resulted from too much of tall and some unimaginative moves, are the killings and massacres like Wandhama Nadimarg.

There is a palpable feeling in the Pandit community that the government is more or less reconciled to its permanent exile and has therefore written it off, leaving it to its fate. There is no reason why the government should not be aware of it and take some reassuring measures in this healing-touch era.

It is true that many displaced Pandits, who could afford, have built houses outside Kashmir. One reason is that rented houses for an indefinite number of years were proving a greater burden than making a house. But doing that in any case would not deprive them of their right to go back home. Does owning a property outside Kashmir mean that a Kashmiri has bid final adieu to his homeland? If thousands of other Kashmiris, including chief minister their ministerial colleagues, legislators, politicians, businessmen, traders exporters and others, can own houses outside Kashmir, for seasonal or permanent use, why can't a Pandit do so too?

Educational Pandit boys and girls travel to different parts of India in search of jobs. Why should it be construed as an act of abandonment of one's land of birth? It happens everywhere in India and elsewhere in the world. People move from place to place for work and employment but their home is where it is, where their hearts lie. The number of technically qualified men and women is growing at a phenomenal pace in Kashmir and they will have to move out in search of suitable jobs. Would that mean they have snapped their ties with their land of birth?

It is a man's birthright to go to his home and no civilised society will deny him this right. Kashmir is the home, habitat and soil of the Pandit, despite some pernicious attempts made in recent years to obliterate his centuries old past. It is the dream, goal and mission of every Pandit to go home. But not as a haphazardly driven herd to find themselves in abattoirs of Wandhama, Sangrampura and Nadimarg. They will go back to Kashmir of their dreams of love, peace, honour, amity and equality.

Noted author, Salman Rushdie, perhaps had exiled Kashmiri Pandits in mind when he wrote, "Exile is a dream of glorious return. It is an endless paradox : looking forward by looking back." He writes further, "Exile is a soulless country. In exile an attempt to put down roots look like treason, they are admission of defeat".

One would not be sure whether there is a Pandit who, on the issue of his return home, is prepared to commit, "treason" or admit "defeat".

Therefore,, no question please. It would be insulting to ask displaced Pandit whether he would want to go home. It hurts the intimate feelings and sentiments of his love for his land of birth, which is among the Supreme loves of a civilised human being and regarding which there can be no compromise. END

13 Pattern of Civilian killings in terrorist violence

KS Correspondent

LAST three months have witnessed sharp escalation in terrorism violence. On June 28, the terrorists attacked Sunjawan army camp, located on the outskirts of Jammu city. There were fourteen casualties. Three weeks later the terrorists launched an assault on Tanda Headquarters, which attracted lot of publicity. Among others one Brigadier was killed and a senior General was injured. On September 6, a car bomb blast took place at Parimpora fruit mandi. Apparently, it was intended to hit a passing army convoy. The terrorists also sought to win psychological advantage by assassinating three top count er-insurgents. These people had played a significant role in anti-terrorist campaign.

In the first fortnight of September, 181 incidents of terrorist violence included three 'fidayeen attacks and 15 IED blasts. There were 191 attempts at infiltration. During this period 51 civilians were gunned down by teh terrorists. The casualties among the securiy forces and the terrorists were 30 and 90 respectively. The casualties among security forces, terrorists and the civilians in the month of July were 28, 126 and 74 respectively. The figures for August were 41,135 and 76.

In the period Ist July to 15 September the number of security forces personnel killed was 99, whereas the caualties among the terrorists were 351. The civilians touched a high figure of 201. It indicates tha on an average 2.5 to 3 civilians are killed daily by the terrorists.

Civilian casualties fall in three categories. Some people, who have been the victims of terrorists, excesses are collaborating with security forces to aid them in putting an end to the terrorist menace. The terrorists have been dealing with this section by inflicting gory brutalities before killing them. In many cases when terrorists have been either killed or arrested, they have targetted those civilians with they last sought shelter or sought some other help. The third category of civilian victims are people who refuse to comply with the terrorist diktat for shelter, food, sending children to joine terrorist ranks or aiding terrorists in other logistics.

Pattern of Violence :

The present paper focusses on the terrorist violence against civilians in the period which witnessed heightened terrorist violence i.e. August and September (9 August to October 2, 2003)

Anantnag :

In the Kashmir valley, Anantnag district was the worst-affected, followed by Kupwara and Pulwama. At Damahal Khushipora terrorist entered the house of head of local Auqaf, Abdul Ahad Wani and shot him dead inside his house. He was an old Congress activist and a retired forester. Abdul Lateef Bimla was shot dead while he was opening his shop and labelled as informer. He belonged to Ahlan Payeen in Kokernag. Bashir Ahmed Magrey, resident of Peth Sheikhpura, Achabal was kidnapped. His dead body was recovered from Gowas forest.

26 year old Abdul Rashid Chouhan of Bon Ahlan, Kolernag was kidnapped from his house and labelled as informer. His dead body was recovered next day from Paji Behak. Another Gujjar Mohd. Sakhi Kataria of Damhal Hanjipora was brutally slaughtered after benig kidnapped at Khou Batapora, Kulgam. His dead body was recovered frmo a deserted spot. At Okay in Kulgam Niyaz Ahmed Mir, resident of Chehlan was kidnapped and killed. Jang Bahaur Singh, a resident of Kreeri was kidnapped. His dead body was recovered from Kokernag. A dead body, which bore marks of slaughtering with a knife was recovered from Sehipora on 16th September. It was identified as Nazir Ahmed Rather, a poor school teacher of Pariwan, Kulgam. A few days earlier three terrorists had taken motorbike of his son far a drive towards Kulgam-BSF naka party had intercepted it. The terrorists jumped down and tried to escape. BSF fired at them and one terrorist was killed. The two terrorists who escaped took Nazir for an informer and killed him after kidnapping. The terrorists do not spare even school boys and young ladies. A 10th standard student Abdul Hameed Malik was kidnapped from his house at Batkot and shot at Mehajbeen, a 20-year-

old lady was fired at in her house. Two people were shot at Aishmuqam and Batkoot. During this period there were 48 incidents of terrorist violence in district Anantnag.

“Imposition of POTA” :

Another form of reprisals the terrorists indulge in against the civilians is “attaching” their properties, Kulgam an area which was sanitised previously came under terrorists’ control after some top counter-insurgents were killed recently on the evening of 30th September, a group of heavily armed terrorists appeared at Gudar, Kulgam. They dislodged members of eight families, two of which members employed in state police. The terrorists levelled allegations that the members of these families had been informing their presence and movement to security forces. They got the houses vacated and put locks on all the eight houses and threatened reprisals in case anybody dared to pen the locks. In August this year the terrorists had lifted the telephone sets from 20 houses at Kaimoh and rendered the local telephone exchange dysfunctional. They had labelled the residents of these houses as informers of the security forces. Durnig assembly elections also the terrorists had attached houses of two NC activists at Devsar and Pahloo. The terrorists publicly describe this attachment of property as “imposition of POTA”.

Pulwama :

In district Pulwama there were 36 incidents of terrorist violence. The civilians were targetted in eight incidents. A person was kidnapped in Shopian area. His dead body was recovered from Asthanpora-Wahipora in Wachi. Riyaz Ahmed Wani of Harmain was kidnapped. Same evening his dead body was recovered from Sangram Tularam in same locality. Bashir Ahmed Lone of Drubgam, Pulwama was shot dead at his house. At Kathuhalan forest area Gama Poswal, a Bakerwal was kidnapped. A radio-mechanic Maznoor Ahmed Sheikh was kidnapped at Muran and shot dead at Dreeri. Gh. Nabi alias Dilshat, a school teacher was kidnapped from Sheikh Harh, Pulwama. He was detained at a house. Gh. Nabi jumped from window and managed to escape.

On 20th August at Traal, an eighty-five year old Gujar Alam Din was kidnapped from his house. He was tortured and his throat was slit open. Previous fortnight also the terrorist had attacked his house and torched it. They alleged that he and his sons were acting as informers. One of his sons escaped with gun shot wounds in the attack. At Reka Kapran, Shopian Gaffar Bhat was shot dead on September 27.

North Kashmir :

In the two districts of north Kashmir there were eighty incidents of terrorist violence. Twenty civilians were gunned down by the terrorists. In Kupwara there was selective targetting of women. On August 11, terrorists barged into house of Ghulam Hassan Magrey at Kandi and shot dead his 47 year old wife Zooni. She was labelled as informer of security forces. Shamima, a resident of Badalpora, Rajawar was kidnapped, while she was on way to join duty at Anganwari centre. She was tortured. Next day her body was recovered. Sheeba, wife of Abdul Aziz Mir was shot dead at Sarmarg, Handwara, Rehana, widow of Bashir Ahmed, Rishi was kidnapped from her house at Watakul-she was labelled as informer and shot dead.

Terrorists are also indulging in brutalities before killing their victims. Abdul Ahad Naiko was hanged from a tree at Mughalpora, Gushi. At Chittibandi, Bandipore Abdul Rehman Mir was kidnapped from his house. He was dubbed informer and his throat was slit open.

The usual modus operandi of the terrorists is to kidnap people and torture them before killing. There were such incidents at Kandi Khas, Rishigund, Bakhipora Rafiaband, Panar Bandipore, Chinkipora (Sopore). A domestic help Mushtaq Ahmed Deedarh, R/o Bandibala was kidnapped from the house of Lal Shah, his employer at Nambalyar.

In other instances the terrorists barge into houses and shoot dead their targets. At Pazipora, Magam (Handwara), terrorists entered the house of Gh. Mohd. Peer alias Gul Peer. He used to run a small bakery.

Terrorists dubbed him as an informer and gunned him down. At Chak Nutriosa the terrorists, after gatecrashing into the house of Ghulam Ahmed Mir, opened indiscriminate firing on the inmates. Gh. Ahmed and his son Bashir died on spot. Shamba, daughter of the house owner received injuries. Khazir Mohd. an employee of Home Guards wing of J&K Police was shot dead at his home in Wudar Bala in Rajwar belt. In Kreeri Bazar, Patan, Manzoor Ahmed Zargar was shot at in his shop.

Srinagar :

There were thirty incidents of terrorists violence in Srinagar district but just four incidents of violence against civilians. The two killings in these incidents occurred in the rural segment—Gutlibag and Sumbal (Kangan). In the city a youth was shot dead at Zainakadal. Ghulam Jeelani Qadri, a PWD contractor was kidnapped from his Buchpora residence. In the afternoon his dead body was recovered from Bagh-e-Ali Mardan area.

Budgam :

Budgam district remained relatively tranquil during this period. There were just six incidents of terrorist violence. Two civilians were killed by terrorists at Ranipora and Malapora (Chrar). Besides these former constable was shot dead at Aripanthan, Beerwah and an ex-militant was gunned down at Dasan in Beerwah.

Jammu Province :

In the Jammu province the border districts of Poonch and Rajouri were worse-affected by the terrorist violence. These two districts top in terms of terrorist violence, the entire state. It has been seen that the number of civilians killed also increase proportionately as the graph of terrorist violence goes up. In terms of brutalities also the non-combatant population has suffered terribly in these two districts. Rahni Begum of Surankote was kidnapped and cyanide was injected into her on June 21. There have been sordid killings also. One Feroz Din Gujar was killed by forcing him to drink poison.

In Thannamandi, Rajouri terrorists beheaded Mohammad Sabar residence of Bathian in the house of Bee Jan at More Gugli Bagh near Kakote. On August 25, three terrorists entered the house of Mohammad Akbar at village Katarmal, Manjakote and subjected him to interrogation. They started firing indiscriminately on the inmates of the house. Mohd. Akbar, his wife Hakim Bi and Zeenat Begum, their daughter-in-law died on spot. The killers were local terrorists, owing allegiance to Lashkar-e-Toiba.

A group of terrorists dragged out Haji Bagh Hussain from his house in village Sam Samad, Rajouri. They asked him to accompany them. He was gunned down as he refused to comply. The deceased was posted as a teacher at Govt. School at Sam. He had been serving as a teacher in BSF for eight years. In 1985 he left BSF to join State government service. Same group of terrorists kidnapped Mohammad Shabir, a government teacher at Sam Samad. They took him to a nearby field and beheaded him. There was lot of local resentment against the killing of two teachers.

On September 21, terrorist entered house of Wazir Mohammad at village Laa in Thannamandi and dragged him and his wife Razia Begu. The two were hanged to death. Wazir was hanged with a rope, whereas Razia was hanged with her own dupatta. The terrorists dubbed them as informers. In Thannamandi at village Saj two terrorists entered house of Mohammad Naseeb. He was not at home. The terrorists beat his wife and set the house on fire.

Terrorists also killed civilians at Kandi (Rajouri) and Morha Handa, near Gambhir Muglan (Majakote). At village Kala Khas the terrorists beheaded Nazir Hussain. The terrorists were local militants of Hizbul Mujahideen.

The terrorists kidnapped two civilians from village Morian, Manjakote, who was kidnapped at Palanger, Thannamandi. Riyaz Ahmed of Thanna Manga, Darha was rescued during an encounter in Dhoke forest.

Ponch District :

Surankote has borne the brunt of civilians killings in Poonch district. On September 4 two local terrorists entered the house of Gh. Ahmed alias Gamma at Sanglani. They first chopped off his legs and arms and then beheaded him. He was dubbed as an informer. At village Dandian near Bafliaz, three terrorist beheaded two young women-Mumtaz Begum (42), wife of Iqbal Khan and Farzana Kousar (25) wife of Sarwar Khan. There was lot of resentment among locals on these killings. On September 17, the terrorists entered the house of Mohammad Kareem at Dara Sangla and shot him dead. Another civilian was beheaded at upper Kalai. After beheading him, the terrorists ran away carrying his head with them. In a similar sequence Shabir Hussain was beheaded in his house at Seri Chowana in Mandi. The terrorists took away his head along with them.

At village Taran Wali in Bafliaz, terrorists fired a volley of shots at Manzoor Hussain. While one terrorist subjected the victim to questioning, another terrorist opened firing. The victim died on spot. Three terrorists entered the house of Mohammad Azam at Morha Bachai. He was taken to a surrounding field and shot dead.

On August 16, 4-5 terrorists entered the house of Rashid Hussain Shah at Maddana in Lassana. Sixty year old Rashid refused to accompany the terrorists. He was shot dead at point blank range. Same day terrorists set ablaze two houses in the village. House of Mohammad Shafi in village Soliyan, Marhot area was also set on fire. All the household goods and eight cattle perished in the fire. The incident took place on September 25. The terrorists struck again in the area and set on fire four houses of surrendered militants. The militants were still in custody.

Local terrorists of Hizbul Mujahideen gunned down a youth Javed Ahmed at Marhot. His brother was injured in the firing. The two brothers were under threat and had migrated from Dodi to Marhot.

There was a single incident of civilian killing in Mandi, at village Hattian in Seri Khwaja. At Chak Banola in Poonch, terrorists dragged out Mohammad Hussain from his house along with his son Nazir Ahmed and shot them dead.

Mendhar :

There were four civilian killings in Mendhar. Mohammad Riaz was shot at Thamlot in his house. On August 9, terrorists entered house of Mohammad Khursheed at Kasblari and opened indiscriminate firing at the inmates. Mohammad Khursheed 60 and his son Shamim Ahmed 31 died on spot. Shamim was an army jawan and had come home on leave.

At Naka Majari, a group of terrorists entered house of Farooq Ahmed. They enquired about his brother Maroof Hussain, a police recruit. Unable to find him they shot at Maroof's mother Zamrood Begum and beat up his sister Shamshad Aktoo with rifle butts.

Mahore-Gool :

During the period under review, there were thirty incidents of terrorists violence in Udhampur district. All the civilian killings, however, were confined to Mahore Gool belt. On September 1, three to four local terrorists belonging to Hizbul Mujahideen outfit barged into the house of Roshan Din at village Alla Kalla in Shikari (Mahore). He and his two sons, Nazir and Sher Mohammad were thrashed with rifle butts. The terrorists then opened indiscriminate fire on them, killing all the three on spot. Locals protested over the killings and described victims as innocent. Terrorists shot dead Noor Jamal son of Sain Gujar in remote Milky Dhar. He was kidnapped and then killed in a forest area. Abdul Rashid, a VDC member was fired at Thuru, where he had taken brief halt. He later bled to death. Mohammad Qasim Lohar was killed in his house at village Hasot in Chasana, Mahore.

On September 28 the terrorist struck in a big way at Sain's family in Mahore. As, per official version, a lone terrorist wearing a police uniform 'dhangri' struck in the house of Sani and opened indiscriminate firing with an AK-47 rifle killing four members of the family and leaving another injured. Victim were

identified as Munir Hussain, 25, a SPO Khadim Hussain, 24 and Mohammad Hussain, 32, all brothers and sons of Saina and two year old Saddam Hussain, son of Mohammad Hussain. Sarwar Hussain, 7, son of Sain was seriously injured. The terrorists, believed to be a local remained untraced. Sain's family had been under terrorists' threat for quite some time. Due to these threats all four sons of Sain had shifted from their native village of Ganjakote to Mahore town, while Sain and other female members of the family continued to stay put at Ganjakote. The sons of Sain had taken a room on rent near Bust Stand Mahore. The house was identified by a local terrorist in police uniform.

In May last, Sain's son had tipped of security forces about two foreign mercenaries of Lashkar-e-Toiba. After this, they had been put on terrorists' threat list.

In September at Gool, two terrorists entered the house of Mohammad Assadullah in school uniform and gunned him down. He was under threat of terrorists for sometime and had shifted to Gool from Deedha. Assadullah was known in the area for his social works and was quite friendly with the security forces. The killers were local terrorists of Hizbul Mujahideen. Assadullah was known in the area for his social works and was quite friendly with the security forces. The killers were local terrorists of Hizbul Mujahideen. As Assadullah was quite popular among locals, there was strong resentment over his killing.

The terrorists also targeted VDCs members Pritam Chand and Lochan Snigh at Dalwah and Gool respectively. VDC members retaliated back and foiled the attempt. Numberdar Chattar Singh's house was attacked at a village Chakali Salta in Reasi.

Doda District :

In sixty incidents of terrorist violence in Doda district, Gandoh and Banihal remained the prime targets for civilian killings. At village Chamalwas, 8 kms from Banihal in a brazen act of violence, a group of terrorists struck on September 1st at the residence of a well-educated family. At 10 PM a Kashmiri speaking terrorist entered in the house of Mohammad Rafiq Sohail. He went to the kitchen where the family had gathered for pre-marriage celebrations. Both daughter and sister of Khadim Hussain were scheduled to get married on September 3. Khadim was the lone elected Sarpanch of Chamalwas and former State Secretary, Minorities Cell of BJP. The terrorists took Khadim out and engaged him in conversation. In the process few more terrorists, which included a foreign terrorist reached the spot and opened firing. Rafiq Sohail, a man in PDD sensed troubled. With the help of his son he overpowered the militant and snatched his rifle. Rafiq, however, could not operate the weapon. Meanwhile on hearing cries of the militant, other terrorists entered inside and opened indiscriminate firing. Rafiq's other son Irfan, 14, also grappled with another terrorist and snatched his rifle. A terrorist fired at his abdomen and left him injured. He later bled to death.

Farid, brother of Khadim made another attempt to pounce upon the militants. He got killed in the shoot-out. Khadim died because of fright. Fastima Begum, wife of Munir Ahmed, Numberdar of Chamalwas and slapped a terrorist. She too was gunned down. In this massacre four bereaved families were left with 14 orphaned children. In an unprecedented departure from the past, the entire clergy of Banihal and Ramban declared these brutal killings were purely an act of terror and not Jihad. One of the terrorists involved in the carnage was identified as a resident of Sarbagawni and a relative of the bereaved family. Another terrorist was identified as Hamid. A total of five terrorists were reportedly involved in the killings.

At Budhan, Ramban, Mohd. Arshad and Mohd. Ismail were kidnapped. Arshad's body was recovered from Badakund. Ismail was taken to adjoining forest area and shot dead. Body of Abdul Hamid, resident of Dallian Bajar, Gandoh was recovered after 3 days of kidnapping from a forest area. Terrorists shot dead Ghulam Hassan Mir, resident of Barthi at village Sui Baggar in Gandoh. In Sanie, Gandoh Ishfaq Ahmed was shot at and seriously injured. In the same area at Mhabryas terrorists fired at Abdul Rashid, a Horticulture employee and left him seriously injured. A fifty-five year old Fateh Mohd. was killed by two local militants of Hizbul Mujahideen at his house in village Fakwas Pushal, Gandoh. A VDC member Yog Raj was beheaded at village Huja in Gandoh. His other colleague Ghulam Mohd. was also kidnapped.

Kishtwar:

Two terrorists entered house of Bahoru Gujar at village Jugnu in Kishtwar and opened fire. His wife Aishia Begum died in the firing. In Keshwan village house of Usman was set ablaze.

Bhaderwah :

Hanraj, father of police constable Surjeet Singh was kidnapped from his house at Bumlakhi and tortured for two days. On 3rd morning his dead body was recovered. Bitu Kumar, son of Krishanlal, residence of Mathola was kidnapped from forest area Shafola on September 27. Centuries old Nag temple at Subhar Dhar was set on fire by the terrorists on August 12.

Doda :

Liaqat Ali of Sarsi, Doda was kidnapped. After remaining in captivity for 12 days, he escaped during night and trekked several kms to reach home.

Kathua :

Panch Devnider Khajuria was kidnapped from village Dhana. However, he managed to escape. In Malhar Hans Raj of Ramkot was kidnapped from village Rodla.

The Prospect :

Recently, the Army arrested one Mehooda, a resident of Bundgam in Budgam district. Besides recruiting women in terrorist ranks she, as per reports, had shot dead a number of terrorist targets in Beerwah-Baramulla belt.

The rising graph of selective killings of those civilians who refuse to heed the terrorist diktat or aid the security forces, during the past four months, have hampered the flow of actionable intelligence for counter-insurgency operations. There are complaints that the sources are drying up. Indian state has a moral responsibility also to take full care of this civilian segment of population, which is pivotal in turning the tide against the terrorists. There is a need to draw a policy to protect the informers and their families through innovative strategies. Bureaucratic red-tape often delays ex-gratia compensation and compassionate recruitment to the victims' families. This leads to alienation of a strongly-motivated section. A national fund should be created to take care of these victims' families. Instead of pampering politicians, who indulge in doublespeak and rake bogey of security forces excesses, these patriotic people deserve a better deal.

14 Sayyid Sufis—Muslim Theologians-II

By M.L. Kaul

‘To be in the company of God’ or ‘Shine in God’s light’ or to live in the presence of God’ are semitic expressions which the native rishis were not aware of. Even the efficacy of prayer was unknown to them. They had no worldly attachments, lived poor and never chased material goods. Though denounced as ascetics by all brands of Sayyid-sufis, they lived as ascetics and recluses much after the manner of the native Buddhist and Vedantinst and never bothered for conformity to the theological requirements as enunciated in the religion of the colonisers.

The way the rishis lived, the manner of their thought and nuances, the spiritual path that they trod upon leave no doubt about their Hindu or Buddhist credentials. The pontifs of the colonising religion had no qualms to conceal their abhorrence for them and their anti-Islamic positions. They rejected them as illiterate and ignorant. The prophetic mysticism as espoused by them remained circumscribed to the circle of their followers and failed to percolate down to the broad sections of converted masses addicted to the practice of native spirituality and its allied axiologies based on high moral ground of humanism and liberalism.

The followers of diverse ‘Sufi Silsilas’ in central Asian lands had not the same spiritually tempered minds as we find in the native rishis. They were ordinary mortals swayed by emotions of hate, malice and greed. They bitterly opposed their rivals and enemies within their silsilas or outside them. Most of them were involved in personal feuds either with the Muslim rulers or Sufis of rival factions. Even a surface analysis of their social behaviour establishes them as men indulging in petty jealousies and chasing pursuits that had under pinnings of greed and avarice. If a sayyid-sufi wormed his way to the seat of power, many others hatched intrigues to distance him away from the ruler only to usurp his place. Mir Mohammad Hamadani had his enemies in his native land who forced him out and even in Kashmir he had his principal enemy in Sayyid Hissari who castigated Sultan Sikander for having been trapped by the Kubrawi sufi.

As against this, the native rishis, poor and recluse, had no culture of indulgence in hate, greed, avarice, jealousy and such other base emotions. As a spiritual requirement they had absolutely abandoned them and gained self-control to reach the blissful summit of union with the God. They loved all and hated none. They had no greed and had abandoned and suppressed all worldly desire and yearnings. The thousands of Kubrawi Sayyids who had entered Kashmir carried with them the legacy of feud and factionalism and as a result of their political orientation they grabbed the state apparatus and turned it into a repressive machine. Some of them are looked upon as saints and the converts with Hindu instincts seek their intercession, which as a practice is detested as un-Islamic. That the Sayyid-Suffis strengthened and reinforced Tauheedic consciousness among the converts is an illusion fostered by those who have replaced history by hagiology and sociology by blind faith with the sole purpose of concealing the political and religious role of the colonisers.

The essential question about the Sayyid -Sufis from central Asian lands is what form and vintage of Islam and what type of thought content allied with it they brought with them. They were expelled from their native places at a time when the verve of the Islamic civilisation was no longer there and its unity and moral force had quagmired. The Muslim empire had fallen. The decay had set in when the Arabs reduced the Persian civilisation assiduously built by Cyrus and Darius. The Persians though reduced and subjugate took their revenge by rupturing the seat of Caliphate. The unity of God head though in no way unique for Indians suffered a shocking jolt when Bayazid decried Tauheed and Mansur yelled that he was God.

With the death of Mansur the liberalist trend was decapitated. The Sayyid -Sufis as inheritors to the Islamic dogmas unleashed no revolution in the thought ways of the natives of Kashmir. They through the use of force, and tampering with the stories about yogi’s suppressed the natives to convert them and after conversion left them languishing and reeling under the repressive state machine which they had propped up.

As the prisoners to dogma when in Kashmir the Sayyid-sufis could not think of drinking deep at its fountain head of knowledge and learning. They urged and instigated the Muslim ruler through quotes from scriptures to change the religious complexion of Kashmir and destroy the native traditions, culture forms and usages as products of generations of cumulative experiences. Admired in literalist tradition of Islam they acted as Muslims who were ordered in literalist tradition of Islam. They acted as Muslims who were ordered to punish the natives who refused to accept Islam. The Quranic verses expressing deep hatred for non-Muslims had literally gripped them. The verses ordaining Muslims to use coercion and violence against the non-Muslims had shaped their over all demeanour unto the natives of Kashmir. The motivations from the text had made them believe that conversion to Islam of those outside its orbit was a goal of super religious value and weapon of force used for getting converts was justified as ordained by religion. Islam as the Arab religion could move out of the desert tracts only through military action and in its expansion in the Indian sub-continent the Muslim missionaries in the guise of sufi-sayyids played their role in tandem with Muslim state power established through ravaging raids and assaults.

As is well-known in scholarly circles that the conceptions about 'Sharia' were put in the form of formulations in Medina, Egypt and Iraq. After Arab conquests of many regions the Muslim theologians controlling the brain-boxes of the rulers deemed the conquests as incomplete without imposition of 'Sharia'. Serious conflicts arose between the imperial conquerors imposing 'sharia' on the natives the subjugated people defending their own traditional laws and precedents against the onslaught. The Sayyid-Sufis as stickers to Sharia used it as a weapon to create discord, disharmony and religious strife in the land they wanted to subvert. As a matter of strategy everything belonging to the native roots as a manifestation of civilisational growth and creativity was to be stamped out. Sharia when imposed did away with most of the native practices and by labelled them as irreligious conventions.

Mir Ali Hamadani was well versed in its political significance and efficacy. That is why he urged the Muslim ruler to introduce sharia in his Hindu dominated state. His sole aim was to create a crisis between the ruler and his Hindu subjects and between the majority of Hindus and a small colony of Muslims. His well calculated attempt was to precipitate matters where the Muslim state would get involved in extirpation of infidelity. In his subsequent two visits he succeeded in involving the state power and that is how he got some substantial conversions to Islam. Mir Mohammad Hamadani translated the sharia formulations blatantly for conversions and instigated and harnessed sultan Sikander to use his army and punity jazia for conversions thereby forcing the natives either to flee their land or get converted or get killed . 'Sharia' was used as an instrument to polarise, divide and disharmonise a society predominantly Hindu.

The rishis were strict vegetarians and never touched meat of any animal. It being not in tune with Sharia and Sunna the Sayyid -Sufis abhorred them and avoided to touch them even with a bargepole.

The Sayyid-Sufis and their followers with political orientation were responsible for distortion of the role and context of native rishis in view of their acceptance and popularity. They in their beliefs and practices were taken as signorant of Sharia and Sunna. Yet for purpose of roping them in within their fold they wove yarns and fictitious stories about their acceptance of Sayyid-Sufis, especially the Kubrawis.

The followers of the Kubrawi Sayyid-Sufis painted the local rishis as reformers. If the native rishis were reformers, that surely implies that they either as a group or as individuals failed to share the sense of victory that outsiders had scored in Kashmir. Reform is sought, not by the victor, but by the vanquished. If rishis shared the victory of Muslims in Kashmir, they in no uncertain terms were on ascendancy and hence had no reason to reform their society which was up-beat with political and religious victories. Rishis as reformers throw up a vital information about Islam in Kashmir which as an imposed cementing force had failed to re-vitalise the socio-religious fabric of the neo-converts cut as under from their native moorings and roots and thus were sunk in psychological and moral morass and needed a reform for a renewal and revival. Again, if the rishis were reformers their spirituality is jeopardised. The neo-converts mainly the peasants of Kashmir, love them not as reformers, but as intercessors for final redemption. If rishis as a distinctive native tribe of tradition perpetuators had taken to reform, that is proof enough that they had deflected away from their native goals of supreme spirituality and were semitised to play the role

of reformers. The life-style and thought ways of rishis even after tremendous distortion of their poetical expressions do not seem to support it.

The published poetical materials of Nund Rishi, never authentic in any way, contain many *shrukhs* (*slokas*) which are highly critical of the mullahs. The accusations against them are that they undertake evil and vicious practices which are not morally and religiously sound as per his axiology. If after conversions Muslim society which was a flush with new victories and new value systems rejecting the Brahmanical tyranny, how come that a handful of Mullahs had caused its corruption just within a short span of sixty years. The diatribe against the Mullahs pinpoints the decadence that had set in Muslim society soon after it was born from religious turmoil. In objective terms Mullahs if they were conversant with the Islamic lore and learning played a great part in mediating Islam through indigenous culture forms. They could be accused of diluting Islam with the native religious expressions thereby syncretizing it. But the question that crops up is about the very knowledge of Nund Rishi about Islamic theology. All sources are unanimous that he was no theologian and had no knowledge of Islam and its essential positions. If he opposed the Mullahs for their syncretic dilution, he could not determine the dilution for want of requisite knowledge and he could not have opposed the dilution for he himself was the product of co-mingling of many native strands of thought and trends at mass level. Hence it is averred that the *shrukhs* epitomising diatribes against the native Mullahs are later day distortions either by the authors of Noor-namas or other minds aware of Nund Rishi's thought content shaped by the surrounding spiritual ambience.

The same Sayyid-sufis especially their few followers have posed the rishis, mainly Nund Rishi, as proselytizers. Sayyid Ali, a follower of Kubrawis, has drawn a ridiculous portrait of Nund Rishi entering into a cave-temple of Buma rishi only to exhort him to get converted to Islam. A rishi of native variety steeped in this native lore and learning with a bias against practices legitimised under Sharia and Sunnah is drawn as the worst brand of proselytiser wearing the blood dripping hide of a cow. The word portrait of the Rishi drawn in such an offensive form is to offend his indigenous sensitivities two hundred years after his death. All Kashmiris know it fully well that Nund Rishi was a strict vegetarian and had abhorrence for all type of meat. The fanatic follower of the Kubrawis portrayed him thus to castigate him for a conduct not in conformity with Sharia and Sunna. Hardi Rishi was also a vegetarian and hagiographers of the same fanatic variety have figured a spiritual conference to rub home to him the importance and efficacy of beef-eating only to live up to the ideals of Sharia and Sunna. The Sayyid sufis of the Kubrawi brand have deliberately and mischievously heaped violence on the native rishis who had allegiance more to their native roots than the foreign impositions.

The Sayyid-sufis and some native converts who fail to see themselves as converts have woven stories and myths about the involvement of rishis in processes of proselysation. It is directed to the end of establishing that the combine of the Kubrawi Sayyid-sufis, Sultan Sikander and other Muslim rulers had no role to play in conversions and conversions were voluntary or induced by the rishis through their asceticism and simple style of life.

After a careful analysis of the politico religious conditions of the times, Nund Rishi came to over-lord as an indigenous saint, one is led to conclude that large scale conversions had already taken place especially of the peasant masses through imposition of Jazia and use of armed forces. The temple and shrines as icon of Hindu faith were smashed and those who lived there as their keepers or as practitioners of native faith could not have withstood the sweeping hurricane of bigotry. The role of rishis was only to fill in the vacuum that was created by shifting of religious loyalties to a foreign faith which for a long time was more a force than a reality.

15 Letter

Pandits have become demanding: Indresh

Sir,

I participated in the cultural show at the Abhinav Theatre on the occasion of Jayanti Samaroh of Lt. Pt. Prem Nath Shastri was impressive, same could not be said about the presentations put forth by some of the respected speakers there. His holiness Shankaracharya of Sharda Peeth Maharaja Raj Rajeshwar Ji was presiding the function while Sh. Indresh Ji RSS functionary for the North India was the chief guest.

Inaugurating the proceedings Pt. O.N. Shastri made a critical analysis about the failures of state and central leadership on account of their inability to protect the Kashmiri Hindus. He was very severe on the role of present state government which he claimed was acting in a trash communal way in undermining any left over hopes of this beleaguered community.

In his long but unimpressive speech Mr. Indresh Ji seemed to have become a component of all the inextricable confusions. He was weary as well as supportive of the present central dispensation in the same breath. In the course of his speech he tried to impress the audience by pointing about the precise location of our neighbouring countries and the exact dates of their coming into existence. But then he looked more like a teacher of History and Geography than what he actually is at present. Dwelling again and again on the treacherous role of China in 1962 and the subsequent poor Indian response, he became repetitive and boring.

The hollow Hindu resurgence in the absence of the required perseverance and endurance of the Hindu leadership of which Indresh Ji forms a part was on full display when he was speaking on Ayodhya issue. The arguments he put forth were more self glorifying than "glorifying the movement". It seemed that the intimidating Jehadi Islam and luxury of power have had its effect on the average psyche of the one time holders of the flag of Indian cultural nationalism.

High moral uprightness, intellect and advisory role of the RSS leader came to fore when he told his Kashmiri Hindus audience that they have become only a demanding commodity now, (*Yahan Par Adhikaroon Kii Batein Huin...Hamesha Kewal Adhikaroon Kii Hii Batein Hoti Hain....*) Putting across his view about the contributions of Kashmiri Hindu Community in safeguarding the national interests, his own conformity with the left liberal secular type of ideological equations came to the fore and could hardly be missed.

His Holiness Shankaracharya Ji in his brief but hard hitting speech left none in doubt about the character of Jehadi Islam and its intimidating behaviour. His Holiness pleaded time and again with his audience for following Hindu scripture in its letter and spirit.

Mr. Ramesh Hangloo President Pir Panchal, dwelt at length about the role and motives of this social and cultural organisation.

Cultural items presented by noted singer Sh. Vijay Malla, Inder Kala Theatre and a stage show by the artists of Abhey High School Muthi enthralled the audience.

—Sunil Bhatt

Barnai

16 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. Ramkali Kachru W/o Sh. Prem Nath Kachroo, R/o Kulgam Kmr; presently at Sattani Near SBI Dhar Road, Udhampur. 1/9/2003
2. Laxshmi Shori Mattoo W/o Lt. Govind Ram Mattoo, R/o Dalhasanyar Sgr, presently at 50-B, Jain Mandir Gali, Shakarpur Delhi. 2/9/2003
3. Smt. Kamlawati Koul W/o Lt. Sh. Kashi Nath Koul, R/o 306, Jawahar Nagar; presently at 166-A, Subash Nagar Peer Baba Lane Jammu. 3/9/2003
4. Smt. Arandati W/o Lt. Sh. Amar Nath Reshi, R/o Akingam Anantnag; presently at H.No: 32 Sector-1 Durga Nagar Enclave Jammu. 4/9/2003
5. Sh. Janki Nath Kanth S/o Lt Sh. Maheshwar Nath Kanth R/o Vill. Nahama Kral Gund Handwara Kmr; presently at Qtr. No: 427 Block-5, Toph Sherkhania Jammu. 6/9/2003
6. Sh. Shiv Kumar Shishoo S/o Lt. Dr. Shyam Lal Shishoo, R/o 89 LIG New Housing Colony, Udhampur. 5/9/2003
7. Sh. Smt. Rani Miskeen W/o Sh. Makhan Lal Mishkeen R/o Gole Market, Karan Nagar Sgr; presently at B-101, Anand Lok Mayur Vihar, Phase-I, Delhi. 6/9/2003
9. Sh. Pavitar Kumar Seru S/o Lt. Sh. A.N Seeru R.o Sathu Payeen Sgr; presently at 16/A, Lane-2/B Roop Nagar Enclave Jammu. 7/9/2003
10. Smt. Mohni Wali W/o Sh. Mohan Lal Wali R/o Gurgari Mohalla Zaina Kadal Sgr; presently at Kalai, Kangdoo Udhampur. 7/9/2003
11. Smt. Sarla Bhat W/o Sh. Tej Krishen Bhat, R/o Waskura Ganderbal; presently at Sari Rakhwala, Ghomanasa Jammu. 7/9/2003
12. Sh. Radha Krishen Bhat R/o Tulmulla; presently at 114/115/2 Amar Colony Gole Talab Tillo. 7/9/2003
13. Sh. Dwarika Nath Koul S/o Lt. Sh. Dina Nath Koul, R/o 314, Prem Nagar New Plots, H.No: 89-90, Janipur Jammu. 8/10/2003
14. Smt. Omashouri W/o Sh. Vesh Nath Bhat, R/o Chukar Pattan Distt. Baramulla; presently at Gobind Nagar Sector-2, Camp Road Talab Tillo, Jammu. 8/9/2003
15. Smt. Pushpa Devi Saproo W/o Lt. Sh. B.M. Saproo, R/o 25, Ashok Nagar Canal Road, Jammu. 9/9/2003
16. Sh. Jia Lal Kak S/o Lt. Vasdev Kak, R/o Sathu Barbar Shah, Wazir Bagh; presently at Sarwal Chowk H.No: F-426, Jammu. 9/9/2003
17. Sh. Poshkar Nath S/o Lt. Govind Ram, R/o Hakcharora Kupwara; presently at Migrant Camp Qtr. No: 641/G, Mishriwala. 9/9/2003
18. Sh. Narayan Joo Pandita S/o Lt. Sh .Kant Pandita R/o Bomai Sopore, Kmr; presently at Qtr. No: 333 Battal Ballian Camp Udhampur. 9/9/2003
19. Smt. Veena Ji Sopori W/o Sh. Om Prakash Sopori R/o 37-Zaindar Mohalla Sgr; Kmr; presently at Delhi. 9/9/2003
20. Smt. Indira Wati W/o Lt. Sh. T.N. Bhat, R/o Batapura Sopore Kmr; presently at 26, 27, Kashmiri Colony, Ballur Road, Bahadur Garh, Haryana. 10/0/2003.
21. Sh. K.N. Pandita S/o Lt. Sh. Maheshwar Nath Pandita, R/o Levedora Anantnag; presently at Delhi. 12/9/2003
22. Miss Prachi Saproo D/o Sh. Makhan Lal Saproo, R/o Shanti Nagar, Top Sherkhania Near Ram Sharnam Ashram Jammu. 13/9/2003

23. Smt. Shanta Raina W/o Sh. Badri Nath Raina, R/o Batapora, Sant Nagar Sgr; presently at H.No: 22, Rajpora Mangotrian Jammu. 15/9/2003
24. Sh. Shyam Lal Shalla, R/o Seer Jagir; presently at 37A, Sector-4, JDA, Colony Roop Nagar Jammu. 15/9/2003
25. Sh. Dwarika Nath Koul, R/o Karahama Tangmarg Kmr; presently at Lane No: 13, House No: 368 Kabir Colony Talab Tillo, Jammu. 15/9/2003
26. Sh. Prem Nath Raina S/o Lt. Sh. Sudershan Raina, R/o Batapora; presently at Gole Colony, Lane No: 5, Gole Pully Talab Tillo Jammu. 15/9/2003
27. Smt. Tarawati Moti W/o Lt. Sh. Sarvanand Moti R/o Handwara; presently at Community Hall Muthi Camp, Phase-Ist, Jammu. 16/9/2003
28. Sh. Chaman Lal Kanth S/o Lt. Sh. Maheshwar Nath Kanth, R/o Baramulla; presently at H.No: 299, Lane No: 11, Shakti Nagar Jammu. 16/9/2003
29. Sh. Prem Nath Tickoo R/o Naquaspora, Upper Sathu Sgr; presently at 47-C, Pocket-F, G.T.B. Enclave Dilshad Garden. 17/9/2003
30. Sh. Hirday Nath Suri S/o Lt. Sh. Shridhar Joo Suri R/o Sangrampora, Sopore; presently at Lakkar Mandi Janipur Jammu. 18/9/2003
31. Smt. Soomawati Saproo W/o Lt. Sh. Keshev Nath Saproo, R/o Wakura Ganderbal; presently at H.No: 11, Subash Nagar Ext.-II Jammu. 18/9/2003
32. Smt. Arandati Jalai W/o Lt. Sh. Prithvi Nath Jalali R/o Zaindar Mohalla Sgr; presently Central Silk Board Complex, Residential Qtrs. Miran Sahib Jammu. 19/9/2003
33. Gopi Krishen Koul, R/o Type VI/1076 NH-4, N.I.T. Faridabad. 19/9/2003
34. Smt. Santosh Miskeen W/o Pran Nath Miskeen, R/o Mallapora Habba Kadal; presently at QZ-139, B/5 Lane 12 New Mahavir Nagar, New Delhi. 19/9/2003
35. Sh. Jawahar Lal Riana S/o Lt. Sh. Prasad Raina, R/o Zaindar Mohalla; presently at H.No: 153-Jawahar Nagar Lane Talab Tillo Jammu. 20/9/2003
36. Smt. Kamlawati Zutshi W/o Sh. Maheswar Nath Zutshi, R/o Kulgam; presently at G-151, Durga Nagar Sector-II Jammu. 20/9/2003
37. Sh. B.L. Channa S/o Lt. Sh. S.N. Channa, R/o New Sectt. Road, Sgr (Kmr) presently at C-1557, Sushant Lok-I, Gurgaon Haryana. 21/9/2003
38. Sh. Soom Nath Raina S/o Lt. Sh. Gopi Nath Raina, R/o Purshyar Habba Kadal; presently at 35/A, Lane No: 2 Basant Nagar Janipur Jammu. 21/9/2003
39. Sh. Lok Nath Raina S/o Lt. Sh. Gopi Nath Raina, R/o 69, Kabir Colony Poonch House Talab Tillo, Jammu. 21/9/2003
40. Smt. Kaushalaya Wati W/o Sh. B.N. Dhar, R/o Langate Handwara; presently at Qtr. No: 205, Phase-1, Muthi Camp Jammu. 22/9/2003
41. Sh. R.K. Pandita R/o Shivpora Sgr; presently at A-731, Sarita Vihar, New Delhi. 23/9/2003
42. Smt. Jamna Devi W/o Lt. Sh. Radha Krishan R/o Chanpora Sgr; presently at A/3, Upper Shiv Nagar Jammu. 24/9/2003
43. Sh. Triloki Nath Kakroo R/o Karfoli Mohalla Sgr; presently at Palwal, Faridabad (MP). 24/9/2003
44. Smt. Tarawati Raina W/o Lt. Sh. Srikanth Raina, R/o Ali Kadal Sgr; presently at H.No: 13-E, Mohinder Nagar, Canal Road, Jammu. 25/9/2003
45. Sh. Lassa Ram Pandita S/o Lt. Tara Chand Pandita, R/o Hackcharpora; presently at Mishriwala Camp Qtr. No: 613. 25/9/2003
46. Sh. Triloki Nath Koul S/o Lt. Smt. Sh. Shamboo Nath Koul, R/o 480 Jawahar Nagar, Sgr; presently at Flat No: 350-C, Pocket-II, Phase-I, Mayour Vihar Delhi. 25/9/2003
47. Sh. Prithvi Nath Reshi S/o Lt. Darshan Pandit Reshi, R/o Akingam Anantnag; presently at E-18, Roshan Vihar Najafgadh, Delhi. 26/9/2003

48. Sh. Dwarika Nath Raina S/o Lt. Sh. Nand Lal Raina, R/o Malapora Habba Kadal, Sgr; presently at Chandigarh. 25/9/2003
49. Sh. Balbadar Pandita S/o Lt. Sh. Prasad Ram Pandita, R/o Sheerwami Colony Khwaja Bagh, Baramulla; presently at 35-B, Tirath Nagar Bohri Jammu. 27/9/2003
50. Smt Kamala Wati Koul W/o Lt. Sh. Shiv Ji Koul, R/o Amnoo Kulgam; presently at H.No: 44, Lane-3, Laxmi Nagar Muthi, Jammu. 27/9/2003
51. Smt. Kishni Koul W/o Lt. Sh. P.N. Kaul, R/o Fateh Kadal Sgr; presently at 59/4, Pamposh Colony Janipur Jammu. 28/9/2003
52. Sh. Shamboo Nath Kotha S/o Lt. Sh. Dina Nath Kotha, R/o 195-Karan Nagar, Sgr; presently at 197-Ustad Mohalla, Kachi Chawni Jammu. 29/9/2003
53. Mr. Brij Nath Dhar S/o Lt. Capt. Arzan Nath Dhar, R/o Ali Kadal Sgr; presently at 35, Mohinder Nagar Jammu. 29/9/2003
54. Sh. Janki Nath Pajnoo S/o Sh. Prem Nath Pajnoo, R/o H.No: 141, Lane-5, Sector-7, Nanak Nagar Jammu. 29/9/2003
55. Sh. Shyam Lal Pandita S/o Lt. Sh. Shanker Nath Pandita R/o Poonzva Anantnag; presently at Bagwati Nagar opposite Shiv Temple Jammu. 30/9/2003
56. Sh. Lambodhar Gigoo S/o Lt. Shyma Lal Gigoo R/o Malik Angam Fateh Kadal, Sgr; presently at Qtr. No: A-32/500 Air India Quarters Vasant Vihar, New Delhi. 30/9/2003 END

17 Chronology of Events

September 15, 2003 to October 14, 2003

Sep 15: LeT terrorist killed deputy chief of TUM in Banihal. Terrorists kidnapped five youth from Gool while security forces recovered 10 kg RDX from Chenani, Udhampur. Security forces arrested two HM terrorists from South Kashmir.

Sep 16: Five terrorists, three civilians, two soldiers were killed in Kashmir valley while army is alleged to have killed a bride-groom Tahir Hussain on his wedding day in Sopore area. Kishtwar observed partial bandh against the death of HM terrorist Ghulam Nabi Gilkar in Tihar jail.

Sep 17: Police claimed to have eliminated Ghazi Baba's Lieutenant Nasir Mehmood in Srinagar city. Terrorists killed four soldiers and two of a family in Kashmir valley. A BSF Head Constable was killed, an SPO injured and a terrorist arrested in Jammu region.

Sep 18: Security forces killed eight infiltrators in Nowshera sector while terrorists killed four civilians in Udhampur and Poonch districts. Security forces killed four infiltrators in Gulmarg sector and a mentally deranged woman was killed in Kupwara.

Sep 19: Terrorists killed at least five civilians in Kashmir valley while a terrorist was killed in Sopore. Forces killed three terrorists in Gool and one another in Gambhir, Rajouri.

Sep 20: Troops eliminated six terrorists in Shopian and one each in Gurez and Handwara. BSF recovered huge cache of arms and ammunition from a house in Qamarwari, Srinagar. Two terrorists and two soldiers were killed and two army men including a Major were injured in an encounter at Tarkundi in Rajouri. Two mercenaries were killed in Gool. Army chief Vij's family was shifted from Jammu to Delhi amidst threat from terrorists.

Sep 21: Top Raw officer Avinash Dutta was among three killed and 29 others injured in a blast in Rajouri. Four terrorists, a JCO and four civilians were killed elsewhere in Jammu region. Seven terrorists and a woman were killed in Kashmir valley while three civilians were killed and four others injured in Pak shelling in Gurez sector.

Sep 22: Forces killed five infiltrators in Mendhar sector while Rajouri observed bandh against the yesterday's bomb blast. Three terrorists were killed in Kashmir Valley as the terrorists killed in Shopian earlier have been reportedly identified as commanders of LeT.

Sep 23: Three terrorists, two civilians and a jawan were killed and six others injured in Jammu region. Four terrorists and a jawan were killed in Kashmir valley.

Sep 24: A JCO and former terrorists were killed in Kashmir valley. Foreign terrorists of LeT outfit killed two local terrorists in Poonch. Two terrorists surrendered in Doda.

Sep 25: Security forces killed three infiltrators in Mendhar sector. A terrorist was killed in Doda and an Army Havaldar was killed in a mine blast in Nowshera sector. Four terrorists were killed in Kupwara.

Sep 26: Security forces killed three terrorists in Jammu region and recovered 300 kg RDX from a car in Doda. A terrorist was killed in Machail sector and a girl injured at Dether Anantnag. While terrorists attacked residence of MLA Ghulam Hassan Khan at Shopian.

Sep 27: Four terrorists, two civilians and a soldier were killed in Kashmir valley. A terrorist and a civilian were killed in terrorism related incidents and two porters injured in Pak shelling in Jammu region.

Sep 28: Security forces killed 12 infiltrators in Gurez sector and three terrorists across Kashmir valley. Four family member, including three brothers, were massacred by terrorists in Mahore Udhampur. A civilian and a jawan were killed and another injured in Pak shelling in Nowshera sector. An HM terrorist was arrested in Shimla.

Sep 29: The death toll of infiltrators killed in Gurez reached 15 as India showed Defence Attaches of 24 countries the live proof of Pak involvement in terrorism. A cop and a jawan were killed in Jammu region.

Sep 30: Security forces killed four mercenaries and recovered weapons, including AK 74, in Jammu region. Terrorists injured 19 persons, including six CRPF men, in a grenade attack in Shopian, a bank official near SBI Srinagar while a terrorist surrendered in Kupwara.

Oct 1: Security forces killed two terrorists in Kupwara while toll in Gurez encounter reaches 21. Meanwhile, in new twist to terrorist campaign, terrorists attacked properties of eight families in Gudar, Kulgam. Two terrorists, a VDC member and a civilian were killed in Jammu region.

Oct 2: Two terrorists, a shopkeeper and a police man were killed in Kashmir valley. Terrorists killed a civilian in Gool while a jawan was killed and another injured in Pak shelling in Mendhar sector

Oct 3: Four terrorists, a civilian and a VDC member were killed and seven others, including six devotees, injured across Jammu region. Six terrorists and a civilian were killed in Kashmir valley and a PP and a high school damaged in Pak shelling in Tangdar sector.

Oct 4: Four infiltrators were killed in Bhimber Gali and two terrorists were killed in Rajouri district. A civilian and an SPO were killed in Doda district. Three terrorists and a student were killed in an encounter in Budgam district. A terrorist was killed in Kulgam area.

Oct 5: A terrorist was killed and two youths kidnapped in Jammu region while an encounter was reportedly going on at Gudar Kulgam.

Oct 6: Six terrorists, a jawan and a civilian were killed and two others injured in Kashmir valley. Three terrorists and two jawans were among seven killed and six jawans were injured across Kashmir valley.

Oct 7: Security forces killed six terrorists across Kashmir valley as terrorists killed three BSF men and injured three others blasting a culvert at Ganeshpora, Pahalgam. Terrorists killed four civilians, including a kidnapped Sumo driver and a woman, in Jammu region while forces killed an HM commander in Gool, Udhampur.

Oct 8: Security forces killed six terrorists across Kashmir valley, recovered Rs 17 lakh from four youths of Anantnag in Srinagar while a soldier and a civilian were killed in a terrorists' attack in Tral. A surrendered terrorist in Budhal, Rajouri deserted and joined terrorists ranks again in Rajouri.

Oct 9: Two JeM terrorists were killed in terrorist-infighting in Wachi, Pulwama while a youth was killed in Pattan. A terrorist surrendered in Poonch while a BSF jawan was killed in Pak firing in Kanchak sector.

Oct 10: Security forces eliminated 10 terrorists across Kashmir valley.

Oct 11: Six terrorists and a civilian were killed and six boys on way to PoK for training were arrested in Kashmir valley. Terrorists killed an SPO in Banihal while security forces recovered 40 kg explosive material in Kishtwar.

Oct 12: Army killed five terrorists while a Major and a civilian were injured in Poonch district, police also arrested 10 persons including three students for their alleged involvement in suicide attack on an army camp in Poonch.

Oct 13: A woman and her son were killed and four others including two BSF jawans injured in a rocket attack in Gool; three civilians were killed elsewhere in Jammu while forces recovered 25 kg RDX. Military Intelligence and police have arrested 11 suspects from Jammu city.

Oct 14: Death toll in Gool rocket attack rose to three with succumbing of a BSF-jawan. A hostage was also killed by terrorists in the same area. Five terrorists and a civilian were killed in Kashmir valley.

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