



KashmirSentinel.com

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

Page Intentionally Left Blank

Kashmir Sentinel

September 2003

September 2003

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

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

webmaster@PanunKashmir.org

Contents

	page
Contents.....	v
1 Editorial	1-2
2 KP's Lambast Raja Jai Krishan	2-3
3 Kashmiris rooted in their culture	3-6
4 Letter	4-7
5 JK watch observe Martyrs' Day	5-8
6 Human Rights Violation On Kashmir Pandits.....	6-9
7 J&K: Winds of Change or A Big Deception	7-14
8 Special Employment Scheme	8-19
9 Pt. Rameshwar Nath Kau	9-20
10 Kashmiris rooted in their culture	10-23
11 Tense Afghan-Pakistan relations.....	11-24
12 Who killed Fatima Jinnah?	12-26
13 Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case	13-28
14 The Traditional Music of Kashmir.....	14-34
15 Kashmir—What the stars foretell.....	15-38
16 Stop the flow of foreign funds to terrorists.....	16-39
17 Those Who Left Us	17-41
18 Chronology of Events.....	18-44

1 *Editorial*

Martyr's Day

'**Martyr's Day**, for exiled communities is not a commemorative occasion. It is a moment for introspection and reiteration of resolve to recover the lost homeland. Since 1990 the dispossessed Kashmiri Pandit community has been observing this day to pay homage to its members, who fell victims to the 'religious cleansing' campaign launched by the Islamists in Kashmir.

Genocide is a tragedy with three actors: the murderer, the victim and the witness. The witness that is public opinion is external to the tragedy. Informing it and moving it remain the last hope of groups condemned to disappear. Public opinion can be manipulated. The intensity of the reaction to genocide, the genocide-effect, is controlled by the media. Disinformation and silence are the instruments employed to obfuscate the issue of religious cleansing of the victimised community. For the latter full reporting of the genocide secures the present and binds the future. It looks natural that the ideologues of the Kashmiri Muslim separatists should unleash a barrage of disinformation against the Kashmiri Hindus on the issue of their extirpation from Kashmir, grab of their properties and shrines, left behind in the Valley, their deprivations in exile and the question of their ultimate return. Disoriented Indian Civil Society and the perverted national political culture have frustrated the Pandits' effort to counter this deluge of disinformation.

The rise of Islamist terrorism in the Valley and the consequent religious cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus are the outcome of a particular politics pursued over the years. The penchant to pander to the secessionist and communal politics have facilitated the Pak game plan and the destabilisation of Kashmiri Hindus. The routes to Pandits' return lie in changing the mindset of Kashmiri politician and delegitimising the secessionist communal politics. Is it not an anachronism when we talk of Pandit's return and at the same time accord respectability to communal secessionist politics?

Today, what to speak of the secessionist leadership, even the sections among the mainstream politicians are busy in playing a game of one-upmanship in competitive communalism and secessionism. On Pandit refugees these politicians speak in different languages in Srinagar, Delhi and elsewhere.

What has the present Kashmiri leadership, irrespective of party affiliation done to address the concerns of the victimised Pandits? Is it not share intolerance when this leadership does not even have the patience to listen to the victim's tale of woe? The Pandit refugees are now seen by the majority community as the prospective tourists rather than as the rightful claimants to the land they belong to. Circumventing the issue of economic and physical insecurity, avoiding serious engagement with Pandit leadership, reluctance to launch political mobilisation campaigns on return in the Valley are ample reflection on how serious is the valley politician about the return of Pandits.

Linking deprivations with returns is a sinister design to further pauperise the community and reinforce genocide. Since the general mass of the Pandit community sees through this game, dummy groups are floated and bribery and defections organised to present issues as non-issues and vice versa. It is unfortunate that few disgruntled members of the Pandit leadership bereft of any vision, should join the bandwagon to dabble in toady politics in the name of seeking 'political space'.

The displaced Pandit community stands today at the crossroads of history. A single wrong step can spell disaster for it. A visionary leadership would not only alert its members to machinations of betrayal and incomprehension but would go proactive in apprising the nation about its perspective on return and the solution to ongoing genocide. This would be the real tribute to martyrs.

2 KP's Lambast Raja Jai Krishan

Raja Jai Krishan presently works as Chief Sub-Editor of Tribune. Why a section of Indian journalists continue to enjoy pleasure in peddling disinformation and falsehood on Pandit genocide continues to baffle the Pandit community tribune in its July 28th issue published its sub-editors Pandits' pain of dislocation; we produce this write-up along with the rejoinder in response to it.

Pandits' Pain Of Dislocation

By Raja Jaikrishan

AGITATIONS for reservation in jobs and admissions to educational institutions by the other backward castes have curtailed the upper castes' hold over power centres in Kashmir. As a result, members of the elite class have moved out of their home towns to bigger cities in India and abroad.

While in the rest of the country lower classes comprise mostly Hindus, in the Kashmir valley they belong to the Muslim community. Land reforms, quotas in jobs and admissions to educational institutions for Muslims in Jammu and Kashmir have created resentment among the Pandits and other communities.

The Hindutva brigade, which had been working in the state much before Independence, took the lead in the 1969 Pandit agitation. There were dharnas, fasts and processions demanding jobs and admissions to educational institutions. The agitation was suppressed by mass arrests. Central government officials who were Pandits were dubbed agents-provocateur and transferred to far-off places.

The secessionist movement in the Valley assumed the fundamentalist colour after India punished Pakistan for its misadventures on Kashmir by helping its eastern part to gain independence in 1971.

The pressure on the state government from the teeming educated Muslim youth for jobs and college admissions increased. A race for positions of power began. With the thwarting of democratic channels, discrimination against Muslim youth became more intense. The majority, unhappy with the state, turned its ire against the Pandits.

Then began killings of Pandits and those who represented the Indian state. The Hindutva brigade of Pandits went to the then Governor of J&K Mr. Jagmohan, now the Minister of Tourism, seeking security. Instead, he counselled them to leave the Valley, which they did, presuming it to be a short-term measure.

The BJP, then moving towards power at the Centre, made a show of its sympathy for the Pandits. Besides opening community kitchens and organising temporary shelters for the displaced families, it helped them in the delivery of separatist and communal organisations like Panun Kashmir.

While the Pandits who stayed behind continued to face the bullets in the Valley, these organisations and other Pandit Sabhas furthered the BJP line on Kashmir by presenting the exodus of Pandits as ethnic cleansing and a communal problem.

At the heart of the displacement of Kashmiri Pandits and a section of the Muslims is not the question of religious identity, but the economic crisis created by the raj of quotas and subsidies.

Instead of allowing the Naya Kashmir plan, a step towards egalitarian social order, to strike roots in the state, the quota and subsidy raj created selective prosperity and a large-scale deprivation, a fertile ground for militancy.

The predicament of the Pandits, who migrated before militancy (1989), started hasn't changed even outside the Valley. Being from the upper caste, they don't get the quota benefits in government and educational institutions. For those who migrated in 1989 and after, a move is afoot to make Pandit employees of the state government to accept either voluntary retirement or report for duty in the state.

The educational institutions do not recognise school-leaving certificates from schools outside the state for migrant quota admissions. There are instances of Pandits being transferred to the Valley because the institutions no longer recognise the Valley as a disturbed area.

Like the upper castes from other parts of the country, Pandits preferred ruling in the hell of shallow power to being part of the productive class in the Valley. This mindset has alienated them from the producers of foodgrains, craftsmen and providers of services in the Valley.

Unlike the other upper castes, Pandits have largely abandoned their language, food, dress and endogamous character. They seek power by being with those who associate nationalism with geography. It is only when Pandits give up hollow rhetoric, come down from the pedestal of shallow power, feel the earth of the lacerated state, join the productive class and reclaim their land and wealth, can they go back to their homes. *(Courtesy: Tribune)*

The plight of Kashmiri Pandits

THIS has reference to Mr Raja Jaikrishan's article "Pandits' pain of dislocation" (July 28). There are certain distortions in his piece which need to be corrected. The turmoil in the state, especially the Kashmir valley, prior to 1989-90, did not take place just because the indigenous Muslims youth did not get admission in the colleges or jobs in the state but because of the export of terrorism by Pakistan. The Kashmiri Muslim youth were fiercely exploited, indoctrinated and trained to wipe out the last vestiges of Pandits from the valley, who in their minds was the last bastion of India in the Valley.

Consequently, Pandits were subjected to indignities and orgy of violence, killings, rape, molestation etc. For over a decade prior to the exodus, Pandits have faced a systematic assault on their pride, their sensibilities and their dignity. Anonymous phone calls were received by Pandit doctors, engineers etc. saying that if they did not leave the Valley by a given date, they would be killed.

The darkest night for the Kashmiri Pandits was January 19-20, 1990 because they were mentally harassed by the simultaneous bludgeoning and blaring of loud speakers from all the mosques of the city calling upon the Pandits to leave the Valley or face dire consequences. This left the Pandits cold. There was no time to seek advice. Everyone was in a desperate hurry to run for his/her life. Stealthily, terror-stricken, everyone readied himself to leave on the first light of the following day with whatever little he could lay his hands on--and that is how the mass exodus took place. It was spontaneous!

It is wrong to say that Mr Jagmohan had advised the Pandits to leave the Valley. This is also an unkind and unjust remark made against them. Suffice it to say, no sane person will sacrifice his life of comforts and desert his home and hearth to suffer the trauma of exile in which he has to eke out a pittance for survival.

The Kashmiri Pandits, though small in number, connote intelligence, administrative acumen, teaching skill, versatility and perseverance. They have played a very positive and significant role in guiding their Muslim brethren, producing among them the professionals of all hues, for which the Muslims would always express gratitude. The Kashmiri Pandits themselves were a common class of craftsmen, clerks, teachers, businessmen, agriculturists etc. except a very few among them who were in the higher echelons of power. Therefore, the concluding para of the article is vague and most perturbing.

--Sqn.-Ldr B.L. Sadhu (ret'd). President, Kashmiri Sahayak Sabha, Chandigarh.

II

The article is a presentation of distorted facts, taken out of context. The writer, for instance, says that because of the demands by backward classes in the state the Pandits (upper castes) lost their hold on the power centres and they decided to move out of their homeland. But Pandits were never the power centres in Jammu and Kashmir which was ruled by Dogras (no Kashmiri Pandits). The last Kashmiri to rule the state was Kota Rani way back in early 14th century when most of the people in Kashmir Pandit valley were Hindus. Deprivation of Muslims is evident from the fact that today there is practically no Hindu left in the Valley.

Yes, we were holding the jobs of clerks and petty officers because Kashmiri Pandits are cent percent literate, probably the only community in India, and were holding such posts even during the Afghan rule. True, the implementation of land reforms and the abolition of the money lending trade without any compensation have reduced the affected people to penury overnight. Yet, out of seven lakh Kashmiri Pandits how many were involved in this exercise, a few that could be counted on fingers and would make hardly any difference to the over-all psyche of the two communities.

The agitation by the Pandits took place in 1967 and not in 1969. It was a protest against the forced conversion of a Pandit girl named Parmishwari, a widow's daughter and the protests were recorded throughout the country. Yes, that was one time, when Kashmiri Pandits rose with one voice and even the Central government was made to intervene. Some leaders thought it opportune to ask for merit reservation in admissions to medical and engineering colleges of the state at the fag end of the agitation.

If religious identity is not at the heart of Pandits' displacement, I wonder what was at the heart of the Partition of India that led to the displacement of millions of Indians. Kashmiri Pandits have never asked for quota benefits and didn't even ask in the Valley. They always got jobs and admissions on merit and that is why a sweeping glance throughout the country and even the globe we find a Kashmiri holding a reasonably high place and post.

--Mohini Raina,
Kashmiri Pandit Sabha,
Panchkula
(*Courtesy: Tribune*)

3 Kashmiris rooted in their culture

By Renu S. Pandit

THIS has reference to the write-up of Raja Jaikrishan about the plight of Kashmiri Pandits (July 28). The author has grossly distorted the facts. Whether it is the reasons of their displacement or their affinity for their roots, he does not seem to be even remotely concerned with the facts. And he has even been frequently self-contradictory.

While Mr. Jaikrishan says in the beginning that "the secessionist movement in the Valley assumed the fundamentalist colour after India punished Pakistan for its misadventure on Kashmir by helping its eastern part to gain independence in 1971", later on he tends to project that the disillusionment started because of the denial of jobs and admissions to Kashmiri Muslims. It is wrong to assume that the secessionist movement picked up after 1971. In fact, the 1971 war disillusioned the Kashmiris from secessionism and it was in the aftermath of this war that Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah disbanded his Plebiscite Front and joined the national mainstream and he got a massive mandate in 1977 Assembly elections, which everyone admits, were the most fair held so far in Jammu and Kashmir.

In fact, the secessionist movement has fundamentalist origins only. These became intense and more manifest post-1987 after the sense of alienation over electoral malpractices intensified and tried to manifest itself in an armed rebellion.

On the one hand, Mr Jaikrishan says that "the majority (meaning Muslims), unhappy with the state turned its ire against the Pandits", which ultimately led to their exodus. On the other, he argues, "at the heart of the displacement of Kashmiri Pandits and a section of the Muslim is not the question of religious identity, but the economic crisis created by the raj of quotas and subsidies".

Similarly, he is grossly inaccurate in facts when he writes about Mr Jagmohan. It is pertinent to mention that Mr. Jagmohan took over as the Governor of J&K on January 21, 1990, while the exodus had started in December 1989 only and till January 19, over 10,000 displaced Kashmiri Pandit families were registered with the Jammu and Kashmir Sahitya Samiti (constituted by the J&K government) as migrants (refugees).

More importantly, the exodus followed a banner headline in a local vernacular Al Safa, which was issued on behalf of the Hizbul Mujahideen asking the Pandits to leave the Valley within 48 hours. It appeared in the January 11, 1990 issue of the Al Safa. And the maximum migration took place on January 19, 1990, which Pandits observe as the "Holocaust Day".

Although the BJP came out whole-heartedly in support of the displaced Pandits, who were traditionally supporters of the Congress, they never subscribed to its agenda. The writer's observation that it was the BJP which "helped them in the delivery of separatist and communal organisations like Panun Kashmir" is also wrong. While the displaced Pandits, particularly the youth, were driven towards the BJP at the initial stages of migration, later they not disillusioned as they felt that their plight was being misused by certain sections in the BJP.

It is also wrong to assume, as the writer claims, "Pandits have largely abandoned their language, food, dress and endogamous character". To straighten the record, the Kashmiri Pandits still speak Kashmiri with pride. They make their children speak Kashmiri only. They give their children typical Kashmiri names like Shihul, Poshmal, Shejar and the like. It is their culture which makes them look different from others. They still observe their festivals, particularly the Shivratri.

(Courtesy: Tribune)

4 Letter

Disarray of Hindus

Sir,

The editorial 'National Amnesia' was timely. It focuses on the indifference of the Indian civil society to the plight of Kashmiri Hindus. Hindus do not lack sense of Nationhood. What they lack is self-esteem and confidence. Perhaps a continuous attrition for thousands of years has played havoc with Hindu personality.

The left-liberal entrenchment in the Indian civil society and the state apparatus have generated a discourse which demeans India in its all aspects. Both Islam and communists operate by wrecking the state from within and creating a society without heroes and historical anchors.

The disarray of Hindu society is also a result of weak intellectual culture. The Hindu responses are most of the times reactionary and based on only rhetoric.

The plight of Hindus of Kashmir is a reflection of the state of the Nation. It is a nation which lives by mendicancy. It is a nation which thinks worshipping power as abhorrent. It is a nation which indulges in moralisation. The comity of Nations believe that India is a weak nation which cannot persevere attrition.

—Ashutosh Ahuja, Haryana,

5 JK watch observe Martyrs' Day

KS Correspondent

JAMMU—Rich Tributes were paid to Late Pt. Tika Lal Taploo and other martyrs who sacrificed their lives for the nation.

Addressing the gathering organised by JK watch (NGO) in collaboration with Tika Lal Memorial Foundation, speakers vowed not to surrender their claim on Kashmir, which is the crown of India and KP's have history of more than 5000 years.

Sh. O.N. Trisal President AKPSC wondered how Chief Minister Mufti Mohd. Sayeed has asked to get inspiration from HAMAS.

Sh. Trisal defended the demand of Homeland of Panun Kashmir and termed it the only solution to existing Kashmir problem.

The function was presided over by Sh. Mohan Lal Sopori. Mr Sopori also supported the homeland demand and termed it as the demand of Pandva's who asked for only five villages. He also said that Lord Krishna has to be born to crush the evils.

The speakers reminded the community members of sacrifices made by the Martyrs to uphold the national integrity.

Among others who paid tributes were Sh. Rajinder Raina, Sh. G.K. Mjujoo, Sh Opinder Bhat, Smt. Rajni Bhat, Smt. Roopa Ji, Phoola Ji, Bal Ji and S.K. Ganjoo.

The programme was conducted by T.K. Shishoo.

6 Human Rights Violation On Kashmir Pandits

By M.K. Teng

AN undeserved and deep sense of self-righteousness prevails among the people in India in regard to their identification of the imperatives of their government and society with human rights. Indeed the entire Indian national commitment to human rights is pervaded by a false sense of infallibility about the various forms of its domestic juridical; its structural basis and functional attributes in respect of human rights. The insistence of the rootless English speaking intellectual class of India on liberal reformism of the British colonial tradition as the basis of the nation building processes of this country, has reduced human rights to digital symbols, Human rights are an inseparable part of the nation building process in the universal sense of the term.

The Indian state has a primitive perspective of human rights. Its national commitment to the human rights is fictitious.

The second World War led to the recognition of the necessity of a new structure of security to save the world from the scourge of another ideological war and accepted the responsibility to re-structure the instruments of national power as well as international organisations on the principle of the individual responsibility of man, to ensure all people, irrespective of nationality, racial ethnic origin, sex and religion rights considered to be basic to all human life.

human rights transcend the boundaries of civil jurisprudence. They have a sanction which goes beyond the law of the nation and reflects the fundamental moral commitments of the human civilisation to equality of man, inviolability of life, protection against fear and arbitrary exercise of authority, exploitation, discrimination on grounds of nationality, religion, ethnicity, sex and colour. Human rights have the quality of imperatives which are recognised by mankind as the guarantees for its survival. In a world dominated by balances of power, based upon absolute strike capability, ideological regimentation for nation, religious and ethnic precedence, will inevitably lead to crusade for more disastrous than Second World War.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which forms the groundwork of the international jurisdiction of the rights of man, underlines two fundamental principles.

(a) The Declaration enjoins upon the States to uphold human rights and protect them, but it imposes a direct obligation on the individual and all the organs of the society to honour the rights envisaged by the Declaration and to desist from acts which violate them. The obligation to honour human rights is not limited to the authority of the State: it extends to all people and all organs of the society, as well as all inter-state regimes, and international organisations. The obligation on the individual is patent and supersedes the immunities arising out of the authority of the state.

The Declaration does not underline guarantees against civil jurisdiction alone. The protection envisaged by the Declaration imposes a limitation on the exercise of authority by all regimes, including instruments of social control, private citizens, foreign states and international organisations.

(b) The universal Declaration of Human Rights signifies the recognition of a juridical organisation of the world community, in which the equality and dignity of man are acknowledged and as a consequences, it is accepted that man has a fundamental right to free movement in search of truth and the attainment of moral good and justice besides the right to a dignified life. The Declaration is not a partial guarantee and it does not envisage, protection for any specific sections of the people of the world. The safeguards envisaged by the human rights are universal and are available to all people of the world irrespective of their nationality, the regime by which they are governed and religion, race and sex to which they belong.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a guarantee against all ideological aggrandisement, regimentation and communal majoritarianism. The rights envisaged by the Declaration are irreconcilable to all political, social and economic regimes which are based upon discrimination on the basis of ideological precedence. Fundamental rights, including human rights, conflict with restricted citizenship and all forms of religious protectorates.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights spells out in thirty sections, the rights of man which the declaration proclaims are inalienable. The rights envisaged by the Declaration are not subject to any limitation of authority, whatever its source. "The Universal Declaration describes itself as "a common standard of achievement for all people and all nations." The Declaration describes for the first time in the history of international organisation, a juridical sanction, which is not derived from the authority of the nation state.

The basic human rights, ensured by the Universal Declaration include the right to equality of man; due process of law: freedom of thought expression assembly and association : freedom of faith, right to equal participation in government and right to equal share in social progress. The United Nations Covenants on Human Rights describe the process, to ensure people the right to equal share in social progress.

The War Crimes Tribunals of Neuremburg and the War Crimes Tribunal of Tokyo, which were constituted after the war, to try war crimes accepted the recreation of a jurisdiction, which underlined the responsibility of the individual as a basis for the enforcement of rights and which are inherent in man. Both the Neuremburg Tribunal and the Tokyo Tribunal laid down the principles and precedents which recognised the responsibility of the individuals and all regimes of individuals within the power-structure of the states or outside the power-structure of the States.

The Human Rights violations in respect of Kashmiri Pandits has a longer history than is known. The whole process of the violation of their human rights has spread over the last five decades of the Indian freedom. The first phase of the human rights violations began with the creation of a separate jurisdiction in Jammu and Kashmir, which confined them to the servitude of a Muslim state. Article 370 envisaged the exclusion of the Jammu and Kashmir state from the constitutional organisation of India and its reorganisation into a Muslim state on the basis of the Muslim majority character of its population. The political organisation of Jammu and Kashmir did not admit of right to equality, right to liberty and freedom, right to property, right to freedom of faith and religion and right to due process of law. The State government was vested with arbitrary and absolute authority. Even after the partial application of the Constitution of India to the State in 1954, the State government enforced without any limitations the precedence of the Muslim majority in the State. The Kashmiri Pandits mainly, were deprived of their basic right to equality and protection against discrimination on the basis of faith and religion their right to property, their right to employment education and livelihood by devising quota systems fixed in proportion to the ratio of their population.

The Indian State violated the very spirit of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by segregating Jammu and Kashmir from the constitutional organisation which it had adopted and which was based upon a basic structure of rights including.

- 1) the right to equality and equality of opportunity.
- 2) right to protection against discrimination on the basis of religion;
- 3) right to freedom of religion and the integration of the people of India on the basis of the secular equality of the people of India on the basis of the secular equality of the Indian people;
- 4) right to property;
- 5) right to liberty and freedom.

For forty three years of the Indian freedom the Kashmiri Pandits were deprived by the state of India of the rights envisaged by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Kashmiri Pandits were left to claim only one right, The right to life.

In January 1990, the Muslim Jihad proclaimed the seizure of the only right, they had; their right to life.

Ladies and Gentlemen; this brings me to the second phase of the human rights violations of Kashmiri Pandits.

There is a fateful continuity in the human rights violations the Kashmiri Pandits have suffered. A subsidiary civil jurisdiction created by the Indian State in the Jammu and Kashmir denied them the rights

envisaged by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Covenants of Human Rights. The Muslim Jihad which commenced in 1990 and which involved the high technology of international terrorism, denied them the right to life, the most fundamental and universal human right.

(a) Ideological character of international terrorism is of crucial significance to the whole jurisdiction structure of Human Rights. Belief-systems, legitimised by community concerns or even national consensus do not validate international terrorism. Terror is not accepted as a valid and legitimate instrument for the enforcement of change and wherever belief-systems are sought to be invoked to rationalise terror, human rights are directly invaded.

International terrorism involves, military operations against non-combatant civil population of a state besides its combatant forces. These military operations tantamount to the violations of the laws of war which prohibit military reprisals against civil populations. The terrorist violence also amounts to a crime against peace as all wars of subversion, in pursuance of political objectives violate the charter of the United Nations. Lastly all terrorist violence is a crime against humanity. Mass assassination of civil population, sectarian violence, ethnic cleansing of groups, communities and minorities, forced migration torture hostage taking and abduction, molestation of women, communal violence etc. are crimes against humanity.

The claim to any immunity available under the human rights jurisdiction for acts of terrorism, whatever their ideological motivation of or objective is untenable because terrorism involves a military campaign against a civil society, which has no means to retaliate in combat except through the instrumentalities of the State. Terrorism cannot be justified on the grounds of its political and ideological motivations. International conventions and treaties, including the Human Rights Covenants and other agreements do not recognise terrorism as legitimate political action on any ideological or value basis.

Terrorism is a negation of life. All value-based violence, which contravenes generally accepted norms of social order human behaviour and right to life and equality of all men violates the rights of man. Judgements based upon preferences which violate, life, equality and freedom of the mankind do not have any revolutionary content. Terrorist regime have no claim to any immunity available under civil law or the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. All political terrorism is organised crime. There is no freedom which transcends freedom; there is no liberty which infringes liberty; there are no rights which violate rights.

Terrorism in Kashmir motivated by ideological commitment to a Muslim Jihad, is a graver violation of human rights. All crusades are a negation of human rights as all crusades underline ideological absolutism. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the world community to save mankind from the scourge of the crusades. The second world war was also a war of the crusades. The Muslim jihad which seeks a termination of the religious and ethnic minorities in Jammu and Kashmir and establishment of the primacy of Islam in the government and the society of the state contravenes the principle of equality and due process of law which is the basis of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Terrorism whatever its ideology and objective, is a crime against international law a crime against humanity a crime against the laws of war and a crime against the Declaration of Human Rights.

The terrorism violence in Jammu and Kashmir raging for the last fourteen years has led to severe consequences which are inextricably interlinked with the violations of human rights. The patterns of warfare in which terrorism has manifested itself in the State has several dimensions some of which are characteristically original to the violence unleashed by the terrorist regimes.

First terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir is a religious war which is politically committed to disengage Jammu and Kashmir from India.

Second the Muslim Jihad in Kashmir has transnational dimensions. The militarization of the pan-Islamic fundamentalism in South Asia including Afghanistan with its epicenter in Pakistan is aimed to force a second partition on India and open the way for the eastward expansion of the Muslim power into the northern India. The broad contours of the whole plan of the religious war envisaged by the Muslim Jihad has been exposed after 11 September attack on the United States.

Third the terrorist operations are committed to the Islamisation of the Jammu and Kashmir State.

The Kashmiri Pandits do not accept the Islamisation of the State and have opposed its solidly. They have refused to accept the legitimacy of the Muslim movement for the establishment of a social and political order which derives its sanction from the law and precept of Islam. The Hindus have opposed the secession of the State from India and its unification with Pakistan. They have undeviatingly formed the most stable support-base for India in Kashmir.

The terrorist regimes unleashed an organised campaign to exterminate the Kashmiri Pandits and eliminate the last resistance to the Muslim jihad in Kashmir. The organised Jehadi campaign to bring about the ethnic extermination of the Kashmiri Pandits was the gravest violation of their human rights.

The protection of right of life is related to another set of international sanctions against the violations of right to life. The sanctions are embodied in the convention in prevention and punishment on genocide. Genocide is a crime against international law.

The convention defines genocide as :

- (i) killing members of a community or a group because of their affiliations;
- (ii) causing bodily or mental harm to the members of a community or a group;
- (iii) deliberately inflicting conditions on the community or the group to bring about its physical destruction;
- (iv) imposing measures to prevent births in the community or the group;
- (v) forcibly transferring children from one group to another.

The extermination of the Kashmiri Pandits therefore amounts to genocide. It is generally accepted by the international community and recognised by the cannons of International Law that genocide is the destruction in whole or in part of a national ethnic religious group.

The genocide of Kashmiri Pandits was carried out by:

- (1) mass massacres of the members of the community;
- (2) brutal torture to achieve the submission of the Kashmiri Pandits to the terrorist regimes;
- (3) deportation by force, fear of death conversion and criminal assault on women;
- (4) destruction of places of worship to demolish their social identity;
- (5) destruction and attachment of their property and means of livelihood;
- (6) forcing exodus on them to bring about their ethnic cleansing from Kashmir; and
- (7) declaration of a Jihad or religious war against them.

The mass attack on Kashmiri Pandits commenced in January 1990 and by the fall of the year more than eight hundred of them had been murdered in cold blood. Most of the victims were innocent people who lived in poverty and persecution of the Muslim political organisation of the State. Among the people killed were men as well as women from all sections of the Kashmiri Pandit society like lawyers, political activists, mediamen, intellectuals, shopkeepers, errand boys and men of ordinary means.

The terrorist killings were accompanied by torture unheard of in the annals of human history. The torture killings tantamount to grave crimes against all laws and crimes against humanity. In sheer disregard of the norms of political behaviour generally recognised by the international community and embodied in several International covenants including the Universal Declaration for Human Rights and resolutions of the United Nations General assembly; the terrorists inflicted grievous hurt injury and torture on hundreds of Kashmiri Pandits.

While the massacre of Kashmiri Pandits was in progress; the militant regimes mounted pressure to flush them out of Kashmir. A widespread and a vicious campaign was unleashed against them in press and public exhorting them to quit Kashmir. The terrorist regimes accused the Kashmiri Pandits of having betrayed the cause of the freedom of Kashmir of carrying an espionage for the Indian security forces and

causing harm to the interest of Islam in Kashmir. They were warned to leave Kashmir or face the fate of the traitors and heretics.

The widespread killing of the Kashmiri Pandits, assault on their women and the fear of conversion were the main reasons for the exodus of the Kashmiri Pandits from Kashmir. The total breakdown of the law and order machinery which had already been undermined by pro-Pakistan agents and secessionist elements spread a sense of insecurity among them. The insecurity was so severe that most of the fugitive escaped from their homes in the dark hours of the night.

The terrorist violence continues to ravage Jammu and Kashmir. Kashmiri Pandits are still smouldering in exile. The national response to the terrorist violence as well as violations of the human rights of the Kashmiri Pandits have been pathetically indolent. The Indian State consigned the Kashmiri Pandits to the servitude of a Muslim state in 1947. That servitude has not ended. The Indian state allowed the genocide of Kashmiri Pandits. The genocide still in progress.

The Indian state has an obligation under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations Covenants of Human Rights and the resolutions of the United Nations General assembly and the Security Council to take effective and stringent measures against international terrorism. The measures specifically listed in the resolution of the general assembly and the Security Council, include measures to bring about drastic changes and amendments in Municipal Law and the security structure to crush terrorism. These measures include :

- (1) harmonisation of domestic legislation with existing international conventions on terrorism;
- (2) prevention of the preparation and organisation in their territories of acts directed against the state;
- (3) prevention of acts aimed to obstruct the application of appropriate law enforcement measures to persons who commit acts of international terrorism;
- (4) modification of penal procedures and institution of fresh political instruments to combat terrorism;
- (5) withdrawal of amnesty in respect of terrorism.

The Indian State has undertaken none of the measures listed above. Prevention of Terrorist Activities Act or POTA; is a freak legislation which does not underline any harmonisation of Municipal law with the Principles of International Law. The Indian State is not able to wage war against the Muslim Jihad. Infact, the Indian state is waging a war against its own civilisation. Since the Kashmiri Pandits are a part of the Indian civilisation the Indian State is at war with them as well.

7 J&K: Winds of Change or A Big Deception

By Dr Ajay Chrungoo

THE spate of 'fidayeen' attacks on Army in Jammu, terrorist assault on pilgrims at Qazigund and Vaishnodevi (Katra), or Nadimarg massacre should in the normal course put to rest any doubts about the internal security scenario in the state. However, given the pattern of government responses to the 'War of Attrition' in the state, we may see the continuance of the attitude of blatant denial of reality and self-deception. How many statements, coming from those at the helm in the Centre as well as State, have we seen in recent days which proclaimed the 'Return of Normality' in the state! The indicators that the Government of India chooses to determine critical situation projections are vague and fluid. The process of analysis at the highest level appears to be emanating from political considerations rather than objective, scientific approach. Secular pretensions have to be preserved in J&K is the dictum.

About Normality

At no point of time since the new government took over, if we rely on more concrete yardsticks of judgement than the number of tourists visiting the Kashmir valley, was there any dramatic improvement in the situation. Infact, there are definite indicators which should have put both the State as well as the Central government at high alert. The number of terrorists killed during the tenure of present government has shown a steep fall from 797 between November 2001 and March 15, 2002 to 462 between November 2002 and March 15, 2003. The claims about low infiltration during roughly the same period should be seen more in the context of higher levels of interdiction. Number of terrorists killed along LoC e.g. in Poonch sector has been more between January-April 2003 than the corresponding time in previous two years. Since January 2003 there already have been '7' fidayeen attacks in Jammu and Kashmir out of which six have been directed at well-fortified security installations. There were just ten fidayeen attacks in the whole year of 2002. Most of which constituted the period when the present PDP-Congress alliance was not at the helms. Fidayeen attacks are an important indicator of the reach, sway and the morale of the terrorist operatives.

The kill rate of security forces in the fidayeen attacks is 1:2, i.e. one terrorist killed for two security men in the Valley. In Jammu the kill rate is 1:4, i.e. one terrorist killed for four security men. The better performance in Valley appears to be due to better perimeter security. In Jammu, which has around 200 Cantonments and security camps, the security cover is still rudimentary. The number of violent incidents in the state has been 729 in January-April 2003 as compared to 955 in Jan-April 2002. However, this statistics does not make us wiser because of the increased number of security forces killed as compared to the terrorists in the same time span. In 2003 Jan-April, 198 security men and 407 terrorists were killed while in the previous year 2002 Jan-April, 175 security men were killed as compared to 660 terrorists. It simply means that the ratio has deteriorated from 1:3.7 in 2002 to 1:2.05 in 2003.

The decrease in the violent incidents in 2003 in the state can be related to other factors other than actual improvement at the ground level. These factors are tactical imperatives emanating from flirtations of terrorist groups like Hizb-ul-Mujahideen with the ruling PDP and unusually high levels of snow and rains from January to March this year which might have reduced LoC crossings or terrorist movements within.

Understanding the New Government

One of the most important instructions given by the new Chief Minister to the unified command immediately after taking over was to distinguish between the foreign terrorists and the local terrorists. This reduced the anti-terrorist operations to a joke. Immediately in the aftermath of this meeting on November 18, 2002, the number of local terrorists killed fell dramatically. It also enabled the terrorists to intensify the operations with less constraints. Results were immediately evident when the ratio of security men killed to terrorists killed went up to worse levels of 1:2 since Kargil war in the month of November 2002.

The new government when it took over should have been guided more by the security environment not only in the state but also in the region itself before taking critical decisions with regard to security operatives in the state. Around 800 civilians had been killed during the various phases of electioneering in the state. That such violence was inevitable given the stakes which elections had generated, is not a valid argument for so many reasons. The separatists had already unfolded a comprehensive strategy of proxy participation in elections as well as the grand alliance with Mufti's People's Democratic Party (PDP). Why should terrorist think tanks risk men and resources when security forces were at highest alert and peak concentration in the state? Just in the prelude to the elections Pakistan had started releasing restrictions on Lashkar-e-Toiba and Jaish-e-Mohammad.

The terrorist Infrastructure had demonstrated the capability right through the post 11 September period to sustain its strike capabilities despite unprecedented international isolation and pressures, weakening of Pakistani leverage to extend direct support to them, elimination of Taliban factor including the training sanctuaries of Afghanistan and massive mobilization of Indian troops along the Indo-Pak borders and LoC. The pre-election violence was only a vivid demonstration of this capability. The happenings at Akshardham on September 24, 2002 just before PDP-Congress took over the reigns in the state and the terrorist strike in Raghunath Mandir on November 24, 2002 when the new government was not yet settled in its seat were significant signals for Mufti Mohd Sayeed to review its promises to the electorate particularly on the issues related to the security of the state. The then PDP leader and now its president Ms Mehbooba Mufti declared immediately after the election verdict, "you cannot expect us to compromise on certain issues." What are these certain issues, which are so sacred to PDP than the security of the state, need to be known clearly. They constitute the ideological substratum of the party and not merely tactical considerations to wean away separatist support structures in the Valley as the Govt of India tends to believe. The PDP government moved swiftly to disband SOG (Special Operation Group of J&K Police) towards fulfillment of its promises.

PDP-Separatist

Flirtations

One thing goes to the credit of PDP that it has been more direct about its relationship with separatist formations in Kashmir valley. In its Interview to "India Today"(Oct 21, 2002) Mufti Sayeed clearly admits support from the terrorist organizations like Hizbul Mujahideen. When asked whether PDP got the support of militants especially HM during the elections, he answers brazenly, " They might have done it in certain pockets but it shows that even militants want an honourable exit route." The subsequent developments and revelations by the separatist leaders have shown that the separatist support to PDP has been more comprehensive and broad based cutting across factional rivalry amongst them.

Immediately after the election results, the Kul Jamaat Hurriet Conference chairman Abdul Gani Bhat said, " I am happy that National Conference has been defeated. I hope that the new government will keep promises and open dialogue with all of us. We are keen to be included in dialogue." Mufti himself revealed the other aspects of the agenda on which he had sought separatist support. He was asked to comment on whether PDP performed well because it spoke Hurriet language 'short of secession' to which he replied, "our party articulated people's hardships, the human rights violations by the security forces and the senseless violence." Dr Fai of Kashmir American Council was jubilant after Mufti's victory. The support to Mufti extended across the factional war in Hizbul Mujahideen. Both Majid Dar and Salahuddin factions had in essence agreed to engage with PDP. That PDP had developed alliance with the broader spectrum of separatist leadership to support it is evident from the recent revelations of Sajjad Lone of People's Conference. He reportedly has said that Jamaat-e-Islami cadre including those affiliated to Gilani had voted tactically in support of PDP.

So far Mufti has kept his promises to separatists. The "exit route" which he claims to be building for separatists in essence means dismantling of the very objectives which Govt of India aimed to achieve through Internationally recognized elections.

The Game

In the post election scenario separatists encountered the grave risk of isolation. A credible election would put to question the very credibility of separatist leadership as the true representatives of the people. With an elected government at the helm with International goodwill behind it, the 'War against Terrorism' will assume new punch. The Pakistan's position on Kashmir will become untenable, such were the expectations in the post election scenario.

The inkling what was to emerge from the new government came from the interview, which Mehbooba Mufti gave to 'Tim Sebastian' of BBC. The detailed expositions made by Mehbooba Mufti implicitly revealed that PDP was endeavouring to assume a position of neutrality between India-Pakistan and separatist formations in Jammu and Kashmir; that it would act more as an arbitrator between these three actors; that its stand on peace process was identical with the position of Hurriet and Pakistan; that it does not have a hostile or unsympathetic attitude towards Pakistani role in Kashmir and that it was reluctant to unambiguously condemn terrorism. Tim during the conversation was forced to comment that Ms Mufti was justifying terrorism. Chief Minister Mufti Mohd Sayeed subsequently commented many times that all efforts by Govt of India have failed out rightly to solve the Kashmir issue and there was no alternative other than talking to the separatists.

The entire process of conducting elections at such a heavy human and material cost was relegated to a manoeuvre of win - win for separatists. Here was an elected government, which was decisively undermining its own position and virtually according a 'veto' role for those who boycotted the elections. The 'exit route', which Mufti is claiming to build, turned out to be a life saving device for separatists discredited with people, isolated internationally and unsure whether violence levels will be sustained perpetually to keep Kashmir pot boiling. The separatists have had a better bargain from one more angle. As the Govt of India for the reasons known to it continues to pat the present government for its acts of commission and omission, it is pushing National Conference to change its stand on 'Accession and Pan-Islamic' terrorism. Senior NC leader Mustafa Kamal said recently that Kashmir issue can be settled through 'plebiscite'. NC president raised the question that if all elections in the state till the recent one were unfair then the accession, which was ratified by the 'Constituent Assembly', will also be questioned. We see gradually the separatist agenda transforming into a wider consensus.

Implications

PDP politics has effected the situation in the state in two more ways. One that it has stifled the scope of widening of the social base of mainstream national politics in Kashmir. Congress party has won 4 seats in Kashmir on its own, which is the most significant achievement of recent elections. That there is increased appreciation about India in the Valley was revealed by the "Mori Survey" conducted before the elections. The man behind the survey was Lord Eric Reginald Avebury from UK who has a long history of taking a strongly pro-Pakistan position on Kashmir. The survey reflected that the majority of Kashmiris would prefer to live with India. The blind and frequent endorsement of PDP politics by Govt of India has put serious pressures on this emerging mainstream consciousness in the Valley. In the absence of political outlet, it is bound to get channelised to the so called moderate varieties of separatism.

The second way where PDP policy perspectives have created maximum impact is in the area of conduct of security operations in the state. Disbanding of SOG was purely a political decision. It was a promise which had played a critical role in motivating the separatist leadership to support PDP during the elections. The SOG has so far been the most successful in anti-terrorist operations in the state using local resources. The force lost more than 400 policemen in the anti-terrorist operations and killed more than 1500 terrorists. It had introduced for the first time such asymmetry to anti-terrorist operations which the terrorist infrastructure was finding difficult to cope with. The subversive penetration which had crippled local police force was rendered ineffective by SOG and a new life was emerging in the local police force to galvanize it.

The disbanding of SOG, whatever the justifications, has a broader meaning for the separatist constituency. For this constituency, it means that through a subversive alliance any anti-terrorist operation emanating from the government could be crippled or dismantled. In the terrorist war as we are facing demonstration of subversive control from time to time is more crucial to sustain the morale of terrorist operatives than the actual acts of terrorism.

PDP unfortunately is also sustaining a diatribe against the security forces in the state even while it is at the helms. Recently the president of PDP alleged that “state terrorism” was “intact” in Jammu and Kashmir and said the Indian troops were ignoring state government’s policy of ensuring “humane policing”.

She said, “.....troops in lower rungs have not changed their mindset and remarkable human rights abuses have taken place last month.....The people have come out on the streets to protest and I am with them.” Such indictment of security forces is a sure recipe for creating security dysfunction.

Self-Deception

The two main indicators which are being used to project that the situation in the valley is returning to normality are the number of tourists visiting the valley now a days and the political mobilization taking place there depicted by the number of people who attended the rallies of Prime Minister and the leader of the opposition.

Reliance on the tourism inflow as a major indicator of the internal situation reflects primarily the compulsions which are political. However, a few things need to be taken into consideration. One, that after the unleashing of violence in the state after 1989, overall pilgrim tourism particularly to Vaishno Devi and Amarnath cave has gone up by around manifold. Amarnath cave used to have pilgrims rarely exceeding 50,000. Vaishno Devi has now become the pilgrim centre which attracts the largest number of pilgrims in whole of Northern India. This rise in numbers of Hindu pilgrims to the state appears to be paradoxical in relation to the internal situation which has seen religious cleansing operations spilling over to Jammu after the total Hindu cleansing of valley.

Are we witnessing a form of reaction of the Hindu middle class of India which wants to communicate its resolve to uphold national integrity in J&K by undertaking pilgrimages to the state despite grave risks? The rush of Kashmiri Hindu pilgrims to Kheer Bhavani is not something which is unique to the tenure of the present government. Infact the process of visiting Hindu shrines in Valley by the Kashmiri Hindus has started many years earlier. Far from being acknowledgement of improving situation in the Kashmir valley it is only a declaratory response that Kashmiri Hindus have not given up Kashmir forever. The reaction was more this year because of the Nadimarg massacre. The public rebuff and protest which Mufti experienced when he visited Kheer Bhavani on Zeshtashtami this year did not receive mention in media for secular considerations. Mufti and his entourage had to be whisked away when he tried to address the pilgrims and eulogise the situation in the Valley. The pilgrims reacted vociferously rejecting his claim and the situation threatened to assume violent proportions.

The public response to the visit of Vajpayee and Sonia Gandhi should be seen in the context of the political behaviour of Valley which has been always deceptive. Even recently, when NC used to attract sparse gatherings the trend has changed. Omar Abdullah discarded till yesterday is attracting huge gatherings in the Valley after NC started making pro-secessionist noises. There is a famous political joke in the valley. Bakshi Ghulam Mohd. was once asked when he was Prime Minister of Kashmir, as to how many people supported him. He remarked “40 Lakh.” Total population of the valley then was 40 Lakhs. And when asked how many supported Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah. He again quipped, “40 Lakh”. The number of people attending a particular rally can be misleading.

The issue which should worry Government of India is the content of politics around which political mobilization is sought by PDP. People are told that violence has achieved its objective of projecting Kashmir as a issue which has to be solved and now is the time for political engagement with Government of India. Such an argument has a wider support. The Jamaat-i-Islami endorses this view as do various other constituents of Hurriet. The differences as exist are only on the timing of such a process and

Pakistan's role in it. If a consensus is emerging in a large section of separatist opinion to enter into a serious political engagement with India on their terms and Mufti is providing the space for the same the mobilization which we are seeing in Valley assumes a different meaning altogether. India is ready for a significant political concession in the Valley and Kashmiris should facilitate it, is the under current amongst the Muslim middle class. To construe it as a wind blowing in favour of India in the separatist strongholds or endeavor to find 'exit' route will be fatally erroneous.

THE DANGEROUS SIGNALS

The respectability and recognition the present PDP Government has given to terrorist movement in the State is unprecedented. Mufti calls the movement as 'Tehreek(Freedom struggle)'. Mehbooba Mufti minces no words and describes the problem as 'ideological' without knowing if it is so how 'healing touch' is going to help.

The eulogisation of terrorism was done blatantly on 13th July, 2003 to pay tributes to martyrs who fell to Maharajas bullets in 1931 by both the Chief Minister and President of PDP. Mufti Sayeed promised constructing of a memorial for the martyrs of 1931 and those who are dying continuously "for the cause". Miss Mehbooba Mufti in her address assured the gathering that the blood of 1931 martyrs and "those young boys who attained martyrdom in last 12 years" would not go waste. The underlying message and the dangerous symbolism can be fully understood through the reporting from the leading local daily "Greater Kashmir" which captioned its story as "Emulate Hamas: CM to Militants". It reported the event as, "Chief Minister sought to reassure the people that their would be no sell out in Kashmir..... I am accountable before my people and I assure you that I will do everything possible to protect the national identity of Kashmir and bring peace with dignity.... Hamas in Palestine chose to fight politically and our boys holding guns should not take longer to understand the situation."

THE FLAW

Over the years the Government of India has tried to counter religious separatism in the state only by patronising apparently moderate varieties of Muslim subnationalism. Those political formations which toned down their public opposition to accession without altering their fundamental ideograph were seen as possible instrumentalities to counter pan-Islamism and frank secessionism. The strategy only resulted in a symbiotic relationship between the 'rabid communalists' and 'moderate communalists'. We have seen its interplay. NC opposes Jamaat publicly but rehabilitates their cadres administratively. Jamaat curses NC publicly but supports them in elections clandestinely.

The strategy of separatists has changed only in form and not in content during the recent elections. They chose to split their support to two political formations both wedded to Muslim identity politics and its constitutional fortifications. We have now NC and PDP competing for the same space.

The new strategy has unleashed competitive separatism and communalism. It has widened the subversive space. Using indicators like tourist inflow to Valley or the number of people which flock to the rallies of National Leaders in the Valley are acts of self-deception. The Nation building strategy in the state has to change. Facing squarely challenges of Muslim communalism and its militarisation without indulging in subterfuges is the need of the hour.

(The author is Chairman Panun Kashmir and Head of editorial Board of Kashmir Sentinel).

8 Special Employment Scheme

Befooling a community

KS Correspondent

IF any other is drawing sadistic pleasure out of the plight of the hapless Kashmiri Pandits besides terrorist regimes, these are the successive state governments. The state government is playing with the trauma of these Pandits and drawing pleasure out of their helplessness. Same mentality is reflected in befooling a whole community in the name of employment package.

After closing his eyes to the problems of Kashmiri migrants, particularly the unemployed youth, for most of his tenure, Farooq Abdullah woke up from his deep slumber in the middle of 2001 to have a look of the migrant camps in outskirts of Jammu city. Shedding crocodile tears, he doled out a promise to the hapless migrants. He announced an employment package for Kashmiri Pandits to absorb one from each family in state government employment and assured that the process will be set in motion soon. The frustrated unemployed youth were elated and prevailed upon community organisations not to oppose the move as they saw it as a golden opportunity to make their career. Such community organisations who had always doubted the sincerity of Farooq regime with held their remarks hoping something positive may come out.

After initial hiccups, the government committed itself officially to the process and a notification was issued. An advertisement notice was published in local newspapers by Chief Minister's Secretariat (Advisor Minority Affairs) Vide No: ACM/2001/1055, dated 17/9/2001 inviting applications from Kashmiri migrant unemployed youth for appointment under a special recruitment drive scheme. Though the government made employment conditional to joining in their respective districts within 21 days from the selection date, yet the migrant youth filed the applications which reflected alarming unemployment prevalent in the community. About 20,000 people filled the applications remaining in cues for hours together without success and returning next day to meet the same fate. There are eyewitness accounts that even some stayed in nearby "Shiv Mandir Temple" for nights to ensure they succeed next day. The response had belied the propaganda that Pandits are well settled and engaged in gainful employment. Keeping in view previous experiences, there were obvious apprehensions but no one had imagined that the process will be altogether a cruel joke.

After remaining criminally silent on the issue for months together, chief minister Farooq Abdullah announced that about 1300 applications had been forwarded to Central government for sanction. Washing his hands off, he ridiculed Central government for spending about 80 crore rupees per day to keep forces on borders but delaying expenditure on the recruitment of Pandits. Farooq Abdullah's comments surprised the community as he had never talked of involving Central government in the process when he had promised this employment package. And, when he absorbed about 1.5 lakh people mostly Muslims in government departments, he did not seek sanction from the Central government. Hoping against hope, Pandits still hoped some thing may come out.

But till Farooq Abdullah lost elections, not a single soul got employment under the scheme. Ironically, Minister for Revenue Relief, and Rehabilitation has now announced that the case is neither lying with Centre nor is in the process and even there are no traces of these applications what a mockery! How a community was taken for a ride. National Conference has not responded to the Revenue Minister's revelations. Will the Mufti led coalition, at least, bother to initiate a judicial inquiry to unravel the mystery?

9 Pt. Rameshwar Nath Kao

By Dr. B.N. Sharga

After the Chinese aggression in 1962 a need was felt to have an agency to gather foreign intelligence so that our nation should not be caught unawares in future about any such misadventure. The man who gave a concrete shape to this idea with solid foundations was Pt. Rameshwar Nath Kao popularly known as Ramji Kao among his friends and colleagues. He not only organised a vast intelligence network for gathering foreign intelligence known as Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) but also gave entirely a new meaning to the system of monitoring such secret informations.

RN Kao's ancestor Pt. Ghasi Ram Kao was originally a resident of Srinagar district of the Kashmir Valley. He came out from the Kashmir Valley in the beginning of the 18th century in search of a job and landed in Delhi with his son Pt. Damodar Das Kao and other family members. Pt. Damodar Das Kao had two sons Gulab Rai and Daya Nidhan besides a daughter Benobibi who was married in a Channa family.

Pt. Daya Nidhan Kao came to Oudh from Delhi during the rule of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula (1775-1798) and became a dewan in his court. He settled down with his family in Kashmiri Mohalla, Lucknow where he built two houses for his living. He had two sons Badri Nath and Bhola Nath besides a daughter Gaurishuri who was married in a Dar family of the locality. Pt. Bhola Nath Kao constructed a big well for providing drinking water to his community members residing in the area. This well was subsequently named after him as "*Bhola Nath Ka Kaun*". This historical well still exists on Abdul Aziz Road and now the whole locality is known by that name. Munshi Ram Sahai 'Tamanna' has written in his book that once Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula paid a visit to his house in Kashmiri Mohalla while going to Dargah Hazrat Abbas to pay his obeisance there which is considered to be the most sacred Shrine of Shia Muslims.

Pt. Badri Nath Kao had four sons viz; Ratan Nath, Kedar Nath, Kameshwar Nath and Bishambhar Nath besides three daughters Dhanwanti Shuri, Anandi Shuri and Sharika Shuri. His eldest daughter Dhanwanti Shuri was married with Pt. Ayodhya Nath Kaul Bakshi and his youngest daughter Sharika Shuri was married with Pt. Bajj Nath Hukku of the locality.

Pt. Kesar Nath Kao after completing his education became a deputy collector during the British period and lived in Ram Nagar, Benaras (Varanasi) for quite some time. He had two sons Triloki Nath and Dwarika Nath. Pt. Triloki Nath Kao after completing his education became a chemist and shifted from Lucknow to Baroda whereas his younger brother Pt. Dwarika Nath Kao was a deputy collector.

Pt. Triloki Nath Kao was married with Daya Shuri Zutshi who was the daughter of Pt. Shambhu Nath Zutshi of Lucknow. He had three sons viz. Parmeshwar Nath, Arjun Nath and Gyan Nath besides three daughters Rameshwari who was married with Pt. Rameshwar Nath Gurtu, Lakshmishwari who was married with Pt. Vishwanath Sapru and Shantishwari was a Professor in the Banaras Hindu University and remained unmarried till her death in 1998.

Pt. Dwarika Nath Kao was married with Khemwati Kaul who was the daughter of Pt. Srikishan Kaul of Lahore. He had two sons Rameshwar Nath and Shyam Sunder Nath. Pt. Rameshwar Nath Kao was born on 2nd October 1917 in Benaras where his grand father Pt. Kedar Nath Kao was posted as deputy collector at that time. His father Pt. Dwarika Nath Kao died quite young at Lucknow in 1923. His younger brother Pt. Shyam Sunder Nath Kao was born after the death of his father and so was a posthumous child.

R.N. Kao was brought up by his uncle Pt. Triloki Nath Kao so he had his early schooling in Baroda which was under the Bombay Presidency in the British period. He did his B.A. in 1936 and M.A. in English literature in 1938 from the University of Allahabad and was an inmate of the Muir Hostel.

R.N. Kao also did a job in a cigarette company for some time which was floated by Pt. Jag Mohan Narain Mushran who was the Chief judge of the Benaras State at that time for his son who died subsequently.

In 1938 R.N. Kao joined the law classes in the Allahabad University and did his LL.B (Prev.) in 1939. He simultaneously appeared for the Indian police examination. He was selected for I.P.S in 1940 and so could not complete his law course at the University.

R.N. Kao after his selection in the I.P.S was sent to Moradabad for a course in police training college there. Since he had a fetish for cleanliness so temperamentally his relationship with his superior British Officers at the Training College and other British Trainees was not very cordial since they used to dress up very shabbily. After completing his training he got his first posting in Kanpur in 1940 as an A.S.P. in the civil police R.N. Kao soon realised that while doing service in the civil police department and performing routine duties he will not be able to show much of his talent and calibre so he switched over to Intelligence Bureau (I.B.) which was constituted by the British to gather vital informations in the country. He was the first Hindu officer to join this highly sensitive department which was packed with British and Muslim officers at that time.

R.N. Kao got married at Allahabad on 21st January 1942 with Malini the daughter of Justice Tej Narain Mulla of Allahabad.

When India became free in 1947 and Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru became its first Prime Minister the Information Bureau (I.B.) was reorganised to suit the needs of an independent country. Its founder director Bhola Nath Mullick saw to it that this vital intelligence gathering agency in the country would not become another G estapo (Secret Service) of Adolf Hitler of Germany. B.N. Mullick groomed this agency on different lines and R.N. Kao was entrusted with the task of looking after the security ring of the Prime Minister Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru. Mr R.N Kao did this challenging job very well and made his own mark in this specific field.

In 1950s Pt. Nehru sent R.N. Kao to Ghana to help President Nkrumah to set up an intelligence and security organisation in that country which he carried out with great professional skill.

When the air crash of the famous jet-liner "Kashmir Princess" took place just before the historic Bandung Conference R.N. Kao was deputed by India along with Chinese and British secret agents to find out the real cause of this air mishap.

After the Chinese invasion of 1962 the Indian Government felt the need of having an altogether separate wing apart from I.B. for gathering foreign intelligence. Consequently a super secret technical intelligence gathering agency known as Aviation Research Centre (A.R.C.) was constituted in 1963 and R.N. Kao was made its director. His professional ability and skill in the areas of organising and management of intelligence was superb because he deeply studied the working of the secret intelligence service of U.K. known as "Scotland yard" C.I.A. of America and B.N.D. of the then West Germany.

When Mrs. Indira Gandhi became the Prime Minister of the country after the death of Lal Bahadur Shastri in 1966, she felt the need to have a dynamic and scientific intelligence network in the country to monitor foreign intelligence. She entrusted this task to R.N. Kao as she had seen his style of working earlier from close quarters during his stint with Pt. Nehru at the Teen Murti House. R.N. Kao did this job in a remarkable time and constituted a new wing for exclusively gathering foreign intelligence known as Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) on 21st September 1968. Mrs. Indira Gandhi appointed him as its founder director and simultaneously he was made a secretary (Research) in the Cabinet Secretariat. His main job was to assist Mrs. Gandhi on security matters of the country.

R.N. Kao played a key role in the liberation of Bangladesh in 1971 by providing vital intelligence inputs to our armed forces during the Indo-Pak war in which about 90,000 Pakistani soldiers under the command of Gen. N.A.K. Niazi surrendered. No where in .. world such a thing has ever happened before in a military warfare the credit for which squarely goes to R.N. Kao and his meticulous planning. R.N. Kao retired from active Government Service in 1977 after attaining the age of superannuation. After his retirement from service he became senior advisor to Mrs. Indira Gandhi in 1981 when she became the Prime Minister of the country for the second time.

After the Operation Blue Star Mrs. Gandhi felt the need to have an elite force trained exclusively to deal firmly with the growing menace of terrorism in the country. She again entrusted this task to R.N Kao to raise these special units to carry out surgical missions and other specific operations. R.N. Kao subsequently raised the battalions of National Security Guards capable of handling most sophisticated weapons and performing difficult task under most abnormal conditions. He worked with Mrs. Indira

Gandhi till her assassination in 1984. From 1980 he supervised both I.B. and RAW and thus became a czar of Indian intelligence. He floated the idea for the first time in a democratic India for a special security ring around the Prime Minister.

When Rajiv Gandhi became the Prime Minister of the country in 1984 he again appointed R.N. Kao as his security advisor. The split in the Congress party and formation of Jan Morcha by V.P. Singh forced Rajiv Gandhi to bow out from office in 1988 and with him R.N. Kao also sought retirement and started leading a calm and quiet life.

On 16th January 2002 R.N. Kao paid a visit to the All Indian Institute of Medical Sciences, New Delhi to see his younger brother Shyam Sunder Nath Kao who was admitted there for some treatment. All of a sudden he felt pain in his chest. He was at once admitted in the Intensive Care Unit (ICU) for observation where he breathed his last in the early morning of 20th January 2002 at the age of 84 years. He was cremated at the Nigambodh Ghat where his grandson lit his funeral pyre. Many dignitaries of the country like the leader of opposition in the Parliament Mrs. Sonia Gandhi and the Governor of Jammu and Kashmir state Mr Girish Saxena Mr. KR Naryanan in his condolence message said "Kao occupied a crucial position in our government set up and significantly contributed to enhance the efficiency and professionalism of law enforcement agencies by introducing innovative mechanisms of intelligence collection".

R.N. Kao was a meticulously dressed person with soft voice and pleasing manners. He was liked by his colleagues even from other services. He never threw his rank or his powerful connections at them. He helped those in distress and sometime people took undue advantage of this attitude. Suave and polite, he was never known to raise his voice. In the intelligence circles some top official trained by him are known as "Kaoboys" They are not mavericks but are identified by their quiet behind the door operations for which their mentor R.N. Kao was famous for.

R.N. Kao always avoided publicity and was shy of facing a camera. During his long service period he was photographed only once. In his death the country has lost the biggest name in the intelligence community. It is said that after his role in the creation of Bangladesh the Americans became so much impressed by the Indian intelligence support to Mukti Bahini that they started teaching the whole operation to their secret agents in West Point. The exited position of RAW in our country and outside and its rich contributions to our national security owe a lot to R.N. Kao. It is hoped that the central government would duly honour this giant of Indian counter intelligence by conferring upon him the civil title "Bharat Ratna" posthumously as his name fully deserves this recognition for his extraordinary service to the nation in its hour of peril.

*The author is a well-known researcher based in Lucknow and has authored multi-volume '*Kashmir Ke Anmol Ratan*', a national biography of Kashmiri Pandits.

10 Kashmiris rooted in their culture

By Renu S. Pandit

THIS has reference to the write-up of Raja Jaikrishan about the plight of Kashmiri Pandits (July 28). The author has grossly distorted the facts. Whether it is the reasons of their displacement or their affinity for their roots, he does not seem to be even remotely concerned with the facts. And he has even been frequently self-contradictory.

While Mr. Jaikrishan says in the beginning that "the secessionist movement in the Valley assumed the fundamentalist colour after India punished Pakistan for its misadventure on Kashmir by helping its eastern part to gain independence in 1971", later on he tends to project that the disillusionment started because of the denial of jobs and admissions to Kashmiri Muslims. It is wrong to assume that the secessionist movement picked up after 1971. In fact, the 1971 war disillusioned the Kashmiris from secessionism and it was in the aftermath of this war that Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah disbanded his Plebiscite Front and joined the national mainstream and he got a massive mandate in 1977 Assembly elections, which everyone admits, were the most fair held so far in Jammu and Kashmir.

In fact, the secessionist movement has fundamentalist origins only. These became intense and more manifest post-1987 after the sense of alienation over electoral malpractices intensified and tried to manifest itself in an armed rebellion.

On the one hand, Mr Jaikrishan says that "the majority (meaning Muslims), unhappy with the state turned its ire against the Pandits", which ultimately led to their exodus. On the other, he argues, "at the heart of the displacement of Kashmiri Pandits and a section of the Muslim is not the question of religious identity, but the economic crisis created by the raj of quotas and subsidies".

Similarly, he is grossly inaccurate in facts when he writes about Mr Jagmohan. It is pertinent to mention that Mr. Jagmohan took over as the Governor of J&K on January 21, 1990, while the exodus had started in December 1989 only and till January 19, over 10,000 displaced Kashmiri Pandit families were registered with the Jammu and Kashmir Sahitya Samiti (constituted by the J&K government) as migrants (refugees).

More importantly, the exodus followed a banner headline in a local vernacular *Al Safa*, which was issued on behalf of the Hizbul Mujahideen asking the Pandits to leave the Valley within 48 hours. It appeared in the January 11, 1990 issue of the *Al Safa*. And the maximum migration took place on January 19, 1990, which Pandits observe as the "Holocaust Day".

Although the BJP came out whole-heartedly in support of the displaced Pandits, who were traditionally supporters of the Congress, they never subscribed to its agenda. The writer's observation that it was the BJP which "helped them in the delivery of separatist and communal organisations like Panun Kashmir" is also wrong. While the displaced Pandits, particularly the youth, were driven towards the BJP at the initial stages of migration, later they not disillusioned as they felt that their plight was being misused by certain sections in the BJP.

It is also wrong to assume, as the writer claims, "Pandits have largely abandoned their language, food, dress and endogamous character". To straighten the record, the Kashmiri Pandits still speak Kashmiri with pride. They make their children speak Kashmiri only. They give their children typical Kashmiri names like Shihul, Poshmal, Shejar and the like. It is their culture which makes them look different from others. They still observe their festivals, particularly the Shivratri.

11 Tense Afghan-Pakistan relations

By Dr. Ayesha Siddiq

Given the heightened tension in Afghan-Pakistan relations, we seem to be back to square one with Kabul. In fact, it was Islamabad's bid to install a friendly regime in Afghanistan that resulted in the Pakistan Army and ISI's deep entrenchment in Afghan politics since the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The possibility of Kabul joining hands with New Delhi has always been Pakistani army's nightmare. It was after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan that the GHQ grew ambitious and started to build stakes in Afghanistan predicating that policy on the flawed concept of strategic depth. The idea was that a friendly regime in Kabul would provide Pakistan with strategic space in a conflict with India.

The events of 9/11 have not eliminated Pakistan's interest in Afghanistan, its ability to affect local political and military conditions, or its interest in doing so. But this time it is not the search for strategic depth; it is to contain the fallout of a potential nexus between Kabul and New Delhi. Since the rise to power in Kabul of the anti-Pakistan Northern Alliance, Pakistan's primary concern has been that linkage.

It is also in this context that one needs to see the growing tension between Kabul and Islamabad. This was manifested by reports from Kabul of Pakistan's support to the Taliban or extremist factions in Afghanistan with the intention of subverting Indian foothold in the past few months. In fact, policymakers in Afghanistan are averse to Pakistan's role in Afghanistan. They are also unwilling to accept the Durand Line, disputed by successive Afghan regimes.

Strong messages from Kabul, like attacking the Pakistan embassy, clearly mean Kabul mistrusts Islamabad and is prepared to make that known. It may also signal its resolve to formalise the disputed boundary. What exactly happened at the border is till unknown, but it is worthwhile that the military in Pakistan does not view the current developments, particularly American need to hunt down the Taliban, as an opportunity to extend Islamabad's writ beyond where it really can.

There is hardly any space in Afghanistan for traditional gimmicks. With the US in the middle of the Afghan conflict, it is dicey to use the traditional approach. Bot sides are using the wrong approach to problem solving. It is possibly this realisation and the urge to control negative developments that have led the US to encourage the setting up of a tripartite commission to resolve issues. Still, it is interesting to note that the border incident took place at a time when Washington had insisted upon both the Afghans and Pakistan government to launch anti-Al Qaeda operations, which increased the possibility of the violation of each other's territorial space. One wonders why such a misunderstanding took place despite the presence of a third force? Washington has approached the issue in an administrative fashion by appointing a military representative to the tripartite commission rather than a political representative. The other parties, on the other hand, have political representation with the appointment of the foreign ministers as heads of their team. There is a definite gap between Washington's perceptions of political issues between Pakistan and Afghanistan and the local sensitivity towards it. The US is only interested in capturing Al-Qaeda-Taliban elements. Therefore, it is natural for Washington to represent its interest in the Commission through a military member.

But the issue is deeply political. It is a moot point whether the commission mechanism could be used to settle the Durand Line. If such a decision ever comes about, would people on both sides of the divide accept it?

Islamabad has kept a studied silence on the developments so far. There is nothing much coming out of the foreign office with the interior ministry working on the forefront. The foreign office needs to take parallel approaches to solve the problem which requires both bilateral and multilateral input. This is because there are two diverse issues that need to be considered. First, the settlement of the border issue between the two neighbours; second, a settlement of Afghanistan's future the solution to which can only be sought through bringing on board all the stakeholders.

At this point, it would make tremendous sense for Pakistan to initiate a dialogue among all the stakeholders such as itself, Afghanistan, Iran, India and the Central Asian republics to decide what the political fine lines are going to be. This is necessary so that rules are not violated in the future.

12 Who killed Fatima Jinnah?

According to Khabrain Saira Hashmi's book published some years ago had revealed that Miss Fatima Jinnah went to attend the wedding of the daughter of Mir Laiz Ali on July 8, 1967 and returned from there after a short stay. She locked up the house and took her usual glass of milk. In the morning Lady Hidayatullah was called who got the house opened and discovered Miss Fatima Jinnah dead. One window was open which was unusual and the glass of milk was not there. Her cook had been fired three days earlier and new cook had disappeared after the incident. After she was given two separate namaz janaza she was not allowed to be buried near the Quaid by the Karachi administration which wanted her to be buried in Karachi's Amir Cemetery, but on public pressure commissioner Karachi allowed a piece of land 120 feet away from the Quaid's mausoleum for her grave. That's where she was finally laid to rest. Ahmad Saeed Kirmani who was Ayub Khan's information minister said that he had heard rumours that Ayub Khan had got her killed but when he asked Ayub he said he would be mad to do a thing like that. Diplomat and a friend of the Jinnah family Qutbuddin Aziz told Jang that his mother had given ghusl (last ritual bath) to Miss Fatima Jinnah and had noticed no wounds or spots of blood. He said she had died a natural death. Justice (Retd.) Javed Iqbal told Nawa-e-Waqt that Mr Sharifuddin Pirzada had kept quiet for 36 years and for some strange reason had now chosen to speak to distract people's attention. Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan told daily Pakistan that he knew that Miss Fatima Jinnah had been murdered but that the IG had covered it up. Jang quoted one Jawad Beg from Karachi saying his mother Mrs Raheel Sherwani was one of the ladies who gave the last ghusl to Miss Fatima Jinnah and had found no blood or scars on her body. Nawabzada Nasrullah remarked that ex-foreign secretary Mian Sheheryar Khan, whose mother was a friend of the Jinnah family, would know the truth about Fatima Jinnah's death. Mr Sharifuddin Pirzada who broke the news promised to give details about Ms. Jinnah's murder on August 14.

Justice Nasim Hassan Shah loses degree?

Sarerahe in Nawa-e-Waqt informed that in a meeting convened in the honour of the visiting Indian Lok Sabha member Kuldip Nayar, Chief Justice (Retd.) Supreme Court of Pakistan Nasim Hassan Shah told the audience that every time he went to India he found the Hindus better than Muslims. He said he had got his doctorate from Paris on a thesis on the right of self-determination of the Kashmiris, but now after meeting the Hindus in India he had changed his mind on Kashmir. The column asked Justice Dr. Shah to write to the university in Paris and return his degree saying that he no longer believed in what he had written. But if he lacked the moral courage (Ikhlāqī jurrat) to do so the University should write to him and ask him to return the degree.

General Niazi's pistol stolen

Daily Pakistan reported that the pistol surrendered by Pakistan's commander of East Pakistan General A.K. (Tiger) Niazi was stolen from a museum in New Delhi. The pistol was surrendered by the Pakistani general to his Indian counterpart in a formal ceremony in 1971 after the fall of East Pakistan. Daily Jang carried an Indian correction that Niazi's pistol was still lying in the army museum in Dehradun. The one stolen from the city museum belonged to another Pakistani officer who surrendered it also at the fall of Dhaka. Columnist Abdul Qadir Hassan wrote in Jang that after the surrender at Dhaka he had written a column asking General Niazi to give him back the pistol that he had handed over to the Hindus. It was an emotional column that chided the general for having surrendered national honour at Dhaka. The general sent a legal notice to Abdul Qadir Hassan which he accepted and wrote that he would stand on Regal Chowk and beg for the crore Niazi had demanded provided he gave him the pistol. The column informed that the pistol actually placed in the New Delhi museum could have belonged to Admiral Sharif, the other officer who surrendered to General Aurora. The actual pistol of Niazi was "safe" at Dehradun.

Jaish terrorist arrested

According to Nawa-e-Waqt quoting a French newspaper, Abdul Jabbar of the banned Jaish-e-Muhammad was caught from Sargodha with 5 accomplices. He was funding and organising the various terrorists acts in Pakistan including the attack on a missionary church in Islamabad, an attack on a missionary school in Murree and a mission-run hospital in Taxila.

Doing America's bidding

Veteran journalist Irshad Haqqani writing in Jang said that it looked likely that General Musharraf had decided to provide support to America's strategic objectives in the Middle East and Afghanistan. He had announced that Pakistan would send troops to Iraq after clearing up some issues of detail'. Pakistan could not go along with this decision on a number of counts: Pakistan's world view, its ideology, its responsibilities as a part of the Muslim Umma, and directly affected the self-interest of the State. Is General Musharraf going the way of General Yahya and General Zia by doing America's bidding merely to get this military uniform validated? General Zia served the Americans and could have got 25 to 50 billion dollars in return but he preferred being recognised by American as Pakistan's military ruler. Now what was General Musharraf asking to the US for sending Pakistani troops to Iraq? He was sacrificing Pakistan's self-interest which was in collision with the United States policy: its status as nuclear Islamic power, as an important member of the Umma, as a proponent of a world view which was opposed to that of the United States.

Cricketers convert to Islam

According to Khabrain, Pakistan's former opening bat with a flowing beard Saeed Anwar claimed that the only Christian in the Pakistani national cricket team, Yousaf Youhanna had converted to Islam and was in the process of growing a flowing beard. He said that opening bat Shahid Afridi was also in the process of growing a flowing beard. Saeed Anwar addressed a gathering of tabligh (preaching) at a high school in Rohri near Karachi and said that he was ashamed of his past life. Yousuf Youhanna denied the claim made by Saeed Anwar.

—*Courtesy*: The Friday Times

13 Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case

The First Communist Coup Attempt in Pakistan

By P.K. Kothari

On March 9, 1951, the people of Pakistan were told by the government that a group of senior army officers had entered into a conspiracy with the nascent communist party to stage a coup. Since then the conspiracy, which has come to be known as *Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case*, has got enmeshed in political mythology. Scholars like Ayesha Jalal contest the official version. She says the conspiracy case was fabricated and the arrests of the army officers and the trial was engineered by the western intelligence agencies. Researches of Tariq Ali, the Veteran Trotskyite leader and Hassan Zaheer have established beyond doubt that the conspiracy was indeed real, even though the trial of the arrested leaders may have been a farce. Tariq Ali's father late Mazhar Ali Khan himself was a well-known communist leader. Hassan Zaheer who occupied a senior position in Pakistan civil service, has meticulously pieced together all the evidence he could lay his hands on, in preparing an excellent monograph on the conspiracy, titled *'The Times and Trial of Rawalpindi Conspiracy 1951: The First Coup Attempt in Pakistan' (OUP)*.

Plotters :

The Kingpin of the conspiracy was Major General Akbar Khan, the man who organised Tribal aggression on Kashmir in 1947. Pakistan government framed up eleven officers from the armed forces, besides four civilians. Among these officers were three major generals, two brigadiers, two Lt. Cols., one air commodore, two majors and two captains. The four civilians, who were arrested for involvement in the conspiracy, included Begum Nasim, wife of Major General Akbar Khan, Faiz Ahmed Faiz, the great Urdu poet, Sajjad Zaheer, the chief of communist party of Pakistan and Muhammed Hussain Ata, a top trade unionist. At the time of conspiracy Major General Akbar Khan was chief of the General Staff.

Akbar Khan was of unstable mind. Brian Cloughley, author of 'A History of Pakistan Army-Wars and Insurrections', describes him as "an apparently popular officer but one who confused his sense of duty with his sense of importance. About Akbar Khan, Tariq Ali says "he was widely regarded as an audacious and relatively progressive officer". According to AG Noorani "his world-view was limited to Kashmir irrespective of the consequences of his moves". Akbar Khan was said to be bitterly opposed to the cease-fire in Kashmir the presence of British officers in the armed forces, the pro-west orientation of the government and detested the growing corruption in the administration.

The officers, who supported him in conspiracy were "a mixed bag of radical nationalists, outright chauvinists and religious freaks". One of the conspirators was Brig. Siddique Khan He has been described as "unstable, emotional and impulsive". He was commanding a brigade at Bannu, South West of Peshawar. The brigadier had denied involvement during an interview with Ayub Khan. He panicked and telephoned another plotter to alert him. The call was intercepted and the game was up.

Akbar Khan's wife Nasim belonged to a well-known feudal family of Lahore, with good political connections. She was the daughter of Begum Shah Nawaz, a veteran Muslim Leaguer and grand-daughter of Sir Muhammad Shafi. Begum Nasim Khan admired communism and was quite enthusiastic to work for the promotion of the cause. In west Punjab it was not unusual for few rich feudal families to endorse Bolshevism. Sir Sikander Hayat Khan's daughter, Tara was married to Mazhar Ali Khan.

Major General Akbar Khan's obsession was that 1949 ceasefire cheated Pakistan of a victory in Kashmir. Goaded by his wife, he kept plotting a military coup from mid-1949.

Communists' Role :

In West Punjab, for various reasons, the communist movement had remained weak. At its peak, the undivided CPI did not have more than three thousand members in the entire Punjab. Partition caused a

serious dislocation of the left. The majority of the members, who happened to be Hindus or Sikhs migrated to India. The NWFP, Sind and Baluchistan had a handful of members at best.

CPI during the war years, appointed itself as an "honest" broker between Muslim League and Congress. It came out with a thesis that designated Muslim League as an anti-imperialist patriotic party, while the unionist party of Sikandar Hayat Khan was described as an organisation of pro-imperialist landlords.

Elaborating this concept further, the CPI theoretician Sajjad Zaheer, wrote in "Light on League-Unionist Conflict" (Bombay, 1944) "The task of every patriot is to welcome and help this democratic growth, which at long last is now taking place among the Muslims of the Punjab. The last stronghold of the imperialist bureaucracy in India is invaded by the League. Let us all help the people of Punjab to capture it".

This change in CPI strategy made many Muslim members of CPI desert the parent organisations to join Muslim League. Tariq Ali writes sarcastically, "a whole group of communists and fellow-travellers of Muslim origin now linked arms with their old enemies. They went into the Muslim League to help its "progressive wing".

Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, a left Congressman was appointed minister for Refugees and Rehabilitation in the Muslim League government after partition. When the League refused to accept his radical demands for resettling the refugees, he resigned from the ministry. He organised the Azad (Free) Pak party, a body which in effect provided the left with a safe constitutional cover.

Communist Party of Pakistan was set up by the decision of CPI in 1948. A number of Muslim communists were sent to lead the new organisation. Sajjad Zaheer, who belonged to a UP feudal family became its first general secretary. He held a commanding position as a critic in the realm of Urdu literature. In the field of aesthetic discourse he was a master.

Why did the leadership of the still-fledgling CPP opt for shortcuts? Tariq Ali explains, "organising a party committed to fundamental social change is somewhat more arduous than arranging a dinner party. In the conditions of West Pakistan, building a mass communist party could not but be a very long haul. The membership of the Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP) in West Pakistan was less than two hundred. With committed cadres (and they did exist) a party could have been developed and an influential trade union network established. The CPP was fortunate in that it possessed in Mirza Ibrahim, a dynamic working class leader and in Ferozedin 'Dada' Mansur an experienced veteran with detailed knowledge of the country side. However, the skills and talents which existed were not put to their proper use, and the CPP leadership was constantly egged in a search for shortcuts". About Sajjad Zaheer he writes, "his organising abilities, did not match his literary skills".

In 1947 Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din had launched Progressive Papers Ltd., which ran Pakistan Times in English and Imroze in Urdu. Run by professional left wing journalists, the two papers became extremely popular and soon emerged as an influential voice of the left. The left, however, was too impatient and thought that despite this press support there was no corresponding enlargement of the popular base.

Tariq Ali says that CPP link-up with Maj. General Akbar Khan was purely coincidental. He writes, "the infant CPP became embroiled in the plan when Sajjad Zaheer met General Akbar at a cocktail party. The general broached the subject of the intended coup, and requested help in drafting manifestos and hit lists. The CPP leadership approved of the enterprise and participated in various meetings with army officers".

The basis for Akbar Khan-communist collaboration already existed. Begum Naseem, wife of Maj General Akbar Khan was already thick with the communist leadership and admired Bolshevism. More durable relationship, however, had evolved in 1947-48, when leading Pakistani communists collaborated with Major General Akbar Khan in organising tribal raid on Kashmir. The Hindu population of the areas affected by the raid witnessed murders, kidnappings, conversions and loot unheard in history. All this had the full support of the then communist leadership of Pakistan. There is documentary evidence which substantiates the communist involvement in tribal raid and their tacit approval of loot of non-Muslims.

Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, Captain Lateef Afghan and, Prof M.D. Taseer (who had earlier served as Principal of S.P. College and was brother-in-law of Faiz) all were active in re-enacting two-nation principle so far as Kashmir was concerned. Prof. M.D. Taseer and Sheikh Anwarul Haq at the behest of left lobby in Muslim League visited Kashmir to prevail upon Sheikh Abdullah to accede to Pakistan. Mr G.M. Sadiq, later chief minister of J&K, was sent to negotiate with the leaders in Pakistan at the instance of Taseer. Late Rajender Sareen, India's all-time finest commentator on Pakistan, who was present on the occasion writes, "Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din also played a role in that?" At the same time K.H. Khurshid, Private Secretary to Jinnah, was engaging Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad in Srinagar.

In Lahore Sadiq met Liaquat Ali Khan through Dr. Taseer and Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din. Sareen, who met Sadiq soon after he returned from Pakistan, recorded a note of his conversations with him. Part of it was published. An article written by Sareen dealing with this subject was published in the *Tribune* of May 5, 1954.

Sardar Shoukat Hayat Khan, the leading Muslim Leaguer of the time has also recorded the role of Pakistani left in grabbing Kashmir in his autobiography, 'The Nation that lost its soul'. He records, "after joining with the family I visited Srinagar. Sheikh Abdullah and the High Command of his party were mostly in jail. I met Mohi-ud-Din Kara one of the leaders who had moved underground. He informed me of the plight of his partymen because of the cruelty of Mr. Kak, then the chief minister of Kashmir. He asked me to give them the wherewithal to eliminate him....Later after the creation of Pakistan, I requested Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din who was on good terms with Sheikh Abdullah, because of their friendship during the days he was in the Congress, to go and persuaded him to help Kashmir opt for Pakistan".

Maj. General Akbar Khan in an interview published in the "Defence Journal" (June-July 1985) said : "A few weeks after Partition, I was asked by Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din on behalf of Liaquat Ali Khan (Prime Minister of Pakistan) to prepare a plan for action in Kashmir...I wrote a plan on this basis and gave it to Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din...It was part of their (Tribal Lashkars) agreement with Major Khurshid Anwar of the Muslim League National Guards who was their leader that they would loot non-Muslims. They had no other remuneration..."

Conspiracy :

The aim of the Rawalpindi conspiracy plan, as the circumstantial and the documentary evidence revealed, was "to oust the government and replace it with a pro-Soviet military dictatorship with two objectives--resume the war in Kashmir and befriend India by sending Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan as an envoy of peace". The contradiction was lost on them.

At the time of their arrests four documents, in his own handwriting, recovered from Major General Akbar Khan's house betrayed his intentions and plans completely. These documents, whose authorship he subsequently admitted, included plan to capture Sheikh Abdullah and prevent him at any rate from escaping to India right at the start. This plan was not different from what Liaquat Ali, Dr Taseer and Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din had decided when Sadiq was in Lahore. This puts the larger communist game in its proper perspective.

Under Akbar Khan's plan, "the action would start on the night between 3rd and 4th March". The Prime Minister and the C and C would be arrested in Rawalpindi along with many senior civil and military officers, while Governor General Khwaja Nazimuddin would be taken care of in Karachi. The Prime Minister would be made to read out on the radio a declaration of transfer of power to a Military Council comprising new C and Cs of the armed forces; Akbar Khan that of the army".

The last crucial meeting of the plotters was held at Akbar Khan's residence on February 23, 1951. Zafarullah Poshni, one of those present recalled to Hasan Zaheer, "at the meeting everyone was nervous and it was not only Siddique Raja who opposed the execution of the plan but others as well. The opponents of the plan expressed their reservations about the effectiveness of the arrangements, particularly at Karachi, in making the coup a success". Deliberations went on for six hours. It was decided by majority vote to postpone the action until Akbar Khan had visited Karachi and consulted Air

Commodore Janjua about the arrangements made there. Janjua's friendship with Akbar Khan dated back to 1947. Akbar Khan has recorded, "when in 1947...I was conducting operations in Kashmir, he (Aircmdr Janjua) visited me there and gave me enthusiastic encouragement and assistance in the shape of clothing and ammunition from the Air Force depots without permission from the Air C-in-C"

Akbar Khan left for Karachi on 25th February and gave directions to his private secretary to ring up Askar Ali Shah on 26th February and convey to him the message that "*Jis Kam Ke Liye Aap Aye They Woh Kaam Abhi Nahi Karna*" (The work for which you had come is not to be done for the time being).

Conspiracy Foiled :

How did the plan leak out to Pakistani authorities? When a historical event gets enveloped in political mythology the truth becomes a casualty. There are many versions. According to Brian Cloughley, Brigadier Siddique Khan was already under watch and had denied his involvement to General Ayub. He had panicked and when he telephoned another plotter to alert him, the call was intercepted. According to Tariq Ali, "It was decided (in February 23 meeting) that the plan be shelved for a period, but one of the military conspirators, fearing that the truth might come out, turned informer and unveiled the whole affair". Hasan Zaheer says that one Askar Ali Shah, Inspector of CID, NWFP, was an old friend of Major General Akbar Khan and knew about the conspiracy. He reported the conspiracy to his superior GH Kiani, Assistant I.G. on February 23 itself, the day Akbar Khan had held meeting in his house. Kiani informed the Governor I I Chundrigat, who took Liaquat Ali Khan, Sikander Mirza, Defence Secretary and General Ayub Khan in confidence. Another version says Akbar Khan had confided in his Deputy Chief of General Staff, Brig. Habibullah, who kept the C in C, Ayub Khan informed.

Sajjad Zaheer back tracks:

Why Sajjad Zaheer, the key figure in the conspiracy did not join the last meeting has also intrigued scholars? This point was hammered by CPI leader to prove his non-involvement in the conspiracy. He tried to explain that "to every confirmed communist the idea of a Coup d'etat by the army never finds favour". This was, however, contested by a leading CPP member, Eric Cyprian. According to him Sajjad Zaheer "was able to steer it (involvement in the coup) through the Central executive of the communist party by a majority of a single vote". Probably Zaheer had misread the Ranadive line propounded at the Calcutta session of CPI in February, 1948. Cyprian wanted the party to expel Sajjad Zaheer, admit its mistakes and cut the losses.

The plotters were arrested. General Ayub Khan, C in C of the armed forces, as per Pakistani authorities, was to be shot. The authorities further claimed that General Akbar Khan and Brigadier Latif were planning a coup in collaboration with Faiz Ahmed Faiz for the past six months.

Trial :

The trial was held in Hyderabad prison, as a Special Civil Tribunal, not a court martial because civilians were also involved. A special law was enacted to set up a three judge Tribunal to try the case. The judges included Justice Abdur Rahman of the Federal court, Justice Amin-ud-Din Ahmed of the Dhaka High Court and Justice Mohammad Sharief of Lahore court. The trial began on June 15, 1951. H.S. Suhrawardy, former Premier of Bengal appeared for one of the accused, a friend, without fee. ZH Lari, formerly of the Lucknow Bar defended Akbar Khan. AK Brohi appeared for the prosecution. As expenses mounted, Faiz and two others had to dispense with the services of counsel.

The trial, held in Camera, was a sham. When the Tribunal's judgements and related documents were declassified in 1995, the documents did not include the defence put up by the conspirators apart from those parts discussed by the judges in their judgement obviously, the authorities had much to hide.

Askar Ali Shah, soon after informing Kiani, disappeared without a trace and did not appear as witness. Yet his statements, untested by cross-examination, were used as evidence against the accused. On

November 11, 1952, the Pakistan Government, enacted an amendment to official Secret Act to "any order, judgement and sentence of the Special Tribunal, leaving it free to the government to publicize them if it so decided".

Justice Mohammad Sharif put his note of dissent in the judgement. On important points dissent favoured the accused. Two accomplices had received pardon and gave evidence as approvers. Fourteen serving army officers were selected by the tribunal from the prosecution's list of 351 witnesses. They "corroborated" the approver's evidence. All the fourteen were admitted as accomplices. The defence argued that this was tantamount to one accomplice corroborating another and was not the independent corroborating evidence of an approver as the law required. Hassan Zaheer writes, "there were reports of intimidation of officers to give evidence for the prosecution to save themselves from being hanged". Justice Mohammad Sharif noted, "there was no intention from the very beginning to produce Askar Ali Sha in court".

The trial concluded on November 1, 1952 and the judgement announced on January 5, 1953. Naseem Khan was the only one to be acquitted. Akbar Khan was sentenced to transportation for a term of twelve years. Sentences of others varied from four to seven years rigorous imprisonment. In respect of one accused, justice Sharif held that he "appears to have been falsely involved," The accused, however, were not allowed to see his note of dissent though it formed part of judgement.

Was the judgement delivered too harsh? Tariq Ali disagrees, "the amateurishness of the plot ensured that those involved received light sentences." Others observe since the conspiracy was itself abandoned by the plotters there was no need of such harsh punishment. One of the judges, in fact, did not miss this point, when he wrote, "there is not an iota of evidence to prove that any act or illegal omission took place in pursuance of that conspiracy". RLD Jasper, U.K. Deputy High Commissioner in Lahore, in his weekend despatch (17 March, 1951) wrote to his government, "accounts put out official personages in public and private are somewhat contradictory...on the basis of the above, we are justified in retaining some doubt whether political movement of potentially subversive character had in fact reached that stage of criminal conspiracy".

In 1955, the accused were freed on bail by the Lahore High Court and granted pardon for the remaining terms of their sentences. Akbar Khan joined Suhrawardy's Awami League in 1955 itself. He divorced Naseem in 1959, began law practice in 1963 and became minister in Bhutto government in 1972. Sajjad Zaheer came to India for good. Ayub Khan graciously accommodated some of the convicted persons in his regime. Faiz never spoke or wrote about his involvement. Some of his finest verses were in fact, written during this incarceration. These were brought out in two collections, *Dast-e-Saba* (fingers of the wind) in 1952 and *Zindaan Nama* (prison memoirs) in 1956. The former includes the famous poem like *Subh-e-Azadi* (The Dawn of Freedom), and a Quatrain on censorship (*Mata-e-Lauh O Qalam Chin Gai To Kya Gham Hai*, what if my pen and paper have been snatched away).

Impact :

The hatching of the conspiracy as well as its failure had disastrous impact on the future democratic and secular politics in Pakistan. It proved to be trailer for Ayub's Coup in 1958. The failed coup helped him get rid of his chief of General Staff, Akbar Khan and others he disliked. His pre-eminence was confirmed. The Communist Party was crushed, never to recover and the people were de-sensitized to violations of civil liberties. Its impact on the communist movement in Pakistan has been analysed well by Tariq Ali and Hassan Zaheer.

Tariq Ali writes, "the CPP virtually dissolved itself after being banned, and many of its cadres joined Azad Pakistan party. This debacle was to leave a lasting impact on the demoralised remnants of the party, which was never again to emerge as a national, independent force. Its politics were instead to be submerged in successive multi-class formations of one variety or another".

Hassan Zaheer observes, "until the exposure of the conspiracy, the party (CPP) had been doing fairly well on its own through its regular cadres and a large number of front organisations in the social, political, and

intellectual fields. It was not unlikely that it would have gained, overtime sufficiently political clout in urban areas to become a minor but articulate mainstream political party, capable of playing a secular and socially progressive role to influence obscurantism and the feudal culture of Pakistan. But its involvement in the conspiracy provided the government an opportunity to ban the organisation, smash its cadres, and scatter its sympathisers and front organisations for all times to come.”

14 The Traditional Music of Kashmir

By Dr. Ramesh Kumar

MUSIC, from times immemorial, has remained the most important medium of expression of human emotions. Kashmir, Mathura and Benaras, in the bygone times, were prominent centres for learning art. Due to ravages of time all the written evidence regarding the kind, type and form of music prevalent in Kashmir in the distant past has perished. We can only surmise about the notations and grammar of music which was prevalent that time. The task of preparing a comprehensive historiography on music of Kashmir has thus remained a difficult one.

However, some styles of music and singing e.g. temple Sangeet, Shiv Gayan and traditional folk music survived the upheavals and persisted to interest on account of their sentimental appeal and emotional attachment. These styles of music are continuing even now as a distinct genre and as a tradition of Kashmir. There are also stray references in old classics like Nilamatpurana, Rajatarangini etc.

'The Traditional Music of Kashmir--in relation to Indian classical music'. by Prof. Sunita Dhar fills an important gap in preparing an authentic historiography of music of Kashmir. It is the first serious attempt to study the extant forms of music in a historical prospective. The advantage of being an 'Insider' has imparted a touch of originality to the work. Presently, Prof. Dhar is Dean of the Faculty of Music and Fine Arts at Delhi University. She has been trained by Padmabushan Pandit Debu Chandhuri.

Historical Overview :

In ancient Kashmir, as in other places, the temples used to be important places for learning music and singing. Dancing girls used to perform in these temples. The author makes a statement of fact when she remarks that during ancient period "one does not find any difference between the music, art and culture of Kashmir and that prevailing elsewhere in rest of India".

There is archeological evidence, which points to the existence of singing and dancing in Kashmir. Tiles and some sculptures, excavated during Harwan excavations bear the pictures of dancing and singing persons and also of the ladies playing on the rhythmic instrument (drum). Another person is shown playing a Veena in an artistic pastime.

Nilamatpurana, a sixth century Mahatmya provides details about the festivals, in which musical concerts and dips in the river Vitasta and collective singing in the evenings featured.

Rajatarangini mentions about the royal patronage to music and about the art of music. It also talks about the musical instruments in this region in distant past. According to Pandit Kalhana, its author the folk musical instruments like earthen pots, brass vessels etc. were used by Kashmiri people from very early times. He mentions an instrument called "Hadukka", which can be compared to a big pipe. The ancient musical instruments, used in Kashmir, had been more or less a reflection of Indian musical instruments in usage during that time.

King Harsa of Kashmir was an expert linguist and a poet too. He had a taste for music and composed songs. The king introduced Carnatak music to Kashmir. King Bhiksacara (1120-21 AD) himself played on musical instruments. He was fond of 'Chhakri', a form of choral singing, popular even to this day.

During the past millennium, Kashmir suffered heavily on account of external incursions and internal turmoil. Music and fine arts too suffered a blow in 11th and 12th century, when a Tartar adventurer, Dulacha invaded Kashmir. It led to anarchy and economic depression. Sultan Sikandar, 'the Iconoclast, at the behest of his alien advisors banned all forms of music and dance. Kashmir was impoverished culturally. Srivara, a contemporary chronicler avers that the Sultan destroyed all the literature and material extant on the subject of music.

It was Kashmir's good fortune that Sultan Zain-ul-Abdin ,who reversed all the policies of his father, ascended the throne. He and Sultan Hassan Shah revived the policy of royal patronage to music and fine arts. Srivara, an accomplished artist and a great musician was appointed Head of the department of Music.

The great musician used to sing vernacular of Persian songs for the entertainment of the king. He and other talented musicians of Kashmir visited far south and other parts of India to interact with their counterparts.

Sultan Zain-ul-Abdin invited artists and musicians from Iran, Turan, Turkistan and Hindustan. He offered them good prospects and concessions to settle down in Kashmir. Avenues were also found for adopting and including various Ragas and Raginis of Indian music. Srivara himself writes that the singers from Karnataka sat gracefully before King Hassan Shah as if they represented the six tunes namely Kedara, Ganga, Gandhara, Desha, Bangala and Malva.

Sufiana Music :

The entry of Irani and Turanian musicians saw the emergence of a new form of music, which came to be known as Sufiana Mosiqui. This form of music has its style borrowed from Persian music and is played with musical instruments quite different from those used for Indian classical music and Kashmiri folk music. The author tells us too little about how this music evolved in the cultural clime of Kashmir. Is this a product of syncretic interaction between Kashmir's own traditional music and Irani-Turanian music or simply a transplantation of Irani-Turanian music and the soil of Kashmir? When one listens to Tajik music, one can hardly find any difference.

Dr Sunita Dhar's excellent monograph on the traditional forms of music and the musical instruments in vogue in Kashmir offers much to the casual reader as well as the serious scholar of Kashmir's music.

The author divides the traditional music of Kashmir into four categories—songs sung by women folk, minstrel, farmers and religious songs.

Songs sung by women :

Vanvun, a prayer in the form of music has played a leading role in maintaining the continuity of our culture. Its subjects refer to the events of vedic period. It preserves our faith in spiritual and ancient beliefs. Vanvun, Veegya Vacchan, Hikath and Vaan are songs sung by women folk of Kashmir. The author divides Vanvun during '*mekhal*' (Janev) and marriage ceremony into ten categories—Garnavaya (house leaning and washing), Dapun (personal invitation of guests for the approaching function), Manzirath (heena dye and night singing), Kroor (after a white wash flowery decoration at the main door), Shran (sitting on stool and dropping milk, curd and bathing), Devgun (welcome to vedic gods), Varidan (gifts to the relatives), Yonya (holy fire), Tekya Narivan (holy mark on the forehead and sacred thread tied around the wrist), Kalash Lava (after the worship of Kalash, sprinkling of water). Dr Dhar provides samples, along with meaning, on all these forms of Vanvun. She traces the vedic origin of such customs like wearing of Kalpusha-taranga by Kashmiri women, Zarkasaya, Veegya Vacchan. For example, in vedic period, when Goddess Sinaivali's (one of the thirteen wives of Sage Kashyapa) marriage was performed, God Poosha had prepared a beautiful headgear to, decorate her head. This was called '*Kapal-apush*' in Sanskrit. Lord Indra, beautifying it further, had wrapped a white strip of cloth around it. This custom is followed today by Kashmiris as a routine. '*Kalpush*' in Kashmiri, is '*Kapal-apush*' in Sanskrit. The white twinkling strip is '*Tarang-Kor*' in Kashmiri. While putting on this head gear, ladies sing to bride.

'Pooshan Thovnaya Sinaivali Devi

Cheh Koori Thovnaya mael maleh'

Meaning: Vedic God Pushan himself prepared '*Kapal-apush*' and decorated it for the head of Sinaivali, but in your case, your father and mother have put it on your head.

'Zarkasaya' (mundan) has originated from Jatanishkasan in Sanskrit, i.e. removing hair and making the child bald. Devgun has originated from '*devagaman*' in Sanskrit, which means the arrival of God. '*Veegya Vacchan*' has originated from a vedic word, '*vishesh yog vacchan*', i.e. to be sung on a special occasion. In

this vanvun, bridegroom or the boy whose 'Yagneopavit is being performed stand on Vyug, a round shaped drawing designed with different colours.

'Ruf' an emotional type of folk dance is sung during spring. It is mentioned in Nilmatapurana. According to Prof. Dhar it might have originated from 'dwarf dance', of Vedic language. In Vedic language, it means a bee, which further developed as Ruf. Earlier, even Vaksh of Lalleshwari were sung in question-answer form in the 'Ruf'.

"Hikat" is a form of 'raas'. Reference to it is found in writings of Bhatt Avatar. Nund Rishi too was acquainted with it. This has originated from 'hi-krit', i.e. any piece of work done Joyfully.

'Vaan' singing is performed during occasions of grief. In olden days, an old professional singer, 'Vangarinya' in Kashmir used to visit on the day of the death. He would enquire about the names of the ancestors and family members etc. and sing till the tenth day.

Lalnavun is a type of folk song and is based on Vatsalaya Ras. During medieval times Muslims styled their Vanvun singing as different from Hindus. In Vanvun of Kashmiri Hindus a medium tone is used and there is no element of tribal music in it. In Muslim Vanvun fast tone is used. The quantity of Hindu Vanvun poetry is much more than that of Muslims. The latter divide themselves into two groups; one group sings a line, which is repeated by the other. They generally sing standing. A similar type of group singing is prevalent in Kumaon and Garhwal hills.

Songs sung by Minstrels :

Songs sung by minstrels, professionals include those sung by Chhakar singers, Bhands and Ladishah singers. The author traces 'Bhand Paethar in history and provides a detailed account on how it is performed. 'Ladishah' is a satirical song, which reflects the society's condition. According to Prof. Dhar 'Ladi' means a row or line-'Shah' has been added after the advent of Muslim rule.

About *Chhakari*, the author says that it owes its origin to Rigvedic 'Shaktri'. In Aryan culture, chorus singing after deva-yagya was a common practice. According to late Mohan Lal Aima, 'mantrya mand's ghada instrument originated 'Chhakri'. *Bachhi Nagma* was previously known as '*bacchi gyavun*'. During Pathan rule nagma, an arabic word was added to it. The dress of a Bacchi Nagma performer matches that of a 'Kathak' dancer. References to this form of singing is found in Nilamat. Rishi Macchar is another type of singing, performed by minstrels. '*Rishi Macchar*' is derived from vedic 'Rishi + Mat+har i.e. insane i.e. intoxicated movements of the Rishis. These rishis were spiritually intoxicated and Rishi Machhar saints used to move in groups to collect alms. They would visit people and repeat those rhymes, which pertained to the morality of life. 'Dhamaly' means leaping and Jumping. This type of holy sport is also popular in UP. It is related with an exercise of saints, who jump over burning fire.

Naindai Gyavun are farmer's folk songs. Naind is the changed form of the word 'Ninad' of Sanskrit. The word 'gyavun' also has originated from gayan of Sanskrit. Since these songs are sung in Chorus, these are also called 'Naindan Chhakar'. Religious songs include leelas and its tradition continues to be strong even in exile.

Musical Instruments :

In the chapter on instruments used with the Traditional Music, the author goes back to the history, discusses the material these instruments are made of and also describes the technique of playing. Her observation is that the ancient musical instruments used in Kashmir "had been more or less a reflection of the Indian musical instruments in usage during that time". She discusses at length these instruments e.g. Tumbaknari, Sarang (Sarangi) and Kashmiri Sarang, Gagar, Nagda, Dhola, Shankh, Swarnai, Khasya (Khos-cup), Thaluz, Rabab, Noet, Nai (Flute), Santoor, Saaz-i-Kashmir, Setar/Sehtar, Wasul/Dokra/Tabla.

In Iran Tumbaknari is called Tumbakh or Tunbak. In West Asia it is tumbal or tumbari. Gagar holds valuable place in the religious festivals of Kashmir. Shankh, the 'sushirvadya', one of the ancient

instruments of India is associated with religious functions and has a vital role in 'Leela' singing. Atharva Veda and Bhagvad Gita carry references to it. Swarnai, a 'sushir vadya', holds the same place in Kashmir folk music as the Shahnai in the Indian music. This instrument has been mentioned in Nilamata Purana and Rajatarangini. This musical instrument is intimately related to marriages, festivals, shivratri, navreh, Id and other auspicious occasions.

Late Mohan Lal Aima did an intensive study of Noet playing and revived the art. References to Noet-playing are present in Nilamat and Rajatarangini. Delving into its origin, Prof. Dhar observes that in Kashmiri language, the original words 'Kalash' or 'Ghat' might have lost their existence and 'Noet' have gained popularity due to the fact that it was associated with 'UV' (nat). In due course of time, the word 'nat Kalash' might have lost 'Kalash' and become popular as 'noet'.

In Kashmiri, Nai means flute. In Nilamat it finds mention as 'Punya hved shabdin *vansi* venurvenaya sut magadh shabden tatha vandisvanenc'. Both Vansi and venu refer to 'nai'.

Rabab and Sarang :

The author is not sure whether Rabab and Sarangi have indigenous origin or not. At one place she says these travelled to Kashmir from Persia, Afghanistan and Arabia, while at the other she quotes Ain-i-Akbari to suggest that Rabab was invented by Tansen. According to A.Lavience, Rabab existed during the times of King Ravana, when it was called as *Ravanastram*. Similarly, Maharaja Sarang Dev of Kashmir is said to be the inventor of Sarang. Prof Dhar believes Santoor too has a native origin. It used to be called Shat-tantri Veena. Some scholars believe that this instrument could be related to Sakta sect. Santoor is made of mulberry wood and is trapezoid in shape. According to Shakts, triangular is a symbol of desire, knowledge and action. Mulberry tree, is sacred to Kashmiris and is related to 'Bhairav'. The extreme popularity of Santoor in our own times is attributed to such great artists-Tibet Bakal, Saaz Naivas Kaleem, Sheikh Abdul Aziz and Bhajan Sopori.

Saaz-i-Kashmir has originated in Kurdistan, Iran and is popular throughout Muslim world. In Iran it is called *Kamancha*. Sitar is said to be the product of fusion between Persian Tambura or ud (Shape) and Indian Veena (in principle). Others opine that Sitar evolved gradually from *Tritantri Veena*. Wasul or Dokra have gone out of use and replaced by Indian Tabla.

'Hafiza Dancing':

In the last chapter, the author has listed some famous songs along with their text and notation. The omission of 'Hafiza dancing' is a major shortcoming of this monograph. Infact in late nineteenth century, one of the main attractions for visitors was Hafiza, the nautch dancer. Many of these dancers stayed and worked in the Shalimar Gardens. The bungalow, lit by candles and lanterns, was used for performances and entertaining visitors. The women themselves usually lived in tents. Azeezie was one of the most popular Hafiza dancers in 1860's and appears in Baker and Burke Catalogue. The author could have also attempted a review of life and works of outstanding Kashmiri musicians. 'The Tradition Music of Kashmir' has good readability, and is reasonably priced.

*The Traditional Music of Kashmir. In Relation to Indian Classical Music

Author : Dr. Sunita Dhar

Published by: Kanishka Publishers

4697/5-21A, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, N.Delhi-110002

*The author is a keen researcher on History and Culture of Kashmir.

15 Kashmir—What the stars foretell

By Pt. Jeevan Dar

KASHMIR has been the main center for peace, spiritual knowledge and beauty not for India but also for entire universe. It is also true that Kashmiris have been the victims of violence and migration several times in the past. History indicates that whenever Kashmiris have faced danger for their existence and survival they have become stronger and brighter like gold.

But often it is being asked that how long sorrow and violence will continue in Kashmir and when the examination of patience will end and Kashmiris will breathe fresh air in their motherland. We take the help of Astrology (which has been known as the eye of VEDAs) to know the future of Kashmir.

On dated 26th October 1947 in the early morning Kashmir has become the part of India by an agreement when Libra sign was rising in east of Zodiac. Sun Mercury (Retrograde) and Saturn was placed in the Ascendant at the star of Rahu & Jupiter. Jupiter & Ketu were moving in 2nd House, Scorpio sign at Saturn and Jupiter's star. Moon's last step was in Aquarius 5th house and in Jupiter Star. Rahu was Retrograde in 8th house Taurus sign at Sun's star, Saturn and Mars were in 10th house Cancer sign in Mercury star. Ketu in 2nd house indicates the loss of 2nd house values like life and health, destruction of hidden wealth/treasure of the Kashmir and violence in Ancestral family or Kutumbh. Ketu is also aspeaking to Lord at 2nd house i.e. Mars in the 10th house (by 9th aspect) hence its negative power for destruction increases here we see that Pisces sign is the 2nd house from Moon which is also affected by 5th aspect of Ketu and Lord at Pisces i.e. Jupiter is also suffering with association of Ketu. 4th house is known for the 1st circle family, peace of mind and the house/home.

We see the Ketu is also effecting to Lord of 4th house i.e. Saturn by its 9th aspect and Saturn is enjoying the violent association of Mars in 10th house and Mars direct effect to 4th house by its 7th aspect is also there. 4th house from Moon is occupied by Rahu and effecting by 7th aspect of Ketu here confusion can arise as Jupiter gives normally good results in 2nd house but according to Parasar Rishi Jupiter is not benefit for the Libra Ascendant as it owns two evil houses 3rd and 6th. Hence here Jupiter is also helping to Ketu for their destruction. Jupiter represents to powerful person in Govt. or Central/State government so political persons will not be helpful in solving the problem of Kashmir and we have seen that Kashmiris have been deceived by the politicians of various politics, 1st by Congress then by BJP and also by National Conference and now little can be expected from PDP.

Now Ketu Vimshottari Mahadasa has ended and Venus Vimshottari Mahadasa has started. Venus in its own sign Libra (Ascendant) is strong auspicious '*Malyou Yoga*', which gives good results for education. Health, finance and popularity. Hence it indicates a turning point in coming months. Kashmir can move towards peace and prosperity. Moon is posted in 5th house, Aquarius sign in Jupiter stars which also confirms the brilliance of Kashmir and high class thinker. Venus is 9th for the Moon therefore we can expect that obstacles will reduce gradually and progress can follow soon, if we try to solve the problem with own people and efforts to following points.

1st we have to reduce the differences of all Kashmiris. Peaceful and cordial atmosphere may provide good base for revival of the tourism, industry and economy.

2nd we should not be dependent on politicians, intelligence of Kashmiris are capable in solve the problem.

In transit just after two years when Saturn will enter in Cancer sign (in Kashmir chart Saturn is posted in Cancer) and Jupiter in Libra sign (here libra is ascendant and is also 9th from the moon sign) will bring opportunities for peace and progress, alongwith 2nd phase of development and harmony. Oath taking time of the CM Mufti 2/11/2002 indicates that he may work for better change but he has to face rough weather and his main opponent Farooq Abdullah may present tension and danger in next year.

*The author is Director Shree Kashmiri Panchang and based in Allahabad.

16 Stop the flow of foreign funds to terrorists

By H.K. Pant

Had the funds said to have come from hawala channel to the alleged mastermind of the bomb blast been blocked, Nissar Ahmed Ansari alias Janab could not have succeeded in engineering the grisly bomb blast in Ghatkopar in north-east Mumbai on July causing a widespread damage. According to local police sources, Ansari is said to belong to Ahle Hadees sect with origins in Saudi Arabia that ironically believes that non-Muslims have no right to exist in the world. Such an insane belief might have inspired this terrorist cum Ahle Hadees' believer to plant a powerful bomb underneath a seat of the bus that ripped through it in north-eastern Mumbai suburb Ghatkopar killing five innocent persons and critically injuring several others. The explosions were the second of this type engineered in the past seven months. The funds for such blasts are said to have come through hawala channels from Saudi Arabia. Reports say a key accused in earlier blasts Saquib Nachan presently behind the bars, claimed to have received Rs 3 lakhs but the police believe that funding is much more than this amount.

The funds in the form of charities are not only being sent to India but to many other terrorist flash points in the world as far as Chechnya, Palestine, Kashmir, Philippines, Indonesia, Xinjiang and elsewhere. Last year too there were reports streaming in from the US blaming the role of Saudi Arabian charities over the funding of international terror groups. A suit was also filed in a US district court last year against few members of the Saudi royal family, besides banks linked to Saudi Arabia and Pakistan accusing them of financing global terrorism. There are seven banks and eight charitable groups, including Pakistan-based Rabita Trust that also figures in the legal case.

This has once again been corroborated by a classified section of a US Congress Joint Intelligence Committee widely reported in the American media in the last week of July. The Congressmen had reportedly expressed resentment on White House's desire to protect the ruling Saudi family thereby preventing the US public from learning crucial facts about 9/11. Senior officials of Saudi Arabia are alleged to have funneled hundreds of millions of dollars to charitable groups that may have helped to finance 9/121 attacks and other terrorist acts globally. Another proof of Saudi connivance was a report prepared last year by a French strategic analyst for the American think tank Rand Corporation for submission and briefing of Pentagon's Defence Policy Board. The report pointed an accusing finger at Saudi Arabia of masterminding and executing terrorism in various parts of the world.

As the clandestine moneybags in the name of charity to the sponsors of terrorism get exposed, one can discern strains in Riyadh-Washington relationship. There have been clamouring calls for a review of more than half a century old close ties with Washington including the bilateral strategic alliance. The US has surprisingly refused to publish a classified section of the Congressional report alleging possible links between the Saudi officials and the jihadi elements. In its defence, Riyadh has expressed dismay at such insinuations arguing that Saudi Arabia is wrongly and morbidly of complicity in terrorist links. Last year too, the kingdom was unhappy with the United States on the revelations of the Rand Corporation report. The only English newspaper the Arab Daily, published from Saudi Arabia had described the release of the report as an expression of vilification campaign being carried out against the country by some vested interests in the United States.

All said and done, Riyadh will have to mend its ways and cut off the charity pipelines leading to terrorist groups. It must be noted that the Saudi Royal family cannot survive for long without substantial American military presence within the country as well as the adjoining oil rich Gulf region. Saudi Arabia is not only surrounded by radical regimes in Iran, Yemen, Somalia and Sudan but it has also anti-royalty and anti-US resistance groups within the kingdom.

The point to ponder here is that it was the US which had fully exploited the Islamic sentiments in Saudi Arabia in 1980s to support to Mujahideen forces financially, physically and morally to forcibly evict the Soviets from Afghanistan. These Islamic warriors were raised with Pakistan ISI's help and billions of dollars of monetary aid and US arms. It was then that the Saudi born terrorist Osama bin Laden had with

CIA's blessings moved his base from Sudan to Afghanistan. After the Soviet defeat, the US lost interest in the region leaving the field open to Pakistan men and Saudi money.

The government needs to monitor closely all hawal funds landing up in the Kashmir and elsewhere particularly from the Middle-East region. The system of information gathering needs to be revamped and new ways are required to be devised to nab the culprits. It is indeed a matter of grave concern that terrorist organisations continue to have the ability to carry on their blood thirsty activities like the one at Ghatkoper by procuring weapons, ammunition and explosives from the funds covertly obtained through Islamic charities. This needs to be checked and will require active cooperation from FBI and other agencies engaged in tracking funding sources for the terrorist groups. If the authorities succeed in choking the channels of evil funds money, it will be a matter of time that the devil of terrorism gets obliterated from the country.

17 Those Who Left Us

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

1. Sh. Prithvi Nath Raina, Prop. Fine Art Press Sgr; presently at 522 Colonel Colony Bohri Talab Tillo, Jammu. 1/8/2003
2. Smt. Gunwati W/o Lt. Sh. Arzan Nath R/o Srinagar Kmr. 1/8/2003
3. Pt. Janki Nath Mahddav S/o Lt. Gopi Nath Mahddav, R/o Motiyar Sgr; presently at H.No: 44, Lane No: 6, Suraj Nagar Talab Tillo, Jammu. 4/8/2003
4. Sh. Vijay Kumar Challu S/o Lt. Sh. Neelkanth Challu, R/o Ali Kadal; presently at H.No: 14/3, Block-B Dilshad Colony Delhi. 4/8/2003
5. Sh. Omkar Nath Raina S/o Lt. Prakash Ram Raina, R/o village Mahanoor Tehsil Chadura; presently at 119-D, Sector-2 Lane No: 3 Durga Nagar, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 4/8/2003
6. Sh. Jagar Nath Razdan S/o Lt. Sh. Mukund Joo Razdan, R/o 6/1, Bhawani Nagar, Gole Pully, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 4/8/2003
7. Sh. Daleep Koul S/o Sh. B.L. Koul, R/o Nunnar Ganderbal, Kmr; presently at Lane No: 6, Udaiwala Jammu. 4/8/2003
8. Sh. O.N. Koul S/o Lt. Kashi Nath Koul, R/o Badshah Bridge Sgr; presently at 105-A, Jawahar Nagar, Talab Tillo Jammu. 4/8/2003
9. Sh. Ved Lal Raina S/o Lt. Kailash Ram Raina, R/o Sattar tehsil Pahalgam Anantnag; presently at Amit Nagar Muthi, Shining Star Academy Lane, Jammu. 5/8/2003
10. Smt. Rattan Rani W/o Sh. Jia Lal Pandita, R/o Khalhar Sagam Anantnag; presently at H.No: 681/5 D Surya Vanshi Nagar Muthi, Jammu. 6/8/2003
11. Sh. Soom Nath Sazawal S/o Lt. Pt. Jia Lal Sazawal, R/o 96-Wazir Bagh Sgr; presently at Doctor's Quater's G.B. Pant, Hospital Satwari Cantt. Jammu. 6/8/2003
12. Smt. Lakshmi Shwari Wangnoo W/o Sh. J.N. Wangnoo R/o Karan Nagar Sgr; presently at 3/119, Indira Vihar Janipur Jammu. 6/8/2003
13. Sh. B.N. Dhar R/o Chattabal Sgr; presently at H.No: 20, Lane No: 2, Udheywalla, Opp. Viklang Centre Bohri Jammu. 7/8/2003
14. Sh. Gopi Nath Raina, R/o Trigam Anantnag; presently at 195/B, Ram Vihar Old Janipur, Jammu. 11/8/2003
15. Sh. Pitamber Nath Zadoo S/o Lt. Kantoo Joo Zadoo, R/o Nai Sarak Ganpatyar Sgr; presently at H.No: 2, Mohalla Khajuria Behind Soap factory Paloura, Jammu. 12/8/2003
16. Sh. Jia Lal Koul S/o Lt. Pt. Ishwar Kaul, R/o Village Inder Pulwama; presently at 2/141 Arjun Nagar Janipur, Jammu. 13/8/2003
17. Smt. Lashkuji Koul W/o Lt. Sh. Shiv Ji Koul, R/o Namchbal Fateh Kadal Sgr; presently at H.No: 112A, Janki Vihar Old Janipur, Jammu. 13/8/2003
18. Sh. Makhan Lal Kalla, R/o Shalteng Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at 471 Suraksha Vihar Paloura, Top Jammu. 13/8/2003
19. Sh. Chuni Lal Raina, R/o Zaindar Mohalla Sgr; presently at Lane No: 2, House No: 79 Anand Nagar, Bohri Jammu. 14/8/2003
20. Sh. Mohan Krishen Koul S/o Lt. Sh. Sarwanand Koul, R/o Lal Nagar Chanpora Sgr; presently at Durga Nagar Sector-3, Jammu. 14/8/2003
21. Sh. Shamboo Nath Raina, R/o Pombay Kulgam Kmr; presently at Central Silk Board Complex residential Qtrs. Jammu. 15/8/2003

22. Sh. Triloki Nath Tutoo S/o Lt. Shyam Lal Thutoo, R/o H-23, Company Bagh Qtrs. Jewel Chowk, Jammu. 15/8/2003
23. Mrs. Sheela Raina W/o Mr. C.L. Raina, R/o 117, Surya Vihar, Wazir Bagh Anand Nagar Bohri Jammu. 16/8/2003
24. Sh. Chuni Lal Sadhu S/o Lt. Radha Krishen Sadhu, R/o Sadhu Ashram H.No: 20, Dilsoz Colony Natipora Sgr; presently at Dina Nagar Barnai Jammu. 16/8/2003
25. Sh. Omkar Nath Koul S/o Lt. Sh. Shamboo Nath Koul, R/o Malyar Sgr; presently at Laxmipuram Sector-2 Chinore Jammu. 16/8/2003
26. Sh. Awtar Krishen Dulloo S/o Lt. Sh. Tara Chand Dulloo, R/o Motiyar Rainawari Sgr; presently at 142/2A, Roop Nagar Enclave Jammu. 16/8/2003
27. Smt. Mughla Wati W/o Lt. Sh. Shamboo Nath Bhat, R/o Inder Pulwama Kmr. 17/8/2003
28. Mrs. Roop Mohini Mattoo W/o Lt. Sh. Kashi Nath Mattoo, R/o EP-580 Peer Mitha Jammu. 18/8/2003
29. Pt. Prithvi Nath Kachroo, R/o Martand Anantnag; presently at 164-Barinan, Udhampur. 18/8/2003
30. Sh. Jaggar Nath Bhat S/o Lt. Sh. Sudershan Bhat, R/o Uttersoo Anantnag; presently at Kong-Posh Colony Jain Nagar, Delhi. 18/8/2003
31. Smt. Sarja Ji W/o Sh. Ram Swaroop Dhar, R/o M.Dass family Durga Nagar, Sector-2 Jammu. 18/8/2003
32. Smt. Lachkuji W/o Lt. Sh. Nand Lal Hangloo, R/o Hangal gund Kokernag; presently at Pandit Colony Toll Post Nagrota. 19/8/2003
33. Sh. Soom Ntah Ganjoo S/o Lt. Sh. D.N. Ganjoo, R/o 26, Bagwati Nagar, Jammu. 20/8/2003
34. Smt. Sheela Bhan W/o Sh. R.K. Bhan, R/o 121, Jawahar Nagar Sgr; presently at Lane No: 9 Greater Kailash Jammu. 21/8/2003
35. Sh. Dina Nath Raina S/o Lt. Sh. Atama Ram Raina, R/o Khandi Khass Kupwara; presently at Ashok Vihar Ext. Gudgoan. 21/8/2003
36. Sh. Thakur Dass Pandita S/o Lt. Sh. Lassa Ram Pandita, R/o Katsoo Anantnag; presently at Bharat Nagar Ban Talab Jammu. 21/8/2003
37. Sh. Raj Nath Wakhloo S/o Sh. Shiv Ji Wakhloo R/o Muran Pulwama, Kmr; presently at 166 Amar Colony Camp Road, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 22/8/2003
38. Pt. Nand Lal Nehru, R/o Fatehpura Anantnag; presently at 690 Vinayak Nagar 3rd Muthi. 22/8/2003
39. Pt. Raghu Nath Koul, R/o Bana Mohalla, Baramulla; presently at 1-92, Ground Floor Unitech South City-2, Sohna Road Gurgoan. 22/8/2003
40. Sh. Soom Nath Bhat, R/o Dewar Tral Kmr; presently at Kashmiri Pandit, Sabha Ambphalla, Jammu. 23/8/2003
41. Sh. Kishen Lal Koul, S/o Lt. Sh. Janki Nath Koul, R/o Chinkral Mohalla Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at H.No: 33, Kaul Niwas Lower Mast Garh, Peer Mitha Jammu. 23/8/2003
42. Sh. Brij Krishen Dhar, R/o Thajiwara Anantnag; presently at Community Hall Phase 3rd Purkhoo Camp. 23/8/2003
43. Sh. C.L. Kaul (Hafiz), R/o Nai Sarak Sgr; presently at D-83, Green Valley, Aptts. Sector 18, Rohini Delhi. 23/8/2003
44. Smt. Kamla Ganjoo W/o Lt. Sh. Badri Nath Ganjoo, R/o Jawahar Nagar, Sgr; presently at Noida UP. 24/8/2003

45. Sh. Kamal Ji Tickoo S/o Sh. Badri Nath Tickoo, R/o Hoyam Anantnag; presently at H.No: 7, Lane No: 3, Behind Army School, Nether Kothian Barnai Jammu. 25/8/2003
46. Sh. Keshore Nath Bhat, R/o Aishmuqam Anantnag; presently at H.No: 101, Sharika Vihar Lower Roop Nagar Jammu. 26/8/2003
47. Sh. Arzan Nath Bambroo S/o Lt. Ragav Ram Bambroo, R/o Levdora Qazigund; presently at 89/7, Laxmi Nagar, Muthi, Jammu. 26/8/2003
48. Sh. Kashi Nath Raina, R/o Malik Bagh Zaindar Mohalla Sgr; presently at H.No: 26, Lane No: I, Bharat Nagar Bantalab Jammu. 26/8/2003
49. Smt. Raj Rani Vaishnavi W/o Lt. Sh. R.K. Vaishnavi R/o 18 New Company Bagh Old Campus-2 Canal Road, Jammu. 27/8/2003
50. Sh. Moti Lal Charoo S/o Lt. Sh. Shamboo Nath Cheroo, R/o Jubly Pura Bijbehara Anantnag, Kmr; presently at Qtr. No: 593, Nagrota Camp. 27/8/2003
51. Smt. Rattan Rani Razdan W/o Sh. Badri Nath Razdan, R/o Salia Anantnag; presently at Purkhoo Near Tube Well. 27/8/2003
52. Sh. Soom Nath Koul S/o Sh. Nand Lal Koul, R/o Logripora Aishmukam Anantnag; presently at Udheywala Bohri Jammu. 27/8/2003
53. Pt. Madhusudan Razdan S/o Lt. Pt. Gopi Nath Razdan, R/o Sathu Sheetal Nath Sgr; presently at 80A, Karan Nagar Jammu. 28/8/2003
54. Smt. Shobawati Bakshi W/o Lt. Sh. Mahishwar Nath Bakshi, R/o Narbal Tehsil Beerwah Budgam; presently at H.No: 33, Lane No: 2 Kabir Nagar Poonch House Talab Tillo, Jammu. 29/8/2003
55. Smt. Kamlawati Kaw W/o Lt. Sh. Damodar Kaw, R/o Shalla Kadal Sgr; presently at 110/10, Pushap Vihar Sector-1, Saket, New Delhi. 29/8/2003
56. Smt. Prabhawati Bhan W/o Lt. Sh. Shamboo Nath Bhan, R/o Gotanjoo Kupwara; presently at Qtr. No: 140-L, Purkhoo Camp Phase-IIIrd. 30/8/2003
57. Sh. Sunil Kumar Pandita S/o Sh. Shridhar Joo Pandita, R/o Nagrimulpura Kupwara; presently at Mishriwala Camp. 30/8/2003
58. Smt. Lakshmi Shorey W/o Lt. J.N. Shorabi, R/o Shalla Kadal Sgr; presently at C-160, Plot-25, Saraswati Vihar Parpat Gunj Delhi. 30/8/2003
59. Smt. Laxmishori Raina W/o Lt. Sh. Arzan Nath Raina, R/o Kanikadal Sgr; presently at KGI-530 Vikaspuri New Delhi. 31/8/2003

18 Chronology of Events

August 16, 2003 to September 14, 2003

Aug 16: Security forces killed four terrorists of Al-Badar and HUJI outfits in Rajouri; an Army jawan was killed and two others injured. Terrorists killed two civilians and torched two houses in Jammu region. Terrorists killed a cop and escaped with his weapon in Shopian; a civilian and two terrorists were killed elsewhere in the Valley.

Aug 17: Army eliminated five terrorists in Mahore, Udhampur while VDC killed a terrorist in Kalakote, Rajouri; two civilians were also killed in Jammu region. Two terrorists and a cop were killed and three BSF jawans injured in Kashmir valley.

Aug 18: A terrorist and two civilians were killed and two cops and a woman injured in Jammu region. Three terrorists, two civilians and two jawans were killed in Kashmir valley.

Aug 19: Three terrorists, an army jawan and a civilian were killed in Kashmir valley. A jawan was killed in an encounter in Mendhar while two SPOs were injured in Mahore, Udhampur.

Aug 20: Security forces killed five terrorists in Kashmir valley while terrorists killed an 85 year old civilian in Tral. Police killed Harshad Akhter, a body guard of dreaded terrorist Shakeel Ansari in Basantgarh, Udhampur.

Aug 21: Four family members of a terrorist, including his six month old son and an Ikhwani were killed in an encounter at Ali Brari Behak in Ahlan Gadole (Kokernag). Three terrorists and a BSF jawan were killed and three jawans and a civilian injured in Jammu region.

Aug 22: Six infiltrators and two jawans were killed in an encounter in Mendhar. The terrorists were killed in Banihal. Two terrorists and a woman were killed in Kashmir valley while 13 civilians were injured in a blast in Bijbehara. Two civilians were injured in shelling in Mendhar sector.

Aug 23: The death toll of army reached to four in the Mendhar encounter. A forester and LeT terrorist were among four killed in Kashmir valley.

Aug 24: Army gunned down a terrorist in Mendhar while army is hunting for three terrorists who were instrumental in kidnapping of seven youths rescued from Udhaynpur, Doda; the youth were being taken to Pakistan for training.

Aug 25: Terrorists killed Mohd Akbar, his wife and daughter-in-law at Katarmal, Manjakote. Three army personnel including a captain were killed and two jawans and a civilian injured in terrorists' ambush in Koteranka, Rajouri. A civilian was killed in Pak shelling in Mendhar.

Aug 26: Terrorists killed a BSF jawan in Amirakadal, injured a JKP cop in Soura and reportedly killed three Gujjars in Tral. A terrorist and a guide were killed and two civilians kidnapped by terrorists while a youth was killed in Pak shelling in Rajouri district.

Aug 27: Terrorists killed counter-insurgent turned politician Javed Shah, his PSO and a Pandit guest Som Nath and injured eight others including DIG BSF in a sensational attack near CTO Srinagar; terrorists also triggered many IED blasts when PM, DyPM and others were in Srinagar to attend ISC meet. An SPO and a civilian were killed and a terrorist held with a weapon and maps in Jammu region.

Aug 28: Four terrorists and a former militant were killed in Jammu region; terrorists also attacked house of NC MLA Mr Malik in Mahore while five persons were injured in Pak shelling in Mendhar sector.

Aug 29: An army jawan was killed and nine others injured in a terrorist-ambush in Mendhar. Terrorists killed two brothers Zafar Iqbal and Sahab Din at Sanjot, Mendhar. Two terrorists were also killed in same area.

Aug 30: BSF claimed to have killed most wanted terrorist Ghazi Baba along with another terrorist in an encounter to Srinagar city; a BSF jawan was also killed in the encounter. Terrorists killed two civilians in Budgam district. Two terrorists were killed in different incidents in Poonch-Rajouri. While a BSF jawan and a civilian were killed in Pak shelling in Mendhar sector. Two terrorists were killed in New Delhi.

Aug 31: Security forces gunned down five terrorists in Kupwara district while terrorists reportedly took away 20 telephone sets from different houses in Kaimoah accusing them of informing forces about terrorists' movement. A civilian was killed and one another injured in a blast in Badarwah. Terrorists gunned down a former HM terrorist in Mahore and a woman in Kishtwar. An SPO was killed and two terrorists were injured in an encounter in Billawar, Udhampur. A TV tower and two houses were damaged in continued Pak shelling in Mendhar sector.

Sep 1: Three soldiers, two informers, a JKP cop, a civilian and a terrorist were killed in Kashmir valley. Terrorists gunned down Roshan Din and his two sons at Alla Kalla, Mahore. Police recovered five kg RDX and held one person in Billawar.

Sep 2: While BSF claimed to have foiled a fidayeen attack on their camp at Nishat, Srinagar by killing a terrorist, terrorists struck on National Highway causing blasts at Awantipora and Lower Munda Qazigund; A driver was killed and 21 others including eight soldiers were injured in Awantipora were injured in Awantipora blast. Five terrorists and a cop were killed and three SPOs and three jawans injured in an encounter in Surankote. Terrorists killed a Sarpanch and BJP leader Khalid Hussain along with four other family members at Chamalwas, Ramban. Three cops and a VDC member were injured in an encounter at Ghat, Kathua which was continuing.

Sep 3: In the continued encounter at Ghatt, a cop was killed and number of injured rose to five but no casualty was reported from terrorists side. Two civilians, two terrorists and two ITBF jawans were killed and two others injured in different incidents in Udhampur and Doda districts. Security forces gunned down three LeT terrorists in Budhal while terrorists injured two women at Naka Majari, Rajouri. A teacher was arrested for attack on PPInd.

Sep 4: The encounter in Kathua continues while a fidayeen attack on an Army camp in Poonch was foiled by killing two fidayees; a woman was killed and three others injured in the incident. Two terrorists were killed in Darhal, Rajouri. Five terrorists were killed in Kashmir valley.

Sep 5: The Kathua encounter continues even after pressing into service a chopper to locate the terrorists. Three terrorists, a jwan and a civilian were killed while a fidayeen was captured and four terrorists surrendered in Jammu region. Six terrorists, a civilian and prominent counter insurgent Ismaal Gada were killed in Kashmir valley.

Sep 6: Three terrorists, two women, a government employee and an SPO were killed and 13 others injured in different incidents in Poonch and Doda districts. Seven civilians and two soldiers were killed and 32 civilians and six soldiers including a Brigadier were injured as terrorists triggered a car bomb explosion at Fruit Mandi, Srinagar.

Sep 7: Three terrorists and a civilian were killed in Kashmir valley. As Ghatti encounter continues, terrorists kidnapped a civilian from Billawar, Kathua.

Sep 8: Terrorists again made an attempt on life of Shia leader Maulvi Abas Ansari at Zadibal while seven terrorists were killed across Kashmir valley. An SPO injured in an attack on police station Gursai on Saturday, succumbed to his injuries while two terrorists surrendered in Poonch. Army called off Ghatti operation without any success. While an ex-serviceman and a VDC member snatched rifle of a terrorist in Rajbagh, Kathua area.

Sep 9: Police killed an Afghan terrorist, while two more were reportedly trapped in Jakhole forests, Kathua. A girl child was killed and nine others injured in a grenade attack outside DPL, Doda. Two terrorists were killed in Marmat Doda. Terrorists in Police uniform appeared at Bus Stand Gool and killed a civilian. Three terrorists and a civilian in Kashmir valley. While ex-minister Peerzada Ghulam Ahmed Shah had a narrow escape and his PSO died as terrorists stormed a marriage function at Sopat, Qazigund.

Sep 10: Army gunned down eight of 10 infiltrating terrorists in Poonch sector while Congress leader Ghulam Nabi Tak was killed, reportedly in an accidental fire by his PSO, in Doda district. Kathua police arrested a militant Mohammad Shabir, alongwith a Sarpanch and a VIP's domestic servant from a hotel in

Srinagar. Army arrested daughter of an NC leader Mehmooda who was an active terrorist in Budgam area. Terrorists injured three soldiers in an IED blast in Sogam and shot at a civilian in Kangan.

Sep 11: A girl killed and 20 others injured in a grenade attack in Lal Chowk, Srinagar; two civilians were killed and three soldiers wounded elsewhere in Kashmir valley. Death toll in Krishna Ghati encounter rose to 10 with death of two more intruders. Troops killed one more militant at Bandi Chechian, Poonch while three civilians were injured in Pak shelling in Digwar area.

Sep 12: Three infiltrators and two civilians were killed while two terrorists surrendered in Poonch district. Three terrorists were gunned down in Ramban and two rifles snatched from terrorists recovered in Gandoh, Doda.

Sep 13: Terrorists gunned down father of counter-insurgency Kuka Parray alongwith two others and injured eight others in Hajan. A major, three jawans and a terrorist were killed in Bungus valley in Handwara; two PHE employees were killed and 14 others injured in a blast in Bijbehara while four civilians, including a Sikh Jangh Bahadur of Kreeri Pattan, were killed elsewhere in Kashmir valley. Two fidayeen were killed in Poonch.

Sep 14: Two teachers and three securitymen were among six killed and three jawans and a civilian were injured in different incidents in Doda and Rajouri districts. A civilian and two terrorists were killed while parts of Kashmir observed bandh against Kuka Parray's killing.

Kashmir Sentinel

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