

INSIDE

FOCUS

Pattern of Terrorism in Kashmir.....Page 3

HISTORY

Partition Looking Back-II.....Page 5

POWER PLAY

Power Play in Central Asia.....Page 6

OPINION

Taking a wrong turn.....Page 8

REVIEW ARTICLE

US must help Pak become a normal state.....Page 9

MEDIA-SCAN

*Currency of Terror
*Cong to blame
*Jihadis on rampage
*This won't do
*Watch thy neighbour
*States of the Nation
*Local, not global
*Dozen more reasons
.....Page 10-11

HISTORY

*Feb 1931 Kanikoot massacre
*Sanity and Madness on 13th July, 1931.....Page 12

HISTORY

*'National Day'.....Page 13

TRADITION

The Forgotten Tirtha of Bheda Devi.....Page 14

ORAL HISTORY

The Legends of Tales.....Page 15

HOMAGE

Dr. Madhusuan Passes Away.....Page 16

TRAVELOGUE

A Pilgrimage to Rainabari.....Page 17

TRIBUTE

Dr. (Col) Saligram Kaul was a Social Visionary.. Page 19

Chronology of Events.....Page 22

7/11 blasts focus on Mumbai's vulnerability

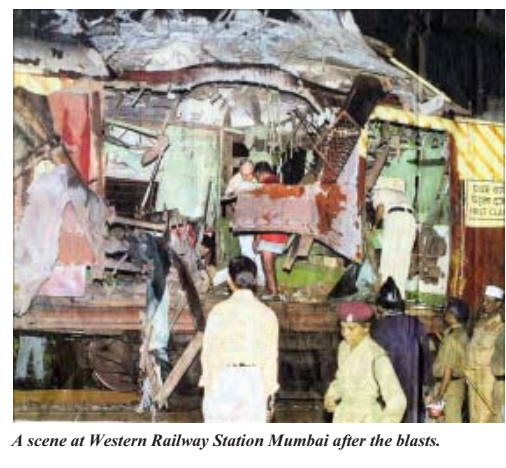
KS Correspondent

On August 25, 2003 two car bomb blasts at the Gateway of India and Zaveri Bazar in Mumbai left 52 people dead and 100 injured. Reacting to the blasts AV Karnik, an expert in terror surveillance and IB's former Deputy Director, made a comment of far-reaching significance. He said, "This is certainly not the last blast. This are set to continue. Mumbai is becoming a target for a network of terrorist groups since they have tasted success here".

Mumbaitees are now asking—Are 7/11 blasts, going to be the last act of terrorism on the soil of Mumbai? The answer lies with the political establishment. It remains to be seen whether there would be any significant change in the basic structure of national responses to terrorism. The political classes remain concerned exclusively with their own survival, security and profit,

rather than with the well-being of the nation itself. For many years now, the national leadership has been deluding itself and misleading the nation that terrorism can be ended by negotiating across the table with Pakistan, with terrorist front organisations and with terrorist groups themselves. With every act of escalation in terrorism, the political parties try desperately to underplay the magnitude and significance of terrorism. They need votes, national security is a secondary concern.

Mumbai was waiting to happen. Administrative and political failure, besides complacency at the level of the people allowed Pakistan's conspiracy to succeed. Uptil now, investigations into 7/11 bombings have yielded little. The forensic report has confirmed that a mixture of



A scene at Western Railway Station Mumbai after the blasts.

RDX, ammonium nitrate and fuel oil was used in the July 11 serial blasts. Islamist terrorists have been using these commonly available material in London and Canada also. The modus operandi in planting bombs and the material used have been same in Mumbai and Varanasi bomb-

ings. Besides this, the other circumstantial evidence points that SIMI-LeT were the culprits in Mumbai. Through simultaneous bombing in Srinagar and Mumbai, ISI wanted to demonstrate its reach.

(Contd. on Page 7)

COVER STORY

KS Correspondent

Pakistan wants to keep alive the tension with India. The objective is to keep the Pakistani public focussed on India specific problems and divert attention from the serious internal problems of Pakistan—democracy, ethnic revolts in Balawaristan and Baluchistan, sectarian terrorism. The military also whips up Islamist and chauvinist passions as part of this exercise.

Pakistan's military leadership has managed Islamist terrorism, by calibrating it to serve its interests, remaining careful that it does not destabilise internal politics or relations with Western countries. Was 7/11 Mumbai bombing an act which went "haywire?" The answer is emphatic 'No'. Musharraf has been playing

a calculated game. He had been having problems with democratic parties of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif. To prevent the PPP and PML Parliamentarians from coming back to power in the general elections due in October 2007, Musharraf has been actively courting fundamentalists and Jihadi terrorist organisations. This March he asked his intelligence agencies not to take any action against Sipaha-e-Sahaba and LeT, which officially stand banned. He had adopted a similar policy in October 2002, which helped rabidly fundamentalist parties to come to power in NWFP and Baluchistan. The two governments had been openly assisting the remnants of Taliban and Al Qaeda operating from the tribal areas. To keep Jihadist elements in good humour Musharraf has gone all out to support Taliban.

Mumbai Blasts-the crossborder link

He recently appointed a pro-Taliban General as Governor of Baluchistan.

Musharraf may have differences with some sections in Army. These differences are only tactical and factional. Musharraf has used this to argue that the Jihadis were out of his control. This he is doing to project himself as a (moderate Islamist) to lobby US support and also to escape responsibility for escalation of terrorist violence against India.

In June 2005 meeting of Corps Commanders, Musharraf endorsed the view held by them that 'non-use of Jihadi sword could result in the de-facto status quo in J&K and Afghanistan becoming a dejure reality on Kashmir.

Mumbai serial blasts are a well-planned, calibrated escalation of violence by Musharraf. His experience of 93' blasts in Mumbai, attack on Indian Parliament and the Kargil adventure makes him believe that through deliberate escalation of violence he can wrest strategic concessions. Musharraf's strategy is that escalation of violence, particularly a major incident, would build up India-Pakistan tension. Then he could sell 'Kashmir as a flashpoint' argument to seek US intervention to build pressure on India and recast 'peace process' in a way that helps Pakistan wrest strategic concessions from India. Through earlier major acts of escalation Musharraf succeeded in objectives like—

(Contd. on Page 7)

LETTER

Dr. Brij Premi's monumental work will never be forgotten

Sir,
The Special Number of "Kashmir Sentinel" is an excellent treatise on the life and works of Dr. Brij Premi, an eminent Urdu Scholar and Writer whose untimely death has been a great blow not only to his family but also to Urdu literature as a whole. His monumental work on Saadat Hasan Manto can never be forgotten.

"Kashmir Sentinel" special issue dedicated to Dr. Brij Premi includes some very good articles on him and also has some excellent translations of his writings.

"Kashmir Sentinel" has done a very good job and deserves all praise for it.

—Mazhar Imam
176-b, Pocket-I,
Mayur Vihar,
Phase I, Delhi

Sakshatkar moves India

Sir,
Really *Sakshatkar*-move India feature is heart touching our hearts weep to see the photographs published. In the same time we felt sorry to note that many invitees expressed their unablens in seeing the photo exhibition due to their 'secularism'.

I am enclosing herewith a clipping of a local newspaper for your kind observation and perusal.

Please keep sending your *patrika* regularly.

—K.D. Tiwari
21 M.I.G.-I,
Barra, Kanpur.

THOSE WHO LEFT US

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

1. Smt. Arandati Koul W/o Lt. Pt. Mahanad Ji Koul R/o Chadoora Kmr; presently at 130 Sec-III Durga Nagar, Jammu. 16/5/2006
2. Sh. Shyam Lal Munshi S/o Lt. Sh. Suraj Ram Munshi, R/o Pampore Kmr; presently at H.No: 227, Govind Nagar, Sec-2, Camp Road, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 16/5/2006
3. Smt. Mohan Rani Koul W/o Sh. Brij Nath Koul, R/o Anantnag; presently at Sector B-I, Laxmipuram Chinore, Jammu. 17/5/2006
4. Smt. Yemberzal Razdan W/o Lt. Ganesh Lal Razdan, R/o DIALgam, Anantnag; presently at H.No: 6, Lale Da Bagh, Jammu. 17/5/2006
5. Sh. Ram Ji Fotedar R/o Mattan Kmr; presently at H.No: A-109, Lane No: 3, Dream City Jammu. 17/5/2006
6. Sh. Rattan Lal Bhat S/o Lt. Pt. Radha Krishen Bhat, R/o Hanjiwara Pattan; presently at 17-A, J.K. Colony Paloura, Jammu. 18/5/2006
7. Smt. Jai Kishori Tiku W/o Lt. Sh. Jia Lal Tiku, R/o Gankhan Zianakadal Srinagar. 18/5/2006
8. Ms. Asha Wali D/o Sh. C.L. Wali R/o 367, Sec-I, Channi Himmat Jammu. 19/5/2006
9. Smt. Prabhawati Zaroo W/o Lt. Sh. Prem Nath Zaroo, R/o Baramulla Kmr; presently at H.No: 17, Lane No: 4, Saraswati Vihar Bohri, Jammu. 19/5/2006
10. Sh. Krishen Lal Raina, R/o Lt. Sh. Prakash Ram Raina, R/o Ganderbal, Sgr; presently at 206, Laleshwari Vatika GH-12, Sec 21-D, Faridabad. 19/5/2006
11. Sh. Madhusudan Safaya, R/o Flat 2, D.S. Residency Preetic Nagar, Pune. 19/5/2006
12. Smt. Gunwati Bhat W/o Sh. Lambodar Nath Bhat, R/o Danow Kulgam; presently at B-7, Central Jail Qtrs. Ambphalla, Jammu. 21/5/2006
13. Smt. Kanta Kaul W/o Lt. Pt. Soom Nath Kaul, R/o Chinkral Mohalla, Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at B-56, Sarita Vihar, New Delhi. 21/5/2006
14. Sh. Chaman Lal Koul S/o Lt. Pt. Prem Nath Koul, R/o Lar Ganderbal; presently at Phase-III Purkhoo Camp, Jammu. 22/5/2006
15. Smt. Prem Rani Bhat W/o Sh. Prem Nath Bhat, R/o Kulgam; presently at H.No: 210A, Hari Nagar Old Janipur, Jammu. 23/5/2006
16. Smt. Girja Warikoo W/o Sh. Girdhari Lal Warikoo, R/o Hyderpora Kmr; presently at Subash Nagar, Jammu. 23/5/2006
17. Smt. Mohan Rani Kaul W/o Lt. Mohan Lal Kaul, R/o Rainawari Sgr; presently at Lane No: 4, Shivalikpuram Last Stop Janipur Colony, Jammu. 23/5/2006
18. Sh. J.N. Bagati S/o Lt. Srikant Bagati, R/o Bulbul Lancker Sgr; presently at 24 A/C Gandhi Nagar, Jammu. 23/5/2006
19. Smt. Shobawati W/o Lt. Shri Kanth Ram, R/o Kulgam Kmr; presently at H.No: 1, Lane No: 3, Saraswati Vihar Bohri, Jammu. 24/5/2006
20. Smt. Jwala Raina W/o Sh. Ominder Raina, R/o Purshiyar Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at 453/5, Vaishali Ghaziabad, UP. 24/5/2006
21. Smt. Shobawati Bhat W/o Lt. Sh. Gopi Nath Bhat, R/o Balhama Sgr; presently at New Colony, Garhi Udhampur. 25/5/2006
22. Sh. Rattan Lal Koul S/o Lt. Hirday Nath Koul, R/o Sheilteng Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at Muthi Jammu. 28/5/2006
23. Sh. Prem Nath Bhat S/o Lt. Sh. Ram Chand Bhat, R/o Danow Kulgam; presently at H.No: 31/1, Phase-II Rajinder Nagar Bantalab Jammu. 29/5/2006
24. Smt. Dhanwati W/o Lt. Veshembar Nath Raina, R/o Chowgam, Qazigund; presently at Shiv Bhawan Complex Migrant Camp Mishriwalla. 29/5/2006
25. Smt. Kamlati Bhat W/o Lt. Sh. Madav Ju Bhat, R/o Tullmulla Kmr; presently at 10/D, Lower Shiv Nagar, Subash Nagar, Jammu. 29/5/2006
26. Smt. Kamlati W/o Lt. Sh. Gopi Nath Tickoo, R/o Kulgam, Kmr; presently at Nawaband, Jammu. 29/5/2006
27. Smt. Shyam Rani W/o Lt. Sh. Shyam Lal Beera, R/o Rainawari Sgr; presently at 123/E Sec-41, Noida (UP). 29/5/2006
28. Smt. Sona Batni W/o Lt. Sh. Kashi Nath Razdan R/o USA. 29/5/2006
29. Sh. K.N. Bhan S/o Lt. Sh. Amar Chand Bhan, R/o Narparistan Sgr; presently at F-679, New Plot, Jammu. 30/5/2006
30. Smt. Gunwati Trakru W/o Lt. Sh. Raghunath Trakru, R/o Karfalli Mohalla Sgr; presently at C-49, Sec-I, Village Enclave Trikuta Nagar, Jammu. 30/5/2006
31. Smt. Somawati Koul W/o Lt. Soom Nath Koul, R/o Badiyar Balla Sgr; presently at 4/2-A, Inderpuri Ambala Cantt. 30/5/2006
32. Sh. Janki Nath Fotedar R/o Begam Kulgam; presently at H.No: 98, Lane No: 6, Buta Nagar Paloura, Jammu. 31/5/2006
33. Sri Som Nath Raina, R/o Nawakadal Sgr; presently at C51, Sec-33, Noda (UP). 31/5/2006
34. Smt. Profula W/o Pran Nath Pandita, R/o Akingam Anantnag; presently at H.No: 228, Sec-3, Channi Himmat Jammu. 1/6/2006
35. Smt. Prabhawati Bhat W/o Sh. Sri Kanth Bhat, R/o Sirhama Anantnag; presently at Phase-III Purkhoo Camp, Jammu. 1/6/2006
36. Sh. Jager Nath Pandita, R/o Handwara Kmr; presently at Jhiri, Mishriwalla, Jammu. 1/6/2006
37. Smt. Indrawati Bhat W/o Lt. Sh. Kashi Nath Bhat, R/o Nowshera, Sgr; presently at 149, Pocket-H-18, Sec-7, Rohini Delhi. 1/6/2006
38. Sh. Praduman Kishen Rambal S/o Pt. Kanth Joo Rambal, R/o Rainawari Sgr; presently at Meerut (UP). 1/6/2006
39. Sh. Girdhari Lal Raina, S/o Lt. Pt. Badri Nath Raina, R/o Ganpatyar; presently at H.No: 70, Bhagwati Nagar, Jammu. 3/6/2006
40. Sh. Mohan Lal Bhat S/o Lt. Ram Chand Bhat, R/o Manigam Ganderbal; presently at 15/2, Ganga Nagar, Bantalab, Jammu. 3/6/2006
41. Smt. Arandati Raina W/o Sh. Radha Krishen Raina, R/o Pingillish Tral Kmr; presently at H.No: 34, Lane 2/6, Block-B, Roop Nagar, Jammu. 3/6/2006
42. Sh. Shanti Nath Koul S/o Lt. Sh. Soom Nath Koul, R/o Safapur Kmr; presently at W-173, Sec-12, Noida (UP). 3/6/2006
43. Sh. Sham Lal Matoo S/o Lt. Sh. Nath Ram Matoo, R/o Lal Mandi Sgr; presently at H.No: 8, Lane No: 6, Hazuri Bagh, Jammu. 4/6/2006
44. Sh. Pran Nath Sapru S/o Lt. Sh. Sarup Nath Sapru, R/o Zaindar Mohalla Sgr; presently at H.No: 26, Sec-II, Pocket D Rohini Delhi. 4/6/2006
45. Sh. Shyam Lal Sadhu S/o Lt. Sh. Amar Chand Sadhu, R/o Vessu Kmr; presently at H.No: 662, Sec-3 Vinayak Nagar, Muthi, Jammu. 6/6/2006
46. Smt. Gouri Shori R/o Pulwama Kmr; presently at Migrant Camp, Batal Balliayan Udhampur. 6/6/2006
47. Smt. Dhanwati Zutshi W/o Lt. Prof. R.K. Zutshi, R/o Rainawari Sgr; presently at Jaipur. 8/6/2006
48. Sh. MK Raina S/o Lt. Sh. Dina Nath Dullo R/o Kania Kadal Sgr; presently at Gurgoan. 9/6/2006
49. Sh. Makhan Lal Bhan S/o Lt. Sh. Shiv Ji Bhan, R/o Chandpora Habba Kadal; presently at Kashmiri Pandit Sabha Ambphalla Jammu. 9/6/2006
50. Sh. Sadhi Lal Moza S/o Lt. Sh. Kashi Nath Moza R/o Barbar Shah Sgr; presently at H.No: 76, Panjirthi Jammu. 9/6/2006
51. Sh. Kanwal Krishen Dhar S/o Lt. Niranjan Nath Dhar R/o Sathoo Sgr; presently at 27 Laxmi Nagar Lane Ist Muthi, Jammu. 10/6/2006
52. Smt. Uma Gurkha W/o Lt. Sh. T.N. Gurkha R/o 103, Karan Nagar; presently at H.No: 26, Sec-6, EWS Colony Roop Nagar, Jammu. 10/6/2006
53. Sh. Rattan Lal Maratta S/o Lt. Sh. Amar Nath Marhatta, R/o Anantnag; Kmr; presently at Phase 1st Muthi Camp, Jammu. 10/6/2006
54. Sh. Arzan Nath Dhar R/o Jablepora, Shopian, presently at Sec-9, Dwarika Delhi. 10/6/2006
55. Smt. Sheela Ji W/o Sh. Mohan Lal, R/o Tangmarg Kmr; presently at H.No: 243-C, Sec-1, Durga Nagar, Jammu. 11/6/2006
56. Sh. Moti Lal Mahaldar S/o Lt. Pt. Dina Nath Mahaldar R/o Motiyar Rainawari Sgr; presently at Qtr. No: G-9, Muthi Camp Phase-IIId, Jammu. 11/6/2006
57. Sh. Kashi Nath Raina R/o Baramulla Kmr; presently at Block-15, Flat-2A, Sec-56, Gurgoan, Haryana. 11/6/2006
58. Sh. Nand Lal Raina, S/o Lt. Kashi Nath Razdan, R/o Chattabal Sgr; presently at 59, Takla Road, Dehradun. 12/6/2006
59. Sh. Makhan Lal Koul S/o Lt. Sh. Dnia Nath Koul, R/o Zaina Kadal Sgr; presently at C-276 Gaytri-Kutir Durga Nagar, Sec-I, Jammu. 12/6/2006
60. Smt. Prabhawati Bhan W/o Lt. Sh. Kesho Nath Bhan, R/o Wazir Bagh Sgr; presently at 244, Lane No: 2, Adarsh Enclave Sector-I, Trikuta Nagar, Jammu. 12/6/2006
61. Smt. Shyam Mohini Gigoo W/o Lt. Sh. Shyam Sunder Gigoo, R/o Alikadal Sgr; presently at 19-A, Indranagar Sonwar Jammu. 12/6/2006
62. Sh. Sat Lal Wali S/o Sh. Shiv Jee Wali, R/o Gulgam Kupwara; presently at 690-G, Mishriwalla Camp Jammu. 13/6/2006
63. Smt. Raj Rani W/o Lt. Isher Pandit, R/o Dooru Anantnag; presently at 81/2A, Shantipuram Muthi, Jammu. 13/6/2006
64. Sh. Sat Lal Koul S/o Lt. Sh. Mahadev Ram Koul, R/o Badiyar Balla, Sgr; presently at 602-B, Rishab Building Sangvi Nagar, Thane. 13/6/2006
65. Sh. Radha Krishan Bhat R/o Khalhar Anantnag; presently at Qtr. No: 176 Nagrota Camp, Jammu. 14/6/2006
66. Sh. Prem Nath Koul S/o Lt. Sh. Nand Lal Koul, R/o Sheshiyar Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at H.No: 116, Vasant Vihar Naubasta Kanpur. 14/6/2006
67. Sh. Radha Krishen Razdan S/o Sh. Sri Kant, R/o Badiyar Payeen Sgr; presently at C-2/602 Capital Apartments Vasundhara Enclave Delhi. 14/6/2006
68. Smt. Indrawati Bhat W/o Lt. Sh. Lamboo Dhar Nath Bhat, R/o Vessu Anantnag; presently at Qtr. No: 565 Nagrota Camp, Jaddi Jammu. 15/6/2006
69. Sh. Pushker Nath Koul S/o Lt. Shridhar Koul, R/o Sathu Barber Shah Sgr; presently at Korta Chattisgarh. 15/6/2006
70. Smt. Oma Razdan W/o Lt. G.C. Razdan R/o Drabiyar Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at L.No: 2, H.No: 110, Roop Nagar Enclave-A, Jammu. 16/6/2006

Pattern of Terrorism in Kashmir

KS Correspondent

The escalation of terrorist violence in J&K has been accompanied by attacks on political leaders, religious cleansing of the minority groups as part of effecting a demographic change; Talibanised acts involving attacks on Amarnath Yatris, Tourists, migrant labourers and Dervishes; upgradation of terrorist networks.

Political Violence:

Terrorist attack on NC leader Ms Sakina Itoo made her and NC raise serious allegations of a "political conspiracy" to finish her. On July 8, 2006 while coming out of a shrine in Kulgam town Ms Sakina Itoo had a providential escape when 5 of her party activists got killed while 42 others sustained injuries. Among the killed was senior NC leader and former MLA Gh. Nabi Dar. Sakina Itoo's father had been gunned down by terrorists in 1994, while her uncle was killed by terrorists in 2001. She herself survived over a dozen terrorist strikes since 1996.

PCC Chief Peerzada Mohammad Syed while condemning the attack demanded probe into the attack. NC President Omar Abdullah alleged that NC was a victim of political rivalry and added that he and other NC leaders like AM Naik, Sakina Itoo were being targeted. He said it raised serious doubts over who was targeting the NC leadership. A spokesman of Tehrik-e-Hurriyat (Geelani) claimed that the blasts was an "act of interparty rivalry among mainstream political parties".

Ms Sakina Itoo suspected 'political hand' behind repeated attacks on her and other NC leaders in South Kashmir. She termed the police claim that it had eliminated the terrorist involved in the attack as "simply a piece of fiction". She alleged that the terrorist was arrested a day before the blast. The former minister asked how PDP ministers had been moving freely without any fear and only she was being targeted by terrorists. She had, however, a word of praise for state DGP and SP Kulgam who she said have been alive to her security needs. Earlier, Mr Omar Abdullah said the State Governor had asked the probe report of an previous attack at least a dozen times but the Mufti government failed to submit it.

Religious-Cleansing:

On July 12, 2006 two girls and two boys of the minority community were gunned down

by terrorists in an attack on two families at village Mangnar, 10 kms from Poonch town. A group of 3-4 terrorists entered the houses of Mangat Ram Sharma and Ashok Kumar at 10:00 PM, when the family members were preparing for sleep. The terrorists smashed the windows while

came forward to retaliate against the terrorists nor visited the site of carnage later. The villagers threatened to shift to Poonch town in case army picket was not restored back.

Earlier on April 30, 2006 thirty two Hindu villagers were gunned down in two separate in-

killings of minority community members. They have cited statistics to show that majority of the civilians killed in these areas have been Muslims. The two communities, however, are being targeted for different reasons. Hindus are being subjected to terror as part of effect-

were repeated attacks on tourists. On May 22 a grenade was thrown at a bus carrying tourists from MP. Three days later, while PM was in Srinagar attending the Round Table Conference, the attack on a tourist bus at Batapora, Hazratbal left 5 Gujratis dead. One May 26 four tourists were killed and five injured when tourists threw a grenade at a tourist bus. There were two blasts on buses carrying Bengali tourists at Dalgate on May 31, it left one dead and 32 injured.

On the day of serial blasts in Mumbai there were five grenade blasts in the heart of Srinagar-at Dalgate, Regal Chowk, Ghanta Ghar, Abi Guzar Lane and TRC. 8 tourists were killed in the attacks, while many were injured. A terrorist, Afzal Rather of Nesbal, was, however, caught by people and handed over to police. He said another terrorist Mudassar alias Raju had executed the blasts at the instance of "Bilal", LeT's key operator in northern Kashmir. The following day seven tourists were injured when terrorists lobbed a grenade at a SRTC bus at Gulmarg bus stand. The condition of one of the injured tourists is said to be critical.

Migrant Labourers :

Nine Nepalis labourers were killed and five injured when terrorists attacked them at Wadroo, near Kulgam on June 11, 2006. In March, 16 Nepalese and one Bihari labourers had come from Silguri to Shopian-Kulgam belt to work with a labour contractor in Tranch, near Shopian. On the fateful day in the morning they had been asked to build a wall around a home in Hangalbuch. While they were taking lunch, three gunmen appeared and asked them to accompany them to forests. When they reached Badroo, a short distance away, the labourers were asked to line up and undress. The single Muslim labourer was asked to move out of the line. Then the terrorists opened firing, six labourers died on spot while another three collapsed on way to Srinagar. The three terrorists who carried out the massacre were local HM operatives and residents of Buttpora and Haltipora, villages on the outskirts of Hangalbuch. This was the fifth massacre of migrant labourers since 1996 when six Nepalese labourers were shot dead at Lasjan, Srinagar.

According to Praveen Swami "underpinning all these killings was a single motivation: pure communal hatred". To build the

(Contd. on Page 16)



Former minister and senior NC leader Sakina Itoo, who survived a grenade attack in Kulgam. (R) A blast victim being carried by people and security personnel for treatment at the SMHS Hospital in Srinagar.

making their entry. They started indiscriminate firing. Mangat Ram's two daughters, aged 18 and 8 were killed, while his wife and a minor daughter were injured. Mangat's deceased daughter, Priyanka was scheduled to enter into wedlock in the first week of next month. Ashok's two sons, aged 17 and 20 were also gunned down.

Prior to Mangnar carnage a group of 3-4 terrorists were spotted by a patrol party of police in City Forest locality, one km. from the Poonch town. Reports said this group had planned to strike at Knuiyan, another minority dominated village. On being spotted by the patrol party the terrorists retrieved and moved to Mangnar. A report said the terrorists had planned to target minorities at three places.

The Mangnar villagers were sore over the role of DC and the nearby CRPF camp. They marched to the town, carrying the bodies of the killed with them. The villagers said an Army PMG post, which was operational in Mangnar for past 15 years, had been removed 4 months back. They added that after spotting terrorists in upper reaches of Mangnar a few days before the carnage they had approached the District administration. Despite this 'no action was taken to prevent the killings', they alleged. The protestors demanded probe into the role of nearby CRPF Camp, located 150 metres away. The villagers said the CRPF personnel neither

cidents of religious cleansing in Kulhand (Doda) and Basantgarh (Udhampur). At Kulhand and Tharva nineteen people were massacred, including an eight year old girl. 13 shepherds were gunned down while they were grazing their cattle in the high altitude meadow north of Lalon Galla, Basantgarh (Doda).

The victims had not anticipated any trouble when terrorists asked them to accompany. Villagers thought that their labour was needed to build a hideout or bury arms and ammunition. After spate of massacres in 12998-99, VDCs were set up in the area. The people of this village had refused to form a VDC. A police post, which had been set up four years ago, was removed when villagers insisted that its presence was more likely to provoke terrorist retaliation than protect them from harm. This only shows how the vulnerable population compromises its own security. The main accused in this carnage has been identified as Aijaz Ahmad, a LeT operative hailing from Raichak area of Basantgarh.

Praveen Swami, an analyst observes that "one motivation for this gruesome campaign has been to bring about large-scale migration of Hindus from Muslim majority areas north of Chenab", a gameplan that closely fits into Musharras's formulas" on Kashmir.

Some analysts have tried to underplay the demographic/religious cleansing dimension of

ing a demographic change, under a policy- "kill one to frighten one thousand". Muslims are being killed by terrorists for varying reasons. Some are being targeted for being members of VDCs or informers. In other cases where people have protested over terrorist excesses—extortions, misbehaviour with women, killing of close relatives, demanding food or forcing children to join the terrorist movement etc. they have been eliminated. In January 2006 Rashida Begum and 2 members of her family were killed when she protested strongly over killing of her two close relations by Hizbul Mujahideen.

Talibanisation:

The terrorists of late have been ruthlessly pushing the process of Talibanisation. This has resulted in attacks on Amarnath Yatris, Tourists, Migrant labourers, anti-fundamentalist saints etc.

Amarnath Yatris: There were two attacks on Amarnath Yatris in June. 7 yatris were injured in a grenade attack on bus. Terrorists lobbed grenades at six buses of yatris at Jammu Bus Stand in which one person was killed and 31 injured. 3 IEDs were defused at Banihal, these were aimed at targeting a pilgrims' convoy. Two grenade throwers were arrested in South Kashmir when they were planning to attack the pilgrims.

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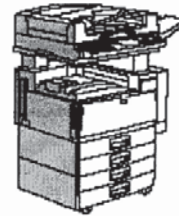
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Partition looking back!-II



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By J.L. Tiku

Abolition of E. Bengal - Congress League Alliance

Status of Favourite Wife
The Government was haunted by the trouble in Bengal. The latter inspired and organized the country for its freedom struggle. It voiced India's aspirations with unmatched eloquence. The Calcutta Bengalis it would seem were getting too big for the shoes and British found it necessary to create a Muslim counterweight to balance Bengal's wings had to be clipped, its audacity rebuffed. In 1904, Lord Curzon hit upon the idea of partitioning Bengal to weaken it, especially to lessen the importance of Calcutta. In 1905 Bengal was partitioned. On the creation of the new provinces of Eastern Bengal and Assam the British Lt. Governor opened his speech in the lowest taste in which he said that he had two wives, one Hindu and one Mohammedan, the Mohammedan being the favourite.

The creation of the Muslim majority provinces of Eastern Bengal and Assam marked a political turning point for Sir Sayyid's followers and the Aligarh movement. Encouraged by this gesture, All India Muslim League was set up on 30th December 1906 by the Muslims in Bengal. The league which was born on the soil of East Bengal was later snatched by the Urdu group of United Province. Muslim League enjoying its position as the favourite wife became openly hostile to the INC, which it denounced as an organization of effete Hindus.

Nevertheless as the Congress moved to seek for Indian dominion status within British empire the Muslim elite remained wedded to the ideal of British raj forever to prevent any democratic development in India.

Abolition of E. Bengal - Congress League Alliance

The abolition of the provinces of East Bengal and Assam with effect from March 1912, embittered the Muslim loyalists, casting doubt on the British government's faith and integrity and causing reaction against Sir Syed's policies. The Muslims of Bengal felt deprived of political and economic advantage conceded to them earlier. It convinced the Muslim leadership of the instability of British patronage and these developments paved the way for a working alliance with Congress.

British in order to balance injury caused to the Muslims of Bengal introduced special communal concession for Muslims for admission in educational institution. This led to regulation of seats in various services for Muslims. The seeds of Pakistan had been sown.

The Muslim League's overture for an alliance with the Congress began in 1911 and had matured in the so-called Lucknow pact (1911) drafted by Jinnah and approved by the Congress leaders including Tilak. From 1917 to 1921 Congress and Muslim League held their annual sessions simultaneously and in the same cities. In 1915 Congress and the League held their sessions simultaneously at Bombay. The Congress-League scheme of 1916 whereby Congress agreed to a scheme for separate Muslim electorates (which it hitherto had strongly condemned) was the outcome of the cooperation and amity.

In 1916 League and Congress met at the same platform. A.K. Fazlul Haq presided over the session of Muslim League. He was general secretary of Indian National Congress. The

result was Lucknow Pact. It was agreed that the interests of Hindu and Muslim minorities would be protected by overrepresentation.

Again Bengali Muslims got in the neck. They would yield good part of their representation in protection to Hindu minorities in Bengal. The discontentment of Bengal Muslims continued. Many defected from Bengal branch of Muslim league and repudiated Lucknow pact and met Lord Chemsford in a separate group for proper safeguards. The first blow to Hindu-Muslim unity was accordingly struck of all places in Bengal by the extremist Muslim communalist sections. On 8 to 9th Sept. 1918 All India Muslim conference met out at Calcutta. The meeting was planned to coincide with Durga Puja. The Muslim rally got out of hand and three days of rioting ensued. The very first communal riot in India had taken place.

Mahatma Gandhi & Khilafat Movement

Western education had made the educated leaders incapable of having political or social communication with Indian masses. When they turned around and asked the British to leave, British merely ignored them. British found the sense of patriotism and of nationalism utterly lacking in the east. Religion was the one binding link and nowhere was this so firmly realized and so loyally observed as among Muslims.

The pull of religious orthodoxy within Hindu and Muslim masses alike was better understood by Mahatma Gandhi than any other Indian leader of repute. He solved the problem of political communication with the Indian masses in the most simple and effective manner. The well born found, on hearing his words, voices they had long forgotten, which had lain imprisoned in the twilight chambers of their consciousness. While securing mass Muslim support through his leadership of Khilafat movement, Gandhi succeeded in isolating the Muslim educated elite from the Muslim masses. He had undone or so he thought most of the work of Sayyid and Aligarh movement.

With the collapse of Khilafat movement and the Moplah outbreak in Malabar in 1921 the honeymoon of Congress-League came to end. In the bargain Muslim League acquired a brilliant new advocate in Jinnah. Jinnah left INC in 1920 formally.

Secular India & the Communal Award

Following the riots of 1918 came the reform act of 1919 which satisfied nobody. The British government in order to meet the demands for greater reforms appointed Simon commission in 1927. INC as well as Jinnah group were opposed to Simon commission because no Indian had been taken as member and hence boycotted the Simon commission. They appointed Motilal Nehru to draft a constitution.

Nehru came to prominence in the Congress in early 1920's by arguing that political liberation and economic development were the primary objectives of Congress and should be pursued outside a religious framework. The landmark in laying the foundation of a secular state came to be Nehru report in 1928 prepared by Motilal Nehru. It presented a secular state as a solvent of inter-communal tensions and in turn rejected separate electorate for the Muslims in favour of joint electorate. It appeared repudiation of Lucknow pact of 1916 by the Congress.

Jinnah formulated 14 point counter proposals for the demands of sharing of power by Muslim safeguarding their interests. This envisaged a federal structure for the future India with residuary, almost autonomous, power vested in the province; effective representation of minorities in the province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even equality; separate electorates with a provision for the revision of this provision; safeguards for the protection of Muslim institutions and personal law.

A number of attempts were made by Congress and Muslim leaders to reach agreement on a constitution for India. Neither side was prepared to make the necessary concessions. Muslims had been politically divided into a number of factions for some time, Nehru report however tended to throw them together. In December 1928, a conclave was held at Delhi under chairmanship of Agha Khan which was the most representative meeting of the Muslims held up to that time. The Muslim community however found it difficult to present a united political front. One faction of Muslims led by Abdul Kalam Azad and Dr. M.A. Ansari joined the Congress maintaining that it was a secular all India party. The

Nehru report led to dispersal of Jinnah group. Open session of Muslim League held in March ended in pandemonium. While Shaffi group cooperated with Simon commission and found All India Muslim conference, out of the remnant came another party, All India Nationalist Muslim party. In disgust Jinnah left India.

In early 1930's communal tension spread far and wide. The Simon commission was discussed through three round table conferences held between 1930-34. The three parties i.e. British government, INC and ML could not come to any agreed solution and round table conference did little to minimize communal disharmony. In face of this discord the representatives of British returned to their backrooms and eventually in 1932 British announced communal award, in which practically all the demands of the Muslims were recognized and granted - including separate electorate, statutory safeguards for minority rights, communal weightage in the majority provinces and creation of Sind as a province.

The British government had realized that it was useful to nourish communal feelings among Muslims and even among Hindus. With a single stroke of genius British made communalism in India permanent by the communal award of 1932.

Pan-Islamism - Rahmat Ait's Pakistan

Syed Jamaluddin Afghani, born in 1839 born in Afghanistan was one of the inspirer of modern Islamic revival and the pan Islamic doctrine. At 15 years of age, Jamaludin set out on a unique task of reminding the Islamic countries all over world to unite as brothers in defense against the influence working against Islam. It took him to countries -Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, India and Europe. Among the countries in which Jamaluddin's teaching bore fruits was India which he visited a number of times.

This idea was developed by Sultan Abdul Hamid of Turkey. It was England herself who magnified Turkey in the eyes of Muslim India. During the 19th century British policy to bolster the Ottoman Empire against Russia, partly because Russia's expansion in central Asia threatened the safety of India.

(Contd. on Page 6)

POWER RIVALRY IN CENTRAL ASIA

By M.M. Munshi

Central Asia has a long history as a centre of chronic turbulence from which violent explosions have erupted periodically and spread disaster and destruction over great distances either directly or by chain reaction over the centuries. China despite the great wall was the principal sufferer, Indian sub continent despite the mountain barriers of Himalayas, Karakorams did not entirely escape. The cities as far as Moscow, Rome also felt the sting of conquest which has not been forgotten even now.

During the last few centuries the process was for the most part reversed. Pressure from the more developed civilizations succeeded in diminishing the area of turbulence. Three expanding empires, Soviet Russia, China and British India as they gradually grew closer subduing and reducing the areas of turbulence, and by common consent autonomous territories were left until very recently as buffers between the major powers to minimize the mutual fears and border incidents.

Very recently the near elimination of the old buffer system tightening of China's control over Sinkiang (Xinjiang.), conquest of Tibet, emergence of Independent countries like India, Pakistan and Bangla Desh. In attempting to crush Tibetan revolt and at the same time denying it Chinese used methods which brought China and India into sharp conflict, China and India during the 7 -9 centuries witnessed in Central Asia the elimination of the integrated drive to form new empires from petty chiefdoms which had emerged from the ruins of the older empires. The struggle to

dominate Central Asia was not restricted to Russia, China and Turkestan alone but also involved Tibet, Ladakh Baltistan and probably Nepal.

During the 6 -8 Centuries in Tibet a dynastic line who's ancestral influence was restricted along a narrow east-west strip south of *Tsangpo* (Brahmaputra) river made a rapid expansion of its dominions covering whole of Tibet and one of its rulers named **Tsen-Gan-Po** made Tibet a dominant military power and was able to demand and receive royal princesses in marriage from China as well as Nepal. In Kashmir the **Karkota dynasty** was established more or less contemporaneously to **Harsh Vardana of Kanauj** who brought much of Northern India under his sway. The period between 640 to 660 AD witnessed extensive contacts between India, China, Nepal and Kashmir. A new facet was added to these complexities with the advance of Islamic Arabian Empire into Central Asia, via Iran and Iraq and fall of Sind to Arabs in the Indian Sub continent.

Kashmir at that time was an important Buddhist centre and one of the main channels through which Buddhism spread to Ladakh, Baltistan, Central Asia and parts of China. As being the main line of communication to central Asia through Ladakh, Nubra via Karakoram and Sugat Passes.. Struggle between China and Tibet commenced in early 7th century and lasted for about three centuries involving at times few and at times most of the neighboring principalities. The confrontation between China and Tibet took place around six places i.e. **Kashgar, Khotan, Kuchia and Kararshu** in Turkestan and **Szechuan, Tsingai, Kansu** east and north-

east of Lhasa. It was the war over Turkestan which involved Western Tibet, Ladakh, Baltistan and Kashmir. If the Chinese domination for the four places in Turkestan was to be challenged it was necessary for Tibet to have control of western Tibet west of Mayum Pass and approaches to passes leading to Turkestan through Ladakh and Baltistan. Accordingly western Tibet was brought under control during **Tsong Tsengmopo's** rule. After several years of struggle Tibet succeeded in conquering the Chinese's garrisons in Turkestan in 670 AD and held it for twenty years. Until 690 AD when Chinese forces recovered eastern Turkestan for Tsang Dynasty.

Soon after Ladakh and Baltistan became the chief arena for struggle between China and Tibet for the control of the passes leading to Turkestan into which Kashmir was also actively drawn. The Conflict became wider with increased pressure from Arab invaders on areas north of Kashmir and embassies visited China China which brought the two kingdoms together into some sort of an alliance against the advancing Arabs on one hand and Tibetans on the other. Chinese records state that at least **three Embassies visited Chinese Court to ask for aid against Arabs and Tibetans**. It is corroborated that at least one of the embassies was sent by **Then-Ko-Chi-Pen King of Kashmir** identified as **Chandrapidata Vajradetya**. Much of the fighting took place in Baltistan and Turkestan. It is easy to understand alliances of China and Kashmir on one side, and Arabs and Tibetans on the other side. The latter finding allies from time to time from Turkestan chiefs and Shan

states near present India-China-Myanmar trijunction.

In 722 AD Chinese force of about 4,000 came to the aid of Baltistan and prevented the Tibetans the control of passes. About ten years latter the great Monarch of Kashmir

Laltaditya Mukhtapida not only **turned back a Tibetan invasion of Baltistan but also advanced into north western Tibet**. In 737 AD Tibetans again attacked Baltistan but were **driven back again by Laltaditya**. Chinese helping Baltistan and Tibet by launching a diversionary attack on eastern Tibet.

In 777 AD large Chinese Expeditionary force acting in conjunction with Baltis and Kashmiris after successfully crossing the passes drove the Tibetans out and placed their garrisons as far west as **Gilgit** in an effort to counter Arab advance from that direction. But Arabs inflicted a revenge defeat and **forced** them to withdraw from Gilgit and surrender part of western Turkestan to Abbasid Caliphate. King **Laltaditya's** achievement **did not last after his death** in 760 AD. The Chinese disaster enabled the Tibetan king to bring Baltistan, Ladakh also under its control., carried the **Tibetan empire to its zenith by conquering most of the Turkestan, Kansu, and Szechuan, in 763 AD Tibetan forces even captured Chang-an the western Capital of China and held it for about 15 days. And became the most dominating power in Central Asia. Tibetan power reached new heights with a number of defeats they inflicted on Chinese between 760 AD to 780 AD** And resulted in a peace treaty in 783 which was short lived. Tibetans shortly resumed their con-

quests especially in Turkestan and annexed areas as far as **Tuvo (modern Rumchi)**.

But by 790 AD fortunes of war turned against Tibetans mainly because of **collapse of its alliances with Arabs in the west and Shanin the east**. Shans who were earlier advancing into the territory of Tsang emperors of China by 990 AD were competing against the Tibetans in Yangtsee valley. Shans found it convenient to forge a peace treaty with China and **turn against its formal ally Tibet**. Similarly the Tibetan success in Central Asia had a parallel effect on Arabs. The substitution of Tibetan to Chinese rule in Turkestan meant that it was the Tibet which stood in the way of Arabs advancing to Central Asia. **The Califa of Bagdad Harun Rashid abandoned the alliance with the Tibetans and sent his emissary to Chinese court to arrange a joint attack on Turkestan which Tibetans in the first instance withstood.** However Harun Rashid returned to the attack in 808 AD but due to his death and war of succession the attack was given up. Giving the Tibetans another brief span in Turkestan.

The Chinese for their own part were unable to exploit the situation to their advantage due to internal disorders in their empire. After years of desultory warfare during which neighboring powers extracted concessions from both a peace treaty was concluded between China and Tibet. **In 822 AD process of decay set in and the areas for which Tibet and China had fought so bitterly fell to local rulers and other conquerors. Turkistan fell to Ughurs, Western Tibet, Baltistan and Ladakh broke into smaller principalities.**

Partition looking back!-II

(Contd. from Page 5)

Following the First World War, states such as Turkey, Egypt, Iran, Iraq were assuming new dignity and influence in the family of nations. Muslims of subcontinent developed a feeling of self identification with participants in pan-Islamic movement. There had been rediscovery of the greatness of Moguls in Indian history. A new movement was growing up

among Muslim masses. At the same time a sense of insecurity was shaping up - communal riots had become common. The minority status was continually hurting the minds of Muslim elite. They were trying all options which could deliver them from the yoke of majority as and when the British would leave for good. Famous Philosopher Iqbal presiding over Allahabad conference of Muslim

league in 1930 had put forward the demand for autonomous Muslim state thus giving concrete shape to Muslim hopes and fears.

In January 1933, four Muslim students of Cambridge University, Mohammad Aslam Khan, Ch. Rehmat Ali, Sheikh Mohamed Sadiq and Inayatullah Khan issued a small four page pamphlet, entitled **Now or Never**, in which it advocated the idea of a partition of the country. Muslims are separate nation, and are therefore entitled to a separate

state of their own, was for the first time seriously advocated in this pamphlet. In 1940 Rehmat Ali published another pamphlet **Millat of Islam and Menace of Indianism**, in which he condemned Indianism and pointed out that the Millat could be saved only by severing of ties with India. The third pamphlet **Millat and its Mission** published in 1942 set out a Pakistan very different to the Pakistan conceived in 1933 in which he deplored Minorityism and exhorted to convert India into

Dinia. For him the acceptance of Minorityism would mean rejection of Pakistan and not converting the Indian subcontinent into Dinia would mean confirmation of India as country. On August 14, 1947 spending his day in loneliness in Cambridge, he was drafting new pamphlet condemning Jinnah for accepting the partition of Punjab and called for continuance of the campaign to regain all the Muslim areas lost to the India. **(To be continued)**

7/11 blasts focus on Mumbai's vulnerability

(From Page 1)

There have been two important leads so far. Afzal and Mudassar, the terrorists involved in Srinagar grenade attacks, are LeT operatives and were working under the directions of LeT Chief in north Kashmir known by the alias 'Bilal'. The second lead was provided by a lady caller who identified two terrorists—Zabuddin Ansari, resident of Aurangabad and Zulfiqar Fayyaz Qazi, based in Beed, on the basis of sketches prepared by the police. Security agencies believe that the two terrorists and their master Rahil Abdul Rehman Sheikh, resident of Mumbai's Grant Road, were the main culprits who were involved in Mumbai blasts. Rahil and Qazi, as per Gujrat Anti-Terrorism Squad, were the architects of the attempted bombing of an Ahmedabad-Mumbai train on February 19 this year.

Security Failure:

The blasts could have been prevented had the police bosses in Mumbai been a little more vigilant. On June 25, IB had warned Mumbai police that a group of terrorists had managed to smuggle 10 kgs of RDX into the city. The report even carried the names and possible hideouts of this group. IB is even reported to have informed Mumbai police that Zabuddin Ansari, a key LeT operative, had coordinated the transportation of arms and ammunition.

The arrest of three terrorists—Abdul Samad Shamsheer Khan, Mohammad Aqueel Ismayeel and Aqif Biyabani on June 27 and 29 revealed that a master plan to target Mumbai was being hatched. Samad told the interrogators that he had gone to Bangladesh earlier in the month to meet Ansari to collect finances. Biyabani told ATS that he and Ansari had been in touch with Junaid, ISI contact man, in Nepal, who used to issue instructions to their module in India. The finances collected from Bangladesh were obviously meant for subversion in Mumbai.

On May 9, an intelligence led operation led to seizure of 24 kgs of RDX packed in computer cases, along with 11 AK-47 Rifles, grenades etc. in Aurangabad. Further recoveries were made at Malegaon and Manmad, since May the ATS has seized 43 kgs of RDX. Ansari, involved in this transportation of arms/explosives, managed to give slip, escaping in a Tata Indica.

The interrogation of the 11 accused in this arms haul case established that Rahil Sheikh was its core organiser. Ansari recruited cadres from SIMI, while Rahil organised for their training and the supply of explosives.

In April 2006 IB learnt that a major consignment of arms had reached Maharashtra through Western Coast. What ATS seized on May 9 could have been just a part of the consignment. Officials believe that arms and explosives

that got away could have been sent to J&K and Mumbai by blasts. A week before the Mumbai bombing West Bengal Police made biggest ever seizure of explosives in Birbhum. These had been apparently transported from Mumbai to Kolkata.

The Mumbai Police sat over the IB report and failed to beef up security measures in Mumbai in the wake of Ansari's escape in Aurangabad on May 9. Reports say the Centre has asked for disciplinary action against some top police officials for this lapse. The Centre is equally upset over the way the Mumbai police tried to mislead investigations by claiming that only dynamite and ammonium nitrate was used in the blasts, and not RDX. In a way it sought to negate Centre's claim that LeT-SIMI were involved.

In November 2005 the police had arrested three Kashmiris—Arshad Badroo, National Conference Councillor, Haji Mohammad Ramzan and Khurshid Ahmad Lone. They had been sent by LeT "Commander" in north Kashmir—"Bilal" to deliver detonators to Rahil Sheikh's network and in return collect cash and fake passports. The three were held following arrest of an Imam of Haj House, Maulana Ghulam Ilahi Bakshi, who was linked to "Bilal". Imam was in charge of storing explosives, arms and ammunition. Police recovered several satellite phones from him.

Soon after the abortive bombing of Karnavati Express on February 19, 2006 an e-mail intercepted by security agencies said Qazi's work has begun. A few days before the blasts riots were engineered in Bhiwandi and statue of Meenatai, wife of Shiv Sena chief Bal Thackeray, was desecrated. The suspicion pointed towards a prominent Samajwadi politician, whom intelligence agencies suspect to be a SIMI sympathiser. Mumbai police failed to read warnings in these developments. In 2003 blasts the mastermind of attacks after explosions had actually managed to enter the State Secretariat and walk undetected through its corridors. Mumbai police has remained more focussed on mafia rather than Jihad terrorism. There are also reports that since early 1990s the intelligence flow to police has been less. This only emphasizes the need for revamping Mumbai police machinery and bringing highly motivated personnel both from the ranks and the officers' cadre to the forefront to meet the challenge posed by terrorism.

Political Failure :

Despite the fact that Mumbai has been subjected to repeated

bombings by terrorist groups at the instance of Pakistan, successive governments at the Centre and the State have slept over the issue of providing foolproof security to Mumbai. Between December 2, 2002 and August 25, 2003, Mumbai was rocked by six blasts, five involving public transport system.



A file photo of car bomb blasts in Mumbai in August 2002

In 2006 itself there were enough warnings. On May 3, 2006 a blast at Chawal in Ghat Kopar led to the death of a person. 3 heavily armed terrorists were gunned down in Nagpur and the attempt to blow RSS Hqs was foiled. Earlier, on October 22, 2005 Thane rural police had seized 750 kgs of ammonium nitrate and 700 detonators. Another consignment of 180 kgs of ammonium nitrate and 20 simple fuses and 250 electronic triggers were recovered on October 26. Shiv Sena MP Manohar Joshi forcefully raised the issue of seizure of explosives in Parliament. He said, "It seems that the whole of Maharashtra has become the godown of explosives". Yet it brought no urgency in UPA government which had been obsessed with other priorities.

Mumbai has not become the target of ISI's economic terrorism overnight. This metropolis, alongwith South India have been under ISI focus since 1981. In 1992, Lal Singh alias Manjit Singh of the International Sikh Youth Federation, Canada, who was arrested by Gujrat police, stated that he was sent by ISI to Chennai to study the possibility of organising an explosion at the Chennai Stock Exchange. ISI has been building a ring of bases for Islamist terror

groups in and around Mumbai in different parts of Maharashtra to target Mumbai.

Nexus:

There is also evidence which points to a nexus between terrorists and some ruling party politicians. Soon after the recovery of arms/explosives in Aurangabad and Malegaon, the Anti-Terrorism

Squad disclosed that the premises of three legislators were used by these terrorists to hide and stay. The three legislators belong to minority community and are affiliated to Congress and the NCP.

Even after the blasts, the Congress and the NCP units of Aurangabad have been actively wooing SIMI sympathisers and 'former' activists with an eye on Aurangabad's 35% Muslim population. One Javed Qureshi, as per reports, is a prominent SIMI activist and had played a major role in organising SIMI's Ikhwana Conference in 1999. Qureshi has managed two terms as a councillor in the Aurangabad Municipal Corporation after the ban on SIMI in 2001. He switched loyalties to the NCP in 2005 after being denied a ticket in order to retain his seat. Despite the fact that Qureshi openly opposes ban on SIMI and lauds Osama bin Laden he has been able to get off without much trouble due to the political clout. Earlier, when Dr. Abdul Mateen Abdul Bashir of Mumbai's JJ Hospital was arrested for helping to plant a bomb at Ghatkopar in 2002, both NCP and Congress staged protests in Aurangabad. UPA government allowed the ban on SIMI to lapse last year. The Supreme Court had upheld the ban in 2001 on the basis of its links with Jamaat Islami and its student wing Islami Chhatra Shibir of Bangladesh. SIMI is also linked to HUJI-B, closely allied to Al Qaeda. SIMI had held its trainings in forests of Padgha near Mumbai in 2002. How could all this go unnoticed unless there was political patronage at some level?

Nearly 4000 new trusts have been registered in Aurangabad since 2001. There has been prolific

erection of social organisations and madrassas, which have been only targeting youth, under the garb of religious and moral education. All the arterial roads of Aurangabad are being covered by Islamist organisations on one pretext or the other, with liberal funding from ISI, Saudis and Indian Muslim diaspora.

Another outfit active in Aurangabad and involved in terrorist activities is 'Ahle Hadees'. This group sees itself as part of Laden's 'Salfi group'. Most of 11 persons arrested in the Aurangabad arms haul, it is reported, belong to Ahle Hadees. This Islamist group is targeting the city's 5 lakh Muslim population. More than 2000 youth have joined this organization during the past few years. Ahle Hadees is heavily funded by Saudis. After the ban on SIMI the latter's activists have been joining Ahle Hadees. As this Wahabi organisation attacks shrine worship, there are conflicts between traditional religious leaders and Wahabis. How the leaders of the community sort it out also looks intriguing. Ahle Hadees sect is more secretive than SIMI.

Jalees Ansari, Ahle Hadees activist was accused of 2002 bombings in Mumbai. After these blasts the Home Minister Chhagan Bhujbal had told the media that the followers of Ahle Hadees were involved in the blasts. He had to retract the statement following furious protests by Ahle Hadees which threatened to dent the Muslim votebank of the Congress and NCP in Maharashtra.

Without smashing the Islamist terror network in and around Mumbai—Beed, Malegaon, Nagpur, Kolhapur, Aurangabad etc. there will be no foolproof security for Mumbai. Islamists have struck deep roots in Maharashtra. Recently, a 19 year old Kolhapur youth was killed in an encounter in Kashmir. Further enquiries revealed that as many as 200 Maharashtra youth were undergoing training in subversion in Kashmir. The Kolhapur youth had been educated in a madrassa in Nippani before he moved to a madrassa in Gujrat, where he is believed to have lived for two years before being recruited by LeT.

Mumbai Blasts-the crossborder link

(From Page 1)

porous borders, diluting the pro-Indian commitment of a section of mainstream Kashmiri leaders, discussion on issue of 'de-militarization' and 'sovereignty' over Kashmir.

Israel has demonstrated national will, clear agenda and zero tolerance. With each act of escalation it puts a higher price for Jihad. In our case acts of escalation have been followed up by

even greater appeasement of the forces inimical to India. A peace process with India is a win-win game for Pakistan. It helps him to pursue crossborder terrorism with no fear of counter retaliation, wrest strategic concessions on Kashmir inducing complacency among Indians and keeping US on his right side. In his view the present Indian stridency is a passing phase aimed at to deflect the national outrage. He believes the

elements in Indian media, civil society and political parties would become assertive again once the national anger subsides and start pressurizing the UPA government to restart the 'peace process'. It may be recalled that on June 30 this year he had harangued that he might revert to the demand of third party intervention if his proposals of 'demilitarization' and 'self-governance' in the region were not considered positively to "resolve" the Kashmir issue.

EDITORIAL

Message from Mumbai

Mumbai, the commercial capital of India, once again became the target of a global Islamist conspiracy. Synchronization of blasts in Srinagar with bombing in Mumbai indicates that Islamic jihad in Kashmir and economic terrorism against India are interlinked.

7/11 serial blasts left 223 killed and around 700 injured. Ominous signals were there, yet the administration was caught napping. Blasts executed with military precision had a level of sophistication that raised even suspicions about the Al Qaida involvement. The bombing left little trails for the security agencies to follow to identify and track down the real culprits and delineate the exact contours of the conspiracy.

All this would have taken months of preparation and several dry runs. How all this was accomplished without the security agencies getting an eye to it continues to baffle Mumbaiites as well as the nation at large. Was it simply an intelligence lapse or a greater political failure? India has been at the receiving end of cross border terrorism for than three decades now. How many more 7/11 incidents does India need to work out a security policy to protect the nation's assets and deter Pakistan from continuing the mischief further?

Extreme fear psychosis generated by repeated bombings and a lax security system can undermine the confidence of domestic and foreign investors, leading to the flight of capital and decline of this metropolis as the commercial capital of India. Many messages are implicit in the horrendous happenings of Mumbai.

One, Islamic jihad in Kashmir is only a small link in the broader game of Pakistan's terrorist campaign against India. Under a definite design Pakistan is involved in economic terrorism against India and is targeting Western and Southern India, the regions which have witnessed unprecedented growth in industry and software technology. Through its linkages in Nepal and Bangladesh Pakistan is trying to create intelligence encirclement of India and develop fissure lines in states like Assam, West Bengal, UP, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, etc. Talibanisation of Bangladesh and the illegal presence of crores of Bangladeshis in India can play havoc with Indian security in the years to come. The involvement of Bangla terrorists in Varanasi blasts and almost regular exfiltration of Bangla nationals into Pakistan via Jammu border indicate the new strategies of ISI.

While attacks on tourists in Kashmir and on the faith centers of the majority community in rest of India may be aimed at building religious frenzy among new terror recruits, the ultimate objective of Pakistan is balkanization of India by sapping its economic strength through sabotage and denting its military capability by making it bleed through thousand cuts. Economic terrorism has remained one of the principal features of Al Qaida terrorism. India has to refresh its security strategies to meet the new threats posed by Islamist terrorism. Continued drift will lead to what Pakistan desires of us --- economic uncertainty, sectarian polarization, domestic chaos, denting of India's image abroad and cynicism at the level of people.

Second warning which security planners and the national leadership can ignore only at their peril is that at least a section of Indian Muslim

community is no longer impervious to the influence of global PanIslamist ideology and its terror groups. To attribute this cozying up to riots or other imaginary grievances is to trivialize the dangers being posed by international Islamist terrorism. Sometime back the National Security Advisor expressed his strong concern about it but then no follow up measures were taken. SIMI, the jihadi terrorist group has emerged as the local face of Al Qaida - LeT in India. Is it a mere coincidence that SIMI (1977) and Jamaat Tulba in Kashmir (1978) were floated by ISI around the same time, when Pakistan began preparations for sponsorship of crossborder terrorism against India. The two outfits are also the student wings of Jamaat Islami.

SIMI has developed strong bases in more than nine states. Its cadre strength, as per reports, is estimated at 20000 in Maharashtra and more than a lakh in UP. How has SIMI been able to build this formidable strength? It has successfully encashed the vulnerability of Lohite and Mandalite parties to seek Muslim votes. SIMI activists have managed to infiltrate these parties to seek immunity and state patronage for their subversive activities. The leadership of these parties has been favouring them and other Islamist groups by opposing national consensus on taking tough measures against terrorism. Lately, a section of Congress and the Left too have joined the bandwagon to seek Muslim votes by pursuing opportunistic politics. The UPA Govt. allowed the ban on SIMI to lapse. In Kerala, both UDF and LDF were vying with each other to seek the release of Madani, the main accused in Coimbatore blasts. Infact, Kerala Assembly, convened to discuss rivers' waters issue with Tamil Nadu, showed more urgency in passing a unanimous resolution to seek his release. Madani's NDF is a cover front of SIMI.

The Lohite parties and the Left have also been trying to create Hindu-Muslim polarization by demonizing the majority community and creating frankenstein of imaginary Muslim grievances. The objective seems to be to create a strong psychological sense of insecurity in the minority community and then emerge as its protector. Its fallout during the past few years of strident propaganda has been that members of the minority community have started gravitating towards radical Islamist groups.

At a time when the ruling political establishment needed to send a strong message to Pakistan and terror groups over blasts in Mumbai, senior members of the UPA Govt. are trying to embarrass their own Prime Minister and the security agencies by trivializing the issue of terrorism and seeking diversion by raising the phantom of a Hindu link to blasts.

Has the time come now for Congress and BJP to come together to forge a consensus for evolving a tough policy against terrorism, leaving out competitive politics to issues of governance? The two parties have an all India presence and legacy of pursuing nationalist politics. An understanding between the two parties will keep at bay the Lohite/Left and other parties which have been soft-pedaling the issue of Islamist terrorism to cultivate the Muslim vote bank. This will also help the two parties to weed out from within the elements who have been opposing tough measures against terrorists due to ideological subversion or for having links with hawala laundering operations. This is the message from Mumbai.

OPINION

A Kashmir agreement now will give Musharraf a victory he badly needs

Taking a wrong turn

By Vikram Sood

Different states react differently to similar situations. When Israel is subjected to terrorist attacks, which is very often, the State reacts immediately and with force each time. In India, two days after Pakistan-backed terrorists kill innocent civilians in Srinagar, we send an official delegation to talk about cooperation in the war against terrorism with the sponsors of terrorism. There is no pretence of postponing the meeting. It is as incongruous as the London Police seeking the help of Jack the Ripper to find Jack the Ripper.

The Iranians, too, have a lesson to teach. As the world watches, they have shown that if you know what you want, you have the rules on your side and have the courage to stand up to all pressures, the other side will ultimately blink first. One does not have to roll over and play dead at the first opportunity.

Talking with the Pakistanis about curbing terrorism is a dialogue of the deaf. We say stop the violence; they agree, but say that Indian security forces must stop killing innocents. We say stop the infiltration; they demand the withdrawal of Indian troops. We call it terrorism; they call it a freedom struggle. When a terrorist is killed, they call him a martyr. They glorify their suicide terrorists by calling them fidayeen; alas, unthinkingly we do likewise.

Meanwhile, Pakistan has no intention of rolling back its jihadi infrastructure. This is a vital low-cost weapon they have. So the embers are kept burning with vicious anti-India, anti-Israel and anti-US campaigns that get detailed coverage in the thriving jihadi press. The campaign to curtail the jihadi outfits and control madrassas is an elaborate charade.

What really happens is that the Pakistani intelligence establishment periodically does a cleaning operation and shuts down some outfits to launch new ones to prevent anyone from becoming too powerful. This is mistakenly seen as an example of enlightened moderation. In reality, these are just revolving door tactics: exit an old outfit and enter a new one in a different costume.

All is not too well with the Musharraf realm as election year approaches. Suddenly, the throne is looking vulnerable with Washington now beginning to grumble sotto voce that Musharraf is not doing enough in the global war on terror. There is irritation with endless Musharraf double-speak along with assistance to the Taliban and a growing realisation that democracy in Pakistan may not be such a bad option. The jihadis are complaining that Musharraf has sold Pakistan to the Americans and lost Kashmir to the Hindus. Balochistan and Waziristan are in ferment.

Meanwhile in Pakistan, Sunnis kill Shias, Deobandhis kill Barelvis, Shias and Ahmediyas while they shed crocodile tears for the Kashmiris. And far away, in London, their political voice gagged in Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif have issued their magna carta, which seeks and hopes to curb the Pakistan armed forces substantially. Whether this remains yet another Pakistani dream for democracy or becomes a reality depends on how seriously the rest of the world takes this Charter of Democracy.

Left to himself, Musharraf would only be too eager to revoke his promises to Pakistanis once again and is working on a scheme to continue as Pakistan's dictator in democratic clothing beyond 2007. Any agreement on Kashmir now, in any form, will give Musharraf a victory that he badly needs, and ensure his continuance in perpetuity.

In this context, for Indians to scurry around and offer palliatives to Musharraf is completely misplaced. Terminologies like autonomy,

(Contd. on Page 23)

By P.K. Kothari

Pakistan is a confessional state, run by a praetorian army. These characteristics have pushed the country to become a dysfunctional state. Over the past two decades Pakistan has emerged as the hub of Islamist terrorism, endangering regional and the international security. There is concern across the globe on how Pakistan can be resuscitated back to become a normal state. Many scholarly studies have emerged out of this concern. **'Pakistan-between mosque and military'**, authored by **Husain Haqqani**, an activist-scholar offers interesting insights. Haqqani, a well-known columnist has remained foreign policy advisor to civilian governments in Pakistan. Presently, he is a Carnegie scholar and teaches International Relations at Boston University.

Pakistan's many problems are rooted in history. It was created on the basis of two-nation theory principle that Hindus and Muslims cannot live in peaceful co-existence. Since the seceding elite had no nation-building model for the new state, it decided to make it an Islamic ideological state, with adversarial relationship with Hindus and India. These compulsions led to religious cleansing of Hindus who decided to stay back in Pakistan. Kashmir became a bogey to keep the adversarial conflict on with India. Disproportionate size of Punjab and its elite in relation to other provinces, weak base of political parties and underdeveloped democratic institutions, obsession of the governing elite to seek parity with India through external alliances, allowed an unusual role to the Pakistani military. It finally became the arbiter of its destiny.

Haqqani has delineated the internal dynamics of Pakistan's body politics with incisive insight. He recognises three main faultlines, right since 1947 when Pakistan was created. One, who should wield the political power—the civilians or the military. Obviously, the military has succeeded. Secondly, ethnic provinces and the federal differences. Pakistan was run as a highly centralised state, where Punjabi elite excluded other ethnic groups from the power structure. For a while Mohajirs were co-opted, only to be jettisoned later, leading to Mohajir-Pak state conflict. With the new situation in Afghanistan created in

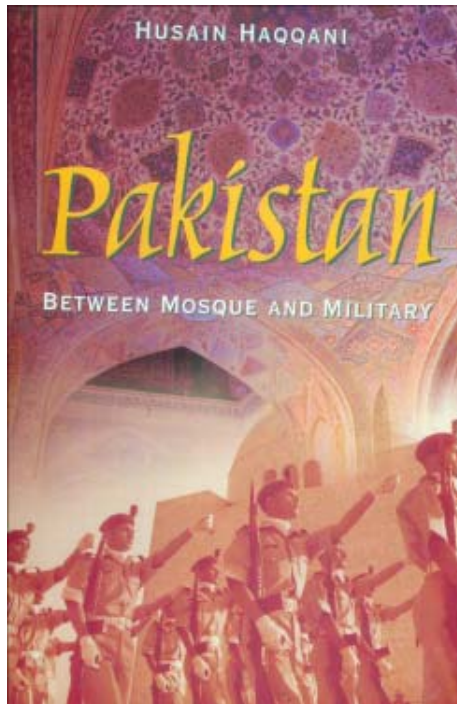
US must help Pakistan become a normal state

the wake of Soviet intervention and Pak army's obsession to seek strategic depth, Talibanised Pathan elite is being co-opted as a junior partner. National question continues to haunt the stability of Pak state, though its nature and form has changed over the years. The praetorian military sought to counter the nationalist aspirations of ethnic provinces through repression and by flaunting the ideological character of the state. The third faultline is the ideological division over the role of religion in national life.

The violent vigilantism of the Jihadist groups with transnational linkages has become a serious threat to Pakistan civil society and has also unleashed sectarian terrorism.

The ethnic provinces, (non Punjabi) despite their underdevelopment and the treatment meted by the Federal government do not share the worldview of Pakistan's governing elite, either in relation to adversarial relationship with India or with respect to Islamisation of the country. Instead of cultivating these friendly sections, Vajpayee government's major blunder was sending overtures to anti-India sections of governing Punjabi elite at the cost of these groups. The so-called 'peace process' is doomed to failure because it is premised on the appeasement of the groups hostile to India.

Over the years Pakistan's political commitment to an ideological state has graduated to a strategic commitment to export Jihadist ideology for regional



and further marginalising non-Islamist political parties and the civil society. **'Peace process'**, imposed by US is in essence primed to force India to grant major concessions to Pak military leadership to consolidate its stranglehold on the power structure. Excuse trotted out is that if military fails, the new failed state would be more dangerous for India. Imperialist arguments always run like this. If American's major concern is Islamist terrorism, why does it continue to promote neo-

Islamist separatist groups in Kashmir and pressuring India to go slow in giving decisive blow to terrorist infrastructure in Kashmir. Americans are playing a dangerous game, endangering the security of its own people, through its actions in Kashmir, Pakistan, Iraq, Afghanistan and elsewhere. The US policies to cultivate Pakistan as a frontline state, initially to contain communism during the Dulles era and now to counter so-called 'War against terror', has only served to strengthen Jihadists and military dictatorship in Pakistan. If America is sanguine about its commitment to fight religious fascists, it should change its policy on South Asia lock, stock and barrel. Without a changed policy on Kashmir, Pakistan and Central Asia, America's loud rhetoric on 'War against terror' amounts to nothing. Haqqani rightly warns Americans that the historic alliance between Islamists and Pakistan's military could undermine anti-terrorist operations in the short-term, while

contributing to the global radicalisation of Islam and fueling India-Pakistan confrontation.

Haqqani predicts that Pakistan's self-characterisation as an Islamic, ideological state was unlikely to change in the near term, as religion is used as adhesive to put a lid on ethnic and linguistic differences. He observes that Pakistan suffers from chronically weak state institutions. It faces a deep identity crisis and a rising threat from independent radical Islamists. To address this the governing elite seeks an alliance with the US and pursues a nuclear deterrent and sub-conventional military capability—that is, Islamist terrorism—against India. Pakistan military's policy tripod thus emphasizes Islam as a national unifier, rivalry with India as the principle objective of the state's foreign policy, and an alliance with the US as a means to defray the costs of Pakistan's massive military expenditures. These very policies lead to extremist Islamism and have emerged as threats to both the US interests and global security.

Haqqani warns the Americans that Pakistan was playing double game with them and could neither be described their friend or the foe. At every stage Pakistan has proved to be a US ally of convenience, not of conviction, as it has sought specific rewards for specific actions. Pakistan army has displayed Chameleon capability to adjust its priorities to fit within the parameters of immediate US global concerns and seeks its pound of flesh to ensure flow of military and economic aid to tide over problems of survival as well as competition with India.

The Pakistani scholar also debunks the assumption in US circles that the aid translated into leverage. During 1940s and 1960s Ayub Khan provided significant intelligence gathering facilities for a while but never provided the "centrally positioned landing site", the US sought. In Afghan war, though US paid for the whole operation, it never controlled Pakistan's ISI or for that matter the Mujahideen. Zia sought to create a client state in Afghanistan after Soviet withdrawal in quid pro-quo for extending co-operation in the Afghan war. Similarly, Musharraf's help in the hunt for Al Qaeda also remains selective. Whenever the US

(Contd. on Page 23)

In these columns we are reproducing the editorials of the *Daily Pioneer & The Indian Express* to show how they reacted to Mumbai blasts. --The Editor

It helped SIMI recover and regroup — It is entirely possible that when the Congress contested the Tamil Nadu Assembly election in alliance with dubious organisations like the Tamil Muslim Munnetra Kazhagam, its political managers were not aware of their antecedents. It is also possible that local Congress politicians in Chennai knew of the company kept by such communal organisations but they chose not to share the information with the party's central leadership. And, it is equally possible that Congress leaders in both New Delhi and Chennai struck a deal with the TMMK and similar organisations fully aware of their credentials, allowing political expediency to ride roughshod over national interest. In any event, given the Congress's strange addiction to a perverse notion of secularism that makes its

leaders embrace those who are pressing the alarm bell following the Mumbai bombings, asking State Governments to crack down on SIMI. An attempt is being made to convey the impression that while the UPA Government acted against SIMI in February, State Governments have not been sufficiently tough with this Islamist organisation. That is bunkum. The Prime Minister and his Home Minister owe an explanation to the nation as to why the ban imposed on SIMI on September 27, 2001, by the NDA Government was allowed to lapse, allowing the anti-national organisation to regroup and re-emerge its cadre who are wedded

to Osama bin Laden's criminal ideology. Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister Mulayam Singh Yadav may have gone easy on SIMI for reasons that do not merit elaboration, but that does not absolve the UPA regime of its folly. By letting the ban lapse, and then re-imposing it in the most lackadaisical manner after six months, this regime has helped SIMI sprout fresh poison fangs. Of course, pushed against the wall for its abysmal failure in protecting India from enemies within and without, an effete Prime Minister and his discredited Government will try to pretend otherwise and claim that they are committed to fighting evil forces represented by

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SIMI and its clones. That, however, is unlikely to convince many, including drumbeaters of the regime. Look at the pathetic and contemptible manner in which Human Resource Development Minister Arjun Singh tried to make a mockery of the Mumbai bombings by slyly suggesting that Islamists are not to blame for it; earlier, as the nation mourned the massacre by jihadis, he offered quotas to Muslims, rubbing salt into India's freshly bleeding wound.

The Prime Minister cannot but be aware of the dangers of having such sinister men in his Cabinet whose sole preoccupation is to plot and scheme against India's nationhood. That he is unable to act against them is comment enough on the authority he wields.

(Source: *The Pioneer*, 15th, July 2006)

Congress To Blame

Jihadis on rampage

Does the UPA regime have the courage to confront them? — Those who are seeking to divert attention from the enormity of Tuesday's terrorist bombings in Mumbai that have left at least 200 commuters dead and more than 600 injured, many of them crippled for the rest of their lives, by repeatedly stressing on what Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has described as the people's "resilience and resolve" to "triumph over the evil designs of the merchants of death and destruction", are doing a disservice to the interests of the nation and the war against terrorism. Only an effete and irresponsible Government will limply suggest that the people must fight and win the battle against Islamist terrorism while those in power wring their hands in abject despair or, worse, refuse to act in any manner that may be seen as not being in consonance with an astounding policy of appeasement whose scary contour has now come to include pandering to radical Islamism. Soon after coming to power in the summer of 2004, the UPA Government repealed the Prevention of Terrorism Act, not because it had been 'abused', as alleged by the Congress and its hand maidens in the Left, by the previous NDA regime, but to send out a clear, unambiguous signal to the jihadis and their patrons that they can do as they wish without any let or hindrance; the Congress would be grateful to receive a fistful of votes in return. Between then and now, that message has been received well by those who believe that their faith obliges them to kill and maim innocent men, women and children - for evidence, look at the increasingly audacious terrorist strikes over the past two years and the ease with which jihadis have expanded the theatre of their violence with the state, under the tutelage of the Congress-led regime, remaining a mute spectator.

Tuesday's bombings in Mumbai,

which bear a stark resemblance to the Madrid explosions and were as cunningly and ruthlessly executed as the 7/7 London Underground attacks, follow a series of daring strikes, beginning with the assault on the Ram temple in Ayodhya on July 5 last year. That the attack was foiled was more fortuitous than the result of official resolve - either of the Uttar Pradesh Government or the Centre. But there was no such luck when terrorists bombed Delhi on the eve of Diwali, leaving 52 people dead, or when they struck Sankat Mochan Mandir and the railway station in Varanasi; or, for that matter, when they pushed the frontier of jihad by striking terror at Indian Institute of Science in Bangalore. Meanwhile, with Mr Singh and his advisers unabashedly propitiating Gen Pervez Musharraf by unilaterally gifting him a series of concessions described as 'confidence building measures' and offering to pull out troops from Jammu & Kashmir - ideas no doubt born of the Prime Minister's preference to "think out of the box" - terrorists and separatists in that State have stepped up their violence and anti-India propaganda. The slaughter of Hindus continues unabated, especially in places like Doda, and of late jihadis have developed a macabre fondness for lobbing grenades into vehicles carrying tourists. Just how bad the situation has turned in Jammu & Kashmir can be gauged from the fact that the attacks on tourists have taken place not in remote areas but in the heart of Srinagar where security arrangement are supposed to be foolproof.

And how does the Government respond to the challenge? Mr Singh, who bravely declared in Washington last year that he would adopt a policy of zero tolerance towards terrorism, and his advisers try to reach out to, and mollify, the political masters of the killers by initiating what has been grandiosely described as the 'Roundtable Confer-

ence'. Of course their invitation was scornfully spurned, and will continue to be spurned. The generals and foot soldiers of jihad know that with a pusillanimous regime in New Delhi, a Government that believes its policy of non-action against terrorism can be cashed for votes at the time of elections, they are on a winning streak. That no amount of death and destruction can goad the UPA into action or enrage the Prime Minister sufficiently for him to stand up and lead from the front is evidenced from the Government's astonishingly soft response to the massacre in Mumbai, a response in keeping with its shameful denial that a new wave of terrorism is sweeping through India. Craftily worded platitudinous statements may make speechwriters proud and keep 'secularists' who see nothing wrong with bloodletting in the name of jihad happy, but they can neither fetch comfort to those who have encountered the brutality of terrorism nor scare those who perpetrate terror. On the contrary, they generate loathing for a soft and supine Government too enervated to act even in the face of grave provocation. It is laughable that at this moment of monumental tragedy inflicted on the nation by jihadis aided, abetted and armed by their masters in Islamabad, the Government should even talk of the so-called 'peace process' with Pakistan. Surely Mr Singh and his advisers do not need further evidence to prove that Gen Musharraf has reneged on his January 2004 promise? After such knowledge what forgiveness? It does not require the Prime Minister to remind the people of their "resilience and resolve". This nation has had the resilience and resolve to survive invasions and aggressions in the distant and not so distant past; it shall withstand jihad, too. What we need is a demonstration of determination and conviction by those who presume to rule India; we need a Gov-

ernment that is not lacking in resilience and resolve. It is obvious that there has been a serious intelligence lapse, both in New Delhi and in Mumbai; it is equally obvious that individuals have abysmally failed in fulfilling their responsibility. Let the Prime Minister show that he means business by sacking some of these exalted keepers of India's security. That would be a good first step. Second, it is amply clear by now that the abrogation of POTA was a disastrous decision propelled by the Congress's craving for minority votes which, actually, is an insult to

the vast majority of India's Muslims. Therefore, POTA must be brought back on the statute books. This is the least that the Prime Minister can do to convince sceptics, who have justifiable reasons to doubt this Government's ability to protect the lives of citizens, that India's war against terror means more than mere lip service. Inaction after Terror Tuesday will only suggest that the Government has abandoned the people, leaving them at the mercy of jihadis.

(Source: *The Pioneer*, 15th, July 2006)

This won't do

No soft options in fighting jihad — Caught unawares by the Mumbai bombings, the UPA Government has been floundering for a convincing response since Terror Tuesday. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's statement, broadcast by television channels, instead of reassuring Indians that his Government is in command of the situation, conveyed the impression of a gutless regime seeking to hide behind the people's "resilience and resolve". Subsequent utterances of the Prime Minister and his advisers have only strengthened the perception that the political leadership of the day is too confused to come up with a response that reflects clarity of thinking and resolute determination. Witness the manner in which Mr Singh has hesitatingly, almost reluctantly, blamed "elements across the border" and terrorism "aided and abetted" from outside for last Tuesday's carnage, betraying his Government's appalling lack of courage to face the truth and admit the insidious spread of jihadi fanaticism within the country as well as Pakistan's continued use of terrorism as an instrument of state policy. It is this inability to accept facts and act accordingly that is primarily responsible for the pathetic attempt to castigate Pakistan by merely postponing the Foreign Secretary level talks scheduled for July 20 in New Delhi to review the third round of the comprehensive dialogue process. Just as the Prime Minister spoke of the people's "resilience and resolve", instead of what he and his Government propose to do to ensure the security of Indians, he allowed an official to cite "vitiating environment" and "public opinion" as the reasons for putting off the scheduled meeting. It's almost as if had it not been for the sense of outrage sweeping through the country, the UPA Government would have winked at the ghastly massacre in Mumbai and gone ahead with its so-called peace initiative with Pakistan.

Of course, that would have been in keeping with this regime's astonishing declaration soon after coming to power that nothing, not even terrorism, would be allowed to impede the 'peace process'; for the benefit of those who might have missed it the first time, this absurdity was reiterated during Gen Pervez Musharraf's visit to New Delhi last year. It is not surprising that the Pakistanis are now gleefully reminding the UPA Government of its solemn commitment to ignore acts of terrorism. Nor is it surprising that instead of taking a firm stand and insisting that there can be no dialogue between the two countries till such time Gen Musharraf conclusively proves that he has honoured the commitment he made on January 6, 2004 - Pakistan shall not to permit any part of the territory under its control to be used for cross-border terrorism against India - Mr Singh has opted for what is really a non-response. It's fine to talk about the need for an "unambiguous" global condemnation of the terror strike in Mumbai: The Prime Minister asked for and secured that condemnation at St Petersburg, a bland statement that conveniently overlooks the fact that Gen Musharraf is either unable to or not interested in shutting down the jihad factories operating from territory under Pakistani control and sustaining murderous fanaticism. We can now look forward to self-congratulatory statements on how the world supports India's stand, overlooking the tragic reality that this Government is too feeble to stand up to those who attack India with increasing impunity.

(Source: *The Pioneer*, 18th, July 2006)

Watch thy neighbour

Is Pakistan a credible partner in the peace process any more? Is Musharraf a credible interlocutor?

Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's reluctance to name Pakistan in his address to the nation on Wednesday night, one hopes, does not imply that it is business as usual in the peace process. Although the foreign office underscored the importance of Pakistan ending cross-border terrorism, the government might be severely underestimating the rapidly eroding political support in the nation to the peace process. For many months, the expanding scale of terrorist violence, from Delhi to Doda and Bangalore to Benares, had shown some clear trends. That it is no longer limited to J&K. That it is focused on the most vulnerable civilian targets. That it was aimed at provoking communal violence. That it was about blackmailing India on Kashmir. Yet, India chose to believe all this should not come in the way of an engagement with Pakistan.

The emboldened terrorist groups and their sponsors in Pakistan have seen through New Delhi's pretense for what it is — the UPA government's lack of political resolve. Mumbai blasts are a tipping point. Even the government, which has revelled in a 'do nothing policy' towards Pakistan, will find the peace process unsustainable. The doubts, if any, on the new threats to the peace process, were removed by Pakistan Foreign Minister Khurshid Mehmood Kasuri. In suggesting that terrorism in India will not cease without a resolution of the J&K question, Kasuri has only read aloud the writing on the wall that the UPA government refuses to read.

India needs to look hard at the man who claims to embody Pakistan's "quest" for reasonable solutions. For some time now, Pervez Musharraf has been seen in India as someone it can do business with. But he has failed to keep his word on ending cross-border terrorism. So India must ask itself whether he is any longer a credible interlocutor. Remember his double talk and double deals in Afghanistan with his principal benefactor, the US? Not surprisingly, he refuses to act straight with India. As India looks for pressure points against Musharraf, there may be nothing more important than openly supporting the democratic movement that appears to be gathering momentum in Pakistan.

—Edit: *Indian Express*, July 13, 2006

Mumbai has demonstrated not only an Intelligence-cum-imagination challenged national security apparatus, as this newspaper has noted over the last two days, it is also now showing a worrisome variety in state government responses. Mulayam Singh Yadav comfortably wins the award for the most dubious and dangerous reaction. The UP CM has told the country that in his view the SIMI is really a bunch of nice boys, only "some of its members may be involved in terrorist activities". This is a distinction impossible to grasp unless your mind is solely focused on the next assembly elections in UP. The certificate for SIMI also came when the CM's police chief was telling the media that the outfit

For all the attention paid to the government's recalibration of the Indo-Pak peace talks and all the high quality semantics the foreign policy establishment is using to get the message across—the foreign secretary level talks are indefinitely postponed, not cancelled—the real job is at home. This is one thing the UPA mustn't forget, as the Indian delegation collects sincere expressions of solidarity at the G-8 meeting. The prime minister and the foreign secretary have both emphasised the global dimensions of terror and asked for coordinated international efforts. As valid as these arguments are, they don't address the fact that the war against terror can't be fought similarly by all targeted countries. Terrorism has specific local dimen-

States of the nation

CMs have different takes on terror. So, dangerous farce in UP, Maharashtra. But sense in Bengal

was being investigated in the state. Just what does this do for the morale of state security forces is a question Mulayam Yadav must be asked forcefully.

But it is a question the Left won't be asking. The Left in Delhi sees Mulayam as a partner in all sorts of non-Congress/non-BJP scenarios, not all of which meet the condition of political realism. Mulayam is also, for the Left, a handy weapon in its current tussle with the Congress. What this does often is to make the Left an ally in the UP CM's preposterous stretching of the

meaning of secularism. His statement on SIMI deserved immediate condemnation from the Marxists, who pride themselves on being truly secular. Perhaps that description fits Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee only. Unsurprisingly, given his record for rational administration, but wonderfully welcome nonetheless, Bengal has started a crackdown on SIMI. Delhi CPM leaders can't tell us that Mulayam Yadav and Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee are both right.

Maharashtra's administration is, of course, hopelessly wrong. The government whose state capital is

mourning over 800 dead and seriously injured citizens has said that it needs more constables. This would have been uproariously funny had the implication of such drive not been so serious: as the analysis in this page on Mumbai's policing shows, the conflation of the mafia and terrorists makes the city specially vulnerable. Mumbai's politicians have been kind hosts to volatile activism of the Hindu and Islamic varieties that has resulted in the city becoming ghettoised and, in some senses, immune to policing. Constables are not the answer. But if the Maharashtra government still insists, we can suggest where to find them — they are posted outside dance bars.

(Source: *The Indian Express*, July 14, 2006)

Local, not global

Official rhetoric about terror's international dimension shouldn't help underplay India's domestic challenge

sions, defined both by local politics and society. India unfortunately has probably the most complex set of local factors to deal with—and foreign cooperation, or even peace talks with Pakistan, are not particularly helpful in that regard.

Mumbai has made it impossible for all but the most irresponsible politicians to ignore that India is a recruiting ground for terrorism. This calls for two kinds of responses. First, intelligence agencies must not feel constrained in their efforts to infiltrate and monitor local groups. Much of intelligence work, contrary to the impression given by even the

"experts", is a long, slow grind. Monitoring, surveillance and agent placement are time and resource consuming processes with very uncertain rewards. Security officials can't mount such operations and keep them going if approval of their work varies with the politics of the day. In fact, intelligence agencies need a major boost from the government—a thumping acknowledgment of their importance.

Equally important, but even more difficult, is the second response: change the incentive calculus of the young people (mostly men) who form the recruitment pool

for terror's headhunters. Young men with jobs in humdrum bourgeois settings don't usually chuck it all for a career that promises murder as the highest achievement. There's no doubt that the huge expansion in economic opportunities that high growth has engendered hasn't seen full participation of India's Muslim community. There's little doubt also that many of the community's political fiefdom leaders do not communicate the strong popular desire for education and jobs. Politicians need to start ignoring some of these so-called leaders, who are always claiming that the Muslim problem is special. That false distinction is the starting point for India's biggest political and social challenge.

(Source: *The Indian Express*, July 16, 2006)

Dozen more reasons

To ask: just what is this government doing about terror, why can't it even get its rhetoric right?

Five blasts in Srinagar. Seven in Mumbai. Twelve more 'incidents'. So what should the government do, beyond the usual blather of "investigations are progressing"? Something must be seriously wrong with our domestic intelligence apparatus that we almost never apprehend those who kill in the name of politics and faith. Difficult as engineering improvement is in a government set-up that is Kafkaesque in its bureaucratic inertia, the process is made all the more difficult by a complicated set of political factors that has made the UPA government seem like it doesn't quite know how hard it should be on terror. We have seen this, in a variety of ways, after the Delhi Diwali blasts last year, after the Bangalore attack, after the Varanasi bombs, after many Kashmir killings. That India's current home minister isn't exactly an inspirational political face of the fight against terrorism doesn't help. That the style of his leadership has affected the general Central security administration doesn't help either.

Bluntly put, the message that India will be intolerant of terror and will hunt perpetrators isn't being effectively put out. The government's leaders haven't found time so far to ponder the limits of political spin. Citizens may soon reach a verdict though. They may argue that while trying to make communal political capital out of terror is dangerous and unsupportable, trying to finesse terror so as to sound "politically correct" is unacceptable. It is on days like Tuesday, when the country watches a dozen blasts hit two state capitals, that people tell themselves that a government's highest duty is to protect its citizens and then they ask what is being done about it? The terrorists are asking also asking a question — how effective will targeting points of the economic system be? This is especially true of Kashmir, where the only economic activity, tourism, seems to be the favourite target for terrorists. Thanks to unimaginative government packages that mostly allow imaginative siphoning off of funds, Kashmir's local economy is hopeless minus tourism. The terrorists seem to understand better than ministers and officials the impact of a dead local economy on civilian morale. And Mumbai? Choked by terrible administration, already a target of terrorism more than once, still India's economic capital, how will Mumbai cope? It will find a way. But the government will have nothing to do with it.

(Source: *The Indian Express*, July 12, 2006)

Currency of terror

Legislate now: a key to fighting terror is to turn off the cash flow that sustains it

After 9/11 one of the first big initiatives the Bush administration undertook in its war against terror was to issue Executive Order 13224. It froze the US assets of organisations suspected to be linked with terror outfits and blocked their financial transactions within America. India has faced major terrorist attacks for over a decade now, but it still does not have clear legislation that would allow its enforcement agencies to turn off the terror money tap.

The Express has just revealed how some of the major strikes on Indian soil — including those on Delhi's markets last Diwali — had been funded through the hawala route. The curious aspect of this story is that although these facts are well known, the government has not armed itself legislatively to criminalise terror financing. A proposal to amend the Foreign Exchange Management Act and the Prevention of Money Laundering Act to tackle international financial transactions of this kind has been long pending. While draconian legislation in dealing with white collar money laundering is rightly regarded as retrogressive, we need to make that crucial distinction between such activity and the financing of terror. In fact, in innumerable cases, handsome financial rewards are often cynically used to lure disaffected young men into committing acts of terror.

Legislation to address terror will certainly be a major theme in Parliament during the monsoon session which begins next week. The question of ensuring that those who are implicated in terrorist crimes face the consequences of their acts is a national concern today, and revival of Pota is bound to be a major Opposition demand. The PM should have been more nuanced in his response to the issue when he ruled out the prospect of reviving that law recently. However, it must also be said that even Pota cannot guarantee exemplary punishment. In fact there can be no short cuts to meticulous investigation. It was a Pota court, after all, that had acquitted eight people accused in the Ghatkopar bomb blast case last year because of shoddy investigation.

(Source: *The Indian Express*, July 18, 2006)

13th July 1931 was a conspiracy hatched by the British Political Department against Maharaja Hari Singh for his highly patriotic stand at the Round Table Conference in London. The other dimension of the plot was to coerce him to submit to the long promoted British demand for lease of strategic Gilgat. The conspiracy was implemented on the ground by Wakefield, Maharaja Hari Singh's Prime Minister and the British Resident. The objective of 13th July incident was to destabilise Maharaja's government, by provoking his Muslim subjects and terrorising the Kashmiri Hindus through unprovoked communal violence. There is overwhelming evidence to support this view. Year after year, Muslim organisations of Kashmir, including those that profess to be secular continued to observe this black day as 'The Martyrs Day'. This in a way is a reflection on the low level of secularisation in Kashmiri Muslim society.

From time to time patriotic leaders of stature from among other communities have been raising their voice against the attempts to politicise the communal happenings of 13th July and thereby accord respectability to the British Conspiracy and Communalism. To put the history in its proper perspective on the occasion of 75th Anniversary of the 13th July, 1931 incidents, we are publishing eyewitness accounts of the incidents in Srinagar and Kanikoot. —The Editor

Feb 1931 Kanikoot massacre

Kanikoot is a village located few miles uphill from Nagam in Chadoora tehsil of Budgam. Nagam is a big village and old tehsil headquarters. It had sizeable Pandit population before 1990.

Two Kashmiri Pandit families lived in Kanikoot village in 1931—those of Pt. Zana Bhat and Pt. Janki Nath. Not long ago, Kanikoot used to be a dense forest. Ancestor of Zana Bhat had come to the village and settled there after clearing the forest area. Through sheer hard work and enterprise he acquired wealth. Since this huge tract of land could not be cultivated on his own, he encouraged Muslim peasants from other places to come there for tenancy. Many villages in Kashmir have come up this way during the past three centuries in areas close to forests. Pt. Janki Nath and his mother lived 100 metres away from Pt. Zana Bhat's house. Pt. Zana Bhat's family was pioneer in horticulture development in the area. Even in 1931 they had big fruit orchards. The family did not deal in moneylending business, as has been claimed by some uninformed people. For his affluence, Pt. Zana Bhat commanded prestige and authority in the area. Watakul was a neighbouring village and had no Pandit family as its residents. Kanikoot tenants were on good terms with Pt. Zana Bhat.

In February 1931 nine members of Zana Kak's family were axed to death by some people from the adjoining Watakul village. Did this incident have any link with happenings of 13th July? There are no clear answers. The British

agencies were already active and 13th July was the culmination of the nefarious policies they were pursuing to destabilise Maharaja Hari Singh. Pt. Zana Bhat's family had no problems with their tenants of Kanikoot nor did the family engage in usury. Even if it is assumed that the family had personal enmity with some family/people from Watakul village, could this have invited retribution of this magnitude? How could ordinary peasants under autocratic rule take such an action? How many such type of incidents have occurred in Kashmir during the preceding decades? The circumstantial evidence points to a conspiracy. A few days before the incident, the conspirators had hatched a conspiracy and devised the modus operandi of targeting Pt. Zana Kak's family.

On the fateful night, the conspirators reached Pt. Zana Kak's house. They called the sleeping family members to open the main door, pretending they had some urgent work. It seemed these people were quite familiar to the family and the latter trusted them. The conspirators hacked nine members of the family, including ladies and children, to death with an axe. Few members of the family, including Prem Nath who were studying in Srinagar survived. Thelone survivor in the massacre was a boy, who was sleeping with a Gujjar servant that time. After hacking their victims to death, the conspirators set on fire the top floor of the house to destroy the evidence.

The loyal servant car-

ried the lone survivor of the family with him and escaped through a window near the main staircase. Many of the bodies were half burnt. The servant went to a neighbouring peasant family and narrated the gory happenings. The following morning the servant in utter grief cried hysterically. The Gujjars from the surrounding areas too reached the massacre spot. Same evening Janki Nath and his mother left the village.

So neatly was conspiracy hatched that it seemed even the Patwari of the area, who happened to be a Kashmiri Pandit, was in league with them or had been bribed otherwise. The Patwari prepared a fictitious report, attributing the incident to a case of 'Atish Nagahani' (accidental fire). But for the evidence of the loyal Gujjar servant, the Patwari's report may have well been accepted by the government. After all the victims, and the Patwari belonged to the same community!

The incident sent shock waves among the Kashmiri Pandit minority. Pandit population all over the Valley observed fast for two days, both as a mark of protest as well as to express their grief over the massacre. The trial was conducted by the Chief Judge, Sh. Arjan Nath Atal. Two of the 13 accused died during the period of trial. Besides the evidence of the lone survivor and the Gujjar servant, two of the accused turned approvers. It was established that the peasants of Kanikoot had no knowledge about the conspiracy, neither they stood as witnesses. They also did not demonstrate any sympathy with the con-

spirators. Pt. Janki Nath, the head of the other Pandit family also excused himself from favouring either of the party and deposited that at the time of massacre he was in deep sleep.

Four days after the incident, Pt. Gopi Nath Bhat of village Woodru, Shoolipora accompanied Pt. Mahand Joo, press reporter of Daily Martand, from Srinagar to Kanikoot. He recalls, "when we reached Kanikoot, the village looked desolate. The victims had no one to weep for them".

The judge sentenced the 9 accused to death by hanging in 1933. All the accused belonged to Watakul village. Neither the Muslims nor the Pandits interfered in the trial nor did they politicise the matter and allowed the law to take its own course. Even the Muslim Conference which led 13th July agitation did not sympathise with the conspirators nor arranged any relief for the families of the accused.

Pt. Zana Bhat's three grandsons—Prem Nath, Radhakrishnan and Jia Lal survived as they were in Srinagar at the time of massacre. In 1965, when Pak saboteurs entered Budgam, Radhakrishnan, that time the village Chowkidar, was kidnapped by the saboteurs and was tied to a tree with rope. Locals rescued him. This again endorses the view the Kanikoot peasants had no enmity with Pt. Zana Bhat's family. Radhakrishnan continued to function as village Chowkidar till 1990. All this points that the Kanikoot was a conspiracy, the exact contours of which remain unidentified.

Sanity and Madness on 13th July, 1931

The communal pogrom against Kashmiri Hindus and Khatri traders was a pre-planned move by the leaders of 13th July agitation and their sponsors—the British Political Department. Hindus became victims of the mad frenzy in Vicharnag, Maharajanj, Khankah Mohalla, in Srinagar city and at Shopian and Anantnag towns. The events which took place in Khankah mohalla reveal an interesting pattern. While the members of the majority community displayed strong communal passions when they came to attack Pandits, the immediate neighbours played a positive role).

Five Pandit families lived in Khankah mohalla, opposite the Kali Shrine. These families included three families of Kouls—Ram Nath, Nilakanth and Rughnath. They were all cousins. The other two families—Niranjan Nath Wali and Dina Nath Wali lived jointly.

Soon after looting Khatri shops in Maharajgunj the big mob turned to Khankah Mohalla to attack Kashmiri Hindus. The neighbours of the Pandit families—Gh. Mohammad Qalinbaf and Ahad Sakka (water carrier) rose to the occasion and decided not to betray their neighbours with whom they had been living through generations. At the suggestion of these neighbours the Kouls hid themselves in attic storey (Brer Kani) of the house. Sakka had asked Kouls to throw some household refuse on the verandah and keep windows and doors open to mislead the rioters. The Pandits, on hearing about the atrocities in other parts of the city were gripped with fear. Ram Nath recalls, "we tied our womenfolk with rope lest they escape out of fear. We had also decided to poison them to death in case an eventuality of kidnapping/molestation arose".

When looters came, the families of Ahad Sakka and Qalinbaf told them that Pandits fled from their home on learning that the mob was on way to attack them. To keep rioters in good humour, Sakka and Qalinbaf mockingly abused Pandits and succeeded in turning the mob away. The mob stood for 25-30 minutes at Kaul's house.

Neighbours of Walis also tried to save walies but the mob had its way. Niranjan Nath Wali was an affluent person. Some people in the mob owed him money. They succeeded in instigating the frenzied mob to attack Niranjan and loot his property.

After the looters left, Kouls shifted to the house of Ahad Sakka and stayed there for three days. This was the fortnight when Hindus observe shraddas of their departed near and dear ones. Members of the Koul family would stealthily during the night go to their home, prepare food and come back. At Sakka's home they took only pears and water.

3 days later Kouls shifted to Chinkral mohalla first and later to Sathu Barbarshah where Ramnath's aunt lived. Nilakanth Koul served in Police Department. He shifted his family to police lines. Such was the terror that Ramnath's family was brought back to Chinkral Mohalla in a special police van, nicknamed by locals as 'Rat Trap'. The Kouls never went back to live in the Mohalla where they had lived for centuries. They sold their house to Gh. Mohammad Qalinbaf in 1932. This in itself is an indicator of the terror created by the events of 13th July.

(Contributed by Sentinel Research Bureau)

'National Day' (13th July), Desh, 12.7.1940

By Pt. Kashyap Bandhu

The day of 13th July is being observed every year as 'Youmi Shouday'. Muslim Conference observed it from the very beginning but now this organisation has become National Conference. This issue has come up before the Working Committee of National Conference for discussion.

13th July is no doubt a historical Day. It was on this day when people first raised their active protest for rights. This was the day when people gave up old methods of struggle and thinking. On this day some innocent brave men sacrificed their life for self-rule. Keeping in view this importance, the working committee strongly recommended that day of 13th July be observed as the National Day. This is the view of the National Conference workers.

Let us now have a look at how the Hindus think. This viewpoint is also to be listened patiently. The Sanatan Dharam Yuvak Sabha submitted a report to Dalal Commission on the events of 13th July. It was published in a booklet form. We are reproducing excerpts from this:

A large section of our Muslim brethren were being indoctrinated for quite sometime that the government and the Hindu community were two faces of the same coin. The two were synonymous and anti-government agitation has to be an anti-Hindu one also.

The mob, whose passions had been aroused into communal frenzy, looted Hindu shopkeepers at the 4th and the 7th bridge. The assessment carried out by us regarding the deaths and injuries suffered by Kashmiri Pandits, besides the loot of residential property and shops owned by them is as follows:

*290 persons were physically assaulted, out of whom 167 people received serious injuries, 20 Kashmiri Pandits succumbed to injuries subsequently, one Kashmiri Pandit was forcibly thrown into Jhelum river and he died of drowning.

*52 shops were looted, 11 houses belonging to thirteen families were looted. We are deliberately not reproducing here the more embarrassing portions of the assessment carried out by us. We frankly feel the description of these recent events would make Kashmiris bow their heads with shame. Due to the irresponsible attitude adopted by the Na-

tional Conference we are compelled to discuss these events.

The viewpoint of National Conference on 13th July is not accepted by Hindus. The latter feel that the bloody events which took place during communal rioting in Maharaj Ganj, Vicharnag, Anantnag, Mirpur and other places were outcome of communalism and hatred which was built up during the past five years. Keeping this in view, how can 13th July be observed as 'National Day'.

It is understandable if a communal Muslim organisation observes 13th July, but it becomes difficult to reconcile when this decision is taken up by National Conference, which claims to represent the interests of both Hindus and Muslims. By deciding to observe 13th July as 'National Day', the National Conference is not only alienating Hindus but is also creating impediments for the political development of Kashmir. How will Hindus accept National Conference then and take part in its activities?

Muslim Conference and Yuvak Sabha used to observe 13th July in their respective ways

from 1931 to 1934. The world view of these two parties was different. Muslim Conference would take out a procession to 'Martyrs graveyard' and put flowers on the graves of the 'martyrs'. The Hindus would go to the cremation ground in a procession and pay homage to Pandits killed on 13th July, 1931. These sentiments displayed by the two communities in processions only spread hate and injured the feelings of the other community.

Three years later Yuvak Sabha through a bold decision stopped taking out processions in memory of the victims killed. It is regretful that the Muslim Conference did not reciprocate this gesture and stuck to its stand. It is amazing that National Conference too did not revise the stand of Muslim Conference.

The National Conference has a bright future, only if it adopts a secular outlook and desists from anti-national activities to gain "cheap publicity". The people of J&K are keenly watching the activities of National Conference leaders, as the party has set high principles for itself.



13 July, 2006: Separatist leader Mirwaiz Umar Farooq alongwith his supporters at Naqqashband graveyard.

Tradition

By M.M.Munshi

None of the features of Kashmir have so directly influenced its history as the mountain ranges which enclose it. For centuries the mountain ranges guaranteed its relative safety against foreign invasions in comparison to plains of the sub continent. The only vulnerable points were the mountain passes and Pakhla route along the Jhelum valley. Throughout the history special care was taken by the rulers of Kashmir to keep a strong hold on the route entering and leaving the valley and ingress was very strictly controlled. It was probably for this reason that muslim rule in Kashmir was established about more than three centuries later than the adjoining Punjab and other northern parts of the sub continent that too not by conquest. Mohmud Gaznavi twice failed to penetrate Kashmir via Toshmaidan Pass in 1015 and 1021 AD due to skilful deployment of defending forces by Kashmiris in the narrow glen of Lohara present Lorarin.

Kalhana mentions these entrances into the valley as *Dvars*

Darangs.. The names still survive to this day in Biru and Hirpur areas of Kashmir valley. During the muslim rule the *dvars* came to be known as *Kartals* or simply *Darras* (passes). The establishments of *dvars* comprising watch cum military stations each of which was organised on a feudal basis under an official called as *Dqpi* or *Davarpida* who maintained a contingent of militia the size of which depended on the importance of the route, capable of holding the *dvars* till arrival of reinforcements. In subsequent chronicles, Srivara referred the *dvarpatis* as *margapati* and *marghesa*. In due course of time the Sanskrit term *margesa* was distorted to *Magrey* both words signifying profession. All the descendants of *Magres* could not have been employed for guarding the routes /passes but they continued to use the title even after adopting other professions.

Those who continued to guard the routes /passes were bestowed

MALIKS OF KASHMIR

by independent Sultans of Kashmir the title of honor and distinction " Malik ".However at different times besides the guardians of passes/routes leaders of influential groups like



Holy Amarnath Cave

Chaks, Rainas, Dars and others were also bestowed with title of Malik for their loyal services. After the annexation of Kashmir by Mughals in 1586 most of the Chaks, Magres and other Maliks were hunted, killed and banished from the valley for having fought against them. But those who latter submitted themselves before Emperor Akbar and took the oath of loyalty were allowed to assume the duties of maintaining and guarding the routes/watch stations, administration as well as judiciary on receipt of fresh grants of land.

During the Afghan rule 1753-1918 all the routes leading to Punjab and other places except the Pakhli route [which they needed for communication with Kabul] were closed for travelers as well

as trade for security reasons . Guarding of certain routes was taken up by Afghan army .After Sikhs annexed Kashmir in 1819 all the routes were re-opened and institution of Maliks was revived but with reduced grant of lands. Some of the Maliks to supplement their reduced grants of land started charging very exorbitant tax of *rasum rahdari* from traders and others for which they were severely punished by Sikhs.

With the advent of Dogra rule in 1846 opening of the most of the routes and gradual establishment of regular police posts at vulnerable places and reasonable distances the ancestral occupation of Maliks came to an end . During the later half of nineteenth century the maliks had to contend themselves by escorting the pilgrims to Amarnathji cave, Harmukh Gangabal and probably to Sharda in Kishenganga valley and other places of pilgrimage for which they received a fixed percentage of the offerings at the shrine rather than for rediscovering or retracing the route to the holy places like Amarnathji Cave.

The Forgotten Tirtha of Bheda Devi

By Arjan Dev Majboor

As Dr. Raghu Nath Singh of Benaras, who has translated Jonraja's RajTarangini into Hindi, maintains, there were originally about three hundred Hindu tirthas in Kashmir, which were considered important and had each a special significance of its own for the devotees. Kalhana makes a specific mention of tirthas like Kapteshwara, Jwala Mukhi, Chakreshwara, Martanda, Sarda and some others. M. Aurel Stein, who visited the religious shrines mentioned in Kalhana's Raj Tarangini, says that the tirtha of 'Gangod Bheda' was not visited by the Brahmanas of the valley of Kashmir because by that time it had gone into oblivion, having fallen into a state of neglect over a period of time. He observes:

High up in the valley of the Birnai Stream which debouches at Darbagam from the south west, is the site of an ancient tirtha, which though not completely forgotten, must have ranked once among the most popular in Kashmir. In Kalhana's introduction there is named along with 'Trisandheya' Suyambhoo, Sarda and other famous sites, the Hill of Bheda (Bheda Giti) sanctified by the 'Gangod-bheda' spring. There the Goddess Saraswati was believed to have shown herself as a swan in a lake situated on the summit of the hill. (See Rajtarangini by Kalhana, p. 472)

In November 1890, M. A. Stein came to Zaillapura from Anantnag, whence he moved (along with his camp) to Chitragam. A Brahmin of Hawal, Pulwama, met Stein enroute. The latter asked him if he knew anything about the tirtha of Bheda Devi. The Brahmin showed his willingness to guide Stein and his party to the spot. As they reached Hawal, Stein set up his camp there and was then led by the Brahmin to the nearby small temple called Bheda-bal. He consulted his maps and also studied carefully the statement of Kalhana about the forgotten tirtha; he was not satisfied that he had got to the exact place he was in search of. However, he paid some money to the Brahmin and rested for the night at the camp in Hawal. On the following day, a gujjar named

Khaira, who visited the camp, informed Stein (on being questioned by him) that the place he wanted to explore was about twenty kilometers away from Hawal, within a forest. Led by Khaira, Stein reached the spot, which the gujjars called Bujbrore. He was fully satisfied, in fact convinced that the site he had been guided to was the abode of Saraswati (though now in a disguised form).

As I read about the tirtha in Kalhana's Rajtarangini my curiosity was aroused and I made up my mind to visit the place myself. It was about three years before the outbreak of insurgency in the valley that accompanied by two friends, Shri M. L. Goja (an artiste of repute) and Shri P.N. Bhat (a lecturer/writer) I undertook a yatra to the tirtha.

We started from Shopian (district Pulwama), reached Pulwama and then boarded a bus that took us to the famous village of Kelara, a big village surrounded by lofty hills and forests. From this place we had to trek through the forest along a road that was very rough. We could not hire horses as they were reported to be grazing in the fields nearby. Luckily we got into a truck proceeding to Bujbrore, where the site of Bheda Devi tirtha was to be discovered by us.

The driver was very friendly (luckily known to Shri Goja) and so we were offered comfortable seats. After the truck had gone a few kilometers, it started raining heavily with the result that the wheels of the vehicle we sat in were driven with difficulty rattling through the mud. However, it stopped raining and soon it was sunny. That facilitated our journey to the tirtha.

It is worth mentioning here that the road to Bheda Devi runs through the Pargana (Administrative Division) named Shakoora in the old records. The stream called Vaitarini-nad (now called Birnai) flows through Shakoora. According to our Sastras Vaitarni is the stream that the pitras (souls of the dead) have to cross as a hurdle before they can move any further in the world unseen. It is relevant to point out here that many names given by our ancestors to the tirthas in Kashmir are identical with those of the corresponding

tirthas in the rest of the country. Why this is so is to be attributed to the isolated character of the valley of Kashmir: because of geographical barriers it would remain cut off from the plains in the past, especially during winter when the mountains remain snow-capped. The present means of transport were not available to the Kashmiris then. The Kashmiri Hindus showed imaginative resourcefulness and practical wisdom in founding and naming their own tirthas, which they visited conveniently; this gave them the same satisfaction that they would have got by undertaking long journeys to the tirthas with identical names that exist in the rest of the country: like Pushkar, the Ganges etc. It is said that there were dharamsalas on the banks of the Vitasta (Jhelum) right from Sangam to Vijeshwara (the present Bijbehara). These dharamsalas were used by the pilgrims who came on foot to the Martand Khetra. Their journey began actually from Sangama - which is the confluence of the Vitasta and the beautiful river called Ranbiara.

The Bheda Devi tirtha is situated in an open vale surrounded by large mountains having devdar and fur trees on their tops. From a place nearby the road leads to Rajouri and Poonch. We found a tank-like spring in the middle of the vale. The snow around this spring melts very soon as Kalhana has rightly mentioned. We found the spring lined with chiselled stones and noticed an image at the centre. We also found some plinths, made of stone or brick, in the vicinity. It was obvious to us that in the past some buildings must have been there with these plinths as their supporting base; these structures must have collapsed and gradually disappeared, leaving behind the evidence of their previous existence in the shape of the plinths. We could infer that the buildings must have been used to host the pilgrims; also some of them must have been used for conducting classes of the students who came to receive education, here in the remote past.

The place is picturesque and as such worth seeing. It is a cool and calm piece of land: an ideal place for reading and writing,

and for practising meditation. It is also mentioned in Nilmat Purana. Sloka No. 1359 of the Purana is reproduced below (followed by its English translation) <verses>

The man who takes a bath at a place close to Bheda Devi (where Ganga is in disguise) attains the 'phala' (virtue) of bathing in the Ganges and goes to Swarga Loka.

I went round and searched particularly for what I expected to be a statue, or an image carved in a stone, of the Goddess Saraswati. Just away from the spring I found a big stone. Since it was covered with mud, we washed off the mud and were delighted to see a beautiful image of Saraswati, riding a swan, carved in it. We also noticed a carving of Shiva Lingam above that of Saraswati. My friend, the artist, sat down and drew a pen-sketch of the whole carving. On close examination, the stone was seen to consist of two pieces. I gathered from a local gujjar that the pieces were originally a single piece; it had probably been struck by lightning that had broken it into two. From him I learnt further that the local gujjars held the shrine in great esteem. He also revealed that once someone pissed on the spot; during the ensuing night he lost his ox, that was stoutly built. Thereafter the locals showed greater reverence to the place whenever they passed by driving their cattle to the fields nearby. One of the gujjars offered us hospitality, desiring us to stop there for the night. We thanked him for the invitation and declined it politely.

Stein states in his account of the Tirtha (in a note in the Rajatarangini, that having once fallen into oblivion its significance was lost to the Kashmiri Pandits. He adds:

Fortunately the old 'Mahatmeya' of the sacred lake has survived in a single copy. With the help of some indications furnished by it and an opportune notice of Abulfazal, I was able to make a search for this Tirtha, which ultimately led to its discovery at the present Bud-bar in the valley. The 'Mahat Meya' describes the lake as sacred to Goddess Saraswati, as situated on the summit of a hill and Gangodbheda as a spring flowing from it.

As, far as the lake is concerned, we could not see it. May be it has disappeared or it might be far away from the spring in high mountains. Very little water actually flows down from the spring and it is used by patients to cure rheumatic diseases.

When we visited the site, we came across a gujjar having come from Tangmarg area to use the water of this spring for bathing in order to be cured of chronic diseases.

The village Kelar, whence we took the road leading to Bheda Devi tirtha, is the Kalyanapura grama which was founded by Kalyani Devi, a queen of Tayapeeda. Drabhogam is mentioned by the historian Srivara as Drabhogama. It is a big village that is still famous.

The Goddess Saraswati or Sarda Devi has been one of the chief divinities held in esteem and worshipped in Kashmir since the land was inhabited by learned scholars, who dedicated their lives to the creative arts and to spiritual pursuits. The tirthas associated with the Goddess Saraswati are generally found on foothills, often surrounded by delightful forests.

As a student of the history of Kashmir, I was fascinated by what I had read about the Tirtha and my visit to the actual site, and the scenic background, made me ponder over how this place of worship, learning and meditation must have looked during the good old days when it was frequented by pilgrims and scholars. After I pondered over and fantasized about the place for some valuable moments, I looked at the setting sun and noticed to my delight how its last rays lingered on the lush green Kale trees and the vale around. I was pleased to learn that a party of young men of Shopian had been visiting the Tirtha in the month of Chaitra for the past two years.

Refreshed by the visit, our curiosity having been amply rewarded by what we saw, we came back to Kelar on foot, avoiding to board the loaded truck that was otherwise available as a means of transport. Thence we went to Tengguna, a village near Pulwama, where we stayed in the house of Shri M. L. Bhat. As a student of Kashmir history, full of ideas about the tirtha we had visited, I thought of Plust Rishi, who is, believed to have founded Pulwama. I should also like to mention that in Tengguna there is a statue of the eight-armed goddess, Durga. It is carved out of black marble and is a fine piece of sculpture. It took me and my companions several hours to note the fine details and decorations of the image. It was actually found at Romooh in Pulwama Tehsil (mentioned as Romush in the Rajatarangini) and is installed on the bank of Romshi river.

The Legends and Tales of Gund Gushi (Kupwara)—An Insight-II

By Upender Ambarar

Continuing with the hearsay stories about the enchanted village of Gund-Gushi, Pt. Sarwanand Bhat articulated with a sense of pride that one of his ancestors Pt. Teza Bhat, a powerful chieftain of Uttarmachipora was a man of valour. About five hundred years back a ruler of a nearby hamlet marched upto the adjacent village of Bramri with his armed men with an intention to invade Uttarmachipora. He along with his armed men halted at the village Bramri, which is about six kilometres from Rangwar Gushi. He challenged Uttarmachipora chieftain, Teza Bhat for an armed combat. Accepting the challenge. Pt. Teza Bhat is believed to have tied a written reply with a huge stone and hurled it towards the village Bramri by means of a catapult (gulela). The stone is said to have covered an unbelievable distance of about three kms. before hitting the canopy of the chinar trees, under which the invading armed men were taking rest at Bramri. The huge Chinara tree branches are believed to have come crushing down on the resting armed men, killing and wounding many of them.

This valorous act of Pt. Teza Bhat is supposed to have frightened his enemy out of its wits. Fearful of the disastrous consequences of the armed fight, the invaders are believed to have fled away from the scene without offering any resistance. A well-known Kashmiri saying "Tezi Bhati Kan" is claimed to owe its origin to this background.

The gruesome events and frightful memories associated with Pakistan sponsored tribal invasion (Kabali raid) in the year 1947 still haunts Pt. Sarwanand's mind. He recalled vividly the agonizing and horror filled events of death and destruction resorted to by the tribal raiders on the helpless Kashmiri Pandit community. He was about twenty two years of age at that time. He recalled that his father Pt. Ved Lal had asked him to

bring about 1½ chatank of rock salt priced at Rs 10 at the time from the village Trehgam, as it was not available at Gushi. On reaching Trehgam, he heard the invading tribal leader delivering a hatred and passion inciting speech and ordering the immediate capture of Mr. Lassa Bhat, the Nambardar of Gund Gushi. Mr. Lassa Bhat was a good friend of Pt. Ved Lal Bhat, father of Pt. Sarwanand and was on good terms with his Kashmiri Pandit neighbours.

Pt. Sarwanand immediately rushed back to his home at Gushi Rangwar and informed his father about it. By that time, the tribal raiders had sneaked into Gushi Rangwar. On the very first day, the raiders killed Pt. Ishwar Bhat, the grandfather of Pt. Sarwanand in the vicinity of his home, when he was feeding hay to his cattle. Sarwanand himself was a witness to this gory scene. After committing this inhuman and savage act, the raiders continued the killing spree. Next, they mercilessly showered a hail of bullets on the inmates of Malla family of Rangwar Gushi, killing nine members of the said family on the spot. The unfortunate souls included Pt. Mahdav Ram Malla, Ramchand, Koth malla, Lassa Malla, Jia Lal Malla Shridhar Malla, Prem Nath Malla, Govind Malla and Madhusudhan Malla. These helpless Pandits were subjected to most agonizing torture before being massacred. Subsequently Pt. Madhav Kak Pandit, nicknamed as Madhav Bishta and Pt. Veshin Pandit of Trehgam, who had come to Gushi to meet his relatives, also met the same fate. After committing this heinous crime, the leader of the raiders is said to have ordered the forceful conversion of the surviving Pandits of Gushi to Islam.

The conversion ritual involved the snapping of the sacred thread (worn by them and recitation of the Kalima. Caught in between the catastrophic situation and dogged by terror, harassment and intimidation, Pt. Sarwanand and his family were left with no alternative but to

make an unwilling choice of conversion to Islam. Accordingly, he was given the new name of Sarwar Sheikh and his wife Kamlawati was renamed as Mukhta. Notwithstanding it. Pt. Sarwanand recalled the feelings of brotherhood, good-will and concern displayed by Muslim neighbourhood of Gushi, who strongly disapproved and resented their forceful conversion to Islam. In order to save them from further sufferings and mental torture, the samartan Muslim neighbours of Gund-Sushi hid the neo-converted Kashmiri Pandits, including Pt. Sarwanand and his family in their homes, unmindful of the risk and threat to their personal lives. Subsequently, they advised them to move-out of the village Gushi till the situation normalised. While recollecting those painful and frightful days, Pt. Sarwanand showered all the praises on his neighbours Haji Lassa Bhat, Lassa Akhoo and Aziz Bhat (nicknamed as Toumlavol), who had escorted them out from Gushi to Kulangam enroute to Sopore.

By that time, the Indian Army had started pouring into Kashmir. From Kulangam, they were taken to Sopore by the Indian Army in their vehicles. At Sopore, Pt. Sarwanand and other Kashmiri Pandits of Gushi took shelter at the 'sarai' of Haji Samad Pandit and 'Dharampur Sarai' of Pt. Gopi Nath Matu. There they were joined by Kashmiri Pandits belonging to the villages of Sogam, Lalpora, Pazipora, Chandigam, Tekpore, Sholooa, Goetung, Karihama, Moghalpora, Hakachar Nagrimalpora, Drugmulla and Kandikhas villages of the district Kupwara, who too had been forced to move-out of their homes and villages due to tribal invasion. The total number of Kashmiri Pandits, who had taken shelter at Sopore was about six thousand. A few among them had moved-out to Srinagar, which included the joint family of Pt. Sarwanand comprising about thirty members. Later, after three months when the tribal raiders were thrown-out by the

army and the situation normalised, the Kashmiri Pandits of district Kupwara returned back to their villages and homes from their temporary stay at Sopore.

Immediately, after reaching their homes at Gushi, Pt. Sarwanand and others dug-out the buried corpses of those Kashmiri Pandits, earlier killed by the raiders.

They now cremated them as per the Hindu religious rites. However, they failed to recover the buried body of Pt. Ishwar Bhat, the grandfather of Pt. Sarwanand. As a symbolic substitute for cremation rites, they burned the twigs and tree branches at his burial site. As per Pt. Sarwanand, Mahadev Pandit nicknamed as Mahadev Bishta, who had a Robinhood image was a resident of Gund Gushi. He had earned the nickname of 'Bishta' as he was adept in imitating the sounds of different animals particularly that of cats. Mahadev Bishta in league with his fellow associates named Nabir Akhoo and Sona Parray would rob the affluent persons of the society and distribute the booty among the needy and the destitutes. To accomplish their task, the trio had formed a singers' party. In its guise they would resort to the stealing acts usually during the marriage functions to the accompaniment of a Kashmiri Chakri song 'Sona Chi Ker Panen Kaem, Sombrith Aun, Diy Mae Kuna, Kenh Chi Heri, Kenh Chi Bonai, Sona Chi Ker Panen Kaem (Sona, you accomplish your assigned task, the guests are either at the ground-floor or at the upper storey, resort to the stealing act and hand-over the booty to me).

Pt. Sarwanand further re-

vealed that the village Gushi has a few mighty Chinara and walnut trees, believed to have been planted by Kashmiri Pandits hundreds of years back.

They are still remembered as 'Resh Bhatun Kul', 'Sunder Bhatun Kul', and 'Anand Bhatun Kul' etc. He also revealed with an obvious pride that besides being an established orchardist and agriculturalist of repute, he was also the lone Kashmiri Pandit to own a hotel cum restaurant known as (also called Kapoor Bakery) at Kupwara upto the time of migration.

The nostalgia filled conversation with Pt. Sarwanand was a journey down the memory lane. It was a telling tale of cherished moments, painful memories, set-backs and heart-aches, which are now his prized possessions. He longs and prays to return to his home and the village. As on now, a cruel irony of fate and unfortunate circumstances have stripped life of its meaning for him. With a noticeable gasp and a wounded expression, Pt. Sarwanand concluded the conversation with the remark, "after having been disowned and abandoned, life has become a drag and an unbearable weight now".

Rightly, I am reminded of Noel's assertion: "Rattle his bones over the stones, he is only a pamper, whom nobody owns".

(The legends, myths, fables and heresay stories may or may not have authenticity, yet they are a part of our oral history. The above article is based on an elaborate conversation with Pt. Sarwanand Bhat, who expired recently after a sudden and brief illness—The Author).

FOR OUR READERS

In the Special Kashmir Sentinel issue on Dr. Brig Premi, the fascimile of the inaugural issue of 'KONG POSH', carried in the write up 'The progressive movement in Kashmir' was provided to us by Sh. Onkar Kachroo, former Editor of Naad. --The Editor

Dr. Madusudan Jalali passes away

KS Correspondent

In the passing away of Dr. MS Jalali Kashmir has lost an outstanding Veterinarian and an ace cricketer. He was probably the first Kashmiri veterinarian. Dr. Jalali had passed his Bachelor's degree in Veterinary Science from Lahore. He was one of the best players of his college cricket team. J&K was not on the Ranji map in his times, otherwise he would have played for J&K State on account of his cricketing ability. Even at the age 65 he used to have net practice with Rainawari youngsters in Jogilankar ground, which was near his residence. He had retained his cricketing reflexes

even in advanced age.

As a student in Lahore, Dr Jalali was exposed to the revolutionary ideas of Shaheed Bhagat Singh. When Bhagat Singh and his colleagues were hanged, Netaji Subash Bose led 2-lakh strong funeral procession. Dr. Jalali would recall with pride how he had participated in that procession.

As a veterinarian he served for long tenures in the frontier regions of J&K State. At many places he was the only medical personnel available. He performed this job with distinction. His wife had contracted Tuberculosis early in life. She died quite young, leaving behind

no children. Dr. Jalali turned quite lonely.

After retirement for a while he sought employment in Zaroogun factory, to pass off time. He used to take long evening walks to Hari Parbhat area, where he was accompanied by his contemporaries—Dr. J.N. Kachru and Dr. R.K. Kachru.

Dr. Jalali was an ardent patriot and leaned towards Nehruvian Socialism. To him JP movement was an 'imperialist conspiracy', meant to destabilise India. He was so disgusted with Indian media over its support to JP movement, that he stopped reading widely circulated English dailies and switched on to lesser

known 'Patriot'. In mid-1970s he would be seen arguing hotly with the supporters of JP Rainawari. He was in often a lonely voice to support Indira Gandhi.

Dr. Jalali had a distinguished lineage. He was son of Pt. Kailash Koul of Mohalla, Bagdaji, Rainawari. Dr. Jalali had two brothers—late Vishnath and late Niranjan Nath. The former was a close associate of Pt. Shiv Narain Fotedhar, the well-known Pandit leader, Vishnath retired as Marshal J&K Assembly. Pt. Niranjan Nath was an avowed leftist and a prominent trade unionist in Jammu region.

Pt. Kailash Koul's brother, Pt. Tota Koul was head clerk in PWD

department. He had four sons. His eldest son Pt. Radhey Nath Koul was associated with revolutionary movement.

Later, he shifted to Sitapur (UP) and was a leading civil contractor there. Other sons of Pt. Kailash Koul were—Sh. T.N. Koul, former Foreign Secretary, Sh. PN Koul, a former Colonel in Indian Army and Secretary Tibetan Affairs and Lt. Gen (retd) Hriday Koul, former Chief of Army Staff.

Dr. Jalali's nephew Sh. Dwarika Nath Dhar is author of many books on Kashmir. In his youth he played excellent Hockey and was associated with the left movement in Kashmir.

Pattern of Terrorism in Kashmir

(From Page 3)

pitch for Talibanisation campaign, the terrorists had been raking up a bogey that migrant labourers were the vanguard of an Indian-led project to corrupt the state's culture and undermine its religious identity. The campaign of these Talibanists said that workers were introducing liquor in Kashmir. Praveen Swami dismissed these allegations as absurd, arguing that the abuse of marijuana was widespread in rural Kashmir.

In the 'sex scam racket' Dukhtar-e-Millat, a neotalibanist group denounced the racket as part of 'Indian State's war on Islam'. The outfit had been silent on the widespread abuses terrorists had inflicted on Kashmiri women during the past 17 years. The segments of civil society, which endorse Talibanisation of Kashmiri society, have also been actively trying to put pressure on the government to change the name of Hari Parbat to 'Kohi-i-Maran'.

Saints :

The Talibanisation campaign has now made popular saints the targets. 75 year old mystic Abdul Ahad, popularly known as 'Ahad Sahab' lives in Noorbagh locality of Sopore. He along with Khoja Ama were highly revered by both the communities. The two saints were liberal, unorthodox and deeply spiritual. Ahad Sahab used to move naked in public, asserting that the world, not he, needs to feel ashamed for its behaviour. On June 22, 2006 terrorists lobbed a grenade at his house, killing 2 persons and injuring 14. He escaped unhurt and identified the terrorists involved

as Qayoom Nassar, LeT operative and resident of Batapora. This terrorist had joined LeT five years ago when he was just 16. The blast took place at 1.50 PM when a large number of saint's followers had gathered at his house.

A one-time policeman, Ahad Sahab had left the job and turned a mystic after undergoing spiritual experience three decades ago. He had been strongly critical of Jamaat Islami. In 1991 Hizbul Mujahideen had carried out a near successful attempt on him but he escaped unhurt. A group of Muslim mystics (not sufis) have been extremely popular with Kashmiris with their appeal transcending the communities. During the past 16 years they have been opposing fundamentalism, communalism and terrorism. Ahad Sahab's popularity extended from elite to the common man in the street. No wonder, Sopore drivers observed total strike as a mark of protest against attack on the mystic.

Upgraded Terror network:

ISI is engaging Kashmiris to set up terror modules across the country. Many of these cases are coming to light with the busting of terror modules. In June 2000, UNI had carried a report that 147 Kashmiri girls, who had been rigorously trained in Kashmir in subversion, were on way to Pakistan via Nepal to assist the ISI in carrying out terrorist activity in different parts of India. Nothing much was heard about this subsequently.

One of the key accused arrested in Aurangabad arms haul is Mohammad Amer Shakeel

Sheikh. He was recruited into LeT by one Aslam Kashmiri. The two had been room-mates at Farha Daren, a madrasa at Tadkeshwar in Surat in 1996. Aslam drafted Sheikh into LeT at the end of 2004 when the two had gone to Surat to attend the annual celebrations of the madrasa. At Aslam's instance Sheikh is reported to have set up a base in Aurangabad.

Tariq Ahmed Dar had been assigned the overall charge for Delhi serial bombings, though he himself did not personally involve in the actual strike. In 2004 Manzoor Ahmed Chilloo, a one-time HM member was tasked by LeT to target Bombay Stock Exchange. Chilloo had left J&K to study medicine in Pune. He in turn turned to former members of SIMI for help. In a neat IB-led operation, which also led to the elimination of Lashkar operative Ishrat Jehan Raza and her lover, the conspiracy was foiled and the cell was exposed.

In 2005 Mumbai police arrested three

Kashmiris Arshad Badroo, a NC councillor, Haji Mohammad Ramzan and Khurshid Ahmed Lone,

who were planning a conspiracy to bomb Mumbai.

Recently an-artisan and recipient of President's medal, Ajaz Hussain Khwaja, a resident of Baramulla was arrested in Delhi. On July 10 he was to deliver money to a LeT operative, when the special cell of Delhi police arrested him with 2.5 kgs

of RDX and Rs 49 lakh. The J&K government had recommended his name in 2004 for President's medal for his 'extensive work in the field of handicrafts and shawl designing'.

Ajaz had joined LeT in February and had started delivering hawala money to LeT on directions of Mukhtyar Ahmed, a LeT operative based in PoK. Khwaja used to send money through human 'couriers' who in turn stashed it on the rooftop of state RTC buses. He used to bring in money mainly to the Muslim separatist leader and a LeT terrorist codenamed 'Raja'. Some drivers of RTC were in connivance with him. Since the luggage on the rooftop of buses often went unchecked, Khwaja took advantage of it. Khwaja told his interrogators that he used to receive money from a Dubai-based Kashmiri business man along with the instructions to whom

the money was to be handed over. Naseer Mir, another 'master' of hawala dealings and a close associate of a top Hurriyat leader

was arrested in February, 2006.

Nadeem Kashmiri, whose antecedents remain unknown, was arrested on June 27, 2006 for siphoning off US \$420,000 from accounts of British Customers. 23 year old Nadeem, whom police describes a LeT operative was an employee of a Bangalore unit of Britain-based HSBBC. He had given false information about his educational qualifications to get the job. His associ-

Continuation

ates in the bank fraud, as per police, had LeT links. Police also suspect Nadeem's involvement in Mumbai blasts.

Meanwhile, the Centre has asked J&K government to probe the claim that Al Qaeda had set up a wing in the state. It followed after a phone call was received by a local news agency from a STD booth in Jamalhatta, Srinagar, which said that Al Qaeda unit headed by Abu Abdur Rehman Ansari has been launched in the state. Earlier, on July 7, UNI quoted a document which said that Al Qaeda was training Kashmiri terrorists to undertake terrorist attacks in the Valley.

For the past few years reports have been appearing that Al Qaeda members had infiltrated into Kashmir valley and linkages between LeT and Al Qaeda were also found. In July 2002 snaps of Osama bin Laden and letters were found at a terrorist hideout in Poonch. In June 2005 car bomb attacks in Srinagar also raised suspicions about Al Qaeda's involvement.



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A Pilgrimage to Rainabari

By Dr. R.K. Tamiri

To a student of tradition journey into past is always a pilgrimage. Recently, I undertook the 'pilgrimage' to **Rainabari**, one of the oldest known diasporas of Kashmiri Pandits. This sleepy hamlet, located in a bowl-shaped Valley, lies 12 kms to the east of the historic Shiva temple of Baijnath in Palampur, Himachal Pradesh. Visiting Rainabari was fulfilling a dream conceived ten years ago. In 1996, the correspondent of the *Daily Tribune* had published a small news item about Rainabari. He had tried to link up 14th September, the day observed every year by the Displaced Kashmiri Hindus as 'Martyrs' Day since 1990, with the saga of Rainas of Rainabari, whose forefathers had left Kashmir in virtually similar circumstances four centuries ago. Another attraction for visiting Rainabari was that these Rainas originally hailed from Rainawari quarter of Srinagar, the place which once used to be my sweet home. We had also information that Suresh Raina, the promising test cricketer, too hailed from Rainabari.

Back home in Kashmir, I used to be haunted by a curiosity—where had the Rainas of Rainawari gone? Not only all the Rainas of Kashmir belonged to Rainawari, even the quarter was named after this clan—"Rajanvatika" (the place where Rainas live). In my time only few Rainas lived in Rainawari, though more than 1500 Pandit families lived there. It was presumed that either Rainas might have moved to other parts of Srinagar and Kashmir as part of routine social mobility, or else many Rainas had adopted new 'Krams'. This is a matter for investigation.

After 1990 part of our curiosity was satisfied when we learnt that many families, including Sikhs in Jammu, Budhal, Sunderbani, Billawar, Poonch, district Kangra carried Raina surnames and believed themselves to be originally

Kashmiris. It can be safely stated that Rainas were the largest group among Kashmiri Hindus, who moved out of Kashmir during the past few centuries to Jammu region and Himachal Pradesh. In what circumstances these Raina families left Kashmir it needs a comprehensive investigation. This author in an earlier article had traced some traditions common to Rainas of Jammu region and Bilaloch Brahmins of northern India.

While in Palampur, a heavy

if we had any relations in the village. We told them our relation with Rainas of Rainabari were for deeper and rooted in history the village derived its name from our home place.

An hour's journey along a narrow circuitous road took us to Rainabari. We had the impression that Rainabari village with dense foliage all around it, housed only few Raina families which lived among other Himachali families. As we entered the village, our next task

longed to Rainawari in Kashmir. Sh. Kishori Lal Raina had served Himachal Pradesh Information Department and retired as District Public Relations officer. He spoke English fluently and took great pride in his Kashmiri ancestry. It was our good luck that we were able to contact the right person. Despite his failing health, he was quite enthusiastic to share his information with us.

Before we could beging serious conversation, my son Achin had his own query to satisfy.

had another link with Suresh Raina's family. Suresh's grandmother (Nani) was aunt (Mossy) of Sh. Kishori Lal. Suresh's grandfather (Nana), Bipin Chander Pal was a non-Kashmiri. He was Manager of a transport company and died young in a road traffic accident.

According to Kishori Lal, forefathers of Rainas of Rainabari had migrated from Kashmir during the persecution period of Emperor Aurangzeb. Rainas' ancestor, who migrated from Kashmir was Gadhru Raina. While leaving Kashmir, they had carried along their Kuldevi in a palanquin. They rested at a place on the bank of river Jhelum. All of a sudden the Kuldevi disappeared. Then the Raina family put Bred (a thorny bush) into the palanquin and brought it with them. In marriages the first ritual begins with puja of this 400 year old bred. Gotra of these Rainas is Gautam. This again corroborates their Kashmiri origin. Initially, these Rainas had settled at Hariipur (Guler) in District Kangra. They were Kulpurohiths of Raja of Hariipur. This King had also bestowed his munificence on the family of another Kashmiri Pandit, Seu Raina, believed to be the originator of Pahari school of Art. It is yet to ascertain whether the families of Pt. Gadhru Raina and Pt. Seu Raina belonged to the same clan. Gadhru Raina's family earned name and fame for practising **Jyotish Vidya**. A legendary account claims that they could make fish fly, bring it to life again after roasting it in fire. No details are available about the circumstances in which Gadhru Raina's family shifted from Hariipur Guler to Rainabari.

Maintaining cultural ethnic identity in alien circumstances poses a formidable challenge. Sh. Kishori Lal Ji, a man of deep integrity, was quite candid in explaining how over a period of time they lost their Kashmiri traditions. He said their ancestors always remained strongly nostalgic about their Kashmiri origin,

(Contd. on Page 18)



Mr. Kishori Lal Raina in his house at Rainabari.

downpour on a Sunday morning virtually sealed off our visit to Rainabari. However, we were determined to take our chance. To our surprise, when we reached Baijnath, the rains stopped and the sun slowly made its appearance. We also traced Baijnath's Kashmir links. There are more than ten Sarda inscriptions, including two granite slabs, in the main temple. There is also a tradition, that a Kashmiri—Ram Kavi was the calligrapher of these inscriptions.

In Baijnath town, people felt amused when we informed them that our destination was Rainabari. This place was neither a tourist spot nor housed any religious shrine. They asked us

was to locate if any Raina family lived in the village. Fortunately, the very first person—a young man, who had spent sometime in Kashmir doing his B-ed, turned out to be a Raina. We gave our brief but quite pertinent introduction—"We hail from Rainawari in Kashmir and wanted to see our biradari people who had left that place to settle down in Rainabari four centuries ago". This had a telling effect—that we were on a mission to trace our missing links.

This gentlemen led us into his house. Soon, the head of the family, Sh. Kishori Lal Raina came out to receive us. His warm hospitality and affectionate welcome put us at ease. He felt quite happy on learning that we be-

Speaking out of turn, he asked Kishori Lal Ji whether it was true that Test Cricketer Suresh Raina hailed from this village. Kishori Lal Ji informed that Suresh Raina's grandfather Satyarthi Raina and he were first cousins. Satyarthi's father, Chandu Lal Raina, who retired as Captain, in the army was elder brother of Kishori Lalji's father, Sh. Khazana Ram Raina. Gasita Ram Raina had two sons—Chandu Lal Raina and Khazana Ram Raina. Sometime back, Sh. Satyarthi Raina had migrated to Barailly. He had sought voluntary retirement from Indian Navy and later rejoined as an engineer in some private firm. Satyarthi Raina was married to Smt. Santosh. Mr Kishori Lal Raina

A Pilgrimage to Rainabari

(From Page 17)

and traditions of Kashmiri Pandits. They continued to transmit, whatever they knew about their Kashmiri origin and circumstances of migration to succeeding generations. Some of the Kashmiri customs were discarded as these conflicted with those of Himachali Hindus. For example, on the occasion of death Kashmiri Pandits blow conchshells. This is considered inauspicious by Himachalis because conchshells are blown on marriages also. Had these Rainas persisted with these traditions, they could have faced social ostracisation. Mundan hair of Rainas are deposited in the Balak Ropi temple, Alampur—45 kms away from Palampur. Rainas of Rainabari continue to relish Dam Alu, Saag etc. Since no good quality meat as available in Palampur-Bajjnath area, Rainabari Rainas have no knowledge about Kashmiri non-vegetarian cuisine. They, however, relish chicken.

Due to lack of opportunities—education and economic, Rainas of Rainabari are gradually abandoning the place where they have lived for more than three centuries. Presently, there are only 14 houses of Rainas in Rainabari. There are no non-Raina families here. Some have moved to Bajjnath, Palampur, Lambagaon Panchkula, Jawalamukhi, Chamba etc. Satish Raina runs Jagan Restaurant in Chamba. One of the Raina family, which continues to maintain its link with Rainabari, lives in Gandhi Nagar, Jammu. This family has excelled in education and includes a doctor, a bank official and a lecturer. Suresh Raina's ancestral house had collapsed few years back and a small new house has come up on that land.

Distinguished Rainas of Rainabari include Sh. Kishori Lal, Sh Hira Lal Raina, Treasury officer, Sh. Nand Lal Raina, Retd. Supdt. Civil Sectt., HP and late Prof. D.R. Raina. The latter, a renowned Professor had done his MSc. from Lahore University in 1932 and was a gold medalist. Prof. Raina also rendered his services in NCC and was a captain there. Mr. Kishori Lal's son is a Gold Medalist in MSc. Botany. He teaches in a private school. Mr. Kishori Lal fondly recalled his days with Sh. PK Mattoo, IAS (Retd.), also a Rainawarian. He worked under Sh. Mattoo when the latter was Deputy Commissioner in HP and had very high regard for his integrity and helpful attitude. The latter also served as Chairman HPPSc and Chief Secretary, Himachal Government ♦



'Rainabari—2006.



A 'Raina' house in Rainabari locality.



A new house (with wooden staircase) on the land, where once stood the ancestral house of Suresh Raina, Test Cricketer. The house had collapsed a few years back and the property was sold by Suresh Raina's family.



This lane leads to houses of Rainas.

Dr. (Col.) Saligram Kaul was a Social Visionary

By Dr. Ramesh Kumar

Dr. Saligram Kaul, the noted physician passed away on February 17, 2005 at New Delhi after a brief illness. He had a distinguished career both as an able physician as well as an administrator. He served as Principal Govt. Medical College, Srinagar and Director Health Services, J&K before his retirement in 1973. As an academician he had few parallels. He never sought to promote his career by seeking favours. Imbued with sense of high idealism, Dr. Kaul never compromised on principles. He was a gentle colossus.

Ancestry:

Saligram Kaul was born to Pandit Aftab Kaul Nizamata and Mrs. Devaki Kaul in 1913. The family lived in BreKujan quarter of Habbakadal. Incidentally, Pt. J.L. Nehru's ancestor Raj Kaul 'Naru' also lived in the same mohalla before moving out to plains to seek fame and fortune!

Col. Kaul's ancestor Pt. Nidhan Kaul had two sons—Ram Kaul and Sukh Kaul. The former was a well-connected administrator during Pathan rule (1759-1819). He got constructed a mosque in the adjoining Gadud Bagh Mohalla. The mosque came to be called 'Bata Mashid'—a mosque constructed by a Pandit (Bata). Ram Kaul earned the sobriquet of 'Nizamata' for his administrative capabilities. He died at the age of 95.

Ram Kaul had three sons—Chandra Kaul, Nath Kaul and Krishan Kaul. Chandra Kaul did not leave behind any descendant and died at the age of 80. Krishan Kaul died quite young. Aftab Kaul was born to Nath Kaul. Aftab Kaul had three sons—Janki Nath, Jagar Nath and Saligram. Dr. Saligram Kaul had meticulously prepared his family pedigree a few years before his death.

Pt Aftab Kaul:

Pt. Aftab Kaul Nizamata was born in 1886 and was educated in the CMS High School. Though always a topper in his school, he did not pursue his studies beyond matriculation.

His father had died young. Pt. Aftab Kaul served as a subordinate official in the Audit Department of the Kashmir government.

Nizamata family's compound used to be the common playground for boys of locality. It was called 'Kola Angun' (compound of Kauls). Pt. Aftab Kaul

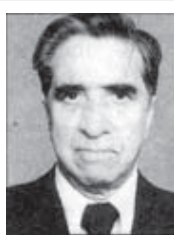
used to play with young boys here. Since his childhood Aftab Kaul was restless and wanted to bring the much desired social change in the society. He alongwith Pt. Hargopal Kaul Khasta and Prof. S r i k a n t h Toshkhani have been among pioneers in bringing social change in Kashmiri Pandit society in early twentieth century.

Dr. Annie Besant, the great Irish Theosophist had entered politics and was elected the first woman president of the Indian National Congress in 1917. Same year, she alongwith Dr. Margaret Cousins launched the Indian Women's Association in Chennai to ameliorate the condition of Indian women. She took keen interest in the developments in the Valley. Dr. Besant advised the local theosophists to do something for the uplift of the local women. Dr. Saligram Kaul recalls, "Dr. Annie Besant was my father's guru. On five or six occasions I had the privilege to meet Dr. Besant and stay with her. Whenever, the great theosophist visited Kashmir, my father would arrange all-religious joint prayer meetings. Fa-



Dr. Annie Besant

ther was able to get Musa Patigaroo and Hamza Shah from among the majority community to join these composite prayer meetings. Mr. Patigaroo displayed great dignity. My father was instinctually drawn to reform of the society, Pt. Janardan Teng, some Pt. Munshi and three younger people worked with him in this endeavour. They would conduct meetings for social upliftment near Drabiyar temple. Since there was no daughter in the family, welfare of women held special



Dr. (Col.) Saligram Kaul

attraction for him. He established Women's Welfare Trust at Brekujan. Father had in-born instinct for philanthropy and helped the poor and needy people".

Miss Mayo was sent by the Britishers to denigrate Indians. Her book on India carried a chapter on Kashmir. This drew strong protests in Kashmir in which the people made bonfire of the book. Pt. Aftab Kaul Nizamata launched his public career on this issue.

He represented the local theosophist chapter. He was a devoted theosophist for thirty five years and became the Secretary (1925) and the Vice-President (1948) of the Kashmir Lodge. Pt. Aftab Kaul worked closely with leading theosophists—Dr Venkatchalam and Dr. Jonarajan, who was later associated with Salar Jung Museum.

Women's Welfare Trust:

After the agitation on Miss Mayo issue was over, Pt. Aftab Kaul involved himself in Women's Welfare Work. In September 1926 an organisation known as Women's Welfare Trust was launched with an objective to "advance the Welfare of the Kashmiri women by imparting to them knowledge, by stimulating home industry among them and by promoting their physical health and well-being. The founding members of the Trust were: Mrs. Margaret Cousins, Mrs. L.D. Van Gheel Gildemeester, Sri Kanth Toshkhani, Shridhar Kaul Dullo, and Aftab Kaul Nizamata. The Trust embarked upon an ambitious programme for advancement of education among women. The membership of the Trust was strictly confined to those who professed to be theosophists. The rule was made to exclude people who did not consider all religions equal and thus avoid the taint of communalism. Soon after its initial success the trust also launched a school for Muslim girls in 1929.

Dr. Saligram Kaul recalls, "I was reading in 9th class in 1926. Father was keen to conduct the ritual ceremony of Shradh of his father. After taking the fasting meals, he raised the issue of starting a school with Shiv Bayo.

Till then there was only one school for girls, Nani's school at Chinkral Mohalla. Kashmiris were reluctant to send female students to schools where teachers were invariably males. My father felt that parents might relent out of reverence for Guruji if Shiv Bayo was involved in it. Shiv Bayo's school, which subsequently became Vasanta School, initially started at Gadud Bagh just opposite to where Narus lived. Later it was shifted to Dewan's house at Kharyar. Donations were raised from public for running the school".

Pt. Aftab Kaul would provide books and soap to school to serve the needy students. He also launched a campaign among poor students for undertaking bath regularly and maintaining personal hygiene. There was just one Anglo-Indian school at Nowakadal. Shaiv Bayo's school ran very well. It started as a Primary school with just five girl students on its roll and one teacher to instruct them. Within four years, the number of schools managed by the Trust rose to ten (six primary, three middle and one high) and the number of students was 575.

In 1929 the Trust was emboldened to start the first Muslim school for girls. A *moulvi* was drafted to start this school, which was named after Maitriya. The latter was a great Buddhist scholar. Maitriya School was near Hamza Shah's house. Still the response from Muslim girls was not encouraging. Pt. Aftab Kaul before going to office, would take a potter's daughter and one Sajjida to school. Mrs. Sajjida Zameer Ahmed, subsequently became Director School Education. Her concern for female education and secular views have few parallels in Kashmir's contemporary history.

Another school was opened in a rented accommodation near Rugh Nath Razdan's house. Badiyar School later was renamed as Kashyapa School. Since education among girls was a taboo, Vasa boya was appointed in Kashyapa School. Students, who passed out from these schools, later rejoined as teachers.

Ghulam Ahmed Ashai, Inspector of Schools, had authoritarian streaks and harboured extremely parochial views. He had suspended PN Bazaz and Sheikh Abdullah in two different cases. At the instance of Jagar Nath Bazaz, the younger brother of Prem Nath Bazaz, Pt.

Aftab Kaul allowed the latter to join the Trust. He joined the staff of the Women's Welfare Trust in August 1930 as Supervisor of the schools. Bazaz's elder brother Dina Nath Bazaz was posted as teacher at Hanjura. Through him two great intellectuals of Hanjura—Dina Nath Hanjura and Damodar Bhat Hanjura joined the Women Welfare's Trust. The Hanjura brothers developed intimacy with Pt. Aftab Kaul and his son, Saligram. Dr. Saligram Kaul would often turn nostalgic while recalling his association with Pt. Damodar Bhat, who was a leading authority on revenue law in Kashmir.

In 1930, an adult school with three young women, Sidha Lakshmi, Poshu Kuji and Radha Mal, was opened in a room of Nizamata's own house. Leading role in the Trust work was taken by Prof. Toshakhani and Aftab Kaul Nizamata. Prem Nath Bazaz pays a moving tribute to Aftab Kaul Nizamata for his work, "Aftab Kaul Nizamata was the heart and soul of the Women's Welfare Trust. It was the passion of his life to labour, night and day, for the progress of the institution...A patriot par excellence, he was a visionary who felt happy to dream about the bright future of a free Kashmir in which woman would find an honoured and a glorious place... Such was his ardent desire to see Kashmiri women restored to a position of dignity that every minute of his waking life, when off his official duties, he would spend in doing the Trust Work. Indifferent to praise or censure, to encomium or slander, to applause or abuse, which all were his lot in lesser or greater measure, he laboured incessantly for the cause till the very day of his death on 30th May, 1953. I came in close contact with him and had the pleasure to watch him work for years. I can say that among the builders of modern Kashmir who are not much known but who are entitled to the gratitude of posterity, Aftab Kaul Nizamata is surely one. If ever we decide to construct a temple of fame for the illustrious sons and daughters who lived and died for the welfare of humanity and freedom of the Kashmiris, this noble soul should have a niche reserved for him in it".

Mrs. Devaki Kaul, wife of Pt. Aftab Kaul Nizamata, was
(Contd. on Page 20)

Dr. (Col.) Saligram Kaul was a Social Visionary

(From Page 19)

secretary of the Women's League. This organisation, which too was affiliated to the Trust, used to hold debates and discussions on social evils and other important issues to raise political awareness among Kashmiri women. Mrs. Devki Kaul also took a leading part in regeneration of the community in 1931-34 and organised demonstrations in support of social reform. Pt. Aftab Koul Nizamath enjoyed the company of outstanding people. His friends included Nand Lal Mandlo, Pt. Tota Koul Jalali, Vasa Kaul Shair, Shankar Lal Kaul and Kashyap Bandhu. Nand Lal was a poet of repute, who was rated as good as Mehjoor. He played in a play 'Harishchander' along with Akalal. Kashyap Bandhu was an Arya Samaji Pracharak in Lahore. He had left Revenue Department service to become a Pracharak. He stayed with Nizamath family, whenever he visited Jammu during winters. Dr. Saligram Kaul and his maternal uncle, Pt. Maheshwar Nath Kaul enjoyed Bandhu ji's hospitality in 1926-27 at his Ganesh Gali residence in Lahore.

Dr. Saligram Kaul:

Dr. Saligram Kaul's initial schooling, upto 7th standard took place at Babapora School. Later, he joined State High School. His baptism in politics was through an organization called 'Fraternity'. Dharam Sabha, whose existence in Kashmir dates back to 1896, was spearheading a social reform movement. The moving spirit behind this was Pt. Hargopal Kaul Khasta. Spread of education among women and re-marriage of widows was the main agenda of this movement. The conservative elements headed by Amar Nath Kak opposed widow remarriage. The conflict between two groups ended in open schism in 1930. Younger elements, who yearned for change, walked out to form 'Fraternity' to forcefully articulate the demand for widow re-marriage. The word 'Fraternity' was borrowed from the famous slogan of the French Revolution— 'Equality, Fraternity and Liberty'. To become a member of 'Fraternity' one had to leave smoking, become a vegetarian and wear Khadi dress.

Among the prominent persons who were directly or indirectly associated with the 'Fraternity' were **Damodhar Bhat,**

Dina Nath Hanjura, Mohan Krishen Tikku, Dr. Col. Saligram Kaul, Shambu Nath Gurtu, Dina Nath Bazaz, PN Bazaz, T.N. Kaul, Dwarka Nath Kachru, Dina Nath Parimu, poet Dina Nath Dilgir, Radhey Nath Kaul and the musician Ved Lal Dhar (Vakil), Damodar Bhat's rented house at Malyar (Ganpatyar) served as 'Fraternity', office.

About the launching of 'Fraternity', Col. Kaul Says, "We formed Fraternity group with eleven people in the beginning. It was a group of modernist, forward-looking young people. No political organisation was allowed during those times. I would join meetings of Fraternity' at Malayar in Damkak's rented house". With the developments following the 1931 Muslim agitation, the 'Fraternity' was soon pushed to the forefront in an endeavour to defend the interests of the Pandits in general and renamed itself as **Sanatan Dharm Young Men's Association.**

13th July Violence:

On 12th July, 1931 Dr. Saligram Kaul had gone to visit Hanjurah brothers at Hanjurah. He and the Hanjurah brothers returned to Srinagar on 13th July, the Monday. As tension built up, they went to meet Amar Nath Pyala, the Pandit leader. Mobs had attacked Bohri Kadal, Mahraj Ganj and Vicharnag Pandits and Punjabi traders. Dr. Kaul while describing the role of fraternity says, "we as 'Fraternity' members were silent. My father asked us to get active. On the same day we went to visit Maharaj Ganj and saw tea and turmeric bags strewn all over in Maharaj Ganj Chowk. It looked as if the road had been dyed. Then we visited Vicharnag. Pt.

Janki Nath Chandpora had a big house. It housed our trust also. 8-10 families from Vicharnag were brought here. The clothes of refugees had been torn. They had suffered big losses and remained here for pretty long. Father expressed concern and desired a strong organisation to address the challenges in the wake of communal violence. Raja Harikishen Kaul, the Prime Minister did not allow registration of any association. So Sanatan Dharam Yuvak Sabha was started". At the instance of Pt. Janardhan Teng, Yuvak Sabha papers were collected from Zana Kak.

The informal headquarters of the new group was also at

Malyar. Its members were mostly the members of the 'Fraternity' group. Pt. Kashyap Bandhu came to Kashmir in summer and expressed desire to attend SD Yuvak Sabha meetings. Pt. Aftab Kaul was against allowing entry to Kashyap Bandhu in SD Yuvak Sabha. He feared that he would try to 'grab' it. Young men told him, "you are an Arya Samajist. Our organisation is a Sanatan Dharam affiliate. How can we allow you entry in our organisation". Kashyap Bandhu insisted that he was with them and applied Tilak on his forehead. Bandhu Ji was allowed to attend the meetings but was kept away from the core group.

In 1932 Kashmiri Pandits launched the **Roti (Bread) agitation** to protest against the recommendations of Glancy Commission. The young school boys of tender age organised themselves into The **Bal Sabha** with a view to furthering the agitation at a time when the Roti agitation was losing steam. Col. Kaul was President of Bal Sabha, by virtue of his being a member of Fraternity'. He was a student of Fsc. in SP College. Gandhi had given a call for boycotting foreign goods and wearing Khadar Caps.

Kashmiri Pandit students, with few exceptions like BK Madan, were not attending the college and were involved in picketing. Principal Macdermott was informed that Saligram Kaul was involved in picketing at Sathu. Kaul was rusticated. In Roti agitation Saligram Kaul, Amar Nath Pyala and Moti Lal Dhar (Later Vice-Chancellor, BHU) were key figures, who ran the underground movement. Saligram Kaul had been advised to remain underground. Dr Saligram Kaul recalls, "I was introduced in Rainawari by somebody as 'Miyon toth Boya' (My dear brother). I lectured the audience on the need to intensify the agitation. Pt. Nilakanth Hak had returned after doing LLB. We thrashed him as a government toady. I was to be arrested soon after the speech. I went underground. At night I would go to Amar Nath Pyala's house. He was the Dictator of the agitation. To evade the police, we kept on shifting litho. My class fellow and friend Moti Lal Dhar would arrange Litho. A police official from Murrn lived in his neighbourhood. My father knew about my activities. During night, in our Takhana

(Wardrobe) posters would be cyclostyled.

In the morning these would be circulated to different places. As President of the Organisation, I would decide the places for courting arrest. Som Nath Dhar was my General Secretary. Amar Nath Pyala had undertaken the responsibility for coordination." As per Dr. Kaul, Pt. Shanker Lal Kaul and Tota Koul Jalali were key figures involved in drafting the 128-page Roti representation.

Saligram Kaul's father never imposed his views on his son and allowed him full liberty. Saligram Kaul's marriage was probably the first love marriage among Pandits. He was only 11 and recalls, "My wife was just 9 years then. She was reading in Vasanta School. We fell in love. My relations did not want me to marry a commoner but my father stood by me".

Pt. Aftab Kaul was vegetarian but allowed his son to take meat. He, however, told his son that if he desired to take up Medicine as a career, then he would have to think whether politics and Medicine can go together. Dr Kaul was in the hardline group, which did not

allow JL Killam to open negotiations with the government. He did not have high opinion about JL Killam as a politician and considered him as a clever person.

The rank and file of the movement and the 'hardline' group had apprehensions that the government would not abide by the agreement reached. The government was only willing to give verbal assurances on revising Glancy recommendations. In Col. Kaul's opinion **Roti agitation led to great political awakening among Kashmiri Pandits.** At the end of the agitation, Dr Saligram Kaul was reinstated. **Principal Macdermott,** an Irishman appreciated his role. He tauntingly told TN Kaul (later Foreign Secretary), "**I admire those students who joined agitation for a cause. I detest those people who sneaked quietly to gain my goodwill.**" Radhey Nath Kaul and his brother TN Kaul used to attend college regularly during the agitation. Soon after the agitation ended, Dr Saligram Kaul left for Lahore to pursue career in Medicine. That unfolds the second chapter of his life as a doctor.

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Chronology of Events (May 1-25, 2006)

May 1: 19 members of the minority community mowed down in Kulhand (Doda) and 9 members in Lolan Galla, Basantgarh, total toll rose to 32 in 2 days. Infiltration bid was foiled in Sabjan (Poonch), 1 terrorist killed. 35 kgs of RDX were recovered at Runta (Bhaderwah). A terrorist hideout was busted at Kanthol, Kalakote. 2 Burmese and 1 Bangladeshi nationals were arrested in Chicken Neck (Akhnoor) area while exfiltrating into Pakistan. A labourer was killed in an IED explosion at Kulangam (Kupwara). Terrorists hurled a grenade at BSF party at Gulshanpora, Bandipore, 4 civilians were injured. Terrorists lobbed two rifle grenades at CRPF Camp near Shiraz Cinema in Srinagar.

May 2: Union Home Minister visited Basantgarh village. Separatists conglomerate Hurriyat (A) demanded institutionalization of dialogue with Centre. BJP chief Raj Nath Singh demanded Governor's rule in J&K. Jammu city and other parts of the region observed bandh to protest against massacres in Doda. Omi Chand of Karalan, Dessa (Doda) was kidnapped by terrorists from Karalan and later killed. In an intergang clash a HM terrorist was killed by HUUJ at Bhandarkoot, Thathri (Doda). DyCM J&K said J&K government will not sell tourist resorts. Lt. Gen. TK Sapru took over as GoC 16 Corps. A terrorist was arrested at Takiya Saderkote, Baramulla alongwith 3 kgs of RDX. Another terrorist was nabbed from Brinal Lamand, Anantnag. Terrorists shot and injured a ret'd. Forester at Sheikhpura, Baramulla. MP Ch.Lal Singh demanded deployment of Army, STF in remote areas for protection of minority community in Doda district. BJP warned against sell-out Siachen.

May 3: Hurriyat (A) delegation met PM in New Delhi and "agreed to evolve a mechanism to resolve Kashmir issue amicably and peacefully". A SOG Jawan, 2 RR jawans and 3 terrorists were killed in an encounter at Hayan Palpora, Ganderbal. In another encounter at Garoora, Bandipore a Pakistani terrorist was eliminated. The brother of a HM terrorist was killed in an intergang rivalry at Rajpora, Pulwama. Terrorists lobbed a grenade at Police Station, Khanyar. 2 OGWs of the terrorists were arrested from Puneja, Bhaderwah. 3 Bangladeshis were arrested in Akhnoor sector. Sham Lal Razdan, editor Sharda passed away in Jammu. He was 82.

May 4: PM said Roundtable was real forum for addressing issues. CBI raided 24 premises of Chautala family and recovers assets worth Rs 1400 crore. Basantgarh carnage accused escaped after 4 hour long battle at Lodhra Top, Basantgarh. An OGW worker of terrorists was arrested at Kholi, Gool. Dr. Farooq Abdullah demanded re-opening of all routes between J&K and PoK. 2 persons were arrested in sex racket in Srinagar. Terrorists lobbed a grenade at BSF vehicles in Chadoora, 2 civilians were killed and 10, including 3 BSF jawans injured. Security forces recovered explosives material at Garend Kalan, Budgam. Dr. Ajay Churungoo, PK Chairman asked the government to take steps to reverse demographic changes in J&K.

May 5: Mobs razed detained sex racket Kingpin's house in Habbakadal and hold protests. Veteran music composer Naushad passed away in Mumbai. A top terrorist of LeT was eliminated at Garha, Sungli (Bhaderwah). An Army jawan was injured in an encounter at Chattru, Kishtwar. Terrorists kidnapped a civilian from Binjourn in Sumbur (Ramban) and later slit his throat. In OGW of terrorists was arrested from Lar, Mahore. A terrorist hideout was busted at Dara Dulian. A BSF jawan was injured in an IED blast at Gool.

May 6: US said Osama bin Laden was hiding on the Pak side of Pakistan-Afghanistan border. A top HM terrorist was killed in an encounter at Fidarpora, Baramulla. A chemist was gunned by a terrorist in Bandipur. Terrorists lobbed a grenade at a woman in Tarzoo, Sopore, injuring her. A surrendered militant fired at a marriage party, injuring one. An IED exploded at Pulwama. Asiya Andrabi took to social policing in Srinagar. The Army nabbed 3 Indians spying for Pakistan in Fazilka. Sakshatkar, a photo exhibition organised by Panun Kashmir on Kashmiri Hindus' genocide opened at India Habitat Centre, New Delhi. Justice (Retd.) RP Sethi resigned as SAC chairperson. 2 HUUJ terrorists surrendered at Keshwan, Kishtwar. Terrorists shot at and injured a PET teacher in Salwa, Mendhar. In an operation at Dachhan, Kishtwar security forces rescued 2 youth from terrorists, who had lured them to join terrorist ranks.

May 7: CBI raided houses of 5 Vigilance officials. The most wanted HM terrorist Mushtaq Ahmed Bhat alias Gowhar was eliminated in Noorpora, Tral. He was responsible for over 50 killings and a large number of IED blasts in Central Kashmir. A released terrorist was kidnapped by terrorists and killed. An unidentified bullet ridden body was recovered from forest area in Qazigund. Terrorists shot dead 2 former colleagues of Ajas Bandipur and Harmain outside their houses. The dead body of a 22 year old Yasmeena of Hamray, hanged to death by terrorists was recovered in her village. Another dead body was recovered from Thatoo Kund, Anantnag. 3 top Al-Umar Mujahideen terrorists were nabbed in north Kashmir. One was a Unani doctor, while another a college lecturer, third one owned a shop in Srinagar.

May 8: A jawan was injured in an encounter at Kapran, Kulgam-Shopian belt. Another jawan was injured in an operation at Hermain. LeT 'Operational Commander' was gunned down in Nerhian in Thannamandi, 40 kgs RDX was also recovered from the site. Another encounter took place at Makhnan Bagli, Doda. A top LeT terrorist, a Pakistani national was gunned down in South Delhi. Delhi Cabinet gave 3 year extension to Displaced Kashmiri teachers (150 TGT, 80 PGTs) working in Delhi. Mr LK Advani described killing of Hindus in Kashmir a national shame in New Delhi.

May 9: Mr. Pranab Mukerjee, Defence Minister ruled out demilitarization in J&K and 59 terror camps were still operating in Pakistan. Dr. Farooq Abdullah flayed PDP for raking up emotional issues. A top terrorist, involved in Varanasi bombing was eliminated at Haran, Handwara. The two holed terrorists in Gadipora Shopian encounter were eliminated. The skeleton of a woman was recovered in Dooru, Anantnag. A huge cache of arms and ammunition was recovered from Bijbehara, explosive lab was being run there to fabricate IED circuits.

May 10: Cable TV operators shut their business in Srinagar. PDP called for withdrawal of troops and special powers of armed forces. An army jawan was shot dead by terrorists at his residence in Kulgam. An attempt to kidnap a civilian was foiled in Rajbagh, terrorists entered the house of a civilian at Tarabal, Safakadal and fired at a civilian. Police recovered 30 kgs RDX from 3 terrorists in Aurangabad, the consignment had been picked up from Mamad. 2 infiltrators were down in Pathrigali, Mendhar sector. In crossfiring a civilian was killed and another injured at Mangota, Marmat (Doda). Terrorists killed a SPO at Tanta Daraman in Gandoh. A terrorist hideout was

busted at Arnagi Top in Thannamandi.

May 11: Left front won in W. Bengal and Kerala, TN entered coalition era. CBI took over 'sex scam' probe in J&K. Top policemen were shot dead by terrorists near Vicharnag, Soura. A civilian was abducted in Yaripora, Kulgam and later shot dead by terrorists. A 'fidayeen' was overpowered when he showed up near JIC at Anantnag. A SPO-turned LeT terrorist was eliminated at Hanjal, Warwan. A civilian was beheaded and injured by terrorists' at Bi-Tara in Gursai, Mendhar. Terrorists opened firing at the house of a VDC member at Dhandli, Mahore, a woman was killed. A LeT terrorist was eliminated at Narian Dhok in Thannamandi, 1 jawan was also killed and another injured. IAF said it would not shift airfield even if Siachen was demilitarised.

May 12: Two terrorists were eliminated in an encounter at Zainapora, Shopian. 4 OGWs of terrorists were arrested in Shopian. A released terrorist was shot dead by terrorists at Ajas, while a dead body was recovered in Mehandi Kadal, Anantnag. An infiltration bid was foiled at Shahpur, Poonch, 1 terrorist was killed. An HUUJ terrorist was arrested in Kishtwar.

May 13: 2 BJP workers were killed, 41 hurt in a grenade attack in Doda town. 2 terrorists were gunned down in Arigam, Kulgam, 1 jawan was injured. Terrorists shot dead a released terrorist in Chadoora. 2 HUUJ terrorists surrendered at Thathri, Doda. Terrorists fired at a police party at Machar, Marwah (Kishtwar). A civilian was killed at Gugal Hardil, Marwah.

May 14: In Jammu BJP leader said terror attacks in Doda were aimed at ethnic cleansing. Cable operators resumed services in Srinagar. Mr. Omar Abdullah, NC President alleged that Mufti government tried to hush up sex scandal. A 25 kg IED was defused at Wadipora, Kupwara, minutes before convoy had to pass. Two civilians were abducted from Chitibandi Bandipore, on May 7 two civilians had been kidnapped whose whereabouts remain unknown.

May 15: The Union Home Minister ruled out demilitarizations in J&K. BJP President Rajnath Singh asked Congress to snap its ties with PDP. Two civilians kidnapped from Chitibandi were tortured and slaughtered to death. In an identical incident the throat-slit bodies of 2 civilians of Maratgam (Langate) and Rafiaband were recovered from Batpora, Panzla. 2 terrorists were holed up during an encounter at Yaripora, Kulgam. Terrorists lobbed a handgrenade at a CRPF picket at Braripora, Safakadal, 1 jawan and 4 civilians were injured. 2 HUUJ terrorists surrendered in Kishtwar. 2 terrorists were arrested in Darhal area. 176th Nirwan Diwas of Swami Mirza Kak was observed in Jammu.

May 16: 4 HM terrorists were shot dead at Akhran Buzla in Banihal, the Army said the terrorists had planned to target minority community in Banihal. 2 more terrorists were arrested in Sokar, Darhal (Rajouri). 2 LeT terrorists were arrested in Sokar, Darhal (Rajouri). 2 LeT terrorists and a JCO of Army were killed in the overnight gunbattle in Kulgam. A infiltration attempt was foiled in Keran sector, 1 terrorist was killed, a unique 9th century idol of Lord Visnu was excavated in Koothiar, Achhabal (Anantnag).

May 17: 16 people were injured in another attack on the minority community in Doda town. Terrorists snatched the SLR of a PSO in Thank Nullah, Gandoh, 1 civilian was injured later in an exchange of firing. The Defence Minister ruled out withdrawal of troops from J&K.

May 18: 25 persons were injured in a grenade attack in Pulwama, 1 person was killed and a woman injured in another grenade attack at Bohri Kadal, Srinagar. 3 terrorists were gunned down at Meliyal, Kupwara. Terrorists fired at PDP Zonal President for Bandipora. BJP said there was a bid to de-Hinduise J&K. 4 terrorists escaped after an encounter at Parnot, Doda. India told Pakistan that authentication should be basis for Siachen redeployment. Mufti Mohammad Sayeed again defended "Self-Rule" demand. A Top ISI agent and an important activist of HM were arrested from Tatta Pani, Mendhar.

May 19: DB ordered identification parade of 56 men in 'Sex Racket'. Govt invited both factions of Hurriyat to Round Table II. Two top HM terrorists including a Pakistani were arrested when they were planning to carry out yet another attack on minorities. 2 jawans and a terrorist were injured in an gunbattle at Bahu Top in Gandoh.

May 20: 2 LeT activists were arrested by Border Police in Kathua and 2 mobile phone numbers of Abu Talha, the hardcore terrorist were recovered from them. Terrorists shot at and injured a civilian at Keshwan, Kishtwar. The two LeT activists were conducting LeT terrorists after infiltration to Seoj Dhar in Basantgarh. Another suspect was picked up in Kalihand, Doda. Terrorists fired at a civilian at Nagri, Keshwan. An IED was defused at Dhundak, Surankote. Terrorists fired upon a civilian at Badshah Masjid Batpora Sopore, injuring him and his 2 accomplices. A Pakistani terrorist escaped from police custody near Pampore.

May 21: An IGP was injured and 7 killed in 'fidayeen strike' on Mr. Azad's rally in Srinagar, Defence Minister hinted at ISI hand in it.

May 22: NC threatened to boycott Round Table II in case PM meets Hurriyat on sidelines. Terrorists lobbed a grenade at a vehicle carrying tourists, driver and 4 tourists injured. Elsewhere in 3 grenade attacks at Kathi Darwaza, Barbar Shah and Bhan Mohalla 27 people, including 10 jawans were injured. 2 IED blasts took place at Gulabgarh in Mahore.

May 23: Police arrested a woman terrorist of HM from Beri Bagh in Doda, a civilian was beheaded by the terrorists near his house at Thanala in Bhaderwah. A suicide bomber triggered an explosion laden car near Hyderpora, killing himself, 25 BSF jawans were injured. 2 LeT terrorists were gunned down at Kralpora, Kupwara, another terrorist was eliminated at Haipora, Handwara. Dr. Ajay Churungoo, on eve of RTC II said RTC held no importance for Panun Kashmir, BJP decided to boycott RTC II.

May 24: RTC II opened in Srinagar. 5 grenade attacks at Qamarwari (Sgr), Safakadal, Zadiyal, Botengo (Anantnag) and DPL Budgam leave 30 injured. Terrorists shot dead a PDP activist at Wathrahah Budgam. 3 IEDs were defused at Brahamdhar, Mahore. 2 youth recruits were rescued from terrorists in Bari, Goha (Doda). 6 Bangladeshis in Kharad and I in Chadwal (Kathua) were arrested.

May 25: PM announced 5 working groups for J&K at II RTC. 4 Gujrati tourists were killed, 6 injured in a grenade attack at Botapora, Hazratbal in Srinagar. Terrorists shot dead a civilian at Chewa in South Kashmir and abducted another from Yaripora. An IED was defused at Hardu-Magam in Tangmarg area. Another IED was defused at Khawajibagh in Baramulla. Terrorists lobbed a grenade at a Patrol party at Pumbai-Kakran in Kulgam. An IED blast damaged a transmission line at Larnoo, Awantipora, while 2 IEDs were defused.

A Kashmir agreement now will give Musharraf a victory he badly needs

(From Page 8)

self-governance, self-rule, joint sovereignty and open borders are being bandied around like some magic solution. How can there be autonomy for Kashmir and not for Haryana? Can there be self-rule in Kashmir but not in Assam? In any case, are not all states in India self-ruled by the people of the state? How can there be joint sovereignty with Pakistan when it cannot even grant us MFN status or screen Hindi films? And what is this rubbish about soft or open borders with someone who regularly sends armed terrorists across? How can we accuse Pakistan of aiding terrorism in India and also have open borders?

The Prime Minister's visit to Srinagar was greeted by a shutdown and a boycott by that group of the 'unelected and unelectables' called the Hurriyat. Violence and a rebuff must have

been anticipated. So when the visit was cut short by a day, Pak TV smirked and the jihadi underworld gloated. It is not just what a government does but how it does it that is important.

After the Hurriyat leaders' long sojourn in Pakistan earlier this year, they had met the PM in New Delhi. An arrangement of a cycle of meetings in Islamabad, New Delhi and Srinagar, making it appear a tripartite discussion with the Hurriyat as the third party, has hopefully been abandoned. New Delhi should now be talking with only those who had the courage and the wisdom to participate in the electoral process.

Human beings have the great facility to rationalise situations and pursue a manifestly futile path on occasion. Talking to these so-called moderates is one such rationalisation. The Hurriyat is a secessionist

organisation put together by Pakistan. Have we ever heard of a moderate secessionist or a patriotic traitor? And how can there be a meeting of minds with secessionists? Not one of the Hurriyat leaders had the courage to condemn the murderers of innocent civilians. This is not surprising because some of them do not even have the courage to name the murderers of their own fathers. One could however, pity the Hurriyat for it lives under constant threat — obey or else. It fears its own extremists more than its mentors across. That is why it needs the protection of the Indian State — one of the ironies of the Kashmir question.

The other irony of the situation in Kashmir is that all socioeconomic indicators compare favourably with the rest of the country. Its per capita income is slightly lower than the national average; its literacy level is on

par; its population below poverty line is the best in the country; it receives the largest resource transfer and grants from the central government. Places like Hyderabad, Rajbagh and Barzulla look completely transformed, as palaces owned by locals have mushroomed in Srinagar — wages of insurgency or profits of office, apparently.

It is, therefore, not a case of resource crunch in Kashmir. It is abysmally poor governance despite a bloated bureaucracy that simply milks the system. There is little attention to provision of good roads, adequate power or even sanitation. Correct this, provide law and order and a large portion of the grievances will disappear.

After all these years of relentless animosity, Pakistan finds itself rated very highly as a failed State by a US think-tank. Obviously, such endless animosity is

debilitating. A situation of this kind in our neighbourhood will naturally affect us as well. The solution does not lie in seemingly magnanimous gestures that strengthen the stranglehold of the Pakistan army. This would be a retrograde step for India. Such gestures are sometimes used by victorious States as a weapon of real politik, but in the Indo-Pak context, this stage does not exist. Such gestures are, therefore, invariably portrayed in Islamabad as appeasement.

The reality of the situation is that there are no quick solutions and it is a long haul, chiefly because an increasingly 'jehadised' Pakistan army must somehow renege from its Faustian bargain and retrieve its soul from Mephistopheles.

**(The author has remained Secretary RAW.)*

—Source: The Hindustan Times, June 6, 2006.

US must help Pakistan become a normal state

(From Page 9)

shows resentment or threatens to shut down the aid pipeline, the Pakistan military turns its people, including Jihadists against the US. The American aid, rather than proving a leverage, has created more problems for the US, the region and the Pakistani people.

Haqqani lists major American failures vis-a-vis Pakistan. US military saw Pakistan in the context of its Middle East strategy, whereas it is historically a part of South Asia. Pakistan's army used its contacts with American Central Command (which oversees Middle East) to promote a more positive view of itself.

As an alternative, Haqqani suggests that the US should place Pakistan under Pacific Command, along with India, which he says would foster better understanding between Indians and Pakistanis.

Secondly, the US aid has bolstered the ambitions of Pak military leaders to overestimate their potential and seek increasingly adversarial relationship with India. Lastly, the ability to secure military and economic aid by fitting into the current paradigm of American policy has made Pakistan a rentier state, a state that lives off the rents for its strategic location.

Bolstering of Pak military's praetorian ambitions has seen greater flow of concessions to

Islamists to help legitimize military rule in country's politics. This led to impeding of the internal democratic reform. Continued US support allows Pakistan's military rulers to believe that they can continue to promote risky domestic, regional and Pan-Islamic policies. Return of Taliban in Afghanistan, stridency in Jihadist terrorism in Kashmir and other parts of India, increased vulnerability of US and other western countries to Islamist terrorist attacks, nuclear proliferation and possible passing of nuclear arms into the hands of Jihadists are the consequence of US reliance on Pak military on 'War Against Terror'. It is in this on context Haqqani prophesies that 'Pakistan is more a threat than an ally of US in the long-term.'

US can ignore the dangers Pakistan poses only at its peril. Pakistan is a large Muslim country with a strong Islamic militancy and nuclear weapons. It also has a large standing army, a huge intelligence service able to conduct covert operations to destabilise neighbouring governments in the Persian Gulf, South Asia and Central Asia.

What should US do to protect global security and its own interests? Haqqani has a clear recipe.

US should help Pakistan to evolve into a functional state from an ideological one. It should stop looking at Pakistan

to promote its short-term interests. Secondly, US should facilitate reform in Pak military and security services and create conditions for withdrawal of military from political life to help Pakistan function as a normal state.

The fallout of military rule in Pakistan has been fomenting of religious militancy and veto to military to define national objectives detrimental to country's stability e.g. sponsorship of crossborder terrorism against India and seeking a client state in Afghanistan.

Delegitimising military rule would lead to re-defining national objectives aimed at promoting regional peace, economic prosperity at home and popular participation in governance. If Pakistan proceeds along the path of normal political and economic development, it would not need the exaggerated political and strategic role for Islam that has characterised much of its history. Absence of democratic decision-making allows Islamists a role larger than life in political discourse. Thus Americans should not condone the army's support and sponsorship of Islamic terrorists, its use of intelligence apparatus for controlling domestic politics and its refusal to cede power to a constitutional government.

Pakistan's rulers are trying to playing a game, involving calibrated use of militant Islamism, without destabilising internal

politics or relations with western countries. This is showing signs of strain. How long Pak military can keep US as well as Islamists in good humour remains to be seen. Pakistan's reaching, out to Iran and SCO indicates new elements in military's changing strategy. In Haqqani's view strengthening the civil society and building secular political parties as a countervailing force in Pakistan can contain the demands for Islamisation made by the religious parties and radical Islam groups.

Civil Society in Pakistan is either apolitical or insufficiently organised, while secular political parties have been dismembered consistently by successive military governments. Haqqani has a grouse that US has endorsed military criticism of civil politicians and remarks, "In the absence of a sustained political process Pakistan is unlikely to produce honest politicians capable of running the country".

How can US help Pakistan to become a normal state? Haqqani is not short of answers. The US must use its aid as a lever to influence Pakistan's domestic policies.

He feels the Americans have done little to discourage Pakistan's embrace of obscurantist Islam as its state ideology, thereby empowering Pakistan's religious leaders beyond their support among the populace and

tying the Islamists to Pakistan's military-civil bureaucracy and then Intelligence apparatus. US must not ignore Pakistan's state sponsorship of Islamist militants, its pursuit of nuclear weapons and missiles at the expense of education and health care and its refusal to democratise. US policy should insist on a sustained constitutional and political process. He suggests that the political corruption and fiscal management should not be allowed to justify the military's continued intervention. On Kashmir, US could pressurise Pakistan to shift focus from dispute to genuine improvement in India-Pakistan relations at least for Pakistan's own stability.

To make that possible, the Pakistani state must end the rhetoric it has fed to Pakistanis about Kashmir.

Haqqani feels a more modest aid package delivered steadily and aimed at key sectors of the Pakistani economy would not raise Pakistani expectations, and could overtime create a reliable, pocket of influence for the US among the country's elite.

He observes, "the pattern of large doses of aid, given as strategic rent or quid pro-quo for Pakistan's cooperation in a specific sphere, has historically provided the US with limited leverage. With the dissipation of aid, the US loses that limited leverage and Pakistan's elite gets embittered".

When 'Literature of Exile' turns into 'Exile of Literature'

By Kuldeep Raina

The corpus of literature produced by Displaced Kashmiri writers during the past seventeen years remains substantial. Much of this literature belongs to the realm of poetry, where nostalgia for the lost homeland and religious devotionism form the main theme. With few exceptions, Displaced Kashmiri writers have steered clear of the option of addressing the core issue i.e. ethnic-cleansing and its varied dimensions. They have shown reluctance to focus—the forces responsible of Kashmiri Hindus' displacement, the social milieu which facilitated the genocide, the cultural effacement in the wake of cleansing, the state response and the futuristic vision etc. No wonder, the mass of the Displaced Community finds this literature irrelevant, redundant and delinked from their actual life and aspirations.

Displaced Kashmiri writers have not contributed much by way of short story writing/fiction to dilate on the theme of displacement. Just two works of fiction—'In the shadow of Militancy', by Prof. Tej Nath Dhar and 'Dardpur' by Kshema Koul have appeared in this prolonged exile. Besides this, there are two collections of short stories—'Atank Ke Bheej' by Avtar Krishan Razdan and 'We were and we will be' by Parineeta Khar and few short stories by Hriday Koul Bharti.

Lotey Huvay' (While returning—Sheeraza October 2004-January 2005, by Gouri Shankar Raina, has all the ingredients of a good short story and is written quite artistically. The story is set in post-1990 Kashmir, ravaged by terrorism, where from the indigenous Kashmiri Pandit community stands banished. The victims of cleansing are unable to visit their homes. Nevertheless, their yearning to see again their 'fallen homeland', remains constantly alive. 'Kshir

Bhawani Yatra, conducted under strict security, becomes an occasion—not only to pay obeisance to the Goddess Ragniya but also to steal a glimpse of their homeland. It is a torturing experience for the people that they cannot visit their homes where they have been living since ages.

In 'Lotey Huvay' Kashi Nath, the protagonist in the story, too decides to avail the opportunity of 'Kshir Bhawani pilgrimage'. He visits Kashmir in the company of his son, Pushkar. The latter was a student of 5th standard at the time of displacement. Kashi Nath used to live in Tankipora locality in the vicinity Habbakadal, once the hub of Kashmiri Pandit community. Pushkar presently was serving as a bank employee.

For centuries, Kashmiri Pandits have been living on the banks of the Vitasta. This river was a part of their religio-cultural folklore. They used to celebrate its birthday, a phenomenon unique to Kashmir, 'Vyeth-Truvah' with great pomp, gaiety and sanctity. They would conduct elaborate rituals and the river would wear a festive look on this occasion. Even till 1990, most of the localities along the shores of the Vitasta in Srinagar city were predominantly Pandit and permeated with Pandit ethos.

Kashi Nath had intended to cover yatra in two days. While returning from Tulumulla, the pilgrim's bus halted at Dalgate for refreshments. Aftab Mir, spots his neighbour and friend Kashi Nath among the pilgrims. When Kashi Nath tells Mir that he had come on pilgrimage and was on way to Jammu, Mir asks him if he would not like to see his home. Kashi Nath turns grim and is unable to decide. Finally, Mir takes Kashi Nath and his son Pushkar with him to Tankipora.

The members of Mir's family receive 'the guests' warmly. The two families ruminate about the good old days when they shared each others' joys and sorrows. As the dusk set in, Mir carried Kashi

Nath to his house across the compound. In the abandoned house, Kashi Nath showed to Pushkar the room where the family used to conduct rituals—the **Thokar Kuth**. Young Pushkar was lost in deep thought while looking at what once used to be his sweet home. In evenings every Kashmiri Pandit family used to light an earthen lamp (Sandhya Chong) to honour the memory of the dead. In a flash of moment Kashi Nath went to fetch a packet of candles and lit these on the platform where once his wife used to wash the clothes. Neither Mir nor Pushkar could comprehend the significance of what Kashi Nath was doing.

At dinner time Mir brought all the valuables which Kashi Nath had kept in his safe custody at the time of departure. **For Kashi Nath, the only things which still retained value were the pictures which used to be hung on the walls of his house.** The following morning -Pushkar decides to visit his colleague a Jammuite, recently transferred from Jammu, at Amirakadal.

When Pushkar does not return in time, it gives tense moments to his father. Pushkar was a precious child, born 15 years after marriage when Kashi Nath was past 40. Bad thoughts keep churning in Kashi Nath's mind. He wonders whether the city had devoured his son. He moves to the river bank and stares at the direction leading to Amirakadal. In old times the river bank used to be full of life. Kashi Nath recollects the day of 'Vyeth Truvah', when endless streams of lit earthen lamps would be seen floating in the river. Today the entire surroundings looked desolate, even the Vitasta lacked energy and seemed sad. There were no boatmen waiting to ferry across college/office going Pandits to their destinations.

On learning that a bomb blast had taken place at Amirakadal, Kashi Nath presumes that the worse has taken place. He cries and sobs for his dear son. Aftab

Mir tries to reassure him that nothing untoward would happen to his son. Before Aftab's family could contact the hospital authorities to know about the identity of the casualties, Aftab's son accompanied by a police cop land in Mir's house. The cop tells Mir that a blast had taken place in Koker Bazaar and the police had taken Pushkar, who was passing by the street at the time of blast, for questioning to collect information about the terrorists involved.

Reassured that his son was safe, Kashi Nath while looking at his house, begins experiencing hallucinations. He sees the lit Sandhya chong in his house and his wife, carrying lotus flower and milk in a plate, going to the river Vitasta to thank her for safe return of her son. She puts lighted earthen lamp on the lotus leaf and puts it down on Vitasta. **What once used to be an endless stream of lighted earthen lamps, the lone earthen lamp, carried by the calm Vitasta symbolises the turbulent times Kashmir was passing through.** The writer wonders how long even these visits, symbolised by the lone lamp on the Vitasta, could go on. The author succeeds in making his point—be it the 'Vyeth Truvah', thanks giving ceremony to the Vitasta or the 'pictures, depicting social heritage— that Kashmiri Pandits valued their 'Kashmiriyat' more than anything else.

The sad part of the story is that it leaves two bad impressions, which negate the reality. One, it conveys that intercommunal relations had stood the test of times even in the times of ethnic-cleansing. This is simply not true. If the majority community

had played a rational role, there would have been no displacement. Nearly, seven thousand houses of Pandits have been damaged/destroyed, hundreds of houses usurped fraudulently, localities after localities razed to the ground. Even Salman Rushdie, the noted writer, in his '**Shalimar the clown**', concedes that the looted goods from Pandits' houses used to be sold in an open market regularly for many years, with no sense of outrage from Kashmiri Civil Society. May be there might be few families who have played a commendable role. Does a single swallow make the summer? If the behaviour displayed by the Mir family was the general sentiment, why should then the sensible Kashmiri Pandits be rotting in worse conditions in Jammu and elsewhere? Secularism cannot be built by according respectability to communalism. It can survive only when intercommunal relations are crafted on the basis of equality, toleration, humanism and respect for each other.

The other point, equally sinister, is that security forces' emerge as the villains, who do not spare even the pilgrims of the minority community. Aren't we adding grist to the propaganda mill of the anti-national elements. It is the security forces' who are combating the forces of disorder, lawlessness, intolerance and helping Kashmiri Civil Society to slowly shed its fear. When literature becomes a device to camouflage the reality the '**literature of exile**' metamorphoses into '**exile of literature**'. Displaced writers could do better.

**The author is General Secretary of Panun Kashmir*

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