

EDITORIAL

Incoherent Response

THE pattern and rising crescendo of the terrorist violence, witnessed during the past few months in and

outside Kashmir, put Pakistan's larger game-plan in perspective. CrossBorder Terrorism, sponsored by Pakistan has travelled from Doda to Delhi and Varanasi to Bangalore. The ruling UPA establishment has been repeating ad nauseum worn out clichés to explain the sharp intensity in terrorist strikes. It is being claimed that the violent acts were aimed at scuttling the Round Table Conference II and the 'peace' process and were actually the acts of desperation on the parts of terrorists.

The official assessment, which seeks to trivialize the grim situation only hides the govt. 's own incompetence in taking on the terrorists head on. Even the CPI(M), an alliance partner of the UPA govt. and a party not given to hard approach towards terrorists, has found urgency in asking the Central Govt. to take all effective steps to crush terrorism.

The pattern of terrorism, seen of late, indicates that Pakistan is pursuing multifold objectives through the instrumentality of sponsoring CrossBorderTerrorism. One, it wants to keep on the relentless attrition on the minorities in J&K and effect further religious cleansing. Secondly, it does not want civil society in Kashmir to evolve and seeks to keep it hostage to its jihadist objectives through coercion and lollipops. Thirdly, it wants to maintain the stranglehold of jihadist violence intact in all the regions. Lastly, it visualizes its fond dream of 'strategic parity' with India in latter's balkanization.

On May 1 last, 32 members of the minority community were massacred in Basantgarh region of Doda. A fortnight later Army foiled another attack on the minorities by eliminating four dreaded terrorists in Banihal region. The terrorists have been resorting to brutal killings of civilians and indulging in grenade attacks to create terror among Kashmiris and smother any dissent.

The terrorists have been indulging in high profile attacks to demonstrate their reach. 3 days before the RTC II was to begin, there was a 'fedayeen' attack on a Congress rally in Srinagar, which was to be addressed by the Chief Minister. It left 7 killed and many, including IGP Kashmir critically wounded. There were two car-bomb attacks in Hyderpora and Padgampora, a place not far away from IAF Base at Awantipora. Another explosives-laden car was seized at Lethpora. Nearly 800 kgs. of RDX have been seized from different parts of the state, in one such recovery 400 kgs. alone were seized from a cowshed in Lulipora, Pattan. The J&K CM went on record saying that the Govt. foiled terrorist designs to create Iraq-like situation in Srinagar before and during RTC.

There are many new elements in ISI's strategy. The teenage boys and women are being hooked as the new elements for subversive activities. A woman was blown to pieces while handling an IED at Pampore. As a change in the strategy Pakistan is replenishing jihadist ranks in Kashmir by recruiting Muslim youth from fundamentalist seminaries in Maharashtra, Gujarat, etc. As per credible reports these youth are being given training in subversion in training camps in southern Kashmir.

To weaken India, Pakistan is pursuing a two-pronged approach---making economic infrastructure of the country as target of subversive acts and secondly, provoking communal conflict. Some of the jihadists arrested recently in Western India said they had orders to target Dams, power grids in AP, Kandla port, an oil pipeline in Gujarat, besides bridges and markets. The terrorists also targeted Varanasi, the spiritual and cultural centre of the majority community. Security forces foiled attempts to target such holy places like SomNath temple and Vaishno Devi shrine. Continued attacks on tourists in Kashmir and the attempts to target RSS and VHP hqs. are also attempts to create communal conflict

The Home Secretary GOI, the Army Chief and the Defence Minister have been unanimous in saying that terrorist infrastructure across the LOC was intact. What then is the logic in pursuing the so-called peace process with Pakistan? We are being told that Pakistan is a failed state and the extremist elements were outside the control of Gen. Musharraf. If Pakistan is a failed state with Musharraf having no authority then why should India deal with him? The reality is Pakistan has a strong state built around the army, which is in no danger of losing control. This state has pursued as a matter of political gain the instrumentalisation of religious extremism and terrorism. The challenge before the international community is how to wean the army away from this habit.

Incoherent response by the Govt. has led to spurt in terrorism. We reiterate our commitment to Zero-tolerance on terrorism and yet show willingness to talk to the terrorist state of Pakistan and their proxies in Kashmir. This duplicity must end. It undermines our credibility at the international level. Only a well-focused, sustained and strong policy vis-à-vis terrorism and Pakistan will deliver India from the monster of Islamist terrorism

COVER STORY

'Sakshaatkaar'-Moves India

K.S. Correspondent

NEW DELHI, May 10, 2006: The Photo Exhibition titled *Sakshatkar—An Encounter with Truth* organised by **Panun Kashmir** at India Habitat Centre, New Delhi concluded here today. The exhibition which depicted the different facets of the Kashmiri Hindus' genocide was visited by large number of people from different walks of life.

The sad dimension of the exhibition was that leading members of the Union Government excused themselves from attending the exhibition.

The exhibition was also visited by the diplomatic staff, members of the bureaucracy, NGOs' and the Muslim community. While watching the exhibition many of the visitors had emotional breakdown. The comments made by the visitors indicate the response to the exhibition.

Mr Vijay Dhar proprietor, Broadway group described the exhibition as 'very moving. Mr Kallol Bhattacharjee wrote on the visitors book. "It is a soul stirring exhibition. Good!", Mr R.C. Sheopuri, former Vice-President, Indian Express while praising the work done asked the organisers to 'Keep It Up". Mr BL Mattoo, a senior business executive said 'I am moved and my heart is weeping.'" Mr RK Mishra, Chairman Observer Research Foundation, described the exhibition as 'moving'. Mr. S. Shiv Kumar wrote 'It is heart rendering, well displayed and documented'. Mr K.K. Kohli wanted the exhibition to be seen by all those who take decisions. Mr SS Gaur wrote '*A wonderful Depiction of What Unbelievable Happened*'. Mr. Arun Koul the noted film maker from Kashmir said, '**I am disappointed and feel sorry for calling my self Indian**'. Capt. S.K. Tickoo, an expert on Kashmir, commented 'Panun Kashmir has done a commendable job. The photographs are revealing'. Dr. S. Chaturvedi wrote '*This is horrifying. I congratulate you for the thought process*'. Mr. Vinod Bharati penned his impression as 'some of the photographs are from my home town. It shatters us once again'.

There were two panel discussions, on the inaugural and the concluding day. On the inaugural day the guests of honour were Mr. George Fernandes, Mr. Jagmohan and Admiral (Retd.) K.K. Nair. Mr Nair said rehabilitation of Kashmiri Pandits should be pre-condition to any kind of peace process for solution of Kashmir problem. He criticized the government stand of 'continuing peace process' regardless of the recurrent violent incidents taking place in the state. Admiral Nair said, "Panun Kashmir should bring out the photographs displayed in the exhibition in the form of a book, which should be showed to all those ministers and others who are handling India's Kashmir policy. Mr. George Fernandes said that he felt ashamed as well as angry, ashamed because of what terrorists have done to Kashmiri Pandit community and angry because he could not do anything for this community. Mr. Fernandes continued, "It is not only humanity but entire culture and civilization have died for the ones who had done these heinous brutalities to innocent people in the Valley."

Mr. Jagmohan, former J&K Governor said the exhibition has vindicated what he had been saying all along. He said the UPA government was not bothered about the Kashmiri Hindus and was only appeasing the perpetrators of violence. The former governor added, "entire India and the world is engulfed into the Islamic terrorism. There is a need to build a United Front and start a national movement to reconstruct a nation free from and safe from terrorism."

Panun Kashmir Chairman, Dr. Ajay Chungoo said that the peace talks were not going in the proper direction. He informed that 42% of the total state population were Hindus but the Centre was only respecting the views of the Muslims. This will lead to narrowing of the Indian social base there.

On the concluding day the eminent panelists were Dr. Subramanyam Swami, former Union Law Minister, Sh. Govindacharya, leading intellectual and Convenor Swadeshi Andolan, Mrs. Pamela Bhagat, a well known journalist and Dr. Kamal Mitra Chennoy, a JNU professor. Dr. Swami said, "India's core is Hindu. Unless we recognise this factor the peace will continue to elude us". He said Pakistan was already talbanised and it was immoral to equate India with Pakistan. He asked the UPA government to think twice before issuing any statement on Kashmir and asked the Centre not to fall into Pakistan's trap by accepting LOC as border. *He pooh poohed* the soft policy towards terrorists and said unless the terrorists are made to pay by GOI the price India cannot defeat them.

Mr. Govindacharya expressed full solidarity with Panun Kashmir and said that dimensions of the genocide depicted in the exhibition had made him more determined to fight aggression against Hindu civilization. He asked Pandits to launch a nation wide movement to put pressure on the government for their return and rehabilitation.

Mrs. Pamela Bhagat said the women and the children have been the worst sufferers in the conflict. She wanted specific welfare policies to target these groups.

Dr. Chenoy advocated porous borders, making Pakistan as part of the solution and people to people contact. He said it was unfortunate that India does not still recognise that minority communalism (Muslim) can be dangerous.

Dr. Ajay Chrungoo said, "It was paradoxical that the people who talked about retrieval of secularism in Kashmir want it to be guaranteed by Pakistan. Muslim Communalism is not reaction but is ideological in nature. It has to be contested. There can be no secularism while we compromise with Muslim communalism. The exhibition has bared out the fact that genocide has taken place. The country is still in the denial mode. Our objective is to correct the secular discourse." Prof. Suman Agarwal whose NGO Shanti Sahyog had organised the concluding session, while expressing her full solidarity with exiled Pandits, implored other NGOs to come forward and disseminate information about the genocide of Kashmiri Pandits in the country. Mrs Ratan Kaul, general secretary Shanti Sahyog was also present on the occasion.

The Photo Exhibition:

The photo exhibition was the result of a protracted and detailed survey conducted over four years by a team comprising Dr. Ajay Chrungoo, Mr Shailendra Aima, Mr. Ajat Jamwal, Mr. Poshkar Nath Razdan. All the districts of Kashmir valley were covered and 20 villages were selected from each district. The idea was to give a fair assessment about the extent of damage and destruction, pattern of destruction, the motivations of the vandals and the nature of societal involvement in destruction/grabbing/desecration of Kashmiri Hindus' property and religious shrines. A major hazard faced by the team was the issue of security. They had to visit the Valley incognito. They could not stay at a place for more than five minutes and could not choose the best time for photography. At many places like Chandigam they had to flee for fear of being abducted or being fired upon.

The maximum damage to the Hindu property and temples was in the interiors of the Valley, many of these places could not be visited because even the security forces reluctantly went there. The administration and the Valley politicians also discouraged any documentation/investigation of the damage/usurpation of the Pandit property for fear of being exposed.

Also, the team had to visit places without guides. They could not carry/flaunt good costly equipment for photography. At certain places the local BSF and Army units were helpful as they used to provide similar help to other professional journalists.

The project which began in 2001 had severe resource constraints. No good cameras were available, photographs were not taken in proper light.

The problems did not end only with the first part of the project i.e. collecting material for exhibition. None of the three main art galleries-**India International Centre, AIFACS and India Habitat Centre** all were reluctant to allow the exhibition which they felt would displease the communists and a section of Muslim society. After lot of persuasion the India Habitat Centre management agreed but allotted the most inconvenient time when the exhibitions are not usually held. Even while the exhibition was on a section of the IHC management tried to force the organisers to withdraw the exhibition. The management relented only when the organisers minced no words in telling that they would expose the management END

AN ENCOUNTER

WITH TRUTH

By Manohar Trakru

Whenever television channels carry programmes or movies with scenes of graphic, senseless violence

there is a notice: “Viewer discretion advised” as an advance warning lest sensitive people feel upset at what they are about to see. Organisers of the photo exhibition in New Delhi’s India Habitat Centre (6 –10 May), Panun Kashmir, would have been well advised to place a similar warning at the entrance because the photographs were so gruesome that any person of normal sensibilities would have felt deeply distressed. The title of the exhibition was an innocent: **‘An Encounter with Truth’** giving no inkling that the ‘truth’ put on show was no routine depiction of wrong doings by some ‘miscreants’ but a gory record of unparalleled and well-planned savagery that was heartrending. The pathetic intensity of this exhibition would tug at anybody’s heart strings.

On display were more than a hundred and fifty pictures depicting, in the most telling manner, the carnage inflicted on Kashmiri Pandits as a supine administration helplessly sat back as terrorists went into full frenzy. Each photograph, despite its technical imperfection, graphically showed their wanton killing and the devastation wrought on their psyche and their glorious age-old heritage. The exhibition leaves no one in any doubt that the catastrophe -- brutal, bloody and senseless -- was deliberately inflicted on the community with the sole purpose of physically eliminating them from Jammu & Kashmir.

Though history is witness how the Hindus of this ancient land of Kashmir were wilfully oppressed since the advent of the so-called Islamic era and reduced to a minuscule community, this pictorial testimony will for ever remain etched on their collective memory and a permanent reminder of the depravity to which their tormenters would descend. And on the wider Indian state too it will remain engraved for ever – as a major blemish and an unardonable instance of the administration betraying those who refused to betray the country.

The true-to-life pictorial recapitulation of well-planned killings of Kashmiri Pandits, the reckless destruction of the homes they were born and bred in, the gods they worship, the temples and shrines they revered, the societal values they always cherished – was a graphic depiction that needed no captions and the organisers had rightly kept these brief. Each mute photograph eloquently told its own story, pathetic and tragic. Viewing photograph after poignant photograph of corpses lined up under blood-blotched white shrouds was a numbing experience, especially for those who had watched these events only from a distance and on whom the gravity of the happenings hadn’t fully impacted.

Though taken by amateurs, the photographs represent distress and torment of the victims in a manner that the victims’ pain uncannily gets transmitted to the viewer. Like the photos of a brutally massacred child, the forlorn old man with beady eyes that can hardly see, the old brooding woman more dead than alive sitting by the side of idols she probably worshiped every single day of her eventless life but which now lie scattered, the blank smashed brick wall of a temple where once idols stood in their refinery, a small family just escaped from Kashmir and now haunched on their rolled up beddings and miserable looking tin boxes under a tree on the roadside in Jammu not knowing where to go.

Migrant camps, in one of which they might be languishing since then, had not then come into existence.

There are pictures of humble Kashmiri Pandit houses vandalised by terrorists out of utter cussedness even when they did no one any harm. The sheer ordinariness and age of these old fashioned and typically Kashmiri dwellings seem to radiate their damp smell and rot proclaiming that they had existed peacefully through the ages and demanding to know why they were chosen for destruction.

A ‘four-storied and seven windowed’ house, as it would be described in Kashmiri parlance, so elegantly built and gracefully maintained that any civilized government would treat it as heritage property, but reduced to a doorless and windowless skeleton, with its walls crumbling and roof ripped off, just because it belonged to a KP.

The exhibition blurb says the photographs were taken by an intrepid team of activists that visited even the interiors of all the six districts of Kashmir, some twenty villages and all the Tehsil headquarters. One hardly needs to mention that they did it at considerable risk to their life and limb. Even some areas that are known to be under the control of Jehadis – though the government, in its desperation to show that it is governing, will not admit that such areas exist.

In their totality the sordid photographs testify to the fact, unpalatable to the powers that be, that this all pervading devastation was no odd misadventure by some disgruntled youth, as is made out.

A highly imaginative feature of the exhibition was a person no less talented than Salman Rushdie scripting some of the truths and the dilemma that confronted Kashmiri Pandits when caught unawares and in many cases their own age-

old friends and neighbours turned their killers. Some well-worded passages from his '**Shalimar the Clown**' have been borrowed and displayed as large posters giving an effective tongue to the situation that the photos silently depict. If one can for a moment overlook the ambience of Rushdie's book and the dark hues in which he painted certain aspects of Kashmiri Pandits' life, these quotations are as much impacting as the photographs. So well crafted they are, and carefully selected, that they aptly sum up the deadly quandary in which Kashmiri Pandits found themselves when the administration threw in the towel and all but surrendered to terrorists.

For KPs, terrorist depravity is further compounded by the abysmal ignorance of officialdom at every level, even in the UN which has been witness to every little development in the state,. Take for instance a high ranking UN official, Shashi Tharoor, who is Undersecretary General for Communications and Public Information at the world body's headquarters in New York. Recently, he gave a list of 'ten stories the world should hear more about,' and it covers a 'spectrum of issues and geographical regions, including troubling humanitarian emergencies and conflicts.' If you guessed that Kashmir would figure in his list, you would be right. But which aspect of 'Kashmir?'

Not even Kashmiri Muslims, hallowed everywhere as 'victims' of the Kashmir problem, make it to the select list though large numbers of them have admittedly been killed or otherwise ravaged at the alter of Pakistan-bred terrorism. Hindus are of course always expendable and can be sacrificed in scores every few months at another alter – the alter of 'not being provoked' and 'preserving secularism.' To his infinite wisdom and journalistic acumen, these are no humanitarian emergencies; what is of concern to the likes of him is the 'Kashmir earthquake' – if anyone still remembers anything about it. It is only on this aspect that 'reconstruction' tasks loom large and livelihood of thousands of people left homeless must be restored. If there are any other people, may be running into more than thousands, who are homeless and jobless as a result of terrorism in the state, a model UN official, need not show any awareness of it. Or about the deadly ideology that cruelly transformed straightforward Kashmiri Muslims into believing that it was their religious duty to kill non-Muslim men, women and children, their neighbours for generations, and sequester their property.

Shashi Tharoor is Kerala born. It is an irony that somehow many of us feel more than the usual agony when young bright Keralite lads working in India's security forces get killed in Kashmir by Pakistanis and their henchmen. Young fellows from other parts of India too get killed but somehow those who come to Kashmir's battlefields all the way from the farthest corner of India's deep south and fall a prey to Pakistani bullets and local perfidy makes an altogether different impact.

It wouldn't matter if only the UN officialdom and the 'international community' alone were blissfully ignorant of the reality and genesis of Kashmir developments. Unfortunately, such ignoramus abound in India's own political spectrum; what is of even more grave concern is that they are replete at various rungs of the ruling elite, political as much as administrative.

For such leaders the photo exhibition is what a bucket of water would be on the face of a slumbering man.

**(The author has remained an ace broadcaster, and is based in New Delhi).*

By K. Easwaran Nambudiri

Desecrated temples decapitated idols, obscene graffition temple walls; bulldozed houses and destroyed lo-

cality of minority Hindus; burnt pages from sacred Vedic texts; couples being dragged to death after being tied to a jeep and appeals by "non-communal" Muslims to surgically remove the 'cancer' called Hindus.

Vignettes from Afghanistan or the plight of minorities in Islamic Pakistan. No, these are the grim but real pictures from Kashmir, which were on show at a recent exhibition in the Capital.

Aptly titled '**Sakshatkar— An encounter with truth**', the photo exhibition organised by Panun Kashmir at the Open Palm Court Gallery at the India Habitat Centre depicted the various facets of religious cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus in the Kashmir Valley.

The calamitous events that led to the exodus, the struggle to survive in refugee camps and recreate a dignified life in exile were laid bare in the exhibition.

"The black stone statue of Mahakali was one of the 20 deities who left their home in Hari Parbat Fort and vanished forever. A priceless deity from the ninth century fled the Lok Bhavan in Anantnag and was never seen again. The Shivalingam of the Devan temple also mysteriously disappeared. Their exits were timely because soon after they occurred, the fire bombings began", wrote internationally acclaimed novelist Salman Rushdie in his *Shalimar, the Clown*.

No one knows better the ire of Islamic fundamentalists better than the author of *Satanic Verses*, who still lives under the shadow of death.

On display at the exhibition were the painful and heart-rendering photographs of a Hindu couple from Herman in Pulwama who were tied behind a jeep and dragged till death. Their only crime--they were Hindus.

There were also snaps of the Shivalingam of the destroyed Basantbagh temple in Srinagar, the decapitated idol of Adi Shankara at Khojbagh in Baramulla, the desecrated Shiva idol outside the Raghunath temple at Fatehkadal in Srinagar, the desecrated and destroyed idols of Shiva temple at Hoonpura in Srinagar, the bulldozed three-storey magnificent Guptganga temple in Baramulla and a leaf from the sacred text in the burnt library of Tarbuni temple in Navakadal.

Reminiscent of the brutalities of Aurangzeb, Nadir Shah and Taimur, the photo exhibition was the outcome of a protracted and detailed survey for three years conducted by a team led by Dr Ajay Chrungoo, Chairman of the Panun Kashmir in all the six districts of the Valley.

Interestingly, the photographs displayed are not taken by professionals but by the victims themselves who could barely manage a rudimentary camera to document their tragedy.

"The displays merely try to state that in Kashmir Hindus have suffered a genocide. The entire country knows about it, but formally denies it. **Sakshatkar** is an attempt to help every one to come out of this denial mode", says Kuldeep Raina, General Secretary of Panun Kashmir.

And for those secularists who wax eloquently about the peace-loving and fraternal feelings of the ordinary Kashmiri Muslims towards their Kashmir Pandit brethren, there Kashmiri Muslims towards their Kashmir Pandit brethren, there is a letter from one Mir Niaz Ahmed of Zaina Kadal, Srinagar which appeared in the local *Daily Alsafa* daily.

"I claim to be a rational and non-communal Muslim but at the same time, I sincerely feel that we Kashmiri Muslims should try our best to thwart any attempt by Pandits to return to the Valley. Pandits have been a cancer and once this cancer is removed, it should not be allowed to re-appear", he says.

This should leave nobody in doubt that the mindset that guided the destruction of the Bamian Buddhas guides the separatist movement in Kashmir. The objective behind the expulsion of the Hindus from Kashmir was to create a religious monolith at a place which has nurtured and nourished pluralism and co-existence through the millennia.

"Terrorism breeds a culture of intolerance. It is never revolutionary in content. It is anti-freedom and a crime against humanity. It can't be legitimised under any pretext. Genocide is its ultimate expression. Peace in Kashmir will remain elusive if the peace initiatives don't incorporate a comprehensive and permanent reversal of the genocide of Kashmiri Hindus, as its cardinal principle", says the brochure brought out by Panun Kashmir on the occasion.

Terming the recent massacre of Hindus in Jammu and Kashmir as a "national shame" and the attacks on Kashmiri Pandits as an "assault on a civilization", leader of Opposition and senior BJP leader Shri LK Advani said, "talks on Jammu and Kashmir have to incorporate this particular aspect relating to the problems of Kashmiri Pandits as one of the most important steps".

Shri Advani, who spent some time at the exhibition, said the photographs on display **"tell a powerful story. And the story is of tragedy, which is a shame for our country"**.

"This exhibition focuses not just on the exodus of Kashmiri Pandits but also depicts the destruction of a civilization and culture", he said.

NDA Convener George Fernandes, former Union Minister Jagmohan and Ravi Shankar Prasad, Swadeshi ideologue KN Govindacharya, Janata Party leader Subramaniam Swamy were among the dignitaries who visited the exhibition. The secularists who still rue the destruction of the disputed structure of the disputed structure in Ayodhya and cry hoarse from roof tops over the demolition of an encroached *"Dargah"* in Vadodara would do well to visit the exhibition and see the truth for themselves.

**(Source The Organiser, May 21, 2006) END*

Visitors Impressions

Below, We are reproducing the impressions of some visitors who visited the Sakshaatkaar. --The Editor

Krishna Kr. Sharma

Noida:

The government must be convinced to form Board (like Wakf) to instantly acquire these Shrines and temples, keep their records for historical importance and to protect. These are historical monuments.

Zubej

Delhi:

*Na Samjoge To Mit Jaoge E! Hindustan Walo
Nishan Tak Na Hoga Tumhara Dastano Mein!*

Frank Chrishgtro:

In human Act. Aren't people who do such acts. Humans! God help!

Amod Sharma

New Delhi:

Very unfortunate. God should awake to prevail peace in the region.

Sanjiv Bhatti:

It is a very positive attempt to update the people of India about the coming major problem.

Primila Lewis

New Delhi:

Powerful, moving and very important to be shown in all cities and towns. Please label dates of incidents destruction, killing and also dates of construction of the temples destroyed. This is Kashmir's history.

Dr. Joas Sul

Hyderabad:

Mandir Bhi Le Lo Masjid Bhi Le Lo, Magar Aadmi Ke Lahoo Se Na Khelo

The exhibition is absolutely touching and shockingly revealing.

Praveen Mehta

New Delhi:

*Kashmir Ki Halaat Se Mein Rubru Pehle Se Tha, Par In Chitro Se Maine Manvta Ke Prati Kroorta Jo Dekhi Hai,
Weh Wakya Sharminak Hai, Kisi Bhi Desh Ke Liye Aur Rajya Ke Liye!*

Purkit Aryan Raturi

Canada:

*Hridey Dhak Se Reh Jaata Hai! Ghar Baith Kar Kaun Jaan Pata Hai! Kya Kashmiri Panditon Ke Haatho Mein
Bhi Hathiyar De Dain Self Defence Ke Liye! Paani Sar Ke Upar Hai!*

Dr. Madhu Raturi:

*Hum Logon Ne 27th October 1989 Ko Kashmir Ghoomkar Choda Tha! Kalpna Nahi Ki Thi Ki Kucch Din Waad He
Ye Haal Hoga Wahan! Hamein Majbooti Se Kadam Uthane Chahiye Wapis Jaane Ke Liye! Ayse Khaali Bethkar
Dekhna Nahi Chahiye!*

Swajit Biswas :

The truth in Kashmir must come forward. The government must act.

Amit Dahiya :

Use this occasion & every opportunity for achieving a small measurable purpose. But first decide your central purpose and your measurable objectives. (1) immediate (2) mid term (3) long term.

Bhupinder Singh

New Delhi:

This is a great attempt by Panun Kashmir. The stark reality has been told in a very heart breaking way. It's very touching and leaves one thinking profoundly the truth, the reality and the condition of our Kashmiri Pandits, our brothers and sisters. Let all awaken to the truth. I appeal all people all governments and all world to awaken.

Mahinder Jolly

New Delhi:

A great human tragedy indeed. Very touching photographs. This genocide should never happen anywhere in the world and especially in country of Budha and Nanak.

Col. RK Mirakhur

Noida:

I am overwhelmed to say anything but remain mute in my grief. This can happen to my home alas. I grieve.

Dr. Anil Singh, New Delhi:

It very sad to see it, and Government of India is responsible for it.

Ravi Shankar Prasad
National Spokesperson
BJP, New Delhi :

These pictures are brutal yet painful. I congratulate the organisers for exposing the .. brutality of those who pride themselves on the tolerance and understanding of Kashmiriyat. It is sheer ethnic cleansing. Let the world see it. I express my solidarity with you

Samuel Ji :

The pain of the people of Kashmir is visible in the photos. Hope it rests soon.

JR Singh
New Delhi:

I am horrified to see the large scale destruction of Hindu temples and houses of Kashmiri Pandit. Govt. should do something in this regard without loss of time.

PK Kaul
New Delhi:

The horrendous tragedy of the original culture and inhabitants of the 'Paradise' being butchered and killed and driven out of their homeland has been depicted so realistically that it leave one totally benumbed and without words. Is this the rule of law? Is this democracy! I don't know. But we must fight and continue the struggle. With hope and determination.

RK Okri
(Author of Long March of Islam), New Delhi:

The exhibition "Sakshaktar" is an eye opener for me. Despite my research on militant Islam, my education would have been inadequate if I had not come here. Hindus must unite to support our KP brethren.

Dr. Bhure Lal
(IAS (retcd.))
New Delhi:

Kashmiri Pandits are a neglected lot. They are refugees in their own country. They are being tortured, their property- usurped by the terrorists. The heinous acts are aimed to destroy this community of intellectuals . The places of worship have been targeted, desecrated and destroyed. Houses are being set ablaze. Ladies are being raped and killed. When will this tragedy come to an end? The conscience of Nation must arise and protect this race before it becomes extinct.

Indra Diwedi:

Jo Kashmir Mein Hua Yeh Us Ko 1/100rd Yan 1/1000th Hissa Deekha Us Se Aur Zaida Hua Hai. Wah In Aankhon Ne Dekha! Kaya Kahoon! Maa! Kab Neend Khulegi Deshwasion Ki!

Aditi Gariola:

Horrifyingly painful but am grateful to have learnt about the plight of my fellow men in Kashmir Please keep the awareness going.

H.R. Maurya:

Yun To Muddat Se Hain Zamane Mein Insan Ki Wajood! Par Aaj Insan Mein Insaan Nazar Nahi Aata!!

T.S. Krishnamurthy:

Very heartrendering I wish there could be a national movement to protect these sites and record the injustice done to the Kashmiri Pandits.

B.L. Bagra
New Delhi:

I hung head in shame, not because all this happened but because whole nation has shut its eyes and mind, for over a decade. Unbelievable in a democratic and secular state.

Vinod Bharti, New Delhi:

Sad but true-Do "hindus" deserve this type of treatment in a place called "Hindu-Stan"?

Suraj Mohan, New Delhi:

Speaks eloquently-volumes of atrocities in a so-called pseudo-democracy in Kashmir.

S.K. Verma

UCO Bank:

Shame for Hindus in our country. If this is a situation, think what would be future of our country in the time to come!.

Rashmi Singh, New Delhi:

It is too painful to see this happening to our brothers and sisters. Please raise the voice in the whole world as the outside

world does not know about all this. They only know what is told to them and that is a one side story

Prof. Chaman Saproo

Editor (Hindi)

Koshur Samachar

New Delhi:

Yeh Pradarshni Sathai Roop Se Delhi Ke Atirikt Desh-Videsh Ke Sabhi Bade Shahron Mein Sathapit Honi Chahiye! Aantakbadhiyon Ke Barbarta Ka Nagin Chitr Dekhke Peedit Panditon Ke Prati Vishw Ke Sabhya Samaaj Ki Sahanubhooti Hamein Prapt Hogi.

Anandan Menon:

It is most horrifying to see the pictures of a truth we all know. Own "secular" government or the international human rights organizations cannot be expected to do anything to stop this blatant genocide. Only our Gods can help the Hindus. I feel, any way the organisers have done well. Please conduct these exhibitions in different parts of India and possibly even abroad.

Rekha Wangnoo:

"An encounter with truth", reminds me of the horrible incidents we have met some 16 years before. We are the victims and feel helpless at this time also.

Prof. Kulbhushan Warikoo

New Delhi:

The exhibition is the most authentic statement exposure of ethnic, religious, cleansing in Kashmir. May be followed up by yet another authentic documentation through print media-book.

Subramanyam Swamy, New Delhi:

Too horrible to digest or be silent about.

R.K. Sadhu, New Delhi:

An accurate presentation but disturbing to any human being.

Govindacharya, New Delhi:

Man Ataint Dukhi Hai! Punasathapan Mein Lage Saathiyon Ke Saath Akhand Bharat Ke Liye Puna Prati Bradta Goshit Karta Hoon!

Dr. Ramesh Raina:

This Photo Exhibition takes us down the memory have and reminds us how brutally our civilizational existance is assaulted. These voices of silence speak loudly of our traumas and pains ..

Dr. Navin Atal, Delhi :

Horrific tales created by those people who dont know anything about God, but commit sin in the name of God, History is repeating again.

Kashish Kumar, Faridabad :

The whole exhibition has taken me back to my roots with tears in my eyes, and prayers on my lips.

Mrs. F.Sultan

S-84, Brahampuri

Main Road, New Delhi:

Those persons who are spreading terror in the name of Islam should be punished hearty. Let Almighty show them (terrorists) the right path. Understanding Islam in its right perspective should be the mission. Those who are spreading terror in the name of Islam are the real enemies of Islam. They are bringing bad name to Islam. Those persons who are involved in this conspiracy should be exposed. How long our Govt. sleeps on such an important issue. When will humanity awakes from its deep slumber? Till the whole Kashmir burns, then what will be the gain!

"Na Samjoge, Toot Jaoge Hindustan Walo

Nishan Tak Na Rahega, Tumhara Hindustan Main!

N.Gopalswamy:

Heartrendering

Shiveta Sher,

Faridabad:

Very much touched and moved. If we youngsters could contribute to this organisation in any way, it would be an honour for us END

Round Table Conference-II

Prime minister's closing remarks 2nd Jammu & Kashmir Roundtable, Srinagar 25 May 2006

Ladies and Gentlemen,

At the outset, let me thank all of you who have participated in the deliberations over the last two days and have made this conference lively, interesting and certainly very productive. We began this process three months ago in February in New Delhi and I had mentioned then that this is only the beginning of a process and not a one off event. The purpose as I had said earlier, was to look at evolving a consensus among different groups and sections of society on issues related to Jammu & Kashmir.

I believe, and I am sure that all of you will agree, that we have had fruitful and engaging discussions over these two days. A wide diversity of views have been expressed and I believe, that is the strength of this Round Table process which has now become a forum to tap into a wide range of opinion that exists among political parties, civil society organizations and others.

As I have heard all of you over the last two days, the recurring theme that has been emerging from speaker after speaker is that, while the Round Table process has its advantages and utility, we need to have a mechanism which can give concrete shape to the ideas expressed here, a mechanism which can focus on the specific issues, one at a time, and find a common ground and forge a consensus in this diversity. We have all had the chance to express our views-both in Delhi and in Srinagar- and I believe that the time is now ripe to agree on the concrete mechanism for taking this process forward so that we can address issues which concern the people of this beautiful state.

Before proceeding to the details of a mechanism which can carry forward the process, I would like to dwell on some of the more immediate issues which have been raised in the conference.

I do realize that the people of the state are put to a certain degree of inconvenience because of the prevailing security situation. **But it must be understood that this scenario is the result of the ongoing actions of certain elements who disturb the peace in the state.** I have instructed the security forces to be more mindful of human rights and be sensitive to the liberties and self respect of the ordinary people. At the same time it is our collective responsibility to create an atmosphere where the people of the state can be free from the fear of oppression and terrorist activities and can go about their normal lives like their fellow countrymen. If this requires strengthening the state police- both in numbers and materially-the central government would be willing to support that.

Another issue of immediate concern is the relief that we can immediately provide to those affected by terrorist activities and the state response to that. I have spoken in the past of the need to overcome animosities and moving forward in restoring normalcy in the state. In the context of today's Round Table and the voices we have heard, it is important that in our effort at nation building, we win back as our own the destitute families of those terrorists who have been killed in police action. We have initiated a number of schemes for rehabilitation of orphans of those who were victims of terrorism. Such schemes must be extended to all orphans who will need help in building for themselves a life free from violence and perceived revenge, as upright citizens of this great state and of India. A number of national level NGOs have been in this field since 1994, of which the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation with its Project Interact was the first. Since then a number of local organizations have joined in this endeavor through orphanages and schools. I assure you that this is an area where we can all work together, in ensuring that we provide succor and relief to all destitute widows and orphans of anyone killed in violence in the state. This will be our surest and immediate contribution to the peace and prosperity that we all crave. I will ask the Home Ministry and the State Government to work out a credible mechanism of support for these families.

Another issue of concern that has been raised by many speakers is the problem of detention under various acts. I am aware of the fact that in the atmosphere that pervaded the state in the first phase of violence that engulfed Kashmir, many had faced arrest. A Screening Committee had been set up under Governor's Rule to review all cases, thus leading to the release of a number of young men found to be innocent, Who were able to return to a useful life. At my instance, the Home Ministry has examined all cases of detention and in two rounds, released detainees against whom there are no serious cases. It has been mentioned here that a number of young men continue to languish in prison although the enormity of their offences were not of so heinous nature. I will request the Home Ministry to periodically review on a quarterly basis all such cases of detention and release those that can be released. Let this now be not linked to meetings and conferences but an ongoing process. My own office will monitor this every quarter.

The issue of economic development of the state, creation of job opportunities and effective utilization of funds has been a recurring theme. In addition to establishing a mechanism which I will elaborate later- I assure everyone that no efforts will be spared for the economic empowerment of the people of Jammu & Kashmir. Whatever projects-such as the Nimto-Bazgo and Chutuk- are pending government approval, will be expended.

The problem of displacement of people is a live one. I do realize that lives have been disrupted livelihoods have been lost and homes uprooted as a result of this. In addition to the efforts at restoring normalcy in state to facilitate their

return, I request the state government to expedite the issue of identity cards to migrant families in time-bound manner in the next 6 months.

In my opening remarks, I mentioned that there are two dimensions to the problems of Jammu & Kashmir- one being the relationship between Delhi and Srinagar and the other being the relationship between Delhi and Islamabad. I have said repeatedly to President Musharraf and the people of Pakistan that we are sincerely committed to peace and development in this region. Our government is committed to resolving all outstanding issues with Pakistan, including the issue of Jammu & Kashmir. There is also realization that terrorism is an enemy of civilized societies.

In my speech while launching the Amritsar-Nankana Sahib bus service, I had said that the normalization of relations between India and Pakistan will open up enormous opportunities for an accelerated rate of economic growth. We must encourage people-to-people contacts between both sides. It is through such contacts that we can explore a vision for a cooperative common future for our two nations- a future where peace prevails, where relations are friendly, where our citizens rejoice in the well-being of the other country.

The vision that guides us is that the destinies of our peoples are interlinked. That our two countries must therefore devise effective cooperative strategies to give concrete shape and meaning to this shared vision. We are sincerely committed to the prosperity, unity, development and well-being of Pakistan. We want all the people of South Asia to live a life of dignity and self respect. When our neighbours live in peace, we live in peace.

The peace process with Pakistan, as discussions at the Round Table Conference have revealed, has generated high expectations. I am glad that this process has received demonstrable public support. We are awaiting Pakistan's response on some concrete suggestions which we have made.

In order to move forward, we need to move ahead step by step. We must have courage to see each other as supporting the other for the realization of a better tomorrow for all the people of India and Pakistan. I have stated earlier and will repeat once again, that I have a vision that the peace making process must ultimately culminate in our two countries entering into a Treaty of Peace, Security and Friendship to give meaning and substance to our quest for shared goals.

I now come to the issue of establishing credible mechanisms for carrying this dialogue forward. Based on the various suggestions made, I would, therefore like to propose that we set up Working Groups comprising members from amongst those present or those nominated by parties and groups who could look more closely at the broad issues and problems. I am sure all of you would agree that this would be the best way to move forward and ensure that the views of different segments are incorporated into the process. My suggestion is for the creation of five Working Groups:

Group I: Confidence- building measures across segments of society in the State

The Group will evolve:

- *Measures to improve the condition of people affected by militancy
- *Schemes to rehabilitate all orphans and widows affected by militancy
- *Issues relating to the relaxation of conditions for persons who have foresworn militancy.
- *An effective rehabilitation policy, including employment, for Kashmiri Pandit migrants
- *An approach considering issues relating to return of Kashmiri youth from areas controlled by Pakistan
- *Measures to protect and preserve the unique culture and religious heritage of the State.

Group II: Strengthening relations across the Line of Control:

To recommend measures to:

- *Simplify procedures to facilitate travel across the Line of Control
- *Increase goods traffic, expand people-to-people contact, including promotion of pilgrimage and group tourism, open up new routes such as Kargil-Skardu etc

Group III: Economic development:

To evolve a strategy that ensures:

- *balanced economic development and employment generation, balanced economic development and employment within the State.

Group IV: Ensuring Good Governance

To consider effective measures to:

- *Increase responsiveness, accountability and transparency of the administration.
- *Strengthen local Self-government.
- *Effectively monitor development programmes
- *Institute Zero tolerance for human rights violations.
- *Strengthen the Right to Information
- *Provide adequate security to all segments of society, particularly the minority communities.

Group V: Strengthening relations between the State and the Centre

To deliberate on:

- *Matters relating to the special status of Jammu and Kashmir within the Indian Union.
- *Methods of strengthening democracy, secularism experts if they so desire. The State government will extend logistic support.

If there is general agreement regarding the Working Groups and the subjects they would cover, may I also suggest that we consider appointing suitable Convener for each of the working Groups. The choice of Convener could be yours or if you like I could request the Chief Minister to finalize the choice. The composition of the working Groups could

be decided in consultation with all of you through this may take some time.

My earnest appeal to you is to see this opportunity for you as people's representative to make a material contribution to the problems that we have been discussing for many decades now and arrive at an understanding and a consensus on what needs to be done. I am not minimizing the difficulties that lie ahead but I think it would be a good beginning and a substantive contribution of this Round Table Conference. Once the Working Groups have completed their task we could discuss their recommendations in an another Round Table Conference.

Thank you. END

Lt Gen Sapru takes over as White Knight Corps chief

KS Correspondent

Lt Gen Tej Kumar Sapru, Infantry officer of 1969 batch, took command of the White Knight Corps at a ceremonial function on May 2, 2006.

He has served at different positions after graduating from Defence Services Staff College, Wellington.

He served as general staff officer in military operations and military secretary branch at the Army headquarters, as defence attache in the Indian embassy in Nepal, as colonel general staff in Akhnoor division during 'Operation Rakshak' besides commander junior leaders wing in Belgaum.

Sapru has been decorated with Yudh Seva Medal in Uri sector of Jammu and Kashmir. Before assuming his current appointment Lt. Gen Sapru was holding the charge of additional director general procurement in MGO's Branch at Army headquarters.

Panun Kashmir in a meeting chaired by Chairman Dr. Ajay Chrungoo congratulated Mr. Sapru and wished him all success in his new assignment END

APPEAL

Both the kidneys of Surinder Kumar Bhat S/o Neel Kant Bhat, R/o Gundi Goshi Kupwara **A/P O.R.T. No: 341 Mig. Camp Battal Balian, Udhampur (J&K)** have stopped functioning. This young man needs an immediate kidney transplant, which involves huge investment.

Panun Kashmir appeals to the masses in general and community brethren in particular to come forward and donate generously in **Saving Bank A/c No: 01190025231 at S.B.I. Udhampur**. Your generosity will save a precious life. END

Text of the press statement issued by Panun Kashmir during a press conference which was addressed by Dr. Ajay Chrungoo Chairman Panun Kashmir, Dr. M.K. Teng Chairman Advisory Panun Kashmir and Sh. Kuldeep Raina, General Secretary Panun Kashmir at Jammu on 23rd of May 2006. The press conference was addressed in view of the invitation received by Panun Kashmir for its participation in the IInd Roundtable Conference at Srinagar and Panun Kashmir's decision to participate in it.

Panun Kashmir has received the invitation to participate in the second round table conference being conducted in Srinagar on 24th-25th May. It was our spontaneous and unanimous view to participate when we received the invitation to attend the first round table conference in New Delhi. This time to decide about participation has not been an easy decision.

The way Government of India conducted the 1st round table conference and the public positions taken by the highest in the Government since then has raised serious apprehensions about the real motivations to conduct such an exercise. Persons in position of authority and responsibility in the government have said that Government of India no longer considers Kashmir as an integral part of India. It is being communicated that this round table conference may be a decisive step towards the solution of Kashmir problem. It is also being said, both directly or indirectly, that Pervez Musharraf's proposals of joint management, porous borders and self rule have an acceptance on this side.

In the 1st Round Table Conference many invitees who could have defended India's interests and position were not

allowed to speak by GOI itself. In this round table such persons may be again snuffed out beforehand or may not be allowed to speak in the conference by Government of India itself.

Why should we participate in an exercise which appears to be strengthening the separatist case? Govt of India has not tried to allay the fears of nationalists. Why should we legitimise an exercise where GoI seeks to search for a consensus between separatists and nationalists? We admit that even at this juncture we have no definite answers to address our concerns. Is Government of India nurturing a process which dilutes India's sovereignty, integrity and secular vision is a question which haunts us?

Having such serious doubts, we still want to hold on to the faith that the system has not collapsed as yet. We hope our government fulfills its primary responsibility to uphold national integrity and sovereignty. We also want to perform the same duty and as such have decided to participate in the conference. We also hope our fears are unfounded END

RTC would not succeed if aimed at compromise with Muslims

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, June 3: Terming the need to fight the battle against secessionist and separatist forces at the ideological level, as the conflict which had ravaged the State for the last one and a half decade, involves clash of ideological commitments.

Said Dr. Ajay Chrungoo, Chairman, Panun Kashmir during an interaction with community members after participating in the Track-II of Roundtable Conference held in Srinagar on May 24-25.

Dr. Ajay asserted that the RTC would not succeed if it was aimed to seek a compromise with Muslim communalism and buy time for transient and un-enduring peace.

He pointed out that any compromise at the ideological level with Muslim communalism would eventually lead to the second partition of India.

"No schemes of social engineering and economic reorganization will succeed so long if the Indian government does not resolve to fight Muslim communalism, he added.

He stated that the accession of the state to Jammu and Kashmir was not conditional, nor was the Constituent Assembly of the State a sovereign body.

He pointed out further that a myth had been perpetrated that the Jammu and Kashmir had not signed an instrument of merger. He told the Conference that the Indian Constitution vested no powers with any instruments of authority in India to empower it to roll back the applicability of the Constitution of India to the State.

He said that he had sent a clear message that Government of India would not continue any discussion on India's sovereignty over Jammu and Kashmir in its dialogue with the separatists or Pakistan.

He warned the Union government against the machinations of the separatists to secure the exclusion of the State from the secular political organization of India and reconstitute it in a Muslim political organization based upon the Muslim character of its population.

Dr. Chrungoo hoped that the RTC must devise ways for the reversion of the genocide of the Hindus of Kashmir, which are smoldering in exile for the last sixteen years END

Reversal of demographic changes in J&K should be the priority: PK tells govt

KS Correspondent

NEW DELHI, May 4: Kashmiri Pandits today warned that peace in the Valley would remain elusive if the initiatives taken by the Centre don't incorporate a comprehensive and permanent reversal of genocide of Hindus in Jammu and Kashmir.

Addressing a press conference here, a day after Prime Minister Manmohan Singh held talks with the separatist Hurriyat Conference, 'Panun Kashmir' convenor Ajay Chrungoo said there had to be a "Paradigm shift" in the Government's thinking for solving the Kashmir problem.

He accused the Centre of not having any policy on how to reverse the attempts being made at "demographic changes" in Jammu region.

Strongly condemning the recent massacre of 36 people in Doda and Udhampur districts of Jammu region by terrorists, Dr. Chrungoo warned that after driving out Pandits from the Valley, attempts were now being made to force

the exodus of Hindus from Jammu region.

"The Government of India does not have any policy on how to reverse the attempts being made at demographic changes," he said.

He urged the Centre to recognise the "fatal consequences" of giving legitimacy to religious sub-nationalism as a denomination of sharing power in Jammu and Kashmir.

This recognition, he said, had been responsible for emergence of a "politics of blackmail, secessionism, communalism and fundamentalism" of the Kashmiri society.

"The ongoing terrorism has bred on the underlying substratum of this communalism. Destabilization for Kashmiri Hindus and their religious cleansing was its logical first fall-out and second partition of India would be the next consequence," he added.

Urging the government not to surrender to Pakistan's "nuclear blackmail", the Panun Kashmir leader said both the NDA as well as the UPA governments had willy nilly accepted that Pakistan has a locus standi on Kashmir. This could have dangerous long-term consequences for India's future, he added.

He also criticised the Kashmiri political leaders for towing the line of Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf on the issues of demilitarization and self rule and raising them at the highest political level.

Mr Kuldeep Raina, General Secretary Panun Kashmir said that GoI must recognize elimination of terrorist violence as the foremost objective and not keep it subservient to any political expediency.

He said that Panun Kashmir has decided to keep the nation informed about what has happened during last 17 years in Kashmir through photograph exhibition being organised from 6th May to 10 May 2006 at India Habitat Centre.

He further said that peace in Kashmir will remain elusive if the peace initiatives don't incorporate a comprehensive and permanent reversal of genocide of Kashmiri Hindu, as its cardinal principle.

Mr Vijay Kaul senior PK activist was also present during the press conference END

Haryana Govt. issues concession for Displaced KPs'

KS Correspondent

Govt. of Haryana vide Order No: UO-NO/22/43/2006 Dated Chandigarh the 19th May, 2006 has issued an order regarding the rehabilitation of Displaced Kashmiri Pandits in Haryana copy of which has been received by Sh. J.L. Koul Sec. Panun Kashmir (Haryana). The order is issued by the Chief Secretary to Govt. of Haryana to various heads of the departments. In the official hand out issued from Chandigarh, clear cut instructions have been given to all the heads of departments that all possible assistance for the rehabilitation on the pattern of other states like Punjab and Delhi should be followed under various schemes/training programmes in private/government sectors after due verification by district administration END

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

(April 1-30, 2006)

April 1: Mr. Gurbachan Jagat, former DG BSF is new UPSC Chairman. Police arrested a LeT terrorist, who had undergone 13 months training in Pakistan, at Gulbarga. As per police he was planning to target dams, power grids, and installations in Andhra Pradesh and was trying to recruit Muslim youth in southern states. Karnataka govt. made documentary evidence compulsory for the visitors staying in state. 2 terrorists were eliminated at Upper Phera, Sangiot, Mendhar. A civilian was kidnapped from Gharat, Kalakote and his throat was slit by the terrorists. A jawan was injured in an encounter at Ghoru Kounthal, Gandoh, a civilian Jia Lal r/o Shanan Thakri, Kishtwar was found hanging from a tree at Bachan. 9 Bangladeshis were arrested in Samba sector. A HM terrorist was nabbed at Darsu, Baramulla while throwing a grenade at army. A terrorist hideout was busted at Shiv in Baramulla. A HM terrorist was arrested from Arigam, Budgam. Former BJP minister Mr. CL Gupta strongly opposed reported statement of CM on joint control of natural resources in J&K. He said the main issue of Cross border terrorism was being given the back seat.

April 2: Terrorists shot dead an independent councilor, backed by Congress in Sopore. Terrorists kidnapped a university student from his house at Gowjarpora, Chadura and shot him dead. Terrorists fired a grenade at BSF picket in Kunzar. 2 govt. employees were among 3 terrorists held in Rajouri. A teenage boy was killed in a grenade explosion at Lama Dhar, Mahakund Gool. 2 Pakistani terrorists were arrested in Palanwala sector. Youth wing of ASKPSC strongly endorsed homeland for Displaced Kashmiris.

April 3: ACRPF Inspector, 2 cops were killed by a CRPF jawan outside the Jammu residence of CM. J&K govt. released 4% DA to its employees. A former Al Barq terrorist was shot at and injured critically at Gund Dachhna, Bandipore. A grenade was recovered near Sgr. Airport. The mutilated body of a woman tourist was recovered from Dal Lake.

April 4: Congress councilor from Baramulla was shot dead by terrorists (3rd killing of congress councilor in past one

month). Absconding advocate turned HMPPR top terrorist surrendered in Rajouri. Mr. LK Advani asked Congress to introspect on whether it was wrong to communalize foreign policy, but right to communalize domestic policy. Ch. Lal Singh Congress MP sat on dharna with BSNL employees to express his solidarity. Terrorists abducted and tortured to death a Head Constable of Kehlil, Tral by slitting his throat. His half a dozen relations were killed in a landmine blast in Tral area in 1996-97.

April 5: A Revenue official was among 2 people held for issuing fake documents in Revenue and School Board. A BJP activist and a former Ikhvani was shot dead by terrorists at Nadihal, Baramulla. 2 women were also injured in the shootout when terrorists fired at a convoy. Terrorists lobbed 2 grenades at the home of a VDC member and police follower at Pattian, Mahore. Pakistan opposed India's entry into UNSC. Security forces arrested 6 HUJI, JeM terrorists involved in Varanasi blasts.

April 6: Jammu city's pollution rose to alarming 634. 8 SPM. Independent candidate S. Nabi Lone contesting from Sangrama, escaped an assassination attempt at Tarzoo, Sopore. 70yr. Old chowkidar was shot dead at Harhama, Bijbehara. The bullet-ridden body of a UP labourer was recovered from an orchard in Rawoocha. A terrorist was held at Nutnusa with 30 kg. RDX. 3 terrorists forcibly took a Tata Sumo from the driver at Pahoo Chak, Pulwama. Mrs. Sonia Gandhi said there would be no compromise on the issue of illegal foreigners in Assam.

April 7: 40 people were killed when a Video Coach rolled down in to Chenab at Shashu, Paddar. A blast in a bus near Reasi killed 1 civilian and injured 4. A couple was gunned down by terrorists at Parne, Chinigam, Kishtwar. A hideout was busted at Solian, Surankote and at Khanetar, Poonch. Beheaded body of a contractor was recovered from Kashiyyar, Pulwama. A terrorist along with his family from across LOC surrendered in Kashmir. A terrorist involved in fake currency racket was arrested from Anderhama, Kupwara. A hideout of terrorists – a natural cave was busted in Kashmir. US asked Pakistan to end all support to terrorists in J&K. PDP leader Mehbooba Mufti said accession to India was conditional and Delhi ruined J&K'S special status. A LeT terrorist active in Kashmir was arrested from Sitapur. Congress MLA from Dooru said at Navreh Milan that Kashmiri Pandits were forced to leave the valley under a "conspiracy".

April 8 : Security agencies said that terrorists were carrying deadly weapons/explosives in LPG cylinders. A top HUJI terrorist surrendered in Kishtwar. 2 terrorists were arrested in Darkeri, Surankote and Dabbi, Mendhar. 2 SPOS were injured in a blast at Thathri, Revsar. 2 Burmese nationals were arrested in Akhnoor sector. Mohd. Shafi Sheikh, financial controller of terror outfit HM was arrested at Doru, Sopore along with 40 kgs. of high grade explosives, he was involved in grenade attacks and several killings in the area. A list was recovered from him which showed that he had distributed Rs. 41 lakh to 359 local terrorists. Body of a missing Taiwanese tourist was fished out from Nagin lake after 2 wks. Mrs. Sonia Gandhi quit as Chairman of Rajiv Gandhi Foundation. India rejected US suggestion to define minimum nuclear deterrent. VHP strongly criticized Ms. Mehbooba Mufti for challenging Accession and for describing terrorists as "martyrs".

April 9: Terrorists gunned down 3 members of a family, including 2 brothers and a woman at Jugnari Mohalla at Challad, Arnas. The deceased woman had been openly attacking HM for abducting her brother and forcing him to join terrorist ranks 2 yrs back. She had given birth to a baby only a fortnight back. Security agencies smashed communication network of HMPPR terror outfit in Rajouri. SBI strike was called off.

April 10: J&K CM Mr. GN Azad said Paharis would be given ST status and which would not affect the Gujjar quota. Dr. Farooq Abdullah asked Mrs. Sonia Gandhi to wake up after Ms. Mehbooba Mufti's statement challenging J&K accession to India. He said NC stood by accession to India. Mufti Syed, PDP leader and former CM defended demand for Govt. Compensation to families of terrorists. Power losses in J&K pile up to Rs. 1165 crore. 50 people were charred to death in a trade fair at Meerut. 400 kgs. of explosives and other huge cache of arms/ammunition were recovered from a cowshed in Lulipora, Pattan. 4 LeT terrorists were arrested from Sangrama-Sopore area. 2 JeM terrorists were killed in Wudwan, 1 HM terrorist was eliminated in Khul, Ahmedabad, Damhal Hanjipora. Dead body of a forest employee, a former militant was recovered from Din Masjid, Bijbehara. He had been slaughtered to death by the terrorists.

April 11 : Head Priests of Dargah Sharif Hazratbal and Jama Masjid, Jammu cautioned the community against violence. A Veterinary student, affiliated to HM terror outfit was arrested in Jammu from Bantalab area. A Jaish terrorist was killed at Khirhama, Lolab. A top LeT terrorist was gunned down at Watnar, Kokernag. 2 HUM terrorists were killed at Wudwan, Kishtwar. Another terrorist was killed at Brahgam, Dooru shahbad. 3 HUM and 2 HM terrorists surrendered in Uri near LOC. Body of a Kangan resident, abducted by terrorists, was recovered with bullet marks. A SPO was killed at Kota, Gandoh. BJP leader Mr. LK Advani said he had opposed the exchange of terrorists when Indian Airlines plane was hijacked to Kandhar.

April 12 : An ASI of IB was killed near Sherabad, Tral, his 2 other colleagues were injured. A 30 Kg. IED was defused at Zainakote. 2 LeT terrorists were arrested at Dooru, Sopore. Terrorists fired at a matador at Taryath on Pouni-Ransu road, 4 people were injured.

April 13 : J&K CM said Pakistani electronic media continued malicious propaganda against India. 2 Pakistani terrorists and a civilian were killed at Mah, Kulgam. Terrorists lobbed a grenade at a BSF bunker near Sopore, 3 jawans and a civilian were injured. 8 Pakistani and Afghan terrorists were released and repatriated to Pakistan via Wagah. Senior NC leader Lassa DC passed away at Srinagar.

April 14 : 5 civilians were killed, 44 injured in serial blasts in Sgr. City on Friday following Id Milad. TADA Court acquitted 6 terrorists. 3 HM terrorists were killed at Machar, Bhagwa(Doda). SPO was injured in an encounter at Latra, Dachan. 6 people were injured in 2 blasts at Jama Masjid, Delhi.

April 15: Police arrested all the 9 terrorists responsible for serial blasts in Sgr. City. A terrorist was killed in an IED blast at Khimriyal \Shimriyal. 5 terrorists of HUJI terror outfit surrendered in Uri. A BSF jawan was killed in Balakote sector. 2 persons were held for giving shelter to terrorists in Panin Doda. Terrorists lobbed a grenade at ROP at Gool-Sangaldan.

April 16: Iran said it had trained 40 thousand suicide bombers to strike British and US targets in case its nuclear installations were attacked. Security forces seized explosive-filled cigarettes in Mislai Thathri, Doda, 1 civilian was injured. A jawan was injured in an IED blast at Chajru, Kalwa, Mahore. Terrorists lobbed a grenade at CRPF in Rainawari. Terrorists threw grenades at BSF at two places in Sopore. 2 grenades were defused at Tahab road, Pulwama. Police eliminated a top Jaish

terrorist Aftab Ansari in Kokernag. 2 terrorists were killed at Dusball-Asham, Anantnag. A terrorist was blown to pieces while planting an IED at Khumriyal.

April 17 : Former NC MP and minister Ali Mohd. Naik was critically wounded by terrorists at Tral, his 2 bodyguards were killed. 10 HM terrorists of Sopore and Pattan were arrested. The J&K CM said congress would not talk to armed militants. 2 HUJI terrorists were eliminated in Wadwan while 2 surrendered in Kishtwar and Rajouri. A Sarpanch-OGW was arrested in Rajouri for terrorist links.

April 18 : Mr. VK Duggal, Home Secretary said Cross Border Terrorism was flourishing across LOC. Army recovered huge cache of arms in Chanderhama, Widdhipora, Lullipora (Pattan)---the 2nd. Largest in past 10 days. Mr. Omar Abdullah accused PDP of using “threatening posters” in the name of HM to harass the voters. He also accused PDP for displaying Green handkerchiefs in assembly elections. 2 civilians were killed by terrorists at Sildhar in Gool after abducting them from their houses at Parni and Sumwali. SPO was kidnapped from Chapper, Malhar, Billawar. A HUJI terrorist was killed in an intergang clash.

April 19 : The J&K CM said Srinagar RTC will help in resolving Kashmir once for all. NC President Omar Abdullah said Govt. should take all measures to ensure participation of separatists in RTC. A terrorist lobbed a grenade at CRP post at Govt. HSS Doda, 2 jawans were injured. 2 local jawans of TA were killed by terrorists in Mawar, Handwara. 2 LeT terrorists were gunned down in Qazipora, Handwara. A terrorist was killed in Kandi, Kupwara, 1jawan was injured. Terrorists lobbed a grenade at Zadibal injuring 3 cops. 3 terrorists were arrested in Baramulla.

April 20 : The Army Chief Gen. JJ Singh said terror infrastructure across the border was intact Dr. Rafiq Massodi, DDG AIR took over as Secretary J&K Cultural Academy. Mr. ML Khurana, former Governor, resigned from BJP. A terrorist was killed at Babagund, Akoora, Matan. Terrorists lobbed a grenade at Army porter’s house in Arin, Bandipore. 2 terrorists lobbed a grenade inside Bhaderwah Police station, killing 1cop and injuring 3 others ---2 ultras were immediately held after the attack. A civilian was kidnapped at Bhatpura, Doda.

April 21: Terrorists abducted and killed a BRO official and a porter in Gool. A member of the minority community was shot dead by the terrorists at Tipri, Pathshala, Bunjwa, Kishtwar. 2 terrorists surrendered at LOC in Poonch. Terrorists killed a jawan at Shogbugh, Bandipora. Terrorists abducted and killed a civilian at Cherwan, Kangan and also shot a TA jawan at Shoul, Batingoo.

April 22 : Pramod Mahajan, BJP leader was shot at by his brother in Mumbai. A car-bomb blast took place at Padgampora, Tral, a few kms away from IAF base at Awantipora. , the car was being driven by a Pakistani. A terrorist was injured at Memander, Pulwama in an encounter. 3 grenades were defused in Sgr. Infiltration bid was foiled in Mendhar sector, 2 terrorists were shot dead while 1 jawan was injured. An IED was defused at Mahakund, Gool and arms consignment was seized at Kali Masta in Gool. A SPO deserted his post at Thathri and decamped with arms and ammunition.

April 23 : GOI said separatists don’t have veto on RTC II. Terrorists threw grenades at 3 polling booths in Palhalan, Salusa and Patan. Terrorists killed a civilian at Drubgam, Pulwama. A civilian was abducted from his house at Zainapora and shot 5 times before he was dead. An IED blast took place at Patan. Terrorists --2 teenage boys lobbed a grenade at the Bhaderwah house of Mr. Aslam Goni, a NC leader. Terrorists lobbed a grenade at Sajjan P. P. , 3 SPOs were injured. A HM terrorist was eliminated at Sharekhi, Bhaderwah.

April 24 : Patan, Sagrama, Rafiabad and Bhaderwah went to polls with unprecedented turnout of people, 2 blasts took place at Wagoora and Patan. Voters torched grenade thrower’s vehicle at Patan. Atop HM terrorists was killed at Deval, Gulabgarh. Displaced Kashmiri Pandits’ from Batapora, Shopian expressed serious concern over dismantling of 6 Pt. Houses for construction of ITI building, without their consent.

April 25 : 12 school children and 20 others were injured in grenade attacks in Tral and Lolab. A bookseller was shot dead at Shopian. A woman terrorist was arrested at Rajpora, Zachaldara. Terrorists shot at a civilian in Kushalpora, Sopore. A terrorist was arrested at Teethwal. Justice Promod Kohli was transferred to Jharkand High Court. 2SPOs. Were gunned down at Arnora, Gath (Doda). 25 kgs. of explosives were recovered from a Jammu bound bus at Thathri, the bus was coming from Kishtwar. A HM terrorist was eliminated at Sumbar, Gool. BJP opposed demilitarization of Siachen.

April 26 : Terrorists lobbed a grenade at BJP activist at Nagri, Doda, injuring him and his 2PSOs. and 3 civilians. A cop and a SPO, residents of Kandi, Rajouri were arrested for terrorist links. A terrorist was eliminated at Dessa Sumber. Terrorists shot at a civilian at Bishember Nagar near Sgr.

April27: PDP lost Patan Sagrama and won Rafiabad seats. Congress won the Bhaderwah seat. India rejected Pakistan’s proposal on demilitarization of J&K. A CID cop was killed by terrorists at Tral and his jeep was damaged. 8 tourists were injured in a grenade attack at Pahalgam bus stand. Police recovered 40 kg. RDX at Kanthali, Mahore. 2 Pakistanis were arrested in Manjakote sector. Mr. Ram Jethmalani blamed Mr. Brajesh Mishra for the Kandhar episode.

April 28 : PM invited Hurriyat for talks on May 3. US declared JUD, IKK as terror outfits. Army recovered 70 kgs. RDX in Chatta Pani, Rajouri. CPM activist was shot dead at Kulgam. A former Ikhwani was fired at Bandipore bus stand, 2 civilians were injured. An OGW was arrested at Draman, Budhal. An IED was defused at Bhaindega, Thathri.

April 29: BJP President Raj Nath Singh demanded abrogation of Article 370. Taliban abducted an Indian engineer in Afghanistan and asked Indians to leave immediately. Top HM terrorist Bilal Ahmed Dar, responsible for over 20 killings was gunned down, he belonged to Samboora, Tral. A civilian was shot dead at Naidkhai. A girl was injured in crossfiring at Kainthpora, Lolab.

April 30 : Terrorists abducted 9 members of a minority community and killed 4 of them at their dhok at Lolan Galla near Kela top, Basantgarh, Doda. The terrorists, 7 in number, had few mercenaries amongst them while others were locals. Taliban killed the abducted engineer. A LeT terrorist was killed at Hapathnar, Anantnag. A JCO was injured in a terrorist attack at Wanpoh END

LETTER

Brig Premi-A highly acclaimed literary personality

Sir,

I don't feel shy to say that Dr Brij Premi is one amongst the highly acclaimed literary personalities who nourished and enriched Urdu literature in Kashmir. I have read many of his writings and articles especially his essay on "Lal Ded" is much inspiring. This article proved very fruitful to me. His research and critical analysis on "Sadat Hassan Mantoo" is wonderful. This literary work will be remembered for times to come.

One gets saddened to learn that Dr. Brij Premi spent his last days out of Kashmir with which he was in deep love and Kashmiriyat was his passion. This shockful event cannot be expressed in words. However, the special number in the name of Dr. Brij Premi published by "*Kashmir Sentinel*" is praiseworthy and courageous. *Kashmir Sentinel* has done a tremendous job in keeping alive the work done by the great scholars of Kashmir, while being out of heaven. Doing such a great work under hostile conditions is really a revolutionary step.

Here, I want to convey that I have completed my novel on "Lal Ded" in Dogri language and is under print. I will send you a copy.

-VED RAHI, Andheri, Mumbai

Distortions of History

Sir,

Refer to MM Munshi article "Distortions of History". To begin with, Mongol definitely pertains to Mongolia. Since no race has remained exclusive, Central Asia was meeting place for Mongolian and Turkish race to interbreed. But ransacking of C.Asia by Mongols produced a new breed that was half Turkish and half Mangol Rinchin, even if he was Ladakhi, was certainly of Mongolian race.

Also there is some doubt about the conversion of Rinchin. It is doubtful that Devaswami prevented him from entering Hindu fold. To reject a King was beyond the capacities of even powerful Brahmins of Kashmir. It is also unlikely that he got converted to Islam at the behest of Bulbul Shah. It is more likely that he was influenced to convert to Islam at the behest of Shahmir.

Mr. Sharga's assertion that his ancestors may have entered Kashmir between in 8th Century AD is not as preposterous as it seems. Huns carried regular depredations in the Valley and some of them did convert to Hinduism and even Brahmanism. Mihirkula became Shaiv follower and built many temples dedicated to him and this endeared him to Brahmins of Kashmir, who were devout Shaivites. Besides, to this day there survives in Kashmir "Yecha" caste with distinct Mangoloid features and who follow Brahminical practices.

"Khechi Mavas" is a festival where initial birth seems to have been to keep marauding Yuchi tribes at bay by offering them food and shelter. This slowly became festival for Kashmiri Pandits. True, the history of Kashmir before Awantivarman's time is hazy but it is not that hazy that we are unable to probe radio signals from that distant era. Surteng, an area in Rainawari, where Jawahar Lal Nehru memorial hospital exists, is a settlement that goes beyond the time of Kalhana. Rainawari had neolithic settlements. In the end, Kashmir was not as insulated as it made up to be in ancient times. Also what is lost sight of during Mihirkul's time many Brahmins from Gandhar settled in Kashmir and good equation between Mihirkula and these Brahmins was certainly responsible for some from C.Asia to convert to Brahmanism.

--Bilhan Kaul

Pamposh Colony, Janipur. END

THOSE WHO LEFT US

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

1. Mrs. Poornima Tikoo W/o Mr. M.K. Tikoo, R/o Zaindar Mohalla Sgr; presently at 27, Naseeb Nagar Janipur, Jammu. 9/4/2006
2. Sh. Maharaj Krishen Wattal S/o Lt. R.N. Wattal, R/o Karan Nagar, Sgr; presently At Gurgoan, Haryana. 10/4/2006
3. Sh. Shyam Lal Pandita S/o Lt. Nath Ram Pandita R/o Rafiabab, Sopore; presently at Saraswati Vihar Tomal Bohri, Jammu. 11/4/2006
4. Sh. M.K. Raina S/o Lt. Naranjan Joo Razdan R/o Chattabal Sgr; presently at Panchkula. 11/4/2006
5. Smt. Kamlawati Sadhu W/o Lt. Sh. Prem Nath Sadhu, R/o Fateh Kadal Sgr; presently at 42-B, Pocket A/SFS Flats, Mayur Vihar Delhi. 11/4/2006
6. Smt. Roopawati Razdan W/o Lt. Kashi Nath Razdan, R/o Naidyar Rainawari Sgr; presently at D-29 Muthi Camp Phase-IIInd. 16/4/2006
7. Sh. Shuban Lal Raina S/o Lt. Sh. Kashi Nath Raina, R/o Shopian Kmr; presently at Bhadurgarh Haryana.

- 16/4/2006
8. Smt. Shobawati Koul W/o Lt. Pt. Jagan Nath Koul, R/o Sheltang Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at 136, Mohalla Paloura. 16/4/2006
 9. Smt. Arandati Wuthoo W/o Lt. Sh. T.N. Wuthoo, R/o 109, Purshiyar Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at 284 Patoli Mangotrian, Jammu. 18/4/2006
 10. Sh. Kashi Nath Bhat S/o Lt. Madav Ram Bhat, R/o Kralpora, Kmr; presently at Basant Nagar Ext. Jammu. 20/4/2006
 11. Sh. Janki Nath Thusoo S/o Sh. Kashi Nath Thusoo, R/o Kupwara; presently at Ghomanasa Jammu. 21/4/2006
 12. Sh. T.N. Warikoo S/o Lt. Sh. Gopi Nath Warikoo, R/o Drabiyar Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at 1152-E Kolkapur. 21/4/2006
 13. Sh. Harday Nath Raina, S/o Lt. Sridhar Joo Raina, R/o Frisal, presently at H.No: 123, Lane 5, Anand Nagar Bohri, Jammu. 22/4/2006
 14. Sh. Niranjan Nath Bhat S/o Lt. Ram Chand, R/o Ranipur Kulgam Kmr; presently at 288-F New Plot, Jammu.
 15. Smt. Sheela Devi W/o Lt. Sh. Ram Chand Dhar R/o Bijbehara Anantnag; presently at Kashmiri Colony, Mira Sahib Jammu. 23/4/2006
 16. Sh. Vishwanath Vishwas S/o Lt. Sh. Aftab Ram Pandita, R/o Batapora Sopore; presently at 1742 Sector-8, Faridabad.
 17. Sh. Moti Lal Khan, R/o Sathu Barbar Shah Sgr; presently at 32/2 Bhawani Nagar, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 24/4/2006
 18. Sh. Janki Nath Bhat S/o Lt. Hari Ram Bhat R/o Vessu Anantnag; presently at Qtr. No: 422, Nagrota Camp Jammu. 24/4/2006
 19. Sh. Raj Nath Bhat S/o Lt. Dina Nath Bhat, R/o Sangrampora Kmr; presently at Qtr. No: 610, Ph-III Purkhoo Camp Jammu. 24/4/2006
 20. Smt. Arandati Raina W/o Lt. Bishamber Nath Raina, R/o Rajbagh Sgr; presently at Khanpur Delhi. 24/4/2006
 21. Sh. Triloki Nath Kotha R/o Rainawari Sgr; presently at M-71, G.K. 11 New Delhi.
 22. Sh. Prem Nath Bamu S/o Aftab Ram R/o Sopore Kmr; presently at Q. No: 36, Nagrota Camp, Jammu. 25/4/2006
 23. Sh. Radha K.Koul, R/o Mattan Kmr. 25/4/2006
 24. Smt. Prabawati Nehru W/o Lt. Sh. Tika Lal Nehru, R/o Chandpora, Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at 32/4, Pandoka Colony Patoli, Jammu. 25/4/2006
 25. Smt. Shobawati Koul W/o Lt. Prakash Koul, R/o Sathu Barbar Shah Sgr; presently at Gogji Bagh Sgr. 27/4/2006
 26. Sh. Dina Nath Bakshi S/o Sh. Kanth Ram, R/o Baramulla; presently at Amar Colony Camp Road, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 27/4/2006
 27. Sh. Jagar Nath Bhat S/o Anand Bhat, R/o Pulwama Kmr; presently at 441 Bagwati Nagar, Jammu. 27/4/2006
 28. Sh. Hirday Nath Hashi S/o Lt. Pt. Gobind Joo, R/o Sheshyar Habba Kadal, Sgr; presently at Vasundra Delhi. 27/4/2006
 29. Sh. Niranjan Nath Sharma S/o Lt. Sh. Kailash Joo, R/o Wanpoh Kmr; presently at ORT 237 Nagrota Camp. 28/4/2006
 30. Smt. Dulari W/o Lt. Sh. Makhan Lal, R/o 212, Friends Sector Subash Nagar, Jammu. 28/4/2006
 31. Sh. Niranjan Nath R/o Wassora Pulwama; presently at 682/A, Lane-3, Vinayak Nagar, Muthi, Jammu. 29/4/2006
 32. Sh. Soom Nath Bhat S/o Lt. Sh. Gulab Ram Bhat, R/o Pulwama Kmr; presently at H.No: 106 New Rehari Jammu. 30/4/2006
 33. Smt. Lalita Shori R/o Atthora Kmr; presently at Lane No:2 Gurha Karren Barnai, Jammu. 30/4/2006
 34. Sh. Avtar Krishen Babu S/o Lt. Sh. Madsudan Babu, R/o Karfali Mohalla Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at 539-W, Govt. Qtrs. Toph Sherkhania Jammu. 1/5/2006
 35. Smt. Kamlawati Dhar W/o Lt. Amar Nath Dhar R/o Zaindar Mohalla Habba Kadal; presently at 25-C, Ext-II Gandhi Nagar, Jammu. 2/5/2006
 36. Smt. Uma Dhar W/o Lt. Sh. Hirday Nath Dhar R/o A/04, Shrikung Kutir Baroda. 2/5/2006
 37. Smt. Leela Tickoo W/o Lt. Sh. D.N. Tickoo, R/o Rajbagh Sgr. 2/5/2006
 38. Anil Kumar Mattoo S/o Lt. Sh. Jaggar Nath Mattoo, R/o 158/159 Priyadarshani Nagar, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 2/5/2006
 39. Sh. S.L. Razdan, R/o 42 BC, Dalpatian Jammu. 3/5/2006
 40. Sh. Shyam Lal Raina S/o Lt. Sh. Anand Ram Rania, R/o Batpora Kmr; presently at Block-B, Lane No: 4, Roop Nagar Enclave, Jammu. 3/5/2006
 41. Sh. Dina Nath Bhat S/o Lt. Sh. Amar Chand Bhat R/o Aragam Bandipora; presently at Qtr. No: D/21, Muthi Camp Phase-II Ind Jammu. 3/5/2006
 42. Sh. Bansi Lal Hakhroo S/o Pt. Arzan Nath Hakhroo, R/o Sangrampora Sopore; presently at 5111/1, Modern Housing Complex Manimajra Chandigarh. 3/5/2006
 43. Smt. Somawati W/o Sh. Soom Nath Thusoo, R/o Karihama Kupwara; presently at H.No: 6, Zero Lane, Anand Nagar, Jammu. 4/5/2006
 44. Sh. Vish Nath Nehru, R/o Zaindar Mohalla Sgr; presently at H.No: 36, Lane No: 4, Sarswati Vihar Anand

- Nagar, Bohri Jammu. 4/5/2006
45. Smt. Shobawati Zutshi W/o Lt. Sh. Dina Nath Zutshi, R/o Motiyar Rainawari Sgr; presently at H.No: 122, Lower Laxmi Nagar Sarwal, Jammu. 5/5/2006
 46. Sh. Ashok Kumar Pandita S/o Lt. Anand Ram Pandita, R/o Karihama Kupwara; presently at H.No: 5, Sharda Colony Patoli Brahmna. 6/5/2006
 47. Sh. Hirdey Nath Koul, R/o Raghunath Mandir, Sgr; presently at M-490-A, Sector-23, Ghaziabad UP. 6/5/2006
 48. Smt. Soomawati Koul W/o Sh. Soom Nath Koul, R/o 286, Jawahar Nagar, Sgr; presently at C-1/2940 Sushant Lok-1, Gurgaon. 6/5/2006
 49. Sh. Roshan Lal Bhat S/o Lt. Ved Lal Bhat R/o Krankshivan Sopore, Kmr. 7/5/2006
 50. Sh. Kishen Lal Kak S/o Lt. Sh. Lambodar Nath Kak R/o Karan Nagar Sgr; presently at C-238 Sushant Lok Phase-I, Gurgaon.
 51. Smt. Ram Pyari Khoda W/o Lt. Sh. Ram Nath Khoda, R/o 47/2-A, Durga Nagar, Jammu.
 52. Smt. Kamla Koul W/o Lt. Pt. Baskar Nath Raina, R/o Chandpora Sathu Sgr; presently at 11 Karan Nagar, Jammu. 9/5/2006
 53. Sh. Makhan Lal Raina, R/o Ali Kadal Sgr; presently at H.No: 34, Lane No: 17, Surya Vihar Bhori, Jammu. 9/5/2006
 54. Sh. Lassa Ram Raina S/o Sh. Vishember Nath Raina, R/o Goshbagh Pattan; presently at 153 Surya Vihar, T.C.P. Lane Muthi, Jammu. 10/5/2006
 55. Smt. Sheela Karwani W/o Sh. B.L. Karwani, R/o Zaindar Mohalla Sgr; presently at Bhopal. 10/5/2006
 56. Smt. Indrawati W/o Sh. Kashi Nath Pandita R/o Khozabagh Baramulla; presently at H.No: 8, Lane No: 3, Barat Nagar, Bantalab Jammu. 11/5/2006
 57. Smt. Indrawati Gadroo W/o Lt. Sh. Sudershan Gadroo, R/o Zainakadal Sgr; presently at 154, Preetam Nagar, Paloura, Doke, Jammu. 12/5/2006
 58. Sh. Radha Krishen Tingloo, R/o Kulgam Kmr; presently at Lane No: 2, Krishna Nagar Miran Sahib, Jammu. 12/5/2006
 59. Sh. Makhan Lal Wali S/o Lt. Sri Kanth Wali, R/o Badiyar Sgr; presently at Lane No: 4, Block-B, Roop Nagar, Jammu. 12/5/2006
 60. Smt. Mohini Hakim W/o Lt. Dr. PN Hakim, R/o Safakadal Sgr; presently at 276, DDA Flats, Pocket 1, Sector-23, Dwarika New Dlehi. 12/5/2006
 61. Dr. Sona Bhat Revoo, R/o Ganpatyar Sgr; presently at H.No: 36, Lane No: 2, Block-B, Roop Nagar, Enclave Jammu. 13/5/2006
 62. Sh. Hardey Nath Bhat S/o Sh. Vishember Nath Bhat, R/o Pulwama; presently at Ceramics Migrant Camp Railway Road, Kathua. 13/5/2006
 63. Smt. Dhanwati W/o Lt. Ganesh Dass, Bhat, R/o Pulwama Kmr; presently at Khotian Netar Lane No: 11, Barnai, Jammu. 14/5/2006
 64. Sh. Badri Nath Bhat S/o Lt. Sh. Govind Ram Bhat R/o Sheikpora Anantnag; presently at Phase-III Purkhoo Camp, Jammu. 14/5/2006
 65. Smt. Gouri W/o Sh. S.N. Raina, R/o Goja Mohalla, Anantnag, Kmr; presently at Dhuni Punjab. 14/5/2006
 66. Smt. Devki Ganjoo W/o Lt. Kesho Nath Ganjoo, R/o Ganpatyar Sgr; presently at 1847-B, Jain Nagar Karala Delhi. 14/5/2006

Doda-Udhampur: The ISI targets

By Prof. Hari Om

THE Government of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) consistently claims a significant improvement in the

State's overall security environment. It says that it has been able to check infiltration of mercenaries and merchants of death and destruction from across the border and that its crusade against the Pakistan-sponsored terrorists and their supporters in J&K has produced the desired results. Not only this, it consistently describes the killing of Hindus and nationalist Muslims as isolated aberrations and dismisses out-of-hand the suggestion that genocide of Hindus is taking place in certain parts of Jammu province, especially Doda, Udhampur and Rajouri.

All these claims are as false and misleading as they are fundamentally flawed, notwithstanding the fact that the Indian Army and paramilitary forces have been able to liquidate 50 terrorists, including 25 of Pakistan and Afghanistan origin, during January-April this year. The fact is that the internally displaced Kashmiri Hindus are still languishing in the horrible and awfully refugee camps at Jammu and elsewhere in the country and that the State Government has not taken any step whatsoever to rehabilitate them in the Valley they quit in early 1990. (They had it may be recalled, left their homes and hearths in January 1990 en-block to save their religion, culture and dignity and escape physical liquidation at the hands of the fanatics and Islamic zealots.) The fact is that the State Government has utterly failed to protect the lives of minority Hindus inhabiting the districts of Rajouri, Udhampur and Doda -all in Jammu province. It can be seen from the fact that the terrorists have physically liquidated no less than 93 hapless Hindus in these areas between March 2005 and May 1st 2006, Intelligence reports suggest the involvement of mercenaries from Afghanistan, Peshawar and Rawalakot in most of these gory and heart-rending incidents.

The most striking and horrible aspect of the whole situation is the candid acknowledgment by certain officials that they simply cannot provide foolproof security cover to each and every member of Hindu minority community inhabiting the Rajouri district's 375, the Udhampur district's 645 and the Doda district's 655 villages. The upshot of most of the signals coming from such officials *or* those at the helm of affairs is that it is not always physically possible to reach some of these villages because of the nature of the terrain and topography or other related difficult geographical factors. In other words, signals suggest that it is not possible for the Army and paramilitary forces to reach these remote and "inaccessible villages" on time and that is the reason the Islamic terrorists; separatists have been roaming about freely in these villages and mercilessly butchering the Hindus and patriotic Muslims.

What a silly logic! The Indian Army can brave the vagaries of nature in Siachen, which is situated at a height of 20,700 ft. and defeat all the evil designs of Pakistan on this strategic glacier, in effect India. But they and the paramilitary forces cannot counter or defeat the terrorists operating in the mountainous areas of Rajouri, Doda and Udhampur districts. No sane person would ever endorse such ridiculous and silly arguments. Our Army and paramilitary forces are competent enough to controvert the pernicious influence of militants anywhere in J&K be it Doda, Udhampur or Rajouri. It is the treacherous, undependable, callous, corrupt and inhuman administration itself that has not only abandoned the militant-infested areas in these strategic districts but also tied the hands of the Army and paramilitary forces in the name of the so-called human rights. And, all this appears calculated to ensure wholesale migration of the Hindus from their homes and hearths and help the fundamentalists establish Nizam-e-Mustafa (Islamic rule) there. How else should one interpret the disbanding of the ill-equipped Villages Defence Committees as well as the withdrawal of the Army and paramilitary forces from the militant-infested Kulhund area (Doda) and Basantgarh (Udhampur) immediately after the formation of the Congress and People's Democratic Party (PDP) coalition government in the State?

This writer visited the Kulhund area immediately after the Hindu carnage and met several members of the bereaved families in order to ascertain their views on the nature of security environment they were living in. **Everyone told me that the situation in the area they inhabit was never so bad as it turned after the Congress assumed power on November 2, 2005. Everyone told me that the immediate fall-out of the installation of the Congress-led coalition government was the unbridled freedom to the mercenaries to carry on subversive activities and create Kashmir-like environment in the Kulhund and similar other areas in Jammu province to make the Hindus quit their age-old habitats.** These mercenaries are, everyone told me frankly and without any reservation, today feeling jubilant and highly emboldened and roaming about everywhere without even bothering to conceal their deadly arms. The reason: The virtual accomplishment of their long-cherished desire. The case in point is the migration of almost all the Hindus of the Kulhund and adjoining areas to Doda town, where they are holding protest demonstrations and demanding not only the establishment of Army-pickets in the entire area but also the revival of Village Defence Committees. Not just this, these victims of terrorism are also demanding sophisticated weapons, including AK 47s and AK 56s.

Another cause of jubilation for the terrorists: Majority of the Hindus of the terrorist-infested Kudwa, Sangh, Lodra, Panaara, Kothi and Khend in the Basantgarh area are also planning to migrate to Basantgarh. They, like the Hindus of Lolan Gala feel totally abandoned by the State. They have come to believe that it would be better if they quit their homes and hearths and migrate to somewhat safer areas. In fact, reports have already started pouring in that hapless Hindus come down to somewhat safer Basantgarh town every evening and go sack to their houses in the morning to "feed their cattle" and work in their not-so-fertile agricultural fields. They, like

their co-religionists in the Kulhund area, also want the government to set up Army camps and police posts in their areas and raise adequate number of well-equipped Village Defence Committees so that they could lead a peaceful life. Deputy Commissioner Udhampur, Ashok Parmar, says that the “reports of fear among the people are unfounded” and that “we have further strengthened the Village Defence Committees by delivering at least 100 guns to counter any sort of militancy-related incident”. But all this has failed to restore the people’s confidence. They want foolproof security arrangements plus sophisticated weapons and not the out-dated and archaic .303 rifles. You simply cannot dismiss their demands and the demands of the people of Kulhund and other Hindu-dominated hamlets in the hilly areas. Their demands are genuine and based on the ground realities. It needs to be underlined that the terrorists targeted the Hindus no less than 21 times between March and December 2005 and murdered as many as 43 hapless and innocent Hindus, including those who were dragged from their houses in Rajouri and Udhampur districts and then shot dead point-blank. Similarly, the terrorists have liquidated or butchered no less than 46 innocent Hindus and left hundreds of them seriously wounded. This number also includes those 35 Hindus of the abandoned hamlets of Panjdobi and Thava in Kulhund area and Lolan Gala in the Basanagarh area who were massacred by the merchants of death and protagonists of Nizam-e-Mustafa on April 30, May 1st and 2nd. It would not be out of place to mention here the methodology the terrorists resorted to before butchering these Hindus. While in the Kulhund area, they herded the Hindus (19 in number) in the huts and then shot them point-blank, in the Basanagarh area they kidnapped 13 Hindu shepherds from different hamlets and then massacred one by one, and mercilessly. The marauders came, committed the heinous crime with utmost ease and disappeared, thus sending shock waves within the entire Hindu community in the country.

The authorities in New Delhi would do well to recognize the gravity of situation and take all necessary steps to crush the Islamic terrorists as they are going from strength to strength with each passing day. They must remember that the brutal killing of these innocent Hindus is part of a grand design by Islamabad to first change the demographic profile of Jammu province and then accomplish what it has been striving for since 1947 - annihilation of the Hindus and dismemberment of India. They should also realize that the situation in Doda is fast deteriorating; is fast spiraling out of control and that the poorly equipped Village Defence Committees simply cannot counter and defeat the indoctrinated and motivated terrorists as they are armed with lethal AK-47, AK-56, rocket launchers and what not. What they also immediately need is similar weapons plus adequate number of Village Defence Committees, Army pickets around all the Hindu-dominated hamlets, modern communication network, all-weather roads, fully-equipped dispensaries and work avenues. But more than that, what they want from the government is a policy that gives absolute power to the Army and paramilitary forces to crush the terrorists wherever they are. They all believe, and rightly so, that a soft approach would only help the terrorists expand their influence and their writ in more and more areas, thus causing an irreparable damage to the national cause. To be more-precise, they want the Islamic insurgency and its innumerable supporters in the State Government to be crushed with a heavy hand and creation of a situation where the writ of the Indian State runs and runs effectively.

**(Formerly Dean Jammu University’s Faculty of Social Sciences) END*

Kashmir is a settled issue: Swamy JP demands bombing of terrorist facilities

KS Correspondent

SRINAGAR, June 7: Asserting that Kashmir is a settled issue, Janta Party today rejected the ongoing peace process in Jammu and Kashmir and demanded bombing of terrorist training camps across the border and abrogation of Article 370 of the Constitution guaranteeing special status to Jammu and Kashmir.

“Janata Party (JP) considers the whole of the state of Jammu and Kashmir inclusive of the PoK and those parts in possession of the Chinese as an integral and inalienable part of India, a consequence of the instrument of accession signed by the Maharaja (Hari Singh)”, the party president Subramaniam Swamy told reporters here today.

Swamy, who arrived here yesterday on a three day visit to reactivate the party unit here, rejected the ongoing peace process in the state saying “JP rejects any talks on the future of the state that accepts any concept of autonomy beyond what is permissible in the Constitution”. Criticising Prime Minister Manmohan Singh for announcing five working groups during the second roundtable conference for resolution of Kashmir issue, Swamy said Singh should have stated the clear position of the country to the people of the State that it is an integral part of India.

Opposing talks with those who challenge state's accession, he said "we should not talk to those who contest the finality of the state's accession with India". Finality of the accession of Kashmir with India is as valid as formation of

Pakistan, he said adding if Pakistan questions the accession then India can question partition and formation of Pakistan
END

Speakers Express Conflicting Views At Round Table-II

The Second Round Table Conclave on J&K was held at Srinagar on May 24 and 25th, 2006. It was attended by the representatives of Congress, PDP, NC, CPI(M), CPI, J&K NPP, Kashmiri Pandits, Awami League, PDF and representatives from Leh and Kargil. The BJP stayed away from the conclave. It had made its participation conditional to UPA government's categorical assurance that the government would not agree to any form of dilution of sovereignty in J&K and take firm stand on tackling terrorism in the state. The conclave was inaugurated by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. In his opening remarks the Prime Minister made posers:

What are those political institutions and arrangements which can strengthen relationship between state and centre? He said, "We can focus among others on security of the people, human rights and good governance."

How can the different regions in the state, while recognising their district identities be brought closer to each other?

What is the economic future of the state?

What are those steps that are needed to restore public self-confidence?

Each region of J&K is a distinct identity. How can these be strengthened so that they can blossom.? How can we harmonise relations between them and finally what are those institutional arrangements which can bring people from both sides of LoC close to each other?

Mr Ghulam Nabi Azad, J&K Chief Minister said,

"Aar Par Ki Ladai Pyar Ki Ladai Mein Badal Gai Hai". He, informed that Poonch-Rawalakot bus service is on the anvil and crossborder trade is going to start. He said the government tried to fulfill every condition to make Hurriyat participate in the conclave. He added, "we agreed to their demands for reducing the number of participants and have separate meeting with Prime Minister. However, we should have no doubt that Hurriyat's non-participation in this conclave will have no impact. It does not matter". If need be, Mr. Azad said other roads across LoC could also be opened. Procedural formalities for passports should be made easier. He said one person could give undertaking for a group of twenty.

Dr. Farooq Abdullah, NC MP and former J&K chief minister said, the situation was grim and unless an agreement was thrashed out with Pakistan normality will remain elusive. He added that

President Musharraf has accepted that Indian secularism cannot be debunked and suggested something that has to be conceded to him. "I do not accept that Kashmir (POK) to be part of this Kashmir. You have eroded Kashmir's autonomy. Tell them your Kashmir is yours, ours is ours". He complained, "You grudgingly gave me Rs 1600 crores. I built 400 bridges and reconstructed 200 schools. When I came the whole Kashmir was burning. You have been liberal in sending funds to the present coalition. You appoint a commission of enquiry to investigate how this money has been spent. Has it reached the people?" The former J&K chief minister in a bitter tone said, "In elections I did not seek votes in the name of Islam or Pakistan, I did not go to people waving green handkerchief in my hand."

Mr Mufti Mohd. Sayeed, former J&K chief minister said, that there was need to march forward on the 'political front' and reinforce the movement towards 'permanent peace'. He called for **bold decisions** and desired passportless travel across LoC. He claimed that Kashmir's accession was on a 'different footing'. He asked the Centre to 'trust' Kashmiris and demanded greater responsibility to be reposed in counter insurgency operations to the local police. He claimed that 'disturbed areas act' was a licence to kill. He added that the army continues to occupy orchard lands and schools and demanded alternative places for security forces. Mufti Mohammad Sayeed claimed, "Self Rule provides a workable solution to all parties. We want one country and two systems". He further added that when a militant surrenders, he gets a rehabilitation package. He pleaded for a similar package for the dependents of the terrorists killed.

Mr. Mangat Ram Sharma, Congress, the Transport Minister made an eloquent presentation and projected problems of all the sections of the people of J&K State. He minced no words in condemning separatists. Mr Sharma said, "we are opposed to the division of J&K State. Dixon formula will not work. Leaders of Kashmir should eschew parochialism and address aspirations of Jammu. Mr. Sharma asked what was the logic in talking to Hurriyat and wanted to know where from did the suggestion to talk to Hurriyat on the sidelines come from. The transport minister was all

praise for the Indian Army and said it has saved Kashmiris. In a scathing attack on the demand for de-militarization raised by some mainstream Kashmir politicians, Mr Sharma demanded that those who talk about de-militarization should first reduce their personnel security. Mr. Sharma also took up the case of Displaced Kashmiri Hindus. He said, "serious excesses have been committed against Kashmiri Pandits. Even after we agree in principle no recruitment is made from amongst Kashmiri Pandits. At least we could restore to them, their number of jobs in government services as they held in 1989.

Why this is not happening? There is talk about restoration of security. Unless normality is restored how can Pandits go back".

Mr. P. Namgyal, former MP, Ladakh.

He said that Ladakhis have been discriminated against and solution to their problem lies in Ladakh becoming a union territory. He said in due course of time Kargil will also realize that its destiny lies in joining hands with Ladakhis. In a reference to Kashmiri Hindus, Mr Namgyal said that what happened to Kashmiri Hindus should open eyes of everyone. The former MP from Ladakh decried moves by the UPA government to yield concessions to Pakistan on Siachen. He said the move would destroy the economic life line of Ladakhis and imperil their security. He asked, "Do we intend to partition the 'Nubra Valley'?"

Mr. Muzaffar Hussain Baig: PDP, Dy Chief Minister:- He said that the ultimate objective is to integrate and not disintegrate and added that there was no problem between the people of J&K State and people of India. He underlined that secularism was the cardinal principle but democracy became the victim. Can we be trusted by India? he asked. He claimed that Kashmiris' fears were psychological which emanated from the partition. In his view the reasons for peoples' distrust were:

1. Whether the Centre/Delhi can alter the relationship on its own.
2. People of state judge the face of India by their leaders which was ugly. Kashmiris believe that the Indian leaders were non secular and non-democratic.
3. Pakistan also fed Kashmiri's distrust.
4. Indoctrination, which has been going in certain institutions, has trained Kashmiri youth in fundamentalism.

Among other reasons it is also that decision makers in Delhi were misinformed about Kashmir. They thought that Sheikh Abdullah was hobnobbing with Americans. If Sheikh Abdullah could take U-turn, how could a common Kashmiri be trusted and secondly, the decision makers were of the view that militancy was the creed of all Kashmiris. Mr. Baig advocated that there should be deeper understanding between people of J&K and rest of India.

As a way out Mr. Baig suggested.

1. The chapter of citizenship should remain as it is.
2. Fundamental rights should also stay. There is no constitution better than the Indian Constitution in the whole world.
3. We need not to dilute the financial relationship between J&K and the Centre.
4. Legislative power should be left to Centre in only three subjects.
5. We should get an assurance that our will not be subverted. The centre should not have right to dismiss state government arbitrarily.
6. We should have institution of Sadar-i-Riyasat and the head of this institution should be a state subject.

The problem of Jammu is not one of disparity or discrimination in economic affairs. There is not discrimination worth the name in Jammu. They get 25% funds in terms of per capita allotment. Problem of Jammu is of political discrimination, but people of Jammu can be carried along in a win-win situation. Mr. Baig said Jammu will have a sense of empowerment if the post of Sadar-i-Riyasat goes by rotation to Jammu and Kashmir.

The Dy Chief Minister said in the ultimate the J&K government had to ensure democracy, secularism, rule of law and strengthen emotional bonds with the people of India. He added that the need was to understand that the security of the people of J&K lies in the security of the country. If there is threat to the security of India then Centre can intervene. He advocated regional federalism and decried the talk of disintegration of the state. Mr. Baig suggested that there should be separate legislative bodies i.e.. Lower house for Jammu, Ladakh and Kashmir. In that case upper house can greater powers. This would ensure federalism in a greater federal unity.

In Mr. Baig's view economic development of the state needed improved relations with Pakistan. He said that economic development must cater to the needs of the youth and make them stake holders in the national Development. They should get jobs in the public and private sector outside J&K. Mr. Baig opined that Kashmir could be made into a international finance centre on the basis of a treaty between Pakistan and India. Indian and Pakistan currency could be used freely in Kashmir.

Mr. Gulchain Singh Charak: Congress minister and President Dogra Sadar Sabha:- In a passionate speech Mr. Charak lamented that we ignore nationalists but talk to those who kill innocent people. "*Unke (Hurriyat) piche Janey Ki Dhod Chod Do*", he added. He further said that there were people inside the administration who were helping the militants. He demanded end to the appeasement policy and called for rooting out of subversion in administration. He suggested recruitment of proper persons in police and weeding out of sympathisers of terrorists in police. Mr. Charak also talked about the discrimination meted out to Jammu by Kashmir dominated leadership.

Mr. Omar Abdullah: MP National Conference:- He said that he never apologised to Musharraf in Pakistan on accession. He added that he only talked about the mistakes committed by his party. He said he never apologized for Indira-Sheikh accord. He said accession to India was final. Mr. Abdullah said his detractors were not quoting his remarks on Jihad in Pakistan or his indictment of Pakistan for not allowing conditions for plebiscite. Referring to separatists he said that those who accept monthly money from Delhi refuse to accept Indian Prime Minister's invitation in Srinagar. He asked the Prime Minister to look into it. He said that he was not opposed to dialogue with separatists but opposed Prime Minister meeting them on the sidelines of the conference. He said it would have undermined the sanctity of the conference. Mr. Abdullah said that after Sh. Manmohan Singh's Conference at Nankana Sahib he felt India was as flexible as Pakistan. He said, "We all have taken maxi-malist positions. Self rule of PDP is maximalist position. Our autonomy too is max-malist position. There was large participation of people in elections, but we don't have to misread the situation. He claimed that the terrorists took a deliberate decision not to disturb the elections. He said that while he was addressing an election rally, the terrorists were not far off from that place. They did not attack him. He asked the Prime Minister to find out the reasons for change in tactics by the terrorists. He said there should be no demilitarization from the state but the government could shift the troops to the position of 1989 from those areas where security situation was better. He said the actual number of troops has not changed since 1989 but the complexion of paramilitary forces has changed.

Mr. Abdullah said that the separatists will not sit in the Round Table Conference without the permission of the President of Pakistan. Mr. Abdullah added. "If you want their participation then you should consider a joint Round Table as suggested by Pakistan. If not then their participation should not be even considered". The NC MP said that the Centre must make counterproposals while rejecting Musharraf's proposals. He opined that LOC can not be changed but made irrelevant. He agreed that the political institutions were in place and demanded more teeth and transparency for institutions like NHRC, SHRC, SAC, Panchayati Raj etc. He endorsed rotational Sadr-i-Riyasat and Chief Minister proposals. He said there was no economic discrimination against Jammu or Kashmir and wanted setting up of a commission to enquire into allotment of funds to the different regions to settle the issue of discrimination. He wanted devolution of more powers to the states and further devolution to the regions within the states. He claimed that Delhi had no clarity about the economic issues and creating more jobs in the government sector was not the solution. The remedy lay in creating more jobs in the private sector. Further, he demanded investment friendly approach on the part of Centre towards J&K. About Kashmiri Pandits Mr. Abdullah said, "We have to improve the situation in Kashmir, only then can Kashmiri Pandits return. I do not subscribe to the view that if they are taken good care outside they will not return. Those who want to return will return because of love for their homeland, irrespective of the benefits outside." Mr. Abdullah concluded saying that Sheikh Abdullah belonged to the Union of India and Centre must do something to commemorate his birth centenary.

Mr. Shivraj Patil, Home Minister of India: Mr Patil made an eloquent presentation and firmly said that J&K already enjoyed autonomy and self rule. He explained that Panchayati Raj, Zila Taluka Parishad, Assembly and Parliament were institutions of self rule. He added if there was any other perspective about self rule we are prepared to listen to it **within the constitutional framework of India.** Mr. Patil continued that Centre was committed to greater devolution of powers to the states and Sarkaria Commission has already worked on it. He said, "we will appoint a new commission and can discuss autonomy proposition in that framework. If some body wants a special committee to discuss autonomy we have no hesitation. The Home Minister talked about improving security of the people and the rehabilitation of Kashmiri Pandits.

Dr. Ajay Chrungoo, Chairman Panun Kashmir:

He told the Prime Minister before asking for solutions, the premises for solutions need to be looked into. "If premises are untenable, no proper solutions would follow", he added. He informed that NHRC had also asked displaced Kashmiri Hindus about suggestions to ameliorate their problems and at the same time the human rights body stressed that it was not going to address the issues which pertain to the period before NHRC came into existence. Subsequently, NHRC took a stand that Kashmiri Pandit displacement was voluntary and self imposed. "How could we give suggestion in a situation where NHRC was not ready to address causes of our displacement and was unwilling to qualify our problem"? Dr. Chrungoo lamented. The Panun Kashmir chief said Kashmiri Pandits considered Kashmir problem as a consequence of sustained growth of Muslim communalism and its non contesting by the political and state establishment. He further added that government of India had virtually taken every measure that it felt could improve the situation in Kashmir but it never addressed the **root cause.** Dr Chrungoo said that all shades of local politics in Kashmir basically catered to Muslim identity politics. Indian state basically engaged itself with Muslim identity politics and never tried to contest its legitimacy and premises. Declaring that religious identity politics and secularism were incompatible, he lamented that Indian secularism has institutionalized gradual compromise with Muslim communalism. This he said deformed the institution building and led to perpetual bad governance.

This was also the reason that massive doses of central funds never translate into a pro-India feeling in Kashmir. Secessionism and terrorism feed on the sub-stratum of Muslim communalism.

The Panun Kashmir leader underlined the constitutional realities regarding J&K. He said that accession has been settled once for all and there was no question of reopening the finality of accession. He further added that instrument of merger did not apply to bigger states and constituent assembly of J&K was not a sovereign body. He informed that no

government in India. Can roll back the laws extended to J&K from time to time. Only the president had the powers and that too to widen the applicability of Indian Constitution to J&K.

Dr. Ajay Chrungoo said the first step to improve the situation in Kashmir was the comprehensive defeat of Muslim Communalism. He declared that autonomy or its variants or independence or accession to Pakistan were indicative of pervasive regressive communal sentiment that a Muslim state cannot live in a secular India on the principle of equality. "What was unique about Kashmir other than its being a Muslim majority area? To accept Kashmir as a dispute is the negation of Indian secularism", he declared. He lamented that government of India still did not recognise the genocide the Pandits had gone through.

The Kashmiri Muslim society too was in the denial mood. He said that the secular health of the Muslim society could be gauged from its behaviour during the past 15 years. There was no out rage in the society when the localities after localities and historic shrines were desecrated, vandalised and destroyed. The goods looted from the Pandits' abandoned houses used to be sold in a regular market and openly, with out any condemnation from any section of Kashmiri Muslim society. He said even Hari Parbat Hill which is Central to the soul for Kashmir is now being described as Kohi-i-Maran by even the Kashmiri leaders described as the most moderate.

Dr. Chrungoo said that Kashmiri Hindus have been marginalised and cleansed from all walks of life including the government sector. This he said indicated the exclusivist mind set of the Kashmiri political leadership and the stranglehold of the of Muslim communalism over Kashmiri society. He agreed that all Kashmiri Muslims may not be communal but informed that these Muslims were regarded as apostates and are abandoned and persecuted.

Dr. Ajay said that nation has to accept the reality that Kashmiri Pandits have undergone a genocide and government of India is morally bound to reverse the situation as it is a signatory to the international covenants on genocide. "Our laws and the political system have to be geared up and harmonised with these covenants for reversing the genocide. This is equally true while dealing with terrorism. Our laws and system are not serviced enough to pre-empt and eradicate terrorism", the Panun Kashmir leader added. Dr. Ajay said that human rights were obligation for everybody—The state, the civil society, the different organs of the society and lastly the individuals. "So for we have been able to build only selectivity, the people believe that protection of human rights were only the obligation of the state. Even in worst situations it is the state which guarantees the civil rights, freedom and protection against organised assaults. We reject the view that state was a monster," Panun Kashmir leader said.

Dr. Chrungoo continued that Kashmiri Muslim society was in the grip of communalism. Its political leadership was either helpless or was conniving with communal forces. He said that it was shameful that none for them berated the terrorist organisations when they issued threatenings to Pandits, asking them to apologize to each and every Muslim and join the Jehadi movement if they wanted to return to Kashmir.

Dr. Chrungoo said that peace process should incorporate two features: Comprehensive reversal of genocide of Kashmiri Hindu and delegitimisation of **religious identity politics**. He outlined that **Kashmir needed an alternative political system, called Panun Kashmir**. He said that all Kashmiri Pandits could return to this dispensation, were there would be free-unfettered flow of Indian Constitution and were there would be no religious group which would have precedence-written/unwritten Dr Chrungoo further added, "We have been talking and discussing all those solutions which fall outside the purview of constitution. Doesn't it speak of double standards when we frown in discussing Panun Kashmir.

The Panun Kashmir leader concluded by asking the government to learn from history and quoted the discussion the Czech minister had with Lord Chamberlain when Britain declared peace treaty with Hitler and accepted Hitler's claim over Czechoslovakia. Dr. Chrungoo said the Pandits kept silent when Indian leadership chose to ignore it or undermine the issue of ethnic cleansing. "At that time many of us believed that perhaps this was being done to save India. Now with the spillover of terrorism to other places we pray to God that India be spared from getting engulfed in the broader conflict which our displacement initially symbolised. *-To be concluded END*

ATTENTION READERS

The June 2006 issue of Naad-in its mischeivous reporting has attributed certain statements to Dr. Ajay Chrungoo which it claims he said at RTC-II. It has not quoted the source on which this reporting is based nor did it talk to Dr. Ajay Chrungoo. Violating all professional ethics, Naad did not even bother to consult even the version which appeared in different newspapers. The text of the presentation by Dr. Chrungoo at RTC-II is also available on the *website* besides this issue.

--The Editor END

CREATION OF PANUN KASHMIR, THE ANSWER TO THE KASHMIR

CRISIS...DIVERSITY-USA

As long as the Indian gov

ernment does not reorganize the J&K State for undoing the unnatural amalgam of Ladakh, Kashmir and Jammu as it has done in most parts of India, and restore equality of the non-Muslim minorities i.e., Pandits, Dogras and Buddhists, by creating autonomous politico-administrative units for them and does not completely abolish the "monopoly of power" in the hands of a single religious community, the internal crisis of the state will not find its ultimate solution. These regions are so dissimilar from each other that only a non-democratic and autocratic regime could keep them lumped together with an iron hand. This was the central theme of a statement issued here today by Diversity-USA while extending its full support to the plan presented by Panun Kashmir to Dr. Manmohan Singh, Prime Minister of India, in a round table conference held at Srinagar on May 24-25, 06.

The memorandum submitted by the Panun Kashmir chief, Dr. Ajay Churngoo, said "we believe that creation of Panun Kashmir as a secular enclave in Kashmir is a solution not only to the perpetual homelessness of Kashmiri Hindus but also to the ongoing turmoil in Kashmir. Panun Kashmir, an area where there would be unfettered free and full flow of secular Indian constitution, would provide an alternate system for Kashmiris who would like to live in a secular dispensation and outside the instrumentality of Article 370".

Commenting upon the Kashmir developments Dr. Jagan Kaul, Chairman, Diversity-USA said that it is ironic that the Indian premier having been a refugee himself is having difficulty in understanding the plight of the exiled Pandits. The pseudo-secular ideology seems to have rendered most of the Indian leaders as "impotent" political actors. Premiers Gujral and Advani, refugees themselves, were also affected by the same virus thus they too were unable to break the cycle of unwarranted special treatment and appeasement towards the new rulers of Kashmir. This appeasement policy has been instrumental in culminating the so-called "Kashmiriyat" into "Islamiyat" thus transforming Kashmir into a "safe haven" for both local and foreign Muslim extremists.

Should the Indian authorities fail in taking necessary preventive measures, howsoever difficult and controversial they may be, to neutralize this "fundamentalist safe haven" Kashmir will remain as a source of cancer for the Indian polity extracting a heavy price from the nation. Even at this late stage there is an opportunity for the Indian leaders to take firm steps towards integrating Kashmir with rest of India and thereby reintroduce its true "secular character". In order to do so and for enhancing the national security needs of the country, the creation of Panun Kashmir is absolutely necessary, Dr. Kaul said. Why can't these leaders examine and understand the methodologies utilized by China and Pakistan towards integrating Tibet and Pak-occupied territories respectively he asked? In contrast the Indian policies in Kashmir over the period of past 59 years have only brought about the violent expulsion of the non-Muslim minorities perpetrated by foreign inspired fundamentalists and the massive Islamization of the region. In the face of such ground realities one wonders if the Indian authorities were fulfilling the dreams and aspirations of Mohd. Ali Jinnah, the founder of the "two nation theory".

The international community must understand that Kashmiri Pandits, Sikhs and Buddhists, have been the first victims of the Islamic crusade spearheaded by Osama bin Laden, Mullah Omar and Parvez Musharraf. Therefore, without restoring the rights, properties, places of worship of these victims of Islamic "Jihad" the victory in "war on terrorism" would remain incomplete and hollow. I have asked for a meeting with Dr. Howard Dean, Chair Democratic National Committee, who is visiting Eugene, OR, on June 2, 3, 4, to discuss and bring this point home. I would like to enlist his support for the rehabilitation of the non-Muslim minorities of Kashmir in their respective autonomous regions without the domineering control of abusive Muslim rulers. However, the primary initiative for resolving the internal conflict in Kashmir has to come from New Delhi and the creation of "Panun Kashmir" as proposed by the Panun Kashmir chief is a principle prerequisite for proceeding towards that direction, Dr. Kaul concluded. END

Two faces of Kashmiriyat

By Sunil Bhat

When Pandit Dwarika Nath set out for an onward journey to Pulwama Kashmir, hardly did he know of what

was lying in store for him! After the displacement of Hindus in 1990, he had always wished to revisit his homeland but for obvious security risks he had to curb his desires. Recently-after receiving a veiled communication about some specific dangers to his leftover properties in Sirnoo Pulwama, he finally decided to go there personally. His kith and kin claim they advised him against going alone. Packing a couple of pairs of *Kurta Pyjamas* and a set of under garments besides his usual prayer material, he insisted on carrying with him a cell phone. His anxious visit back to Kashmir had to be delayed by a day as Pandit Ji had to accustom himself fully on the buttons and clicks of a new mobile phone.

By the time he boarded off near Pampore for taking yet another vehicle for Pulwama—dusk had already set in. Unfortunately, before settling himself down in another bus for Pulwama, he got a faint backside hit from a running Sumo. This was enough for him to be transported to a nearby hospital. After getting some first hand treatment to his external bruises in the hospital he slowly began to feel the impact of the ‘hit’. Suddenly his cellphone began ringing. His son at Jammu, inquisitive about knowing his father’s safe arrival was calling. Instead of his father he found himself in conversation with a doctor of Pampore hospital. By then Pandit Ji had gone in a semi unconscious state. Nanha Ji (his son) could only request doctor Sahib to take care of the patient. In between he contacted a couple of his Pandit friends who work in Central Defence Department and are currently posted in Srinagar. Within half an hour both the Pandit gentlemen reached Pampore hospital.

As the condition of the patient worsened, doctor advised them to immediately rush him to Sher-e-Kashmir Institute of Medical Sciences, Soura, Srinagar.

On reaching SKIMS Soura, Srinagar with a critical patient, Gian Ji and Vibhoo Ji ran from pillar to post to arrange a bed for the patient. No doctor was showing any real interest in the know how of the patient. Doctors would come, see his file and move on. Gian Ji very nearly lost his cool when he overheard two doctors arguing with each other on whether to accommodate this patient or not. They were not arguing it on any medico or medico-legal merits but, they were discussing the case from politico/religious angle. A doctor was telling his another colleague. “Did you read the name of the patient from his file.”

It was only after some influence was sought on Director of the SKIMS Soura that the patient was admitted formally there. The patient was however brought back to Jammu after 3-4 days even when it was not medically advisable to shift such a critical patient.

Yasmeena a beautiful young Muslim girl from Srinagar is currently reading medicine in Acharya Shrichandra

College of Medical Science (ASCOMS) Sidhra Jammu. Her father had a long friendly association with a local Pandit namely Dr Dhar working with State Bank of India. It is perhaps because of this association of her late father with Dr Dhar that she still has kept residential phone number of Dr. Dhar in Jammu with her. Her young father had been killed in Kashmir violence and her mother also passed away later.

The lone gritty young lady proved her mettle when she got admission to persue medicine in ASCOMS Sidhra. She has been lonely living in a rented accommodation in Transport Nagar, Jammu. Some 15 days back, sleeping lonely in the evening in her room—She felt ill. She had suffered from doubtful food poisoning. Continuous loss of water dehydrated her completely. There was no one to help her. It was in the morning next day that she could muster all the leftover energies to dial Dr. Dhar at Talab Tillo in Jammu. Dr Dhar got alarmed at listening to the failing voice of Yasmeena. Dr. Dhar quickly contacted Sh. P.N. Raina (Retd.) Xen. Engineer PDD. Both of them converged at Yasmeena’s residence in Transport Nagar within half an hour. It was a sheer chance of reaching and simultaneously retrieving a nearly dead Yasmeena. Doctors at the hospital where Yasmeena was admitted say that another 15 minutes delay would have ended a young medical student’s life.

Dr. Dhar and Sh. P.N. Raina alongwith their families took every care of Yasmeena for 3 days in hospital. Thereafter Sh. Raina and his wife brought Yasmeena to their home for rest and recuperation.

‘Aren’t the two faces of Kashmiriat self explicit’? END

Hoodwinking Kashmiris

By Prof. Hari Om

The political situation in Jammu and Kashmir is

alarming. Almost all the partners in the UPA ruling coalition are advocating controversial views and subverting the Indian polity from within. However, it is the People's Democratic Party that has crossed all tolerable limits.

The case in point is what the PDP president Ms. Mehbooba Mufti, said on April 7, at the Srinagar's Sher-e-Kashmir Park while addressing an out-and-out anti-India rally. Among other highly controversial things, she said, **"Restore Jammu and Kashmir to the pre-1947 position. India has no good intentions...But I tell them—authorities in the South and North Blocks—that Kashmir's accession to India doesn't rest on dependency. Our accession to India had the condition of self-rule. But Delhi has undermined it for over 50 years..Our party's symbol of the pen and the inkpot is that of their ('holy warriors and martyrs killed in gunfight with security forces') godfather Syed Salah-ud-Din (of the infamous Hizbul Mujahideen)..The PDP's policy of extending relief to the families of Kashmiri martyrs (terrorists and separatists) has been stalled by the Union Home Ministry.."** Is it not an open revolt against India by one of the constituents of the ruling coalition? Is it not an act of sedition? Of course, it is.

Both Dr. Farooq Abdullah and his son have denounced Ms. Mufti and her actions. They said. "By waving green hanky at the people, Mehbooba Mufti is hoodwinking Kashmiri people. She should accept she is advocating Pakistan." Dr Abdullah, who attacked New Delhi three days later for what he called a deliberate attempt on its part to convert Kashmir into an Army cantonment has even gone to the extent of urging New Delhi and the AICC-I president, Sonia Gandhi, to take serious note of what Ms. Mufti said and act accordingly.

Ms. Mehbooba's utterances have undoubtedly accorded dangerous respectability to the ongoing separatist movement in the Valley and emboldened the enemies of peace and India. She may have taken recourse to such tactics in view of the April 24 by-elections in Pattan, Rafiabad and Sangrama. It is indeed regrettable that New Delhi has not taken cognizance of what she has been saying consistently to queer the Indian pitch in Kashmir and advance the cause of Pakistan.

(Source: The Pioneer) END

Mollycoddling secessionists will worsen Kashmir's woes

By Sameer Kaul

The Hurriyat Conference, which alls itself the true representative of the people of Kashmir, refused to

attend the roundtable called by the prime minister in February. Unfazed by the rebuff, Dr. Manmohan Singh invited the Hurriyatists for exclusive bilateral talks last week, thus further pandering to their foreign-tutored egos. They came, they yapped, and they went back without the slightest change in their secessionist ideology, and with no commitment at all that they will attend the second roundtable conference later this month.

Talking to legitimate mainstream parties of Kashmir on issues concerning or confronting the people of the state is to be welcome. But how can the Hurriyat which according to knowledgeable sources including the National Security Advisor, MK Narayanan, represents only a "minuscule section" qualify to be part of such Centre-State parleys?

Why, then, is the prime minister wooing the Hurriyat and, equally questionably, doing this with an air of deference that does no good to the prestige and authority of the Government of India? The dubious dialogue, started two years ago, has in no way furthered the cause of peace and normalcy in the terror-ravaged state.

On the other hand, the Centre's misconceived benignity towards the rag-tag amalgam has lent recognition and respectability to the anti-India elements, and thereby served the purpose of their Pakistan mentors of keeping the terror pot boiling. And boiling it certainly is, as the recent massacre in Doda and the unabated killings and bomb blasts elsewhere in the state, including in the capital city itself, abundantly testify.

The Centre does not seem to realise that its attitude to the separatists undermine the state government which

was duly voted to power in an election that visiting foreign media and observers unreservedly termed free and fair. Worse, it has also nonplussed the people who braved the Hurriyat's boycott call and the terrorists' threats and came out in unprecedented multitudes to exercise their franchises as Indian citizens. To see the national government pedestaling the secessionists sends a wrong message to the people and may even raise in them seriously destabilizing thoughts about the future of their state as an inseparable part of India, and thereby imperil India's territorial integrity and consequently its composite secular fabric.

This is not to say that the government should have no truck with the Hurriyat, but they should be seen for what they are. Where is the need to mollycoddle them? After all, what is Hurriyat's *locus standi*? They say they are the real tribune of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. If there was even a grain of truth in their claim, they would have fought elections. But they resolutely refuse to do this because they know the outcome will nail their boasts. Nonetheless, they want to be treated as the paramount voice of Kashmir. In fact, they would not entertain any talks with the Centre except at the highest level. In other words, a summit between Hurriyat and India!

The sinister connotations of this stance are obvious, and yet the Centre goes along, for reasons difficult to comprehend. Presumably, there is a belief that dialoguing with them will sooner or later wean them from their anti-India ideology. This is gross naivety. Such thinking ignores the fact that the Hurriyat is not a bonafide party, albeit off misguided or disgruntled politicians. It is a creature of Pakistan and faithfully takes its orders from the ISI, even on whether and when to meet the prime minister!

The Centre knows this but having embarked on a wishful plan it has convinced itself that the Hurriyat is not monochromatic, that while it does have some Pakistan-manipulated hardliners, it also has moderates who, with patience and pampering, can be won over. Uncritically echoed by the national media, this official view gives the word moderate a meaning that no dictionary gives.

Yes, there are two strands in the Hurriyat, but they are twisted round each other. The difference at best is one of degree, not of kind. There are Messers Geelani and company who mince no words and want to have nothing to do with India. They want unconditional and complete accession to Pakistan.

And there are Hurriyat chairman Mirwaiz Umer Farooq and supporters, the so-called moderates. And what is their take on Kashmir? Space does not permit a detailed expose. Suffice it to quote some excerpts from his recent interview with a national daily. The Hurriyat is all for a roundtable, he said, but the round table has to be triangular. No need to guess what he meant because he spelled it out: Involved in the talks should be Kashmiri leadership (meaning the Hurriyat), India and Pakistan. He supported the "options" put forth by General Musharraf and commended "the spirit of Islamabad's stance". The Hurriyat, he declared, is for "an acceptable and honourable settlement of Kashmir". And what would such a settlement entail? "We", he declared, "are for a solution outside the Indian constitution".

This is the face of the 'moderates' who Dr. Manmohan Singh has chosen to indulge. We don't know what all transpired at the New Delhi talks but judging by what Farooq told the media afterwards, the Hurriyat held on to their stand. The "problem", he said, has internal and external dimensions. The internal relate to release of political prisoners (read terrorists), end to human rights violations (read withdrawal of security forces) and repeal of black laws (read unfettered sway to jihadis and anti-India elements). And the external dimensions calls for threadbare discussions of "self-rule" (read independence from India) and "boundary-less J&K" (read full and free access to and from Pakistan). Musharraf masquerading as Mirwaiz.

It is difficult to imagine any government of a sovereign country entertaining such views. But ours does. In fact, according to his media advisor, the prime minister's response to the Hurriyat's views was to ask them to prepare a "mechanism" to carry forward the dialogue. "We have a meeting of minds", he is quoted as saying; "this augurs well for the future of Jammu and Kashmir, for the people of India and the region". This is an amazing statement to put it mildly. One can hear the ISI and their jihadis laughing all the way to the LoC! No, prime minister, this won't do. You must abandon this perilous path.

**The author is a veteran journalist, based in New Delhi. end*

Should India freeze peace dialogue with Pakistan?

By Dr. Subhash Kapila

Introductory Observations

Pace dialogue between India and Pakistan cannot take place in a vacuum. A peace dialogue necessarily

has to be governed by demonstrated actions, events and public utterances of political leaders of both India and Pakistan. Further, a peace dialogue can only be sustained by a two way mutual trust which can only emerge from sincere, genuine and transparently honest motives and a will to move towards an enduring peace.

In light of the above, what is the picture obtainable after two years of an India-Pakistan peace dialogue? The picture is dismal and the following developments cast serious doubts about the sincerity of Pakistan's Military Government's intentions:

- Pakistan-sponsored terrorism continues unabated in Jammu and Kashmir.
- Pakistan – controlled Islamic Jihadi terrorist organizations involved in ethnic genocide and ethnic cleansing of Hindus from the Doda region.
- Pakistan's ISI using the Taliban in Afghanistan to indulge in killings of Indians employed in re-construction projects in Afghanistan.
- Pakistan's ISI active in different parts of India to generate indigenous Indian Muslim terrorist organizations for Islamic Jihad within India.

Every right-thinking Indian has a right to ask as to how Pakistan is so emboldened to continue indulging in an unrestrained and undeclared war against India and the present Indian Government rather than defending "India's National Honour" chooses to continue to chase the chimera of an Indo-Pak peace dialogue.

It also needs to be recorded that in the present security environment in South Asia where the strategic compulsions for peace rest more heavily with Pakistan, how is it that Pakistan has reversed the roles and India is left in the pitiable position of a "lump it" situation of being expected to sustain the Indo-Pak peace dialogue when it has all the winning cards, strategically, in its hands.

India today presents a dichotomy where Indians at large feel that in view of Pakistan's proxy war India should adopt strong postures against Pakistan and freeze Indo-Pak peace dialogue. In contrast, the Government is trying to placate Pakistan's military dictator.

The answers to this enigma lie buried and can be dug out only from the following maze:

- Indian Political Leaders Pitiable Responses to Pakistan-Sponsored Violent Massacres of Hindus in Jammu and Kashmir and Terrorism elsewhere.
- Is India's present Government under United States Pressure on Pakistan?
- Pakistan's Military Ruler Tweaks the United States to Pressurise India.
- Pakistan's Perfidious Three-Pronged Strategy in Jammu and Kashmir.
- Peace with Pakistan : Is it a Strategic Imperative for India ?
- Pakistan's Presently De-stabilised; Inopportune Moment for Continuance of Peace Dialogue.

This author feels that the conclusion from a discussion of the above would clearly and unequivocally dictate that India should freeze the peace dialogue with Pakistan immediately.

Indian Political Leaders Pitiable Responses to Pakistan- Sponsored Violent Massacres of Hindus in Jammu & Kashmir and Terrorism Elsewhere

Indian political leaders responses to Pakistan-sponsored massacres of Hindus in Jammu and Kashmir and terrorism elsewhere in India in the last two years have been pitiable. The Prime Minister downwards to the Defence Minister and Home Minister condemn the incidents, and then hasten to add the refrain that: "This will not disrupt or affect the peace dialogue".

Such statements in the face of Pakistan – sponsored violent onslaughts betray an insensitivity of these political leaders to "India's National Honour" and their constitutional pledge to defend India's external and internal integrity.

What message do these statements convey to Pakistan's military rulers? A very simple one that Indian political leaders are weak, timid and incapable of strong responses?

What message do these statements convey to the Indian Public? That their political leaders and security advisers are indecisive in face of external threats.

Surely, India at large would not continue to endlessly suffer these faulty prognostications of Indian political leaders on an India-Pak peace dialogue.

Is India's Present Government Under United States Pressure on Pakistan ?

The Congress Party, to this day, claims the honour of having dismembered Pakistan in 1971 under Indira Gandhi's leadership, despite strong opposition and pressure from the United States .

Thirty-five years down the line, when India has emerged more militarily and economically powerful today, it is a sorry sight to witness India under the same party -turning the proverbial cheek to Pakistan's proxy war. Why is it so?

Is it that because when it comes to Pakistan, India's approaches and formulations are not being determined by India's own national security interests but by the global strategic focus of the United States. Is the present Government under extreme pressure for succumbing to it from Siachen to Sir Creek and also restraining it from breaking off the India-Pak peace dialogue?

Is the Indian Government is under extreme American pressure to give strategic concessions to General Musharraf to ensure his longevity in power to suit United States interests?

Pakistan's Military Ruler Tweaks the United States to Pressurise India

The United States traditionally has had a soft corner strategically towards Pakistan. It continues to do so even today.

The notable thing today is that Pakistan's military ruler, General Musharraf, is able to tweak the United States to pressurize India to give him strategic concessions on Kashmir and Siachen.

The Pakistan General's blackmail of the United States arises from his confidence and the mistaken American belief that only General Musharraf can "deliver" in the US global war on terrorism against the Al Qaeda.

Relating the above to India, both the United States and Pakistan have to realize that no Indian Government is in a position to give any strategic or political concessions to Pakistan over Kashmir and Siachen.

The present Indian Government, if it is to indulge in soft rhetoric over the India-Pak peace dialogue, it has to be for tactical purposes only.

Pakistan's Perfidious Three-Prong Strategy in Jammu & Kashmir

The United States and many of the Pak-apologists in India would like to argue and maintain that Pakistan has already displayed its sincere intentions towards the peace process by maintaining the cease-fire along the Line of Control (LOC) in Jammu and Kashmir .

While the holding of the cease-fire along the LOC is true, what is not true is the sincerity of the Pakistan Army and its General. Pakistan's compulsions for a cease-fire along the LOC arose from its inability to bear the heavy financial costs of daily artillery duels and shelling and the speedy replenishment of ammunition so spent.

If Pakistan was comprehensively sincere then this would have embraced the entire spectrum of conflict in the region. What India should take note of is the following Pakistani pattern visible:

- LOC Cease-fire is being maintained with twin purpose of conserving war reserves of ammunition and impressing the United States of its peaceful intentions.
- Kashmir Valley Unabated terrorism by Pakistan's controlled terrorist organizations is continuously maintained to draw International attention and keep Indian Security Forces under attrition.
- Jammu & Ladakh Region
 - Genocide and ethnic cleansing of Hindus from Jammu areas contiguous to the Valley to bring about demographic regions.
 - Generating communal disturbance in Kargil etc. between Muslims and Buddhists.

Surely, the Indian Government and its intelligence agencies could not be blind to the above perfidious designs?

Peace with Pakistan : Is it a Strategic Imperative for India?

Peace with Pakistan as a strategic imperative for India is only a strategic pressure point imposition of the United States and the West to suit their own strategic needs.

And adversarial and military-adventurist Pakistan, even after launching four wars against India, has been unable to arrest India's economic and military rise. On the contrary, it is Pakistan which has ended up as a "failed state". Without American military and economic "Life-support System" it will fade away. The United States CIA has itself estimated its longevity to 2020 or so.

While the United States gets mortified by the prospect of Pakistan ending as a "failed state", India need not. We have lived with that prospect for the last six decades.

India's current security environment does not suggest, in any remotest strategic connotation, that strategic imperatives exist which dictate that India should appease Pakistan or give it strategic concessions.

The present Indian Government, therefore, has no logical or persuasive reasons to advance for continuance of the peace dialogue with Pakistan .

On the contrary, during the period when there were no peace dialogues with Pakistan, South Asia was a quieter place.

Pakistan Presently De-Stabilised: Inopportune Moment for Continuance of Peace Dialogue

Pakistan is presently de-stabilised as would be evident from the following developments:

- Pakistani Western frontiers today are explosive in Balochistan and NWFP..
- Armed independence war under-way in Balochistan .
- Sunni-Shia sectarian killings all over Pakistan .
- Talibanisation of Waziristan .
- Unrest against General Musharraf and the Pakistan Army.
- Stirrings for a political mass-movement for restoring democracy in Pakistan .

Against such a disturbing situation in Pakistan, it would be politically unwise for the present Indian Government to continue the on-going peace dialogue with Pakistan for the following reasons:

- India is having a dialogue with a military ruler of Pakistan who came into power by over-throwing a duly elected parliamentary government.
- The Pakistani public is restive for a political change.
- Pakistan may fragment if Pakistan Army rule persists.
- India would be legitimizing military rule in Pakistan by holding peace dialogue with a military Government.

It is a big wonder as to how the Indian liberal glitterati and media, with their penchant of democracy, continue to advocate a dialogue with Pakistan against the dismal picture above prevailing there.

Should the peace dialogue be frozen till Pakistan stabilises?

Concluding Observations:

General Musharraf is an improbable partner for a peace dialogue with India. A self pro-claimed Pakistan patriot, who could not keep his pledge to the Pakistani nation to return democracy, soon in his address in October 1999, is being trusted by the present Indian Government to be a dialogue partner for peace.

Commenting as far back as January 2004, the learned American authority on South Asian affairs, Prof. Stephen Cohen said:

“General Musharraf is harder to figure out. He lacks strategic vision, is a bad listener and believes that ruling Pakistan is like running an army garrison”

The trouble is that General Musharraf feels that the entire South Asia, India included, is his army garrison. Is it not high time that the Indian Government makes him wake up to see the dawning strategic realities, by freezing the India-Pakistan peace dialogue.

And what is the dawning strategic reality for Pakistan? Prof Cohen said. “They (the Pakistan Establishment) know Pakistan is failing and a military race with expanding India is a losing proposition and that Pakistan’s friends are fair weather”

Why is the Indian Government then persisting in a futile and doomed-to-failure, India-Pakistan peace dialogue. India’s heart beat is: freeze the peace dialogue until Pakistan stabilizes and displays a demonstrable record of living upto its pledges.

**(The author is an International Relations and Strategic Affairs analyst. He is the Consultant, Strategic*

Affairs with South Asia Analysis Group) ***end***

Partition looking back!-I

By J L Tiku

“Divide et impera was the old Roman motto, and it should be ours”

- Mountstuart Elphinstone

"I have no quarrel with Mr. Jinnah or Pakistan. We are opposed to the principles on which the edifice of Pakistan has been raised. Everyone knows that foundation of Pakistan has been laid on greed, hatred and communalism. The two nation theory was hymen of hate against non-Muslims. This hate was fanned by the British in order to use it as a justification for the division of India."

"With pillage and murder the structure of Pakistan was built. The bones of thousands of innocent Hindus and Muslims form the bricks of this edifice. The God of Sheikh Abdullah is also the God of Hindus but the God of Pakistan is the exploiter. If any one wants to know what Pakistan is he could see Pakistan with his own eyes. In the beginning innocent Muslims were told that their lot would improve by getting a separate homeland. But now when Pakistan has come into being the lot of Muslims has become worse."

"We 40 lakh Kashmiris unitedly resisted the aggressors. We shall prefer death rather than join Pakistan. Pakistan is the place where our daughters and sisters were sold for a paltry sum by the raiders. We shall have nothing to do with such a country."

- Sheikh Abdullah on assuming office as PM of J& K, in a public meeting at Jammu

On 15th of August India became independent and Pakistan was officially born a day earlier. There was no rejoicing, no processions, not even by Muslim League. The advent of Pakistan was marred by fires raging in various parts of the country, corpses littering many places and a stench that had come to be known as *Pakistani Boo*.

Rahmat Ali had coined the word 'Pakistan' for a separate nation for Muslims and Jinnah delivered it. Pakistan's name was composed of letters taken from the names of *Punjab, Afghania, Kashmir, Iran, Sindh, Tukhkaristan, Afganistan* and *Baloachistan*. It meant the land of the spiritually pure and clean - the *Paks*. Muslims living in some territories were spiritually more pure and clean than other Muslims? Exclusion of Bengal in the East and Hyderabad in the South from what Rahmat Ali called the *Paks* is perplexing.

The genesis of the Pakistan demand lay in the failure of the Muslim and Hindu elite groups to agree on how to share the fruits of office and independence. British decision to handover the power they had mostly wrested from the Muslims to all the peoples of sub-continent became the bone of contention. It had become amply clear that the authority would vest with the majority. To the Muslims, majority rule meant *Hinduisation*, or the breakup of all that he held dear. The Muslim elites began to think in terms of a separate state not because the Muslims of India would not survive without it but because in separate state they would be the ruling class. The arrogant assumption of racial superiority by many of the Moslem leaders and tactless speeches of the Hindu revivalists created friction and proved a fundamental source of partition. Muslims elites were harbouring potent fears that an industrialized India would mean a Hindu India. The Hindu was a financier and businessman. Finally the Muslims had most cherished memories of empire and fears of servitude; the Hindus had the reverse. It was not, therefore, surprising that when Hindus stretched out for *independent, democratic* nation the Muslims cried for Pakistan.

It is usually assumed by Muslims that the majority of them represent the conquerors of India in past ages contrary to fact that the great majority of Muslims in India are Indians of Indian descent. Some of these are no doubt the result of forcible conversion. In general conversion was a sporadic process resorted to in times of capture of a city and the looting of towns during the victory, but there were times when this was done on considerable scale. After the Muslim invasion, the Hindu society unable to assimilate the invaders, that is unable to assign them a place in the hierarchy of castes, placed them outside the pale. Eight hundred years later, it gave the same response to the British occupation. But so long as Muslims were the ruling class they could not feel and therefore did not resent the social exclusiveness of the Hindus. But when they lost their political power, the social insularity of Hindus proved quite galling to the Muslims.

Starting from early 19th century the various milestones can be traced for the development of events that led to the partition.

Genesis of the Partition Macaulay's Minutes

In 1813 the John Bull Company was compelled by the charter act to spend £10,000 a year on the promotion of learning in India. Learning meant useful knowledge not the fables of Hindu mythology or the Islam was argued by some. The crisis was resolved in 1835 by Bentick with the help of Macaulay. Henceforth the content of learning was to be European Science and English literature and the medium of instruction to be English. Simultaneously, *English* instead of *Persian* as the language of government business and in the higher courts of law was adopted. Macaulay said in his minutes - *There would be a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect and they would be the interpreters of Western civilization to the Indian masses.* If Macaulay's words meant anything they meant a threat to the whole Hindu and Muslim intellectual structure. Hindus during the many centuries of Muslim rule had learnt Persian and Urdu and served the Muslims. Now the Hindus learned English and joined subordinate services in the British administration. Cultural heritage of Hindus made them receptive to new ideas.

The Muslim elite on the other hand, declared that the learning of English was the high road to infidelity. Muslims had reached India as conquerors. Obedience to the infidels was no part of their faith. In the meantime the British ruled and the Hindus replaced the Muslims as the dominant middle class. A century later when Pakistan woke up to reality with the departure of hated '*kafirs*' there were no one to run banks, offices, hospitals, **Macaulay minutes** are still continuing to pay the Indian society by wining the out sourcing jobs from West.

Dar-ul-Harb & Wahabi Movement

Since the beginning of the 19th century the Islamic world had been troubled by a puritanical movement of fanatics

directed against infidels and corrupt Mohammedan. The wahabis as the fanatics were called, crushed in Arabia by Ibrahim Pasha found a fruitful soil for their agitation in India.

Musalman had lost their position as a great political power in the country. They attributed their fall from political power to the fall from the ideals of Islam and exhorted people to go back to the early teachings of Islam. One of the early wahabis was Moulvi Shariatullah of Bhadpur (Faridpur in Bengal), having spent twenty years in Arabia he returned in the first decade of nineteenth century started a sect known as Farazi. Some years later a Wahabi movement was started by Syed Ahmed Brelvi of Rai Bareilly with branches all over India in first half of nineteenth century. He initiated *Jihad* against Sikhs in Punjab, declaring it as *Dar-ul-Harb*. British were aware of it but did not interfere as it was directed against Sikhs. Syed Ahmed attacked Punjab through the Khyber pass in 1824 and continued his war with varying success until he captured Peshawar in 1830. He was killed in a battle in 1831 and the army dispersed thereafter establishing their head quarter at Sattana in Swat valley.

The whole episode is illustrative of the policy of divide and rule. So long as Sikhs were thorn in the side of British the musalmans were encouraged to carry Jihad against them. Once the Sikhs had been defeated and the Punjab conquered, the jihadis were declared rebels against the British and were convicted and sentenced and their entire organization broken up.

1857 Mutiny

Muslims of Bengal had suffered during permanent settlement of Bengal, and were hardly sympathetic to British cause, so were Muslims of Delhi, Agra and Avadh with the disgruntled Amirs, disillusioned Talukdars. Punjabi Muslims however, were loyal and satisfied. The 1857 mutiny was a realistic last-ditch attempt by the Muslims to prevent the consolidation of British power. It was the final act of a defiant people who ruled India for 800 years. They lost the battle, which could have redeemed them the lost empire and the fortunes of the former **rulers** of India. The prominence of the last mogul emperor and the Awadh **nobility** in the revolt resulted in blaming the Muslim community as a whole by British. However, Punjabi Muslims after mutiny became the special favourite of British, a favouritism which they exploited throughout. Later, the Muslims of UP were rescued by the efforts of Sayyid Khan who remained loyal to British throughout the mutiny.

Muslims as a rule had been attached to military careers. Post 1857 the new regime *had* however no use for them in the army. Deprived of their traditional army careers, it was extremely difficult for the Muslims to transform themselves immediately into civilian *Babus*. Thus the classes which had been in the forefront of society had to step aside and make room for the new English speaking intelligentsia who could understand and help to work in the new system.

To the Muslims of India defeat became the will of God. Men having failed must turn to God. They did. Hindus had merely changed their masters. The more money the Hindus made the more English education they acquired, built the Muslims more mosques. The Muslims in India built more mosques under British *Raj* than under the whole of Moghul empire. The leadership of the Indian Muslims passed from powerful emperors and nobility to religious revivalists.

First Pakistani aversion to Democracy

One of the few Muslims who remained loyal to British during the mutiny was Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-98), founder of Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, which later became famous as the Aligarh Muslim University. Sayyid tried to get the former Muslim aristocracy back into mainstream of life in the new India of the 'infidels'.

In the second half of nineteenth century a strong lobby of British opinion emerged, which held that, the *raj* had been harsh on the Muslims. But before the British could trust the Muslims they had to be assured that there was no likelihood of another mutiny. The way for better understanding between the Muslims and the British was pointed out by Sir Sayyid Ahmed by disapproving Muslim participation in politics. He opined that education of musalmans had not yet reached a stage when they could be trusted to confine themselves to constitutional agitation and that if they were roused they might once again express their discontent the way they had done in 1857 and their participation in political agitation would be to them detrimental,

English education brought with it the ideas of freedom and democracy. Under the inspiring leadership of a number of great Hindu men, the nationalists began to ask 'inconvenient' questions to the British government, (like the demand for holding civil services examination simultaneously in India. The new angle of approach mattered far more than their isolated expression through one grievance or another. To counteract this disturbing tendency, the British now tended to draw the Muslims, so far looked upon with disfavour, under its protecting wings. Government favour turned from the Indian bourgeoisie to the Mohammedan landlords.

Democracy in short was against the best interests of two minorities in India - the British and the Muslims as it would eventually mean majority rule. The British government openly disapproving Congress desire for a democratic form of government, found a useful instrument in Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, who basking in the sun of British approval, did his best to direct his *Patriotic Association* against the Congress. The grateful government rewarded him with KCSI. Sayyid wanted all good things of Europe except democracy.

He believed that if Muslims joined Indian National Congress the second phase of their ruin would begin. In a democratic system the Muslims would become a permanent minority. He earnestly desired the *crescent* and the *cross* being united should shed their light over India. Although some Muslims did join the congress, by and large Sir Sayyid's viewpoint prevailed so long as he lived. Subsequent years saw Sayyid's followers abandoning political isolation in 1906, when Muslim League was found at Dacca and demanded a state for themselves in 1940.

Not without some justification the Muslim elite viewed the prospect of *democratic India* with great apprehension. This attitude became so ingrained in the Muslim elite mind that it was carried into post-independence period and

prevented the rulers of Pakistan from seeking any kind of mass participation in the government of the new state. The weaning away Sir Syed Ahmed from nationalism was largely attributed to Mr. Beck who was principle of AO College, Aligarh from 1883 to 1899. Beck had lot of bearing on the approach Sir Syed Ahmed adopted.

To be continued END

Kashmir—What Is At Stake?

*This is the third and the concluding part of V.K. Krishna Menon's article
'Kashmir—What is at stake'*

—The Editor

By V.K. Krishna Menon

Separate State

A SEPARATE STATE :

This broadly is the argument of an 'independent Kashmir'. No such thing can survive. **A so-called independent Kashmir, attributed to American machinations, be it true or otherwise, will in the present conditions of the world be an American satrapy. Its role will be to facilitate the projection of the world's cold war on to the roof of our country.** Kashmir or any part of it cannot be independent except with vast outside assistance, economic, political and military.

If it is to be with India's economic and military support, the whole argument for 'independence' falls to the ground. If it is to be supported by Pakistan, then it is only the extension of present illegal annexations. It would bring Pakistan more directly into conflict with India. If 'independence' is to be internationally sustained, it means United States tutelege today even if the United Nations' name is added to it. If 'independence' is to be sustained by the Soviet bloc in the cold war or by China, it is equally bad.

An 'independent' Kashmir, in the context of China's aggression and expansionism, is a menace to India. Whether, it is in effect an American base against the Soviet Union or a weak or foreign protected territory, it is against the interests of the people of the area, and a danger to India. Neither the economy nor the security of an 'independent' Kashmir is maintainable.

These ideas, ludicrous and impractical as they may be, are here discussed and examined, not because they would or could materialise, but merely to reveal their hollowness and incongruity. Furthermore, all these ideas and the policies pronounced by their advocates run counter to the position we have maintained, even in the United Nations itself. It is time that we understood and stated publicly that these projections are part of the policy of Anglo-American diplomacy and of its policy towards India.

The United Nations resolutions are often cited against our positions, on behalf of self-determination, plebiscite, de-accession and what not, but without purpose or effect. The Anglo-American side, which hitherto has been able to find some country to sponsor a resolution drafted by it at the successive meetings of the Security Council invariably insists on the words : 'Recalling the previous resolution, etc. . .' It thinks that by these, plebiscite, self-determination and other ideas, which are really conundrums and are aimed at India's security and territorial integrity, can be underscored.

Such resolutions would never pass the United Nations, except by the adoption of the subterfuge of making them 'procedural', requiring only seven votes and not subject to veto. It has been the device to propose the sending out of a Graham or a Nixon or anyone else for exercising good office or for calling on "both parties to enter into conversations", to preface such resolutions by the words 'recalling previous resolutions'. The United Kingdom, with great adroitness in the field of hypo-cricy, would proclaim it as an article of faith in regard to loyalty to the United Nations!

To be Remembered

What then has to be remembered are two or three main things.

Firstly, that the only resolutions which we are engaged by are the resolutions of January 17, 1948, August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949.

The first is the one which calls on India and Pakistan not to do anything to aggravate the situation and furthermore to report to the United Nations.

It says : 'Recognising the urgency of the situation'

'Taking note of the telegram addressed on 6th January by its President to each of the parties and of their replies thereto to which they affirmed their intention to conform to the Charter; Calls upon both the Governments of India and Pakistan to take immediately all measures within their power (including public appeals to their people) calculated to improve the situation and to refrain from making any statements and from doing or causing to be done or permitting any acts which might aggravate the situation;

'And further requests each of those Governments to inform the Council immediately of any material change...'

Pakistan's Defaults

India does not have to fight shy of this resolution, 'recalling previous resolutions'. She has observed its injunctions and adhered to it in word and spirit. Pakistan has not. The UNCIP has drawn attention to Pakistan's defaults and transgressions. The UNCIP has pointed out a 'material change'—the intervention of the Pakistan troops, not merely tribals. The Anglo-Americans conveniently ignore all this, although they themselves subscribed to the Resolution of August 13, 1948, which also refers to this.

Pakistan had all along denied the presence or intervention by the Pakistan army in the State. The UNCIP became aware of the intervention by Pakistan troops and learnt about it on July 7, 1948, from the Pakistan Foreign Minister at Karachi. Korbelt, one of the Commissioners, refers to it in his book as a (bombshell'. The Foreign Minister admitted that the Pakistan army had been fighting against India since early May of that year. In point of fact, however, it was even earlier. The selfsame Foreign Minister had denied the presence of his country's troops, their participation in the fighting and that his country had given aid to the 'raiders'.

Sir Zafarullah Khan now tells the Commission that there were three brigades of the Pakistan regular army in the State actually engaged in fighting. Their despatch and presence ran contrary to the affirmations made until then and also to the undertakings given to the Security Council. Sir Zafarullah Khan's answer to the question posed by the UNCIP on this matter was that if Pakistan did not invade Kashmir, India would have invaded her.

Violating the Law

The UNCIP took a serious view of the situation and this matter figures in several paragraphs of its report. Sir Owen Dixon, a Judge of the Supreme Court, has said that he 'was prepared to adopt the view that when the frontier of the State of Jammu and Kashmir was crossed on, I believe, October 20, 1947, by hostile elements, it was contrary to international law and that when in May 1948, as I believe, the regular Pakistan forces moved into the territory of the State that too was inconsistent with International Law.'

Not only in the reports of the UNCIP or in Sir Owen Dixon's statement do we find the reference to Pakistan's dishonesty, aggression and violation of law, but in the United Nations Resolution itself. Clause 1, Part II(A) of the Resolution of August 13, 1948; has it that:

'As the presence of troops of Pakistan in the territory of the State of Jammu and Kashmir constitutes a material change in the situation since it was represented by the Government of Pakistan before the Security Council, the Government of Pakistan agrees to withdraw its troops from that State'.

The other aspect of these resolutions, which those who have opposed India conveniently forget when they 'recall the resolutions', is even more important and basic.

In regard to the Resolution of August 5, 1949, often only para 1 is quoted and most of the rest of the clauses are 'forgotten', as also the relation of para 1 to the whole, and the relative import. Even this is not the most important aspect in respect of these resolutions. The Resolutions of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949, were arrived at after considerable discussion with the Government of India, mostly with the Prime Minister himself. They were agreed upon and accepted by India only after we received clarifications and assurances. We asked to be ensured against any future ambiguities or misunderstandings on fundamentals.

We received assurances, after which alone did we agree to the resolution. These are not private assurances or general ones. They were all communicated to Pakistan. They are part of the UNCIP report to the Council. They are assurances given authoritatively on behalf of the United Nations. They are integral parts of the engagements in which we and the United Nations are involved. The resolutions are not meaningful or complete, or valid without the assurances and clarifications.

Let me summarise these assurances which, let it be remembered, the Commission gave in the competence vesting in it by the terms of its appointment. They were given on behalf of the Security Council. These assurances make clear beyond doubt India's position and the error of Pakistan's contentions. India made it clear and did so publicly that she accepted the resolutions on the basis of the assurances. The latter are the United

Nations' and Pakistan's commitments as well.

The Assurances

Pakistan accepted the resolutions after much delay. They had official knowledge of these assurances, that the UNCIP had given them and had committed the United Nations. Those who have opposed us at the Council, particularly the United Kingdom and the United States, are also committed to them. Summed up, these assurances include the following:

- (i) Responsibility for the security of the State of Jammu and Kashmir rests with the Government of India.
- (ii) The sovereignty of the Jammu and Kashmir Government over the entire territory of the State shall not be brought into question.
- (iii) There shall be no recognition of the so-called Azad (Free) Kashmir Government.
- (iv) The territory occupied by Pakistan shall not be consolidated to the disadvantage of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.
- (u) The administration of the evacuated areas in the north shall revert to the Government of Jammu and Kashmir and its defence to the Government of India who will, if necessary, maintain garrisons for preventing the incursion of tribesmen and for guarding the main trade routes.
- vi) Pakistan shall be excluded from all the affairs of J&K, in particular in the plebiscite, if one should be held.
- vii) If a plebiscite is found to be impossible for technical or practical reasons, the commission will consider other methods of determining fair and equitable conditions.
- viii) Plebiscite proposals shall not be binding upon India if Pakistan does not implement Parts-I and II of the resolution of August 13, 1948.

Legality of Accession:

I would also add here that the legality of Kashmir's accession was never in question. On February 4, 1948, Warren Austin, the United States Representative on the Council, said:

"The external sovereignty of Kashmir is no longer under the control of the Maharaja...with the accession of J&K to India, this foreign sovereignty went over to India and is exercised by India, and that is how India happens to be here as a petitioner."

For sixteen years, this matter of 'the Indo-Pakistan Question' has been debated in the Security Council. Pakistan has threatened us with war often enough in her statements before the Security Council. Still we have, as loyal members of the United Nations, attended its meetings. We have not and will not depart from the position set out in the Assurances. That being our position, certain consequences follow to which I shall soon refer.

Meanwhile, we may examine one or two of the novel ideas which are newly purveyed or sought to be forced on us from within this Country and from without **Joint Defence**. There has been talk not only after the Chinese invasion but even before of what the sponsors (who do not always own up to its authorship) of it have called '**The Joint Defence of the Sub-continent**'. This hotch-potch idea, hopelessly impractical and perhaps sinister may, however, be looked at. Recently, it has been reincarnated with perhaps the appearance of a little more flesh in its new body as '**the Confederation of India and Pakistan**'. The two are, however, much the same. The former is necessarily included in the latter. We may, therefore, study them together.

First of all, defence against whom? India needs defence vis-a-vis Pakistan, who has given her no peace since her inception. Will a 'Confederation' or 'Joint Defence' serve this purpose of defence against Pakistan?

India needs to defend herself against China. China, to all intents and purposes, is Pakistan's new ally. The two are fellow aggressors and have lately shared out our territory. They' are together in the thieves kitchen. Common hostility to India binds them together. Apart from this, does any one seriously suggest that Pakistan is a military, political or moral asset to us in our defence against China!

Against whom is this 'defence' postured? Is it not the same kind of 'defence' envisaged in the SEATO and the CENTO? Is it not another name for involving us in the cold war, for using this subcontinent, and more particularly the State of Jammu and Kashmir, as a base against the Soviet Union? With the Sino-Soviet differences on the one hand and the reported grant of bases by Pakistan to the United States (in the sovereign territory of the Union of India, but now under Pakistan's illegal occupation) does not the plan amount to making India a military base for the western bloc?

Are we a democracy to be 'confederated' with a military dictatorship, which holds down Baluchistan and East Bengal, not to speak of 'Azad Kashmir' by terror and in colonial conditions? Are we a secular State to be yoked to theocratic reaction, which is the basis and character of Pakistan? Are we a non-aligned country to be confederated with a key unit of the SEATO and the CENTO? Are we to open the territory of India, without let or hindrance to Pakistani infiltration and easy access? This, among other things, is the true, but sinister, meaning of 'confederation'.

Condominium

The most newly purveyed idea is that of a 'condominium'. I say newly purveyed, as there is nothing original about this. As an idea, it has been discarded everywhere in the world. It belongs to a past age. In that past, it was

a device of making concessions to reaction which empires thought useful or necessary. Reaction, though militarily defeated by the empires, chose to keep alive as henchmen under a facade of equality of status. This was its *raison d'être* in the Sudan until recently.

In regard to Kashmir, a simple exercise in arithmetic will be helpful in examining this new condominium. Pakistan is in *de facto* possession of half of Kashmir.

She has no *de jure* right at all. Under this scheme her *de facto* possession will extend to the whole of Kashmir, while she will newly acquire a parallel *de jure* status over the whole territory. We would have to abandon our sovereignty or share it, and part of our administrative authority over the half we administer would go to Pakistan. In such a condominium, we shall be more under foreign dictation too for more reasons than one!

Condominium, as between two republics, is a new idea. Perhaps only one of them is in reality a republic. If a condominium were possible, as between Pakistan and India, what is the *rationale* for the survival of the two of us as separate States?

Contradictory and Impossible

Both these ideas bristle with contradictions and impossibilities. They need not be seriously entertained. They are not entitled to our concern, nor need they provoke our anxiety. Like the proverbial mule, these ideas have 'no pride of ancestry and no hope of progeny!' Like the mule again, if allowed to be born, the offspring will only display obstinacy, and the use of its hind legs! We may, therefore, regard this business with amused unconcern, or treat it with indifference.

I have refrained from dealing with the situation created by Sheikh Abdullah's many speeches and by the postures he has adopted. We can take all this in our stride. The Government of India and of Kashmir, which represents the people, can alone speak for Kashmir. The very fact that most of the proposals propagated have common factors, that they are based on the assumption of the secession of Kashmir and envisage the 'parties' as Kashmir, **Pakistan** and India, for these reasons alone, they need not hold hopes or fears for us.

They are also based on the totally unacceptable concept of the equal roles of Pakistan, India and Kashmir. They all call for secession. They are all conveniently oblivious of the fact that, but for the accession and the material and moral stature of India, none of the exponents of the proposals would be free even to espouse these ideas!

Kashmir is India

Kashmir is India! It is India existing in part of her.

Every part is a microcosm, that is also the macrocosm. True, there are many things to be done in and about Kashmir, as there are in the rest of India. They all call for solutions and persistent endeavours. So far as Kashmir is concerned, any other attitude would only promote instability in administration, doubt and false hopes in the people of Kashmir, confusion in the minds of the Afro-Asian people and governments, and display a lack of faith in, and regard for, our Constitution.

The people of India have given to themselves this Constitution. The social and material advance we have made, as well as the Rule of Law and our electoral processes, are reduced to an inferior status and endangered if these proposals on Kashmir are seriously entertained. Public opinion has been much aroused. It is significant that the support for these splitting and fissiparous policies lie in the parties and groups of social reaction, in vested interests, in opportunism.

In a way, all this may be found to have done us some good. The country has been roused. **Kashmir is not no man's land, is not for political roulette. To tolerate any challenge to the place of Kashmir in the Union is to challenge India's integrity and sovereignty. It is to acquiesce in or accept dismemberment of the country, to submit to the pressures from outside and to reaction from within.**

We will not let the proposals be passed. As has been vowed by those who valued liberty, national dignity and honour in the annals of history, we shall with faith and courage, but equally with knowledge of the imperative necessity of resistance to the powers of reaction and alert to the dangers, to India's integrity, say, 'They shall not pass'.

—*Concluded*
(Source: Seminar, June 1964) END