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Panun Kashmir Takes Out Anti-Terrorism Rally

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, Sep 2: Panun Kashmir organised a massive "scooter-cum-car" rally to register their protest against continued terrorism and genocide of the Kashmiri Hindus. Accusing the government for lack of any concrete policy to fight terrorism, the Panun Kashmir leaders demanded a comprehensive policy to deal with the menace. Reiterating the demand of Homeland, the leaders demanded establishment of Separate "Ministry for Rehabilitation" at the Centre and employment package to the tune of 20,000 for the community as immediate confidence building measures.

Addressing the rally at Press Club, Panun Kashmir Chairman Dr. Ajay Chrungoo said that the political establishment in the country lacks 'vision and will' to fight terrorism. He added that leaders at the helm of affairs come out with statements like "not to compromise with terrorism" every now and then but no concrete action to match the words has resulted in spillover of terrorism to the whole country.

Referring to the President APJ Abdul Kalam's address to the nation on the eve of Independence Day, Dr Chrungoo said that the President has censured the political establishment for lack of any national policy to fight terrorism. Dr. Chrungoo wondered that the country which is faced with terrorism for more than two decades now has yet to frame a policy that can fight the monster of terrorism.

It may be recalled that President Kalam in his address had advocated "to transcend individual differences of opinion" for developing a "national approach" to eradicate terrorism.. "It is a concern that



Dr. Ajay Chrungoo, Chairman Panun Kashmir leading the rally in the campaign against the terrorism. -KS Photo

Cover Story

the Central government and Parliament didn't react to the suggestion of 'Citizens Security Bill' by the President even if the Parliament was in session,"

Accusing the state government to be a party to genocide of Kashmiri Hindus, Dr. Chrungoo demanded creation

of "Ministry for Rehabilitation" at the Centre to deal with all the issues concerning the displaced community. "State government is contributing to the genocide of Kashmiri Pandits by denying them their share in economic spheres of the state," he said.

Every effort is being made by the communal administrative set up to hurt the community even after the community being up-

rooted from its origin. Dr Chrungoo asserted.

Dr. Ajay Chrungoo described creation of Panun Kashmir as means to reverse the genocide and the exodus of the community. PK Chairman, however, earnestly appealed the Centre to delink all the issues related to the displaced Hindus from the State government and create a Ministry of Rehabilitation for the same.

General Secretary Panun Kashmir, Sh. Kuldip Raina demanded an employment package for Kashmiri Hindus. Sh. Kuldip Raina said that the strength of employment in the state services has been drastically reduced without any further recruitment. At the time of exodus, there were about 14,000 displaced people in the state services but the number has dropped to less than 4000 while the number of employees in state services has increased and more than 2 lakh

(Contd. on Page 7)



Women activists (Daughter of Vitasta) led by Smt. Rajni Bhat, (3rd from L) protesting during the rally. -KS Photo

APPEAL



Smt. Pushpa Bali

Smt. Pushpa Bali W/o Sh. Bhola Nath Bali resident of Kachu Mukam Distt. Baramulla presently living at Qtr. No: 33, Block-H Phase-II Muthi Camp is suffering from a severe disease and needs financial assistance. Her husband Sh. Bhola Nath Jee has already taken financial loan for her treatment, but needs more for the same. Smt. Pushpa Devi is a young woman and needs a help of around Rs 2 lacs at the earliest for immediate treatment. **Panun Kashmir** through the columns of **Kashmir Sentinel** makes a fervent appeal to all the baradari members and others who really respect the human life, to please come forward and save the precious life of Smt. Pushpa Devi.

Please send in your donations to online A/C of her husband Sh. Bola Ji Bali on A/C No: 108285713-3 at State Bank of India, ADB Canal Road, Jammu

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THOSE WHO LEFT US

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

1. Smt. Tara Wati Khah W/o Lt. Sh. Laxmi Nath Khah R/o Mattan Kmr. presently at Geeta Bhawan, Muthi Jammu. 1/8/2006
2. Smt. Prana Sopori W/o Sh. Avtar Krishan Sopori, R/o Jamia Qadim Sopore Kmr; presently at New Delhi. 1/8/2006.
3. Smt. Shyama Tickoo W/o Sh. P.N. Tickoo, R/o 63 A/2, Roop Nagar, Jammu. 2/8/2006.
4. Smt. Chand Rani W/o Sh. Kashi Nath Rania, R/o Kulgama Anantnag; presently at H.No: 40, Sharika Vihar Lower Roop Nagar, Jammu.
5. Sh. Dawarika Nath Tickoo, R/o Model Town Panipat Haryana. 3/8/2006.
6. Sh. Niranjana Nath Bhat, R/o Kulgam Kmr; presently at H.No: 26, Lane No: 1, Munshi Chak, Jammu. 3/8/2006.
7. Sh. Nand Lal Dhar, R/o Lar Ganderbal Sgr; presently at 234, Sec-2, Lane No: 1, Anuradha Pura Upper Barnai Jammu. 4/8/2006.
8. Sh. Brij Nath Koul, R/o Khanmoh Pulwama, Kmr; presently at Pinjore Chandigarh. 4/8/2006.
9. Smt. Laxmi Shori Saraf W/o Lt. Sh. Driia Nath Saraf R/o Jogilanker Rainawari Sgr; presently at E-113, Amar Colony, Jammu. 4/8/2006.
10. Sh. Pran Nath Sumbaly S/o Lt. Pt. Aftab Bhat Sumbaly, R/o Sumbal Kmr; presently at B-133, Shalimar Garden Ext. IInd UP. 4/8/2006
11. Sh. Omkar Nath Koul S/o Lt. Sh. Maheshwar Nath Koul, R/o Bagh Jogi Lanker Rainawari Sgr; presently at Lucknow (UP). 4/8/2006.
12. Smt. Nancy Koul W/o Sh. MK Koul, R/o H.No: 146, Patta Paloura, Jammu. 5/8/2006.
13. Smt. Indrawati Pandita W/o Lt. Sh. Jia Lal Pandita, R/o Baramulla Kmr; presently at Bakshi Nagar, Jammu. 6/8/2006
14. Shri Shanker Nath Pandita S/o Lt. Sh. Madhav Ram Pandita, R/o Vessu Anantnag, Kmr; presently at 1/A, Udheywalla Jammu. 6/8/2006.
15. Sh. Amar Nath Dass, R/o Bomai Sopore Kmr; presently at H.No: 40, Bank Colony Camp Road, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 6/8/2006.
16. Sh. Baskar Nath Pandita S/o Lt. Sh. Resh Dev Pandita, R/o Katrssoo Kulgam Kmr; presently at Om Nagar Udheywalla Jammu. 7/8/2006.
17. Sh. T.N. Kou, R/o Kralyar Rainawari Sgr; presently at H.No: 4, Lane O Anand Nagar Bohri, Jammu. 7/8/2006.
18. Sh. Sita Ram Khera S/o Lt. Sh. Gurnak Das Khera (R/o Tangmarg Kmr; presently at Qtr. No: 847 Purkhoo Camp Hase-III Jammu. 7/8/2006
19. Smt. Uma Wati Kachroo W/o Lt. Badri Nath Kachroo, R/o Motiyar Rainawari Sgr; presently at 10-A, Tawi Vihar Sidhra Jammu. 7/8/2006.
20. Pt. Pushkar Nath Bhat S/o Lt. Pt. Gwash Lal Bhat R/o Murrann Kmr; presently at 22 Subash Nagar, Jammu. 8/8/2006.
21. Pt. Janki Nath Koul, R/o Bonogam Tangmarg Kmr; presently at Q.No: 413, Mishriwalla Camp, Jammu. 8/8/2006.
22. Sh. Mohan Nath Bhat S/o Lt. Sh. Maheshwar Nath Bhat, R/o Wadipora Handwara Kmr; presently at Lane No: 8, Surya Vihar Bohri, Jammu. 8/8/2006.
23. Smt. Raj Dulhari Koul W/o Lt. Dwarika Nath Koul, R/o Jogi Lanker Rainawari Sgr; presently at 4756, Guru Nanak Wara, Amritsar. 9/8/2006.
24. Sh. Moti Lal Kak S/o Lt. Pt. S.N. Kak R/o H.No: D-326, Lower Shiv Nagar, Jammu. 10/8/2006.
25. Sh. Roshan Lal Dhar S/o Lt. Sh. Shambhu Nath Dhar, R/o Handwara Kmr; presently at Gali No: 79, Camp Road, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 11/8/2006.
26. Sh. Nand Lal Sumbli S/o Lt. Vishember Nath Sumbli, R/o Nai Sarak Kakar Road, Sgr; presently at H.No: 93, Lane No: 3, Kabir Colony, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 11/8/2006.
27. Smt. Janak Rani W/o Sh. Janki Nath Bhat, R/o Janglat Mandi Anantnag; presently at A-86, Basant Nagar Janipur, Jammu. 12/8/2006.
28. Smt. Chanda Devi Koul W/o Lt. Sh. R.C. Koul, R/o Jawahar Nagar Sgr; presently at Lalleshwari Vatika Faridabad.
29. Sh. J.L. Koul, R/o 34 JK Colony Phase-III Paloura Top.
30. Sh. Maharaj Krishen Koul S/o Lt. Sh. Amar Nath Koul, R/o Karan Nagar, Sgr; presently at 42-Mahinder Nagar, Jammu. 14/8/2006
31. Smt. Kishni Khosa W/o Sh. Shama Lal Khosa, R/o Panj Bakhtar Road, Jammu; presently at E-44, Sec-39, Noida, UP. 14/8/2006.
32. Sh. Tara Chand Dhar S/o Lt. Sh. Hari Ram Dhar, R/o Akingam Anantnag; presently at 727 Bagwati Nagar, Jammu. 14/8/2006.
33. Sh. Janki Nath Raina, R/o Jawahar Nagar Sgr; presently at H.No: 5, Tomal Bohri, Jammu. 14/8/2006.
34. Sh. Hardey Nath Razdan S/o Sh. Madhav Ram Razdan, R/o Sopore Kmr; presently at Kashmiri Colony Nafajgarh, New Delhi. 15/8/2006.
35. Smt. Rani Jotshi W/o Sh. Shyam Lal Jotshi, R/o Bul-Bul Lankar Ali Kadal; presently at 213-C, Pocket-E, G.T.B. Enclave, Dilshad Garden Delhi 9. 15/8/2006.
36. Sh. Pushkar Nath Koul S/o Lt. Maheshwar Nath Koul, R/o Bana Mohalla, Sgr; presently at Flat No: 11, Aurangabad. 16/8/2006.
37. Smt. Kamla Wati Koul W/o Sh. Prithvi Nath Koul, R/o Nai Sarak Sgr; presently at H.No: 146, Paloura Doak, Jammu. 16/8/2006.
38. Sh. Amar Nath Tickoo S/o Lt. Sh. Shanker Joo Tickoo R/o Shahpora Ganderbal Sgr; presently at W-536, Govt. Qtrs. Subash Nagar, Jammu. 16/8/2006.
39. Sh. Prithvi Nath Koul S/o Lt. Sh. Neel Kanth Koul, R/o 4-Kani Mohalla Rainawari, Sgr; presently at H.No: 15, Sharika Vihar Roop Nagar, Jammu. 16/8/2006.
40. Sh. Shambhu Nath Kothidar S/o Lt. Sambar Chand Kothidar R/o Kani Kadal Sgr; presently at H.No: 33-D, Lane No: 2, Durga Nagar, Sec-I, Jammu. 17/8/2006
41. Smt. Prabhawati W/o Lt. Sri Nath Musa, R/o Bungana Mattan Kmr.; presently at H.No: 8, Lane No: 2, Sharda Colony Patoli Brahmana, Jammu. 17/8/2006.
42. Sh. Vesh Nath Sadhoo, R/o B-1, Laxmipuram Chinore, Jammu. 17/8/2006.
43. Sh. Damodhar Koul S/o Lt. Chander Koul, R/o Anantnag Kmr; presently at Bari Brahmana Jammu. 17/8/2006.
44. Radha Krishan Bhat S/o Sh. Tika Lal Bhat, R/o Bandipora, Kmr; presently at Mangal Nagar, Patta Paloura, Jammu. 18/8/2006.
45. Sh. Shanta Devi Labroo W/o Sh. Brij Lal Labroo, R/o Bulbul Lankar Ali Kadal Sgr; presently at 96-A, Lower Laxmi Nagar, Sarwal, Jammu. 19/8/2006.
46. Smt. Bimla Ganjoo W/o Lt. M.N. Ganjoo, R/o Jawahir Nagar, Sgr; presently at 153, Sec-7, Gandhi Dham Khuch Gujrat. 19/8/2006.
47. Smt. Phoola Ji W/o Sh. Shadi Lal Razdan R/o Mattan Anantnag; presently at H.No: 12, Sec-B, Dashmesh Nagar, Digiana. 20/8/2006.
48. Smt. Nirmala Braroo W/o Sh. Makhn Lal Braroo, R/o Zaindar Mohalla Sgr; presently at Lane No: 3, Puri Kathua. 20/8/2006.
49. Sh. Chuni Lal Pandita son-in-law of Tara Chand Sadhu, R/o Mattan; presently at Qtr. No: 376 Nagrota Camp, Jammu. 21/8/2006.
50. Smt. Soomawati Bagati W/o Lt. Sh. Shyam Lal Bagati, R/o Jawahar Nagar, Sgr; presently at Dhagwalgiri Apts Noida. 21/8/2006.
51. Smt. Jaya Machama W/o Sh. AK Machama, R/o 2/107, Pamposh Colony, Janipur, Jammu. 22/8/2006.
52. Sh. Dwarika Nath Koul S/o Lt. Sh. Ganesh Dass Koul R/o Nai Sarak Sgr; presently at 1/106, Arjun Nagar Janipur, Jammu. 23/8/2006.
53. Smt. Mohini Kachroo W/o Sh. Bal Krishan Koul, R/o H.No: 355 Sec-3, Gangyal Jammu. 23/8/2006.
54. Smt. Phoola Ji Sopori, R/o Baramulla Kmr; presently at. 23/8/2006.
55. Sh. Niranjana Nath Pandit S/o Lt. Sh. Tilak Pandit, R/o 3-Matra Chaya Juhu Scheme Mumbai. 24/8/2006.
56. Sh. Shyam Lal Dhar S/o Sh. Anand Ram Dhar, R/o Handwara Kmr; presently at Qtr. No: 78, Nagrota Camp, Jammu. 24/8/2006
57. Sh. HN Warikoo R/o Drabiyar Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at 1/9 Vikas Nagar Sarwal Jammu. 24/8/2006.
58. Sh. NC Bhan S/o Lt. Prasad Ram Bhan, R/o Sagam Anantnag; presently at H.No: 6, Lane No: 10, Barnai, Jammu. 24/8/2006.
59. Sh. Triloki Nath Tickoo, R/o Ratnipora Anantnag; presently at 25-C Tawi Vihar Sidhra Jammu. 25/8/2006.
60. Smt. Parmeshwari Jutshi W/o Sh. Vesh Nath Jotshi R/o Bul-Bul Lankar Ali Kadal Sgr; presently at Ramprest Colony Gaziabad, UP. 25/8/2006
61. Sh. Nand Lal Bhan S/o Lt. Pt. Shri Kanth Bhan, R/o Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at Bagh-e-Bahu Jammu. 26/8/2006.
62. Smt. Shobawati Nehru W/o Lt. Sh. Shambhu Nath Nehru R/o Rajbagh Sgr; presently at 8734-C-8 Vasant Kunj New Delhi. 26/8/2006.
63. Sh. Janki Nath Rania S/o Lt. Sona Ram, R/o Chenignund Verinag Kmr; presently at 213/K, Sec-2, Durga Nagar, Jammu. 28/8/2006.
64. Smt. Leelawati Ghasi W/o Lt. Pt. Pem Nath Ghasi R/o Sathu Sgr; presently at 649, Sec-A, Pocket-B Vasant Kunj, New Delhi. 28/8/2006.
65. Sh. Triloki Nath Fotedar S/o Lt. Sh. Manajoo Fotedar R/o C-267, DDA Flats, Saket New Delhi. 29/8/2006.
66. Smt. Rani Jee Gurtoo W/o Sh. Arzan Nath Kurtoo, R/o Channapora, Sgr; presently at 49-H, LIG Flats, Mayur Vihar, New Delhi. 29/8/2006.
67. Sh. Bushan Lal Tickoo S/o Lt. Sh. Sansar Chand Tickoo, R/o Brah Anantnag; Kmr; presently at H.No: 10, Near Abhay Hr. Sec. School, Muthi, 29/8/2006.
68. Pt. Prem Nath Ji Koul, R/o Engineer's Corner Majharmal Crossing Sgr; presently at 3, Doordarshan Lane Tali Morh, Jammu. 30/8/2006.
69. Sh. Avtar Krishan Pandita S/o Lt. Pt. Prem Nath Pandita, R/o Ganeshpora Pahalgam, Kmr; presently at 707, Vinayak Nagar Sec-III Muthi, Jammu. 30/8/2006.
70. Smt. Raj Laxmi Ganjoo W/o Lt. Sh. PN Ganjoo, R/o 82-Sathu Barbar Shah Sgr; presently at 26, Durga Nagar, Jammu. 30/8/2006.
71. Smt. Sheela Ji W/o Lt. LN Pandita, R/o Vessu Anantnag. 30/8/2006.
72. Smt. Rita Tutoo W/o Brij Lal Tutoo R/o Laxmipuram Chinore, Jammu. 31/8/2006
73. Sh. Jawahar Lal Zutshi S/o Lt. Sh. Pt. Madhusudan Zutshi, R/o Dhoibwan Tangmarg Kmr; presently at 141-D, Durga Nagar, Sec-1, Jammu. 31/8/2006
74. Sh. Mohan Lal Koul S/o Lt. Sh. Sona Koul, R/o Uterso Anantnag; presently at H.No: 572 Lane No: 5, Suryavansh Nagar, Muthi Jammu. 31/8/2006.

EDITORIAL

Internal Security

In his inaugural address to the recent Chiefs Ministers conference on internal security issues, the Prime Minister waxed eloquent on the major threats confronting the nation. He said that the vital installations like nuclear establishments, besides economic and religious places faced grave threat from 'fidayeen'. He added that the existence of 'decentralized micro terrorist outfits' in various urban centres of the country was a serious matter.

Ahead of the conclave the report released by the Centre presented a grim picture by admitting that cross border terrorism had spread to the hinterland and infiltration, in comparison to the same period last year, had trebled. The agenda paper pointed to the rise in grenade attacks in Kashmir, increase in the number of causalities in Naxalite violence and no respite in insurgency in North-East.

Addressing the security challenges, the Prime Minister outlined two new strategies vis-à-vis the role of the public and the media. He said the public needed to be sensitized in becoming an ally in fighting the war against terrorism. He desired to make it function as 'Counterinsurgency Warden'. About the media, Prime Minister ManMohan Singh said there was need to co-opt the media and getting it to play a more positive role. In particular, he asked the Chief Ministers of J&K and North-East to be "specially sensitive to the nuances of each situation."

Prime Minister's observations on the role of media and the public assume significance in view of negative role played by a section of media and Govt.'s own laxity in not enlisting the support of the public. A section of the media, including the national press, has over the past seventeen years, played a sinister role in pandering to the terrorists, and external and internal enemies of the nation.

We need to ponder why a well-known media personality, who openly attacks Indian sovereignty over Kashmir, consistently denigrates Indian security forces battling terrorists and hails India's declared enemies as messiahs, is darling of many leading Indian newspapers. There are countless instances which can be quoted to show how a section of media is working against the interests of the country. Arun Shourie, a former editor and a senior minister in the NDA Govt., is on record having said that Riaz Khokhar was virtually running four national newspapers in Delhi during his stint as Pakistan's High Commissioner in New Delhi.

When we talk of co-opting media in the war against terrorism, the Govt. needs to talk tough to the editors and the press barons that the govt. would not countenance any compromise on playing soft on issues of terrorism and sovereignty and integrity of the country. A less vigilant public has allowed these motivated media men to go scot free without any censure. The matter also needs to be taken up with the Press Council. The Govt. needs to tone up its information wing to expose disinformation and

counter inform the public. A press that plays equivocal between national interests and the enemies of the nation is not an objective press but a sick press.

There is also need to counter the propaganda resorted to by certain NGOs and, Human Rights groups and trace out their motivations. Pankaj Mishra, a well-known writer, in his newly released book describes Kashmiri terrorists as 'Muslim guerillas' and Indian security forces as 'marauders who were indulging in mindless killings of the innocent Kashmiris to suppress militancy'. What have we done to counter this disinformation?

During the past 17 years the Govt. has virtually done nothing to enlist the public support to counter terrorism. Infact there are instances where some ruling party politicians have made attempts to negate the role of VDCs, Displaced Kashmiri Hindus, and other victims of terrorism. How can public function as counter insurgency wardens when they view how a section of Muslim society which fought valiantly against terrorism in Kashmir stands abandoned while subversive politicians continue to make hay and receive state legitimacy?

Terrorism has genocidal implications for religious minorities. Instead of receiving humane treatment from the state these victims of terrorism have been neglected and thrown in to the economic and political junkyard. With every act of state apathy, terrorist regimes get emboldened, while the victims stand permanently alienated.

Another crucial element in winning public support is the image of the govt. in public about its capacity and sincerity in countering security threats. There is a general feeling that the UPA govt. is playing soft on issues of national security. Its pronouncements on socially divisive issues, repeal of POTA, soft-pedaling such subversive outfits e.g. SIMI, Ahli-Hadith etc. reinforce this image. Every day the media unravels the links between a section of influential politicians and the terror outfits. What has been done to book these politicians and debar them from the political power?

Umpteen times the govt. has declared zero-level tolerance policy against terrorism. What has been the back-up strategy to implement it? How does the govt.'s role during the Rubiya Sayeed kidnapping and the Kandhar hijacking fit in it? We have also been claiming that India will not talk to Pakistan unless and until it stops cross border terrorism. In practice we have been violating this policy.

Lastly, how will we be taken seriously at the global level with such a low rate of conviction of terrorists? It is not possible to counter terrorism without upgrading the legal system and administrative instruments of fighting subversion. President Kalam also raised this issue recently in Srinagar.

The Prime minister in his address observed that while countering terrorism we need to be careful and desist from tarnishing the image of the entire community. It goes without saying that all communities irrespective of their religion, caste, and ethnicity, are national assets. But then doesn't more responsibility revolves on the particular community to isolate those individuals and leaders who are bringing bad name to the community by ganging up with the forces of subversion? Aren't we walking into the trap when we attribute 'imagined victimhood' and 'manufactured rage' to "legitimate grievances" and not to Pan Islamism and conspiracies hatched across the border by Pakistan?

LETTERS

Ignore Hurriyat

Sir,
Roundtable conferences to achieve consensus on Kashmir problems between various shades of political opinion are good, rather best; but Prime Minister's exclusive bilateral talk to Hurriyat leaders, the self styled representatives of Kashmir is blunder, like Gandhi's 9th September 1944 talk with self styled exclusive representative of Indian Muslims viz. Mohammad Ali Jinnah; which decimated nationalist Muslim leaders like Maulana Azad and Frontier Gandhi's (Khan Abdul Guffar Khan) hold on Indian Muslims. Consequently, even the disillusioned followers of Frontier Gandhi, who earlier gave him 95 percent legislatures; voted enmasse for Pakistan during plebiscite. Will not Prime Minister's short-sighted action undermine the present duly elected state government? History always repeats itself, if ignored.

During Second World War Winston Churchill's treacherous rhetoric that so far he is Prime Minister, British Empire will continue as before; against "Crimea Conference declaration of freedom for all slave countries world over after the war; was totally ignored by JV Stalin of USSR, and President Roosevelt of USA, which brought quick victory. Likewise, need of the hour is to ignore Hurriyat's rhetoric, in order to deprive them of misled peoples support, if any.

--Pran Salhotra
Hoshiyarpur, Punjab
History writing needs new inputs

Sir,
This is with reference to the letter of Bilhan Kaul in the June 2006 issue of the *Kashmir Sentinel*, which was a rejoinder to the writeup of M.M. Munshi published earlier under the caption "*Distortion of History*".

Actually, it seems that M.M. Munshi has no idea about the history about the

history of Mongolia. According to world renowned scholar E.H. Carr history is a continuous dialogue between the past and the present which has been accepted practically by all the historians world over. Therefore, an objective and updated understanding of history would naturally not ignore the new inputs available to historians obtained through either the traditional means like excavations and deep analysis of the ancient Sanskrit texts and other relevant matter available on the subject on the one hand and using the advanced technology and scientific methods to explore the hidden truth on the other before coming to any final conclusion.

Moreover there is a locality known as Mongol Puri in Delhi, where Mongols used to live once. It gives a clear hint that at some point of time in history Mongols came to Delhi via Kashmir. Denis Healey has very rightly said that "It is very easy to be brilliant if you are not bothered about being right."

--Dr. B.N.Sharga
Manohar Niwas,
Lucknow

DN Kalla

Sir,
Please refer the articles on Rainawari published in the July issue of *Kashmir Sentinel*. We feel nostalgic as well as reminiscent, as these write-ups have reminded me of our Kashmiri friend, Sri DN Kalla and his elder son, Shiban Krishn Kalla who used to reside at in Bagh Jogi Lanker area situated in Rainawari. We have failed to establish any type of contact with them since 1990. We tried our best and are still trying to locate them and know about their welfare but in vain.

We have not forgotten the Kalla family as its memory is still quite fresh in our minds. We have preserved some letters of the Kalla family as we continued our correspondence for many years.

We will be highly obliged to any reader of the *Kashmir Sentinel* who can give information regarding whereabouts of the Kalla family.

--KD Tiwari
21, Mig-1, Barra-7,
Kanpur-20802

Kashmir Dispute- The Myth

By Dr. M.K. Teng

Neither the composition of the population of the Princely States nor the self-determination of their peoples was recognised by the British, the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress, as the determining factor of the future disposition for the states in respect of their accession.

After the 3 June Declaration, envisaging the partition of the British India, Nehru demanded the right of the people of the Princely States to determine their disposition in respect of their accession. Mohammad Ali Jinnah rejected Nehru's demand as an attempt to thwart the process of the partition. Shortly, before the transfer of power, the Governor General of India, Lord Mountbatten advised the Princess to keep in consideration the geography and the composition of the population of the States in reaching a decision on their accession. Mountbatten proposed to the Muslim League as well as the Congress to accept the principles of the partition—geographical contiguity and the composition of the population as the criteria of their accession. While the Congress leaders indicated their inclination to accept the proposals, the Muslim League leadership reacted sharply against the proposals and characterised them as an attempt to interfere with the rights of the Princes to determine the future of the States. At that time the Muslim League was deeply involved in shadowy maneuvers to support the Muslim rulers of several major States to remain out of India and align with Pakistan. It has been pointed out in an earlier part of this paper that Pakistan invoked the partition to legitimize its claim to Jammu and Kashmir on the basis of the Muslim majority character of its population after the last two Muslim ruled States of Junagarh and Hyderabad were integrated with India.

There is enough historical evidence available, which reveals that in persuading the Congress leaders to accept the partition the British assured the Congress leaders that after the Muslim majority provinces and regions were separated to form the Muslim homeland of Pakistan, the unity of the rest of India, including the states would be preserved and not impaired any further.

The Indian leaders rejected the claim Pakistan made to the Muslim majority States as well as the

Muslim ruled States, but they dithered when the time to act and unite the States with India arrived. Instead of taking active measures to bring about the unification of the States with India, they resorted to subterfuge.

The Indian leaders turned to Mountbatten and not the people of the States to bring about their integration with India. Mountbatten steered the States Department to accept a balance between the Muslim ruled States and the Muslim majority States. The largest of the Muslim ruled States were deep inside the Indian mainland. Neither Gandhi nor Nehru objected to the course, the Indian States Department followed.

The Viceroy did not forgive Hari Singh for having disregarded his advice to come to terms with Pakistan. He refused stubbornly to deal with Jammu and Kashmir independent of the Muslim States and in the long run did more harm to Jammu and Kashmir than anybody else in India did. He was the main proponent of the policy of isolation, the Indian leaders followed towards Jammu and Kashmir. The way Mountbatten acted as the Governor General of India till 15 August 1947, and the way he acted as the Governor General of the Indian Dominion after 15 August 1947, left wide space open for Pakistan to claim a separate freedom for the Muslim of Jammu and Kashmir on the basis of the Muslim majority character of its population. Not many months after the Security Council adopted its first resolution on Jammu and Kashmir in August 1948, the Muslims laid claim to a separate freedom for them on the basis of the Muslim majority character of the population.

The Government of India and the Indian political leadership failed to rebut the claim made by Pakistan and the Muslims in Jammu and Kashmir that the state was on the agenda of the partition of India. Not only that, the Government of India and the Indian political leadership failed to refute the claim made by the Muslims of the state to a separate freedom, different from the freedom that the Indian people were ensured by the Constitution of India—a separate freedom which was determined by the theological imperatives of Islam. The Indian leaders overlooked the fact that the conflict which led to the partition of India was rooted in the claim the Indian Muslims made to a separate free-

dom which drew its sanction from the precept and precedent of religion.

The Muslim League followed a meticulously designed plan to use the Muslim rulers of several major Princely States, situated deep inside the Indian mainland to bring about the fragmentation of India. The Indian leaders walked into the trap when they tried to balance the accession the Muslim majority state of Jammu and Kashmir with the accession of the Hindu majority States ruled by the Muslim Nawabs like Bhopal, Hyderabad and Junagarh. The strategy to refer the issue of the accession to the people of these States tantamounted to the acceptance of the Muslim claim to a separate freedom, the Two-Nation theory envisaged. The Indian proposals to Pakistan to refer the accession of Junagarh with that Dominion, accomplished by the ruler of the State on the eve of the transfer of power, was a tame recognition of the Muslim claim to a separate freedom. When Pakistan made a counter-proposal to hold a plebiscite in all the three States, the Government of India was suddenly faced with a catastrophic choice. It promptly rejected the proposals made by Pakistan.

The Indian Government, for unknown reasons, separated its offer to refer the accession of the State to its people i.e. the Muslims for their endorsement. Why did not the Indian Government propose to refer the accession of Bhopal and Trancore to the Dominion of India, to the people of the two States? The rulers of both the States were opposed to join India and their people took to the streets and forced them to accede to India. Hardly ten months after the accession of the Jammu and Kashmir while the Indian armies were still fighting to drive out the invading forces, United Nations foisted a resolution on India which envisaged a plebiscite to determine its final disposition in respect of its accession. The resolution of the Security Council, virtually underlined the repudiation of the accession of the State to India and opened the option for the Muslims of the State to exercise their choice to join Pakistan. The Security Council Resolution was the first step in the process of the internationalization of the claim of the Muslims of the State to a separate freedom. The Government of India cried hoarse that it had rejected the Two-Nation Theory inspite of having accepted

the partition of India. But its commitment to refer the accession of the State, accomplished by Hari Singh to its people was a tacit recognition of the right to a separate freedom, which underlined the demand for Pakistan.

Another ten months after the August resolution of the Security Council was adopted the Indian Government took a fateful step and formally recognised the right the Muslims for Jammu and Kashmir to a separate freedom, when in May 1949, it agreed to exclude Jammu and Kashmir from the constitutional organisation of India. In November 1949, the Constituent Assembly of India incorporated provisions in the Constitution of India which left out the State from the constitutional structure which it had evolved for the Dominion as well as the Princely States which had acceded to India and after years of labour. The special provisions for the State, embodied in the Constitution of India, stipulated the application of only Article if the Constitution of India to the State. A blanket limitation was imposed upon the application of the rest of the provisions of the Constitution of India to the State. The Union Government was empowered to exercise powers listed in the Central list of the Seventh Schedule of the India Constitution only in respect of defence, foreign affairs and communications which corresponded with the powers delegated by the State to the Dominion Government by virtue of the Instrument of Accession.

The Interim Government of the State, constituted by the National Conference insisted upon the right to frame a separate constitution for the State, which fulfilled the aspirations of the Muslims who constituted a majority of its population. The Interim Government arrogated to itself unrestricted powers and ruled the State by decree and ordinance. Within six years of its tenure, it completed the task of the Muslimisation of the State by enforcing the precedence of Islam and the Muslim majority in its social, economic and political organisation. In 1953, the Interim Government claimed a separate freedom for the Muslim 'nation' of Kashmir. The Indian leaders had conceded to the Muslims the right to constitute a Muslim State of Jammu and Kashmir on the territories of India. Confronted by the demand for a Muslim State outside the territories of India, the Indian leaders were flustered. They

refused to countenance the Muslim demand for a separate Muslim State of Jammu and Kashmir, which did not form a part of India. The Interim Government was dismissed and the National Conference broke up.

Pakistan, the Muslim separatist and pro-Pakistan Muslim flanks joined by a large section of the leaders and cadres of the National Conference, called for a plebiscite in the State, which enabled the Muslims to exercise their right of self-determination. They claimed that they had acquired in consequence of the partition of India and which India, Pakistan as well as the United Nations had explicitly recognised.

The Muslim separatist movement led by the Plebiscite Front, committed itself to an ideological framework which was based upon the distortions of the history of the partition of India. The ideological commitments of the Plebiscite Front underlined: (a) that the right of the Muslims to a separate freedom ennobled from the partition of India and the creation of the Muslim homeland of Pakistan; (b) that the right of the Muslims to a separate freedom transcended the accession of the State to India, brought about by the ruler of the State; and (c) that as a consequence of the partition of India, the Muslims, constituting the majority of the population of the State, had acquired an irreversible right to exercise their option to join the Muslim State of Pakistan.

In 1990, the Muslim Jihad initiated by Pakistan and the Muslim separatist forces in the State, claimed their aims to be the unification of Jammu and Kashmir with Pakistan on the basis of the Muslim majority character of its population to complete the agenda of the partition of India. The Jihad claimed that Muslims of the State, as the Muslims elsewhere in India, had acquired a right to a separate freedom which the Muslim struggle for Pakistan had secured the Muslim nation of India.

The Indian Government and the Indian political class must realise that the Muslims of the State did not acquire any right to separate freedom from the partition of India, which brought Pakistan into being and any attempts to arrive at a compromise with the Muslim separatists forces will lead straight to a second partition of India. The Muslim claim to a separate freedom on the basis of religion is a negation of the unity of India.

Two Round Table Conferences-Impressions-II The Banner at the Conference

By Dr. Ajay Churugoo

The most conspicuous thing in the beautiful conference room overlooking the majestic Dal Lake was the banner hanging behind the dias. Made of cloth which was not even properly ironed, the contents 'Second Round Table Conference,' were put quite unaesthetically. For a conference in which top leadership of the country and the state and senior most bureaucrats were to participate and discuss the Kashmir issue, the quality of the banners in an age of digital and screen printing, had a story to tell. One could only read disinterest or perhaps disinclination of the local organisers in the conference. There were also no writing pads, pens or pencils which is customary courtesy for any conference. The organisers perhaps did not expect serious deliberations which might require penning down of notes by the participants.

IInd Round Table Conference was conducted in an atmosphere of utter insecurity. The *fidayeen* attack on the Congress rally in Srinagar had a grim message to communicate. The attacks on tourists only underlined that local entrepreneurs of violence wouldn't mind disrupting tourist flow to Valley if it was sending wrong signals of return of normalcy. Most significant was the hartal call given and the civil curfew observed. The separatist leaders who might have had second thoughts about boycotting the conference were presented a fait accompli--Toe the line or get exposed. All of them hurriedly supported the boycott call.

Civil curfew was total. It was glimpse of the stranglehold of Islamic terrorism on Muslim social milieu. Message was clear. Command structures of public mobilization lay elsewhere. Separatist leaders on whom Gol is spending time and resources stood redundant. The separatist leaders are not even masks.

However pleasant thing about the conference was that this time the chief minister who was also the host of the conference received the participants with warmth. He did not appear gloomy because of the boycott of the Hurriat. This author told him in the reception hall,

"I hope this time the government will not allow the absence of separatist leadership to become the gloom of this Round Table Conference as well." "Not at all" he said and he actually meant it. He conducted the proceedings in a far better way. He assured the distinguished gathering that all the participants will be allowed to speak without any time limitation. "We have kept two days for this conference primarily to allow everybody to speak wholeheartedly." He kept his promise and there was no chaos and lack of interest while the conference proceeded.

It would be difficult to imagine what would have been the tone, tenor and content of Prime Minister's inaugural address if a section of Hurriat Conference would have participated. Notwithstanding this apprehension, Prime Minister's inaugural address was crisp and aimed at setting up the agenda for deliberations. "Friends, I propose that in today's Round Table Conference, we focus our discussions on the following :-

First what are those political institutions and arrangements which can strengthen the relationship between the State and the Centre? We can focus on, among others, security of the people, human rights and good governance.

Second, how can the different regions in this state, while recognising their distinct identities be brought closer to each other?

Third what is the economic future of the state?

Fourth, what are those steps that are needed to restore public self-confidence. Each region of Jammu and Kashmir has 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 closer to each other".

The speech had tried to take care of the pitfalls of the agenda which was set up by government in the previous conference. It at least reflected that Government of India was not merely an arbitrator between pro-India and anti-India views on Jammu and

Kashmir, but the prime force to guide the discourse to uphold the national interests. The speech however had two shortcomings. It ignored the reality of terrorism and the issue of religious cleansing of Hindus in the state. These issues were ignored by BJP led NDA as well. UPA Govt. with the type of constituents it has could have sprung a surprise if these issues were addressed with the importance they deserved.

The deliberations that ensued were interesting in the sense that it brought out the areas of agreement and difference between the National Conference and PDP to the fore in a fair measure. The local Congress leaders also articulated views which reflected both the regional preferences as well as strains to appear not to be differing with the regional parties for the fear of annoying them.

Farooq Abdullah in his flamboyant and self righteous style delineated the difference between NC's position on greater autonomy and that of PDP. "*Main Uss Kashmir Ko Kashmir Nahi Maanta...Tumhara Kashmir Tumhare Paas Hai--Hamaara Kashmir Hamaare Pass Hai*"...

I don't consider that Kashmir (across LoC) as Kashmir...Let you keep your Kashmir and we have our Kashmir". His concept of greater autonomy perhaps underlined the area on this side of LoC. Mufti Mohammad Sayeed elucidated the PDP perspective where he visualized greater autonomy to both sides of LoC in Jammu and Kashmir. "We want one country and two systems." The two additional aspects which delineated PDP's view from that of NC and Congress was its unflinching and unequivocal advocacy of demilitarization. Mehbooba Mufti said in support of the reduction of troops in the state, "*Yeh Koi Anhooni Baat Nahi Hai, Yeh Jammu Kashmir Ke Logoan Ke Dilon Ki Baat Hai*". The flavour of this advocacy was as if Indian security forces were an occupation force and reduction of peoples' alienation was linked to their presence. In fact PDP expositions on the subject became so embracing that Prof. Saif-ud-Din Soz had to make specific

reference to it in his speech. "I am in total disagreement with Mufti Sayeed on this issue. For us demilitarization is totally irrelevant...I make appeal to Mufti Sahib on the issue of demilitarization. Kindly drop this concept of demilitarization". Mufti also wanted Govt. of India to help the family members of terrorists killed by security forces in the name of winning them back. A perversion of anti-terrorism perspective which he has internalised as PDP vision and which was put to practice in the name of 'healing touch policy'. Or was it one more way to subvert the national policy to eradicate terrorism.

There was a comical brawl between Farooq Abdullah and Mehbooba Mufti which prompted laughter all around and set the tone for NC to further elucidate its differences with PDP. Farooq while speaking said that he will be the last person to wave a green handkerchief or flaunt a piece of Pakistani rock salt in his hand to get votes in Kashmir. It was an indirect insinuation about how Mehbooba Mufti had conducted her election campaign. To this Ms Mufti retorted that at least she did not go to Pakistan and apologise in front of General Musharraf. The reference was to Omar Abdullah's trip to Pakistan. Omar Abdullah's presentation delved mainly on this issue. Omar clarified that he had only apologised for certain mistakes done by his grandfather but he never apologised for accession which is final. He also elucidated that other parts of his presentation were not publicized in a balanced way here. He said that he had squarely blamed Pakistan for not allowing the plebiscite to be held in Jammu and Kashmir. "They never withdrew their forces from the state which was a precondition for holding of plebiscite". He also said unambiguously 'Sheikh Abdullah belonged to Union of India'.

Internal dilemma and contradictions of the PDP line was brought out clearly during Muzaffar Beg's presentation. Certain comments he made were in stark contrast to his presentation in 1st Round Table Conference "ultimate goal is not to disintegrate but integrate....Kashmiri Muslim suf-

fers from a psychological trauma. Can India trust us?...The provisions which give power to centre to dismiss should be looked into.

And towards the conclusion he contradicted himself. "security of nation is the security of the people...and security of people is the security of the nation...If there is threat to security of India then Centre can intervene". The discomfort on the faces of Mufti Mohammad Sayeed and Mehbooba Mufti was manifest while he made these observations. In may be really interesting to explore whether these observations had anything to do for the decision of PDP to remove him from the council of ministers and as the deputy chief minister.

All these things not withstanding one thing was very clear. While PDP and NC made their presentations in the Round Table Conference, is both the regional parties support the reversal of the constitutional relationship of the Jammu and Kashmir state with the Centre. Both want that only the subjects enunciated in the instrument of accession should form the basis of the special status of Jammu and Kashmir. When Mufti said that he wants two systems and one country he was articulating the NC political line in its true essence. NC always advocated a line where it wanted Jammu and Kashmir to exist on the territory of India but outside the constitutional organisation of India. This vision explicitly advocated by the so-called moderate Muslim leadership wants a secular state of India to co-exist with a de-facto or de jure Muslim state of Jammu and Kashmir.

The differences between NC and PDP and within PDP got some exposure in IInd Round Table Conference. But the most ardent advocacy of Musharraf line in this conference was not only done by PDP. CPIM too joined the campaign to make it a duet. Mohd. Yousuf Tarigami CPI(M) leader of the state went overboard to criticise GOI for not properly engaging Musharraf for his self rule proposals. "We should have a flexible concept of sovereignty," he said.

*The writer is the Chairman of Panun Kashmir

-To be continued

By Dr. Subhash Kapila

Introductory Observations

IN India there does undoubtedly exist a sizeable 'civil society' which is a product of its politically liberalized society, democratic institutions and a general level of religious tolerance in a traditionally historic multi-racial society. It also emerges from a well educated middle class and an enlarging one fuelled by its high rate of economic growth. Credit also needs to be given in this regard to the growth of political liberal institutions established during the British rule and further nurtured in the last 60 years of independent India.

There is also a sizeable 'peace constituency' in India, spurred more by political idealism than political realism that advocates peace with Pakistan. Both taken together are then flaunted as icons by India's political parties and the intelligentsia (including the media) to reinforce their strategies of 'political secularism' as opposed to the existential societal secularism.

In this context, a major question that calls for an answer is that whether a corresponding 'civil society' and 'peace constituency' exists in Pakistan. Why this question is important and calls for an answer is because in India it is assumed that such societal segments do exist in Pakistan and such segments have similar aspirations for peace with India. If it existed then such segments would have emerged as strong pressure groups on Pakistan's governing establishment and restrained them from use of terrorism as an instrument of state policy and the strategies of confrontation with India.

On July 17, 2006, in the wake of the Mumbai 7/11 bombing incidents in which more than 200 innocent lives were lost and 700 wounded, this author was co-opted by Pakistan's GEO TV channel in a live show along with a former Pakistani Ambassador to review the impact of these Mumbai blasts on the ongoing India-Pakistan peace dialogue.

The main thrust of this author's participation in the Pakistani TV show was as under:

- **India's public opinion encompassing an extraordinary wide political spectrum outpaced the initial muted responses by the present Indian Government. Public opinion forced the establishment to come out with stronger political responses against terrorism emanating from Pakistan.**
- India at large expected Pakistan's President to honour his pledges to restrain terrorism, Mumbai 7/11 blasts were an indicator to the contrary and would therefore impact the ongoing peace process.
- **The future of the India-Pakistan peace dialogue and its substantial success would depend heavily on the emergence of a sizeable civil**

PAKISTAN: DO A 'CIVIL SOCIETY' AND A 'PEACE CONSTITUENCY' EXIST?

society and peace constituency in Pakistan. This can only come about with such groups pressing strongly for restoration of democracy in Pakistan.

However, this author prefaced his participation in the Pakistani GEO TV show with the remarks that India at large today expected that the 'civil society' and the 'peace constituency' in Pakistan would come out with strong and vocal condemnations of the Mumbai 7/11 bombings (whose trails led to Pakistan's ISI and its protégé terrorist organisations) as 'wanton destruction' of innocent lives were a crime against humanity.

In the succeeding weeks, this author eagerly and hopefully awaited such responses from Pakistan's 'civil society' and 'peace constituency'. Scanning the English language Pakistani media there does not seem to have been any evidence of any heartfelt forthright condemnation forthcoming.

It is this which leads one to ponder whether in reality a 'civil society' and a 'peace constituency' exists in Pakistan?

Pakistan: The Absence of a 'Civil Society'

Some may be able to discern a semblance of a 'civil society' in Pakistan from a handful of objective political commentators, intellectuals and human rights activists, **Pakistan otherwise seems to be devoid of an effective and a widely established 'civil society'.**

The Pakistan nation-state projects the following deficiencies of a 'civil society' in Pakistan:

- Liberal political institutions are not visible in Pakistan.
- Pakistan has in the last 60 years regressed from the liberal political institutional framework left by the British and down-slided into an autocratic Pakistan Army – Islamist Mullah gridlock. Liberalism stands snuffed out.
- Pakistani society stands polarized between a feudal extravagantly rich ruling establishment and a vast economically weak lower strata of society.
- Lack of any sustained economic growth, as a result of exorbitant expenditure on military buildup has retarded the emergence of a sizeable and vocal middle class.
- Pakistan is totally devoid of representative and responsive political structures and mechanisms.
- The Pakistan Army has always

strongly reacted to any signs of emergence of 'civilian supremacy' in Pakistan's governance.

A Pakistani intellectual Ifkhar H. Malik in a work on 'State and Civil Society in Pakistan', makes the following observations:

- The Pakistani State has successfully refurbished itself at the expense of vital civil institutions – Constitution, pluralism, political parties, independent judiciary, free press and activist groups.
- The imperatives for establishment of a civil society in Pakistan have been side lined.
- Totalitarianism, elitist monopolization, majoritarian coercion and ethnic fascism which normally stand rejected by a 'civil society' are all pervasive and predominant in Pakistan.

The Pakistani author also makes an important observation that a 'civil society' cannot be taken as a given reality, it has to be created and strengthened. Sadly, Pakistan even after 60 years of independence is bereft of a 'civil society' – an essential prerequisite of any modern and progressive state.

Indian policy planners and its thinking elite have therefore to take it as a given in their planning and formulations, that a 'civil society' does not exist.

As a corollary to the above, India cannot count on an India-Pakistan peace dialogue to be carried forward on this premise.

Pakistan's 'Peace Constituency' as a Reckonable Political Force: A Mistaken Indian Notion

India's political compulsions for peace with Pakistan, for whatever external or internal reasons, has been fed with the assumption that an appreciable 'peace constituency' exists in Pakistan and that this political segment is an enlarging one.

That a sizeable number of average Pakistanis aspire for peace with India is conceded. People on both sides have wanted peace. **But what cannot be conceded is that a sizeable 'peace constituency' exists in Pakistan. And why it cannot be conceded is that there are two very good reasons for it.**

Firstly, when we talk of 'peace constituency' the term has political connotations. It implies that within the Pakistani governing elite and establishment and whatever passes for representative political opinion in Pakistan, a sizeable segment exists, which as opposed to

rhetoric, has a genuine and abiding investment in a peace process with India. It does not exist.

Western interpretations of the truthfulness of intentions of Pakistan's governing military establishment for peace with India are politically motivated to serve their own strategic interests. They cannot be taken as 'givens' in India's policy formulations.

Secondly, having conceded that a sizeable number of Pakistani average citizens aspire for peace with India, however, does not obliterate the reality that this aspiration of such Pakistani citizens is not 'translatable' to a determining political force to impel the Pakistani governing establishment to forge a viable peace with India.

Here, it is a mistaken notion for the Indian Government and the Indian media to constantly flaunt that a sizeable peace constituency exists in Pakistan and that it is an enlarging one. Further, that India as the larger country can be generous and accommodative on contentious issues as a contributory factor towards growth of a 'peace constituency' in Pakistan. This argument is untenable. It is the people of Pakistan that need to be politically vociferous for peace with India and towards that end organise a mass political mobilisation which brings about a transformation of Pakistan's political landscape in which a 'civil society' and 'peace constituency' emerge as strong determinants of Pakistan's policies.

India can hope for that whenever democracy is restored in Pakistan, such a 'peace constituency' will emerge there. Currently it cannot be taken as a determinant for India's peace dialogue policy formulations.

Concluding Observations

Policy planners and decision-makers in India, or even elsewhere, must resist the common failing of applying the templates of political and social conditions existent in their own country to other countries while devising policy formulations and responses. In the instant case while India does have a 'civil society' and 'peace constituency' the same cannot be said of Pakistan.

It is in India's interests that such segments emerge on Pakistan's political firmament. But for these to emerge, **India will have to actively espouse and be pro-active in the cause for the restoration of democracy in Pakistan, Democracy in Pakistan is an imperative for India's national security interests and the surest way of ensuring this imperative is to make the 'India-Pakistan peace dialogue' contingent on the return of democracy to Pakistan.** There cannot be a purposeful peace dialogue with Pakistan in the absence of representative and responsive political governance.

(The author is an International Relations and Strategic Affairs analyst. He is the Consultant, Strategic Affairs with South Asia Analysis Group)

Panun Kashmir Takes Out Anti-Terrorism Rally

(From Page 1)

appointments have been made during the period. He added that they were denied even their own share and not to speak of any special package. The attitude of the government has contributed to the frustration among the community youth and therefore government of India shall come out with a package to the tune of 20,000 at the earliest.

Lashing out at the state government, Mr. Raina said that a cruel joke was played with the community by the Farooq government in name of special recruitment. "Thirteen thousand applications were submitted but not a single person was employed. To add to it the Mufti government denied even trace of the applications," Mr. Raina alleged. He demanded a probe to pin down the responsibility for the whole drama.

Referring to the Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's own comment in Round Table Conference-II about the employment of displaced Kashmiri Hindus, Mr. Raina said that either Prime Minister is not taken seriously or he does not seriously mean what he says.

Describing "Distress Sale" as conspiracy of fundamentalists and terrorists, Kuldip Raina said that as confidence building measure and in the interest of nation, all such deeds since 1990 shall be declared as null and void. He added that the party had raised the issue with then interlocutor KC Pant also during a meeting in Srinagar. Mr Raina welcomed recent statements of J&K Chief minister Ghulam Nabi Azad about terrorism and human rights violation but added that he had proved no different than his predecessors as the community is

concerned. "Azad failed to en-
tuse any confidence among the
community. He
must come out
with concrete
measures to
ameliorate the
problems of the
community to
prove himself as
secular with na-
tionalistic out-
look," Raina
added.

Addressing
the rally, Sh ON
Trisal, President
All State
Kashmiri Pandit
Solidarity Con-
ference, came
down heavily on
Islamist terror-
ism. He said that

peace and terrorism cannot co-
exist. Accusing majority commu-
nity of the Valley for rejecting
religious co-existence and suc-
cessive state governments for
their anti-Pandit policies, Mr
Trisal described Panun Kashmir
as only solution to mitigate the
woes of Kashmiri Hindus. He
added that indifference of the
state government has rendered
the community to the position
of "under class" from the status
of "middle-class".

Panun Kashmir Secretary
Sh. Satish Sher said that for last
two or three years, we have been
demanding the creation of "Min-
istry for Rehabilitation". He
added that it is not an impulsive
demand but the attitude of the
state administration for all these
years has forces us to make such
a demand. Justifying the de-
mand, Mr. Sher said, "For a petty
work, a displaced person has to
go from pillar and post and even
knock the doors of the judiciary.

Even the court directions are ig-
nored when they mean to give

struggle but described it only
means for the rehabilitation of

the exiled com-
munity in the
Valley. Chiding
the Central gov-
ernment for
compromising
with the terror-
ists, Mr Razdan
described
Qaudripartition
of the state as
only nationalis-
tic means to
solve the imbro-
glio.

Women ac-
tivist Smt. Rajni
Bhat warned all
the nationalistic
forces to rise to
the occasion
and fight the ter-
rorism with all their might. Refer-
ring to the logic behind the
organisation of the anti-terrorism
rally, she said that terrorism is
spilling over to the entire state
but the civil society is in deep
slumber. She added that if people

don't realise the gravity at the
earliest, they will have to face the
fate of the Kashmiri Pandits.
Earlier, the rally started from
Panun Kashmir office old
Janipur Jammu. After passing
through many localities like Tali
More, Patoli, Subash Nagar,
Rehari, Amphalla, Panjirthi,
Shalimar Chowk, Jewel etc. the
rally concluded at Press Club
Jammu with the rallyists burning
the effigy of terrorism. The
rallyists, who were in large num-
ber and included many non-
Kashmiris, raised slogans
against terrorism and terrorists
and in favour for their demands
and were addressed by the PK
activists enroute. The rallyists
were holding pycards written
with slogans like—
"Encouraging Separatists
Amounts to Treason", "Save
Kashmir Save India" "Address
the continued genocide of
Kashmiri Hindus", "Declare
Employment Package of 20,000
for the unemployed Kashmir
Hindus Youth."



Panun Kashmir activists concluding the rally with the burning of the effigy of terrorism.

any justice to the community. In
such circumstances we appeal
the Central government to deal
with the issue directly."

Sh. B. L. Kaul, Secretary
organisation said that the suc-
cessive state governments are in the
process of com-
pleting the
unfnished
agenda of the
terrorists to an-
nihilate the
community. He
added that in
absence of any
intervention by
the state gov-
ernment, it is
encouraging
the exodus of
the community
from the state.

Sh. Pushkar
Nath Razdan de-
scribed struggle
for Homeland as
a long drawn

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Pakistan: Geopolitical Epicentre Of Islamist Jihad



By Maloy Krishna Dhar

The 1993 serial bomb blasts in Mumbai, the attack on Parliament, the hijacking of IC-814 and the latest but not the last devastating serial bomb blasts on the Mumbai suburban railway system generated media fever, crocodile tears from politicians, motivated leakages by police and intelligence agencies, communal cleavage and erosion of faith in the political system.

The fever will subside; the rhetoric will be morphed to ballot box paranoia, the police and intelligence agencies will lapse back to routine servitude. And the people, and the nation will continue to live with deep scars, fearfully anticipating the foot-steps of other disasters.

India's war against internal disruptive forces, ethnic insurgencies, pseudo-religious sub-nationalist terrorism, the Kashmir gangrene and unresolved agrarian unrest and imbalance between urban and rural economy (brand named Naxalism) has been weaved into the texture of daily routine.

The deformity in the criminal justice system does not pain us anymore. Restructuring of ethnic political geography and increasing assertion of regional (provincial) autonomy within the crashing debris of the Federated Unitary System are being absorbed at regular intervals. Even after 59 years of independence, the Republic is yet to be fully federated and a new India Inc is yet to emerge. India limps with pain and gasps with expectations. The people are learning to cope.

However, India has not been able to cope with the threat from regional and global Islamist jihadist forces. This multidimensional cancer travels through the arterial system of the country along the scarred tissues of fractures and carcinogenic gaps left

by the neurosis of pre and post independence philosophy and the unassimilated edges of history.

The Pakistani establishment and the ISI have deftly exploited these gaps and unmatched edges in collaboration with the Directorate General of Forces Intelligence of Bangladesh and the Islamic tanzems patronised by them.

Journeying through the Afghan killing fields, tangoing with the Taliban and Al Qaeda and resurgent global Islamist thrusts, Pakistan has emerged as the geopolitical epicentre of Islamist jihad with a binary centre in Bangladesh.

Extension of Pakistan's proxy war through jihadist tanzem tools to all conceivable corners of India is a part of its strategic war plan -- mostly carried out through subversive terrorist attacks and sometimes with a Kargil-type forward thrust.

It is, nonetheless, part of a planned war.

India's internal security and the seams of national unity and solidarity have been repeatedly threatened by jihadist operations carried out by ISI and DGFI-aided Pakistani and Bangladeshi tanzems. This war, under the facet of peace, is about to invade every Indian home.

On a scale of one to ten, the jihadi tanzems and handful Indian collaborators score success in about eight-and-a-half cases. The Indian intelligence agencies and state police forces can claim success in about two-and-a-half or three cases. On the scale of the law of averages, this is classified as failure.

Why do we fail in over 85 per cent of cases? We fail because:

With minor exceptions **the political class -- the presumed custodian, driver and preserver of the Constitutional Democratic Republic -- fails to recognise that India exist beyond ballot boxes.**

On either side of the imaginary 'secular fence', **there is an abominable amnesia about the historical roots of the jihadist thrust against India from Pakistan, Bangladesh and other global jihadist tanzems. They communalise or trivialise the grave threat to national security, unity and integrity by throwing mud on each other**

with squinted eyes on the bulge of the ballot box.

The threat is not about 'secularism' or 'Hindu Muslim divide'; this is all about an undeclared multidimensional war involving India (irrespective of community and religion), Pakistan and Bangladesh, overlorded by International Islamic Jihadist Inc, represented by Al Qaeda al Sulbah and its global franchisees.

Political parties on either side of the imaginary 'secular fence' (like the Tropic of Cancer that divides India almost into two equal halves) should understand that even before partition of the subcontinent certain Islamist leaders had targeted Indian Muslims for carving out a Muslim First Nation, which they called Pakistan. The descendants of same Hulagu (grandson of Genghis Khan, who ruled over much of southwest Asia) conquistadors are targeting to divide India on communal lines, while the gullible vote-blinded politicians still cling to their ballot boxes and keep dividing the country from behind their respective Tropic of Cancer. They fail to recognise that the cancer is real, and not an imaginary geographical line.

When will the responsible media and people ask them: 'You damn idiots! It's all about national security and not ballot boxes and 'secular fencing'?'

I do not think more space can be spared for the paranoid political classes.

The 'Permanent Government' (bureaucracy-including intelligence, police and security) has always been the steady spine of the Indian administrative system. These elements of governance should have succeeded in meeting the challenges coming from across the borders. Unfortunately, the ballot box baboons have either disarmed or defanged and emasculated these precious tools of governance.

We fail at two crucial combat levels. The most important combat force is the state police and intelligence forces. Each district and commissioner is equipped with a dedicated Intelligence Branch (different nomenclature in different states) and in some cases, anti-terrorist cells.

Unfortunately, ideology and caste configuration decides the

parameters of 'intelligence operations' by the state Intelligence Branch units. They are restrained from operating in certain areas of the 'secular fence', 'caste fence' and 'criminal niches.'

These limitations have impeded 'police-intelligence operations' in Assam, West Bengal, and Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu. **There is plenty of evidence to prove that political interference continues to blunt the operational edges of the state's security tools.**

These forces are trained to operate irrespective of caste, religious, political and mafia affiliation of terrorists and jihadists. But they are forced to discriminate, refrain and restrain from operating according to the law of the land.

Often the holy ghost of 'secularism' invade the state legislatures and even Parliament for scrapping certain Acts of the country and for chaining the tools of governance, simply because Pappus want a few more votes (like the Madani case in Tamil Nadu-Kerala).

Whenever serious terror attacks occur and police/intelligence agencies start investigating 'certain community leaders' start screaming about being 'isolated and targeted.' They never assure the people that they would evolve a mechanism to protect their community from being contaminated by 'foreign investigators.'

Have they ever given calls from organised platforms to their community to refrain from collaborating with Pakistani and Bangladeshi conspirators? If not, what right do they have to complain? As good Indians, they should have gone into the community with the message to rebuff Pakistani/Bangladeshi saboteurs.

When shall the nation ask these questions to vote-hungry politicians? When shall the compulsions of electoral democracy transcend the cubicles of polling booths, 'secular fences' and adopt holistic administrative, constitutional, legal and patriotic view against the jihadist thrust driven into Indian heartland from foreign soil?

India requires strengthening of the State Intelligence tools, revival of the khabri (informers),

mohalla nighrani (neighbourhood watch) system, introduction of 'community policing' and providing better tools for augmenting human, technical, and electronic intelligence gathering systems.

There is tremendous scope for integrating the state intelligence tools with the Panchayat, Block Development, Gram Sevak/Sevika, Dakia, Chowkidar, Dafadar, Lambardar etc systems, wherever these still exist. It should be made mandatory for the 'neighbourhood policing' cells to report suspect matters to the nearest police station. These tools have gone into disuse and the state governments have not carried out any threat assessment from criminal, jihadist, and mafia forces and have not equipped its police and intelligence tools to combat these threats.

Moreover, the State Intelligence Branch and police have no institutionalised and speedy communication system to liaise with the central intelligence and security agencies and the intelligence and security agencies of other states. It is imperative to discuss the important aspects of immigration control, detection and deportation of illegal immigrants and cracking down on criminal-politician-terrorist nexus. When shall the political breed agree to introduce 'National Identity Cards'?

We fail, because our tools have been blunted and taken hostage by the vote and money hunting political class.

**Maloy Krishna Dhar is a former joint director, Intelligence Bureau, and author of Open Secrets and Fulcrum of Evil-ISI-CIA-Al Qaeda Nexus and other books.*

—Source: Rediffmail

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—Business Manager



By Pamela Constable

ISLAMABAD - For the past five years, Pakistan has pursued a risky, two-sided policy toward Islamic militancy, positioning itself as a major ally in the Western-led war against global terrorism while reportedly allowing homegrown Muslim insurgent groups to meddle in neighboring India and Afghanistan.

Now, two high-profile cases of terrorism—a day of gruesome, sophisticated train bombings in India in mid-July and a plot foiled this month to blow up planes leaving Britain for the United States—have cast a new spotlight on Pakistan’s ambiguous, often starkly contradictory roles as both a source and suppressor of Islamic violence, according to Pakistani and foreign experts.

Moreover, increasing evidence of links between international attacks and groups long tolerated or nurtured in Pakistan, including the Taliban and Kashmiri separatists, are making it difficult for the, military-led government here to reconcile its policy of courting religious groups at home while touting its anti-terrorist credentials abroad.

“The conundrum for the military still persists,” said Talat Masood, a retired-.....

Pak's Double Game

Two-sided policy against extremists unsustainable

Pakistani army general. “The question always is, should we totally ban these organizations or keep them for later use?” Although the government has “selectively” prosecuted extremist groups, he said, “at the conceptual level, it has deliberately followed an ambiguous policy.”

The basic problem for Pakistan’s president, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, is that he is trying to please two irreconcilable groups. Abroad, the leader of this impoverished Muslim country is frantically competing with arch-rival India, a predominantly Hindu country, for American political approval and economic ties. To that end, he has worked hard to prove himself as a staunch anti-terrorism ally.

But at home, where he hopes to win election in 2007 after eight years as a self-appointed military ruler, Musharraf needs to appease Pakistan’s Islamic parties to counter strong opposition from its secular ones. He also needs to keep alive the Kashmiri and Taliban insurgencies on Pakistan’s borders to counter fears within military ranks that India, which has developed close ties with the Kabul government, is pressuring its smaller rival on two flanks.

“It is clear that our current policy of stout denial fools nobody,” columnist Irfan Husain wrote in the Dawn newspaper last Saturday. By allowing Islamic militant groups to flourish while seeking praise for helping

to break up the plot in Britain, he said, Pakistani officials are “determined to see only one side of the coin,” but “the rest of the world is bent on examining the other side very closely indeed.”

Until recently, Musharraf had handled this balancing act with some success, Pakistani and foreign experts said. He formally banned several radical Islamic groups while quietly allowing them to survive. He sent thousands of troops to the Afghan border while Taliban insurgents continued to slip back and forth. Meanwhile, his security forces arrested more than 700 terrorism suspects, earning Western gratitude instead of pressure to get tougher on homegrown violence.

But this summer, a drumbeat of terrorist violence and plotting in India, Britain and Afghanistan have begun to blur the distinction between regional and international Islamic violence. Pakistan, which has a large intelligence apparatus, is now in the awkward position of denying any knowledge of local militants’ links to bombings in India and Afghanistan, while claiming credit for exposing their alleged roles in the London airliner plot.

“It is ironic that our very success in thwarting plots and arresting a large number of terrorists reinforces the perception that this country is a bastion of terrorism,” said Shafiqat Mahmood, a former Pakistani legislator, suggesting

that Islamic militancy has been permitted to flourish in Pakistan at the country’s peril. “Our triumphs in the war against terror have become advertisements of our failure,” he said.

In a recent interview, Riaz Mohammed Khan, Pakistan’s foreign secretary, said his government “opposes all terrorism” and had worked diligently to expose the role of Pakistanis in the London plot. Pakistan has arrested a British national of Pakistani origin, Rashid Rauf, whom sources described as a member of a banned sectarian group, Jaish-i-Muhammed. Pakistan also placed under house arrest the former head of Lashkar-i-Taiba, another militant group blamed by India in the bombings. (Now released. - Ed)

Despite the arrests, Indian officials suggested that Musharraf, after sincere efforts to curb militant groups, was now giving them freer rein in order to secure their electoral support. They said that both the Taliban and some pro-Kashmir militants had now gone beyond their original aims and forged ties to al-Qaida.

“Whether this is a loss of control by Musharraf or a deliberate shift in strategy, for us the results are the same,” said a senior Indian official in New

Delhi. Th Afghanistan, officials have repeatedly accused Pakistan of harboring and aiding the revived Taliban insurgency, which has launched a wave of violent attacks and suicide bombings across the southern part of the country this spring and summer. Pakistan has denied the charges and periodically arrested some Taliban figures, but there are widespread reports of insurgents operating freely on both sides of the border.

As for India, Pakistan is eager to resolve the Kashmir issue, but its relations with New Delhi have been hostile for years and remained captive to the persistent violence in the territory. India has repeatedly accused Pakistan of sending armed insurgents across the border, but Pakistan has insisted it provides Only political support to the separatists.

But critics said Pakistan’s problems with Islamic violence cannot be resolved as long as the military remains in power. In an unusual move last month, a diverse group of senior former civilian and military officials wrote an open letter to Musharraf, warning that the country is becoming dangerously polarized and that a uniformed presidency only exacerbates the problem by politicizing the armed forces. The only solution, the group wrote, is a transition to a “complete and authentic democracy.”

—By arrangement with LA Times- Washington Post
—Source: The Tribune

SNAP SHOTS



A view of inundated Srinagar City (Sept. 2006).

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MARTYRS DAY OBSERVED

By S.M. Pandita

JAMMU, Sep 14: Dedicating the 17th Martyrs' Day as "Anti-Terrorism Day", Panun Kashmir warned the Central Government that any compromise with the terrorists or terrorists regimes will be suicidal for the nation. Demanding a comprehensive and integrated policy to fight terrorism, the leaders asked the Centre to neutralize the internal subversion of polity and institutions.

Speaking during the symposium "Terrorisms and National Response", organised to observe the Martyrs' Day, Panun Kashmir Chairman asked the Centre to treat fight against terrorism as "Central Subject" as terrorism is manifestation of war in new form and needs to be tackled accordingly. "Terrorism is a new war form of our times. It is not merely a law and order problem. And even Prime Minister and others at the helm of affairs admit it. As such it is imperative for the Centre that it should have constitutional leverage to intervene anywhere and anytime to crush terrorism," Mr. Chrungoo demanded.

Accusing Indian state for not developing a national response to fight terrorism, Dr. Chrungoo referred to terrorist attacks that changed the course of policy of Israel, America and England but India has failed to frame any such policy to defeat terrorism. "A terrorist attack in 1974 in Israel, led to national resolve of the country to fight-terrorism which is reflected in its actions even today. After terrorist attacks in America, the country made stringent laws to deal with the menace and it is state policy not to negotiate with or give concessions to the terrorists and bring them to justice in the shortest possible time. But our state has failed to build such mechanism or resolve", Dr. Chrungoo regretted. Dr. Chrungoo added that the Centre failed to protect national interests and nationalist elements in the state that has led to suffocation of even counter-insurgent leaders in the Valley, who had contributed a lot in war against terrorism.

Referring to the initiative of the United Nations to fight terrorism, Dr Chrungoo said that India is a signatory to the resolution but has not followed the resolve. "The resolution asks for gearing up of legal system and that there should be no legal immunity to terrorists. But India still nurses the illusion that the menace can be fought without gearing up the judiciary", Dr. Chrungoo regretted.

Dr Chrungoo alleged that "Jehadi terrorism and left wing terrorism have a sinister convergence as both are directed against Indian civilisational ethos. Both seek to dismantle the continuity of the Indian Civilizations for achieving their political goals". Describing internal subversion of the polity and the national institutions reliable support structure of terrorism, Dr. Chrungoo said that dismantling of the subversive tentacles should be the core component of war against terrorism.

Demanding reversal of genocide of Kashmiri Pandits, Dr. Chrungoo said that it will reflect the will of the nation to defeat terrorism.

Dr. Chrungoo demanded that the judicial system needs to be galvanized and terrorism shall be delegitimised in its

all forms.

Referring to the reported invitation to Mufti Mohammad Sayeed to represent the case of self-rule in the UN, Panun Kashmir chairman said that it is an irony that a

Evolve Comprehensive Policy to Fight Terrorism



Penalists during the Symposium 'Terrorism and Nation Response' from (L to R) Sh. O.N. Trisal, Prof. Hari Om, Swami Amaritanand Ji (Shankracharya of Shardaapeeth), Dr. M.K. Teng & Dr. Ajay Chrungoo. —KS photo

person from a country which is known for its vibrating democracy and democratic system world over is asked to present the case of self-rule.

Dr. Chrungoo congratulated the community for their struggle and said that it was the result of community struggle that unrest in Kashmir is not seen now as "freedom struggle" any-where unlike in the beginning of 1990's. He said that the enemy has political, military and economic support structures behind it and the community not only survived but struggled and kept the voice of dissent alive. Referring to the designers' of 'Memorial of Reflecting absence' at Ground Zero of World Trade Centre Comment" to encourage reflection and contemplation", Dr Chrungoo said that the reflection and contemplation is manifest in our struggle. He exhorted the community brethren to assert themselves to tell the truth without fear.

Dr. M.K. Teng, Chairman Advisory Panun Kashmir, in his address said that the terrorism we are faced with has ideological commitment and sanction of a civilization and any compromise with it would lead to second partition of the country. Decrying lack of vision of the government to fight terrorism, Dr. Teng said that no civil option is available to defeat it.

Accusing the leadership for putting a cover on real facet of terrorism, Dr. M.K. Teng said, "The terrorism we are facing is not just international or political, but it has sanction of a civilization and ideological commitment. It is in tone with outlook of world of a civilization". He added that it is directed towards all the civilizations of the world that are not in tone with their outlook and even President Bush has now realised that it is "destructive of our civilization". Dr. Teng

regretted that the reluctance on part of the government of India or political leadership to link terrorism to Muslim fundamentalism, communalism and separatism and efforts to compromise or reconcile with it will lead only to 2nd partition of India. Dr. Teng opined that no civil option is available to fight terrorism in J&K, India or world. He added that the political leadership is still nurturing the dream of civil option and the Sooner it is corrected the better it is. Dr Teng said that the real character of terrorism is civilisational destruction and cultural genocide and cultural genocide is reflected in vandalism of temples and shrines in the Valley.

Launching a scathing attack on 'Healing Touch Policy', Sh. O.N. Trisal President All Kashmiri Pandit Solidarity Conference said that stringent laws and revamping of security apparatus is needed to fight the challenge. He said that the terrorists are fanatics who have no value for human life and they deserve no sympathy or the cover of Human Rights. He said that terrorism can't be fought with healing touch but an integrated plan is needed to fight it over.

Describing terrorism danger to human society at large, Mr. Trisal said that terrorism cannot be and should not be compartmentalized. He added that terrorism is terrorism and it is to be fought in all its manifestations with global resolve. There can be no justification to terrorism. Criticizing peace process initiated by GoI, Mr. Trisal said that there can be no peace process with those who are ideologically committed to two nation theory. He said that when there is proxy war going on, porous borders will benefit the enemy. "Proxy War and porous borders, peace process and terrorism cannot go together", he added.

Asking the political establishment to identify the cause of the problem and build a national response, Mr Trisal said, "we are living in host of contradictions. Contradiction breed problems and solutions nowhere insight. There would be no solutions unless the problem is identified. Then it is to be challenged and challenge should be at national level," asserted Mr. Trisal.

Prof. Hari Om, Vice-President J&K Unit of BJP, accused Islamization of polity in the state and the Central government for lack of any concrete policy to fight terrorism.

Prof. Hari Om said that describing symbols of our civilizations like Hariparbat and Shankaracharya as 'Koh-e-Maran' and 'Takht-e-Sulaiman' respectively in a book- let published by State Tourism Department, J&K Bank Dairy and Calandar depicting one-Culture and Custodian Department directive to settle custodian property cases as per "Shariat Laws" reflect Islamisation of state polity.

Citing the examples of the USA and the UK, who took all possible measures to fight out terrorism after being targeted by them, Prof. Hari Om said that India has failed to frame such policy. He said that the war against terrorism in India is guided by vote bank politics that saw the repeal of "POTA". Prof. Om questioned the logic behind the repeal of the act. "The POTA was enacted to fight terrorism. But the UPA government repealed it describing it anti-Muslims that increased the alienation of the Muslims. How the law which was against terrorism could be described as anti-Muslims?" Hari Om questioned.

Describing Indian response to terrorism as symbolic, the BJP leader said that the cult of terrorism needs to be

(Contd. on Page 11)

A Terrorist and 'Innocent' ?

KS Correspondent

Free and socially responsible press nourishes democratic institutions and strengthens civil society. In a conflict zone where socially divisive insurgency has destabilized every institution of democracy and civil society, the role of the press, particularly the national English press, is even greater. Healthy reporting, untainted by bias, helps the state to fine tune its counter-insurgency strategies to have least collateral damage; it also aids the civilian population in the conflict zone to understand the desirability of state action in combating the forces of subversion, violence and disorder. Has the press done its job well?

Al-Mansoorian Terrorist:

On August 9, 2006 a 22 year old youth Ghulam Mohd. Sheikh son of Mohammad Sultan Sheikh resident of Towheedabad, Ashtengo, Bandipore, was gunned down by CRPF in Dal Gate area in a shoot-out. The previous week two CRPF jawans had been killed by terrorists in the same area. As per CRPF IGP Kashmir, AP Maheshwari during a checking operation a terrorist took out a grenade and attempted to target the CRPF party but it went off. The CRPF jawans retaliated quickly and shot dead the terrorist, a live grenade was also recovered from his belongings. For this quick action jawans were given one-rank promotion (1 lakh) cash and gallantry awards. Even while police were verifying antecedents of Sheikh, the slain terrorist, Al-Mansoorian spokesperson, Abu Arqam, confirmed to KNS, local news agency, that Sheikh was a senior terrorist of his organisation who operated under the code-name of

Naweedul Haq. The spokesperson of the terrorist organisation further added that Sheikh had been with their organisation for several years and had participated in a number of operations for Al-Mansoorian.

On the following day, Al Mansoorian retracted from its earlier statement. What forced the terrorist outfit to do about turn? To give security forces a bad name that it was killing "innocent" Kashmiris?

Terrorist organisations and their cover fronts have been pursuing it as a part of deft strategy during the past 17 years. Many Human Rights groups and NGOs its survival to this.

Local Protests:

Locals staged protests that Sheikh was killed without any provocation and reason. Some youth claimed that Sheikh was a student of Amar Singh College, where he was also President of Muslim Students Union. Separatist politicians and an NC MLA too joined the protests.

The previous day the police had also recovered Sheikh's Airtel mobile phone from his belongings. On August 10, 2006 the police gave more details about the terrorist. It said Sheikh had functioned as an important member of LeT, who functioned under code names of Fayaz and Naweedul Haq. Sheikh had been close to the detained top LeT terrorist, Mohd. Rafiq Sheikh alias Raju, who used to call him Jugnoo. As per police Gh Mohammad Sheikh and his associates Wasim and Tahir were involved in the murder of one Reyaz Ahmed Shushoo at SKIMS Soura on 28th May, 2006. Wasim and Tahir already

stand arrested. Gh. Mohammad Sheikh has also been found responsible for killing of Head Constable Bashir Ahmed and one SPO Hilal Ahmed at Sopore on 12 June, 2006. Police added that another arrested Afzal Rather of Nesbal Sumbal had accompanied Sheikh in the killing of constable Bashir and SPO Hilal. Rather had been arrested after lobbing a grenade at tourists at TRC, Srinagar on July 11th.

numbers of a number of terrorists including Raju. The police was retrieving its text and voice data to establish that Sheikh was an active terrorist who had actively remained in touch with other terrorists up to the time of his killing.

The protests continued on the second day. On what basis the agitators claimed that Sheikh had nothing to do with terrorist activities is not known. The people have been protesting over the killing of local terrorists as well as foreign mercenaries as well.

The reporting of this case shows how press functions in Kashmir. *Daily Excelsior*, even while covering the local protests, carried the detailed police version. Its stories on 9th and 10th carried the heading 'student leader killed in Dalgate turns to be senior militant', and 'police maintains Sheikh was a militant-students, politicians protests'. The reporting by other dailies, however, refused to carry the police version about the antecedents of the terrorist and indicted police for tackling demonstrators.

A national daily carried the story on August 10 and 11 under the heading 'After the killing, police fury' and 'student's killing. People want truth'. These stories carried the version of protestors and claimed that JK Police broke into A.S. College and rained lathis on students, injuring around 40, five of them critically. The police version was underplayed. The correspondent claimed that there were no takers for police version. The two photographs showed students' protests. Another national daily in its report '12 students hurt in police station', on August 10,

2006 ignored the police version and carried the statements of local protestors. The photograph showed police in bad light.

Yet another English daily carried stories on three successive days August 10th, 11th and 12th. It featured two stories on 10th, titled 'Al-Mansoorian denies CRPF claim' and 'killing of student: protests rock Valley'. The stories highlighted the protests and focussed on police action.

These did not carry local police version about the terrorist background of terrorist but gave prominence to Al Mansoorian statement denying that Sheikh was their cadre. CRPF version was underplayed, Hizb statement got more coverage. The paper displayed photograph of Sheikh's funeral. The stories on 12th and 13th 'Sheikh's killing. Bandh total, all of Valley shuts down' and 'youth killing: Geelani calls shut down today', focussed on bandh and gave prominent coverage to Geelani's reaction. The paper carried photograph of fundamentalist outfit holding protests.

Earlier, a Kashmiri-NGO, had been claiming that a large number of Kashmiri youth were missing. An enquiry by the then PDP-led government had revealed that most of these 'missing' youth were either found at their homes or were in terrorist training camps across the order. Many of the Kashmiri Pandits too are missing. They were declared to have been killed by terrorists but their bodies were never recovered. The Kashmir press also feels shy in reporting the horrible brutalities committed by terrorists on innocent Kashmiri Muslims. A press that reports selectively and carries blinkers on its eyes can never be called credible press. How a terrorist can be innocent at the same time?



Fundamentalists (of Muslim League) protesting against the killing of terrorist Ghulam Mohd. Sheikh in Srinagar.

Sheikh had got himself admitted in Amar Singh College Srinagar as recently as on 20th April 2006 but had not attended the classes regularly. SSP Srinagar, Syed Ahfadul Mujtaba, told the press that the detained LeT terrorist Raju had identified Ghulam Mohammad Sheikh as one of his close associates. Raju had revealed that one Shaukat Janwari of Batpora Bagat Sopore had introduced Sheikh to him and also carried 10,000 \$ of the organisation's money from one terrorist to another. Sheikh's mobile phone carried telephone

Evolve Comprehensive Policy to Fight Terrorism

(From Page 10)

tackled properly. He added that the writing is on the wall and we need a national resolve without losing a moment.



People paying homage to the martyrs' during the symposium.

Anand Sharma, Chief of Shiv Sena of J&K Unit, exhorted all Hindus to get united to face the Islamist terrorism and fundamentalism. Accusing the government for compromising with the terrorism, Dr Sharma said that it is irony that terrorists released on the borders expressed their commitment to Jihad. Mr. Sharma alleged that the state government is looking to the

CONTINUATION

interests of Muslim community only and added that 'Healing Touch' policy has contributed to the encouragement of fundamentalist and anti-national forces only.

He said that it is irony that 1947 Hindu Refugees are yet without right to property, employment and vote in the state.

In his Presidential address, Swami Amritanand Ji Maharaj, Shankaracharya Sharda Peeth, reminded the Indian Parliament of its resolve to liberate PoK and championed the commitment of civil society to see the PoK, the seat of Divine Mother Sharda, liberated from the illegal occupa-

tion.

Swami Ji described martyrdom of Tika Lal Taploo as warning signal for the nation. He said that Kashmiri Hindus took refuge in Jammu and other parts of the country and if India does not realise the gravity of the situation, they will be left with sea only to seek refuge. Swami Ji decried anti-Hindu politicise of the Central government and dividing people in name of reservations etc.

The Shankaracharya said that Adi Guru Shankaracharya led the resurgence of "Sanatan Dharma" movement from Kashmir and asked Kashmiri Hindus to take lead in galvanizing Indian society against terrorism. He

implored upon Kashmiri Pandits to play the role of Karishna and make every Indian as "Arjuna" to fight the injustice and terrorism.

Swami Ji said that the "Indian Constitution" doesn't reflect the aspirations of Indian civilization as it has failed to protect the interests of Indian civilization.

Earlier, Mr. Shankaracharya inaugurated the programme by lighting the traditional lamp and led the gathering to pay floral tributes to the martyrs. Two minutes silence was observed in honour of the martyrs. Panun Kashmir general secretary Sh. Kuldip Raina anchored the programme.

Sati Sahni— A Conversation



KS: Where did you spend your early years? Do you originally belong to Kashmir?

SS: My family originally hail from Rawalpindi. My father Dewan Chaman Lal shifted to Srinagar in 1916 after the death of his sister's husband, Mukand Ram Sethi. The latter ran a business in Srinagar. His sons—Kanwar Sen Sethi (a well-known sportsman) and Bajar Sen were quite young when Sh. Mukand Ram died. Dewan Chaman Lal asked by his sister to come to Srinagar to be of help in running family business. My father was a Govt. Contractor and Supplier. During two months of bitter winter the family would move down to Rawalpindi. I was born in Rawalpindi in 1922.

KS: Did you have your schooling in Rawalpindi?

SS: I joined Lahore's Sacred Heart School for few months, my *nanihal* was there. Due to Lahore being quite hot I moved to Srinagar. I was a student of Mission School, Sheikh Bagh during the years when Canon Tyndal Biscoe was the Principal. I finished my Primary education in 1935, the same year Tyndal Biscoe also left Kashmir for England. Subsequently, his son Eric took over as the head of the institution. Mission School, Sheikh Bagh was started years after the launching of Mission School, Fatehkadal in 1896.

Canon Tyndal Biscoe was an excellent teacher and very affectionate to his students. He used to take one period everyday for teaching Bible. While teaching Bible, he made good use of illustrations by rolling the canvas scroll mounted on a wooden stand. The scroll depicted in a chronological sequence the life story of Jesus Christ starting from his birth and ending at crucifixion.

Trekking and Swimming were popular sports in the school. I did Dal cross during my school years. My classfellows at Biscoe School included Sh. Noor Mohammad (later Chief Secretary, J&K Govt.), Sh. KH Khurshid (later Private Secretary to Jinnah) and Sh. Ali Mohammad Tariq. The latter came to be called **Young Abdullah** for his being a staunch follower of the Kashmiri leader. Tariq was a fiery speaker in his youth.

KS: You passed your matriculation too from the same school.

SS: No, after 5th class I joined SP School. Lala Desraj was my Headmaster. My subjects were English, Urdu, Math, Drawing and Agriculture. I used to play hockey for School XI. I was considered to be a good scout and was selected in the first ever contingent from J&K for All India Jamboree at Walton, Lahore in 1935. It took us four days to reach Lahore, with halts at Banihal, Ramban and Jammu. One of my classfellows at SP School, GC Pandey was to subsequently become a famous Sanskrit scholar. He retired as Vice-Chancellor of Rajasthan University. His father was Accountant-General of J&K Govt.

KS: Where did you have your college education?

SS: I passed my matriculation in 1937 and joined SP College. My

subjects were Physics, Chemistry, Math, besides English. In B.A. I switched over to History, Economics, English literature (Honours). I studied in SP College for four years. The Principals during this period were Messers MA Ibrahim, Sunder Das Malhotra and Mohammad Din Taseer. SP College during these years boasted of some of the best teachers Kashmir has ever produced. These included Prof. Jaya Lal Kaul, Prof. RC Pandita, Prof. SL Pandit, Prof. PN Qazi (all English), Prof. Sham Lal Dhar (Chemistry), Lala Tirath Ram (Physics), Prof. BK Madan and Prof. Mehmood in History. Prof. RC Pandita was a great grammarian, he used to spend 2 hours while deliberating on the usage of one word. Whatever perfection I have achieved in English language I owe it to Prof. Pandita. I was quite friendly with Prof. Mufti Jalaluddin, who was not my teacher. Mufti Sahib taught Arabic, Persian and Urdu. I had direct access to Prof. Mehmood since he was President of the Dramatic Club. At the College I used to spend lot of time playing Tennis.

My classmates at the College included Sh. Lokesh Dhar, son of Prof. S.L. Dhar, who later retired as Brigadier from the Indian Army, Aga Ashraf Ali, later Professor in Jamia Milia, Sh. OP Malhotra, son of Principal SS Malhotra, who reached the post of Army Chief, Charanjit Singh, who retired as Lt. General. One of my classfellows—Mumtaz, son of Chief Justice Abdul Qayoom was to become a Corps Commander in Pakistan at Karachi.

KS: What difference you find between the teachers in your time and today?

SS: Our teachers were very friendly, affectionate and had a helping attitude. In free time I used to visit staff room and meet teachers. I had met Mufti Jalaluddin 2 to 3 times. He once invited me for lunch at his house. Our teachers used to come to college on bicycles. That day I had not carried

my bicycle. Mufti Sahib took me on his bicycle to home. He used to live at Fatehkadal. When he asked me how I would go back I replied that I can manage to walk down the distance to Exchange Road, where we lived. He didn't agree and carried me back on bicycle to Gowkadal. Our teachers not only taught us well, they also saw to it that we become better human beings. These teachers had a value system. The teachers would ask the students if they had any difficulty. After college hours the students had direct access to the teachers for removing their difficulties. Prof. Jaya Lal Kaul was a great man. I used to spend two hours daily with him at his residence.

KS: Late 1930s and 1940s were period of intense political activity in Kashmir. Did these developments influence you anyway?

SS: I got involved in All India Students Federation politics. I served as J&K General Secretary of the Organisation for two terms from 1939-43. The other General Secretary was Ali Jawad Zaidi from Lucknow. He later joined Central Information Office and subsequently served as Private Secretary to Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad for some time when the latter was Prime Minister. Students Federation aligned itself with Congress at All India level and with National Conference, when the latter was constituted in late 1938.

KS: Did you ever come close to the Left?

SS: I was influenced by the Left but never became part of the Left. **Kashmir Literary League** was launched some time around 1938. Kh. GM Sadiq was President, Messers Peer Abdul Ahad and Jia Lal Killam were two Vice-Presidents while I was made the General Secretary. In 1939 Dr. KM Ashraf came to Kashmir. Under

the aegis of Kashmiri Literary League he delivered a lecture in SP College. Sadiq presided over the function. Dr. KM Ashraf's lecture influenced us greatly. He was a towering personality and an ideologue of international stature. Soon after his lecture, many erstwhile socialist members of Communist Party students became card holding members of Communist Party.

Shri Niranjana Nath Raina used to take my tuitions in Mathematics in 1939-1940. After I completed my academics he became my friend. He was one of the tallest intellectual, I have ever come across. He had a phenomenal memory and great persuasive power. His articulation was of a very high degree, he was able to explain and convince.

KS: Did you ever take part in agitational politics?

SS: I participated in the agitation launched by NC soon after its formation. In this Latif Qureshi, a well-known Lawyer was thrashed by police near *Dhanjibhai Ka Ahta* (now Govt. Press). The place used to be the stand for Tongas plying between Srinagar and Lahore. Latif's father was a Hakim, his shop was in Maisuma-Kokerbazar area. The family hailed from Lucknow.

KS: You were close to Prof. MD Taseer also

SS: After the college studies were over, my contact with Taseer Sahib was through Sheikh Abdullah and Hafeez Jullundhuri. Taseer and even Hafeez Sahib were quite liberal. Everything changed after 1947. Even a liberal and emancipated person like Hafeez Sahib turned into a communalist.

KS: What impact did Quit India Movement have in Kashmir?

SS: Kashmir became a haven for Congress leaders who wanted to escape arrest. Aruna Asaf Ali and Ganesh Prasad (a Marxist) remained in hiding here. The latter first stayed in attic of Sh. DP Dhar's house at Safakadal. When Police

Shri Sati Sahni is one of the most esteemed members of Journalist profession in J&K. In a career spanning six decades, he has combined high professionalism with deep integrity. As a War Correspondent he holds the rare distinction of covering four major wars—1948, 1962, 1965 and 1971. Sh. Sahni has also been an ace photographer. His rich collection of photographs would be envy of any top person in the profession of photo-journalism. As a respected and veteran member of the profession he continues to guide and inspire new and upcoming Journalists. Sh. Sahni has not only been a witness to an era, he has also been an active participant in many events. His ringside view of many events would be valuable for students of contemporary history of J&K. His publications include 'My Dismissal' and 'Kashmir Underground'. On the occasion of the 12th anniversary of the founding of this paper, Kashmir Sentinel had a detailed conversation with Sh. Sati Sahni (SS). Beginning with this issue Kashmir Sentinel (KS) will be serialising excerpts of the conversation.

--The Editor

came to know about it, DP Dhar sent him to his Jagir. Student Federation became the hub for Congress workers coming from outside. In 1942 DP Dhar was President of J&K Branch of All India Student Federation. Kashi Nath Bamzai was vice-president of J&K unit. Two incidents took place during this time.

Some underground messenger asked us to get in touch with Sarat Chandra Bose. The latter was serving in a passenger liner in high seas between Calcutta and Rangoon. He used to maintain contact with overground Congress workers under an assumed name. I was communicated this assumed name. My letter landed with Police Commissioner of Calcutta. British Intelligence was quite alert. The Commissioner sent the letter to Shri Gopalswami Ayyenger, Prime Minister of J&K for enquiry and action. Shri Ram Lal Nagpal (later secretary, J&K Assembly) was his stenographer. Nagpal knew me but his relations with Shri DP Dhar were better. Ram Lal called on DP Dhar and informed him that the Prime Minister had asked Shri DP Dhar and Mr Satpal Sahni to meet him at his residence at 9:30 A.M. the next day.

The PM residence was near Amar Singh Club. DP Dhar took me along in his Tonga, Ram Lal took us to Mr. Ayyenger's Chamber. The Prime Minister told Sh. DP Dhar, "You are the son of a Jagirdar. The activities you are indulging in can jeopardise your Jagir". DP Dhar replied, "Sir, the point is why should my father suffer for my mistake".

Mr. Ayyenger took out the letter and asked, "whose signature is this?" I replied, "signatures are mine". He enquired, "why did you write this?" I said, "I wanted to elicit some information". He continued, "you can be sent to jail".

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Sati Sahni—A Conversation

(From Page 12)

I submitted, "If I deserve it then I will go". At the end he said in view of the complaint made by Police Commissioner of Calcutta some action had to be taken. The meeting lasted just five minutes. We were taken to Kothibagh Police Station, an FIR was filed against us for indulging in 'subversive activities'. In the Police Station two of my cousins came to see me, the Tonga driver had communicated to them the news of our detention. We DP and me were released after three days.

Around this time (Sept. 1942) Dr Zakir Hussain (later President of India) visited Kashmir. He was not active in Quit India Movement. Our group wanted to do political activity independent of National Conference. In this connection I was deputed by my organisation to meet Dr. Zakir Hussain. He was staying in Bombay Guest House at Boulevard. He refrained from participating in active politics. We had decided to invite him for presiding over the annual anniversary of our student organization. I said to him since the Quit India Movement had engulfed the entire country we wanted to extend to our state as well. He said it was a policy matter of Congress leadership not to involve States in it. Turning to the convention he asked, "What will you deliberate in the convention?" I replied, "we will express our solidarity with countrymen". He tried to dissuade me and turned me off saying, "They will put you in jail". I asked, "why, we are not raising the banner of revolt". I told Dr. Zakir Sahib, "If Congress will not agree to our demand we will start movement on our own". He asked me, "what you will do". I told him we will indulge in activities of sabotage and our organisation had the wherewithal. He advised, "Don't do anything that would jeopardise your life. Don't do any work about which you do not know well." The meeting lasted just 30 minutes. Sardar Teja Singh had to accompany me but he could not reach in time. Since I was alone, I had to justify to my organisation that I had indeed met Dr. Zakir Hussain. I asked him to write a message for my colleagues in the organisation. He wrote in the notebook, "If a thing is worth doing it is also worth doing well". This advice changed the entire course of my life. Honestly speaking, whenever I make an attempt to do a new thing, this sentence rings my mind. And I decide to measure up myself whether I could do the task.

KS: How did Naya Kashmir manifesto emerge?
SS: This idea had started developing in Sadiq Sahib's bathak (Karra building) since 1940. This bathak was sort of a club for NC and student activists, besides intellectuals. Punjab communist leader Sh. BPL Bedi and his wife Freda visited Kashmir in 1940. When Pt. Nehru came to Jammu and Srinagar in June 1940, Bedis were already in Srinagar. It was through Sadiq that Bedis came to know Sheikh Abdullah, Bakshi Ghulam

Mohammad, and Mirza Afzal Beg but they stayed close to Sheikh Sahib and Sadiq only. Because of DP Dhar, KN Bamzai and JN Zutshi an intellectual group emerged which was influenced by Soviet Constitution and Planning. Out of these discussions came out the idea of *Naya Kashmir*.

Sh. BPL Bedi was asked by Sheikh Abdullah to draft its manifesto. After its drafting it was discussed in Sadiq Sahib's bathak and Working Committee of National Conference where it was formally adopted with few changes. The manifesto was released at a function in 1943. It was distributed to NC workers, Trade Unionists, student activists etc. Since I was standing close to Sheikh Sahib, I received its first copy with his autograph on it. In 1969-70, I lost this document when Sardar Teja Singh took it from me for Governor Bhagwan Sahay. It was never returned. In the original manifesto the English and Urdu versions were bound together.

KS: What was the impact of war in Kashmir?

SS: Indo-Soviet Friendship Society was formed at the end of 1941 or beginning of 1942. A branch started in J&K also. It was a non-political body. Sadiq was its President, Sh. NN Raina was also active in it. I was its General Secretary for 18 months. Its task was to create public awareness among the people on the issue of Imperialist war vs Peoples' War. Meanwhile Churchill's War Council of British empire had included Maharaja Hari Singh as a member. For me the situation was problematic. I was involved with anti-war effort because of my association with NC, AIFS and Indo-Soviet Friendship Society. On the other hand my father was a *Darbari* (courtier). My mother was part of Maharani's Ladies Club, meant to boost war effort.

I was closely associated with NC leaders like Sheikh Sahib, Bakshi Gh. Mohd. Someshwar, KN Bamzai, JN Zutshi, DP Dhar, Sadiq etc..

KS: About Jinnah's visit in 1944.

SS: Jinnah during his Kashmir visit in 1944 tried to win over Sheikh Abdullah but the latter did not bite the bait. Sheikh Sahib told Jinnah plainly that he would not allow his party to go with Muslim League at any cost. Jinnah stayed initially in a houseboat for few days, later he shifted to Ghulam Ahmed Jeweller's house at Shivpora. Jeweller's son Ghulam Mohammad (later Finance Minister of PoK in Sardar Ibrahim's Cabinet) was my friend since 1939-40. Subsequently, I developed good relations with GA Jeweller also. Once, because of my friendship with Gh. Mohammad I had the chance to pay a courtesy call on Jinnah. A few days later GA Jeweller threw a big reception party for Jinnah at Amar Singh Club where all prominent citizens were invited to meet Jinnah, 1-2 ministers also attended the party but on Sheikh Sahib's instructions

none from the NC came for reception.

Jeweller was close to NC before Jinnah's visit. His playing host to Muslim League leader created differences between him and Sheikh Abdullah. After his son migrated to PoK, Jeweller again came close to Sheikh Abdullah.

It was because of the influence of Congress that Sheikh Abdullah played cool to Jenab. Sheikh Sahib was a PRESIDENT of States Peoples Conference and a special invitee to Congress Working Committee. He felt it was his responsibility to honour the trust Congress had reposed in him. Entire NC leadership sided with Sheikh Sahib. Only Mirza Afzal Beg wanted an approach of 'Wait and See'. He had his own reasons. Cripps Mission of 1942 had failed, Cabinet Mission was on way to India. Also, Mirza Afzal Beg was in Maharaja's Cabinet. He wanted to see Viceroy's attitude towards Jinnah.

Circumstances and ideological affinity brought Nehru and Sheikh Abdullah closer. Though Sheikh started as a communalist, he turned secular subsequently. His involvement with Congress had a very positive impact on him. Though he was religious, yet he was secular in outlook.

KS: What was the impact of Quit Kashmir Movement? How did it develop?

SS: Simmerings within NC was already there. Mirza Afzal Beg was Minister, Mian Ahmed Yar did not get berth in the cabinet. Within NC there was polarization along 'pro-Maharaja' and 'anti-Maharaja' lines. Jinnah's unsuccessful visit had acted as fuel to this polarization. In a session of NC in Jammu Province it was decided that 'We have reached limit of our patience and there was need to start agitation against Maharaja'. NC leadership had also in mind the Quit India Movement which had yielded big dividends to Congress. So they thought they could replicate it in Kashmir by launching Quit Kashmir Movement. They forgot that people had given big sacrifices in Quit India Movement. There were few such people in Kashmir. Many people wanted to use movement for personal aggrandizement and personal gains. In May 1946 built further pressure on NC leadership. Under Cabinet Mission Viceroy was engaged in discussions with Congress and Muslim League leaders in Shimla. Sheikh Sahib felt that Kashmiris would be left high and dry and Maharaja Hari Singh may deal with Cabinet Mission on his own, bypassing NC leadership. NC was preparing to launch the agitation. Prime Minister RC Kak preempted the situation by arresting overnight all the important NC workers. By May 1946 itself all the important workers were in jails. Kh. Ahsanullah, a businessman who owned Army Agency business, had escaped arrest. Later, he became Trade Commissioner in Delhi in

1948. Sh. DP Dhar and KN Bamzai were in Lucknow. Sadiq Sahib and Bakshi Sahib were in Lahore. Sh. KN Aima, Kh. JN Zutshi etc. were in jail. Sh. Mohiddin Qarra was the real hero of Quit Kashmir Movement.

Sheikh Abdullah's trial started in July 1946 at Badami Bagh cantonment. Pt. Nehru constituted a committee of defence headed by himself for Sheikh Sahib's defence. The committee included renowned people like Sh Bhulabhai Desai and Asaf Ali. While Pt. Nehru was on way to Kashmir, he was arrested at Kohala by Sh. Maharaj Kishen Dhar, District Magistrate and Governor of Kashmir. He was brought to Uri where he stayed in Dak Bungalow for 1½ days before being sent back. Dr Rajender Prasad paid a visit to this bungalow when he came to Kashmir as President of India. The Bungalow, burnt down by Tribal Raiders in 1947, was reconstructed and carries a Marble plaque commemorating Pt. Nehru's stay there. Asaf Ali and Bhula Bhai, Desai represented Sheikh Abdullah in defence. Pt. Nehru's decision to head Sheikh Sahib's defence defying Congress Working Committee's decision to go to Kashmir and then courting arrest at Kohala created tremendous impact on common Kashmiri and NC workers. One could see it visibly in Srinagar. Cabinet Mission came to Srinagar in 1946. It met the Maharaja. NC had a plan to meet it but because of public repression they could not meet them. They later sent memorandum to Delhi and Lahore.

KS: Sh. Maharaj Kishen Dhar's decision to arrest has been a matter of controversy. What are your views.

SS: In retrospect I feel he was committed as an administrator to discharge his duties as District Magistrate of Kashmir in relation to political activities arising out of Quit Kashmir Movement but his heart was sound and a nationalist one. This is substantiated by his role when he was asked to arrest Sh RC Kak in November 1947. He was asked by the Chief Executive of Emergency administration to handcuff the former Prime Minister in grass ropes and then parade him through Srinagar. Sh Dhar refused to perform this task, saying he could not meet this treatment to a former Prime Minister. Sh Dhar was relieved of his duties.

Mr MK Dhar was a great man for whom I have immense respect. His son Pratap Kishen was my friend. I would spend lot of time with Sh. MK Dhar. He was kind, affectionate, a friend and a guide to me. He was an intellectual of high order and did lot of reading. He was a strict disciplinarian. Those days even high officials were not given official cars. Though he had a car which his son would drive, yet he would go to office at Tankipora from Poloview/Red Cross residence on bicycle. He had no servants.

Pt. Maharaj Kishen Dhar was a very good officer. He would tour a lot to take stock of the situation. He

was an able, efficient administrator. Maharaja Hari Singh knew that Pt. Nehru's cousin's daughter was married to Sh. Dhar's son Jawahar, yet he had full faith in him and perhaps he wanted to see it as a test case.

Pt. MK Dhar handled Quit Kashmir as per the directions given. He had no sympathy for Quit Kashmir Movement, yet his sympathies were with overall cause of India. As friend of Sh. MK Dhar and one who was close to NC leadership, in my own way I tried to see that misunderstanding between the two sides did not grow. Mr Dhar was a staunch nationalist but he had to perform his official duties.

Sh Dhar had three sons—Kishen Kumar, Jawahar Lal and Pratap Kishen besides two daughters. After he was relieved off his duties in November 1947 he had no place to go to. I arranged for his accommodation at a place adjacent to my residence. He, his wife, son Pratap and a daughter who was a doctor in a government hospital stayed for six months in the 3-room accommodation. Later the family shifted to Udaipur when Kishan was employed as Geology Engineer in Hindustan Zinc Corporation. It is my regret that I never saw Dhars after May 1948.

KS: You were also a member of Amar Singh Club?

KS: Membership was quiet difficult. Maharaja Hari Singh was the patron of the club. Because of my past record and close links with Sheikh Abdullah and detention in jail getting membership was all the more difficult. At the same time my father was a *Darbari*. When my membership application came up before Maharaja in September 1944, the latter asked me, "How do you manage to do everything. Why do you want to become a member." I engaged in political activities, had close ties with NC and with Sh. Maharaj Kishen Dhar.

I replied, "Sir, I am fond of tennis. We do not have any court to play Tennis. The Srinagar club is reserved for the Britishers". Then he asked me, "have you left politics". I said, "I am in politics but am not a part of any political group". So I was admitted as a member of the club.

I was not only involved in NC politics but also in social life because of father's business. Kashmir during 1942-47 was centre of high voltage political activity. Many nawabs and princes used to used to visit Kashmir. Important political leaders like Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Mian Ifikharuddin, Mian Bashir Ahmed, Sheikh Sadiq, Sir Sultan Ahmed, MD Taseer, Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Hafeez Jullundri used to spend summers in Kashmir and stayed either in houseboats or bungalows. Through club I came to know these people and attended many parties. On other occasion I had the chance to play tennis with them. It included Rajmata Gayatri Devi then Princess of Cooh Behar State. My cousins and I would play tennis every evening at the club courts.

Rubiya kidnapping & Kandhaar Hijacking— Confessions of Farooq & Arif raise more Questions

Special Correspondent

The maxim is 'while speaking is duty silence is guilt'. It may take sometime for the analysts to know why Dr. Farooq Abdullah, the former Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, has chosen to speak on the two events, Rubiya Sayeed kidnapping in Dec. 1989 and the Kandhaar Hijacking in December 1999, at this time again. Whether he is performing a sacred duty by speaking out the truth now or merely trying to overcome a sense of guilt which is haunting him? Or is he playing mere politics as many of the top leaders of the country have been survival with critical issues of concerning the nation.

In a detailed interview to *Tehelka* weekly Farooq has apparently talked frankly and with a sense of introspection on Rubiya Sayed kidnapping and Kandhaar Hijacking, both of which lead to release of dreaded terrorists. Analysts term the two events as major failures in handling terrorism as well as abject capitulation of the state or more precisely the leadership at the helm to terror.

The interview provides insight into the murky field of Indian politics and perhaps the subversive machinations at the highest level. The events leading to the release of Rubiya Sayed are described graphically by him in following words... "He (Mufti Mohd. Syed) called me. I had come home from the foreign trip and went to see him...I told him I don't have all the facts of the case, but as soon as I get back, I'll talk to my colleagues, the chief secretary, the intelligence agencies. I went back and found my cabinet colleagues had in their wisdom decided to release all the five. I said no, I am the chief minister...you are giving to something you should not give in to. I said they are not going to eliminate that girl because there is so much world pressure, there is so much pressure from Saudi Arabia which is one of the most powerful Islamic nations as far as the people are concerned...at the time they had also said, if you can't release all the five, then you may kindly release Hamid Sheikh....They had given three solutions. One, take him to the border at Uri and ask your guards not to shoot and he will cross the border into Pakistan. This was part of the negotiations my chief secretary and Mr Dulat the IB officer stationed in Srinagar were having with

Hamid Sheikh's father. They said release him because he is ill. Two, they said put him on a plane to Tehran and they will manage the rest and I said no, that is not acceptable...Then suddenly at that time the home minister of India, Mufti used a judge of the Allahabad High Court who came home and used lawyer today sitting with Hurriat. They knew where the girl was. He said he had come with the authority from the Home Minister that all five would be released. Mr. Dulat was told, look all five are going to be released, so there is no more discussion to be held with you. When the judge came to me I said no. He said she is like your daughter and I told him she is more than my daughter. But I told him that the nation is on one side and daughter on the other and I am not going to sacrifice the nation. I also told him that they are not going to kill her. There is no such evidence. But then, in the middle of night then Prime Minister VP Singh called me saying, Doctor Saab we are sending a team. Please release her. At 5 o'clock in the morning, I find at my door Mr Gujral, Arif Mohd. Khan and MK Narayanan...It was December and these guys were shivering. I gave them Kahwa to warm them up and told my chief secretary and Mr Dulat to brief them. I must say to the credit of Arif, he told Mr Gujral, I am sorry this is not what we have been told in the cabinet. What we have been told is something different. He suggested they fly back to Delhi to brief the PM and tell him to use diplomatic pressure to get the girl released. Mr Gujral said no, no we have got the authority and if he (Farooq Abdullah) does not release the militants then we are going to dismiss him...(He said) straight at my face and I said, wonderful, if the Government of India wants to sink India, then go ahead and give it to me in writing. I told my chief secretary to please take a note. That such and such team has come that they have PM's and Cabinet's orders that the five militants have to be released at all costs. Whatever the cost to the country and, therefore, whatever the onus, whatever happens here to the country will be because of the Government of India. Get them sign this...Yes, I insisted they sign. The minute they were released, you will be surprised, the entire Valley was in jubilation that we have been able to throw Indians out, that this is the start of India's disap-

pearance from J&K just as the Russians had been thrown out of Afghanistan...Gujral Saab and Arif had to sign because I would not budge. I told my chief secretary, you sign first and I sent a 13 page letter to the President of India, detailing what had happened everyday. That document is lying with the President of India".

Dr. Farooq's interview was followed up by another one by Arif Mohd. Khan on the event published by *Tehelka* on September 9, 2006. Sh. Arif Mohd. Khan who was a senior minister in VP Singh's cabinet had accompanied Sh. IK Gujral to Srinagar during Rubiya Sayed's kidnapping. His reaction to Dr Abdullah's interview as recorded by *Tehelka* as: "The first thing I would like to say is that the decision to release the terrorists was taken by the Prime Minister and the Home Minister. This decision was not taken in the cabinet. Therefore many people including me were not even aware of what was going on...These decisions are not taken in cabinet at all. There is a cabinet committee on Security Affairs and Cabinet Committee on political affairs that may be involved. I was a member of neither of these committees. In any case none of these committees can formally decide to exert pressures on a state government. If that is being done then it is only by some individuals, who may be holding high positions...It is true that I was woken up in the middle of the night around 2:30 and the message I still clearly remember, that was given to me was that it appears that the state government is in league with those who are behind the kidnapping, that is why they seem reluctant to take tough measures against the terrorists involved. That is the reason why the state government is not taking enough action. It is impossible if the girl has been kidnapped in Srinagar that the state government has not been able to identify the hideout even after three-four days. I was told that the place where they have kept the girl has already been established but the state government is not taking any action...I was told in very clear language that the reason we have decided to send you is that you enjoy a very tough image in Srinagar. Because we feel that the state government is not taking action, therefore tomorrow morning we may decide to dismiss the state government and take over the

administration. The Army at Pathankot, I was told, had already been alerted. If we decided to take over administration you are going to sit there and it will be your responsibility to oversee the administration and the action taken against any terrorist outfits and those who are giving support to the terrorists outfits. This was my brief.

...I think the call was made from the Prime Minister's office, because this was immediately after a meeting of the cabinet committee on security affairs...Either Cabinet Secretary TN Sheshan or Director Intelligence Bureau MK Narayanan spoke to me and then Mr. Arun Nehru spoke to me from there only. He said—I am speaking from PM's office, this has been decided and your name has been specifically included because you enjoy kind of image there which will give a message to the administration that we mean business...I packed my bags and left for airport. Therefore I can only tell you the brief I was given. I think whatever little interaction I had with Mr Farooq Abdullah in the morning, I think I acted according to that brief...He has already told you that I opposed the release of militants from Farooq's House. I went to the Chashma Shahi guest house and sat there the whole day. I neither met anybody nor did I get a call from anybody and that includes Inder Kumar Gujral...I remember that at one stage when there was some mention of releasing the terrorists, I immediately butted in, intervened in the discussion and said that this is not the brief I have come with, that from what I was told on the phone when I got a call from PM's office, releasing terrorists was not a part of it. There appeared to be a difference of view points about the strategy to be adopted, about the action to be taken between Inder Kumar Gujral and me. Then I said if this the position then we can refer the matter back to Delhi...Either go back or talk to them on telephone. I went to the guest-house and after that nobody spoke to me the whole day...There was not much discussion at that time...It is only now, on hindsight, I realise that I was kept in dark. May be because I was taking a line which was different...I was absolutely shocked...I was totally shocked, that I couldn't believe it when I was informed around 5:30 in the evening that the girl has been released and then I came to now that some terrorists also have

been released...When I came back to Delhi there I came to know the whole story that some judge of Allahabad High Court was sitting at Home Minister Mufti Sayeed's house and he was negotiating a deal...In fact I was very upset and I asked people why I was sent there?...Only later I got to know that a lot of negotiations and bargaining was going on between Delhi and Dr. Farooq Abdullah. Farooq knew what my stand was in the morning—I wish he had told me during the day that he was being pressurized. I really can't tell you today what I would have done then but it is certainly not part of my nature to keep quiet when something is happening which is not acceptable to me. (After returning). Everybody was congratulating each other. I was sitting at house sulking...In fact when he (V.P. Singh) had called me to his house before the government was sworn in, I had told him that Rajiv Gandhi was playing games with our security...if you have any such intentions I am warning you right now that I won't be a party to that...I had walked out of the meeting of Janta Dal office bearers because he had gone to old Delhi to meet Shahi Imam. VP Singh is a senior leader and I respect him but that does not mean that I agree with him...You can check with Farooq again about how emphatic I was in the morning at his house that no terrorist should be released and I went to the extent of saying we are not the only country who are faced with this problem, that countries have successfully fought the menace of terrorism. I said we can learn from them, then when faced with a similar situation they secure resignation of the minister and after the crisis is over they will reinstate the minister...I said we should never give in to the demand of the terrorists, because this way we may be able to secure the release of the daughter but many more daughters will be kidnapped and many more people will be killed by them."

Both the interviews seen together make scathing indictment of the topmost people at the helms. There is a definite streak of self righteousness also in the disclosures—I was right, brave and the wronged one at that critical moment. Others were meek, panicky, devoid of vision and perhaps treacherous. The disclosures leave many areas of doubt.

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Kashmiri Pandit Diaspora in Himachal Pradesh

Shimla

By Upender Ambaradar

The district Shimla comprises Shimla proper, Chopal, Rohru, Chadgaon, Doderakwar, Theog, Narkanda, Kot-garh, Kot-Kahai, Jubal, Sunni and Rampur Bushur. Shimla, the capital of 'Dev Bhoomi' Himachal Pradesh known as the 'Queen of Hills' is one of the most frequented summer resorts of India. Situated at an altitude of 7,230 feet and spread on both sides of the Ridge, Shimla is nestled in the lap of lush green thick forests of Deodar and Pine. Shimla is remarkable for the beauty of its landscape, snowcapped mountain ranges, vast stretches of lush green foliage and above all pollution free atmosphere. Without any exaggeration, it is truly a scene from the wonderland, something out of a fairy tale. Discovered by the British officers in the year 1819 and declared as the summer capital of the British India in the year 1864, Shimla draws its name from the Goddess Shyamla, another name for the Goddess Kali.

Shimla is also known for its silence drenched atmosphere, cool and refreshing mountain air, enchanting panoramic view and awesome seclusion. Being about 117 kms. from Chandigarh and 96 kms. from Kalka, the first gateway to Himachal Pradesh, Shimla is well connected both by excellent roadway and an engineering marvel of narrow gauge rail link from Kalka. A travel by the hill or toy train from Kalka to Shimla makes a fascinating and always to be remembered rail journey. Moving at a gentle speed of 22 kms per hour and passing through 102 tunnels, 809 bridges, a series of sharp curves cum gradients and twenty picturesque stations of Takhsal, Koti, Barog, Dharampur, Solan, Kandaghat, Tara Devi, Winding its way through the Prospect Hill and Summer Hill, finally making it's last stop at Shimla. It takes 5 to 6 hours to reach Shimla by train, whereas it is only 4½ hrs. run by road from Chandigarh. Shimla is also famous for the Mall road and the Ridge, which are it's nerve-centres and heart-throbs. Mall road, the main shopping centre is dotted with endless rows of shops, restaurants, bars, famous Gaicity Theatre and magnificent heritage buildings, which are the architectural masterpieces of the British times.

Large crowds of all ages enjoying pop-corns or ice-creams can usually be spotted, while pacing the length of the Mall innumerable times. It lends a holiday and a fair like mood and atmosphere to the Ridge and the Mall. The majestic Christ Church

and the spectacular 'Ashyana' and 'Gufa' restaurants are major attractions with the visitors on the Ridge. About 2 kms. from the Ridge atop the Jakho hills at an altitude of 8,000 feet is the ancient and most revered temple of 'Sankatmochan' Hanuman.

enroute to Jatogh is the Prospect Hill, which has a temple of Kamna Devi. Mushabra, Kufir, Confer crowded Naldhera, wild flower hall (a British settlement of Lord Kitchener time), Chail and apple orchard packed Phagu are the lovely and charming outskirts of

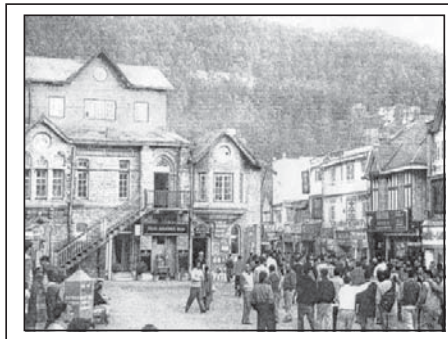
road near the Scandal Point. Both of them deal in Kashmiri handicrafts, shawls, embroidered *phiran* and artifacts. In the lower bazaar of old Shimla, dozens of Kashmiri Muslim families reside collectively in the local mosque. This complex represents a microsome or mini Kashmir as inside it's complex, they own shops ranging from tailor, barber, watch-repairing in addition to salted tea and delectable 'Wazwan' shops. Besides being associated with domestic gas agencies throughout Shimla, a few among them are 'A' grade civil contractors and labour supplying contractors. Some of them are also connected with tourist trade, acting as tourist guides, tour operators and managers in private hotels. In spite of their long stay in Shimla, Kashmiri Muslims, have zealously guarded their religious and cultural identity, retaining their traditional dress, mother tongue and food habits.

After their day's schedule, they frequently tune to Radio Srinagar to enjoy Kashmiri music broadcast from that station. Dozens of Kashmiri Muslim families are permanently settled in the village Teesa situated in the

institutions, which speaks volumes about their resilience and determination to succeed in alien surroundings. Though physically detached from Kashmir, yet a majority of them are still mentally and emotionally attached to their moorings, though after effects of cultural displacement are also visible among them.

The second generation Pandit diaspora includes doctors, engineers, information professionals, professors, scientists, civil servants (I.A.S. and I.P.S. officers), technocrats, teachers and Bank officers, besides serving in various state departments. A few among them also own orchards.

The well-known Kashmiri Pandits of Shimla include famous Bollywood actor Anupam Kher and his father Sh Pushkar Nath Kher, Sh M.K. Kaw, the former distinguished civil servant, Dr. Lokesh Koul, ex-Dean Academic Affairs and Professor Emeritus Himachal Pradesh University, Dr VK Mattoo, Professor Deptt. of Biosciences Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla, Mr. Ravinder Nath Koul, Director Inter State Himachal Pradesh Electricity Board, Sh. Arvind Koul, ex-Chief



The Mall (Shimla).

Hanuman is believed to have stopped here for a while during his search for 'Sanjeevani Booti' for Lakshmana. About 2.4 kms. from the Ridge is Annadale, the lush-green play ground and a picnic spot of the British times and 4 kms from it is a densely forested Glen at an altitude of 6,000 feet gifted with an ice cold water stream, Glen is a delightful secluded spot for the nature lovers. Little further away on the Mall road near Ambedkar Chowk, is the Himachal Pradesh State Museum, which has a fabulous and impressive collections of art objects, Pahari paintings, antiques besides numerous bronze and woodwork sculptures.

Further away on the same route near Choura-Maidan is the famous Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, previously known as Rashtrapati Niwas or Viceregal Lodge. It is an impressive British castle set amidst calm and serene surroundings with a spacious garden and endless rows of huge pine trees. The Rashtrapati Niwas is now home to eminent scholars. A short distance ahead of it is Summer Hill, which is a lovely suburb of Shimla at an altitude of 6,500 feet. It is well known for the 220 feet Chadwick fall and the Himachal Pradesh University. Summer Hill has quiet surroundings with secluded shady walks. It is an unforgettable joy to take a walk on the Summer Hill-Advanced Studies forest route, which I myself have enjoyed umpteen times amidst forest fragrance laden fresh breeze. About five kms. from Shimla at an altitude of 8,137 feet above Boileagunji,

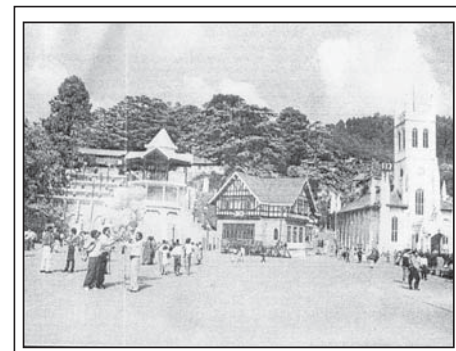
Shimla, which are ideal retreats for nature lovers'.

Sanjoli, a lovely suburb of Shimla at an altitude of 7,400 feet is about 3 kms. from the Ridge. It has a temple of Goddess Durga and a Buddhist monastery and is also approachable from lakar bazaar. The temple of Goddess Tara Devi about 11 kms. from Shimla near Shogi atop the highest mountain top, besides being a venerated spot is an unbelievable picturesque site of unspoiled charm.

Shimla, a city of antiquity and modernity is a 'Home' away from the original home for about a hundred families of Kashmiri Pandit community. They are mainly concentrated at New Shimla, Chotta Shimla, Sanjoli, Fingasu estate, Nabha Annadale and Summer Hill with a few families settled enroute Mall.

Kashmiri diaspora in Shimla also includes a significant number of Kashmiri Muslims, who number about 2500 souls. They are usually referred to as 'Khans' here. A majority of them are engaged in the laborious task of transportation of all types of household and consumer items in the inaccessible hilly terrain of Shimla. Besides Shimla, they can be spotted even in the remotest and innermost places of Palampur, Baijnath, Mandi Dharamshalla, Kullu Manali, Shogi, Solan, Kangra and Jawalaji.

Besides being roadside vendors, they own a number of vegetable and provision shops. Mr Qazi Shah hailing from Qazigund and a native of Hyderpora Srinagar own showroom cum shops in the prestigious Mall



The Ridge (Shimla).

tribal area of Barmur in Chamba district of Himachal Pradesh, which borders Baderwah in Jammu and Kashmir state. They are there for more than a hundred year and to utter amazement, their mother tongue is Kashmiri.

A majority of Kashmiri Pandits have come to Shimla in the early fifties driven by the lure of better employment avenues and prospects. A significant number of them were educationists, while others have contributed their skill and expertise in various state departments. Mostly they have served as Headmasters, Principals and Professors in the state educational

Secretary and Chairman, Himachal Pradesh Public Service Commission, Sh. PK Mattoo, (I.A.S.) retd. Chief Secretary, Sh. O.N. Channa, the first Chief Secretary, Dr C.L. Kundu, ex-Vice Chancellor of Himachal Pradesh University, Dr. Pushkar Nath Thusoo, ex-Director Agriculture Department and founder Director of Central Potato Research Institute, Bambloi, Dr. Khushoo, scientist, ex-Director of Central Potato Research Institute, Sh. Kundu, I.P.S. officer, Sh. B.L. Pandit, retd. I.P.S. officer, Sh. T.N. Ganjoo, a prominent educationist and retired Headmaster, fondly known as Masterji, Sh.

(Contd. on Page 17)

By Dr. Ramesh Kumar

Parvati and her children stayed with Rawal family at Brari Angan. Her brother's wife did not like Parvati's continued stay at her house. Soon she was forced to move out. Parvati got renovated a small dilapidated Paddy hut (Kuth) and shifted her family to it. Her family survived on food prepared in *Ashram langar*.

Brari Angan, along with Gosaingund, Gautam Nag (in Anantnag district) and Gosainteng (Baramulla town), was among the places, where *sadhus*, on pilgrimage to the holy cave of Lord *Amarnath*, used to halt for many days. The natural and spiritual ambience of these places appealed to the *sadhus*.

Narayan Pandit :

One day, an eccentric *sadhu* created a scene. He had demanded Dal (Cooked Pulses) at the langar but was instead served milk. This infuriated him. He lost his cool and thrashed the langar people with a trident. Since Narayan Pandit, the son of Parvati, knew Hindi well, he was requested by ashram-management to serve as interpreter for the visiting *sadhus*. This enhanced the prestige of Narayan Pandit. He was soon to catch the attention of one of the great saints Bhol Nath who had attained the power of '*Parkaya Pravaresh*'. As the tradition says the people with such powers could turn themselves into lion etc.

This spiritually elevated *sadhu* used to do his *tapasya* (offering prayers) at the nearby Sochalmaidan. Narayan Pandit would take milk to him. The saint, impressed by Narayan, asked him to accompany him to Amarnath. It snowed quite heavily during the *yatra*. The saint offered his Lion-skin to the young Narayan to keep him away from cold injury. Narayan became his disciple and received '*Guru Upadesh*'. Some years later, Kanwar Sher Singh, son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, was appointed Governor of Kashmir. The previous governor Bahama Singh Ardali, who had taken over Governorship on 5 May, 1831, failed to govern. There was a Shia-Sunni riot, this affected shawl industry. Maharaja Ranjit Singh indicted Bahama Singh for not taking preemptive measures. A leading Kashmiri merchant Mian Samad Joo personally went to the Maharaja to narrate Bahama Singh's callous attitude and indifference during the riots.

Maharaja decided to send his son, Kanwar Sher Singh, who had distinguished himself in the Balakot battle against Syed Ahmad Bareilvi, the leader of the Muslim revivalist movement (Wahabi) on 23 May 1831. Sher Singh, the son of Rani Mahtab Kaur, was a cheerful, intelligent,

Purushyar Massacre-II Descendants of Atma Ram Pandit

well-bred soldier and popular with the army. The new Governor Kanwar Sher Singh entered Kashmir via Baramulla route in January 1832. He did not have a smooth time initially. During the first winter of his tenure, Kashmir reeled under severe cold. All rivers and lakes were frozen. Many domestic animals and cattle perished. The population suffered due to scarcity of water and fuel. The governor too had his share of suffering. His official residence in Shergarhi fort, Srinagar, caught fire twice. The entire shopping complex in the neighbourhood was engulfed in the flames. Then fire took its toll

6 Ahlamar locality (Badiyar bala), adjacent to Habbakadal. It destroyed many dwellings and caused immense hardships to their residents. A new diversion-Nav Sarak (Nai Sarak) was created for pedestrians. These incidents have been documented at length by Pandit Birbal Kachru in his chronicle. **Majma-at-Tawarikh:**

Auckland papers describe Prince Sher Singh as 'clever and bold', but 'wild and unprincipled'. Traveller GT Vigne speaks of him, as needy and spend-thrift and 'cruel and rapacious', while McGregore says the Prince was addicted to "wine and women to an excessive degree" and "a complete drunkard and debauchee". Dewan Wasakha Singh fed this appetite of the prince to remain free to rule independently.

Prince Sher Singh was fond of hunting. The family Guru, a well-learned Pandit and Sh. Ganesh Dhar, a revenue administrator used to accompany him on these hunting jaunts. On one occasion Prince Sher Singh was on a hunting expedition in Kuthar area and camped at Uma Nagri. He did not pay any regard to Mahant Ramanand of Uma Nagri ashram. For some days hunting yielded no dividends. He also had syncope once. After recovering from it the Prince was asked to meet the Mahant. The latter told him he should refrain from hunting in Uma Nagri which was Devi's area, where even the birds and animals paid obeisance to the Devi. Mahant signalled the Governor to go for hunting in the nearby Shergund area. This proved to be sound advice. The Prince shot down

nine *shikars* one after the other in a single day.

The Prince's Guru and Pt. Ganesh Dhar, Chief of Revenue Administration used to pray regularly at Devibal. It was a daily routine for Narayan Pandit to go to Devibal to offer prayers to the goddess. Guru on hearing the prayer of Narayan Pandit felt a little amazed. He made enquiries about the identity of Narayan. Parvati, whose family had suffered much political persecution, felt scared. She kept her son in hiding. Finally, she was prevailed upon to produce her son before

later restored.

Narayan Pandit had decided not to marry. His brother Shiv Ram too was a bachelor. It was on the prodding of Mirza Kak, the great Kashmiri saint of Hangalgund that Narayan relented. He married Pt. Sat Ram Pandit's (of Hangalgund) daughter.

Mirza Kak had told Narayan that he will give birth to children who will, be like *Gul* and *Phul* (genius and handsome) but *Taet Tah Maet* (short-tempered and eccentric). Till 31 years of age, Narayan remained issueless. He decided to take his cousin's son Nidhan Rawal in adoption. Subsequently, Narayan's wife gave birth to three sons-- *Amarchand*, *Lakshman* and *Vasudev*; *Lakshman* was taken in adoption by Shiv Ram, Narayan's brother.

Prof. TN Madan's field work:

The village of Brari Angan was the village of the renowned anthropologist, Prof. TN Madan in 1950s. He decided to study the twin villages of Umanagri-Uttersoo for his field work. This anthropologist was so fascinated by these villages and the cooperation extended to him by the local Kashmiri Pandits that he asked one of his students, Urvashi Misri to do a field study on Pandit children and women in the same villages three decades later. Kashmiri Pandits of Brari Angan remember well the two scholars. This landmark study made Prof Madan a great name in Indian Anthropology. This work was later published in 1965 under the title '**Family and Kinship—A Study of the Pandits of Rural Kashmir**'. Two more editions of this book came out subsequently. Prof. Madan did his field work in these twin villages between January 1957 and January 1958. References to Prof. Madan and his book are being made in this write-up because the book throws some light on some Pandits, who hail from Atma Ram Pandit's clan.

About this clan, Prof. TN Madan says, "There is one Uma Nagri family which boasts of many Sanskrit scholars (Pandit) and astrologers (Jyotishi) including Narayan Pandit among its ancestors, but today only two of its male members can lay any

claim to traditional scholarship". The great Anthropologist calls this clan 'as one of the most respected and rich families of the village'. Pandits of Atma Ram's clan are Banamasis, their Ishta Devi is Jwaladevi of Khrew, while the gotra is Dev Vatsé Upamanyu Laugakshi. Their Kulprohit used to be Pt. Jagar Nath Handoo of Srinagar.

Some of the prominent descendants of late Atma Ram Pandit, who achieved excellence in religious and Sanskrit scholarship are:

Lakshman Pandit: Richest person of his time in his area—he was a great philanthropist.

Vasudev Pandit: Son of Narayan Pandit, Vasudev Pandit was well known in Kashmir and in the rest of India for his erudite scholarship in religious studies and social history. He was known better by alias Vasudev Kuthari and was employed by Dogra Durbar as a religious scholar. He was paid hefty sum of Rs 500 per year. He was trained by Pt. Sahib Ram Pandit, the author of *Tiratha Samgraha*. Another well-known descendant of Pt. Sahib Ram has been Pt. Mahanand pandit, a famed Astrologer and a former President of Priests' Association. Sahib Ram belonged to Pandit clan, known for high scholarship. This group reely intermarried with Karkun class. Sahib Ram's family also trained besides Vasudev, Shankar Pandit and possibly Amarchand also.

Vasudev was very influential. People were scared of him because of his eccentric behaviour. Janki Prasad, a non-Kashmiri was a senior revenue official. A widow asked Vasudev to get a job for her son. Vasudev ignored the normal protocol and just shouted from Prasad's main gate, "Appoint this widow's son as a Tehsildar". The Revenue official complied with Vasudev's "orders". Such was the writ of Vasudev.

Whenever religious scholars came from outside, Kashmiri scholars would request Vasudev to be their spokesperson in religious discussions. It is said that Vasudev could recite over 60,000 verses from his memory without any fault. Vasudev stayed at the house of Keshav Nath alias Keshav Pulsi in Srinagar. After his demise, Keshav Nath's family asked Vasudev's family to collect many bagloads of manuscripts and books left behind by Vasudev from his Srinagar residence. Unfortunately, the family did not realise the importance of this treasure.

Vasudev was married to sister of Pt. Shiv Nath Soma, who as per one account, was Chief Conservator of Forests of entire J&K. Pt. Shiv Nath, a resident of



Descendants of Atma Ram's clan. Seen also in the photograph is Bhawani, mother of Ram Nath Pandit.

(Contd. on Page 17)

Kashmiri Pandit Diaspora in Himachal Pradesh

(From Page 15)

S.L. Koul, retired Principal, Sh. N.N. Raina, a well known educationist, Dr. Krishna Raina, ex-Head of the Deptt. of Hindi, Himachal Pradesh University.

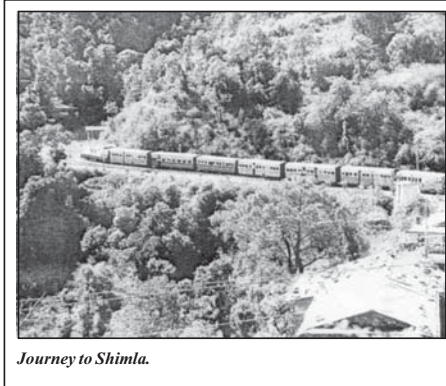
Dr. Prabhu Krishan Raina, ex-Reader Himachal Pradesh University and presently Reader Indian Institute of Technology Khargpur, late Professor Ravinder Kumar, ex-Head of the Department of History, Himachal Pradesh University, Sh. T.N. Wangnoo, ex-Personal Secretary to the Governor Himachal Pradesh, Sh. Shyam Lal Koul, ex-Deputy Director of Education Department and Retd. Principal, Sh. P.K. Raina, Retd. Principal, late Sh. Gobind Koul, Retd. Asstt. Post Master, Sh. D.N. Bhan, Retd. Section Officer, Himachal Pradesh A.G., Sh. Ramji Koul, ex-President of Kashmiri Pandit Association Shimla, Sh. K.N. Wali, Retd.

Deputy Director, Planning Commission, Govt. of India, Sh. Surinder Nath Koul, Retd. School Principal, Sh. N.L. Raina, Deputy Director Education (Retd.), Sh. Nakhasi, Retd. Deputy Director Education Department, Sh. O.N. Dhar, Retd. Superintendent Forest Department and his son Sh. Sunil Dhar, a businessman and a political activist and Sh. Jawahar Koul, Bank officer and a host of others. (To be taken up in subsequent issues).

Late Raja Dhyani Nath, 'one time owner of Shimlas' famous Ritz Cinema and Revoli Cinema is also said to have been an old Kashmiri Pandit (non-Kashmiri speakings). Raja Dhyani Nath is believed to have settled here, when Shimla was a summer capital of British Indian Empire. However, with the passage of time, their ownership has now changed hands.

The old timers recall that he

would always wear a hat and carry a walking stick. He would often claim with profound sense of pride "I am also a Kashmiri Pandit." Raja Dhyani Nath owned vast stretches of orchards at New Shimla. Sh. Kahan Chand is said to be the first Kashmiri Pandit to own a shop in the lower Bazaar Shimla near the start of Sabzi Mandi street. He is believed to have settled in Shimla before 1947. His provision store shop was frequented by the community diaspora for Kashmiri spices and 'Kangri', though his sons have now shifted to dry fruits and wholesale distribution of light eatable items. In Rampur Bushur of district Shimla, two brothers namely late Sh. Shyam Lal and late Sh. Bansil Lal would refer themselves as Shyam Lal Kashmiri and Bansil Lal Kashmiri. Their descendents have now adopted the surname of 'Kashmiri'. Both Sh. Shyam Lal



Journey to Shimla.

Kashmiri and Sh. Bansil Lal Kashmiri were orchardists and fruit contractors. Before finally settling in Rampur Bushur, they were living in Sunder Nagar. They claim to have come out from Kashmir centuries back.

One of their descendents Sh. Raj Kumar Kashmiri is presently running a S.T.D. Shop and another one is serving in a Bank at Rampur Bushur.

—(To be continued)

Descendants of Atma Ram Pandit

(From Page 16)

Rainawari, who later settled in Jammu, became a legend for his outstanding qualities. Vasudev left behind a daughter married in Kissu family and a son Maheshwar Nath. Pt. Shiv Nath Soma wanted his nephew to be a contractor but Maheshwar Nath was a man of simple disposition. He was just a matriculate but knew English very well. Through his maternal uncle he was employed as a forester and reached to the rank of Ranger. In his times he was one of the few persons who used to read national English dailies. Pt. Maheshwar Nath after his marriage shifted to his in-law's village, Levдора, Qazigund. Maheshwar Nath's wife, the only daughter of her parents was an intelligent lady. Maheshwar Nath's exemplary honesty and truthfulness in discharging his official duties made him renowned. Some of the incidents are being recalled here. Once, he imposed fine of Rs 5/- on his wife for bringing a wooden mortar (Muhul) illegally from the forest. On another occasion he attended a dinner at the nearby village of Nowgam. After the dinner was over, Pt. Maheshwar Nath asked his hosts, "where from did you get the wood of the ceiling roof? You would have to pay fine for it". Once during a drought he had some dispute with his tenants, Pt. Maheshwar Nath had inherited share of 350 kanals of land. Due to Kargili traders, price of Maize had shot up to Rs 50-60 per Khirwar. Tenants expressed their inability to pay this price. Finally, Prem Nath Pandit, Sarpanch of the village and a kin of Pt. Maheshwar Nath, intervened in the dispute to settle mutually acceptable terms. He settled Rs. 35 per

Khirwar to be paid to Pt. Maheshwar Nath. This was accepted by the tenants. But Pt. Moshar Nath told the tenants that he would not accept a penny more than the officially fixed price of Rs 8 per Khirwar. This put Sarpanch in quandry, tenants felt that the former had played fraud on them. Maheshwar Nath also confiscated a charcoal-laden boat, meant for his superior, a DFO.

Maheshwar Nath had three sons—Niranjan Nath, Kedar Nath, Mohan Lal besides a daughter. Niranjan Nath and Kedar Nath achieved eminence in the field of journalism and were associated with *Times of India* and *Indian Express* respectively. Kedar Nath was a poet too. Niranjan Nath was the first BA from Atma Ram's clan. Late Kedar Nath's son, Pawan too is a journalist with *Hindustan Times* in New Delhi. A few years back he was staff correspondent of *Indian Express* in Jammu.

Vishn Pandit: He was the eldest son of Lakshman Pandit. He was a high level forest official. He used to read national English and vernacular dailies regularly. As per family sources, Vishn Pandit had authored seven manuscripts which remained unpublished.

Shankar Pandit : He was the son of Nidhan Pandit (originally Rawal). Shankar was a Vedanti scholar, who trained many Kashmiris in Vedic scholarship. He often engaged in religious discussions with learned Pandits of Benaras and excelled over them. It was his wish to pass his last days at Haridwar and passed away there.

Prem Nath Pandit: He was son of Lakshman Pandit. He was classmate of leading political

personalities—Mirza Afzal Beg, Pt. Shiv Naraina Fotedhar and Pt. Kashyap Bandhu, Saifuddin Ghani (DIG Police). He was a first division holder in Matric. Better known as Prem Nath Kuthari, he along with his brother Sham Sunder remained Yuvak Sabha Presidents, Kuthar area for a long-time.

Sarwanand Pandit: He was son of Prasad Pandit and grandson of Lakhyman Pandit. He was born in 1906. He was one of the five members of 'convoy' of Prof. TN Madan. Because of dedication of these five people, the Mahant of Uma Nagri with his sense of repartee used to say:

"They gave up their homes and wives and lost their night's sleep for his (Madan's) sake". He also nicknamed them as 'convoy' because they used to move about in the village together with Prof. Madan.

Sarwanand died as a bachelor. He lived off his land. He had his education at the local school and was for some time at the Technical (art) school in Srinagar. Sarwanand was a shy person and never wore turban or a perhan in his life.

Prof. Madan in a rare tribute describes Sarwanand as a "my" and said, "I think I met rara avis in him." He sums up many traits of Sarwanand as 'man of orthodox views and well-informed about the Sanskrit tradition', 'most unorthodox in his appearance', 'intelligent with natural gift of an amazingly prodigious memory', 'a shy lonely person who had a raw deal in his life',

'has an irrepressible but healthy curiosity about, social happenings in the village and great sense of humour. He once in Prof. Madan's presence surprised a fellow villager by showing greater knowledge of the latter's genealogy than the latter himself possessed.

Sarwanand was a walking encyclopedia, who could recall at a minute's notice the 200-year old history of Uma Nagri and the origins of the different Pandit clans of the village. As per Prof. Madan, he had even kept a written record of some particularly notable events in the village during his lifetime.

For Prof Madan's fieldwork, Pt. Sarwanand remained a key informant. He admits that his book has quoted more often from Pt. Sarwanand's statements than from anybody else's, with the possible exception of Bishamber Nath Koul. In Prof. Madan's work Pt. Sarwanand found an outlet for his passion for ethnography. He acknowledges his contribution by recording, "I had found in him the key informant that the ethnographer invariably seeks and cultivates. The opposition between the public and the private, the general and the particular, got resolved in his person. He was a source of information about the private and appreciated the legitimacy of making it public".

About Pt. Sarwanand's interest, bordering on obsession, into prying into other people's domestic affairs, Prof. Madan has an explanation: "Denied the opportunity of involvement in intimate relationships and events, he had developed an interest in them generally."

Srikanth Pandit: He was the youngest member of Prof. Madan's 'convoy'. Srikanth is son of Pt. Raghav Ram and grandson of Pt. Amarchand. Like

his father, Srikanth too practised astrology. He retired as village Post-Master. A religious minded person, Srikanth had learnt Sanskrit tradition from his father. Prof. Madan praises his traits—being affectionate and informal. Pt. Srikanth lives as a refugee in Swam Vihar locality of Jammu.

Ram Nath Pandit: He is son of Pt. Tarachand and grandson of Lakshman Pandit. He dropped out in F. Sc but retains good knowledge of languages including English. He depended for living on his land. Like his cousin Pt. Sarwanand, Pt. Ram Nath too is well versed in religious scriptures and social history of Kashmiri Pandits. The way he reels out the information about the social history of the Pandit community is truly amazing. He has his own classification of Kauls, Razdans, and the Priestly class. It is through him we can visualise what sort of great scholar Sarwanand might have been. He has diligently preserved the history and the genealogy of his clan. This author was even provided the name of Mugli's father—Musa Moghlu (which was inadvertently omitted in the first portion of this essay). However, in my opinion Moghlu might have been a boatman, rather than a Goor (milkman). Shri Ram Nath's equally illustrious son and the author's friend, Sh. Satish Mohan Pandit holds Masters degree in English literature, besides the degrees in education and journalism. It was through Satish's efforts that the author was able to harvest the friendship for procuring the clan story to preserve it for posterity.



Veer Munshi relocates his Exile

By Kuldeep Raina

Exile is a profound tragedy. Those who do not experience it cannot feel its pain. It shatters the victim. Fear, Displacement, Marginalisation, continued Genocide, Rootlessness, Alienation, Social disintegration, deculturation all accompany genocide. There are two responses from the civil society of the victimised community. Sensitive sections give meaning to the exile, regenerate the community and prepare it for retrieving what has been lost. Hedonist segment advocates accepting exile as a fait accompli and to justify the compromises invents its own politics based either on betrayal or incomprehension. One cannot be neutral to one's own genocide and destiny. In responding to genocide the victim does not have an option of remaining 'objective', of course he can be rational. His strong commitment to fight genocide is the key to his survival. An artist has to survive as well. In a milieu where the victim's politics does not fall in 'political correctness' an artist, a creative one, has a greater challenge i.e. to combine sheer commercialism with intellectual concern to maintain visibility on the genocide.

Veer Munshi, a famed painter, who was displaced from Kashmir alongwith other members of his community in 1990,

has shown how a responsible artist can serve the twin concerns—addressing the genocide and perpetual exile, besides the larger commitment to the issues faced by the minorities all over the world and the victims of unjust wars (waged either for ideology or for imperialist expansion). Minorities have been victims of the same phenomenon—religious intolerance and cultural/ethnic exclusivism. Erosion of the state, where the state is either unable to defend the minority or is apathetic, too has contributed to the marginalisation of minorities, displaced as a result of ethnic-cleansing.

In his first exhibition in early nineties, Veer Mushi's focus was—the process and the tragedy of displacement of his own community. It has been a long journey since then. Munshi has witnessed the helplessness of the people in New York, in London, in West Asia, and in Mumbai.

His latest exhibition titled 'Encounter'—jointly promoted by Art Alive Gallery and the Visual Arts Gallery, was on display at India Habitat Centre on 25-30 August. He describes his journey from 'focus on personal genocide' to 'larger genocide of peoples' affected by terrorism' as his **commitment to social responsibility**. He attributes his sensitivity to the experience of

his own history. Munshi asks the people to remain vigilant.

Munshi's works on display combine three themes: **Division**—ideological, political. Belief and identity divide the communities, **Partition**—which is the geopolitics of this division in the Indian subcontinent, West Asia and elsewhere, **Migration**—is the fallout of partition where millions of refugees are battling the marginalisation and rootlessness. Munshi has used the **river** to show the divide because it evokes **nostalgia**. It is a **metaphor for territorial division**. He comments that 'Division' is a malaise threatening the ordinary citizens in every country.

Silence of weaver:

Shikara, here as in **Missiles of Faith**, has been used as a meaningful metaphor not to remind us of Kashmir's beautiful Lakes but to transport the viewer across the shores to death and destruction. Here a Shikara is hung up and laid to rest on a wall. It is adorned with profile of AK-47 to convey that the beautiful paradise now lived under constant fear of terrorism.

Partition

Eye To Eye:

Two men crouch on either of the border

—**Dialogue**: Two large dogs confront each other across the border.

—**Gandhi vs Gandhi**: It is shown that only Gandhi was against the partition.

The divide in each is shown with a river. The river is shown as symbol of divide because it invokes nostalgia.

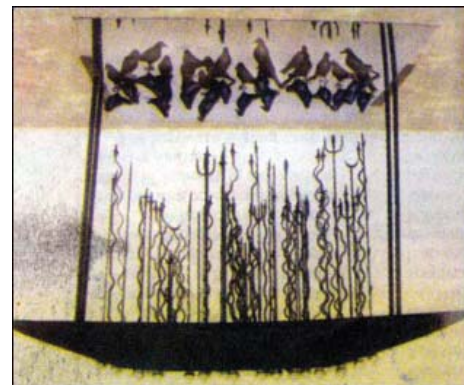
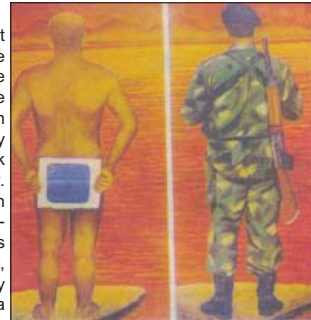
Will there Redemption of Peace:

It shows a huge wooden drum with a flock of white pigeons. Below the circumference is the face of a Kashmiri, middle-aged braving unfriendly weather but who still retains hope.

*The writer is **General Secretary of Panun Kashmir**

Encounter:

It is a direct comment on the politics behind the problems. Two male figures are shown standing side by side, with their back towards the viewer. The common Kashmiri stands naked, defenseless and vulnerable, shielding himself by holding behind him a small drawing with the lake and hills of Kashmir. The man in military uniform, carrying a rifle on his shoulder, has been brought to control the terrorist violence. The naked man is probably the artist himself. By portraying him with his back facing the viewer the idea is to show that the Kashmiri Pandit though displaced is still attached to its past. If he faces the viewer he would be in the present.



Missiles of Faith:

It shows a blackened and upturned *shikara*, which is adorned with innumerable small accretions that resemble shrines. The belly of the boat with instruments that are perpendicular and forked reflects on a shining glass below. The instruments-ritual objects of worship look like iron implements of torture. The crows on the glass plate stand for common people. The objective is to show how people become victims of the same religion on which they have so much faith, the exquisite ritual forms get transformed into an army of ugly missiles.



Sharpnels:

This motif has been deployed to create a sense of despair and dehumanization brought in by terrorism in Kashmir. The fragments of iron and steel blown out from cars, trains, lying around depict it. The attempt is to convey a message that human lives should matter more than instruments of destruction.



Winds of Change:

It contrasts the luxuriant lotus-filled Dal Lake with a forest of helmets in war fatigue fabric.

A verse -book which won first Sahitya Akademi-Award, for Kashmiri

By Mohan Kishen Tiku

I was first drawn to Masterji by some of his poems published in a local-daily at Srinagar. I longed to meet him mostly to talk about Kashmiri poetry and note his reaction to the present poetry of Kashmiri poets. So I was looking forward to the day when I would meet this great soul of Kashmir.

It was in the month of November, 1957 that I made my way to a locality in Jammu, city where he was putting up with a friend. My first impression was by no means equal to my expectations. I was however charmed at once some what inexplicably. His appearance was soft and bore no striking feature, with a pale face, the poet made his appearance dressed in the traditional *phiran*, and a greeting smile.

After the introduction he heard of my interest in the Kashmiri poetry. He somehow became interested in me, and thereafter, I would visit him often. He told me about early days of his studies and his work in connection with the editing of poet Paramanand's work, which he translated into English. The translated version was published in three volumes.

Zinda Kaul later known affectionately



as "Masterji" was born on July 17th 1885. His father Lakhman Pandit died early when Zinda Kaul was still a young boy under the burden of responsibilities.

Zinda Kaul tried his hand at many occupations and grew up in a prosaic atmosphere. In those early days he faced many difficulties in getting books to read. But he managed to borrow books and would read at late hours of the night.

Poetry fascinated him. He was charmed by sweet-songs that tell of saddest thought. In the year 1899, hardly 14 years old, Masterji composed a poem to recite it from the stage at the *Dharm-Sabha* meeting held at the Raghunath Mandir, Srinagar.

His early poems can be divided into two groups. The first group from 1902 to 1920 and second from 1920 to 1935. First came '*Ghazals*' in the traditional-pattern, and others were Urdu poems. In the year 1918, he also composed two English poems '*Love*' and '*Darbagh*' which are still remembered.

'*Aha-ha-Clerky*' - a satirical poem was read by him in Jammu on '*Navreh*' day in the year 1935. In the year 1940, he published first collection of Hindi poems '*Patra-Pushpa*'. His collection of Urdu poems under the pen name of '*Sabar*' was

published by late Dr A.N Raina in the year 1964.

In the year 1942, at a symposium held at Srinagar, he read a poem '*Panuni Kath*', which was liked very much. This poem and the others that he wrote in Kashmiri, later established him as a poet. Zinda Kaul's meeting with poet Tagore in Srinagar in Oct, 1915, brought a cataclysmic change in him. In fact direct influence can be traced in his work '*Sumran*' which won him the first '*Sahitya-Akademi*' award in 1956, for Kashmiri language. The book was published by the Lalla-Rukh-publications, Srinagar. However, Mirza Arif (Poet) who was the member of the *Sahitya Akademi* during 1954-1956, observed that the book '*Sumran*' was not entitled for the reward, as the book was published much earlier than 1965.

An anthology of Modern Kashmiri verse records "*his slender volume of 35 poems entitled 'Sumran'* won him the '*Sahitya-Akademi*' Award for 1956. All these poems belong to his period of maturity and are philosophical and devotional in content. His poems express the doubts and anguish that torment the modern mind, but he does not resolve these by the assertion of any dogmatic



Master Zinda Kaul

philosophy'.

On the death of his wife he wrote to one of his friends.... "She has at last found me unworthy of her and flown to the heaven from where she must have come." He was a soft spoken man. Never harsh and always gentle in his way. Masterji was simple in his food habits. He had admiration for the young poets of Kashmir for their sincerity, patriotism and ideals. He wanted them to give more thought to the deeper problems of life.

In spite of many ups and downs which came in the way of Masterji, he had a great sense of humour, once, while serving in a local photographer's shop, he was directed by the owner of the shop to

(Contd. on Page 17)

Confessions of Farooq & Arif raise more Questions

(From Page 14)

For example:-

i) The cabinet of NC government had already decided to release the terrorists when Farooq arrived from London. Was he actually ignorant about the feelings of his cabinet or had he actually abdicated his responsibility as CM while he was out?

ii) By Farooq's own admission his cabinet had already decided to release the terrorists that means the doubts conveyed to Sh Arif Mohammad Khan by PMO on the handling of the kidnapping affair by the state government had a streak of truth in it.

What was Farooq's assessment as to why his cabinet behaved so? Did he look into the matter subsequently? What was his assessment about it?

iii) Farooq says that he vehemently opposed the decision to release the terrorists but Arif Mohammad Khan confides that he was unaware of Farooq's view. In fact if he would have known his views he would have certainly acted?

iv) Farooq confesses that Arif Mohd. Khan objected to IK Gujral's view that terrorists have to be released. Why then did not

he support him there and then and let Mr Khan know about his objections to proposals? Was Farooq playing safe and only participating in such a meeting only to gauge the reactions of the Central team? Was he only fathoming the Central response to position himself adequately?

v) After knowing Mr Arif Mohd. Khan's view why did not Farooq engage him later on if he somehow found it improper to let his views be known to the Central team in the morning? Why did not he contact him subsequently and seek his good offices to offset the release drama?

vi) Farooq says that he made Arif and Gujral to sign the document of release of terrorists but Arif makes no mention of it and in fact says that he was surprised to know that terrorists were released? Who is lying here and how much?

Prying observers will see many more fallacies and contradictions in the submissions of these leaders. Arif Mohammad Khan says that he was woken up at 2:30 in the night by a phone call from PMO, but does not know who briefed him, Cabinet secretary or Director of

Intelligence Bureau particularly when the matter was so important. Apparently both leaders appear to be holding up some information or are distorting the facts.

But to the credit of both they have made unambiguously clear their view about terrorist blackmail which is heartening. In the growing crescendo of radical Islamic militancy the two leaders stand out for having at least made their position clear, that compromise with terrorists breeds more terrorism. Rubaiya Sayed case reflects both the lack

CONTINUATION

of commitment and vision on the part of our leaders. It also points to the treacherous labyrinths of subversion in our state apparatus and political establishment.

That a judge was sitting at the Union Home Minister Mufti Mohd. Sayeed's home and was negotiating with the terrorists and the most important member of the Central team which was to negotiate the crisis was not even aware about it speaks for itself. Did the then Prime Minister

keep his PMO unawares about his views? Or was PMO simply playing politics with Arif Mohd. Khan?

The leading paper of Pakistan, *Dawn* while commenting about the release of terrorists in the Rubaiya Sayed kidnapping case wrote then, "**It was a bluff which worked**". Hilal Ahmad War a former terrorist in his book "**The Great Disclosures**" casts aspersions on the role of Mr Sayeed itself. His view have not been so far contested.

But another pertinent question which nobody has asked is what was BJP, on whose support United Front Govt. actually was surviving, doing at that critical moment? Why did not they force the government to desist from doing what it eventually did? They seem to have been mere spectators as they chose to be even subsequently when the then Governor Jagmohan was removed.

Farooq raises legitimate questions about BJP's role during Kandhaar Hijacking "**Mr. Vajpayee should be the first to accept the blame. And then, why not Advani who was bitterly**

against terrorism. He should tell the nation why he gave in. Why not Jaswant Singh who was an Armyman?" Mr Farooq should ask himself also why he gave in? Are his explanations enough that he went to Raj Bhawan with his resignation and was persuaded by the then governor not to pursue it?

Farooq while delving into the murky affairs of these two events gives an insight into the subversion of his own party and the government. His cabinet was at variance with his view in the Rubaiya Sayed kidnapping case. See what he has to say about his own government when he talks about release of terrorists in the Kandhaar Hijacking case. "**My thoughts were not my life. My thought that it is going to knock India off....At that time, I was seeing the dimensions vis-a-vis India and I was really worried because he (Azhar) knew everybody who really matters. In the police world and the political world. Many of them used to take Taveez (amulet) from him. He had cells all over...**"

A Review of Ugly Kashmiri

By Bilhan Kaul

The book under review "Ugly Kashmiri" written by Arvind Gigoo can hardly be described as a book. For in good measure, every page has ten words. Maximum is fifty words. In each of the words, however, Arvind Gigoo weaves irony and satire. He tries to be artistic and pursues rigorously to create, and suggest a new idea.

In the first place, the title of the book "Ugly Kashmiri" is in itself quite provocative. The author leaves us in no doubt that he wants provocation because it is done on purpose. As far as ugliness goes we must remember what Jawahar Lal Nehru has said "Kashmiris are fortunate because they live in beautiful land". What effectively Nehru is trying to say that Kashmiris are beautiful because they live in beautiful land. The only problem in Kashmir is ideology. Arvind Gigoo tries hard not to see it. Sometimes political correctness and ideological blinkers go hand in hand. Arvind Gigoo cannot be faulted on that score. Political correctness comes with eager to please attitude and ideological blinkers owes its origin to be different. Hence to please and provoke is double edged weapon which the author of "Ugly Kashmiri" employs.

The author also tries hard to be outsider but in the end is an insider who tries to be an outsider.

Arvind Gigoo weaves intellectual energy to surprise and in some measure succeeds to surprise and astonish. The book has its moments but those moments are tarnished by surprising conclusions. Perhaps, Arvind Gigoo has read too much of English literature, where barring exceptions like Shakespeare, wit takes precedence over depth. But underlying theme of Gigoo's cameos is to inject word with depth.

Some of his cameos reveals his depth. For eg. on page no: 90 Shri Bhat "your highness, please get my brothers and sisters back" Zainabuddin "The boon is granted. My descendants will take care of them."

But he is quick to balance by this another breezy cameo.

"What is culture"? Tell me something about your culture"

"Himm.....I am leaving for Maharashtra.

To trivialize events and tragedies is a weapon which A. Gigoo employees too frequently.

For instance What now? See you in Panun Kashmir.

If Mr. Gigoo tries to weave allegary in the above cameo then he has failed miserably. For in the context of art, author is duty bound not to leave sentence in a suspended animation and leave it to reader to find the meaning. The golden rule for the wit to succeed is that it should be conveyed as an understatement but here in ugly Kashmiri author tries too hard to succeed in his mission. To put it differently, Arvind Gigoo tries to turn tragedy into wit. It is here he fails. In any case,

to turn tragedy into a laughter channel reveals insensitiveness and any good author must reveal sensitive nature to reveal his worth.

I know my worth says Jean Paul Sartre in his autobiography "Words". To the author's credit words have been arranged to reveal a metaphor but in a figurative sense only. He also weaves events, experiences to project an ideology where author believes in nothing. He tries to comment but is not firm in his convictions that is one grey area of the book.

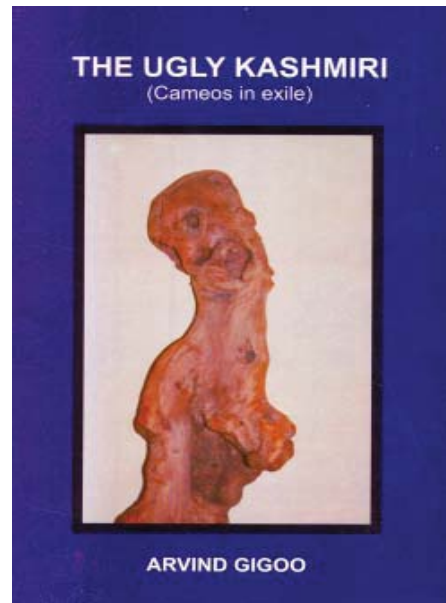
The author leaves blank space for the cameo "address". But fails to comment upon who snatched his address. One of the cameos reads as following.

Renaissance
"We must preserve our culture"

"How?"
"By reviving dead rituals".

Here, Arvind Gigoo, much in the manner of Marxists tries hard to look progressive and forward looking. But progress does not mean forgetting one's culture. Had Kashmiri Pandit forgotten his rituals he could not have remained a one. The author surely knows this. But the purpose of art for the sake of art in underlying theme of Ugly Kashmiri.

If the underlying theme of a need for change from ugliness to beauty runs through the pages of the book, I am afraid that Gigoo reveals a Marxist mindset. The recurring theme of Marxist ideology is change and it has failed. The recurring theme of Islamists is also Islamic change. It too has failed. Pandits



cannot hope to forego their rituals else they will not be called Kashmiri Pandits. I hope Mr Gigoo knows this too.

Arvind Gigoo does not spare even Kashmiri Muslims as is revealed in his cameo "clipping" on Page No: 63. It is a telling comment how Muslims associated with national conference issued written statements in the press that henceforth they have nothing to do with party.

Here is how it reads.
This is for the information of all that all the members of our family had lost the balance of mind. The mental disease we suffered continued for 48 years. We

were associated with a political party. Actually, we have realized now that we were mentally sick We...children and all.... disassociate ourselves from the party. We apologize. I apologize. We apologize.

Noor Mohammad and family
Idgah.

It is these cameos which are redeeming features of the book of cameos.

It is hard to over criticize the book for the author himself leaves us in no doubt that it is provoked people that he is after.

A verse -book which won first Sahitya...

(From Page 19)

collect the charges of a photograph from an English lady. When young Zinda Kaul asked for the payment, the lady got somewhat angry and threw the copy of the photograph on the floor and said, 'I will not pay anything. Don't you see how silly I look in the picture'.

Young Kaul picked up the photograph and said to the Lady that it was not their fault.

Like Tagore his poetry is deeply philosophic in nature.

Masterji did his best to be simple in his daily habits till his end of life which came on February 3, 1965 at Jammu.

Some 38 years ago in 1958, Nilla-Cram Cook, alongwith Prof PN Pushp and BP Sharma came to see this great soul of Kashmir. I too was in the room present at that time. Masterji explained some of his poems.

Tears were in her eyes. Later she wrote

a book. "The way of the Swan" Poems of Kashmir". This work contains six poems of Masterji translated by her. Before taking leave, she enjoyed Kashmiri-tea with Kulcha.

For the interest of the readers here is the selection of some lines from his famous book, 'Sumran' collection of Masterji's poems in Kashmiri, translated by him in English too:-

Hymn to love

Great love. I have seen that thy power is marvellous as God's
I know no God apart from thee make thou my heart-shrine...

Reverence for the teacher

He will arrive Today
My father, guru, I learn will arrive today

I will cover his path with flowers
I will clean my mind's house by

sweeping away all sin...

Token of love

(The Rosary)

Listen my friend, he gave me his rosary

as a token of his love

But alas: I failed to take good care of

it and lost it!

I was unworthy!

I have no hope to re-

cover those precious beads by groping

To be so lucky one must have given

rich gifts to the poor in one's past.

Unprepared:

My lover from eternity who loves me

more

than I can love myself

Who is my hope, my light,

my lord and king

Who wants me seeks me and calls me.

With whom my childhood was fall of

bliss...

Spring

Come out to enjoy the spring my dear

friend

CONTINUATION

It will be by the way, afford an opportunity to some people of

For many eyes are heavy like sick

man's

With longing to look at you....

Meeting

You revealed yourself to me of your

own accord

And having raised in me. You left me

alone

To whose care, my sovereign Yogi!

New Year

The New Year has come

New flowers have bloomed in the

garden

And song-birds have again begun

their working!

Recently the Sahitya Akademi has

published two monographs in the series-

"Makers of India. Literature" about

Masterji.

*The writer is columnist and presently

on the staff of the "The Kashmir Times)

“Infinite Riches in a Little Room”

By Dr. A.N. Dhar

THE author of the volume under review, Prof. Arvind Gigoo, has made a gentle impact as a talented writer during the past decade or so—through his competent English translations of some select Kashmiri verse (drawn from the works of a few noted poets) and also through his own poetic compositions published in several leading journals of the country. At present he is working on a project related to the critical evaluation of Kashmiri short fiction.

With the publication of the book titled *The Ugly Kashmiri* (Cameos in exile), which I view as a *tour de force*, the author has emerged as a forceful and persuasive writer, in fact a fine literary artist in the making. He deserves a word of praise for his technical accomplishment: the literary feat that he has performed in conveying what he wants to say about the Kashmir imbroglio and the resultant turmoil in the Valley through the short pieces of writing he calls 'cameos'. The technique he has adopted speaks of his originality, that has suddenly made him into an innovative writer. That he is deeply and widely read, aware of the great masters of irony, satire and wit from among the British and continental writers (both classical and modern), becomes immediately evident to the perceptive reader. The thoughtfully chosen title of the book (which, I am afraid, could mislead or alienate some readers) and the sprinkling of apt quotations on the two fly leaves of the book bear testimony to the author's scholarship and sensitiveness as a writer. The 180 'cameos' if clustered together, would have just made up a small booklet, but in terms of their density of content—each cameo packed with different shades of meaning—they speak volumes. As a chronicler of events and a critic of the socio-political scene he is concerned with, the author is outstanding in his craft. His acute observations on the various dimensions of the Kashmir problem are very revealing, making the reader reflect and introspect if he is a Kashmiri in "exile"; those not displaced from the Valley I believe, will also look 'within' if they go through the 'cameos'. These terse pieces remind me of the Jew of Malta's "infinite riches in a title"—the phrase Marlowe employs in his play to describe the protagonist's fabulous wealth stored in his room.

Prof. Gigoo has a mind of his own—a fact that is pervasively reflected in the 'cameos'. He has naturally acquired an English prose style of his own too, evident from his excellent preface to the work in question. It is a fine piece of prose, crisp and immaculate. The author lays bare his heart, conveying his anger, anguish and disillusionment over the events that took place in Jammu and Kashmir with the outbreak of militancy in the Valley, and over the inevitable exodus of the Pandits. A discerning reader can see that he is unbiased in that he doesn't blame any section of the

inhabitants of the Valley outright, Hindus or Muslims. At this point I should like to quote these lines from the author's preface:

"I have never had any political commitment and religious conviction. I go on changing my opinions. I dangle between an idea and its opposite. I am sure about my doubts, vacillations and uncertainties. I have no answers and solutions to offer".

The last two lines of the excerpt from the 'preface' quoted above remind me of what the English poet John Keats has said about the 'negative capability' of Shakespeare as a dramatist, through which he had achieved self-effacement in his works. Keats defines the quality of self-effacement as "—the ability to remain in uncertainties and doubts without any irritable reaching after facts". To my mind—I have no hesitation in saying so—the author has largely succeeded in achieving self-effacement through the 'cameos' he has hit upon. He is 'invisible' throughout—an 'outsider'.

Through the 'cameos' the author points his finger at what ails the collective psyche of the Kashmiris as a whole. He has no malice or ill-will against anyone and has no axe to grind in painting the Kashmiris 'ugly'. He feels rooted in the Valley; hence his anguish and disgust. He targets everything unpleasant and doesn't spare himself in the last 'cameos'. As a neutral omniscient observer, he uses the 'cameos' as a medium for unburdening his heavy heart—the mental agony and suffering he has experienced in the Valley and later as a 'migrant' in Jammu. He is brutally frank too in conveying bitter and unpalatable things. While he points his finger at what pains and annoys him, he provides the healing touch of the physician too—in making the Kashmiri reader, Muslim or Pandit, to think hard and to introspect why things have gone wrong and how they could be remedied.

In some of the 'cameos' the author targets the Central Government for having bungled the Kashmir issue right from the start. The reader doesn't find it difficult to identify the eminent personalities—political leaders and rulers—on whom aspersions are cast in this regard. As an imaginative writer, he makes statements (in the 'cameos') involving the interplay of wit and humour, irony and sarcasm, or paradoxes, ambiguities, innuendos, playing on words and the oblique manner of the English Metaphysicals to achieve his effects. Though the common reader can catch the general drift of the 'cameos', at many places he or she may get bogged down too—some 'cameos' seem nerve-racking as puzzles. The author will do well to provide helpful notes and clues in the form of an 'appendix' to the book.

Some specimens of the 'cameos' are given below to give the reader (of the present review) and idea of how the author employs them as his instruments:

Still

I still am; I am not still.

(The author probably has a displaced Pandit in his mind)

**

Strength

Divided we stand; united we fall.

(Applies again to the Pandits)

**

Aspirations

"What are your demands?"

"Only money and independence from you".

(This seems an aspersion on those Kashmiris who talk of freedom)

**

The Slip

The old man saw "a ray of hope;"

his lieutenant said "those unfortunate people"; the bald bachelor felt the 'ground slippery'.

(The old man can easily be identified as Mahatma Gandhi and his lieutenant

as Nehru. Sardar Patel

could be the third man who "felt the ground slippery")

He wasn't a bachelor.

**

Gulmarg and After

The dreamer closed his eyes when the lion was caged; his daughter opened hers when the cub roared; and the young grandson played in snow.

(Clues: The dreamer is Nehru and the grandson Rajiv Gandhi.

The 'lion' and the 'cub' can easily be figured out.)

**

"Nursing Orderly"

"Sir, the whole populace is on the road"

"Is it a welcome?"

"No sir, it is the beginning of a farewell"

(Clue: This obviously concerns

Jagmohan's second term as J&K Governor)

**

Introduction

"Please introduce yourself".

"I am my own ancestor".

(Probably reference to earlier migrations in history)

**

What Now?

"See you in Panun Kashmir".

(Kashmiri Pandits' disillusionment with the movement)

I congratulate the author heartily on his brilliant success in producing something that is original and novel. However, in view of its novelty and the inherent difficulties of a number of 'cameos', the book may not find favour with all sections of readers.

The book is welcome in view of its rich content. I must compliment the Allied Publishers, New Delhi, on having brought out a shapely volume with an attractive get-up.

The cover-design by the author himself is another feather in his cap.

Chronology of Events (August 1-September 6, 2006)

- Aug 1: Two CRPF men were killed and a civilian injured as terrorists struck at Batmaloo. In yet another attack, terrorists gunned down two BSF personnel from point blank range at Kak Sarai in Srinagar. A police constable and two terrorists were killed in an encounter in Pulwama. Four terrorists were arrested and arms, ammunition and currency recovered from them in Doda. Satellite pictures show terror camp near Balakot.
- Aug 2: Two terrorists were killed and three others injured while making IED's. Two more terrorists were killed in encounters at Awanipora and Bandipore. Four civilians were injured in an IED explosion in Sumlar, Bandipore. Two terrorists and a jawan were killed in an encounter at Kochal, Chatroo in Doda district. 20 persons were injured in a blast at Bus Stand Surankote. Union Foreign Secretary denied any stalemate in the peace process.
- Aug 3: A terrorist was killed, six jawans injured and Kulhand massacre accused Ashraf Ganai trapped in a fierce encounter at Gundana, Doda. A serial train blast accused Abdul Hameed was arrested by a joint team of Mumbai Police and JKP (CID) from Surankote.
- Aug 4: Kulhand massacre mastermind alongwith other associates managed his escape while a police cop was injured as terrorists attacked a Patrol Party in Mendhar. Chief Minister Ghulam Nabi Azad claimed in Assembly of improvement in security situation and accused Hurriyat of showing disinterest in peace process.
- Aug 5: Two terrorists were killed in an encounter at Helmatpora, Kupwara. Six CRPF jawans and two civilians were injured in a grenade attack at Sopore. A Panch was shot dead by terrorists at Marhot in Sangla, Surankote. GoC 15 Corps Gen. SS Dhillon said that arrest of three Armymen for terrorist links was not a cause of alarm.
- Aug 6: A woman was killed and 16 others, including five police personnel, injured in yet another grenade attack at Sopore. An HM Battalion commander alongwith an associate was killed in an encounter at Kulgam. IGP Jammu Zone Dr. SP Vaid said that 60 militants have crossed over to this side in recent past. Accusing India and international community of wasting the opportunity by not responding to CBMs' of Parvez Musharraf, Salahuddin threatened of spread of terrorism to other states.
- Aug 7: Two terrorists and a soldier were killed and three hostages rescued in an encounter at Shripora. Terrorists gunned down two soldiers and looted their weapons in Qazigund-Kulgam belt. Two terrorists were killed in Machil sector. An HJUI terrorist was killed at Ballana, Kishtwar. A Bangladeshi exfiltrator was arrested in RS Pura sector. US Assistant Secretary of State Richard Boucher admitted that cross border terrorism continues in India.
- Aug 8: SOG gunned down two *fidayens* in an encounter at Jagti near Nagrota. 17 people were injured in a grenade attack at Handwara while tragedy was averted by timely detection of an IED near Bijbehara. Terrorists hurled a grenade towards police station Zakoora that failed to cause any damage. An IED was defused in Srinagar road. A JeM top terrorist Hassan Bhai was killed in Keshwan forests in Kishtwar tehsil.
- Aug 9: A student of Amar Singh College Ghulam Mohd. Sheikh, alleged to be a top ranking terrorist, was killed by CRPF in Srinagar. An HM terrorist was killed in Shopian. Police arrested an SPO accused to be mastermind of Mangnar-massacre in Poonch district in the intervening night of July 12-13. Army returned a Pak woman who had inadvertently crossed over LOC at Krishna Ghati in Poonch sector.
- Aug 10: An LeT commander, Army source, a cop and a timber smuggler were killed in Kashmir valley. Students and politicians protested even if police maintains that Sheikh was an active militant. Two JeM terrorist were killed at Behri Rakh in Mendhar, Poonch. British Police foiled an Al-Qaeda plot to blow up US bound planes.
- Aug 11: Terrorists struck at the lone Hindu family of Ram Singh at Harra Gool killing his wife, daughter and son while an infant had providential escape. Two terrorists were killed in an encounter at Gursai; Mendhar; two cops and a jawan were injured and a civilian killed in the encounter. Six people were injured in an explosion that took place in a tailoring shop in Mir Mohalla, Baramulla. 14 persons were injured as terrorist hurled a grenade on police vehicle near Shalpora crossing at Sopore. A suspected grenade thrower Shabir Ahmed was apprehended by CRPF at Hanjiweera, Pattan. Two terrorists were killed in an encounter at Manzgam, Kulgam. 10 kg RDX was recovered in Baderwah.
- Aug 12: Civilians protest as two of a family were killed in an ambush in Kupwara. A civilian was killed in yet another incident of cross-firing at Drugmalla. Three terrorists were killed in an encounter in Handwara area. Four terrorists surrendered in Uri Sector. Terrorists launched two rifle grenades at Pihru, Anantnag but failed to cause any damage. Terrorists killed two elders for sending their sons for "Army Recruitment" at Drogiyan in Surankote. A terrorist hideout was destroyed at Karyual, Rajouri. Osama Bin Laden's CD was seized in Poonch.
- Aug 13: An HM Commander was killed at Majar, Chatroo; three IED's were recovered at Tanda, Akhnoor. An Army JCO was killed in an ambush in Bandipore. Terrorists killed the wife of slain. Pakistan terrorist and injured her sister at Harman, Shopian. A suspect Badar Din was held by police and recovered Rs 1.28 lakh from him at Dhimber Gali, Mendhar.
- Aug 14: A terrorist was killed and two jawans injured in an encounter at Chrung, Thannamandi; about 100 children were rescued as Angles Nursery School caught fire in the crossfiring. An IED was detected and defused on Doda-Dessa road. A jawan was killed and two others injured in an encounter at Haptnar, Anantnag. Terrorists, carried grenade attacks at many places in North Kashmir but failed to cause any damage. Four terrorists surrendered after crossing over from PoK in Uri sector.
- Aug 15: Two civilians were killed in an encounter which continues at Khandaypora, Ashmuqam. An LeT terrorist was arrested alongwith arms and ammunition in Zainpora, Pulwama. A major tragedy was averted by detecting and defusing an IED on Srinagar-Pulwam road. As the nation including J&K celebrated, "Independence Day" amidst terrorist threat, the Valley observed strike on the call of various separatist organisations.
- Aug 16: Five infiltrating terrorists and a soldier have been killed in an encounter in Machhil sector. Eight teenagers on way to PoK for arms training were apprehended in Kangan area and handed over to their parents. HM terrorists targeted a CRPF petrol vehicle with an IED injuring two jawans and a woman in Yaripora, Kulgam. A civilian injured in Sopore earlier succumbed to his injuries. People in Ashmuqam, Anantnag and Arihal Pulma held protests against security forces. Hurriyat chairman Mirwaiz Umar described UN a failed institution and accused PDP of adopting double standards.
- Aug 18: A terrorist got killed in an encounter at Chak Nowgam, Handwara. An over-ground worker of LeT Abdul Rashid Mir of Chak Cholan, Shopian was arrested by forces in the same area. A CRPF jawan, injured in a terrorist attack at Koker Bazar, Srinagar yesterday, succumbed to his injuries. In yet another example of frustration among security personnel deployed in militancy infested areas, BSF jawan unsuccessfully fired upon his CO and colleagues, he was latter arrested. Three JK youth and a cop were arrested by Punjab police for supplying cars to terrorists. A terrorist was killed and two more believed to be trapped in a gunbattle at Rainipora, Shopian. An LeT overground worker was arrested in Pulwama; a tractor-driver was robbed by armed youth in Budgam. While BJP advocated for declaring Pakistan a terror-state, Farooq Abdullah described autonomy as only solution to Kashmir dispute Govt has doubled the salary of SPOs' to Rs 300.
- Aug 19: Gunbattle in Shopian ended with death of one more terrorist, the terrorist killed today in the gunbattle ins believed to be a Sudanese. An infiltrator was shot-dead while two others escaped in Balakote sector. The terrorists injured a JKAP cop and escaped with his Insas rifle at the Zearat of Shah Israr Bagdai in Kishtwar. Punjab police arrested three J&K ultras at Madhopur and recovered arms and ammunition and fake currency from them. CM described dialogue as only route to solve complex problems.
- Aug 20: Anzeer Shah, who had surrendered last year but had joined again LeT outfit was killed in Pranu Doda. Arms and ammunition and ration was recovered from a terrorist hide-out at Sikri Topa in Doda. Terrorists killed a PHE employee at Sriwarpora Pattan. An LeT terrorist arrested from Wanigam Pateen, Baramulla.
- Aug 21: Army claimed to have arrested Tohteen Akmal Hashmi, a Pakistani national and connected with Mumbai serial blasts, from Shopian area. A woman was injured in an IED blast in Bandipore. A police cop Ishtiyaq Khan was arrested in Handwara for eve-tearing and another cop Asad Joo was arrested from Qazigund for extorting money. An SPO was killed and three ultras reportedly trapped in a gunbattle in Khari, Banihal. Punjab police is hunting for Rafta for her alleged terrorist links.
- Aug 22: A jawan was injured in a grenade attack at a BSF camp in Bandipore. Security forces arrested an HM terrorist in Baramulla and recovered two hand grenades from him. Security forces also recovered arms and ammunition at Gawala-Uri. A civilian was shot at and injured by terrorist at Turkpora, Handwara. A jawan was killed as gunbattle in Khan-Banihal continues. Women join VDC's to fight terrorism.
- Aug 23: Central government admits that ISI continues to support terror groups in J&K. A Hindu terrorist KK Sharma, reportedly to have converted to Islam, was killed alongwith an associate at Kalihand, Doda. 14 persons, including six CRPF jawans, were injured as terrorists lobbed a grenade in Baderwah. Two JeM terrorists were arrested in Kupwara. SOG arrested three men alongwith hawala money on National Highway.
- Aug 24: Security forces killed four top LeT and HJUI terrorists, destroyed a terrorist hideout and recovered large quantities of arms and ammunition in different operations across Jammu region. A woman employee was shot dead by terrorists in Baderwah area. Security forces recovered six grenades, one rocket launcher and 250 AK rounds from Palli Morh, Kathua. A terrorist was killed in an encounter at Lalpora, Kupwara. Hurriyat favoured resumption of talks with Pakistan.
- Aug 25: Terrorists shot at and wounded a woman at her residence at Bandipore. A cylinder explosion caused panic in high security Sonwar and Gupkar area. Mumbai police took custody of two persons arrested in the Valley and reportedly connected to Mumbai blasts. DPD claims that J&K's Special Status has been diluted.
- Aug 26: An HM terrorist was killed at Astan Nar, Ganderbal. Terrorists shot at and injured two contractors at Arwani, Anantnag. Police busted a terrorist hideout and recovered explosives in Molsar forests. 36 Bangladeshi nationals were arrested in Ramgarh sector.
- Aug 27: Police foiled a plot to target DC Colony, Rajouri by arresting four top terrorists and recovering huge cache of arms and ammunition. Two Al-Badr terrorists were killed at Suyan Saindar, Rafiaband. Police and CRPF arrested Mohd. Ashraf Parray in Shopian and described him "District Commander" of HM. JKLF Chairman Yasin Malik announces hunger strike and voluntary arrests against human rights violations.
- Aug 28: Police arrested government teacher Lal Husani from Darhal and a private teacher from Ghambir and put under vigil a cop for terrorist links. A 17 years old Mehraj-uddin was slaughtered by terrorists at Raiyar Arbal, Beerwah. A tragedy was averted by detecting and defusing IED at a link road in Palhallan, Pattan. Three LeT terrorists were arrested and arms recovered at Wangam, Badipore.
- Aug 29: Terrorists short dead an SPO at Devar, Lolab. Two terrorists were arrested. Police foils attempts of HM to strike in crowded areas by arresting some terrorists and recovering mobile bombs. Yet another Hawala operator Parvez Ahmed was arrested from Mendhar tehsil.
- Aug 30: Two terrorists of LeT and a jawan were killed in an encounter at Boni Bagh, Kangan; another terrorist belonging to HM was also killed in the same area. One more terrorist was killed in Qazigund area. Terrorists killed a cop and two women across the Valley while a tragedy was averted by defusing an IED planted on Sinagar. Jammu National Highway at Doonipora, Bijbehara. Police is huntng for a police Havaldar for his alleged terrorist links.
- Aug 31: Terrorists have beaten to death Mansoor Ahmed while two others escaped with injuries as they were intercepted by the former in Kellar-Rajpora forests. Police recovered body of a civilian abducted by the terrorists in Pattan, Baramulla. A civilian was injured in the crossfiring at Dogripora, Anantnag. Terrorists gunned down two SPOs at Saroti, Kishtwar. In different operations across Rajouri district, police and security forces recovered huge quantities of arms and ammunition, including 12 Rifles.
- Sep 1: Security forces killed two terrorists at Lashdat, Kupwara and recovered arms and ammunition from their possession. A civilian was shot dead by terrorists at Gani Hamam, Baramulla. An LeT suspect, Akmal Hashmi arrested in J&K was taken to Mumbai for interrogation.
- Sep 2: Two soldiers, including a Major, are believed to have lost their lives in an encounter at Ayatmulla, Bandipore. An Army jawan was killed and four others injured as terrorists lobbed a grenade on their vehicle at Chajroo on Mahore-Gool road. An LeT terrorists Muzamal of Bafliaz, Surankote surrendered after his infiltration.
- Sep 3: Terrorists killed two brothers, including a JKLF Havaldar, in Tangmarg. Ayatmulla encounter ended with the death of three soldiers and two terrorists. Government ordered probe into custodial killing of one Zahoor Ahmed at SoG Camp, Bandipore.
- Sep 4: Police and Army delimitated most wanted terrorist Biloo Gujjar at Mangal Kundi, Gool. Security forces killed two terrorists in an encounter at Hapat Nar, Anantnag. Terrorists killed a student in Sopore. Police arrested a police head constable, Mohammad Sharief in Rajouri for his terrorist links. A Kot Bhalwal Jai employee Bashir Ahmed was arrested for his connivance with the UGW's of the terrorists.
- Sep 5: Security forces killed two terrorists in Handwara, Kupwara and arrested a terrorist in injured condition at Check-e-Charatram in Budgam. An auto-riksha driver was injured at Chankpora, Sopore. Musharraf asks India to settle Kashmir to improve Indo-Pak ties.

Kashmiri Miniature Painting

Are Pt. Tota Ram Naqqash and Pt. Tota Ram the same person?

By Dr. R.K. Tamiri

Pt. Tota Ram Naqqash, a master of Kashmir school of painting lived in a rented room in the Wachhowali area of Lahore. Wachhowali was one of the two localities where Kashmiri Pandits lived before partition. He was a bachelor, his sister was married to Pt. Mukand Ram Gurtoo (1831-1997), the founder of the **Mitra Vilas Press and Akhbar-i-Am**, in Lahore.

There is hardly any information about his ancestry. In Srinagar the only other Pandit family with 'Naqqash' as the clan alias used to live in **Naqqash** pora locality of Sathu Barbar Shah. They were basically Kouls. According to Shri Santosh Kumar Gurtu, the grandson of Pt. Mukand Ram Gurtu, Tota Ram Naqqash lived in 2nd half of 19th Century. Possible, Tota Ram died around 1880 AD. After his death his paintings were deposited with Gurtu family. With the break-up of the Gurtoo joint family in the first quarter of 20th Century, some paintings were inherited by Sh. Balkrishna Gurtu, father of Sh. Santosh Kumar Gurtoo. In mid-July 1947 when Lahore was rocked by unprecedented communal violence, Sh. Santosh Kumar, was able to retrieve part of the treasure that his family had inherited. These master paintings adorn his beautiful study. The author had the opportunity to see these. While recalling the story of how he managed to save these paintings for posterity, Sh. Santosh Kumar virtually broke down a number of times.

There are two glaring missing links. One, what happened to the **other paintings** passed on to brothers of Sh. Balkrishna Gurtu? Secondly, Are the paintings which Pt. Tota Ram Naqqash drew for **individual buyers still extant?**

In Sh. Santosh Kumar's collection we have nine paintings, registered under the Antiquities and Art Treasures Act 1972. As

per Sh. Gurtoo, these paintings were drawn between 1860-1880 A.D. The paintings have these themes:

1. **Shaarika Goddess with Brahma, Visnu and Mahesh and the nine grahas involving her blessings.**

2. **Vishnu at the Sheshnag, the halt before Panchtarni on way to Amarnath Cave.**

3. **Six handed Shankar and Parvati, with folded hands, celebrating Herath (Shivratri), Shankar holding two vatkus (small earthen pots) full of almonds and walnuts for distribution among the devotees. Parvati is the first devotee.**

4. **Five headed Shankar and Parvati at Panchtarni.** From the Jataa of each head of Shankar, springs a stream of the Ganga.

Besides these purely Kashmiri themes, the other themes are:

1. **Rishi Markandaya giving sermon to a devotee.**

2. **Rishi Markandaya explaining the fundamentals of dharma to a ruler.**

3. **A young yogi giving sermon to an elderly sadhu.**

4. **The Guru performing yagya: A shishya reciting veda.**

There is another painting in the collection, which deals with a non-religious theme—the flower work.

It was not uncommon in 19th Century and early 20th century, as recalled by Pt. Sthanu Dutt, the former Librarian of the Kurukshetra University, that Kashmiri Pandit scribes would visit Punjab every year to seek business for their profession. What is relevant here is that these scribes would shout, like street hawkers, '**Katib**', '**Katib**', '**Katib mai musavvir**' (scribes together with a **painter**). Some of these Katibs knew the art of illustration and painting as well.

In the National Museum, Delhi (there is a collection of 42 paintings, contained within text panels. The manuscript '**Ram Geeti Katha**' (Acc. No. 56.19/1)

has 274 folios, written in Nastaliq script in Brajbhasha. As per colophon the painting was completed in 1847 (1904 Bikrami). The manuscript is discussed by Karuna Goswamy in her '**Kashmiri Paintings**' (M.10 Page 79-80). The colophon written in red ink says that Pt. Tota Ram did the work for Lala Genda Mal Ji in 1847 in the administrative domains of Maharaja Gulab Singh. There is no name of the painter mentioned in the Colophon. Karuna Goswamy observes: "**The scribe of the manuscript someone known from other Kashmiri works which have survived, is Pt. Tota Ram...one would not be surprised if the work is in the hand of Pt. Tota Ram himself who may have learnt the art alike of painting and calligraphy**".

Kashmiri Pandit calligraphers were not known to have dealt with themes as depicted in '**Ram Geeti Katha**'. Goswamy says that this text could perhaps be the only known manuscript of the **Ram Geeti Katha**, which appears to be a version in Brajbhasha verse of an older Sanskrit work, the **Hanuman Hatak**. She says Pt. Tota Ram may have been quite used to doing calligraphy works for Hindu and Sikh patrons in Punjab and Kashmir. The noted art historian includes Ram Geeti Katha as a work done by a Kashmiri on the basis of style; conventions employed in rendering of figures, landscapes, sky, architecture; the colour; depiction of flowering shrubs, the distinctive tree, Ravana (with ten heads), rishis with their heads dressed in Kashmiri Kantopas; the treatment of fire etc. There is another manuscript in National Museum (Acc. No. 86.154/1-2)—The **Ram Charitamanasa of Tulsidasa in 2 Vols. with 105 paintings**. Karuna Goswamy (M.11, p 80-82) attributes this work also, on the basis of its style, to a Kashmiri calligrapher/painter. Since there is no name of the painter/calligrapher

mentioned in the Colophon, its authorship can be decided only after close examination of the style. '**Bhasmasura seeks the blessings of Shiva** (p. 15, pp 31)',—on the basis of its style, phrasing of the caption and its placing, makes Karuna Goswamy pronounce that **Ram Geeti Katha** and the other two anonymous works were done by same group of scribes and artists.

Who was Pt. Tota Ram, the calligrapher-painter of **Ram Geeti Katha**? Are Pt. Tota Ram Naqqash and Pt. Tota Ram the same person? The two lived around the same time. Pt. Tota Ram Naqqash, as his paintings dealing with religious non-Kashmiri themes reveal, was well-versed with the religious folklore of northern India. His brother-in-law, Pt. Mukand Ram

Gurtoo was a well-known calligrapher in Lahore. Did Pt. Tota Ram Naqqash do the illustration work for the calligraphy done by his brother-in-law? We do not have any answers.

It is rather strange that none of the Kashmiri artists of our times have tried to work on the comprehensive art history of Kashmiri miniature paintings particularly pertaining to 19th century. The works of master painters of 19th century are available. With a little effort it should not be difficult to work on the biographies of these painters—Hardas, his son Raja Ram Koul Tota, grandson Daya Ram Tota, Birbal Kaul, Devi Sahai Kaul Vasudev Garyali, and many others. Dr. BN Sharga has shown through his work that where there is will there is a way.

Panun Kashmir in association with Kashmir Exhibition Group is holding Sakshaatkaar

An Encounter With Truth
A Photo Exhibition

On
21st September to 23rd September, 2006
At

Ravinder Natya Mandir
(Near Sidhi Vinayak Temple)
Prabha Devi Road, Mumbai

The Photo Exhibition depicts the various facets of genocide of Kashmiri Hindus. It will be inaugurated at 3 PM on Thursday, 21st September 2006



Anti-Terrorism Rally At A Glance

CORRIGENDUM: In Our 2006 August Issue We Carried A Write-UP Dope On Dope Written By Mr. Nimit Verma this Write-up had appeared in **Hard News** and not in **Hard Time**. The errors is regretted. --The Editor