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Aapshambo



SRINAGAR



SHIVKHORI

"We wish our readers a very

**"Happy
Shivratri"**

Massive Protests mark The Holocaust Day

KS Correspondent

Kashmiri Pandits across the country observed 19th of January as Holocaust Day, that marked the 18th year of exile. To observe the day, Panun Kashmir organised protest demonstrations and public programmes at various places in the country, with main programmes held at Jammu, New Delhi and Mumbai. The day symbolises the ethnic-cleansing of the community from their birth place.

Addressing a public programme at Bohri, Jammu, Panun Kashmir leaders described the day as the black-day in the contemporary history of Independent India and accused the State government for throwing spanner to any such Central government initiative that was aimed at ameliorating the sufferings of the exiled community. The Panun Kashmir activists also took a pledge to fight for the rights of the community and work towards the goal of achieving the Homeland to the North and East of river Jhelum. They also demanded employment package to the tune of 20,000 for unemployed Kashmiri Hindu Youth and implored upon the Centre to establish a "**Ministry for Rehabilitation**" at the Centre for directly dealing the issue of the migrants.

Addressing the gathering, Panun Kashmir Chairman, Dr Ajay Chrungoo said that the tragedy of exodus of Kashmiri Pandits had no parallels in the contemporary world history as a religious minority was thrown out of their birth place lock, stock and barrel by the Islamist terrorists and fundamentalist forces. Accusing the majority community of the Valley of conniving with the terrorists, Dr Chrungoo said, "The civil society connived with the terrorist networks to force Kashmiri Pandits to leave the Valley leading to decimation of principle of co-existence".

Dr. Ajay Chrungoo accused political establishment of the country for trivialising the human tragedy of exodus and genocide of Kashmiri Pandits. Referring to his presentation in the TRC-II in this regard, Dr. Ajay Chrungoo said that he told the august gathering which included the Prime Minister of India that "just before the IInd World War, Hitler laid the diplomatic basis for snatching Czechoslovakia after forcing Chamberlain, the PM of great Britain to accept German Position". He added that after hearing the Britain PM in the Parliament, a citizen of Czechoslovakia remarked "If you have sacrificed my nation to preserve the peace of the world, I will be the first to applaud you. But if not, Gentlemen, God help your souls". Dr. Chrungoo added that he told the conference that similarly when my community was pushed out of Valley, there were many who thought that by hushing up the issue, they will save India and its secularism. Now the Jihadist violence has spilled over to the rest of India my community prays for India".

Accusing the State government for furthering the agenda of terrorists and fundamentalist forces, Dr Chrungoo said that after physical cleansing of KPs by the terrorist and fundamentalist combination, the state government has succeeded in their administrative cleansing.

Referring to cold shouldering of state government to the PM's announcement of "Employment Package" for migrants and the uncertainty looming large on the construction of "two room tenements", the PK leader accused the state government of throwing spanners to any sincere initiative of the Central Government rather than facilitating its implementation.

Dr. Chrungoo exhorted Kashmiri Pandits not to be pessimistic or feel useless like shrinking water bodies but be optimistic and vibrating like the flowing fresh water oozings. He added that negative attitude leads to negation of struggle and positive attitude inspires to come out of the morass of helplessness. He asked community brethren not to forget the day as remembering the pain of the day will ultimately lead us to establish our foothold back in our "Homeland"-Panun Kashmir.

Prof. MK Teng, Chairman Advisory Panun Kashmir, attributed present mess in Kashmir to the compromise with secular nation building by legitimising Muslim subnationalism in Jammu and Kashmir and distortions. He said, "The Government of India and the Indian political leadership failed to contest the claim of Pakistan and the Muslims in Jammu and Kashmir that the state was on the agenda of partition of India". He added that neither the partition was applicable to the princely states nor the composition of population was the determining factor for accession to the either of the two domains claiming that Kashmir crisis is being nurtured through distortions Dr Teng said that an American Think Tank attributed the crisis to misgovernance in Kashmir and TV actor Barkha Dutt described it as a triangular contest and thus equating Indian forces with the terrorists. He added that unless such distortions are contested and the reality in Kashmir identified, there was no hope of solution.

Octogenarian Pandit leader, who has been witness to Kashmir history, ON Trisal recalled the horrible night of 19-20 January 1990 and accused majority community of rejecting the natural and universal law of co-existence. He said that on that night, mosque tops and public address systems across the Valley were used to intimidate

Pandits to force their exodus. He added that on that day the Muslim majority asked Kashmiri Hindus in unequivocal terms to leave the Valley.

Mr Trisal said that by indulging in selective killings of Kashmiri Pandits, the terrorists used the policy of "kill one and scare hundred".

Describing the accession of J&K to India as final and irrevocable, Mr Trisal said that "Maharaja Hari Singh acceded to India on the basis of principles".

Mr Trisal justified the demand of homeland and challenged the politicians across the spectrum to debate the issue".

Prof. ML Koul, in his address, said that neo-converts have a tendency to attack their roots as they feel threatened and the same fact was reflected in victimisation of Kashmiri Pandits in Kashmir. He said that the same fact has been underlined by the Nobel laureate VS Naipaul. Prof. Koul exhorted Kashmiri Pandits to contribute to the struggle of Panun Kashmir and be the builders of their own destiny.

Panun Kashmir General Secretary, Sh Kuldip Raina described 19th January 1990 as "The Black Day" in the history of India and equated the tragedy with "Jalianwala Bagh Massacre". Referring to obnoxious slogans raised by the majority community on the fateful day and during their secessionist campaign" in those days, Mr Kuldip Raina said that such shameless slogans will put to shame any society that has some respect for human values. Mr Raina said the memories of the day reinforce our resolve to achieve the goal of "Homeland" and return to roots. Referring to negative trend in the population growth of the community, Mr Kuldeep Raina gave a clarion call to the community to look to this aspect. He asked the old generation to educate the young ones of this imperative and encourage the young couples to have at least two children. He also asked the community brethren to educate the young generation about their history and inspire them to associate themselves with the struggle of this community.

PK General Secretary said that there is consensus among the community on the demand of "Homeland" and exhorted the community to isolate those vested interests from within who are damaging the cause of community. The programme was anchored by the PK Secretary BL Koul and was attended by a large section of the community.

At Delhi, Panun Kashmir organised a photo exhibition "SAKSHATKAAR" (Encounter With Truth) at Jantar Mantar to highlight the Vandalism committed upon even the very symbols of their identity and faith after forcing the exodus of Pandits.

Interacting with the media and others who had assembled there to have glimpse of the tragedy through the photo-exhibition, Dr Shakti Bhan, Chairperson Daughters of Vitasta, said that "the photo-exhibition itself tells the whole story of the shameful effects of Islamic Jihad on the hapless KP community". She added that Pandits are now in the 18th year of exile and the photo-exhibition shall open the eyes of those who are justifying terrorism even today in the name of "freedom struggle".

Mr KK Wangnoo, Secretary Panun Kashmir NCR Region, described "the lack of public sensitivity to the looming dangers of terrorism and pre-occupation of the political establishment to buy peace by bartering away nation's integration and sovereignty". He added that the organisation of Photo-Exhibition at Jantar Mantar was part of organisational programme to educate the Indian masses about the Vandalism and the impending dangers if they don't rise to the occasion. The exhibition generated a positive response as not only Pandits living in and around Delhi but also the Delhites chose to stop by and were moved and shaken and wondered what the future had in store for them with weak resolve of the government vis-a-vis terrorism.

Foreigners spent hours to watch the photo exhibition, asking probing questions and left the venue to go back home and observed that they would tell the story to their countrymen how a peace loving community faced genocide in 1990 while the world chose to think of it as a local aberration. A tourist from Netherland remarked: Had the world not ignored the tragedy of the Pandits in 1990, much of the tragedies the Western world is facing now on their home turf could have been avoided".

Another visitor said that "Each Picture was worth a million words and unmask the real facets of the so-called struggle". The AIKS leader Mr MK Kaw who joined the protest demonstration alongwith other AIKS leaders suggested to organisers to get captions of pictures translated in other Indian languages to reach out to a wider audience.

The exhibition was coordinated by Dr Shakti Bhan and KK Wangnoo and was assisted by Messers Avinash Sher, Vijay Koul, Smt. Indu Jalali, Rocky Pandita, Dinesh Pandita.

A protest demonstration was held at Azad Maidan, Mumbai to observe the day. The demonstration was led by Sh. Sant Kumar and Mr RN Monga. President KP Sabha Mumbai, ML Mattoo, General Secretary Sh. SP Kachroo and other community brethren joined the demonstration. END

GUEST COLUMN

Something sinister is cooking in the Kashmir cauldron

By Sumer Kaul

Something seems to be cooking in the Kashmir cauldron. It looks like a joint India-Pakistan recipe. We don't as yet know what it is but going by the waft it doesn't smell good at all. Just what are they—our cooks and their c(r)ooks--preparing to ladle out as a solution to "the Kashmir problem"?

Before we proceed, let it be said, even if it be for the nth time, that the 'problem' is a result of the procession of blunders successive Indian governments have made. Without cataloguing this dismal history, suffice it to say that we have made a bloody mess of the state's absolutely legal and popularly backed accession to India.

The legality remains of course and (no matter what congenial disbelievers may think) so does the popular support. This is irrefutably evidenced not only by the massive 70% voter turnout in the last state election but equally tellingly by an opinion poll conducted a few years ago by Mori, a British NGO under the patronage of the reputedly pro-Pakistan Lord Avebury. The survey revealed that 61% of the people of state want to remain with India, 33% are undecided and a mere 6% want to join Pakistan.

But these and a whole array of corroborative facts have not deterred the predatory military-mullah dispensation in Islambad, nor impressed its patrons in Washington. Amazingly and worst of all, even the Establishment in India has, for all policy purposes, chosen to belittle the reality, or else where is the logic of progressively distorting the nature of the problem in Kashmir by embracing the perpetrator of the problem as a partner in resolving it?!

A recent example of perspectival perversion was the virtually clean chit that the prime minister mysteriously chose to give Pakistan during his Latin American odyssey last September, signalling a major turn about in New Delhi's stand on cross-border terrorism. To the astonishment of his countrymen, and indeed the world at large, Dr Singh called Pakistan a fellow-victim of terrorism! And this within days of the ISI-engineered train blasts in Mumbai which he himself condemned at the time as an act authored from across the border!

No matter what Pakistan continues to do in Kashmir, and increasingly almost all over India, we seem to have made soft-headedness towards the Machiavellian regime a matter of policy. Look at the Pakistani supremo's recently proffered 'solution' to Kashmir and our reaction or rather non-reaction to it. The General proposed making LoC irrelevant, pulling out all military forces, giving 'self-governance' to the people, and putting the state under joint 'supervision' of India and Pakistan. In other words, open the floodgates to jihadis and terrorists, oust the elected government, hand over the reins to pro-Pakistan elements, giving them all a free run of the state, and give Pakistan an equal sovereign say over this India territory!

You have to be absolutely daft not to see this preposterous package for what it really is: a neat blueprint to sever Kashmir from India, slowly but surely. Unfortunately, there is no dearth of dafts in and outside the corridors of authority in India. Never mind our professional Pakophiles, there are some others in dubious but semi-influential quarters as well as in the dominant (that is, non-Hurriyat) political spectrum in Kashmir who see the Musharraf plan as a positive move meriting a positive response. One major and unabashedly flippant national daily not only called the four-point proposal "worthy of consideration" but fancifully added some hare-brained details to it and implicitly urged its acceptance!

One could and indeed should treat such views and reactions with contempt, except that the powers-that-be who ought to have dismissed the proposal out of hand have not done so. On the contrary, while official India is virtually silent, the prime minister, when asked about it, said he was open to "new ideas" to resolve the Kashmir issue.

Be it at the political level or elsewhere, one finds scanty evidence of any in-depth examination of the Musharraf plan, its motivation and timing. Only a handful of analysts see it in the context of the spate of damning reports and comments by foreign agencies and individuals on Pakistan and its terrorist doings and designs.

Even as our prime minister apparently believes that Pakistan too is a victim of terrorism, the US intelligence chief, John Negroponte, who should know what he is talking about, told a Senate committee last month that Pakistan is "the headquarters" of the terrorist network that "radiates outwards from their leaders' secure hideout in Pakistan". A visiting *New York Times* journalist who was detained and assaulted by the ISI reported after her release that Pakistan continues to fuel jihad and terror as a state policy and gave specific details of what she had observed or learnt while there, including meetings between a Taliban commander and an ISI colonel.

The Afghan president, Hamid Karzai has again openly accused Pakistan of engineering terror moves against his country, trying to "make us slaves", and warned that unless "we go to the source (of terrorism) and fight it there (Pakistan), terrorist actions will not cease". A particularly strong indictment of the Pakistan government came in a European Parliamentary report which, among other things, referred to denial of basic political rights and general

oppression in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. All this plus a recent report by our own Home Ministry which flies in the face of the prime minister's new-found perceptions and nails the ISI for rearing, arming and unleashing terrorists against India and using Bangladesh and Nepal as new breeding grounds and take-off points for terror squads.

It is in this perspective that we must see the Musharraf regime and the General's latest proposal on Kashmir. To overlook solid facts and ground realities and welcome new ideas, so-called, is to be dangerously naive.

The Pakistan president's alleged peace moves are nothing but diversionary tactics to gain time. As a perceptive Pakistan-based journalist, Syed Saleem Shahzad put it, Islamabad's basic objective is to regain the pre-9/11 situation and then pursue full throttle its "real intention in Kashmir and Afghanistan."

Given all this, what is the "intense (India-Pakistan) dialogue over the last two and a half years" that the prime minister referred to the other day all about? Nobody is saying but according to the senior National Conference leader, Dr Mehboob Beg, back-channel bilateral bureaucracy is working on a plan to give dual citizenship to people in Kashmir and PoK and set up a "Kashmir parliament" under the joint supervision of India and Pakistan!

I haven't seen any denial of Beg's "authentic" information. Whether he is indulging in kite-flying or indeed has a basis for his confident claims, the country needs to know. We also want to know why no leader any longer calls Kashmir "an integral and inseparable part of India".

Whatever may be brewing in that cauldron, there is one thing that nobody in this country or anywhere else should doubt: The Indian people will not allow any undoing of history or unhinging of their geography.

**(The writer is a Veteran Journalist based in New Delhi. His columns on Kashmir and Regional Affairs are read with respect. END*

COMMUNICATIONS

Protests on Saddam

Sir,

The execution of Saddam, the ruthless dictator is an internal affair of the Iraqi People. The protests by Kashmiri Muslims amount to abusing feelings of the families of 148 Shias and thousands of others who were butchered by the dictator. The Kashmiri Muslims should be reminded where were they when Kashmiri Pandits were killed maimed and kidnapped.

—**Anant K. Shah Vadodara.**

Violations of Mind

Sir,

It is sad to see that we live in a country where unless electronic media takes up a case, no justice is rendered to the poor and powerless. The killing of Prof. KL Ganjoo, and kidnapping of his wife in 1990 is still a mystery. The J&K administration, the Govt. of India should hang its head in shame for being so insensitive.

—**Harish Bertha, Mangalore**

Musharraf's Dangerous Game

Sir,

The recently floated theory of joint management/control etc. formulated by General Musharraf has overtaken besides dissidents allegedly the mainstream politicians too.

Whatever emanates from the other side i.e. Pak establishment, is embraced as a panacea which may eventually prove poison. In any case; it does hold profit for Pakistan to ease its entry into the social and political fabric of the Valley edging out 'the secular fabric-whatever is left of it, at least on the intellectual level-eventually resulting in the total exit of the Indian secular influence. What Pakistan has not been able to achieve through wars and terrorism would achieve with the willing cooperation peacefully through the cooperative effort of the Valley "secularists", who are vying with each other to popularise the ideas floated from across the borders.

It might be pertinent to suggest to Pakistan as a test of its honest intentions whether it would be prepared to introduce 'Land Reforms' as have been in the Valley and other parts of the state with the union of India to extend the 'State Constitution' to the PoK as a measure of good faith in the first instance eventually leading to the unity of the whole state satisfying the aspirations of both Indian and Pakistan peoples and the people of the state as a whole. Only after this is achieved, cooperation and unity of larger dimensions at the sub-continental level could be considered in the interests of the entire people.

--**P.N. Kaul**
Talab Tillo, Jammu.

Who will care for KPs

Sir,

Now that 148 Shias of Dugail (Iraq) have got justice can we expect justice for killing of Kashmiri Pandits, rape of their women and for 3.5 lakh K.P. refugees. Mera Bharat Mahan!

—**Sham Charan Singh**
Bhubaneshwar

The Real Sufferers

Sir,

The Supreme Court rejection of Mohammad Afzal's plea for clemency is the last nail in the coffin. (SC trashes plea, says Afzal deserves death January '13) Certain sections who were spiritedly fighting for his cause received a severe drubbing with this development. It is ironical that the so-called human rights activists, NGOs and other individuals developed a selective approach. There are more deserving people who need their support like the attacked Kashmiri Pandits of Jammu and Kashmir. Gruesome killings of KPs like Sarla Bhat of SKIMS, Soura, Lassa Kaul Director Doordarshan, Justice Ganjoo, Prof. KL Ganjoo, kidnapping of Prof. Ganjoo's wife whose whereabouts are still not known etc. etc. ii) vulnerable sections of Assam and iii) the families of security personnel who laid down their lives in Kashmir and defending parliament. The fact that they are not prepared to take up these causes is highly deplorable.

—**H.P. Murali, Coimbatore**

Nehru was secular

Sir,

Refer to R.K. Bhat's review of "Ideology of Indian Freedom Struggle". Contrary to what author has written in the book Congress had always the right ideas over unity and integrity of India. Congress under Nehru had vision and serious distortion in the nation building was not the making of Congress. Congress refused to play communal politics during pre-Independence era and it is to their credit that because of such policy Kashmir was integrated with India. Nehru was too great a man to indulge in competitive communalism.

It is also wrong to blame Gandhi for the ills plaguing India. Admittedly, Gandhi was impressed with Britishers in many ways but that does not mean he was not against their imperialism. He had vision for India which strictly adhered to Indian ethos.

The author has mentioned that Mahatma sided with princes rather than with people. It was a clever ploy of Gandhi to prevent India from disintegrating. Contrary to what is being dished out that if Congress was dominated by hard-liners, Unity of India would have been much firmer is not correct. The Congress had democratic and secular vision and this could not have been achieved from above. It had to come from within.

It is here Jinnah's communal politics should have been discussed in detail.

I am no supporter of Congress, however, it is difficult to imagine they could have taken other paths than the ones they have taken. This is so because the contradictions within Indian state is not Congress gift to nation. They blindly followed rules which were not connected with past. They were enthusiastic supporters of vote bank politics which is always the case with democratic societies.

Indian ills are historical and not connected with english rule.

—**Bilhan Kaul**

Pamposh Colony, Janipur. END

Kashmir Dispute-The Myth-V

By Dr. M.K. Teng

At the time of the transfer of power in India, the National Conference leaders and cadres were in jail. They were released from their incarceration after the proclamation of General Amnesty was made on 6 September 1947. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, the Acting President of the National Conference who had evaded arrest and taken refuge in the British India in May 1946, arrived in Srinagar with several other senior leaders of the National Conference on 12 September 1947. Meanwhile, Mohi-ud-Din Qara the Director General of the War Council, which had been constituted by the National Conference to direct the Quit Kashmir Movement, surfaced from his underground quarters alongwith some of his close aides. Onkar Nath Trisal, who played a historic role in the defence of Srinagar, when the invading armies of Pakistan surrounded the city, was with him. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was released from jail on 29 September 1947.

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad used the good offices of Pandit Sham Sunder Lal Dhar, a personal aide of the Maharaja to arrange a reconciliatory meeting between Hari Singh and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. The meeting did not go beyond usual formalities as the two men who shaped the future of the State looked at each other with cold distrust. Shibani Madan, a close kin of Sham Sunder Lal Dhar, then a man of younger years acted as a help. Shibani Madan told the author in a interview held in Srinagar in 1978, that Hari Singh sat through the meeting glumly. His Highness looked straight when the usual presentation ceremony of the Nazarana was completed. He sat glum and expressionless, his haughty demeanour more than awkwardly visible. The rest of the meeting was strictly formal."

Hari Singh was unable to judge the far-reaching consequences of the end of the British empire in India. Not only him, the other Princes too refused to realise that their power, which had its sanction in the British Paramountcy had virtually suffered dissolution with its withdrawal. The Princely rulers genuinely believed that the States were their fiefs and the British had usurped their right to rule them. They visualised the end of the British Empire as an act of deliverance for them, which they believed would enable them to regain the unquestioned authority they had as the sovereigns of the states.

They considered accession of their States to India as a new arrangement with the Dominion of India, by virtue of which they would part with the specific powers of the defence, foreign affairs and communications of the states and retain the rest of the powers of the governance without the encumbrances the Paramountcy entailed.

Hari Singh had been shaken by Mountbatten's advice to come to terms with Pakistan when the Viceroy visited Srinagar. Accession to Pakistan was the last act, Hari Singh was prepared to perform. However, when he turned to India and conveyed to the Indian leaders his desire to accede to India the Indian leaders advised him not to take any perceptible action in respect of the accession, till the transfer of power had been accomplished. The Indian leaders advised Hari Singh to end the distrust with the National Conference, release the leaders and cadres of the Conference and take them into confidence and commence preparations to associate them with the government of the State.

After the transfer of power in August 1947 Hari Singh promptly ordered fresh recruitment to his armed forces and reportedly sought to secure field guns from Patiala and Hyderabad. Reports appeared in the newspapers in Pakistan that he tried to seek military assistance from India and wanted the Indian Government to take up the conversion of the fair weather road from Jammu to Madhopur, into a national roadway.

He was alarmed by the establishment of the Provisional Government of Pak-occupied-Kashmir at Tran Khel in the district of Mirpur by Sardar Ibrahim Khan on 30 August 1947. Hari Singh knew that the proclamation of the Provisional Government of Azad Kashmir had been made in connivance with the intelligence agencies of the Government of Pakistan and the leaders of the Muslim League to build pressure on him to accede to Pakistan.

Meanwhile Sham Sunder Lal Dhar helped to bridge the differences between Hari Singh and the National Conference leaders. Hari Singh agreed to revive the Dyarchy he had introduced in the State Government in 1944, and provide a wider share of power for the National Conference and accept to entrust a fairly large measure of responsibility in the State Government to National Conference leaders as members of his Council of Ministers. The National Conference leaders had shown their readiness to join the State Government.

For Hari Singh however, the difficulties he faced in regard to the accession were not eased. Several developments in the process of the integration of the States complicated his situation further. Junagarh, situated in the midst of the Kathiawad States, which had acceded to India, acceded to Pakistan on the eve of the transfer of power. The Nawab of Hyderabad refused to join India and secretly plotted with the leadership of the Muslim League to align himself with Pakistan.

Not only that. Mountbatten was at the helm of affairs in India, where he had been placed by the Congress leaders probably, to earn them a favourable disposition of the British. Hari Singh knew that Mountbatten had not

forgiven him for his audacity to send him back to the Indian capital, without having agreed to abide by his advice to come to terms with Pakistan. It is hardly possible that the Congress leaders must not report have received the intelligence of what transpired between the Viceroy and the Maharaja in Srinagar. But how did they install him the first Governor-General of the Dominion of India is an enigma, which continues to remain unexplained.

Hari Singh was unsure of the Congress leaders as well, who had, in unabashed self-conceit, indicated their willingness to accept a settlement on the Princely States on the basis of their population and geographical location. Perhaps, they sought to use the influence of the Viceroy to ensure the accession of the Muslim ruled States, inhabited by Hindu majorities and situated within the territorial limits earmarked for the Indian Dominion to India. It is hardly possible that they did not know the mind of the Viceroy and perhaps the strategic implications of the future disposition of Jammu and Kashmir to the British interests in Asia. A section of the Congress leadership was not averse to the division of the States on the basis of their population even after the transfer of power. Some of them believed that Mountbatten would be able extricate Junagarh from Pakistan and bring about the integration of Hyderabad with India. Their prestige in the whole of the Kathiawad peninsula had plummeted down as they had reacted to the accession of Junagarh to Pakistan pussilimously. The rulers of the Kathiawad States had to send Jam Sahib of Nawanagar to convince the Congress leaders that Junagarh posed a serious threat to them and to demand immediate and effective action to liberate Junagarh, which was fast slipping into a civil wear.

The Congress leaders looked up to Mountbatten, who advised them restraint. Later admissions made by him in his interviews and memoirs, prove that he was keen to secure the interests of Pakistan and his country, Britain, in Jammu and Kashmir, but he had no mandate from the British Government to secure the Indian interests in the Muslim ruled States of Junagarh and Hyderabad. He disapproved of any perceptible action for the reclamation Junagarh and Hyderabad.

Hari Singh did not lose sight of the problems, arising out of his enmity with Mountbatten and the duplicity of the Congress leaders. Jinnah scuttled the proposals to divide the States on the basis of their population and scoffed at the suggestions made by Mountbatten. Hari Singh knew that if he took a false step, Mountbatten as well as the Congress leaders would nor hesitate to abandon him in a bargain with Pakistan.

This was the greatest act of betrayal committed by the men in power in India. The Indian Government crumbled in its resolve to set right the wrong in Junagarh and rein in the Nawab of Hyderabad. The Indian leaders looked upto Mountbatten to deliver them from their predicament though experience had shown to them that the major role in the integration of the States had been played by the States people who had struggled for the unity of the States with India and the Hindu rulers of the States who had acceded to India.

The Government of India should have made a bold move to take Hari Singh into confidence, thrash out the issues pertaining to the transfer of power to the peoples representatives with him and helped in removing the prevailing distrust between him and the National Conference leaders. Instead the Indian leaders sulked away. Gandhi had advised Hari Singh to handover the State Government to the National Conference leaders and entrust them the responsibility to conduct elections to the Praja Sabha, the State Legislative Assembly and empower the elected representatives of the people to take a decision on the accession of the State. **Hari Singh had refused to abide by Gandhi's advice and told him that such a course would enable Pakistan to grab the State with the support of the Muslim Conference and the other pro-Pakistan flanks in the state. Later events proved that Hari Singh had chosen the right course. Jammu and Kashmir would have gone the way, North West Frontier Province did if he had opted for elections to the Praja Sabha.**

The Indian Princely States were a part of the Indian nation. Partition did not divide the States, nor did the partition empower Pakistan to grab Junagarh or claim Hyderabad on the basis of being Muslim ruled States and annex Jammu and Kashmir on the basis of its population. The Muslim League as well as the British treated the States as their personal preserve and sought to use them to Balkanise India. The Princes as well as the people of the States defeated their designs.

The role played by Mountbatten and VP Menon, in the integration of the Indian States was only marginal. The States' Ministry did not draw up any plans for the consolidation of the northern frontier of India of which Jammu and Kashmir was the central spur. Nor did the States Ministry formulate any plans for the security of the Himalayas against the threat of their de-Sanskritisation which the creation of Pakistan posed.

—(To be continued)

NOTE: The articles in this series are based upon the documentary sources in the Archives of India, Archives of Jammu and Kashmir; States People's Conference Papers, Nehru Memorial Museum New Delhi, Sapru House Library, Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, contemporary newspaper files and interviews. END

Regional Affairs

Bangladesh Military Junta goes berserk in CHT

KS Correspondent

Peace Campaign Group (PCG), a Bangladesh NGO has welcomed the resignation of the Bangladesh's president Ijasuddin Ahmed from his post of Chief Advisor to then Caretaker Government and the subsequent developments in Bangladesh. It described his resignation as one step forward to holding free and fair elections due to be held on 22 January and establishment of a free, democratic, secular and plural society in the country.

PCG, an organization defending democracy, human rights and peace in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT), is quite disturbed and concerned over the "travel advice" issued from the Bangladesh Foreign Office to foreigners interested to visit the CHT. In a statement the Foreign office warned foreigners of "being caught up in", what it says, "clashes between rival tribal groups, settlers and the military" in the region.

PCG said such "advice" was contradictory to the demand and aspiration of the Jumma indigenous people of the CHT for involvement of international observers from the United Nations, European Union, the United States of America and India in the election process in their territory as observers for credible election. In addition, it gives a wrong signal to the international community about the indigenous people and their traditional homeland.

The CHT has continued to be ruled by a de facto Bangladeshi military regime despite a peace treaty reached between the indigenous people and the Bangladeshi authorities in 1997. The Bangladeshi authorities have failed to comply with their obligation to withdraw all "temporary military camps" from the area, as agreed upon in the treaty.

PCG statement added that Bangladeshi military provide security and protection to more than half a million ethnic Bengali settlers settled in the CHT under state-sponsored population transfer program in the late 1970s and early 1980s. It is causing unrest and violence in the region. The ethnic Bengali settlers have nearly outnumbered the locals and were responsible for land alienation of thousands of indigenous families.

Bangladeshi military was allegedly involved in widespread human rights abuses including rape and kidnapping of indigenous women with complete impunity, PCG said. Lt. Ferdos who kidnapped Ms. Kalpana Chakma, Organizing Secretary of Hill Women Federation, on 12 June 1996 is still moving openly and freely. He has allegedly killed Ms. Chakma after kidnapping and raping her. There are many such cases of rape against Bangladeshi military in the CHT.

PCG informed that recently, eight Bangladeshi military men involved in peace-keeping operations in Sudan were expelled from their job after finding them guilty of sexual abuses against Sudanese women (The Ajer Kagoj, December 07, 2006).

The indigenous people have been demanding total ban on recruitment of Bangladeshi military in international peace-keeping services unless they stop rape and sexual abuses against indigenous women in the CHT. In May 2006, representatives of the indigenous people urged the Office of the United Nations Peace-keeping Operations and the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues in New York to consider their demand and investigate the allegations of sexual abuses by Bangladeshi military in the CHT.

PCG said it wanted more and more foreign media and human rights groups to visit the CHT and investigate the alleged human rights violations including rapes and sexual abuses by Bangladeshi military in the area.

PCG urged the current Caretaker Government of Bangladesh headed by Fakhruddin Ahmed to withdraw "temporary Bangladeshi military camps" from the CHT as a pre-condition for free and fair elections in the region and arrange full security and safety for foreigners interested to visit the region.

PCG also urged the United Nations, European Union, the United State of America and India for exercising their influence over the Bangladeshi authorities for this purpose and proper implementation of other unimplemented terms of the CHT treaty for sustainable peace and development in the Hills. END

Panun Kashmir presents its views before the Working Group

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, Feb 3: Panun Kashmir participated in the deliberations of the **Working Group on "Strengthening Relations between J&K State and the Centre"** on 12th December, 2006 at New Delhi and on 3rd February, 2007 at Jammu. The Working Group had been formed in pursuance to Prime Minister's proposals at **Second Round Table Conference** at Srinagar. Besides discussing demands like 'Self-Rule', 'Autonomy', the Group had been empowered to discuss measures—strengthening Secularism and Rule of Law in the State of J&K. The Working Group meets took place under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice Sageer Ahmad, Retd. Judge of the Hon'ble Supreme Court of India.

Panun Kashmir was represented in the meetings by Dr. Ajay Chrungoo, the chairman of the organisation. This body, which represents Kashmiri Pandits, has been demanding creation of a Homeland to the north-east of river Jehlum with full flow of Indian Constitution to resettle 7 lakh exiled Kashmiri Hindus and where all Indians irrespective of caste, creed and faith could live without any prejudice.

Dr. Chrungoo observed that 'communal separatism in any form is irreconcilable to social pluralism and right to equality which form the basis of a secular society'. He added that the Working Group would hardly achieve its objectives if it did not 'underline a political methodology to counter forces of militarised Islamic fundamentalism, Pakistan and their proxies in the State (J&K)'. Dr. Chrungoo said that Panun Kashmir considered the anomalous constitutional status of J&K as an integral part of the Kashmir problem. He remarked, "Unless the constitutional structures, which govern J&K and which are aimed to serve sectarian interests and promote communal majoritarianism are made redundant J&K State will not be retrieved from the turmoil, political instability and violence, which has enveloped it."

Dr. Chrungoo said that the exclusion of the State from the constitutional organisation of India deprived the people of J&K from the rights and protections, envisaged by the fundamental rights, listed in the Constitution of India. He added that its fallout was that : "i) the people of the State were deprived of the right equality and right to freedom; right to liberty and right to protection against discrimination on the basis of religion, caste, sex and birth and ii) the people of the state were deprived of right to judicial protection'.

The Panun Kashmir Chairman underlined that the Special Status which governs the State of J&K has created a situation which has led to a) genocide of Kashmiri Hindus and their expulsion from Kashmir b) communalisation and fundamentalisation of Muslim society in J&K c) Sectarian overtones in governance d) serious regional discrimination against Jammu and Ladakh and inter-regional tensions e) political fragmentation f) destabilisation of State by Pakistan and Islamist Inc. and strengthening of forces of destabilisation g) weakening of the nationalist forces h) low industrialisation and distorted economic development i) emergency of a rentier class with strong vested interests in perpetuation of status quo j) weakening of integration between J&K and rest of India and threats to the unity and sovereignty of India.

Dr. Chrungoo opined that any Special Constitutional Status, which excludes J&K from the scope of the Fundamental Rights and constitutional remedies, envisaged by the Constitution of India 'is a negation of the democratic process, secular society and rule of law'. He said the gamut of the Kashmir problem had two aspects—i) the dispute arising out of Pakistan claim to J&K by involving Muslim majority character of Kashmir ii) the claim to a separate political organisation for J&K based upon accepting the claim 'to a Muslim identity of the state within a broad structure of the secular and national identity of the Indian Union'. He observed that separate political organisation for J&K has reduced non-Muslim population of the state to a 'state of servitude and 2nd class citizenship and subjected them to blatant political isolation, economic deprivation and religious persecution'.

Dr Chrungoo further observed that the exclusion of J&K from the Constitutional Organisation of India disrupted all processes of secularisation and democratisation of the state and the evolution of democratic institutions. He went on to add that Article 370 was an expression of the exclusivist Muslim aspirations "for a separate state of J&K which was Muslim in composition and outlook, and which, though on the territory of India, did not form a part of the Indian Union". He said that the disintegration of the Interim Govt. in 1953 was the logical culmination of the conflict between a separate Muslim State on the territory of India, which Article 370 envisaged, and the Unity of India'. In this context he pointed out that "the Working Group cannot devise by any mechanism a new basis for the reconciliation of a Muslim State of J&K with the secular state of India. Not only will such a course undermine the plural content of the society in J&K, it will also have a projection in the other states of India and endanger the social pluralism in the rest of India and threaten the rights of the minorities in the rest of the country". He described 'Self-Rule' proposals as dangerous, which he said would promote theocratic rule, encourage forces of subversion, undermine security and law and Border, imperil the borders and allow Pakistan a foothold in J&K. He said "the self-rule' plan was an ingenious trap to ensnare India into an agreement which allows Pakistan to grab the state of J&K by stratagem and force".

Panun Kashmir leader said his organisation rejected the communal-secessionist proposals—'one country, two systems', 'Republic within a Republic'. He added that this road would "ultimately lead to the second partition of India".

Panun Kashmir prayed for the consideration of the Working Group its reasoned suggestion to bring to an end all processes of political disruption and endorsed the full integration of the State with India.

The memorandum submitted by Panun Kashmir said :

Panun Kashmir has reiterated its stand time and again that any political dispensation of the State based upon the recognition of

- (a) separate Muslim identity of the State and its claim to a separate State
- (b) acceptance of the precedence of Muslims in the government and society of the State; and
- (c) the reconciliation of the national interest of India in Jammu and Kashmir to the aspirations of Pakistan by including Jammu and Kashmir in dialogue will prove destructive of the unity of India, undermine the secular fabric of its society and expose the northern frontier of India to Jihadist and anti-Indian regimes.

As a measure of first priority Panun Kashmir demands the inclusion of the Homeland demand as enunciated in the Margdarshan Resolution adopted by the Panun Kashmir in December 1991, in the agenda of the 'Peace Process'. The Margdarshan Resolution of Panun Kashmir envisages the full integration of the part of Kashmir, situated to the east and north of the river Jhelum, in the Indian Constitutional Organisation, as a Centrally Administered Union Territory of India, where the Constitution of India is applicable without any reservations and restrictions and where people are secured of equality, freedom of faith and self-esteem by virtue of the Constitution of India.

Panun Kashmir seeks to clarify that:

(a) for the last five decades of the Indian freedom, the Hindus of Kashmir have been forced to live in subjection to the slavery of a Muslim State, which reduced them to the status of a surrogate population, excluded them from all political processes, exposed them to severe economic deprivations and bound them down to religious persecution and social isolation. The Hindus of Kashmir are determined to live as equal citizens with the right to freedom, liberty and faith, guaranteed by the Constitution of India.

(b) The Hindus were subjected to genocide and ethnic extermination because they were opposed to all forms of separatism i.e. autonomy, self-determination etc. The Muslim leadership of Kashmir has refused to recognise their right to live in Kashmir by dint of their own right as equal citizens of the State. For the last seventeen years the Muslim leadership of Kashmir has offered to accept the return of the Hindus to Kashmir on the conditions that the Hindus support the Muslim separatist campaign and accept to live in Kashmir not by dint of their own right but under the protection promised by the Muslims. Panun Kashmir has made it clear that the Hindus will not support any campaign for the dilution of Indian sovereignty over Kashmir in any form, be it 'Self-Rule', 'Joint Control', 'Autonomy' or 'Outright Secession'. It has also stated categorically that the Kashmiri Hindus will not accept to return on the promise of Muslim protection. Panun Kashmir has made it clear that such a proposition if accepted would prove destructive to all minorities in the country. The minorities in India do not live in this country on the goodwill of the Hindu majority but by dint of their own right.

Panun Kashmir demands that reversal of genocide of the Kashmiri Hindus and their rehabilitation in accordance with their wishes and aspirations should form an essential part of the deliberations for any future constitutional settlement within the framework of the Centre-State relations in India.

During the past 17 years of displacement successive State governments have failed to take care of the refugee Pandit community, be it the issue of day to day survival, protection of left-over property in Kashmir or creating conditions for the rehabilitation. Massive litigation that the Pandit community had been forced to resort to is in itself evidence on how callous is State Govt. against Pandit refugees. The upgrading of refugee camps is thwarted, routine service benefits are denied to Pandit employees, the youth are denied employment, the traders too are neglected. The Pandit community is of the firm opinion that as long as the State government decides the destiny of Pandit community the displaced community will not have redressal of its short-term or long-term problems. Panun Kashmir demands that the long pending demand for creation of a separate Ministry of rehabilitation directly under the Central government to look after Pandit refugees should be acceded to. It should also be mandated to decide long-term rehabilitation of the displaced community.

Panun Kashmir demands the creation of a Tribunal which will speedily dispose of cases related to forcible and fraudulent occupation of Pandit property and which will also examine and provide immediate relief where the community is victim of arbitrary and sectarian governance. The said tribunal should have the powers to try those who were responsible for killings abductions of Pandits, burning, damaging, grabbing of their property or forcing exodus.

END

Autonomy to Kashmir is no solution

By MP Khosla

ENLARGED autonomy or greater quantum of self-rule for Jammu and Kashmir is being envisaged by Government of India as a solution to the Kashmir problem. The autonomy package, it was stated in Parliament the other day, would be unveiled 'at an appropriate time'. The government's intention seems to be to reveal the proposals prior to elections, which are now slated for next September-October, or announce broad outlines of the changes which are to be finalised after discussions with the new representatives after the elections.

Talk of pre-1953 position is in the air. What could be the precise shape of any such arrangement? Will it be a workable solution? Earlier agreements settling the constitutional relationship require to be analysed to enable us to appreciate the viability of any new dispensation.

The constitutional evolution of Centre's relationship with J&K can be clearly understood only in the context of overlaying political developments. There have been three accords between New Delhi and Srinagar since the accession. The first was the Delhi Agreement of 1952 between Jawaharlal Nehru and Sheikh Abdullah; the second between Indira Gandhi and Sheikh Abdullah in 1975 and the third between Rajiv Gandhi and Farooq Abdullah in 1986. The third accord has no constitutional or administrative significance as it was electoral and political power-sharing understanding between the Congress and the National Conference.

Emergency administration under Sheikh Abdullah, which was set up after the tribal invasion and accession in October 1947, ended in March 1948 when Sheikh Abdullah became the state's Prime Minister and remained so till his dismissal and arrest in August 1953.

The state's Constituent Assembly, convened in 1951, continued its deliberations during Sheikh Abdullah's successor G.M. Bakshi's rule. The first accord was signed prior to the Sheikh's removal although its decisions were formalised after his arrest by the Constitution (Application to , J&K) Order 1954.

One decision of paramount importance was, however, implemented in 1952 itself: replacement of dynastic rule by an elected head of state. Dr Karan Singh, who was the state's ruler till then in his hereditary capacity, was elected Sadr-i-Riyasat by the Constituent Assembly.

(Incidentally, this fact reveals the interesting and real reason for using the expression before 1953 by National Conference leaders and others who hope to win over the electorate with a greater autonomy package; it is not because of date of Sheikh Abdullah's initial incarceration in 1953 as is generally believed; otherwise they would prefer to talk of the position prior to 1952 Agreement. They are not doing so because that would mean acceptance of Karan Singh's inherited title!)

The Constitution Order of 1954 issued under Article 370 gave Parliament jurisdiction to legislate on items on the Union List (with some exceptions) and on specified items on the Concurrent List of Schedule Eight of Indian Constitution but with the concurrence of the state legislature. (For other states no such concurrence is required.) It superseded the Constitution Order of 1950 which had restricted Parliament's legislative competence to seven items related to defence, foreign affairs and communications which were stipulated in the Instrument of Accession.

The 1954 Order continued to be enlarged in scope; starting with the first amendment in 1956, there have been about 30 amendments. Also, more than 200 Acts have been extended to J&K. This was no graduated erosion of the state's special position. A scrutiny of the acts shows that, almost wholly, it has been beneficial legislation pertaining comprehensively to the working of a welfare state. Among them, for instance, were laws on child labour, minimum wages, opium, and air pollution. Even prior to accession, Indian laws were applicable fully under state nomenclature. For instance, the Indian Penal Code is Ranbir Penal code in J&K (named after Karan Singh's ancestor). In fact, the whole ambit of state laws was modelled on Indian laws with minor changes.

The designation of Sadr-i-Riyasat was changed to governor and that of prime minister to chief minister. Governor was to be henceforth appointee of President of India. This change occurred in G.M. Sadiq's time, who assumed office as prime minister in February 1965 but agreed to the reduced grace of chief ministership in May.

This was preceded by the National Conference being transformed into J&K Pradesh Congress—the state unit of Indian National Congress. (The National Conference was revived by Sheikh Abdullah after his restoration to power in 1975.) The state's separate constitution, which had been conceded by the 1952 Agreement, was adopted in 1956 by its Constituent Assembly. It has an unamendable provision that J&K "is and shall be an integral part of India".

In the two decades since the mid-fifties, integration was fortified in manifold ways. The 1952 Agreement had allowed only appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, but in 1960 SLP jurisdiction was extended and in other aspects the state High Court was brought on a par with other High Courts.

Permit system which was hitherto prevalent for entry into J&K, was scrapped in 1959. The state was brought under the purview of the Election Commission in stages from 1960 onwards. Articles 356 and 357 of Indian

Constitution were applied in 1964-65. In 1966 direct elections to the Lok Sabha were introduced; previously the state's representation was by nomination.

A host of other national institutions and systems were introduced. Financial integration was completed and All India Services were extended. Only J&K broadcasting network retained the name of Radio Kashmir although it is in reality a part of I&B network as for other states.

Sheikh Abdullah throughout this period was the darling of Kashmir's masses but with his intermittent incarceration remained outside the state's political processes. Even after the withdrawal of Kashmir Conspiracy Case in 1964, serious differences persisted. They were sorted out after talks lasting nearly three years and ended with the 1975 Accord which restored the Sheikh to power.

The 1975 Accord conceded that J&K was a "constituent unit of India". It further stated that laws related to the Concurrent List which had been extended to the state could be reviewed by the state government and, if found objectionable, the matter would be "sympathetically considered".

A committee under deputy chief minister Beg was also formed for reviewing these laws but its labours were inconclusive. No objection was voiced against any of the extended laws or any of the integrative links, probably because such noises would have adversely affected political rapprochement which had been arrived at with the Centre.

Nevertheless, no Presidential Order after the 1975 Accord was issued unlike the 1954 Presidential Order which had given formal shape to the Delhi Agreement of 1952. **Another Constitution Order was issued in 1986 which extended Article 249 of Indian Constitution to J&K, thus empowering Parliament to legislate even on matters on State List if the Rajya Sabha by two-thirds majority felt it "necessary or expedient in the national interest".**

The consequences of any dismantling of the present constitutional relationship which has been nurtured over almost half a century require to be viewed with utmost concern. Comments can be offered on the proposed autonomy package only when its precise contents are disclosed but it is being repeatedly stated that it would be maximum autonomy Short of independence. This is fraught with serious risks.

While Article 370 ensuring special position to J&K ought to be safeguarded, any further loosening of ties could lead to grave consequences. The following are three broad examples. 1) Reversion to pre-1953 position means a head of state elected by state legislature and not an appointee of President of India which he has been since 1965. (Mere consent by the President to such election has no practical value.)

A head of state who is the creature of the state legislature cannot act beyond the wishes of the latter. What happens if there is foreign aggression in J&K and the state government reacts to it differently from the Centre? No doubt, defence is one of the three subjects specified in the 1947 Accession Deed, but Indian defence forces cannot function in a vacuum. Cooperation, in a myriad ways, of the field agencies of the state government would be required.

2) The state High Court, unless linked to the federal judicial structure, cannot be free from pressures of the state's political executive. What remedies would be available for the resulting ills?

3) **Funds are provided by Government of India to the state government; then why should its auditing be not in the hands of the CAG of India?**

These are only indicative instances of the manifold complications. One wonders whether the Centre has grasped all the implications of reverting to pre-1953 position or of any similar autonomy package. In fact there would be no end-point in such an arrangement.

—Source: *The Week*, July 9, 1995)

**(The author has served as a senior bureaucrat in J&K). END*

Hindus and the Peace Process

By Dr. M.K. Teng

During the last several years, the quest for a peaceful settlement of the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir has spread out into a long process of track two diplomatic interaction, commonly known in India as the peace-process. The peace-process spreads across a wide spectrum of responses at a less formal range of negotiations, involving governments, administrative agencies, non-governmental organisations and non-official institutions representing various sections of people and their interests. Both India and Pakistan profess their commitment to find a settlement which is acceptable to the people of the State. So do the non-government organisations and non-official agencies profess their commitment to find a settlement which is acceptable to the people of the State. However, Pakistan and the Muslims of the State identify the people of the State with its Muslim population.

Pakistan insists upon a settlement which is acceptable to the Muslims of the State. The Muslims of the State insist upon a settlement which is acceptable to them and the Muslims of Pakistan. The Indian political class appears to lend tacit support to the claims made by both the Muslims of the State and Pakistan that a settlement reached on Kashmir has to be acceptable to the Muslims of Kashmir and the Muslims of Pakistan. A.G. Noorani, a self-styled expert on Kashmir, notes with undisguised hypocrisy: "The people of J&K must have a voice. It cannot be expressed at a round table. That will make it a tower of Babel". He prefixes his comment with an unambiguously crude expressions: "The Kashmir dispute is at the outskirts of a solution; the amnesty that will follow it will return Syed Salahuddin to state politics as a major player and alter the scene radically; deep divisions rule out the kind of the involvement in India-Pakistan that Kashmiris aspire".

The Round Table Conference does not provide a convenient platform for the Muslims to settle the dispute over Kashmir. It is a Tower of Babel because, Syed Salahuddin, the chairman of the United Jihad Council and the leaders of the Hurriyat, besides the leaders of other Jehadi regimes are not in it and it gives a wide representation to the people of Jammu and Kashmir, who are not Muslims.

The impression that the people of the State are identifiable with the Muslims of the State and settlement on the Kashmir dispute is subject to their acceptability and the acceptability of the Muslims of Pakistan, has assumed the validity of a historical fact, a development unsparingly used by Pakistan and the Muslim separatist flanks in Jammu and Kashmir to legitimise the Muslim separatist movement as well as the Muslim Jihad. **The Government of India has made no attempt to remove the erroneous impression that the people of the State are identifiable with its Muslim population. Nor has the Indian political class clarified that a settlement on Kashmir is also subject to the acceptability of India and the Hindus and the other minorities in the State.** No effort has been made in India to give expression to the stark facts that the people who have led the resistance to the Muslim Jihad have a more crucial role to play in the settlement of the Kashmir dispute than the chief of the United Jihad Council and the Hurriyat leaders and that the people who have fought for the unity of the Jammu and Kashmir and India have a prior right to determine the basic structure of a settlement about its future.

It is not a well known fact that the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Buddhists, alongwith the Hindus and Sikhs uprooted from the occupied territories of Azad Kashmir and the West Punjab, who took refuge in the State in 1947; constitute around 42 percent of the population of the State. The Hindus constitute a majority of the population in the Jammu province and the Buddhists form a majority of the population of Ladakh. In the Kashmir province, where the Muslims constitute a majority, the Hindus constitute 8.6 percent of the population of the province. They constitute 4.4 percent of the population of the whole State. Relatively the strength of the Hindu minority in Kashmir, compares well with the population of the minorities in the other States of India, including the Muslims.

The Hindus, Sikhs and the Buddhists have always been in the forefront of the resistance against the Muslim Jihad and the Muslim separatist movements which have ravaged the State for the last five decades. They fought against the invasion of the State in 1947, shoulder to shoulder with the State troops and the Indian army. To defend the State. More than thirty eight thousand Hindus and Sikhs paid their lives for India as the invading armies of Pakistan spread in the State. An unknown number of Buddhists laid down their lives in the defence of Ladakh after the invading armies overran Baltistan. The Muslim officers and ranks of the State army deserted, killed their Hindu comrades in arms and joined the invading forces. After the disintegration of the National Conference and the dismissal of the Interim Government in 1953, the Hindus and Sikhs and Buddhists formed the main flanks of resistance against the virulent secessionist movement led by the Plebiscite Front. In 1990, the Hindus bore the first assault of the Muslim Jihad. Ever since, they have been in the forefront of the resistance against the subversive war Pakistan and the Jehadi war groups have been waging in the state. Thousands of

Hindus have been massacred during the last seventeen years. A million of them have been uprooted from their homes in the Kashmir province and the Muslim majority districts of the Jammu province.

The Jehadi war groups and terrorist regimes, waging Jihad against India for the liberation of the Jammu and Kashmir, which claim to represent the people of the state do not represent the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Buddhists. Nor do the militant fronts, which are fighting for an independent Muslim Kashmir, represent the Hindus of the State. The assortment of militant organisation and Muslim separatist groups combined in Hurriyat Conference, the moderate as well as extremist, the former seeking a "United States of Jammu and Kashmir" and the latter fighting for the unification of the State with Pakistan represent the Hindus. It must be mentioned that the proponents of "autonomy", "self-rule", "joint control" etc. also do not represent the Hindus and the other minorities.

The Indian state has an obligation to ascertain, who among the Muslims in the State are committed to support the Jihad for the unification of the State with Pakistan and who among them are committed to support independence, "autonomy", self-rule" and joint control under a condominium". But it cannot treat Jammu and Kashmir as a "no-man's land", which, it has a right to handover to Pakistan or the Jehadi war groups, under the cover of "self-rule" "joint control". The Hindus, the Buddhists and the Sikhs did not give a mandate to the Indian State when they paid with the lives of thousands of their brethren the price for the accession of the State to India, to convert it into a Muslim state on the territories of India. Any compromise by the Government of India, which consigns four million Hindus, Sikhs and the Buddhists to the slavery of a Muslim state, whatever its form, will be a betrayal with the people of India.

The Hindus and the other minorities—the Sikhs and the Buddhists, do not support any separatist, secessionist or Jehadi claim to a separate freedom for the Muslims of the State. No government of India can visualise the future of the Jammu and Kashmir state in the faultiness of the Indian struggle for freedom. Any attempt to do so will lead this country to a second partition and perhaps, open the way for the dismemberment of the Indian nation.

The ongoing peace-process will not succeed so long the interests and aspirations of the Hindus and the other minorities in the State are not taken into account in reaching a fair and lasting settlement on the future of Jammu and Kashmir. So long the negotiations for a peaceful settlement on Kashmir, whether they are held at the level of the composite dialogue between Indian and Pakistan, or held between the people of the State and the Government of India, continue to be Muslim centric and their broad agenda is set by Pakistan and the Muslim Jihad, India will run the risk of sinking into an internecine conflict such as she faced in 1947. The Muslim movement for the de-Sanskritisation of India, which commenced in 1947, and has been going on ever since, must be brought to close before the civilisational conflict which it has given rise to flares up into a civilisation war.

A settlement on Jammu and Kashmir based upon the recognition of the precedence of the Muslim majority of its population, in any form it is given shape, will spell doom for the four million Hindus, Sikhs and the Buddhist.

Autonomy envisaged by Article 370, and the exclusion of the State from the Indian political organisation, "self-rule" within an Indo-Pakistan condominium, or the reorganisation of the Muslim majority regions of the State into an independent or a semi-independent political organisation, are aimed to open fresh ground for the Muslim Jihad to achieve its political objectives. A Muslim State of Jammu and Kashmir with "soft" or "irrelevant" borders, is bound to shift the Line of Control eastwards, to the Chenab watershed, which will uproot millions of Hindus and Sikhs from their homes and hearths.

The Muslim Jihad has already uprooted more than half a million Hindus from the Kashmir province. It has uprooted a quarter a million of Hindus from the Muslim majority districts of the Jammu province. More than a million Hindus and Sikhs uprooted from the occupied territories of Pak-occupied Kashmir and West Punjab, live in the State as Sharnathis, still awaiting their resettlement.

The Islamic Jihad has its own dynamics. The Indian attempt to delink theological imperatives of Jihad, to seek a national expression for the Muslim struggle for a separate freedom in Jammu and Kashmir, is based upon the misreading of the history. The readiness of the Indian Government to buy peace with Pakistan on the condition that it accepts the legitimacy of the Muslim claim to a separate freedom may well lead India to its disintegration. The belief that a Muslim State of Jammu and Kashmir forms a gradient of Indian secularism will damage social stability.

Any final settlement of the dispute over Kashmir is a national decision which is bound to have an effect on the future of the Hindus and other minorities of the State. No electoral majority has a right to subject any minority community in India to the servitude of the majority it represents. In Jammu and Kashmir as well, no electoral majority, national or regional, has a right to subject the Hindus, the Buddhists and the Sikhs to the servitude of a political and social order which draws its sanction from the sectarian, fundamentalists imperatives.

--To be continued END

Editorial

Arjan Dev Majboor

The period 1946-1955 was one of great turbulence, in which an air of political uncertainty loomed large over Kashmir. The Pakistani sponsored Raiders' invasion was followed by Imperialist intervention, which sought to weaken India's hold over J&K. The local left group, which operated from within National Conference, marshalled all its resources to beat back the Pakistani and Imperialist conspiracies and hold aloft the banner of national unity. It reached out to the common people to enrol them in the battle against the forces of disruption.

To play this vanguard role the left group relied on 'Literature as a weapon to awaken the people'. Its manifesto declared: 'Literature is both a representative and an architect of people's culture, an interpreter of their struggles and aspirations. It shall expose imperialist, capitalist and feudal designs on the people's freedom and give leadership and direction to their struggle and fight for World Peace'. **Cultural Congress** and **Kwong-Posh** were the offsprings of this resolve.

The mantle of leadership of the movement to raise social and political awareness of Kashmiris through literature fell on Pt. Dina Nath Koul Nadim, a great name in 20th century Kashmiri literature. To quote Shri Mohd. Yusuf Taing 'In his hands Kashmiri language and literature experienced a new birth and he fostered this renaissance with loving care, introducing new forms and patterns'. 'A 'magician of words', Nadim was a pioneer in introducing political themes in Kashmiri poetry. He has been rightly called Mayakovsky and Pablo Neruda of Kashmir. It was he who introduced short story, Sonnet, free and blank verse, Opera, haiku in Kashmiri. Nadim rescued Kashmiri poetry from worn out themes of mysticism and love and gul-o-bulbul imagery. He established the fact that literature, heavily-laden with political message, need not necessarily be second rate. Nadim was father of cultural renaissance of Kashmir, the like of which we haven't seen for many centuries. Every poet of Kashmir since 1947 has not only borrowed his ideas but also his images. No wonder, the era 1947-1988 has come to be called the **Age of Nadim**.

Arjan Dev Majboor was a product of this Cultural Renaissance, a poet of the Age of Nadim. He performed the job of Sub-Editor of Kwong-Posh, the monthly journal of Cultural Congress, with distinction. In a tribute to the leader of the movement Majboor says, 'Not only me but every modern poet of Kashmir owes form of his poetry to the great Nadim'. Majboor is a versatile poet, with five volumes of poetry to his credit. Even at this age when his health troubles him quite a lot he continues to experiment with new forms and themes in poetry. **Urvashi**, his recent poem, is based on a theme of Mahabharata. A poet who remains strongly conscious of the beauty of his art Majboor has evolved a distinct idiom of his own. The success of his album '**Sangarmal**' establishes the lyrical beauty of his muse, revealing its capability of getting rendered into music as well with quite ease.

Majboor is essentially a nazam and a nature poet, who retains passionate attachment to the land of his birth and also to its mythology, legend and lore. His poems are rich in imagery, with vocabulary quite sensuous. At times while hoping for a new dawn his romanticism takes over realism.

In exile Majboor has experimented with Longer Poems to communicate his feelings, which he claims he could not do otherwise through Short Poems. **Tyol** and **Padi Samayhik** are his Longer Poems. Nostalgia remains the main theme of his exile poetry. Nostalgia is all right. But nostalgic memories cannot substitute for the struggle to retrieve what has been lost and reverse the situation of exile? Nadim, Faiz, Neruda made literature a powerful vehicle to raise awareness among their people to fight the perceived social and political injustices. Politics did not impoverish, rather it enriched their poetry. In the process they emerged as great poets with their art linked to the destiny of their people. Exile also finds an echo in Majboor's few short stories and unfinished novel '**Vanvas**' (Exile).

Majboor has excelled in many other genres of literature as well. He rescued for posterity the Kalam of Lala Lakhymn, the great poet of social protest in first half of 20th Century. He also collected 12 new ghazals of Rasul Mir, the romantic poet. Majboor remains a versatile translator, who can translate all forms of literature with ease from one language to the other in Sanskrit, Persian, Urdu, Hindi, Dogri, Kashmiri and English. He was the first to translate Kalidasa's classic **Meghadutam** in Kashmiri, titling it as **Obreh Schechh**.

In the field of historiography Majboor displays sound professionalism. His research work on Kashyap Bandhu, Krishan Joo Razdan, Arnimal, Lal Ded, Dina Nath Nadim, Iqbal Nath Wanpoh and many others attest to it. Majboor's work in literary criticism bears the imprint of a competent litterateur, with vast knowledge of history and literature.

Pre-history of Kashmir has been his special love. This is reflected through his essays on the subject, photography of archeological finds and the beautiful poem commemorating HD Sankalia's excavations in Pahalgam area—'**Pyav Ledri Bathis Peth Thana Adam**'. Incidentally, he had the opportunity to read this poem to the great archeologist at Pune. A man of many parts, Arjan Dev Majboor is one of the most outstanding litterateurs living amongst us today. END

My Acquaintance with the noted poet, Arjan Dev 'Majboor'

By A.N. Dhar

On my retirement from the University of Kashmir, I shifted to Jammu in early 1990 as a displaced Kashmiri. Majboor Sahib was a much talked-about poet in Srinagar. Having read just a few of his Kashmiri poems by then, I had somehow

felt an urge to see this man of achievement in person. I recall with pleasure my first meeting with him at the University of Jammu on the 25th of October, 1998 when I casually stepped into a hall in one of the buildings on the campus. It happened to be the venue of a two-week workshop of Kashmiri writers sponsored and organised by the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore. The participants were involved in the production of some teaching materials meant for our learners. A chance meeting brought Arjan Dev Ji and me together. Thus began a fruitful friendship between us, which I believe has endured and will grow further, God willing. It was at this memorable meeting that Majboor Sahib gifted to me a copy of his book of poems titled Padyi Samyik (*foot-prints of time*) that earned him an award from the J&K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages in the year 1994; this volume was adjudged as the "best book in Kashmiri".

Ever since our meeting, with the passage of years, we have got to know each other well through our mutual contact at literary seminars and socio-cultural functions held periodically on various occasions at Jammu. On the basis of what I have by now read of this versatile writer-poet, critic and translator, well-versed in several languages and literatures-I can say with confidence: "here is a man of achievement in the field of letters". A productive and prolific writer, it is as a Kashmiri poet that he stands pre-eminent.

As a creative writer, Arjan Dev Ji has not only excelled in producing fine Kashmiri lyrics—both short and long—but he has also done reasonably well as a short-story writer in the Kashmiri language. What is also noteworthy about him is his accomplishment as a researcher and critic. He has also earned distinction as a translator, having command over several languages including Kashmiri, Hindi and Urdu besides having a fairly good knowledge of the two classical languages, Persian and Sanskrit. Being conversant with different languages and literatures, it seems he was cut out for attaining proficiency in the area of comparative literature. It is a field which involves a scholar's deep interest in the theory and practice of literary translation from one language into another-across regions and countries. The translator has to be both bilingual and bicultural having command over the two languages involved and at the same time being conversant with the related literatures. Many of Arjan Dev's published papers and articles bear testimony to his aptitude for cross-cultural studies.

With the publication of the book titled *Waves* in the year 1999, Arjan Dev 'Majboor' shot into prominence across the country, especially in the northern region. A younger scholar and talented English writer from our community, Prof. Arvind Gigoo, had felt attracted towards Majboor Sahib's Kashmiri poems; it was as good friends and neighbours living at Udhampur that the two litterateurs got close to each other and collaborated in a literary undertaking. Gigoo Sahib's English translation of Arjan Dev's Kashmiri lyrics in the first edition of the *Waves* brought the translator into the limelight and the original poet got an award from the Poet's Foundation, Calcutta in December, 1999. The book immediately caught the attention of scholars and critics; the result was an upsurge in the shape of a large number of favourable review articles in English on the translated poems from writers largely based in Jammu, some living elsewhere in the country and abroad. I myself hailed the book as a landmark: a fine piece of translation. Encouraged by the warm response from discerning readers, Majboor Sahib planned a larger volume of his translated poems in collaboration with the competent translator, Gigoo Sahib who now chose to provide also his seminal note on the theory and practice of literary translation bearing on the work undertaken by him. The enlarged edition has an excellent and illuminative forward from the celebrated writer, Professor TN Raina. I am happy to mention here that in this foreword (to the enlarged volume of the *Waves* brought out in the year 2000), Prof. Raina has quoted lavishly from my published review on the first volume. Later, a spate of fresh reviews from enthusiastic writers prompted Dr. RL Bhat, writer and social activist to collect the whole critical material on the two editions of the *Waves* and edit it properly. He brought out an anthology of critical reviews (on Arjan Dev's poems translated by Prof. Gigoo) under the title Arjan Dev Majboor in January 2003.

From what Prof. TN Raina and Dr RL Bhat have said about Majboor Sahib in their forewords the account they have given of his growth and development as a well-known personality, accomplished in the field of letters, I have every reason to feel elated over my decade-long literary association with the veteran poet and scholar at Jammu. I admire his fortitude, determination and perservance in sustaining his versatile interests as a writer. I am specially impressed by his eagerness to see his creative writing in Kashmiri projected globally through English translation. As a budding scholar and writer in his early years he had to face immense hardships, but he has managed to come up the hard way—which has been the mark of many ambitious men who rose to eminence. Even in his eighties now, Arjan Dev leaves nothing undone to see that he maintains the tempo of his writing despite his physical handicap in wearing a collar round his stiff neck. Author of a large number of books and a man of significant achievement as a writer, he is every inch a gentleman, exuding affection, having all the humility of a genuine scholar. In view of these qualities, he continues to be a source of inspiration to his friends and admirers. May he live long!

**The author was formerly Head of the Department of English and Director, ELT Centre, University of Kashmir. He has also authored *Mysticism Across Cultures*. END*

Arjun Dev Majboor-The Versatile Pioneer

By Mohd. Yusuf Taing

We Kashmiris may still have the pretensions of belonging to the 'Paradise on Earth' but the fact remains that we on both the sides of Pansal are presently living in hell. People on the northern side of the hill, by and large, physically and mentally and on the southern side, spiritually and emotionally.

The Volcano erupted rather abruptly but it had been gathering its embers through a long span of time. What is even worse, our two neighbouring giants contributed to it in ample measure.

Arjun Dev Majboor, to my mind, is one of the most eloquent, authentic and artistic chroniclers of this blazing inferno. I have a few weight arguments to substantiate my assertion. Firstly, he is not a journalist or a historiographer, in the formal sense of these terms. This class can only see and judge the manifest-the apparent occur-rences and their crust, which are otherwise far more complex and twisted. Secondly, he is not swept off his feet by the heat of the moment--so garishly coloured by the linkages of class, creed and convenience. The best and instant genre can be seen in the books published on the two sides of Pansal in recent times. One's hero, is other's villain and vice-versa. One's holocaust, is other's freedom struggle etc. Thirdly, Majboor has a poet's sensibility and an artist's eye. Both ignore the transient and banal; both fall for substantial and enduring. They do not identify killers by their fatigues; they peep into their psyche and minds. They recognise them as instruments of primordial instincts, good and evil, which surface in human frame and chart out his destiny.

The world of literature is with such instances. Vyas's Arjun and Duryodhan, Tulsi Das's Ram and Ravana, Shakespear's Macbeth and Diago, Kalhan Pandit's Avantivarman and Raja Harsh, and Allama Iqbal's Jabril and Iblis; where Iblis taunts Gabriel in the following words:

*Mein Khataкта Hoon
Dil-i-Yazdan Mein Kanti
Too Fakat Allah Hu, Allah Hu,
Allah Hu.*

(I am like a thorn in the flesh
of Almighty God,
And You? just repeating his
name again and again)

--Dialogue of Jabril and Iblis

Majboor celebrates the beauty of his motherland; even when he is under strain. He has a very long memory of his historical past and he remembers it through thick and thin. He does lament that whatever he cherishes is crashing and collapsing. But he draws strength from the fact that Kashmir has seen all this in the past and always outlived and outgrown its miseries. It is an amazing response to a situation where there is no visible hope. He does wail and weep but never like at the level of a squabbling, shrieking mobs. He encounters it at a higher plane and like french philosopher Rousseau he exclaims. "Everything coming from the hands of the creator is perfect and everything degenerates in the hands of man". It is a different attitude than the stock submission of an oriental Sufi; It somehow draws its lessons from the dialectics of human history. Humans tend to take plunge in their quest to forge ahead. They have to cross rivers of blood and fire, but time, at the end of every catastrophe, sees them going a step higher at the ladder. Majboor's journey of pain creates such luminous allusions in his poetic odyssey:

"Dou hay Chokeh Naizan Man

*Shinehvaney,
Yih Qoudrath Routh chi
Sonbrun Dani Daney"*

(Wash daily your mind from
the limpid waters filtered from snow,
Nature has to labour for
collecting this silver speckly speck)

*Tsu Naras Manzti Poshey
Kuilvavan Cratsh*

(Go on planting flower bushes
even in the raging fires)

*Vasan Shamas ootuy lout
lout malaik*

*Vanan Tim Gyan Zari eki
Khasih Lagith.*

(In the evenings, angels themselves
bless my land,
They are always clad in the
golden robes of knowledge)

*Chi Nagiy Nag Ati Aabukneh
Parway,*

*Vudar Risham Te Yimnay
Poshi Bubrai*

(Springs flow there at every corner,
Even Silken uplands grow
flowers like bubbles in a torrent)

It may be a device to escape from the agony of the present, but it is also a quest to recharge his batteries of hope and courage. He just cannot allow his dream to be inundated by the raging floods of hate and tyranny. Like his immediate predecessors Mehjoor, Majboor also sings in darkness around and exudes light;

"Khatum Gatsi Changykhani

**Sho-ro-Shar,
Rozi Qaim Ta Abad
Shiraz Myon"**

(The barbaric onslaught of Chengez Khan will come to an end;
my

And the dreamland of/poetic Vision-The Shiraz-will
flourish till eternity.)

Majboor's other mainstay takes in his wonderful poem— **"Paed Samyik"**—It draws strength from the great historical Saga of Kashmir-right from its genesis. The landmass emerging from a drying Satisar, had the inherent make-up of a paradise. He is overtaken by a flowing melody as a rosepetal in the gushing waters of Vitasta. Vitasta which is born in the lap of mother Kashmir and which announces the independent character of its culture and its existence. Vitasta, which leaves Kashmir only after creating the Amrita Reservoir of Wullar. This translated self containment is in Kashmir's journey of faith and pattern of history as well. Mt. Kailasa is transformed into Pradiyman Pitha; Shiv Shankar takes the shape of Budha, Nagrai a Naga prince becomes the darling of Himal, the princess of ruling Arya clan. These accords and concords emerge like lotus flowers from the oceans of blood. It is a journey of pain, but in William Cowper's words resulting in "pleasure and even ecstasy of fulfilment".

"Vanakh na Jafereo ledris

**Gulabas,
Chi Kashmir Kyazi Sairi
Dar Azabas,**

(You Marigold flower, would you care to ask the the yellow rose;

Why Kashmiris of all hues are in such an agony?)

It is not a demagogue's figure of speech to bluff his listener. Majboor does not discriminate among Kashmiris, they are all his kin and fellow-travellers. He never bothers to know their names, neither cares who is circumcised and who is not. If one does not know him personally and if proper name is not revealed to him, it will be quite difficult for the reader to know whether the poet is a Pandit or a Muslim. Just a small ingredient can hint to his class-his use of some very apt, eloquent and meaningful allusions in Sanskrit. These are married to the context in such a way that they simply cannot be replaced. Sanskrit has been the lingua franca of Kashmir's most glorious culture. It is not only AnandaVardhana and Kalhana, who epitomise its aesthetics and narrative excellence, even Zainul Abdin's Court historians took its chartered course; Lal Ded and Nund Reshi enjoy its liberating atmosphere and use it for their epoch-making renderings. In Majboor, it has an effortless beauty. He picked it up in the company of that great gypsy-Hermit-Rahul Sankrityan, who died as a convert to Sakhya Muni's world-conquering creed.

Majboor makes his historical journey through different vicissitudes of Kashmir's past—Nagas, Paisachas, Darads, Aryanas Kushans, Huns, Turks, Mughals, Afghans, Khalsas, Jamwals etc. He talks of great figures and great spots in the journey. Anandvardhan, Kundalvana, Pravarsen, Lalitaditya, Martand, Nagarjuna, Harwan," Second Lalitaditya, Sultan Shahbuddin, Budshah, Zaindweep (He has partiality to him, because he founded Zanapur also, Majboor's native village), Shamsuddin Iraqi, the great Shah Hamadan, Lal Ded, Sheikhu Alam, Makhdoom Hamza, Akbar the great, Mehjoor etc. And then coming to his own times, he admires that tall person—the harbinger of modern revolution in Kashmir.

Bala vira Asi Manz Wooth

**Ditun Naad;
Baniau Suiy Rahnuma
Hukmas Korun Vaad**

(And a brave, a tall man, rose
from our own ranks,
He gave a clarion call,
He became the leader and
defied the command)

I consider both these poems extraordinary; quite long by the standards of Kashmiri language, yet just stops short of becoming classical Mahakavyas; although they are written and fashioned in that mould. Both are epoch-making and epical in nature and have only one precedent. Some operas of great and larger than life—Dina Nath Nadim who happened to be an elder contemporary and a guiding spirit of Majboor. Majboor's poems may lack the majesty and grandeur of Nadim's torrential flow, but he compensates by his poise and depth. Nadim had not to encounter the avalanche of blood and mayhem which was Majboor's destiny, therefore Majboor scores greatly. If he was not overwhelmed by the turbulence and came out of it as a proud Kashmiri, it must be ascribed to his innate goodness and

to the courage of his convictions. On purely artistic plane, they evoke that tuneful tradition of Kashmir Masnavis—which are immersed in beautiful melodies in the form of Lyrics etc. to lessen the burden of their terrible content. Majboor's poems under reference can fully blossom on the stage and unveil their real potential. I hope that he will find an interpreter in the mould of a Kashmiri Shyam Benegal. The poems are pregnant with terrific situations, tuneful music, sharp-witted dialogue and other components necessary for a fantastic production. Such an opera can be staged, both at Geeta Bhavan in Jammu; Pamposh Colony in Delhi and Islamia College in Down Town Srinagar and receive accolades.

Majboor's versatility knows no bonds. He is a short story writer, a translator, a researcher with penetrating insights, a linguist of many parts and a cultural voyager. His translations of some tarangas of Kalhan Pandit's magnum opus, have already been published by the State Cultural Academy and is much more enjoyable than the lousy English text of Stein, if not as illustrative. He has completed the first ever Kashmiri translation of that semi-veda of Kashmir—The Nilmat Purana. It is the most ancient text of Kashmir's Cultural Anthropology. It is awaiting publication in Cultural Academy and when published, will add more colour and spice to many festivities in Kashmir. It will recreate their linguistic opulence folksy authenticity.

His monograph on Arnimal has established her on the firm pedestal of historic belief. It will no more be possible for sensation-mongers to question her historical presence and her sweet, if somewhat short repertoire of songs.

Many of Majboor's path-breaking research articles are concealed in the files of Kashmiri Shiraza and other journals. They cannot be allowed to hibernate there and must see the light of print medium. These will, in turn, through light upon many a dark alleys of Kashmir's history.

Arjun Dev Majboor has an aura of encyclopaedic dimensions about his work. As far as I know, contemporary Kashmir Literary scene can hardly boast of any other person of his versatility. But what is more noteworthy is that in spite of his accomplishments of pen, he is second to none in the mundane field of struggle of Kashmiri, its rights and dignity. He has been in the vanguard of this struggle since 1948. He is among the few pioneers who ushered in the renaissance in our language and literature. He took the torch to villages of Kashmir and also tried to build an ambience so important for literary exposition.

He has been active in almost every movement of substance which worked for Kashmiri.

He is now an octogenarian, and not in the best of health, but his passion to labour and deliver has not receded; hence his very fresh dalliance with the preparation and release of Kashmiri music albums at the highest level available in this field.

What I consider icing on the cake (and so apt in these Christmas days) is his inborn humility and unbelievable gentlemanliness. I have yet to meet a person who speaks ill of him.

Everybody cannot become everybody's friend, that is not the way we humans are made but his Chemistry with his contemporaries as well as the younger generation is just remarkable. He could never compromise his ideals, but still managed to smile. Even in this era of hate and bad blood, his sincerity seems transparent and transcends the barriers of mighty Pantsal. He is aging but still making friends, still writing, still contributing and still inspiring. We have not had the grace to bestow a very deserving Sahitya Award on him but that does not detract anything from his glorious accomplishment, it only casts a shadow on the genuineness of that otherwise coveted award itself. Our all-time great Nadim would receive it only when he had started for his last journey and Urdu's Krishan Chander could never make it to the panel even.

Majboor Sahib is a living movement of the best Kashmiri Cultural synthesis can offer....Well, it is a melancholy thought that, given the present state of milieu, we may not see the like of him anymore. History, contrary to the cliché sometimes, refuses to repeat itself and takes vicarious pleasure in denial.

**(The author has remained Secretary, J&K Cultural Academy (1973-1993), Director Information, Director General Cultural and Cultural Advisor to Chief Minister. He has also served as a member of State Public Service Commission and Member Legislative Council (1999-2005). Mr MY Taing writes both in Kashmiri and Urdu. A well-known Critic and Researcher, he has eight books to his credit. He won Sahitya Academy award for his book "Mehjoor Shinasi". END*

VISITING THE POET (For Arjan Dev Majboor)

The age
when people complain of their pains
and indifference of children
 It is a pleasure to see you
 strong
 alert
 enthusiastic.
 like a rider
 who tightens the saddle of his horse
 before leaving for his new adventure.
On! Wanderer of life

You dare to go beyond always
Words
Meanings
Rhythms follow you

Me age

When people hear the bells
tinkling in the ears
and shadows of death
lurking on their eyelids

You dare say
Does God really exist!

On! Lover of life

It is always a pleasure to see you
and listen to your poems
Pulsating with liveliness

Visiting you
I always feel proud to think.
That being a poet in itself
is the greatest reward
nature can bless somebody with.

—Maharaj Krishan Santoshi
113-A/4, Anand Nagar, Bohri Talab Tillo, Jammu. END

PADI SAMYIK-

A Treatise

By MK Raina

"I feel the instinctive vibration of the earth and visualise my 'connect' with the terra-firma", said MF Hussain once, when asked, 'why does he walk bare-footed? After reading Majboor Saheb's book 'Padi Samyik', I feel he has laid his 'padi' (bare feet) firmly on the eons of Kashmir history in a unique manner, demonstrating amply his 'innate vibrations' and his 'inalienable connect' with his mother-land, Kasheer. Medium of expression may be different but, euphemistically speaking the inspiration is the same.

'Padi Samyik' (The foot prints of time) is a 'Kaveya' written in nine Sargas (chapters).

It starts with the turmoil in Kashmir and goes into imaginary world to trace the early days of the man in Kashmir. The two characters which narrate the whole 'longer' poem are Sangur (The top of a hill) and the Sangarmal (The early Prakasha seen in wee hours of the day on the circular range of high mountains surrounding the Valley).

The characters meet at a crystal clean vast spring. They begin to love each other and make their home under a very big stone, which covers their house hold. They get the experience of living from the nature, their hands and brain. Once the 'Sangur' goes to a forest for hunting, he is caught by some alien Tribal people. They beat him up and keep him in custody for the night. His beloved is frightened when her lover does not return till late. She weeps and wails. In the morning "Sangur" is taken to the Sardar of the tribe. He falls under his feat and requests him not to kill him, moreover he has done no harm to them. He is released and runs to his beloved. She is full of joy when she sees him alive.

After that comes the story of birth of Kashmir Valley— Running of various rivers, settlements in the hilly areas, Coming of various people to Kashmir from Central Asia and Aryans from the Ganges and Sindh Valleys.

There are about nine capitals of Kashmir which were constructed by various kings. These are Puranadisthan (now Pandrenthan), Pravarapur, Shrinagri (Shri is the first name of Vitasta), Awantipur, Nowshahar, Nagarnagar, Inderkoot, and Parihaspur. These have been described briefly. The main historic places have been pinpointed. Coming of various religions, philosophies and there mixing has been poetically described.

Last chapters describe the beauty of various bountiful seasons of Kashmir, especially the glow, breeze and abundance of self-grown flowers in spring. Coming of visitors in summer season which too is pleasant and attractive.

All the famous fairs and some festivals during these seasons have also been picturized. The Autumn is covered with golden colour, the fields are ripe, the red colour and sweet juice seen in various fruits of Kashmir. The Valley presents a look like a queen having decorated her body with various ornaments.

The winter of Kashmir too has its own colour and charm. The life in Kashmir during winter has been pictured with words which give a poetic colour to the nicities and difficulties of this season.

In the end the poet says that in the words of Keats "when the winter comes, can spring be far behind."

The versification of 'Padi Samyik' is embellished with the vignettes of similes, onomatopoeic, metaphors, alliterations and above all free-flowing usage of 'personification', which not only 'elevates the thought-process, but also lends grace and sublimity to the content. The sensitive poet has used his wordplay in weaving the fabric of various patterns of Kashmir, presenting a Kaleidoscopic picture of the Valley.

*thokmut, tshyonmut, sangrav rochhmut
akh lolu hota pev vatith ot
daldas manz balu thang vathimut chhi shranas
kulev volmut sabuz vardan chhu panas*

*shod saph sarah akh son dyuthun
mudyah kamas tay prazunovun*

*bihith singasanas badnas valith tos
karan os razusi gatul sethah os*

As a chronicler Majboor Saheb has traced the history of Satisar (Kashmir) from the 'Treaty between Nagas and Pishachas' in the prehistoric times, as documented in the 'Neelmat Purana'. Then he menders us through the annals of our history unfolding the noble and the wicked, the munificent and the treacherous, the tolerant and the bigoted, the liberal and the illiberal reign of the rulers of the host of dynasties which ruled Kashmir from time to time. One could, perhaps, read Kalhan, Hassan or Bamzai to delve into the chronicle records of Kashmir. But the peculiarity of Majboor Saheb's 'Padi Samyik' (history of Kashmir) is that he touches such topics, which

historians either skip or treat superficially; like rites, rituals, vegetables (common then, forgotten now like sotsal, nunar, lisu, hak), costumes and crops etc.

Talking about the costumes, one knows that women of Kashmir have all along been presented wearing the Muslim costume. Here is some one, who has portrayed sartorially elegant costume of Panditani:

zananan ari taranga sheri asan
kalas kalposh, anzul zuj shuban
saraph chale timan putsah avezan

pheran nalas khoran pulhar lagan
hatis hanzrah, hale lungyah zabar jan
bilay achh asu tihunzay zun zotan
How can one forget savouring 'makayi vachi' with 'dungoji'?
pinglah, sholah, makayah mith katsah
vachen mechhar tu pal pal dun gujah

Post-exodus many a poet have given vent to the poignancy they suffered in the 'tandav' of militancy, but Majboor Saheb's anguish at the 'demonic dance' unleashed by the militants has lacerated his sensitive soul that every verse of the first 'Sarag' of his book '*Padi Samyik*' is 'sigh and cry'. The poet's deep pain is unplugged at the turn of the events which has ravaged his beloved '*Kasheer*', with fire and sword.

Enveloped by the fear-psychosis, Majboor recounts how people, nearly paralysed, turned mute spectators on seeing spectre of destruction all around. He seems particularly appalled at the apathetic attitude of neighbours, who till yestreday were his concomitants and swore by each other. Dismayed and shaken, he could not bear the emotional distress of mass exodus of his community members who were compelled to abandon their homes and hearths and seek refuge in alien and inhospitable land. He sighed:

garuch vath sopnu mayaye chhi garan
panun olah vopar jayan chhi tsharan

Being peace-loving by nature, Majboor Saheb has given more space to the tolerant Brahminical thought and influence of benevolent Muslim preceptors who arrived in Kashmir in early 14th Century, which gave birth to much envied synergy now called 'Kashmiriyat':

reshav sophev revayath thav kayim
rutsar prath kansi kanchhun rud lazim

Even after the perdition that shook Kashmir, the optimistic streak of Majboor Saheb looks solicitously for peace and harmony to return to his '*resh var*' and he makes 'Biblical' wish 'follow peace with all men' and entreats people thus:

kariv kanh pay yinu gatshi ha yi resh var
me nazran dag azabas lusmuts kar

Majboor Saheb is thoroughly disgusted with post independence dispensation of governance. He thought, with independence all the wounds inflicted upon us by the various regimes would be healed by our own democratically elected government, but alas!

khabar asi as gayi azad sari
gulami hund balan von dad sari
ama tarze hakumath kyazi pronuy
andur kin tshots nebur kyah nundubonuy

Denouncing, the games played by the politicians, as a scourge of the society, the poet laments:

agar zar chhuy tu teli mushkil gatshi hal
pakan kakaz hava bar zore botal
chhu asan val sund prath kanh gulamah
chhe ma khali athav neran kamah

Cursing even now prevalent corruption in all the walks of life, the poet sighs:

siyasatuken dukanan phand bazi
chhi hathiyaran hevan az kam sari
dyutukh naru tu mulkas chhuy lagan nar
phakath votuk tsovapari chhu bapar

Majboor Saheb feels that he is really helpless (*majboor*) to live in an alien land, for he misses the snow-capped mountains, rustle of the chinars, the sheen of turquoise lakes, the fragrance of '*bradmushk*' and '*yamburzal*' the mouth-watering viands of his Kasheer and above all his social intercourse with his friends of yore. What a regret to live with!

'*Padi Samyik*' is a book for all times and for ages—for the contemporaneous to evoke their nostalgia and for the posterity to know their roots.

**The author is a well-known writer, based in Mumbai. He contributes regularly to Milchar, the publication of Kashmiri Pandit Association, Mumbai. He has also authored an anthology of short stories—Kenh Non Kenh Son. END*

DASHI-HAAR

By Syed Rasool Pompur

Dashi-Haar is a 112-Page collection of Kashmiri Poems in 20"x30"x16" size, published by the renowned Kashmiri poet Shri Arjan Dev Majboor, twenty three years ago in 1983. It comprises of about 38 poems, eight ghazals (lyric), besides a translation of Allama Iqbal's poem:

***Digar Goon Hai Jahan Taroon Ki Gardish
Tez Hai Saaqi''***

Besides using mothertongue as an essential and forceful vehicle of creative thought Shri Majboor writes in Hindi and Dogri also. An octagenarian-our elder and a younger contemporary of Mirza Ghulam Hassan Beg Arif, Dina Nath Nadim, Peerzada Ghulam Ahmad Mehjoor, Abdul Ahad Azad and Fazil Kashmiri Shri AD Majboor has all along been associated with the movement for the cultural, social, economic and political justice of the downtrodden and common people of Kashmir.

The title "Dashahar" relates to the historic tirtha held every ten years at the confluence of Jehlum and Sindh at Sumbal. A Chinar stands in the middle of Jehlum at that place.

Majboor's poetry in the anthology under review is certainly an embodiment of universal human love, brotherhood and social equality, irrespective of caste, colour and creed. Miseries of people, irrespective of nature, have kept him constantly restless and in melancholy as he himself comments in his forward to the book. He has all through remained a protagonist of eternal human and social values. At times, he feels quite nostalgic about the socio-cultural heritage of his motherland in the form of composite culture facing extinction in modern technical and cultural advancement.

Born in 1924 at Zanapur, a historic town, named after and built by the great Kashmiri King Zainul Abdin, Budshah (1420-70) as Kashmiri people call him with love and reverence. As a dependable and lovable neighbour, Shri Majboor is very well-known to me, with his traditional, simple and truthful lifestyle with human warmth and dedication. These are the qualities which make and shape him as a selfless and tireless human activist, as a progressive writer with a clear social commitment and vision:

***A tale of thousands of years
of times and likes endless
having, just ended
He jumped into the Padamsar
(Wular Lake)
Whispering that the time has
no today, and no tomorrow
collect and collate
the memories
and adorn them with
celestial union
to create a new world''
(Kathu Gor: Tale-Teller)***

Like his individual person bedecked with simplicity, his poetic diction is unambiguous, plain, refreshing nearest to the vernacular language, artistically fitted with local ethos, lore and legend:

***Life with affectionate glances
tells them all
to sing the songs of
harmonious melodies
to lift the waves
above the celestial mansions
(Sovdru-Bathis Peth-On the Seashore)
I am a dauntless lover
My heart is like a dotless mirror
I have never hidden the truth,
and presented darkness as light
I could thus, never abandon eternal human love.
I have to nourish and nurture
the dew with eternal fir:
to keep up the human dignity intact.***

*and portray the spring of life in full bloom
(Yi-Myon Oond Pokh--My surroundings)*

While going through the lines I can very well recall the distinct and effective style of recitation of poems by Majboor in poetic symposia conferences and other literary seminars. Throughout his career he has served as a dedicated, sincere and honest teacher. He is a successful orator too.

Recalling his story in Lahore prior to partition in 1947 he feels nostalgic while peeping through the memory window:

*Yes! This is the same city,
Sky of steel bridges, for which
in haste, I left behind
The highest mountain peaks
The heavenly circles
of Devdaar woods
The snow silver
head gears and yearning for vast
blossoming flowers—aside
I passionately loved it
The peaceful and delightful environs
of Lahore-enchant me
Lahore-where Iqbal touched
heights of heavens
recollecting the memories
Make me restless
My footprints
Ragas of my musical waves
My buoyant youth
Human love and sincerity
Making a series of
Mountain peaks—into a garland of love—
{(Lohoor (Lahore))}*

Kus Kari Bawath (who will communicate), *Tsitr-Kar* (The Painter), *Kalpana* (imagination), *Shinu-Mohniv* (The snow man), *Padi* (The Feet), *Rqs. Jaari* (The dance goes on), *Wuliodur* (Agony), *Lekhi Kya* (what will he write), *Amar* (Ambition), *Titsh Kath Chanu* (That is not the truth), *Kol* (The stream), *Harud* (The autumn) and other shorter poems and gazals present in Dashahaar form an inseparable component of eternal, human love and brotherhood passionately advocated and dedicatedly represented by Shri AD Majboor, thus making it more relevant even for today.

Majboor aptly remembers Lal Ded saying:

*You are the hidden treasure
of Kashmiri Language
You are the flying boat of
the Universe
Burning Vyeth (river) of
eternal misery
And morning breeze for
human civilisations!*

[Lal-Dedi Nazranu (To Lal Ded)]

Dashi-haar undoubtedly is a plausible and lovely collection of poems of Majboor, requiring the attention of discernible connoisseurs of Kashmiri poetry. Strictly selected or restricted, single volume of Kashmiri poetry comprising of the representative poems.

**(The author was Editor Kashmiri, "Sheeraza" Academy of Art, Culture and Languages. He is a noted poet, essayist and well-known researcher. He has published Kashmiri monographs on Abdul Sattar Ranjoor, Chaman Lal Chaman, PN Pushp. His notable publications include Aabgeenay (2005)—Urdu: articles on and about Kashmiri Culture and Literature; Wony For Gatshu: Whither shall I go now (Short Stories 1986) etc. He has also been associated in compilation and editing of Dictionaries, Encyclopaedia etc. brought out by J&K Cultural Academy from time to time. END*

MK Tikoo, former Associate Editor Hindustan Times
on
Obreh Shechh

"As for the problems of translations, one can hardly set a more untranslatable example than Kalidasa. One says this a little more emphatically than may sound reasonable and considering the temper of Kashmiri language. This is partly one reason why Kalidasa has so far been left untouched in this language. During the year Arjun Dev Majboor came out with a translation in verse of *Meghdoota* as *obreh Shechh*. Majboor has made a valiant attempt to sustain the poem despite the occasional jarring notes. One problem here is to integrate the Sanskrit names into cadences of the language. But this would have been less of an impediment had the poet allowed the less constricting framework of free verse"

***Overseas Sahitya Academy Indian Literature, Jan-Feb 1976 p. 65-66 END**

Majboor as a Short Story Writer

By Dr. Romesh Kumar

Focus on Majboor as a poet has led the literary critics overlook his contributions as a serious short story writer. In his early literary career Majboor's twenty short stories were published in "*Jyoti*", an Urdu monthly edited by Late Ganga Dhar Dehati. These stories received good appreciation. His *Koleh Guran* (small fish of a stream) was widely acclaimed.

'*Kolehwaan*' (cleansing the stream for paddy sowing) and '*Sona Wuddar*' (Golden Karewa) were published in *Kwong-Posh*, a literary journal brought out by Cultural Congress in early 1950s. '*Kolehwaan*' focused on the hard life of a peasant in village. Rahim is the protagonist in the story. '*Sonawudar*' is based on the description of beauty of nature. Due to displacement and subsequent burning of his house his books and papers too were destroyed. Majboor does not have today even a copy of his short stories written for '*Jyoti*' and '*Kwong-Posh*'.

Despite his success in the art of short story writing Majboor switched over to poetry and prose-writing. When asked about this shift Majboor frankly admits: "I myself don't know why I left writing short story".

Exile brings out the best in a writer. There is strong motivation, an urge to communicate exile and its different facets—to satisfy the inner pangs and also to create a movement for reversal of exile. This makes a writer try varied genres of literature to bring out his feelings. After having bid goodbye to short story writing four decades back, Majboor started experimenting with short story again to weave real life incidents during the past 17 years of displacement into literature. His stories which treat exile as its theme include '*Gashe Zech*'; (a ray of light), '*Haras-ti-Korun Wandeh*' (The Ashad (May/June) month too has turned into Winter), '*Tri-Buj*' (Triangle), '*Gatakhar*' (The Storm) etc. Some of these stories have been translated into Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam and Hindi. '*Gashe Zech*' (A Ray of Light).

Originally, this story was written in Kashmiri. Its Hindi version, translated by the author himself, was published in '*Samkalin Bhartiya*'. An incident which involved a cop and took place in Bijbehara has been fictionalised in this story. The cop Som Nath who had stayed back in 1990 alongwith his family is kidnapped by militants. He is kept hostage in a cowshed and is brought daily to the Kangaroo court of militants to confess a 'crime' he never committed. He is asked to accept the charge that he was a 'Mukhbir' (an informer for the government). Som Nath refuses to endorse the lie. He is abused, thrashed, his body is tortured with burning cigarette butts. The cop after undergoing this torture experiences hallucinations of more brutal torture being in store for him before he would be finally eliminated.

An old Muslim lady in whose house Som Nath was kept captive and tortured, used to serve him food in morning and evening. As torture increases Som Nath narrates his tale of woe to the old lady. He tells her that in case he was unable to reach home, his family—wife and two sons would not be able to withstand the bad news. The lady is moved by his condition, his feelings and innocence. She is convinced that the cop is being held captive for no reason. The lady has a way out for his freedom. She tells him that during the day, when the militants would be out she would prepare 'Tehar' (Turmeric laced rice) and call neighbourhood children to the compound to receive '*Tabruk*'. This would give enough time to Som Nath to break the rear window of the house and flee. The cop accepts her suggestion and jumps to freedom. He reaches the police station, where he is posted. He takes a van, collects his family and reaches Jammu.

Hars Tih Korun Wandeh:

This story is based on an incident supposed to have taken place during rapacious Pathan rule. Jabbar Khan was Governor of Kashmir and quite intolerant to Kashmiri Pandits. One year he forbade Pandits to celebrate Shivratri on the due date in winter. Snowfall used to take place on the day of Shivratri, this phenomenon was considered auspicious. That year Pandits celebrated Shivratri in Har (Jun/July). It snowed on that day. Kashmiri people reacted by saying, "*Wuchtone Yi Jabbar Jandeh, Haras Tih Korun Wandeh*" (See the wretched Jabbar. Even the hot summer has turned into cold winter).

The author has used this metaphor to convey the plight of a displaced old Pandit lady in Jammu who gets psychologically fixated to Kashmir winter. The story was originally published in Kashmiri in Sheeraza. It runs like this—

A young lady visits her close relation, who has recently migrated from Kashmir. It is month of June. The displaced old lady is sick and confined to bed. Her daughter-in-law offers her a glass of cold water. The old lady reacts hysterically, "Oh! Have you gone mad? You are offering me cold water when it is snowing outside". Though she is in Jammu, yet she is fixated to winter season when she left Kashmir.

The old lady travels back in time and narrates events about her marriage and other incidents when she was young. She asks her daughter-in-law to go up the 2nd storey to fetch her white woollen *pheron* so that she could beat the cold. Then she experiences an auditory hallucination in which a fisherman appears. The old lady asks

her daughter-in-law to call him for purchasing fish against a big bag of paddy. The lady also experiences desire to prepare fish herself. The daughter-in-law is asked to fetch wood from the third storey of the house. The old lady's reaction to the noise of matadors moving outside is: 'Why these buses are coming close to our house though it is one km. away from the main road'.

Meanwhile, her son enters the room. She tells him, " Oh! You must be tired walking 10 kms distance from your school in the snowfall. You dust off snow from your blanket". The lady orders the daughter-in-law to prepare for him maize bread and salt tea.

The son feels sad not on account of her psychological condition but on his inability to find out an alternate rented accommodation. The landlord had already sounded him that since his mother was on death bed he could not allow the relations of the rented family to mourn in case of old lady's death.

'Gatakar' (The Storm).

This story is based on an event which is supposed to have taken place in Litter Village, 5 kms from Zainapora (author's village). The story, originally written in Kashmiri, has been translated into Hindi and Telugu. The writer has tried to correlate a routine event in the daily life of Kashmiri Pandits with actual displacement. The forced displacement is described as *Gatrakar*, the storm.

A fisherman Aziz used to visit on eve of Shivratri a village inhabited by Pandits. Since cooking of fish is part of *Reet* (Customary ritual) on Shivratri, due to heavy demand the Pandits would remain unsure whether they would be able to get fish. Aziz tells a customer that since he was his permanent customer he would ensure at any cost to make fish available to him on the occasion. However, he fails to turn up. The customer subsequently comes to know from a Pandit shopkeeper in the nearby village that Aziz was dead. The fisherman had failed to get a good catch due to snowfall. With his catch of one kg he purchased salt, tea and tobacco from the Pandit shopkeeper and left for his village in the evening. His village was perched on a hill. The fisherman had to cover a distance of 5 kms over snow to reach his village. When he reaches the Karewa the snowfall turns heavy darkness also sets in. Aziz loses his way. He gets worried how his four unmarried daughters would take the news if something bad happened to him. The fisherman lands in a pyrethium Farm covered with a blanket of snow. He is numb with cold and leans against a mulberry tree. The following morning snowfall stops and gradually the sun comes out. The villagers find Aziz dead. The sad news is conveyed to his daughters.

Some days later the situation in Kashmir starts deteriorating for the worse. The author seems to convey that the storm which consumed Aziz had symbolism attached to it. It was first time the Pandits could not get fish on the day of Shivratri. It was an indication that stormy days were ahead for Pandits. The news about selective killings of Pandits in city reaches villages also. The exodus begins.

'Tri-Buj' (Triangle)

This story originally written in Hindi is based on author's personal experience. During the early years of displacement Majboor lived in Udhampur. He used to go for strolls on the main Jammu-Srinagar National Highway. He would feel happy and nostalgic on seeing buses coming from Srinagar. The story revolves round a Pandit refugee, living in Battal Ballian refugee camp at Udhampur. The refugee belongs to Zainapora (Majboor's village) in Kashmir. He has come to the town, Udhampur and is standing at a point where three roads lead to Srinagar, Jammu and Udhampur (Tribuj). When his eyes turn towards the road leading to Kashmir he in his fancy reaches his village Zainapur. The day is *Navreh amavasya*. A fair was on in the village. The sweetsellers, the toy sellers and others had thronged to the village to sell their goods. The village ladies—Hindus and Muslims had been buying bangles, Kajal, cosmetics etc. The Battal Ballian refugee is pained to see his burnt house. He narrates to the guests, relations and the family the history of *Varanag* spring, connected with fair. Suddenly, the noise of a truck distracts his attention. He feels remorse and recalls how displacement has disintegrated his whole clan. The Pandit refugee is lost in his thoughts. He thinks about Zainapur, his relations, the ravages of displacement etc. As evening approaches, he feels it was time to reach the camp. He had come to the town to fetch medicines for his wife. When he puts his hand in the pocket there is just one rupee, the ten rupees had got misplaced somewhere. Feeling quite hungry one rupee would not help him to buy even a cup of tea, what to talk of medicines. It is 8 PM. He catches the last matador for Battal Ballian.

'So Booney' (The Chinar):

Originally written in Kashmiri and published in Sheeraza the story is set in Bijbehara. It has recently been translated into english by Sh. Upinder Ambardar. END

"Tahqiq", written by Sh. Arjan Dev Majboor—A Review

By Upender Ambardar

The book under review titled "*Tahqiq*", written in nastaliq Kashmiri by Sh. Arjan Dev Majboor published in the year 1999 (price not mentioned), spanning into 183 pages encases nine diverse essays. The book besides being a recounting of the past history of Kashmir and its historical icons is also a perceptive account of travel cum memoir. The thoughtfully selected and compelling writings included in the book give an insightful account about Kanishka, the renowned and illustrious ruler and history and culture of Himalayan states. A history of Kashmir, Kashmir under the Buddhist and Hindu era, Kashmir as encompassed in 'Gulabnama', Ritualistic Kashmiri marriage songs in the backdrop of mythology, Mysore as seen by the author and lastly the author's literary odyssey. The narrative of the first essay entitled 'Kanishka, the great Kushan emperor', unfolds his multifaceted attributes as a determined ruler, an accomplished and gallant soldier, an expert on warfare and a political strategist, who ruled over a vast area of the Indian sub-continent in the second century AD with an iron grip for twenty three years. His capital Purushpur, the present day Peshawar, a flourishing city of plenty was well connected both with the then extended Indian peninsula and the Central Asia through silk route. The hitherto lesser known facts and details about the Kushan dynasty, the trade and cultural ties, the architectural masterpieces of the Gandhara style and the hosting of the third Buddhist World Conference at Kundalvan-Srinagar outskirts are deftly pieced together. The second essay entitled 'History and Culture of Himalayan States based on the fifth volume of the name-same book offers an intimate understanding of the Sikh rule in Jammu region from the year 1810 to 1820, awareness about three Dogra rulers, the subsequent conquests in Ladakh and Baltistan, the emergence of Mian Dido as a local hero besides providing an incredible information about Maharaja Gulab Singh and armed exploits of General Zorawar Singh. 'A history of Kashmir', the third essay is an analysed narration, which gives a haunting glimpse of political geography and socio-religious history of ancient Kashmir.

It also dwells upon the various antiquated path-routes that led to Kashmir and the traditional Kashmiri crafts and arts. The next essay named 'Kashmir' is a condensed narration based on the review of Kashmir related different books. The author has delved deep into many layers of Kashmir's history presenting an integrated and sequential information about the medieval Kashmir, eminent rulers of Kashmir besides familiarising the reader with historical and cultural aspects of Kashmir. The essay on 'Kashmir under Hindu and Buddhist era' is a convincing and illuminating analysis of Kashmir especially under Buddhist rule. It brings to life many centuries of Kashmir's rich past which contributed to the emergence of a remarkable civilisation at that time. The essay under the heading 'Kashmir as covered in Gulab-naama' sets in motion the life and time of Maharaja Gulab Singh besides giving a brief look at the history of Jammu and important happenings in Kashmir during the said period. The essay on ritualistic marriage songs and mythology is a delightful glimpse into the tradition of 'Wanvun' sung on the auspicious occasions.

Written in a simple and straight forward style supplemented by a few sample songs, the essay is an invaluable peep in this form of ancient ritual invocation of Kashmir. In the next essay 'Mysore as seen by the author', the reader is introduced to a rich mix of heritage, history, richness and variety of the landscape. The densely informative and absorbing account is sure to stimulate the imagination of a reader bitten by the wander bug. The last essay of the book is a life odyssey and literary sojourn of the author Sh. Arjan Dev Majboor, an accomplished writer, poet and researcher. It is a vividly relived memoir, which is replete with nostalgia filled yesterdays besides having heavier and lighter moments of life. It also unfolds identifiable and tensely felt situations in addition to moments of despondency doubts, hopes and aspirations in the author's life.

In a plainspeak, the book entitled '*Tahqiq*', written in nastaliq Kashmir by Sh. Arjan Dev Majboor is an essay to read and understand refreshing work.

Unquestionably, this insightful book is an essential reading for anyone having an appetite for awareness and enlightenment.

**(The author is a well-known Researcher on History and Culture of Kashmir END*

Dina Nath Nadim

With the passing of away of Nadim, an era in Kashmiri Language came to an end. He gave a new form to Kashmiri poetry. Always bristling with energy, a magician in the usage of words in colloquial Kashmiri, Nadim was foremost a symbol of Kashmiriness and a lover of peace and humanity.

Nadim had a magnetic personality-tall frame, his prominent eyes gave a feeling that he wanted to convey something. He usual wore Achkan with just three buttons, a pant and worn-out shoes. He didn't use *pheeran* at home. The great poet came from a poor family, which resided in Sheshiyar locality of Habbakadal. Nadim was a family man. I remember how he helped his wife by preparing vegetables, kniving these geometrically.

He was totally convinced by ideals of scientific socialism as propounded by Marx, Engels and others. Nadim became the torch-bearer of the progressive literary movement in Kashmir. He made two ends meet by working as a teacher in Hindu High School and supplementing the income by taking up tuitions. During Sadiq regime, he was taken as MLC (Teachers' Constituency) and Assistant Director, Social Education.

Nadim's poetic style was fresh like the water of a mountain spring. It was forceful, bubbling with new ideas, aimed to better lot of Kashmiris and promote peace.

My first encounter with the great poet took place many decades ago at Habbakadal Chowk near the shop of famous book-seller, **Ali Mohd. & Sons**. The proprietor Ali Mohammad gave due respect to poets and literary persons. He would sell even old books to us. I had gone to the bookshop to buy Emile Ludwig's 'Goethe'. It sold for a rupee or so then. Nadim invited me to join the literary meetings of Cultural Congress, which used to be held at Exhibition Grounds. I accepted the offer gladly and immersed myself whole heartedly in the activities of Cultural Congress. From 1947 to 1954 I used to attend weekly meetings and the big public functions at Kralpora, Khan Sahib, Soibug, Lasjan, Kulgam, Zainapora and "Bazam-e-Kwong Posh" in various mohallas of Srinagar without fail. I also remained Sub-Editor of 'Kwong-Posh', the organ of Cultural Congress.

I had an association with Nadim for over 25 years. He had some shortcomings too, but then who is free from these. I used to meet him in the days of cultural movement once a week at his home. At times when I knocked at their door, his wife would come out and say Nadim Sahib was not there. I would feel dejected. Perhaps, it was conveyed to avoid me. This was not so always, as the meetings were fixed at different places. He wrote me a letter from China, where he had gone to attend a Peace Conference with Indian delegation. END

Majboor on His Translator

Arvind Gigoo doesn't like to put Professor as Prefix to his name. I think he is right. Gigoo is a scholar, endowed with great humility. It was VK Zutshi who introduced me to Gigoo at Udhampur, where we all were living as exiles. After the first meeting, we began meeting too frequently. This company was further enlivened by the participation of Messers ML Goja and PK Goja.

Gigoo Sahab has translated thirty of my poems from Kashmiri into English. The translations were well received by leading writers of India. I was he who introduced me to a big audience and great writers through his crisp and creative translation. These poems were brought out in an anthology—"Waves", which received 22 reviews. The reviews were later published in a book form.

Arvind Gigoo is a forthright person. He doesn't like to keep secrets to himself. His book '*Ugly face of Kashmiri*', has been written in a style that is unique. It has introduced a new genre in literature. The book demythifies Kashmiris of all shades, presenting them as they are. Gigoo has penchant to give surprises. Till the book was out none of his close friends knew he had written the book.

Gigoo when at home looks lazy, who spends most of the time sleeping. But when he decides to work he is a dynamo of energy, a giant and all excellence. He is liberal, dislikes to own hackneyed old ideologies. Gigoo has his own philosophy of life. END

CHRONOLOGY

January 6-January 31, 2007

- Jan 6: Dr. Farooq Abdullah asked India and Pakistan to take solid steps for resolution of Kashmir issue, Sajad Lone presented a 'Vision Document' as roadmap for the resolution. Bangalore police claimed that the arrested terrorist-Bilal Ahmed Kota had visited Infosys and Wipro to find out the security arrangements for possible terrorist strike.
- Jan 7: Security forces killed two JeM terrorists at Dalwan, Charar-e-Sharief. Body of a local LeT Mohammad Amin Bhat was recovered from Batpora, Sopore; the terrorist was allegedly killed by his associates for being an informer. Terrorists gunned down a 9th Class student Sajjad at Andergam, Pattan while a Territorial Army Havaldar, who had been wounded in a grenade attack in Shopian, succumbed to his injuries. Hurriyat said that it was always available for PM. State Unit of BJP adopted a resolution for re-organisation of J&K. A VDC member's son was killed and two others injured in an accidental fire at Panasra, Reasi.
- Jan 8: BSF killed two women in Pulwama and recovered arms and ammunition from their possession while two terrorists were arrested in Pulwama district. A butcher allegedly tried to commit suicide by slitting This throat at Anantnag. Panic gripped and traffic was suspended on Srinagar-Airport road amidst rumours of a car-bomb having been planted at Hayderpora. 74 cross LoC on Poonch-Rawalakote bus service. Jammu University VC floated idea of 'intellectual homeland' in Valley by establishing Shardapeeth University. In his address to joint session of Legislative Assembly, the J&K Governor said that civilian killings have been lowest and terrorist incidents down in 2006. Union External Affairs Minister met Dr. Farooq Abdullah and Mr Omar Abdullah on eve of his Pakistan visit.
- Jan 9: A terrorist was killed at Kota-Satri, Bandipore, terrorists kidnapped a Forest Protection Guard from Zainapora and released him after severe beating. A terrorist was killed at Seeldhar, Gool. As per sources, Hurriyat is likely to meet PM on 17 January.
- Jan 11: A terrorist was killed in an encounter in Wanderbala forests near Handwara while another was arrested in Pulwama. BJP, leader Venkaiah Naidu described joint mechanism as unacceptable, government also said that joint management is unacceptable to India. NC leader Dr. Mehboob Beg claimed that India and Pakistan have mooted idea of 'Joint Parliament' and 'dual citizenship'.
- Jan 12: A major tragedy was averted by detecting and defusing an IED planted on Jammu-Srinagar Highway at Hamzapora, Bijbehara. Two jail wardens and two Pak terrorists were arrested in connection with recovery of SIM Cards from Kot Bhalwal jail. GoC 15 Corps Lt. Gen AS Sekhon claimed that terrorist infrastructure was still in fact in PoK.
- Jan 13: Two LeT terrorists and a civilian were killed in an encounter at Sumbal, Bandipore. Terrorists engineered three blasts in half an hour in Srinagar in which 10 people including five securitymen were killed. India and Pakistan decided to held first meet of joint anti-terrorism mechanism in March while Indian foreign minister said that there could be no time frame for Kashmir resolution.
- Jan 14: Security forces arrested an LeT terrorist at Daggarpura, Kupwara, two hand grenades were recovered from a passenger bus in Pulwama. Terrorists exchanged fire with security forces at Mathund, Kokernag but failed to cause any damage. An Army jawan on patrol duty died after a fall from a hill in Rajouri. While Hurriyat demanded an internal cease-fire.
- Jan 15: One eve of Hurriyat delegation's visit to Pakistan, Mirwaiz Umar's house shook with a blast in the close vicinity triggering protesting and anti-Geelani slogans in the locality. Umar Farooq accused Geelani of being obsessed with leading funerals. Terrorists killed a top Ikhwani and injured a soldier while security forces arrested a terrorist in different incidents across Kashmir valley. Terrorists killed a civilian, allegedly over a land dispute, at Sumbar in Ramban. 97 cross LoC on Poonch-Rawalakote bus service. Manmohan Singh said that there was headway on Siachen issue.
- Jan 17: While security forces killed three terrorists in an encounter in Kulgam, Valley observed a shut-down on the call of Syed Ali Shah Geelani to oppose Hurriyat (Ansari) delegation's visit to Pakistan; 50 vehicles were reportedly damaged in stone pelting. Five terrorists surrendered at Bharat Gala in Rajouri. BSF foiled an infiltration bid in Akhnoor sector; a SI and a jawan were injured in the firing while the infiltrators managed to flee back.
- Jan 18: Four bodies of local cadres of HM of Fayaz Naikoo group were recovered from the encounter site in Kulgam. Police recovered body of a released terrorist Fayaz Hajam of Rajbagh from Nayedgam, Shopian. Security forces busted a hideout and recovered war like stores at Surasyar, Budgam. Police arrested Gauhar, son of former MoS Home Mohammad Maqbool Dar, for alleged desecration of Mosques in Kuthar, Anantnag. While Umar claimed that their Pakistan visit would provide opportunity to discuss Kashmir, the rival faction leader Geelani said that the shutdown endorsed their stand.

- Jan 19: Security forces claimed to have foiled a plot of large scale disturbances on the Republic Day as SoG and BSF arrested five cadres of LeT and JeM in North Kashmiri. Pandits organised protest demonstrations and public programmes across the country to observe the Holocaust Day. In his meet with Hurriyat delegation, Pak President Pervez Musharraf said that elements hostile to peace shall be rejected.
- Jan 20: Security forces killed two terrorists of HuM in Gandoh, Doda. Foiling an attempting to strike on Republic Day, police recovered two kg RDX at Beli Cherana, the outskirts of Jammu. A PDP councillor of SMC survived an attempt on his life as terrorists opened fire on his cavalcade in Lal Bazar. Police arrested Bashrat Teli of HuM allegedly involved in January 6, 2007 grenade attack in Shopian. Mirwaiz Farooq said that militancy has created more graveyards.
- Jan 21: Security agencies have sounded alert that the terrorists might use. "toy planes" to target VIPs during ensuing assembly polls. Ghulam Nabi Azad pated Mirwaiz Umar for his comments on militancy, Geelani flayed him and militants reject his (Mirwaiz's) call to give up arms. A Hindu Samelan was held at Jammu.
- Jan 22: 13 civilians were injured in a grenade attack in Pattan. A CRPF jawan committed suicide at Raj Bhawan, Srinagar. Police seized 'brown sugar' worth Rs 1.70 crore in International Underworld Market. NC leader Ali Mohammad Sagar advocated talks with militants.
- Jan 23: Three CRPF men were killed and six others injured as terrorists triggered blasts ahead of Republic Day. A tragedy was averted by defusing an IED in Bandipore. Two houses of migrant Pandits were gutted at Authoora Payeen, Baramulla. A SI of CRPF committed suicide by shooting himself at MA Stadium, Jammu. Hurriyat delegation met terrorist groups in UJC amidst rejection of Mirwaiz appeal by the amalgam.
- Jan 24: On the eve of Republic Day, security forces recovered huge cache of arms and ammunition including 50 kg RDX across Kashmir valley. A civilian injured in a grenade attack earlier succumbed to his injuries. A Pak national was arrested in Arnia, Jammu while 10 quintals 'bhukies' was seized from a truck at Batote.
- Jan 25: A terrorist was killed in an encounter at Kralpora; Baramulla. Heavy firing in Kanachak sector as BSF foiled an attempt of infiltration. In his Republic Day address, Lt. Gen (Retd.) SK Sinha said that the separatists were realising the futility of gun.
- Jan 26: A top HM terrorist Mohammad Sharief Khan alias Aurangzeb was killed at Kachwan, Anantnag; the terrorist was reportedly active for last 15 years. Terrorists kidnapped Shabir Ahmed from his residence at Hanjivera, Pattan. Republic Day functions passed off peacefully in the state amidst tight security.
- Jan 27: A major tragedy was averted by timely detection of a grenade on a bridge in Uri. A BSF jawan committed suicide at a camp in North Kashmir.
- Jan 28: Terrorists failed to cause any damage as they carried rifle-grenade attack on an Army convoy at Pampore. A SPO was injured in an encounter in Atholi, Kishtwar. Two cops were injured in accidental fire in Police Control Room, Jammu.
- Jan 29: The encounter in Atholi, Kishtwar ended with death of two Army jawans while all the holed up terrorists managed their escape. Police claimed to have busted a gang of fake terrorists as an impersonating terrorist was arrested in Krishanghati area of Poonch.
- Jan 30: A soldier and a boy were injured as terrorists triggered series of blasts in Kashmir Valley; a major tragedy was averted by detecting and subsequently defusing a live grenade at Bijbehara and a major haul of arms and ammunition was recovered at different places in the Valley. Large cache of arms was recovered in Rajouri district. A VDC member committed suicide by shooting himself at Sangar, Udampur. Four more cops were arrested in connection with the killing of a carpenter Abdul Rehman Paddar allegedly in a fake encounter.
- Jan 31: Even as Hurriyat claimed that they were not in contact of PMO for a meeting with PM. Terrorists lobbed a grenade towards Hurriyat Hqtrs but failed to cause any damage. An IED was detected and defused near Sheeri on Baramulla-Uri Highw ay. Two HuM terrorists surrendered in Gandoh, Doda. Announcing a judicial probe into the killing of Abdul Rehman Paddar, Chief Minister Ghulam Nabi Azad strongly defended security forces and accused terrorists of holding government administrative machinery and even the elected representatives to ransom. END

ARJAN DEV MAJBOOR—A CONVERSATION

Shri Arjan Dev Majboor, a well known Kashmiri poet and a Researcher was born on 16th of August, 1924 at Zanapora, Pulwama (Kashmir). For over six decades he has been writing poetry and contributing to research on History and Culture of Kashmir. In a conversation with Kashmir Sentinel he talked at length about his life, Works and influences on his Art. In this thematic section we are reproducing excerpts of the conversation. The second part of the interview that pertains to the autobiographical details is being published separately. --
The Editor.

KS: How did your Literary Journey begin?

ADM: At Lahore one of my companions in hostel was a Punjabi student, Roshan Lal. He wrote good Urdu. It touched me. I started writing in Urdu and composed few poems. One of these was published in Milap. I was already exposed to Persian language and literature while still at school. My family had good collection of books in Persian and Urdu, besides shrukhs of Nund Rishi, which was lost when our house was set on fire in 1992. In my school years I had the opportunity to go through Somadeva's Vaital Patisavi and Firdousi's Shahnama. I grew up in an ambience where Persian metaphors were better known than those in Kashmiri.

It was in 10th class when I happened to buy Mehjoor's book from a bookshop for one anna. A Punjabi singer used to sing his poems through a megaphone to boost up the sales of the book. This created interest in me for poetry.

KS: Marxist ideas have influenced you and your literature. How did it happen?

ADM: I remained associated with Left movement in Kashmir from 1947 to 1990. I worked mainly on Writers front and at Trade Union level among teachers.

During my Lahore days, I happened to buy a book '*Samyavad Hi Qiyon*' (Why Socialism), authored by Rahul Sankrityan, in Amritsar. It brought about a drastic change in my ideology. I began to consider myself a marxist.

My actual political and literary work started when I joined DAV High School, Magarmal Bagh. This was the time when cataclysmic changes were taking place on the political landscape of Kashmir. The raiders were knocking at the doors of Srinagar. The Pandit population of the city was in panic and busy making preparations to flee the city for safety in plains of India. I began trade union work among teachers and organised **All Kashmir Teachers' Federation**. This subsequently became affiliate of Teachers' Federation of Jammu and Ladakh. I remained General Secretary of Kashmir Association for three long years. Though I was working in a Private School, yet I took up problems of Govt. teachers as well.

During the tribal raid days I happened to meet once Pt. Dina Nath Nadim, poet laureate of Kashmir at Ali Mohammad Booksellers' shop at Habbakadal. He was attired in turban, an achkan with worn out buttons and an old pant. On seeing me he exclaimed, "Majboor, I had different idea about you. My impression was you were an old man". Nadim Sahib invited me to attend the weekly (Friday) meetings of '**Kashmir Progressive Writers' Association**', a branch of **Cultural Congress**. This organisation, alongwith its sister organisations among artists and theatre people had been allotted a barrack at Exhibition Grounds. This was the time when IPTA movement was at its zenith in India.

It is true my poetry developed in Cultural Congress but when I was exposed to Indian classical writers it became obvious to me that India had given much more to the world.

KS: Do you subscribe to the view that a writer should have social message as the main concern?

ADM: I do believe in art for life's sake but at the same time I dislike mannerism and sloganeering which was rampant among the litterateurs subscribing to leftwing ideology. In Kashmir during the Cultural Congress years there were times when politics overtook the poetry and other genres of literature, leaving little fun and literature in it. It turned into bland propaganda.

KS: What were the main activities of Cultural Congress?

ADM: It used to publish a monthly journal in Kashmiri, '*Kwongposh*', organise **Bazm-e-Kwongposh** meetings in different areas and hold interactions with progressive writers outside J&K.

I was sub-editor of '*Kwongposh*'. The journal ran for 25 issues or so. Two of my short stories '*Kolehwaan*' and '*Soneh Vudar*' were published in this journal. Main contributors to the journal included Dina Nath Nadim, Som Nath Zutshi, Noor Mohammad Roshan, Rehman Rahi, Amin Kamil, GN Firaq, Tej Bahadur Bhan, Gh. Nabi Ariz, Aziz Haroon, etc. Editorials were mostly written by Nadim Sahib and Som Nath Zutshi. I used to take editorials for approval to Sadiq Sahib. He had to okay, making sure that these did not violate the policy directions. Sadiq would rarely make alterations and was non-interfering. For running the journal he used to contribute from his pocket and would also raise donations from others. He hated sycophancy. Kwongposh sold a few hundred copies a month.

Every fortnight a day was fixed for holding Bazm-e-Kwongposh in mohallas where we had contacts. New songs were sung before the audience. We would explain the importance of Kwongposh. Gani Namthali was a star singer in those meets. Nadim Sahib, HN Durrani and PN Jalali would also join these functions. These

functions were organised at Rainawari, Ganpatyar etc. There were over 25 writers who were associated with Cultural Congress Movement.

During this period I recited and published one of my poems in *Navyug*, a journal edited by Pt. Lambodar Tikoo:

Nakhas Peth Levan hyeth
Assan Groos Ta Vuchh
Mazuras Dapan
Vanya Karav Tajdari Chah
Amanech Ta Jamohorich
Krakh Chohpori
and
Uthe Hain Mudatonh Ke Baad
Ik Saileh ravanh bankar
Jo Nakshe ayey Samneh
Usko mita Denge

These were against autocracy and feudalism and were praised by Prof. Apurab Somnath, the great scholar of English. He used to attend our meetings and mushairas occasionally.

Poet Ariz composed the following:

Nadim Chhu Nafa
Gata Ariz
Mool Chhu Mehjoor
Majboor Pakan, Loor Dakhvith
Zar Ta Ranzoor

In 1955 when Russian leaders Nikita Khrushchev and Bulganin visited Kashmir opera **Bombar ta Yemberzal** was staged in Nedous Hotel. It was written by Nadim and Noor Mohammad Roshan.

Veteran artists Rajbans Khanna, Shivdan Singh Chohan and Sheila Bhatia were deputed to Kashmir by IPTA to help the movement launched by Cultural Congress. They would attend all our meetings. There were other writers who came from outside—Ali Sardar Jafri, KA Abbas etc. The latter would read his Kashmir related short stories at Writers meets. Rajbans Khanna's house at Wazirbagh used to be venue for Cultural meets.

In 1952 our group went to Delhi to attend **All India Progressive Writers' Association**. It included Badri Nath Koul of Nishat Press, Rehman Rahi, Apurab Somnath, Somnath Zutshi, Aziz Haroon, besides myself. We had an opportunity to see Krishan Chander, Sahir Ludhianvi, Ismat Chughtai. I talked to Sahir and Majrooh Sultanpuri. We had lot of interaction with the great writers. I seconded a resolution, pertaining to peace. On the last day in the evening an open air Mushaira was held from 9 PM to 2 AM. The traffic stopped. Twenty thousand people listened with rapt attention and enjoyed the mehfil.

Rashid Bakshi had organised a **Cultural Forum** to counter Cultural Congress. Two well-known writers from Cultural Congress had defected to his side, but the Forum petered out within few months only.

KS: What was the impact of Progressive Cultural Congress Movement on Kashmiri Literature?

ADM: It was the best thing that could happen for Kashmiri language. It helped in the development of Kashmiri language. For the first time short story and prose was written. It started with Nadim's **Jawabi Card** and Som Nath Zutshi's **'Yeli Phuli Gash'**

The short story was subsequently developed by Akhtar Mohiuddin, an Afsana Nigar of Calibre. Besides Nadim and Zutshi short stories were written by Tej Bahadur Bhan, Aziz Haroon and myself. Bhan wrote *'Vankha Pan'*, which was translated by me into Hindi. It received an award. He also wrote a novel *'Sailab Aur Katre'*.

Opera was written first time by Nadim. Later, Moti Lal Saqi also wrote an opera. Before Cultural Congress there was no tradition of prose writing in Kashmiri. Som Nath Zutshi and myself contributed to this genre.

In the field of poetry—be it thought, subject or form, it got a new dimension. Nadim introduced free and blank verse besides Sonnet.

I translated many of Shivdan Singh Chohan's writings for Kwongposh. The movement also influenced Mehjoor.

Kashmiri language, hitherto the preserve of Sufiana singers, was brought closer to the masses, who began knowing its importance. There was focus on problems of common people, and on anti-imperialism in literature. By emphasizing these issues, there was de-emphasis on communal identities. Never before since Budshah's time a cultural movement with such sweep had hit Kashmir.

KS: What about your political work during these years?

ADM: 1947-1953 years were period of political uncertainty. Political discussions centred around how Kashmir would be resolved. People did not know what would ultimately happen. Poverty was rampant.

My trade union work took me to Tral, Anantnag and other Tehsil headquarters. I participated in Cultural Congress activities at Budgam, Handwara, Kulgam, Soibug, Kralpora, Lasjan, Zanapora, Khan Sahib and

different mohallas of Srinagar. The Lasjan rally where Sheikh Abdullah announced Land to the Tiller was virtually a show staged by Left group in National Conference. Slogans '*Jameen Kiski-Kisan Ki*' rented the air. I was present at the rally.

During my six years in Srinagar I came to know many people closely including such top leaders- NN Raina, ML Misri, Dhanwantri and Sadiq Sahib. Moti Lal Misri was a good orator. Sadiq Sahib would help the party cadres from his pocket whenever the cadres were in difficulties.

During the DNC period I was victimised by Bakshi regime.

KS: Can you elaborate?

ADM: Bakshi resorted to victimisation of DNC cadres and sympathisers. I had attended a meeting of DNC at Zanapora, my home village. Sadiq Sahib and other top leaders had come to address it. They were out of power. Soon after I received transfer orders for Leh.

Dina Nath Parimoo, a teacher colleague of mine, tried to lure me to Bakshi's side by offering inducements which I categorically refused in spite of the fact that my family position was bad, father had died recently. Parimoo used to teach Bakshi's children at home and was a confidante of him. He was Basic Education officer. I remained under suspension for one year. DAV School Management, headed by Shri BD Nanda was sympathetic but expressed inability to help me out as there was no vacancy available in school. Party unit asked me to work in *Mashal*, the party mouth-piece. This assignment could hardly suffice my financial needs.

I approached Sadiq Sahib for help. My wife was very sick.

After a year Nadim Sahib helped me out. He approached Sansar Chand, the court singer of Bakshi who played Sitar. Every evening he used to regale Bakshi with his music. Bakshi was quite fond of Koshur Mosiqi. Sansar Chand asked Nadim to meet Bakshi in his presence. Bakshi was in great mood as he listened to Sansar Chand's number:

*'Khoj Mehmood Chu Nawab
Samrood Toiti Samay
Chamaya Jami Jamay'*

When it was over, Nadim intervened to say to Bakshi, "You have put a family to trouble. This is spoiling your image. Majboor's wife is in hospital. His economic condition is not good. It takes 7-8 days to reach Leh. He is willing to go to Uri". Bakshi feigned ignorance about the whole affair. Soon after this my transfer orders were cancelled. I was posted to Govt. School Dooru.

KS: Why did left movement fail in Kashmir? What has been its impact?

ADM: The movement played positive impact prior to 1960. After that it lost its sheen, turned sectarian and got splintered with each group remaining a paper outfit. Many workers joined the government. There were structural problems also accounting for failure of the Left Movement. Lines were imposed from above without taking cognisance of the ground realities or the assessment of lower-level cadres.

The leaders and senior cadres had obsession with ideology, theoretical issues and organisational matters and had little sensitivity to aspirations of common people. The party unit in Kashmir did not take decisions on its own but toed the line of central CPI leadership. Frequent changing of party line and splits left cadres confused. Attacks on religion also isolated cadres. In Kashmir senior leaders harboured jealousy against lower-level cadres, which brought in disillusionment in the latter. After 1960 the Kashmir left hardly played any meaningful role.

KS: Your early poems have been in Urdu. How did you switch over to Kashmiri?

ADM: It was due to my association with Kwongposh and Cultural Congress Movement. After writing a few poems in Kashmiri I shifted to short story. Then I again turned to poetry. It developed in Cultural Congress. My early poems were published in Kwongposh. Then my poems were also carried in Sunday Literary edition of *Khidmat*.

KS: You have five collections of your poems. Do these have political message as the theme?

ADM: I have not included my poems of Kwongposh in later anthologies. Only '*Aman Ta Zindagi*' (Peace and Life) carries these. This book has six poems with themes- US intervention in Korea and Kashmir, Peace and Humanism etc. Poems in *Dazvain Kosam* (1987) deal with Namibia and depict human miseries, drought etc. One of my, fiery poem of early years is '*Jagirdara Thahar*'.

I have written in Paband as well as Free/Blank verse, Radeef- Qafia metric style.

Subsequently, I left mannerism because stereotyping compromised beauty. In 1964 I wrote a poem with new diction and word beauty. Its title is "*Shongan Yeli Raath Balan Shand Thavith*" (When the night sleeps on the hills). It was liked by Nadim and others and later published as first poem in the year book of Kashmir—*Son Adab*. Though I started paying more attention to style and the craft of poetry I did not ignore the social role of a writer. My poems '*Shongan Yeli Raath*.' and '*Baharyin Zindagi Barabar, Zahar Chhu Aabe Hayat Chhavan, Cheh Racha Ta Masti Gulaib Royas, Mey Zahari Qatil Chhu Azmavan*' reflect protest against governance.

Dashhaar (1983) carries poems written between 1973-1983. These are short poems, number of Ghazals is less. The poems are written in free verse and poetic beauty has increased. *Leaves of Chinar* (1975), which includes

six poems, has been translated by RK Bharti from Kashmiri into English. A Malayali friend has translated these into Malayalam.

KS: What are your experiences in Poetry?

ADM: During the past 15 years there has been tremendous change in diction, theme, style, poetic usage, technique etc. Though I have stressed on poetry, theme and vocabulary remain quite relevant. Every poet lives in present and is influenced by the society and the environment he lives in. So poetry has to change and adopt new artistic techniques and changing themes. My poetry is optimistic, where there is abundance of nature, humanism, hope, struggle in life etc.

I am basically a nazm poet, where ghazals are less. I have two experiences in poetry—Short poems and Longer poems. Prof. Amar Malmohi has reviewed my shorter poems in a 24-page essay in a thematic issue of *Alav*. Short poems of 22 writers were focused in the issue. My poetry has been recently rendered into music.

KS: What inspired you to write longer poems? Which is your best poem?

ADM: I was motivated to write longer poems by translation of Persian masnavis. Through these poems I wanted to communicate many things about Kashmir, terrorism, present situation which I could not do otherwise through short poems or ghazals. My longer poems are—*Tyol* (Pangs), *Padi-Samayikh* (Footprints of time), *Wavasqun* (Toward Wind). *Tyol* is my best poem.

KS: Have you been influenced by Nadim?

ADM: Not me alone but every Kashmiri writer since 1947 owes debt of gratitude to Nadim for adoption of form. But content, diction and dealing in my poetry is distinctively my own.

KS: What have been your experiences in Translation Work?

ADM: In 1973 I translated Kali Das's Meghdut into Kashmiri, giving it the title '*obre Shech*'. This was a difficult job in the sense one had to be a good Sanskrit scholar and I had to give Kashmiri names for flowers. My friend Pushkar Nath Zadoo of Ganpatyar helped me in Sanskrit. He was himself engaged in translating Iqbal's poetry into Sanskrit. He was Shastri in Sanskrit. I helped him in Urdu.

For Rajtarangini translation I relied on RS Pandit's translation. He knew English well and was a better scholar of Sanskrit than Sir Aurel Stein. The latter's translation is important because Stein visited all the places mentioned by Kalhana.

I also translated monograph on Rahul Sankrityan. The author, unfortunately had not used much material available on Sankrityan. Besides, 12 famous short stories were translated by me from Kashmiri into Hindi. These were later published in *Samkalin Bhartiya Sahitya (Sahitya Academy Journal)* after 1963.

KS: Kuliyaat Lala Lakhyman is your another work.

ADM: In 1981 J&K Cultural Academy started a project on 'Lost Poets'. I was asked to work on compiling verses of Lala Lakhyman. The *Kulliyat-i-Lala Lakhyman* was published in 1982. My research starts from this project. Subsequently, I wrote a monograph in Hindi on Krishan Joo Razdan for Sahitya Academy. I translated some of his best poems from Kashmiri into Hindi. He bears strong Shaivite influence. I had already collected good material on him. Iqbal Nath of Vanpoh and other acquaintances of mine helped me to collect his date of birth and other necessary details. In exile I published a monograph of Arnimal, which set at rest raked up controversies on her historicity.

KS: How good is verse of Lala Lakhyman?

ADM: Lala Lakhyman's poems have poetic beauty, its form is excellent. In his characteristic style he resorts to lampooning (Tassana Chatun). Lala has written Leela poetry also.

KS: It must have been a difficult job collecting his Kalam.

ADM: Lala did not keep a diary. He had terrific memory. His poetry was quite popular. People in Kulgam and adjoining areas would recite his complete poems without any fail.

I had to work very hard. I was helped by Ramchand, son of Lala's sister particularly in gathering Leelas. Mrs. Damodar Koul (Shobawati) of Bijbehara, a relation of mine helped me in compiling two of his poems—*Mirhama Sal* and some other poem. Somebody had compiled 50-60 verses of Lala on uneven marriages. This was not available to me. I collected his poems from people particularly from ladies. *Bapar Mandal, Tota Gudrin Chaya, Gada Dyagul* were narrated by Muslims.

KS: Lala's Kalam has Pandit society as its focus. Have you been able to collect his entire Kalam?

ADM: It is true that his poems dealing with society are specific to Pandit social milieu, but he has also written powerful satire against the administration. Some of his *Kalam* may have been lost for good.

KS: What was people's response to your effort?

ADM: People knew me in the area. They were quite cooperative and appreciated the job. Common people enjoyed his *qalam*, but sections of feudal elite hated him. There was class and gender basis for appreciation of poetry.

KS: At places you have left names blank, Why so?

ADM: My friend ML Goja asked me to delete certain names mentioned in certain poems, critical of their families. He argued that this would embarrass their children, who were quite important officials. One of the persons told me his family who lived at Niu has been referred to in 'Gada Diygol-

KS: *You have worked on Rasul Mir also?*

ADM: I collected 10 new ghazals of Rasul Mir from various singers of Dooru Shahbad. These were published first time by Amin Kamil 15 years later.

KS: *What have been your other activities besides poetry?*

ADM: I have been writing short stories, essays on history and prehistoric Kashmir, besides conducting research on some of the famous poets—Lal Ded, Nadim, Arnimal, Mehjoor, Azad etc. My article on Lal Ded's birth-place Devar-Frastpur, near Panthachowk was published in Shiraza. Presently, I am working on birth-places of Nagarjun and Abhinav Gupta. I believe Nagarjun belonged to a place called Nageypur, near Dachigam Sanctuary. I once happened to read an article by a Delhi scholar, who had said Abhinav Gupta lived in east in some place called Nagaard. I wrote him back if Gudar in Kulgam could be this place, supporting it with local folklore. He replied that it could not be ruled out.

KS: *Have you ever attempted a novel?*

ADM: When I was in Udhampur in 2000 I had completed my historical novel--Vanvas (exile). After writing 12 chapters I found it became too heavy. I wanted to re-write it. Due to my neck injury I haven't able to pursue it further.

KS: *In what way is Exile reflect in it?*

ADM: I have tried to analyse rise of terrorism in a historical perspective in *Vanvas*. Besides this I have tried to depict nostalgia of Kashmiri Pandits living abroad and the natural beauty and ethos of Kashmir. Then there are human forces who have come in the way of terrorists—ladies who saved many innocent people from the militants and others who had to flee. In refugee camps Pandit exiles continue to eke out a sub-human life. All this forms backdrop of my novel. The Novel is written in Nastalik Kashmiri.

KS: *Who are your favourite authors?*

ADM: Kalidas in Sanskrit, Ghalib in Urdu, Shakespeare and TS Eliot in English, Nagarjun, HR Bachan, Sumitra Nandan Pant in Hindi, Lal Ded, Krishnjoo Razdan and Abdul Ahad Azad in Kashmiri, Saidi, Rumi, Hafiz in Persian. Among Russians my pet authors have been Chekhov, Mayakovsky, Gorky and Sholokov.

Kalidas' style, similes, vocabulary and description of nature have impressed me. Ghalib appeals to me because of his language-choice of words and their usage, liberal ideas, theme of ghazals, style, depth of poetry. Kalidas and Ghalib are greater poets than Iqbal. Lal Ded has used powerful similes to explain the philosophy of Shaivism. Her Vaakh style is crisp and can be remembered easily. Krishna Joo Razdan has great artistic beauty. His leelas carry sweet words. He was a shaivite and Leela poet of great calibre. He knew Sanskrit, Urdu and Persian. Azad's poetry was based on social realism. Saidi, Rumi, Hafiz-all had sweetness of language. They had depth in their poetry; nature, beauty, love are abundant in their poetry. They were liberal, had good human feelings.

KS: *What are your observations on languages akin to Kashmiri-Pogli, Siraji, Kishtwari?*

ADM: Due to big influx of Kashmiri migrants in Doda region, their mother tongue got mixed up with local languages. The latter are versions of this hybridisation.

KS: *What about the impact of Kashmiri on Dogri?*

ADM: One of my papers was published by Kurukhetra University in which I highlighted certain proverbs, words common to two languages. Two factors are responsible for it—Geographical contiguity and migration of Kashmiri people to Jammu region.

KS: *What is the impact of Sanskrit on Kashmir?*

ADM: 70% of Kashmiri wordstock is impacted by Sanskrit.

KS: *What is the future of Kashmiri Language? How good is the readership of your work?*

ADM: I cannot predict the future of Kashmiri Language at the level of people among Displaced Kashmiris. The writers and those who want to keep the language alive are doing a marvellous job, bringing out many journals which carry articles/poems in Kashmiri. There are websites which promote Kashmiri language and literature.

Then there are problems which are not specific to Displaced Kashmiris only. The audience in general remains limited. '**Reading Kashmiri will not fetch jobs for our children**' is the standard reply we hear. Script is also difficult. Even then we have produced good stuff in short story, poetry, novel writing. The problem is that it does not reach people, the readership continues to remain small. This is true of my works as well. My writings which have been translated into English have received good reviews.

KS: *What is the controversy about the script? What are your personal views?*

ADM: In Devnagri Kashmiri can be written well. Nastaliq script has been in use for quite good time, many books have been published in this script. Roman script is little difficult for writing Kashmiri, mistakes galore while writing in this script. Reviving Sarda, the original script of Kashmiri requires huge effort. Mehjoor was an

advocate of Sarda script, while Amin Kamil favoured Roman script for use. I personally hold the view that there should no restrictions for use of any script for writing Kashmiri. END

THOSE WHO LEFT US

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

1. Smt. Somawati Handoo W/o Sh. Jagar Nath Handoo, R/o Wazapora Maharaj Ganj Sgr; presently at C-2A/256-C, Janakpuri New Delhi. 26/12/2006
2. Smt. Sham Rani W/o Sh. Sham Lal Tickoo, R/o Mattan, Anantnag Kmr; presently at Khajuria Mohalla, Paloura. 27/12/2006
3. Smt. Omawati Kaw W/o Late Sh. Gopi Nath Kaw, R/o Chattabal Sgr; presently at H.No: 98, Lane No:2, Block-A Roop Nagar Enclave Jammu. 27/12/2006
4. Smt. Pushpa Rani (Kamla Handoo) W/o Late Sh. Pushkar Nath Handoo, R/o Nazukh Mohalla Chenee Chowk Anantnag, Sgr; presently at H.No: 52/2-A Durga Nagar Sector-2, Jammu. 28/12/2006
5. Sh. Amar Nath Yacha S/o Late Sh. Maheshwar Nath Yacha, R/o 39/1, Karapora Kushki Rainawari Sgr; presently at Vidhata Nagar, Lane No:1, Bathindi Jammu. 28/12/2006
6. Smt. Yachhawati Bhat (Babi) W/o Lt. Sh. Prem Nath Bhat
R/o Ghat Jogilanker Rainawari Sgr; presently at Plot No: 2807, Kongposh Colony, Jain Nagar Karala, New Delhi. 28/12/2006
7. Smt. Shanta Handoo W/o Mohan Kishan Handoo, R/o 124-Karan Nagar, Sgr; presently at C-58/17, Flat No: 140, VSNL Aparts Sector-62 Noida (UP). 28/12/2006
8. Smt. Pyari Koul W/o Sh. Mohan Lal Koul, R/o 12-Karan Nagar Sgr; presently at H.No: 16, Saraswati Vihar Lane No: 4, Bohri Tomal. 28/12/2006
9. Sh. Jia Lal Bhat R/o Gulgam Distt. Kupwara Kmr; presently at Qtr. No: 562, Migrant Camp Nagrota Jammu. 28/12/2006
10. Sh. Omesh Bhan S/o Late Sh. Shankar Nath Bhan, R/o Sudan Colony Moralian Morh, Miran Sahib Jammu. 28/12/2006
11. Smt. Umavati Raina W/o Sh. Triloki Nath Raina, R/o Handwara Kmr; presently at Lane No: 12-A, Hazuri Bagh Bohri, Jammu. 29/12/2006
12. Mohani Jalali W/o Late Sh. Madhusudan Jalali, R/o Karapora Khushki Rainawari Sgr; presently at House No: 114, Lane No: 11, Laxmi Nagar Muthi, Jammu. 29/12/2006
13. Sh. Pran Nath Sus S/o Late Sh. Kashi Nath Sus R/o Nai Sarak, Habbakadal Sgr. 30/12/2006
14. Smt. Umashori Handoo W/o Late Sh. Kashi Nath Handoo, R/o Ganpatyar Sgr; presently at H.No: 10, Udheywalla Patta Bohri, Opp. KK Resorts Jammu. 30/12/2006
15. Smt Sham Rani Bazaz W/o Lae Sh. RK Bazaz R/o Zandar Mohalla Habbakadal Sgr; presently at Lane No: 1, H.No: 10, Sector-2, Durga Nagar, Jammu. 31/12/2006
91. Smt. Meenawati W/o Lt. Sh DN Bhat R/o Uterso Anantnag Kmr; presently at H.No: 219-A, Hari Nagar Old Janipur, Jammu. 31/12/2006
16. Smt. Veena Ji W/o Sh. Roshan Lal Saproo, R/o 303 Ext-D, Janipur, Jammu. 31/12/2006
17. Sh Jai Krishan Shashoo S/o Lt. PN Shashoo, R/o Qasba Devsar Tral, Teh. Kulgam; presently at H.No: 18, Lane-2 Gurah Karan Barnai Bantalab, Jammu. 1/1/2007
18. Pt. Arjan Nath Sumbly R/o 271, Sector 4 Channi Himmat Jammu erstwhile resident of 13-B/B, Gandhi Nagar, Jammu. 2/1/2007
19. Sh. Gokal Nath Kachroo S/o Lt. Sh. Niranjana Nath Kachoo,
R/o Langate Hardwara Kmr; presently at H.No: 379-D, Sector-I, Vishali Ghaziabad UP. 2/2/2007
20. Sh Jawahar Lal Bhat S/o Late Sh. Maheshwar Nath Bhat,
R/o Nai Basti Anantnag Kmr presently
21. Prof. Shibana Kishan Koul, R/o Sayid Ali Akbar Fatehkadal Sgr; presently at Chicago USA. 3/1/2007
22. Sh. Soom Nath Saproo S/o Late Sh. Bhagwan Dass Saproo, R/o Kharyar. Habbakadal Sgr; presently at H.No: 130, Preet Nagar, Paloura, Jammu. 3/1/2007
23. Smt. Gouri Devi W/o Late Sh. Tara Chand Sadhu, R/o Mattan Anantnag, Kmr; presently at Sharika Peeth, Subash Nagar, Jammu. 3/1/2007
24. Sh. Keshaw Nath S/o Late Govind Joo, R/o Hawal Pulwama; Kmr; presently at Gole Peer, Hari Om Nagar, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 3/1/2007
25. Sh. Omkar Nath Bhan/Karwani R/o Mallapora Banamohalla, Rawalpura, Sgr; presently at H.No: 8, Lane No: 8, Suriya Vihar, Bohri Talab, Tillo, Jammu. 4/1/2007.
26. Sh. Sham Lal Razdan S/o Late Shiv Ji Razdan of Kanikadal Sgr;presently at H.nO: 53/1 Shiv Nagar, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 4/1/2007
27. Sh. Kishore Nath Koul alias Radha Krishan Koul, R/o Rang Teng Ali Kadal Sgr; presently at Roop Nagar, Enclave H.No: 107, Lane No: 2, Block-A Jammu. 4/1/2007
28. Smt. Umavati Bhat W/o Sh. Sarwanand Bhat Wali, R/o Rajwali Vessue Anantnag Kmr; presently at H.No: 599, Lane-5 A Suryavanshi Nagar, Muthi. 4/1/2007
29. Sh. Sham Lal Razdan S/o Late Sh. Shiv Jee Razdan R/o Old Post Office Lane Kharduri Kanyakadal Sgr; presently at H.No 53, Lane No: 1, Shiv Nagar, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 4/1/2007
30. Sh. Omkar Nath Bhan S/o Late Sh. Raghunath Bhan, R/o Mallapora/Rawalpora Sgr; presently at H.No: 8, Lane No: 8, Suriya Vihar Patta Bohri, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 4/1/2007
31. Sh. Sham Lal Raina S/o Lt.Sh. Narayan Joo Raina, R/o H.No: 285, Colonel Colony, Bohri, Jammu, erstwhile resident of Trisal Pulwama Kmr. 5/1/2007

32. Sh. Shamboo Nath Mukhi S/o Late Maha Nand Mukhi, R/o Mattan Anantnag Kmr; presently at Mohalla Khajuria Jammu. 5/1/2007.
33. Smt. Idrwati Gunne W/o Late Hari Ram, R/o Delina Baramulal Kmr; presently at at Nagrota Camp Jammu. 6/1/2007
34. Smt. Dulari Sadhoo W/o Sh. PL Sadhoo, R/o Zaindar Mohalla Habbakadal Sgr;presently at H.No: 25, Paloura Dhok Jammu. 6/1/2007
35. Sh. Banshi Lal Kaul Ompoori S/o Lt. Sh. Sri Kanth Ompoori R/o Channapura Sgr; presently at Pounci Chak Santra Mohr Bohri. 6/1/2007
36. Sh. Rajnath Chiragi S/o Late Sh. Shreedhar Joo Chiragi, R/o Badiyar Payeen Sgr; presently at C-5, Pratik Collectors Colony Chembur Mumbai-74. 6/1/2007
37. Sh. Jawahar Lal Bhan S/o Late Sh. Radha Krishen Bhan, R/o Kani Kadal Sgr; presently residing at DDA-SFS Flats No-138, Sector-I Pocket-I, Phase-I Dwarika New Delhi. 7/1/2007
38. Sh. Prithvi Nath Mattoo (Nath Jee) S/o Late Pandit Mana Joo Mattoo of Bagh Jogi Lankar Rainwari Sgr; presently at Bangalore. 7/1/2007
39. Sh. Triloki Nath Tiku S/o Late Sh. Tara Chand Tiku R/o Narparistan Ghat Sgr; presently at E-195 Sainik Colony, Jammu. 7/1/2006
40. Smt. Lachkui Mantoo (Kunti Devi) W/o Late. Sh. Raghunath Mantoo, R/o Mohalla Sangrampora Sopore, Kmr; presently at H.No: E29-A Navada Housing Cmoplex Kakrola Morh Najafgarh New Delhi. 7/1/2007
41. Smt. Somwati Moza W/o Late Sh. PN Moza R/o Jawahar Nagar Sgr; presently at California (USA). 8/1/2007
42. Smt. Sunita/Jyoti Shakhdar W/o Rahul Shakhdar R/o H.No: 14/A, Lane No: 1, Anand Nagar, Bohri Jammu. 8/1/2007
43. Sh. Sat Lal Bhatt S/o Madho Lal Bhatt, R/o Tengepuna Pulwama Kmr; presently at K.C. Door Near Ice Factory Muthi. 8/1/2007.
44. Sh. Soom Nath Mattoo, R/o H.No: 527 Subash Nagar Near Sharika Peeth Sanastha Jammu. 9/1/2007
45. Raj Rani Dadroo W/o Late Pt. Nand Lal Dadroo, R/o Chuni Chowk Anantnag Kmr; presently at H.No: 7, Lane No: 1, Shankar Vihar, Lower Barnai Jammu. 9/1/2007.
46. Sh. Makhan Lal Raina S/o Late Sh. Janki Nath Raina, R/o Kundi Khas Handwara Kmr; presently at H.No: 87, General Lane Sarswati Vihar Bohri, Jammu. 9/1/2007
47. Sh. Lakshman Bhat of vilalge Wangam Shingas Anantnag at present Qtr. No: 8, Block-3, Police Qtrs, Gulshan Ground Jammu. 9/1/2007
48. Smt. Umawati W/o Late Sh. Ved Lal Muku, R/o Nillowa Pulwama, Kmr; presently at H.No: 217, G-Block Prem Nagar Ext. Paperawat Road New Delhi. 9/1/2007
49. Sh. Sharika Prashad (Pran Nath) S/o Late Dr. Niranjana Nath R/o Bagiyas Chatabal Sgr; presently at H.No: 12, Lane No: 4, KB Nagar, Bantalab, Jammu. 10/1/2007
50. Smt. Somawati Chowdhri W/o Sh. Soom Nath Chowdhri R/o Kharyar IInd Bridge Habbakdal Sgr; presently at C-5, Upper Shiv Nagar Subash Nagar, Jammu. 10/1/2007.
51. Smt. Janki Rani Koul W/o Sh. Janki Nath Koul, R/o Village Wuyan Pampore Kmr; presently at H.No: 5, Lane No:8, Roop Nagar Enclave Jammu. 10/1/2007
52. Smt. Laxmi Shori Tikoo W/o Late Sh. Sham Lal Tikoo, R/o Kanil Bagh Baramulla Kmr; presently at Bapu Bhawan, Om Nagar Udhaywalla Bohri, Jammu. 10/1/2007
53. Sh. Kashi Nath Raina, R/o Bana Mohalla Sgr; presently at 67-A, Patoli Mangrotian Jammu. 10/1/2007
54. Smt. Shobawati Koul (Chanda Jigir) W/o Late Sh. Mahesh Nath Koul, R/o Gotengoo Baramulla Kmr; presently at Purkhoo Camp, Phase-Ist Qtr. No: .. 10/1/2007
55. Smt. Indrawati Koul W/o Late Sh. Sudarshan Koul (Dharmarathi) R/o Bagh Joagi Lankar Rainawari Sgr; presently at Michigan (USA). 10/1/2007
56. Smt. Prabha Raina W/o Sh. H.N. Raina R/o Malik Bagh, Zaindar Mohalla Sgr; presently at 9-A, Inderprastha Colony Sector-30-33 Faridabad. 10/1/2007
57. Smt. Chand Rani W/o Late Sh. Soom Nath Pandita R/o Jublipora Bijbehara Kmr; presently at H.No: 655/656 Vinayak Nagar, Sector-III Muthi Jammu. 11/1/2007
58. Smt. Dulari Mawa Wa/o Sh. Gopi Nath Mawa. R/o Chalpan Kocha Zaina Kadal Sgr; presently at H.No: 2, Lane-20, Suriya Vihar Patta Bohri, Jammu. 12/1/2007
59. Sh. Prithivi Nath Sharma original resident of Badami Bagh Sgr; presently at Pamposh Colony, Sector-I, H.No: 50, Janipur, Jammu. 12/1/2007
60. Sh. Shadi Lal Pandita S/o Lt. Sh. Srikanth Pandita R/o Sogam Kupwara Kmr; presently at H.No: 113, Zero Lane Tomal Bohri Anand Nagar, Jammu. 12/1/2007
61. Sh Omkar Nath Dhar S/o Late Sh. Sat Ram Dhar, R/o Kanthparistan Safakadal Sgr; presently at G-336/A Sector-11 Partap Vihar Gaziabad. 12/1/2007
62. Smt. Rukhmani Koul W/o Late Sh. Radha Krishen Koul, R/o Kokder Bazar Sgr; presently at H.No: 99, Sector-5, Trikuta Nagar Jammu. 13/1/2007
63. Sh. Shamboo Nath Mattoo S/o Late Sh. Shiv Jee Mattoo R/o Ghat Jogi Lanker Rainawari Sgr; presently at 94, Upper Laxmi Nagar, Sarwal Jammu. 13/1/2007
64. Sh. Sham Lal Bhat R/o Zadipora Kulgam Kmr; presently at H.No: 5, Lane No: 2, Gurah Barnai Road Jammu. 13/1/2007

65. Sh Sarwanand Pandita R/o Shadipora Kupwara Kmr; presently at H.NO: 84, Bank Colony Govind Nagar, Sector-I Gole-Gujral Road Talab Tillo, Jammu. 13/1/2007
 66. Sh. Dina Nath R/o Mohripora Akingam, Anantnag Kmr; presently at H.No: 746, Sector-III, Baisaki Colony Muthi, Jammu. 14/1/2007
 67. Sh. Prem Nath Koul S/o Lt. Anand Koul, R/o Irkhmoo Kokernag Kmr; presently at Nagrota Camp Jammu. 14/1/2007
 68. Smt. Prabhawati Dhar (Warikoo) W/o Pt. Som Nath Dhar R/o C-1, Pamposh Enclave New Delhi, presently at B-2, Basantnagar, Janipur Jammu. 14/1/2007
 69. Sh. Mohan Lal Handoo S/o Late Pt. Lal Chand Handoo, R/o Motiyar Rainawari Sgr; presently at 606. Sect-2, Bagwati Nagar Canal Road, Jammu. 15/1/2007
 70. Smt. Kamla Shori Moza W/o Late Kashi Nath Moza R/o Block J-2 Qtr. No: 1, Poonch House Panjirthi Jammu. 15/1/2007
 71. Smt. Umar Razdan W/o Sh. HK Razdan R/o Ganpatyar Srinagar, Kmr; presently at 730-F Prem Nath New Plots, Jammu. 16/1/2/07
 72. Sh. Kanwal Krishen Nagri S/o Late Sh. Shivjee Nagri R/o 292-A. Last Morh Sarwal near Millan Janj Garh Sarwal Jammu. 17/1/2007.
 73. Sh. Shambhu Nath Dhar (Baboo Jee) R/o Mallyar, Habbakadal Srinagar; presently at 91-Lane-3, Anand Nagar Bohri , Talab Tillo, Jammu. 17/1/2007
 74. Sh. Vishwa Nath Raina S/o Late Pt. Maheshwar Nath Rania, R/o Gurgari Mohalla Alikadal Sgr; presently at Flat No: 51, B-5 Delux Apts. Vasundra Enclave New Delhi. 17/1/2007
 75. Smt. Janak Shori Bhan W/o Lt. Sh. Janki Nath Bhan R/o Narperistan Fatehkadal Sgr, at present Kanak Apts. Shalimar Garden Gaziabad. 17/1/2007.
- (Cont. from page 2)*
76. Smt. Rani Jee Kalpushu W/o Lt. Sh. Gangadhar Kalpushu R/o Bana Mohalla Razdan Yarbali Sgr; presently at H.No: 108, Sector-B, Lane No: 2 Basant Nagar Janipur Jammu. 18/1/2007.
 77. Sh. Makhan Lal Koul S/o Lt. Sh. Sham Lal Koul, R/o Willgam Kupwara (Kmr); presently at Bye Pass Santra Morh Near Sarvodiya Public School, Jammu. 18/1/2007.
 78. Smt. Roopawati Koul, R/o Late Sh. Kashi Nath Koul, R/o Narparistan (Boni Angan) Fatehkadal Sgr; presently at Vijay Nagar, Lane No: 2, Camp Road, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 18/1/2007.
 79. Sh. Jagar Nath Raina S/o Lt. Sh. Madhav Razdan R/o Maratgam Nahama Handwara Kmr; presently at Qtr. No: 305 Camp Mishriwala Jammu. 19/1/2007.
 80. Sh. Radha Krishen Tickoo S/o Lt. Sh. Kashi Ram Tickoo, R/o Vasuke Vihara Garoda, Bamai, Bantalab Jammu. 19/1/2007
 81. Sh. Makhan Lal Raina S/o Lt. Sh. Sham Lal Raina, R/o Seer Jagir Sopore Kmr; presently at Qtr. No: 80-81 Phase-II Purkhoo Camp Jammu. 20/1/2007
 82. Smt. Mohini Ji Miya W/o Late Sh. Raghunath Miya R/o Kocha Nidan Raniawari Sgr; presently at H.No: 652, Unnati Vihar, Lower Nathanpur Dehradun. 20/1/2007
 83. Sh. TN Koul S/o Sh. PN Koul, R/o Maharaj Ganj; presently at H.No: 37, Lower Laxmi Nagar, Sarwal Jammu. 20/1/2007
 84. Sh. Kallash Nath Koul (Gasha Jee) S/o Late Sh. Bal Koul, R/o Channapora (Tulsi Garden) Sgr; presently at Suriyavihar Lane No: 17, House No: 603 Bohri Talab Tillo, Jammu. 21/1/2007
 85. Sh. Avtar Krishan Bhatt S/o Lt. Sh. Shansar Chand Bhat, R/o Talwani Teh. & Distt. Anantnag Kmr; presently at Community Hall Phase-I, Muthi Camp. 21/1/2007
 86. Smt. Shobawati Raina W/o Late Sh. Shiv Ji Raina R/o Nanil Anantnag, Kmr; presently at Sankalp Apts. 169/4 near Aryan Public School Vaisakhi (UP). 21/1/2007
 87. Sh. Brij Lal Bhat S/o Late Sh. Reshi Bhat R/o Uttersoo Anantnag, Kmr; presently at H.No: 132-Sector-1, Vinayak Nagar Muthi, Jammu. 22/1/2007
 88. Sh. Dwarika Nath Bhat S/o Late Sh. Nath Ji Bhat, R/o Simoo Distt. Pulwama, Kmr; presently at H.No; 384, Sector-3, Gangyal Garden Jammu. 21/1/2007
 89. Smt. Kamlawati Saraf (Wattal) W/o Late Sh. Triloki Nath Saraf (Wattal), R/o Malayar Habbakadal Sgr; presently at Shanti Kunj H.No: 118, Old Arya Nagar Gaziabad (UP). 22/1/2007
 90. Sh. Avtar Krishen Bhat S/o Sh. Sansar Chand Bhat, R/o Talwani Teh. Anantnag at presently at Community Hall Muthi Jammu. 22/1/2007
 91. Sh. Rattan Lal Koul S/o Late Sh. Vishamber Nath Koul, R/o Porshar, Habbakadal 2nd Bridge Sgr; presently at H.No: 826, Lane No: 7, Ext. Bhagwati Nagar, Jammu. 23/1/2007
 92. Sh. Subash Pandita S/o Lt. Sh. JN Pandita, R/o Safapora Kmr; presently at Bldg. No: 60, Sector-11 Norul, New Mumbai (MH). 24/1/2007
 93. Smt. Kamlawati Koul (Sona Jigri) W/o Late B.N Koul of Bul-Bul Lankar Alikadal Sgr; at presently at Rajppora Shakti Nagar, Jammu. 24/1/2007
 94. Smt. Prabhawati Bhat W/o Late Hari Ram Bhat, R/o Salamatwari (Sholara) Kupwara Km;r presently at A/P H.NO: 2881, Jain Nagar, Kashmiri Colony New Delhi. 24/1/2007
 95. Sh. Jawahar Lal Koul S/o Late Sh. Nand Lal Koul R/o Bagh Jogi Lankar Rainawari Sgr; presently at General Lane Sarswati Vihar Tormal Bohri, Jammu. 25/1/2007
 96. Sh. Bansi Lal Bha tR/o Nagam Budgam Kmr; presently at H.No; 158, Sector-7, EWS Colony Roop Nagar, Jammu. 25/1/2007

97. Sh. Arjan Nath Gurtoo, R/o Kharyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently at 59-H-LiG Flats, Pocket A-2, Phase-IIIrd, Mayur Vihar, Delhi. 26/1/2007
98. Sh. Janki Nath Razdan R/o Rainawari Sgr; Kmr; at present at 397-A, Janiupr Colony Sector-3, Jammu. 26/1/2007
99. Pandit Makhan Lal Handoo, R/o Bagh Jogi Lankar Rainawari Sgr; at present at Flat No: B--179J, S-1 EWS Part-2, Ram Prastha Colony Gaziabad (UP). 26/1/2007
100. Smt. Santosh Bhat W/o Sh. Kuldeep Kumar Bhat, R/o H.No; 106, Sector-6, Model Town Gangyal Jammu. 26/1/2007
101. Sh. Prihvi Nath Pandit S/o Late Sh. Ragow Ram Pandit R/o Village Chin Gund Verinag Anantnag Kmr; at present H.No 42, Lane-8, Amit Nagar Muthi Jammu. 27/1/2007
102. Smt. Pinki Labroo W/o Sh. Ravi Sadhoo, R/o 7/12 Hazouri Bagh Bohri, Jammu. 27/1/2007
103. Smt. Arundati W/o Late Balji Dhar R/o Village Arihal Pulwama, Kmr; presently at Qtr. No: 83/G Purkhoo Camp, Phase-III, Block-G. 27/1/2007
104. Sh. Makhan Lal Channa S/o Late Pt. Janki Nath Channa R/o 6, Madanyar Habakadal Sgr; presently at Sgr. 27/1/2007
105. Sh. Jia Lal Pandit S/o Aftab Ram Pandit of Sruch Palpora Pattan (Baramulla), Kmr; at present Pandoka Colony Patoli Mangotrian Jammu. 27/1/2007
106. Smt. Sheela Kak W/o Lt. Sh. Moti Lal Kak, R/o 64-A Ext. Small Plots Gandhi Nagar, Jammu. 28/1/2007
107. Sh. Pushkar Nath Koul S/o Late Sh. Sarvanand Koul R/o Channapora Sgr; presently at U/5-39, DLF Gurgaon. 28/1/2007
108. Dr. Girdhari Lal Koul (Prof. Computer Science) S/o Late Sh. Radhakrishan Koul, R/o Hawand Chowalgam Kulgam, Kmr; presently at H.No: 19C Om Nagar Udheywala Jammu. 29/1/2007
109. Sh. Makhan Lal Bhat S/o Lt. Sh. Srikanth Bhat, R/o Monghama Pulwama Kmr; presently at H.No: 47/1-B Anuradhapuram Bernai Jammu. 29/1/2007
110. Sh. Chaman Lal Razdan S/o Late Sh. Sundri Razdan R/o Village Khunmooh Kmr; presently at 329/A, Vipin Garden Kakrola More New Delhi. 29/1/2007
111. Smt. Gunwati Bhat W/o Late Sh. Janki Nath Bhat of Rajan Vissu Anantnag Kmr; presently at residing at Qtr. No: 587, Nagrota Camp Jammu. 29/1/2007
112. Pt. Dev Ram Koul R/o A-4/21 Basant Nagar Janipur Jammu original resident of Brinti Batpora Dialgam Anantnag, Kmr. 30/1/2007
113. Mahatama Swami Dnia Nath Bhan S/o Late Shridhar Joo Bhan R/o Dangerpora Ganderbal Kashmir, presently at G-15, Sainik Colony Jammu. 30/1/2007
114. Sh. Prem Nath Koul, R/o Mir Dautar Anantnag; presently at H.No: 353-B, Sector-3 Gangyal Jammu. 30/1/2007
115. Smt. Ratni Rania W/o Prof. R.K. Rania R/o Durga Nagar-2, Roop Nagar, Jammu. 30/1/2007
116. Smt. Santosh Khar D/o Late Arjan Nath Khar W/o Sh. Baskar Nath Khah R/o Mattan Anantnag; presently at H.No: 58, Lan No: 6, Suraj Nagar Talab Tillo, Jammu. 30/1/2007
117. Sh. Girdhari Lal Razdan (Rt. Accts. Officer) S/o Late Sh. Dina Nath Razdan originally of Karafali Mohalla Sgr; presently at 63-1, Patoli Mangotrian Jammu. 30/1/2007
118. Smt. Jai Kishori W/o Sh. Vishnath Jotshi of Bijbehara Kmr; at present JMC-1495 near Jain Temple Talab Tillo, Jammu. 31/1/2007
119. Smt. Arandati Bhat W/o Late Pt. Prem Nath Bhat R/o Peth Kanihama/Lal Nagar Sgr; Kmr; presently at House No: 1-A, Bank Colony Camp Road, Talab Till Jammu. 31/1/2007