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PANUN KASHMIR SEMINAR

Don't Follow Weak-kneed Approach on Kashmir, Warn Panelists

KS Correspondent

NEW DELHI, Dec 16: Describing communalism as root cause of Kashmir problem and opposing any demilitarisation, the speakers at the seminar-Countering Secessionist Politics in Kashmir, organised by Panun Kashmir, asked India to be tough against terrorism, follow the peace-process keeping national interests in mind and find out a solution to Kashmir imbroglio that is acceptable to Kashmiri Pandits.

Speaking on the occasion, G Parthasarthy, former Indian diplomat, described "Kashmir" as a symbol of crisis between Indian and Pakistan and observed that 'Army establishment in Pakistan was enemy of strong India.

"Kashmir is not the cause but the symbol of Indo-Pak differences. A democratic, secular and pluralist India, growing rapidly and gaining in international stature is something the Pakistani military establishment cannot accept", said Mr Parthasarthy. Chiding Prime Minister Manmohan Singh for describing Pakistan as victim of terrorism, Mr Parthasarthy said, "Not just Kashmir, destabilization of India is an integral part of the policy of Pakistani military establishment".

G Parthasarthy said that using radical Islam as a weapon is the state policy of Pakistan and it used it in India as well as Afghanistan. He said that the radicalisation in the Valley started from the days of Zia when even Farooq led National Conference found it politically expedient to go along with it and the process picked up steam with introduction of Wahabi oriented groups.

Describing Hurriyat leaders as stooges of Pakistan, who have become, more affluent after 1990, Mr Parthasarthy said that armed element is getting closer and closer to the mainstream political parties or has links with them and as such we have to see where the internal dialogue is leading to. He added



Panelists during the Seminar from (L) Sh. G.Parthasarthy, Dr. Shakti Bhan, Sh. Ajit Doval, Sh. Manoj Raghuvanshi & Prof. Savita Pandey. --KS photo

that "they (Hurriyat) will change track if Musharraf or the armed element operating from across the border change the track". He rejected that Dr



Dr. Ajay Chrunghoo, Chairman Panun Kashmir speaking during the seminar. --KS photo

Farooq Abdullah's demand for pre-52 status and said that India has to bring clarity to its focus.

Mr Parthasarthy asked Pandits to join hands with other nationalist groups in J&K like Ladakhis and even Shias of Kargil to see that the situation does not go out of hand and opined that "the internal dialogue process has to be kept

within manageable dimensions".

Saying that there cannot be soft options to deal with terrorism, Mr Parthasarthy regretted that India has not a national law to deal with the menace. "At a time when the world is strengthening its laws against terrorism, we are unique and having dubious distinction of being the only country without a national law to deal with the

terrorism", he regretted.

Referring to recent proposals of Pakistan President General Pervez Musharraf, Mr Parthasarthy said that division of state into regions, as is being suggested, seems to be a copy of proposal that emanated from "Kashmir Study Group" of Farooq Kathwari and as long as Kashmir is an integral part of India, which it will continue to be, no foreign government can tell

us where to deploy or not to deploy the troops.

Mr Parthasarthy added that self governance is more required on the other side of LoC and there is no problem in strengthening the bond between the people across the LoC.

Maintaining that we cannot pretend that rest of the world is not going to be interested in Kashmir, Mr Parthasarthy said that India should engage Pakistan in dialogue by rejecting proposals like division or demilitarisation and discussing issues like people to people contact etc.

Indirectly blaming the present leadership for lack of courage and will, Mr Parthasarthy said, "If we have a Prime Minister like Mrs. Indira Gandhi, we can raise the cost of Pakistan".

Former Intelligence Bureau Chief Ajit Doval said that Pakistan President Parvez Musharraf has left its recent proposals as ambiguous and warned India that any change in the status quo in favour of Pakistan will amount to same mistake India did in 1972. He also asked India to accept solution to Kashmir issue that is acceptable to

(Contd. on Page 7)

THOSE WHO LEFT US

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

1. Sh. Madhu Sudan Raina S/o Lt. Sh. Nilkanth Raina of Anantnag; presently at Shastri Nagar, Jammu. 25/11/2006
2. Sh. Manmohan Fotedar S/o Late Sh MR Fotedar; presently at 103-B, Gandhi Nagar (Near Rotary Bhawan), Jammu. 27/11/2006
3. Smt. Sheela Ji W/o Lt. Sh. Arjan Nath Koul, R/o Village Wuyan Pampore, Kashmir. 27/11/2006
4. Sh. Dwarika Nath Raina S/o Late Sh. Arjan Nath Raina R/o Reshi Mohalla Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at Sector B-2, Laxmipuram (Near Pushkar Sewa Ashram) Chinor, Bantalab, Jammu. 27/11/2006
5. Sh. Avtar Krishan Kak/Mandloo S/o Late Sh. Shamboo Nath Kak, R/o Shivpora Sgr; presently at California USA. 28/11/2006.
6. Sh. Kashi Nath Zadoo R/o Ganpatyar Sgr; presently at 223, Sector 13, Vasundara Gaziabad. 28/11/2006.
7. Sh. Sham Lal Khosa S/o Late. Sh. Shankar Nath Khosa, R/o H.NO: E-44, Sector-39, Noida. 28/11/2006
8. Smt. Jagat Mohini Raina (Soni Ji) W/o Lt. Sh. Jagar Nath Raina Taragam Qazigund Teh. Dooru, Distt Anantnag; presently at H.No: 9, Lane-1, Saraswati Vihar Barani Jammu. 29/11/2006
9. Smt. Renu Koul W/o Lt. Gopi Nath Koul, R/o Pulwama Chillipora; presently at Muthi Camp Qtr. No: 486, Phase-I, Jammu. 30/11/2006
10. Smt. Gunwati Munshi W/o Lt. Shambu Nath Munshi, R/o Kilam Anantnag presently at H.No: 151, Sector-3, Faridabad Haryana. 30/11/2006
11. Sh. Bishambar Nath Trisal, R/o Narparistan, Fateh Kadal, Sgr, at present 68/251, Pratap Nagar, Tonk Road, Sangeer Jaipur. 30/11/2006
12. Smt. Shabawati Dhar W/o Late Sh. Janki Nath Dhar, R/o Chatabal/Jawahar Nagar Sgr; presently at Bharat Nagar Talab Tillo, Jammu. 30/11/2006
13. Sh. Makhan Lal Sapru S/o Late Sh. Jia Lal Sapru, R/o 56, Drabiyar Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at 145-Lumbini Apts., Sector-14, Kaushambi Gaziabad (UP). 2/12/2006
14. Sh. Makhan Lal Kaul (Chaman) S/o Late Sh. Gwash Lal Koul (Chaman), R/o Bagh Jogi Lankar, Rainawari, Sgr; presently at 242-G, HIG, Partap Vihar, Ghaziabad (UP). 4/12/2006
15. Sh. Pyare Lal Raina S/o Late Sh. Lambodar Raina, R/o Gund Ahalmar Nai Sarak Sgr; presently at H.No: 27-A, Luxmi Puram Sector A-I Chinor (Bantalab) Jammu. 4/12/2006
16. Smt. Prabhawati Pandita (Shangroo) W/o Late, Sh. PN Pandita, R/o 124-P, Extn. 1A Mandir Lane Trikuta Nagar Jammu. 4/12/2006
17. Smt. Lakshmi Shori W/o Sh. Sharika Prasad Pandita R/o Bagiyar, Chattabal Kmr; presently at H.No: 12, Lane No: 4, Sector-1 Bantalab. 4/12/2006
18. Sh. Gopi Nath Bhat S/o Late Sh Sansar Chand Bhat, R/o Village Udoo Sholipora Distt. Budgam; presently at H.No: 137/F Janki Vihar Lane No:2, OLd Janipur. 5/12/2006
19. Dr. Chaman Lal Munshi R/o 231/7, Channi Himmat Jammu former Head of Deptt. of Geology Jammu University. 5/12/2006
20. Sh. Triloki Nath Bhat R/o Kathwar, Dist. Budgam; presently at Block No:8, Qtr. No:7, Police Colony Gulshan Ground Gandhi Nagar, Jammu. 5/12/2006
21. Sh. Kuldeep Narian Shangloo S/o Late. Sh Nand Lal Shangloo, R/o Batyar Alikadal Sgr; presently at 183/1, Vinayak Nagar Upper Muthi Jammu. 5/12/2006
22. Smt. Tulsi Bhat (Pyare) W/o Prithvi Nath Bhat, R/o Dangarpora, Shopian Kashmir; presently at 1694 Kangposh Jain Nagar, Karala Delhi 11081. 5/12/2006
23. Smt. Mohini W/o Sh. Jawahar Lal Raina, R/o Vihar Nag; presently at 59-E (JMC-1449) Bharat Nagar, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 5/12/2006
24. Smt. Man Mohini Qanoongo W/o Lt. Sh. Triloki Nath Qanoongoo, R/o Narparistan 2/3 Bridge Sgr; presently at A/32 Upper Shiv Nagar, Jammu. 6/12/2006
25. Smt. Somawati Ganjoo W/o Lt. Sh SN Ganjoo, R/o Chowdhary Bagh Rainawari; presently at H.No: 11, Lane No: 7, KB Nagar, Bantalab. 7/12/2006
26. Smt. Roopa Rani Koul W/o Sh. SK Koul, R/o Naqashpora/Raj Bagh; presently at 0-132 Freedom Fighters Colony Neb Sari New Delhi. 7/12/2006
27. Smt. Krishna Kath W/o Sh. GL Kath R/o Nazuk Mohalla Anantnag; presently at 170/2-A, Roop Nagar Enclave Jammu Jammu. 7/12/2006
28. Sh. Bansi Lal Raina S/o Lt. Sh. Prem Nath Raina, R/o Durga Nagar, Talab Tillo at Sea Breez Aptt. Tower No:8, Flat No: 1402 Sector 16, Naroli Washi Mumbai. 7/12/2006
29. Sh. Mohan Lal Saraf S/o Late Amarchan Saraf R/o Batapora Shopian, Kmr; presently at H.No: 209/6 Shantipuram Muthi. 7/12/2006
30. Smt. Sarla Devi, R/o Sheelteng, Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at H.No: 11, Sector A/1, Laxmi Puram, Bantalab, Jammu. 8/12/2006
31. Smt. Pushpa Bhat W/o Late Sh. Brij Nath Bhat R/o H.No: 5, Lane Opp. to Indian Oil Pump, Tawi Vihar Colony, Sidhra. 8/12/2006
32. Sh. Mohan Lal Raina (Razdan) S/o Late. Keshav Nath Raina, R/o Karshangam; Pahalgam; presently at Anand Nagar Bohri, H.No: 127-A, Lane No: 5. 9/12/2006
33. Smt. Meena Wati Razdan W/o Sh. Vasu Dev Razdan, R/o Salia Anantnag; presently at H.No: 780-A, Prem Nagar New Plot, Tali Morh, Jammu. 9/12/2006
34. Smt. Uma Saproo W/o Late Sh. Nand Lal Saproo, R/o Shutrashahi Sgr; presently at H.No: 701, Vishal Nagar, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 9/12/2006
35. Dr. Kanaya Lal Koul, S/o Late Dr Lambodhar Koul, R/o Chandapora Habbakadal Sgr; presently at Flat No: 27, Saraswati Aptt. Sector-9, Rohini Delhi-85. 10/12/2006
36. Sh. Pyare Lal Raina (Razgaroo) S/o Late Sh. Nand Lal Raina, R/o Drabiyar, Habbakadal, Sgr; presently at 111/1, Indira Vihar, Amba Cinema Janipur. 10/12/2006
37. Sh. Kashi Nath Tickoo S/o Late Sh. Madav Ram Tickoo, R/o Koil Pulwama; presently at H.No: 5, Lane No:1, Basant Nagar, Janipur. 10/12/2006
38. Dr. Neena Bambroo W/o Prof S.N. Bambroo, R/o Gogji Bagh Sgr; presently at Charamwood Suraj Kund Road, Faridabad/. 10/12/2006
39. Smt. Shobawati Koul W/o Late Sh Jia Lal Koul, R/o Drabiyar Habbakadal, Sgr; presently at H.No: 160, Sector-7, Lower Roop Nagar, Jammu. 11/12/2006
40. Smt. Leelavati Pandita W/o Late DN Pandita, R/o Chinigund Verinag; presently at 144 Nowabad, Sunjwan Road, Jammu. 12/12/2006
41. Smt. Sham Rani Mattoo W/o Late Sh. Dawarika Nath Mattoo, R/o 270-A, Gandhi Nagar, Jamu. 12/12/2006
42. Mrs. Kaushalya Dhar W/o Prof. KN Dhar, R/o Motiyar, Rainawari Sgr; presently at Flat No: 24, Gangotri Apt Block-F Vikaspuri New Delhi. 12/12/2006
43. Sh. Sham Lal Bhat S/o Late Pt. Chander Joo Bhat, R/o 282-C Vipin Garden Kakrola Morh New Delhi original, R/o Rawoocha Rafiabad, Sopore Kmr. 12/12/2006
44. Sh. Pridiman Krishan Rishi S/o Late Sh. Sarwanand Rishi R./o Akingam Fathepora Anantnag, Kmr; presently at Muthi Camp Community Hall Jammu. 13/12/2006
45. Sh. Gopi Nath Koul S/o Late Sh Shiv Jee Koul, R/o Naisarak, Gund Ahalmar Sgr; presently at Qtr. No: 213, Nagrota Camp Phase-I. 13/12/2006
46. Sh. Chaman Lal Wanchoo S/o Lt. Madho Ram Wanchoo, R/o Baramulla; presently at H.No: 437, Lane No: 11, Hazoori Bagh Bohri Jammu. 14/12/2006
47. Sh. Sat Lal Pandita, R/o Fohar Anantnag; presently at Udhampur. 14/12/2006
48. Sh Radha Krishan Koul S/o Lt. Sh. Vishan Koul, R/o Bungund Verinag Kmr; presently at H.No: 1103 Vedant Nagar, Parnara Road Bahadurgarh, Haryana. 14/12/2006
49. Sh. Niranjana Nath Chakoo S/o Late Sh. Shridhar Chakoo, R/o 92, Ganptyar Sgr; presently at 36 Shalimar Garden, Lane No: 5 Hazuri Bagh, Bohri, Jammu. 14/12/2006
50. Smt. Lajwanti Mantoo W/o Late Sh. Shuder Joo Mantoo, R/o Mohalla Sangrampora Sopore; presently at H.no: 84, Lane No: 9, Anand Nagar, Bhoiri, Jammu. 15/12/2006
51. Sh. Ved Lal Bhat S/o Late Sat Lal Bhat R/o Pohroo Budgam; presently at Ganesh Vihar Phase II Muthi. 15/12/2006
52. Smt. Arandati (Boba) W/o Late Sh. Bal Ji Raina/Razdan, R/o Akhura Anantnag, Kmr; presently at H.No: 216/4 Pamposh Colony Janipur, Jammu. 17/12/2006
53. Sh. Amar Nath Raina S/o Late Sh. Thokur Raina, R/o Achan Pulwama, Kmr; presently at H.No: 170, Surya Vihar, TCP Lane Lower Muthi Jammu. 17/12/2006
54. Sh. Chaman Lal Munshi S/o Late Sh. Shyam Lal Munshi, R/o Zanidar Mohalla Habbakadal Sgr; presently at 206, Sector-11, Gangyal Garden Jammu. 17/12/2006
55. Smt. Jai Kishori Wattal W/o Late Sh. Jagar Nath Wattal, R/o Bana Mohalla, Razdan Kocha Sgr; presently at Navi Mumbai Vashi. 17/12/2006
56. Smt. Oma Shori Koul W/o Sh. TN Koul at Chandigarh; presently at 23/3 Pandoka Colony Paloura, Jammu. 18/12/2006
57. Smt. Gunwati Talashi W/o Late Sh. Prem Nath Talashi, R/o Dalseer Kunzgam Anantnag, Kmr; presently at Lane No: 3, House No: 1, Sector-C Muthi Phase-II, Jammu. 18/12/2006
58. Smt. Laxmi Shori W/o Late Pt. Rugunath Mattoo, R/o Ghat Jogi Lanker Rainawari Sgr; presently at Sunder Nagar (Behind Govt School) Camp Road Talab Tillo. 18/12/2006
59. Sh. Romesh Kumar Raina (Kakaji) S/o Sh. Gopi Nath Raina, R/o Handwara; presently at H.No: 6, Lane : 12, Hazuri Bagh, Bohri Jammu. 18/12/2006
60. Sh Triloki Nath Gurtu R/o Kharyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently at H.No:3, Lane-2, 1B East Ext. Trikuta Nagar, Jammu. 19/12/2006
61. Smt. Raj Lakshmi (Govri Shori) W/o Late Vish Nath Koul, R/o Sayed Ali Akbar Raghunath Mandir Sgr; presently at Brij Nagar, Miran Sahib. 20/12/2006
62. Smt. Shyam Rani W/o Late Sh. Shamboo Nath Pandit, R/o Zaloor Sopore; presently at F-13A, Milap Nagar, Utam Nagar New Delhi. 20/12/2006
63. Sh. Maheshwar Nath Bhat S/o Late Anand Ram Bhat, R/o Sogam, Lolab Kupwara; presently at Lane-3, H.No: 34, Sharda Colony Patoli, Brahmana. 20/12/2006
64. Sh. Omkar Nath Bhat S/o Late Sh. Kanth Ram Bhat R/o Sogam Lolab, Kupwara Kmr; presently at Qtr. No: F/9, Muthi Camp, Phase-IInd. 20/12/2006
65. Sh. Narayan Joo Raina S/o Late Sh. Tara Chand Raina. R/o Babapora, Habbakadal, Sgr; presently at 357/94, Gali No: 16-A, Ashok Vihar Gurgoan, Haryana. 21/12/2006
66. Sh. Arjan Nath Bhat S/o Lt. Sh. Mahadev Ram, R/o Nagam, Chadoora Budgam; presently at H.No: 108-A, Swarn Vihar, Police Colony Durga Nagar, Sector-I, Jammu. 21/2/2006
67. Smt. Durga Ji Koul W/o Late Sh. Sudarshan Koul, R/o 414 Jawahar Nagar, Sgr; presently at 52-A, IInd Ext. Gandhi Nagar, Jammu. 21/12/2006
58. Smt Tarawati Koul W/o Late Pt. Prithvi Nath Koul, R/o Sirroo Dangerpora Pattan Kmr; presently at C/o Babu Bhawan Om Nagar Udaiwala Bohri, Jammu. 21/12/2006
59. Sh. Radha Krishan Mattoo S/o Sh. Raghav Ram Mattoo, R/o Manigam Ganderbal Sgr at present Qtr. No: 386-R, Top Sherkhania, Jammu. 21/12/2006
60. Sh. Lakshmi Naryan Badawan S/o Lt. Sh. Kanaya Lal Badawan, R/o Village Charath Ram, Tehsil Pattan, Baramulla Kmr; A/P.H. No: 391-B Sector-1, Durga Nagar, Jammu. 21/12/2006
61. Smt. Lakshmi Shori Raina (Hashia) W/o Late Sh. Amar Nath Raina (Hashia) of 33-Karan Nagar, Sgr; presently at S-186-Greater Kailash, New Delhi. 21/12/2006
62. Sh. Swaroop Nath Koul S/o Late. Sh. Aftab Ram, R/o Fatehpura Anantnag, Kmr; presently at 18-1/3, JDA Colony Roop Nagar, Jammu. 22/12/2006
63. Sh. Hira Lal Bhan S/o Lt. Sh Tika Lal Bhan, R/o Karan Nagar Sgr; presently at 3-B, Pkt. 6, MiG Flats, Mayur Vihar-II, Delhi. 22/12/2006
64. Sh. Janki Nath Jee Bhat S/o Late Sh. Srikanth Bhat R/o Hyderpora Budgam; presently at H.No: 131, Sector-1, Sharika Vihar Lower Roop Nagar, Jammu. 23/12/2006
65. Sh Maheshwar Nath Raina R/o Tailwari Anantnag Kmr; presently at Unity Hall near Kak Sahib Ashram Nagrota Camp Jammu. 23/12/2006
66. Smt. Prabhawati Safaya W/o Lt. Sh. Prem Nah Safaya, R/o Shallayar Habbakadal, Sgr; presently at Hazuri Bagh Talab Bohri. 24/12/2006
67. Sh. Dina Nath Wali S/o Late Sh. Govind Ram Wali R/o 91-Jawahar Nagar, Sgr; presently at H.No: 9, Lane No: 1, Chandan Vihar Muthi Jammu. 24/12/2006
68. Sh. Tej Bindroo S/o Late Sh. PN Bindroo R/o Ram Ghat Baramulla kmr; presently at near Aanchar Factory Barnai Jammu. 24/12/2006
69. Sh. Pushkar Nath Jalali, R/o Bagdaji Kralyar Rainawari Sgr, Kmr; presently at H.No: 37, Durga Nagar Enclave Behind Samaj Sudhar Janjghar Jammu. 25/12/2006
70. Sh. Hriday Nath Pandita S/o Late Sh. Suraj Ram Pandit, R/o Village Krishna Teh. Distt. Kupwara, Kmr; presently at Qtr. No: 492, Block-O Phase-III Purkhoo Camp Jammu. 25/12/2006
71. Sh. Romesh Kumar Bhat S/o Sh. Radha Krishan Bhat, R/o Sagam Anantnag; presently at Battal Balian Camp Udhampur. 25/12/2006
72. Sh. Manmohan Kakroo, R/o Baramulla; presently at CW-42, Malibu Town, Sohona Road, Gurgaon Haryana. 25/12/2006
73. Sh. Brij Krishen Handoo, R/o Qazi Mohalla, Anantnag (Kmr); presently at H.No: 125, Dream City, Lane No:3, Muthi. 26/12/2006
74. Sh. Janki Nath Pandita, S/o Late Sh. Keshav Nath Pandita, R/o Turigam Devbugh Kulgam; presently at 5/2, Roop Nagar Enclave Jammu. 26/12/2006
75. Smt. Krishan Dhar W/o Late Dr. PN Dhar R/o Patpargunj Delhi. 26/12/2006

EDITORIAL

De-fang Communalism

Recently, the State Governor, Lt. Gen (Retd.) SK Sinha made two statements of profound significance. One, he said that religious fundamentalism was the root cause of trouble in Kashmir. Secondly, he ruled out 'Joint management' of Kashmir, as sought by Pak Military dictator, as impractical and against the interests of the country. For the first time a State Governor has gone on record and been so eloquent in attributing alienation in Kashmir to religious fundamentalism. This diagnosis, if carried to the logical conclusion, holds the potentiality of reclaiming Kashmir as part of secular nation-building in India.

EP Thompson, the great British Historian once said that disinformation on history was a nationalized industry in Britain. This comment could well pass on for India in the context of Kashmir. Every time parochial lobbies in Kashmir rant against India, the self-apologetic Indian Civil Society and the political leadership get a convulsion. They lap up the raked up theses that link-up so-called alienation in Kashmir to unfulfilled promises, rigging of elections, erosion of autonomy, underdevelopment and rampant unemployment. These are basically subterfuges, many times subversive in nature.

This self-deception has led to wrong remedies and prolonged the agony. The Central Govt. has been pumping tons and tons of money into Kashmir, which has not contributed in any way to development. This largesse has only served to fatten the pockets of the rapacious local rentier class. This class, which shapes the local politics, has been using the instruments of communalism, fundamentalism and secessionism to blackmail the Centre into yielding more concessions and locally, to maintain its stranglehold of hegemony on Kashmiri society. Over the years, the pursuit of this politics led to serious regional economic and political imbalances against Jammu and Ladakh; and pushed Kashmiri Pandits out from their homeland through a process of religious-cleansing. When Pakistan decided to fish in troubled waters of Kashmir it was this rentier class that cosied up to it. So long as the Centre does not muster will to call the bluff of this class there will be ---no peace in Kashmir, no end to regional discrimination against Jammu and Ladakh, no return of Kashmiri Pandits and reversal of their genocide, no secularization of society and polity in Kashmir.

There have been three genres of Muslim communalism in Kashmir. One uses communalism as part of identity formation, while the second one employs communalism to maximize interests of the local Muslim elite.

The third variety needs communalism to build up the fundamentalist consciousness in society. However, what is common to all the three is that these seek total Muslim precedence in all walks of life in J&K. This has distorted governance and held back secularization of Kashmiri Muslim society. Since every policy has to submit to operatives of Muslim precedence, every institution, howsoever egalitarian, ends up strengthening Muslim communalism. The sense of heightened exclusivist Muslim identity makes Kashmiris feel alienated in secular India and turn to secessionism. Complementary politics of moderate \radical Islamist groups on one hand and the separatist \mainstream parties on the other need to be viewed in this context.

What are India's stakes in Kashmir? When the Muslim-majority state of J&K acceded to secular India in 1947 it knocked out soul of two-nation theory principle. By raising the demands of 'Self-rule', 'Autonomy', 'Joint Management', as voiced by a section of regional party politicians in Kashmir, aren't we re-introducing two-nation theory through backdoor as all these propositions imply limited accession? Also, an active functioning secular society in Kashmir would determine whether India would remain secular or not. If the Hindu minority in the only Muslim -majority state cannot live there as a matter of right and choice what remains of secularism in India? How would Kashmir be secular if reversal of genocide and return of Displaced Kashmiri Pandits is not a priority for Kashmiri politicians? In fact, these politicians have been trying to plead with New Delhi that Kashmir was basically a Muslim problem and only Muslims need to be consulted. A community which has undergone religious-cleansing should have no say in determining the future of a place where they have to ultimately live! What better proof is needed for such unabashed communalism? This surely is not the way to strengthen India and the practice of its religious pluralism.

There are no two choices in Kashmir. Without knocking out the material basis of communalism in Kashmir and demythifying secessionism tackling terrorism would remain a pipe-dream in Kashmir. Instead of identifying forward looking elements in Kashmiri society, which do exist, successive Central Govt's have been patronizing such varieties of Muslim sub-nationalism which, even while not challenging accession openly, continue to promote revanchist forms of communalism. What better nation expects from a political leadership which has reduced nation-building to chasing vote-banks and practicing political expediency?

LETTERS

Pak has no claim

Sir,

The proposals of General Musharraf lapped up by some of our people need to be studied carefully. His proposals are 1) Joint management, 2) Self Rule & 3) Demilitarisation.

What does 'joint management' cannot? Is it the 'joint management' of the affairs of the state as a whole or of the borders of state? In the latter case, the borders of the state of whole need to be identified. Whether these refer to borders of the J&K State as on the eve of the tribal aggression of 1947 or to the borders that are under the control of the two states of India and Pakistan respectively.

If the joint management is visualised for the entire state, the suggestion of 'Self Rule' is ruled out: the two being mutually exclusive.

As regards phased demilitarisation as suggested, it could be considered as a measure of trust and good will as soon as Pakistan withdraws its forces from the state territory to its own borders.

So far as renunciation of any claim over the state by the general, less said the better. Pakistan as an aggressor has no legal or constitutional claim over any part of the state, which need to be clear to all concerned.

—P.N. Kaul
Talab Tillo, Jammu

India projects itself as a soft state

Sir

If the Ministry of External Affairs (GOI) reaction to the turning down of the appeal against Saddam's death sentence is anything to go by, it only highlights Indian nation's lack of policy resolve and its projection as a clear soft state. Time and again when it comes to crucial policies on terror and external affairs, India does more Sabre-rattling than taking concrete actions and measures on ground. This has been evident right from the killing of Kashmiri Hindus in 1990 onwards, especially the slicing

of a Kashmiri Hindu lady into pieces on saw mill, 'stage managed' kidnapping of Mufti's daughter, Kandhar hijacking, killing of nurse Sarla Bhat etc. to the pending death sentence on Afzal and expressing an opinion on the latest Iraqi developments Govt of India lacks tough policy mechanism which can project India as a global leader, not be throttled by anybody—external or internal

—Venkatesh. K.S
Bangalore

Kashmir Shaivism

Sir,

After receiving much awaited issue of KS of November, we have read it thoroughly by now. Though all articles are readable but "Down memory lane in the paradise" that was written by Sri Sumer Koul and the speech of Swami Amritanand Ji, Shankaracharya of Sharadapeetham to commemorate the birth centenary of Swami Lakshman Ji have fascinated us very much.

We were having a list of all Kashmiri Sanskrit literateurs right from Kashyap Rishi to present times which we copied from 'Kalyan', a monthly magazine being published from Gorakhpur (UP) but it was lost. We have not forgotten this loss so far.

Please publish complete history of Institute of Kashmir Shaivism, Srinagar from its founder to Lakshman Ji Maharaj and present position of its library, having collection of rare books. We also want to know about all Kashmiri Sanskrit literateurs and scholars with names of books written by them.

—K.D. Tiwari
Barra-7, Kanpur.

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Kashmir Dispute The Myth-IV

By Dr MK Teng

Pakistan resorted to the distortion of the history of the transfer of power in India, to justify its claim on Jammu and Kashmir. Inside Jammu and Kashmir the National Conference leaders who ruled the State for decades after its accession to India, resorted to the distortion of the history of the accession of the State to India, to legitimise their claim to a Muslim State of Jammu and Kashmir inside India but independent of the Indian Union and its political organisation. Not only that. The Muslim separatists forces, which dominated the political scene in the State after the disintegration of the National Conference in 1953, also resorted to the fossilisation of the facts of the accession of the State to India. Interestingly, the entire process of the distortion of the history of the accession of the State, spread over decades of Indian freedom assumed varied expressives from time to time.

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah who headed the Interim Government instituted in March 1948, disclaimed the Instrument of Accession executed by Hari Singh, as merely the 'Kagzi Ilhaq' or "paper Accession" and claimed that the "real accession of the state to India" would be accomplished by the people of the State, more precisely the Muslim majority of the people of the State. While the Constitution of India was on the anvil and the issue of the constitutional provisions for the States came up for the consideration for the Constituent Assembly of India, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah claimed that the National Conference had endorsed the accession of the State to India on the condition that the claim the people of the state had to a separate freedom was recognised by India and the leadership of the National Conference had been assured by the Indian leaders that the people of Jammu and Kashmir would be reserved the right to constitute Jammu and Kashmir into an autonomous political organisation, independent of the Indian constitutional organisation. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and other National Conference leaders, claimed that they had been assured that Jammu and Kashmir would not be integrated in the constitutional organisation of India and the assurances were incorporated in the Instrument of Accession. They stressed that they had agreed to the accede to India on the specific condition that the

Muslim identity of the State would form the basis of its political organisation.

In his inaugural address to the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir convened in 1951, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah who was the Prime Minister of the Interim Government of the State, claimed that the Constituent Assembly was vested with the plenary powers, drawn from the people of the State and independent of the Constitution of India. He claimed that the Constituent Assembly was vested with the powers to opt out of India and assume independence or join the Muslim state of Pakistan. Fifty years later the claims Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah made in the Constituent Assembly were echoed in the first Round Table Conference, convened by the Government of India in 2006, to reach a consensus on a future settlement of the Kashmir dispute. Mr Muzaffar Hussain Beg, represented the People Democratic Party in the Round Table Conference which was a constituent of the coalition government in the State, headed by the Congress Party. Beg claimed, that the Instrument of Accession was a treaty between two independent states, the Dominion of India and the Jammu and Kashmir State and the Constituent Assembly was a sovereign authority, independent powers inherent in its sovereignty.

The Government of India made no efforts to put the record straight. Frightened at the prospect of losing the support of the National Conference the Indian leaders did not question the veracity of the claims the Conference leaders made. Indeed, they depended upon the support of the National Conference to win the plebiscite which the United Nations Organisation was hectically preparing to hold in the State. The Indian leaders, overwhelmed by their own sense of self-righteousness, helped overtly and covertly in the falsification of the history of the integration of the Princely States with India and the accession of Jammu and Kashmir with the Indian Dominion in 1947. Many of them went as far as to link the unity of India with the reassertion of the subnational identity of Jammu and Kashmir, which the Muslim demand for separate freedom for the Muslim symbolised.

The Indian Independence Act of 1947, laid down separate procedures for the transfers of power in the British India and the Indian Princely States. The Princely States were left out of

the partition plan, which divided the British Indian provinces and envisaged the creation of the Muslim state of Pakistan. In respect of the Princely States, the Indian Independence Act, envisaged the lapse of the paramountcy—the power which the British Crown exercised over the Indian States. The British Government clarified its stand on the future disposition of the States in the British Parliament during the debate on the Indian Independence Bill. It categorically stated that the lapse of the Paramountcy would not enable the Princes to acquire Dominion status or assume independence. The British Government made it clear that the reversion of the Paramountcy to the rulers of the States would inevitably lead to mutually accepted agreements between the Dominions and the Princely States which would involve their accession. The Indian Independence Act did not envisage in the procedure the accession of States. The Nawab of Bhopal approached the Diplomatic Mission of the United States of America in India to seek the recognition of the Independence of his state. The American Government snubbed the Nawab and refused to countenance any proposals for the independence of the Princely States in India. It was left to be formulated by the two Dominions of India and Pakistan. The Political Department of the British Government of India was divided into two separate Political Departments—the Political Department of Pakistan to deal with the Indian Princely States. The Political Department of India was put in charge of Sardar Vallabhai Patel and the Political Department of Pakistan was put in charge of Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar. The procedure for the accession of the States to the two Dominions was evolved separately by their respective Political Departments.

The Muslim League however, insisted upon the independence of the Princely States in order to enable the Muslim ruled states to remain out of India. The Muslim League aimed to Balkanise the Princely States and place the state of Pakistan in a position which provided it a way to forge an alliance with them. The Indian States spread over more than one-third of the territory of India constituted more than one fourth of the Indian population. Some of the Muslim ruled Princely States were largest among the Princely States of India and several of them were fabulously rich.

The claim Sheikh Mohammad

Abdullah made in his inaugural speech to the Constituent Assembly of the State that the States had the option to assume independence was a reiteration of the stand the Muslim League had taken on the future disposition of the states following the lapse of the Paramountcy. The lapse of the Paramountcy did not underline the independence of the States. It did not envisage the reversion of any plenary powers to the Princes or the people of the states as a consequence of the dissolution of the Paramountcy. The states were not independent when they were integrated in the British Empire in India. They did not acquire independence when they were liberated from the British Empire 1947. They were not vested with any inherent powers to claim independence to which Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah referred to in his inaugural address to the Constituent Assembly.

The convocation of the Constituent Assemblies in the States was provided for in the stipulations of the Instrument of Accession that the Princely States acceding to India, executed. The Instrument of Accession devised by the States Department of Pakistan for the accession of the States to that country did not envisage provisions pertaining to the convocation of the Constituent Assembly. The power to convene separate Constituent Assemblies was reserved for all the major states the Union of the States, which acceded to India. The Jammu and Kashmir State was no exception. In fact, Constituent Assemblies were convened, in the states of Cochin and Mysore and the State Union of Saurashtra, shortly after their accession to the Indian Dominion.

The Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir was a creature of the Instrument of Accession. It exercised powers which were drawn from the state of India and its sovereign authority. It did not assess any powers to revoke the accession of the State to India to bring about the accession of the State to Pakistan or opt for its independence, as Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in his inaugural address to the Constituent Assembly claimed or as Mr Muzaffar Hussain Beg claimed in the Round Table Conference. The truth of what happened during those fateful days of October 1947, when the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India was accomplished was concealed by a irredentist campaign of disinformation which

was launched to cover the acts of cowardice and betrayal, subterfuge and surrender which went into the making of the Kashmir dispute.

The National Conference leaders, were at no stage, brought in to endorse the accession of the State to India. No one among them was required to sign or countersign the accession and none of them signed or countesigned the Instrument of Accession, executed by Maharaja Hari Singh. The Indian Independence Act, an Act of the British Parliament, which laid down the procedure for the transfer of power in India, did not recognise the right of self-determination of either the people of the British India or the people of the States. The transfer of power was based on an agreement among the Congress, the Muslim League and the British. The British and the Muslim League stubbornly refused to recognise the right of the people of the British India and right of the people of the Princely State to determine the future of the British India or the Indian states. The Muslim League and the British insisted upon the lapse of the Paramountcy and its reversion to the rulers of the States. Accession of the States was not subject to any conditions and the Instrument of Accession underlined an irreversible process the British provided for the dissolution of the empire in India.

No assurance was given to the National Conference leaders that the Constituent Assembly of the State would be vested with plenary powers or powers to ratify the accession of the State to India, revoke it opt for its independence or its accession to Pakistan. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and the other National Conference leaders did not seek the exclusion of the State from the Indian political organisation as a condition for the accession of the state to India. Nor did the Indian leaders give any assurance to them that the Jammu and Kashmir would be reconstituted into an independent political organisation, which would represent its Muslim identity.

**Note: The articles in this series are based upon the documentary sources in the Archives of India, Archives of Jammu and Kashmir, All India States Peoples Conference Papers, Nehru Memorial Museum; Contemporary Newspaper Files and Interviews)*

-To be continued

Bangladesh Election 2007: A contest between jihadis and democratic forces

By Prajnalanakar Bhikkhu

Bangladesh is populated by 147 million people 88% of them are Muslims. It is one of the poorest countries in the world. It was ranked the most "corrupt state" in the world for five consecutive years (2001-05) by Transparency International, a German-based independent international organization that studies corruption in various countries.

The 2001 general elections in Bangladesh voted a four-party coalition led by Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) to power. Jamaat-e-Islami and Islamic Okyo Jote are the two major partners of the coalition widely known for their extreme Islamic radicalism.

Many Islamic extremist groups and organizations mushroomed under the Khaleda Zia government and gained strong ground in the Islamic state (in the sense of recognition of Islam as "state religion": Part I, Article 2 A, Bangladesh Constitution). A study conducted by the Daily Star, an English daily in Dhaka, "over several months", as it claims, has come up with some startling information. It identified the presence of over 30 extremist Islamic radical networks in the country.

The study, entitled "Inside the Militant Groups-1: Trained in foreign lands, they spread inland", says "...Over 30 religious militant organizations have set up their network across the country since 1989 with the central objective of establishing an Islamic state. Many of them have given armed training to their members to conduct jihad" (The Daily Star, Internet edition, 21 August 2005, Dhaka).

Some of these groups and organizations are Jagrata Muslim Janata Bangladesh (JMJB), Qwami Madrassa, Sama Adhikar Andolan (mainly active in the Chittagong Hill Tracts), Harkatul Jihad, Jama'atul Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB), Islami Biplobi Parishad, Shahadat Al Hiqma, Hizbut Towhid, Hizb-ut-Tahrir, Ahle Hadith Andolon, Towhidi Janata, Bishwa Islami Front, Juma'atul Sadat, Al Jomiatul Islamia, Iqra Islami Jote, Allahr Dal, Al Khidmat Bahini, Al Mujhid, Jama'ati Yahia Al Turag, Jihadi Party, Al Harkat al Islamia, Al Mahfuz Al Islami, Jama'atul Faladia, Shahadat-e-Nabuwat, Joish-e-Mostafa, Tahfize Haramaine Parishad, Hizbul Mojahedeen, Duranta Kafela, Muslim Guerrilla, Al-Haramain

Foundation (AHF) and Al Rabeta Foundation.

The study reveals that these groups have a "nexus with mainstream political parties" and "unrelenting access to arms", and the government's "blind eye" made it possible for them to thrive in Bangladesh.

Many activists of these groups, says the study, are Afghanistan and Palestinian war veterans who fought there after receiving training in Pakistan, Libya and Palestine. After returning to Bangladesh, they scattered over the country and started militant activities. Initially, a number of them set up madrasas as cover, mainly toeing the Qwami line, which is the more orthodox system of Islamic education and needs no government registration. They chose the forests of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT), mosques and the Qwami madrasas mainly in the north to train their activists.

Camps of these Jihadis with arms are specifically visible in Muslim dominated areas in Bandarban Hill District of the CHT like Ruma, Lama, Alikadam and Nakhyangchari and Teknaf, Ramu and Cox's Bazaar areas in Southern Chittagong. Many of these Jihadis reportedly live in Rohingya refugee camps and settlements in Bandarban and Southern Chittagong and provide training, arms and funds to them to fight against the authorities in Myanmar.

The Jehadi groups and organisations are funded by Saudi and Kuwait-based Islamic organizations, like Islamic Heritage Society (RIHS), and have connections with international Islamist terrorist groups like al-Qaeda, Taliban and Jamia-Islamia (Indonesia) [The Daily Star, 21 August 2005, Dhaka].

Many remnants of al-Qaeda and Taleban fled to Bangladesh after the US-led coalition strikes on Afghanistan and Pakistan's drive under US pressure to crack down on "Islamic terrorist groups" in its territory. They have regrouped in Bangladesh with support from the BNP-led coalition government, military establishments and home-grown Jehadi forces. A reporter rightly grasped this fact in his dispatch captioned "Bangladesh is Now New Rest Stop for Fugitives" (The Herald, 23 October 2002).

Poverty and corruption in the poor Islamic state and the sympathy and support of the coalition government were used by

these "fugitives" highly trained in sophisticated arms and terrors and rich in resources. It led to the creation of a suitable environment for resurrection of national and international Jehadi forces in the country. This is obviously the reason why Eliza Griswold predicts Bangladesh to be "The Next Islamist Revolution" (The New York Times Magazine, 23 January 2005). In fact, Bangladesh is now a new meeting point of national and international Islamic Jehadi forces. This fact has also been well-documented in the Alex Perry's "Deadly Cargo" (The New York Times Magazine, 21 October 2002) and Bertil Lintner's "Bangladesh: A Cocoon of Terror" (The Far Eastern Economic Review, 4 April 2002).

The Jehadi forces have already shown the colon of their activities in the following incidents:

1. Assassination of opposition leaders (bomb blasts on the Awami League rally on 21 August 2004 in Dhaka in which former Prime Minister Ms. Sheikh Hasina was narrowly survived and dozen of her party colleagues were killed, bomb blasts killing former Finance Minister Shah S. A. M. S. Kibria along with four other opposition leaders on 27 January 2005 in Dhaka;

2. Violent attacks on Western interests (grenade hurling on the British High Commissioner on 21 May 2004 in Sylhet apparently for UK's role in the US-led "coalition campaign" in Afghanistan and Iraq);

3. Control over and suppression of independent media persons, human rights activists, intellectuals and indigenous political leaders [bomb blasts at Khulna Press Club hurting four journalists on 4 February 2005, threat to the office of the Bengali daily Prothom Alo in Dhaka on 19 August 2004, killing of a Dhaka University professor Humayun Azad on 11 August 2004, threat to "controversial" writer and feminist Taslima Nasreen and writer and minority rights activist Salam Azad which forced them to flee the country for personal security recently, barring the PCJSS (Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samiti, the only political organization representing the Jumma indigenous people) President and CHT Regional Council Chairman Jyotirindra Bodhipriyo Larma from attending the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues

held in May 2004 in New York and blocking the passport of Rupayan Dewan, Vice-President, External Relations, PCJSS];

4. Coordinated explosions of over 500 bombs across the country at the same hour on 17 August 2005 by the Jehadi forces as part of their showdown;

5. Systematic atrocities, ethnic-cleansing and racial discrimination against the indigenous peoples and religious minorities (blatant violation of the CHT Accord signed between the PCJSS and the previous Awami League government in 1997, violent communal attack on the 14 indigenous villages on 26 August 2003 in Mahalchari, military crackdown on indigenous political and student activists on 25 May 2004 in Guimara and growing religious intolerance and atrocities against Hindus, Buddhists and Christians in plain districts); and

6. The largest arms haul with over 1 million ammunitions on 1 April 2004 in Chittagong is linked with Bangladeshi and international Jehadi groups. Interestingly, the authorities often implicate innocent Jumma indigenous people with "illegal arms" and highlight their photos in government-controlled media to cover up the existence of these groups and to divert the attention of the international community from the growing menace of Jehadi forces in the country and to justify the Bangladeshi military regime in the CHT.

But the Prime Minister Khaleda Zia on 1 July 2003 told parliament that no al-Qaeda men exist in Bangladesh. "There are no fundamentalists or zealots in the country," she told Ulemas (Islamic scholars) on 6 September 2003.

However, as early as March 8, 1999, Islami Oikya Jote Chairman Fazlul Haq Amini told a public meeting, "We are for Osama [bin Laden], we are for the Taliban and we will be in government in 2000 through an Islamic revolution"

"An Islamic revolution will take place by Qwami madrasas," Amini said at an Islamic conference in Comilla on March 1 this year. "By terming us gun runners and terrorists, Qwami madrasa movement cannot be stopped," he added.

The Jehadi forces are reportedly using the Southern CHT, Cox's Bazaar, Ukhiya and Teknaf as routes to smuggle illegal arms from South-east Asian countries. Recently, news was flashed in Bangladesh media regarding procurement of illegal arms by Jehadi groups and their allied political gangs. Experts have voiced concern over possible use of these illegal arms by them

against their political oppositions before and during the elections.

The BNP-led four-party coalition government demitted office on 28 October at the end of its five-year term. However, it left a Caretaker Government — consisting of eleven Advisors headed by the President Iajuddin Ahmed and assisted by the Secretaries of various government departments and a so-called "neutral" Election Commission — fully manned with BNP-Zamat party cadres and supporters and Jehadi forces and strongly backed by military officers.

BNP's four-party coalition has made a "fraudulent" voter list in which 10.7 million voters, who are believed to be supporters of the Awami League led 14-party alliance, have not been included. Nonetheless, over 100,000 Rohingya refugees from Myanmar, who are believed to be supporters of the BNP and its allies, have been included.

Out of the ten, four members of the Advisors to the Caretaker Government have resigned in protest of the "dictatorial" and "pro-BNP-Jamaat" role of the President Iajuddin Ahmed in the election process. If the Caretaker Government manages to have its way, it will bring back BNP coalition and Jehadi forces to power.

The 14-party alliance has hit the streets to expose these designs. They have set conditions for their participation in the election. These conditions include constitution of a non-biased and neutral Election Commission, preparation of a new voter list that includes all eligible voters.

In response, President of Bangladesh and Chief of the Caretaker government ordered deployment of the military country-wide to look after the "law and order" situation. With this order the Caretaker Government has granted a license to the military to kill the leaders of the opposition alliance. It has legalized repression of indigenous people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts by the military and electoral frauds by BNP-led coalition in the region.

I conclude my write-up with the words of an eminent minority rights activist of Bangladesh (name is being withheld for security reasons): "Bangladesh election 2007 is a contest between Jihadis and democratic forces. No democratic and progressive force will survive in Bangladesh if the Jihadis come to power in this election."

**(The author is General Secretary, Peace Campaign Group, an Organisation working for rights of refugees of Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh).*

INDIA & PAKISTAN: CAN MINDSETS & PERCEPTIONS CHANGE?

By B. Raman

(Observations made at a seminar on "STABILIZING THE INDIA - PAKISTAN PEACE PROCESS" organised at New Delhi on December 11, 2006, under the auspices of the Pakistan Studies Programme, South Asian Studies Division, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, and the India International Centre, New Delhi)

1. Perceptions and mindsets have to be examined at three levels---individuals, society and the State institutions. Under State institutions, one could include the ruling class, the civilian bureaucracy, the Armed Forces and the intelligence community.

2. Certain general observations would be in order: In India, negative perceptions about Pakistan are more widespread at all the three levels in the urban areas, but in smaller towns and rural areas the negative perceptions are not that evident. Even in the urban areas, the negative perceptions are stronger in North India than in South India. In contrast, in Pakistan, the negative perceptions about India are stronger in the small towns and in the rural areas than in the urban cities. People in the urban cities tend to be more positive towards India.

3. In India, one cannot characterise the different linguistic and ethnic groups on the basis of their perceptions about Pakistan. In Pakistan, one can, on the basis of their perceptions about India. I would categorise the Sindhis, the Mohajirs and the Balochs as largely positive towards India, the Pashtuns, the Seraikis of Southern Punjab and the Shias and the Ismailis of the Northern Areas as somewhat positive, and the Punjabis of Central and Northern Punjab, the people of Pakistan-Occupied Kashmir (POK), who are largely Punjabi-speaking, and the tribals of the Federally-Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) as largely negative. In Sindh and Balochistan, one finds that positive perceptions of India are widely prevalent in the urban as well as the rural areas.

4. The rural areas of Central and Northern Punjab and the POK, some of the rural areas of the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) and the entire FATA, where the negative perceptions about India are the strongest, are also the main recruiting ground for the Pakistan Army. The Army gets about 75 per cent of its recruits in various ranks from these areas. Thus, the negative perceptions of the people of these areas about India get automatically transferred to the Army when the people of these areas join the Army in large numbers.

5. These areas, where the negative

perceptions about India are the strongest, are also the areas where the influence of religious orthodoxy and clerics is the strongest. Religious orthodoxy and the influence of the clerics on the minds of the people aggravate the innate negative perceptions of the people of these areas. As a result, one finds that these areas, which send the largest number of recruits to the Pakistan Army for defending Pakistan against India, also send the largest number of volunteers to the jihadi terrorist organisations for waging a jihad against India and the Hindus.

6. According to a study made by Ms. Rubina Saigol, Country Director, Action Aid, Pakistan, last year, about 8,000 Pakistani Punjabis, about 3,000 from the North-West Frontier Province and about 500 from Sindh are estimated to have died in the jihad in Jammu and Kashmir since 1989. As against this, only 112 Balochs have died in Jihad, mostly in Afghanistan. That is, of the 11,500 Pakistani jihadis, who are estimated by a reputed Pakistani analyst to have died while waging a jihad in India since 1989, 11,000, that is, 95 per cent, came from this negative belt.

7. The largest number of soldiers of the Pakistan Army, who died in the various wars against India, and the largest number of Pakistani jihadis, who died while waging a jihad against India and the Hindus, came from these areas. The nexus between the Army and Allah, of which one often talks, has its roots in this belt. It is not unusual to find in many families of this negative belt, a son who has joined the army and another, who has joined a jihadi terrorist organisation.

8. What are the defining characteristics of the negative perceptions of each other prevalent in the two countries?

- Firstly, a condescending/contemptuous attitude towards each other. This is reflected in the Pakistani beliefs that Islam brought civilisation to the Indian sub-continent, that Islam is superior to Hinduism as a religion, that one Pakistani soldier is equal to two Indian soldiers etc and in their harping on the fact that the Muslims ruled over the Hindus once upon a time. This is equally reflected in the Indian beliefs that Pakistan is a failed or a failing State, that Pakistan is a state where medieval ideas still hold sway, that Pakistanis cannot govern themselves that Pakistan is getting rapidly Talibanised etc.

- Secondly, a deep distrust towards each other. Pakistanis feel that the Hindus are a devious people, who cannot be trusted, and many people in India nurse similar feelings towards Pakistan.

- Thirdly, a deep hostility towards each other. Each suspects the other of wanting to destabilise it.

9. What are the reasons for these negative perceptions? Partly innate and partly historic. The innate reasons arise from the traditional distrust of the Hindus and the Muslims of each other. The historic reasons could be attributed to the still lingering memories of the Partition of India in 1947, which was preceded and accompanied by large-scale communal riots, in which the Hindus-Sikhs on the one side and the Muslims on the other killed hundreds of thousands of each other. In these riots, the Hindus suffered the worst in Sindh, Pakistani Punjab and the then East Bengal, the Sikhs suffered the worst in Pakistani Punjab and the Muslims suffered the worst in our present States of Punjab, Haryana, Delhi and West Bengal.

10. Lingering memories of atrocities and sufferings create negative mindsets. In India, the impact of the lingering memories has been the strongest among the Hindus uprooted from Sindh and East Bengal and in Pakistan the impact has been the strongest on the minds of the Punjabi Muslims. That is why, in India, any anti-Pakistan cause finds ready adherents from those who were uprooted from Sindh and East Bengal and in Pakistan, any anti-India cause finds ready adherents from those uprooted from our Punjab, Haryana and Delhi.

11. Interestingly, the Punjabi Hindus and the Sikhs, who migrated to India from Pakistan, and the Mohajirs, who migrated to Sindh from India, have by and large got over the bitterness arising from the Partition memories and no longer nurse the same kind of negative perceptions of the country from which they had to migrate.

12. In India, the Hindu nationalist elements draw considerable support in the areas where the Hindu refugees from Sindh and East Bengal have settled down. The original refugees as well as their descendents still nurse negative feelings towards Pakistan. Similarly, in Pakistan, the Islamic fundamentalist elements draw considerable support in the areas where the Muslim refugees from Indian Punjab, Haryana and Delhi have settled down. The original Muslim refugees as well as their descendents still nurse negative perceptions about India.

13. The negative perceptions about Pakistan are the weakest in South India because there are hardly any Hindus in the South with lingering painful memories of the Partition.

14. Certain post-partition historic reasons have also contributed to strengthening these negative perceptions. As examples, one could mention, inter alia, the Pakistani belief that India and the Hindus cheated it of J&K, Hyderabad and Junagadh, the wars and conflicts over the Kashmir issue and the role of India in the liberation of Bangladesh in 1971 and the Indian conviction that Pakistan has been behind many of the insurgencies and terrorist movements in the Indian territory.

15. In India, while sections of the political class may exploit the negative perceptions in the minds of the people regarding Pakistan for partisan political purposes, State institutions such as the civilian bureaucracy, the Armed Forces and the intelligence community do not. No attempt is made by the State institutions to keep alive the negative

perceptions and strengthen them. They do draw attention to the negative perceptions in Pakistan about India and to the negative mindsets of the Pakistan Army and to the activities of the jihadi terrorists and the threats, which they pose to national security, but they do this in order to safeguard our national security and not for widening the divide between the peoples of the two countries.

16. In contrast, in Pakistan, the State institutions---particularly the Army and the Inter-Services intelligence (ISI), which is controlled by the Army---act in tandem with the religious fundamentalist organisations and the jihadi terrorist organisations for keeping alive the negative perceptions about India and for exploiting them to serve the Army's internal and external agenda. The Army's internal agenda is to exploit the fundamentalist and jihadi elements for marginalising the influence of the mainstream political parties as Gen. Pervez Musharraf did during the elections of 2002 in the NWFP and Balochistan and as he is reportedly planning to do in the elections due next year. Its external agenda is to exploit these elements for waging a proxy war against India in order to achieve its strategic objective relating to the annexation of J&K.

17. The misinterpretation of the concept of jihad as justifying acts of violence against the external enemies of Islam and the glorification of acts of terrorism and suicide terrorism as martyrdom in the cause of Islam were a consequence of the exploitation and calculated exacerbation of the negative mindsets of religious extremist elements by the Army for serving its agenda against India. The Army of jihadi terrorists thus created in Pakistan's anti-India belt for use against India was also used against the Soviet troops in Afghanistan in the 1980s at the suggestion of the American and Saudi intelligence and with the funds and arms and ammunition provided by them.

18. This resulted in their concept of jihad, which was till then India centric, acquiring initially a regional dimension and then, when Osama bin Laden came to Afghanistan in 1996, a global dimension. What was initially projected before 1980 as a jihad against India to acquire J & K, became a jihad against the USSR too in order to drive it out of Afghanistan. Subsequently, under the leadership of Osama bin Laden and Mulla Mohammad Omar, the Amir of the ISI-created Taliban, it metamorphosed into a global jihad not only against all those perceived as enemies of Islam, but even against Muslims who were perceived as collaborating with these enemies of Islam. The formation by Al Qaeda and 12 other jihadi organisations of the Ummah---five of them from Pakistan's jihadi belt--- of the International Islamic Front (IIF) For Jihad against the Crusaders and the Jewish People in 1998 marked the beginning of this global jihad.

19. This global jihad for the first time brought international focus on to this Army-Allah belt in Pakistan. The report of the US National Commission, which enquired into the 9/11 terrorist strikes in the US, contains over 200 references to the role of jihadi elements in Pakistan. It contains only one reference to India.

(Contd. on Page 10)

Don't Follow Weak-kneed Approach on Kashmir, Warn Panelists

(From Page 1)

Kashmiri Pandits.

Referring to recent proposal of Parvez Musharraf, Mr Doval said that we should give Pakistan, at least, the credit that these proposals actually didn't emanate from Pakistan but from our side but hastened to add that "it doesn't mean that it meets our national requirements".

Referring to Prime Minister's assertion of "rendering borders irrelevant" or "loose borders" proposal, Mr Doval said that, "India and Pakistan cannot be borderless. If we move it from the existing places, it will come to Pathankot, the Punjab border by default". He added that borders shall be managed as International Borders and till the final settlement comes, the borders must be treated as good as "Wagah Border".

Advising not to get swayed by the euphoria that terrorism will be over soon, the former IB chief said, "terrorism is not going to end for many decades as Pakistan as a state shall continue to be governed and influenced by various types of fundamentalist elements".

Warning India to tread the path cautiously keeping in view past experience, Mr Doval said, "If we are going to change status quo in favour of Pakistan, which is based on trust and belief, it will be the same mistake we did in 1972. We trusted and believed that borders will be managed for all times to come but we didn't write it".

He added that it was presumed that by virtue of the agreement the LoC actually becomes the border, but the subsequent regimes didn't honour the commitment and even Bhutto who had made the commitment and Benazir Bhutto, who was privy to the fact, didn't honour it.

Mr Doval described Pandits as the one aggrieved party that has suffered most in terms of displacement and more dissatisfied than any other community in Jammu and Kashmir. He said that no settlement shall be acceptable unless it satisfies Kashmiri Pandits. He added that "It will be a good negotiating position for India to say it has no settlement acceptable unless it is acceptable to the uprooted community and it will provide justice to the community".

Referring to the Homeland demand of Panun Kashmir, the former IB chief said that he was not in favour of divisions on religious level but supported the demand on the basis of security reasons as it will give India "a strong area within to support and uphold the national security". Mr Doval said that there is convergence between the statements of Musharraf and Hurriyat by design and asked India to see that long term national security interests are totally upheld.

Dr Ajay Chrungoo, Chairman Panun Kashmir, accused Indian political establishment of compromising with secular nation-building, avoiding to identify what is ailing Kashmir and denying a space to any secular alternative in the state. Dr Ajay Chrungoo said that at the very outset we subverted the secular nation building and over the years this attitude has led to a situation where we think secularism means managing those political parties which are opposed to the accession of state with India marginally and marginalising those political parties which are blatantly opposed to the accession.

Accusing Indian leadership of com-

promising with Muslim subnationalism which in due process has led to convergence of moderates and hardliners and anybody who speaks of the nexus is dubbed as communal. "We have tried to identify the moderate varieties of Muslim subnationalism or communalism and patronise them in hope to marginalise the radical varieties of Muslim communalism. And over the years a relationship has developed between moderate and radical communalism that is reflected in collaboration of Jammate-Islami with National Conference or Hizbul Mujahideen with PDP. Underlining the need for abrogation of Article 370, Dr Chrungoo said that there is total reluctance across political parties to debate it and over the years we have held it a sacrosanct and tried to circumvent the area to find a solution to the problem. Questioning the logic of special status to the state, Dr Chrungoo said, "Is it basically a process to keep J&K outside the constitutional organisation of India? Is it a concept of creating another territory on the Indian territory? Is it precisely on the principle that J&K state is a Muslim majority state?"

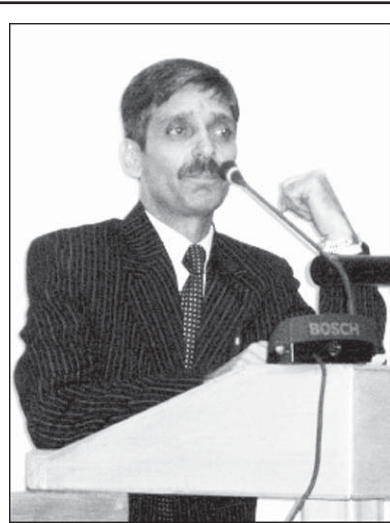
Describing communalism as the basis of alienation in Kashmir, Dr Chrungoo said that Indias have been reluctant to contest it and Panun Kashmir is trying to correct the same.

Referring to the peace-process with Pakistan, Dr Chrungoo said that giving Pakistan a locus standi to decide the fate of Muslim majority state has an ideological bearing and will be a historical blunder. He added that "once Congress recognised that Muslim league was the representative of Muslims, the process of partition started and giving locus stand to Pakistan in Kashmir is a tragedy that has happened in the contemporary history of India".

Referring to the concept of porous borders, the PK leader said that there are apprehensions that it will have demographic implications and added that there are statistics with the Home Ministry that about 80 sensitive districts along borders from Nepal to Kashmir have been demographically changed.

Dr Chrungoo said that keeping in view these facts, Panun Kashmir demanded creation of Homeland to the north and east of river Jhelum with UT status where there is free flow of constitution. He further said that Panun Kashmir relentlessly contests Muslim communalism and Muslim identity politics and will continue to articulate that there is a section of population in Kashmir which relates its survival to the free flow of Indian Constitution.

Asking India to strengthen and debate such initiatives, Dr Chrungoo said that through RTC we have introduced a debate and created a situation for strengthening integration of the state with India.



Sh. Kanwal Wangnoo Secy. Panun Kashmir compering the proceedings of the seminar. --KS photo

Dr Chrungoo said that besides talking to Pakistan, a paradigm needs to be evolved for encountering and neutralising the subversive reach of the separatists". The separatist regimes within the Valley have demonstrated their subversive reach from time to time by neutralising the various policies which were having a positive impact on the ground. This subversive reach forms a major support structure of the entire militancy and this capacity needs to be curtailed", asserted Dr Chrungoo.

Giving a clarion call to the panelists, Dr Chrungoo said that there is a strange sort of consensus on national discourse on Kashmir which does not allow space or utilise the opportunities to defeat the menace of terrorism and the discourse needs to be directed in nationalistic perspective.

Renowned Journalist and TV Personality Manoj Raguvanshi described Islamist terrorism as root cause of problem in J&K and said that unless we recognise the fact we cannot solve it. "The problem is not of development or unemployment; the problem is of Islamic terrorism and unless you diagnose the problem correctly, you will never be able to solve it". He added that the terrorism is not now confined to Valley or state of J&K but the cancer has radiated outside the state and cited Akshardam, Varanasi etc as examples in this regard.

Claiming that he was the first journalist to report for "News Track Magazine" in July 1989 that there is going to be explosion of terrorism in J&K, he said that from Kashmir to Indian Parliament there were echoes that I was telling a lie and only in December 1989, Rubiya Sayeed, the daughter of Union Home Minister-Mufti Mohammad Sayeed, was kidnapped. Accusing successive governments of pursuing policy of surrender, Mr Raguvanshi said that the government did a stupid act by releasing terrorists and same stupidity was reflected when Atal Bihari government released the terrorists. Pointing towards fundamentalist wave that has taken the Valley by storm, Mr Raguvanshi regretted that "the people didn't celebrate release of Rubiya Sayeed but the terrorists". Describing *Madrasas* as hub of preaching Jihad, he chided Dr Murli Manohar Joshi for his policy of introducing element of modern education in *Madrasas*. In a satirical way he said that while the *Madrasas* would continue to preach and teach Jihad they would simultaneously teach computer education for better networking of Jihadists.

Referring to recent comment of PM Manmohan Singh that Muslims have first right to resources, Mr Raguvanshi said that successive governments have pursued appeasement policy and same tendency was reflected when Atal Bihari Vajpayee announced recruitment of two crore Urdu teachers in a programme in

Kishen Gunj, the constituency of Shahnawaz Hussain.

Prof. Savita Pandey, Professor of International Relations and Expert on Pakistan made a lucid presentation. She said Musharraf's four point formula was a diversionary move to escape the strong indictment made by European Parliament report. She informed Madam Nicholson in her report '**Kashmir Present situation and future prospects**' had strongly criticised neglect of PoK by Pakistan. It criticised Pak Federal government in handling earthquake disaster, neglect of civil, political rights of PoK people. Prof. Pandey said close on the heels of this report there was another report '**Human Rights Watch Report**', which said there was no infrastructure in PoK and people there were suffering from all sorts of deprivations. She added that after visiting PoK, European Parliament and other external agencies were amazed to see how good India had been handling J&K.

Prof. Pandey observed that there was no change in Pakistan's policy. Pakistan continues to harp on 'Self-Determination' of Kashmiris. Elaborating on 'self-determination' principle, she said the term had come into vogue during the phase of 'decolonisation'. She emphasised this principle of 'Self-Determination' was never equated with secession, even in the case of Congo, Biafra. The only exceptions were Yugoslavia and Soviet Union. The JNU Professor opined that 'Self-determination' essentially means that people should have the right to determine the nature of governance and not seek secession.

She exposed hypocrisy of Pakistan, which harped on 'self-governance'. Prof. Pandey informed that no party is allowed to contest elections in PoK if it did not accept PoK's accession to Pakistan, same was the case in Judiciary. Whenever Federal government in Pakistan had a change, PoK government was also dismissed. She said 'self-determination' bogey started from the time of Jinnah. Prof. Pandey said that 12 refugee seats in PoK were also manipulated by Pak government. When acting Election Commissioner said it would issue new I-cards, AJK Assembly passed a resolution that neither I-cards were needed nor there was any requirement for revising electoral rolls.

Prof. Pandey said the situation was even worse in Northern Areas, which was predominantly Shia, She informed that even during earthquake tragedy there were serious sectarian riots there. She pointed towards lack of political rights of Northern Areas people.

Prof. Pandey said that there was no consensus among Pakistanis on Kashmir, Sindhs, Baluchs, Potharis feel that if Pak grabbed Kashmir, Punjabis would be further strengthened to their detriment. She said there was no consensus on 'Self-determination' issue either at political parties level or at the level of ethnic groups.

The seminar was attended by a large number of people, particularly KPs living in and around Delhi.

Dr Shakti Bhan, Vice Chairperson Panun Kashmir and Sh. Kamal Wangnoo Secretary Panun Kashmir compered the programme. Kashmiri Pandit Association Rohini, Kashmiri Pandit Sabha Shalimar Garden and Smt. Indu Jalali were felicitated on the occasion for their contribution to the community cause.

POLITICAL UNITY OF INDIA

Roots of Congress Ambivalence lie in History

By Raman Kumar Bhat

Two major decisions of the Indian National Congress-led UPA govt in recent times have been a matter of serious concern for the nationalistic sections in the country. These are appointment of *Sachar Committee* and Prime Minister's welcome of Musharraf's four-point formula on Kashmir. The former has recommended reservation on religious grounds, while the latter accords parity to Pakistan in Kashmir. "**Ideology of Indian Freedom Struggle**", authored by **Dr. Santosh Kaul** traces ambivalence of Congress through history to the question of the political unity of India. The book though published in 1998 has remained unnoticed by those who deal with Kashmir either in official capacity or as experts/activists. Serious distortions in nation-building in post independence period and inept handling of the Muslim question by the national political leadership of India has only served to strengthen the forces of Muslim reaction and secessionism in the country. The book focuses on the national movement in the states and the responses of the Congress and the Muslim League. Wayward responses of successive regimes at Centre in handling Kashmir could be understood better by understanding the trends in pre-independence India.

Did Congress in its anti-colonialist incarnation have any vision of building a strong secular India on the basis of political unity? If rhetoric were to be sifted apart, the experience of post-independence politics clearly indicates that the Congress never had any vision of nation-building. Its handling of Kashmir, and cultivation of Muslims as vote banks instead of bringing them in secular mainstream did enough harm in building secular institutions. Had not Congress government collaborated with *Jamaat Islami*/other communal elements in Kashmir, Muslim communal outfits in Assam and *Bhindranwale* in Punjab there would have been a far better security scenario. The nation keeps its fingers crossed on the prospects of so-called track-2 diplomacy going on with Pakistan on Kashmir.

Dr. Santosh Kaul has marshalled enough evidence to propound a thesis that the

Congress leaders never had an organic approach to the unity of India. India had always been a singular political entity. How can it remain stable and perpetuate itself without evolving an integrated political culture.

An Indian renaissance was already at work when Congress was launched in 1885. To present a civilisational response to British Colonialism this renaissance movement was preparing the ground-work for political integration of India. This movement got better response in Princely Indian States than in British India. Within Congress there were two trends. The 'extremists' owned the renaissance movement; the 'moderates, steeped in British liberalist tradition, disowned it. The moderates carried the day. The nation had to pay great cost for it. A stronger India based on political unity still eludes us.

With the advent of Gandhi on the political scene the efforts to evolve a national consensus on political unity of India suffered a setback. His support to *Khilafat* movement and the proposals to secure national unity on the basis of the balances of power among different sub-national identities of India, was destructive of the evolution of an integrated political culture of India. Cliches 'Unity in Diversity' mouthed by Congress stalwarts in essence reflected this spirit. The whole edifice fell when the Muslims refused to accept power-balances as the basis of co-existence in India.

It was Gandhi who formulated Congress policy towards the states. He did not accept that the states and the British India constituted one political unit. He failed to see freedom from the British colonialism could not be partial. Gandhi's erroneous thinking also lay in leaving paramountcy to the princes to rule the states. He could not understand that the princely states were the outer flanks of the British Colonial empire.

The Congress stalwart who has been elevated to the status of 'Mahatma' sided with the princes, rather than with the people in States. The rigours of the Paramountcy and the crippling weight of British colonialism was borne by the people, not the princes. Gandhi ignored the aspirations of the states' people and the misrule of the princes.

Gandhi's views on the political unity of India were closer to

British Colonialist perspectives. In his 1924 *Kathiawad* address at the political conference Gandhi unabashedly opposed solidarity with states' people. He said Congress should adopt a policy of non-interference with regard to questions relating to the Princely states.

The Congress leadership ignored that the division of India between the Princely States and the British Indian Provinces was the creation of British imperial rule. The Indian States were not independent entities in the

basis of the anti-colonial struggle in states. It distorted the national movement in the states by putting pressure on the states' leaders to limit the struggle to the demand for "self-govt". Thanks to myopic vision of Congress leadership, the glorious anti-colonial struggle in the states degenerated into a petty reformist movement. The demand for 'self-govt' did not question the basis of the Indian Princely order. It, in fact, recognised the inevitability of the British Paramountcy. The

Congress leadership refused to allow the establishment of the Congress units in the States. The All India State People's Conference (AISPC) lacked the institutional bases to coordinate the people's movements in the states.

However, the AISPC leaders denounced the claim made by the Princes to special Treaty relations with the crown. They tried to reason that the policy to isolate the states would

ultimately prove disastrous for the nation.

The Congress policy on states faced strong resistance from AISPC and even a section of its own leadership. But Machiavellian Gandhi had his way. Even after the release of subversive recommendations of *Butler Committee* Gandhi refused to be wiser. *Butler committee* proposals aimed to forge Indian Princes into a citadel of resistance against Indian resurgence. The vital recommendations of the *Nehru Committee*, which took a more courageous stand on the States, was overruled by Gandhi.

NC Kelkar, the President of the AISPC lambasted Gandhi and accused him of having conceded to the Princes the right to govern the states without any constitutional checks. The conflict between the Congress and AISPC came out in open at the fifth session of AISPC at Karachi in 1936. *Pattabhi Sitaramaya* openly chided Gandhi and asked Congress leaders:

"Are you working for a

federation or are you working for the Swaraj for British Indian Provinces only?"

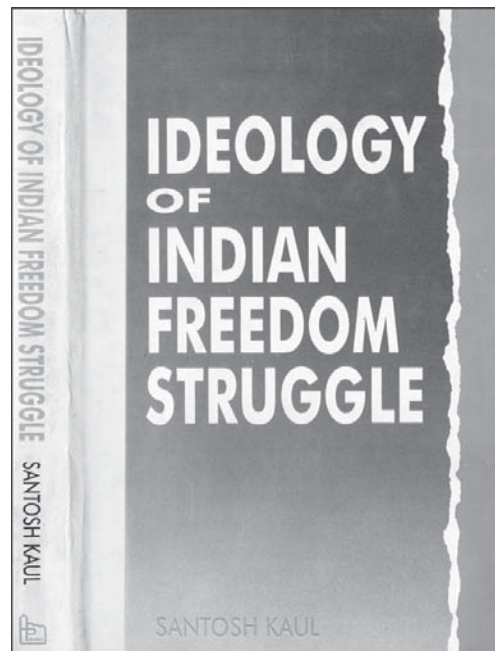
In October 1937 when Congress at its *Calcutta* session came out strongly against *Mysore Government* for its policy of repression, Gandhi once again intervened to promptly reverse the resolution. This was sharply resented by AISPC leaders at special session of AISPC at *Navasari*. This convention also condemned *Federal Scheme* envisaged by the *GOI Act, 1935*. In *Haripura* session of the Congress (1938), *Subash Bose* had stressed upon the need to extend support to the states' *People Movement*. Gandhi torpedoed this by ensuring that the operative part of the resolution re-emphasised the Congress policy-Isolation from the states.

The insistence on the separate identity of the States by the Congress suited the *Muslim League* and the *British*. The *League* sought the exclusion of the states from India (a) to abstract the unification of India (b) to localise national resurgence to the *British India* (c) to maintain an inter-communal balance in India favourable to the *Muslims*. The *British* were interested in keeping out the *Princely India* to ensure a partition of India which was not necessarily confined to the demand for *Pakistan* but which left the option open for further balkanisation of India. This would also facilitate the strategy of only partial withdrawal from the subcontinent. Policy of isolating states from *British India* suited *Muslim League* because only few states were *Muslim* dominated or had *Muslim* princes. *Jinnah* knew that in a *United India* the *Muslim* ratio would be far less than what it would be if states were kept isolated.

The Congress Policy tantamounted to a tacit recognition of the political division of India, visualised by the *British* to retain a part of their colonial empire in the subcontinent. *Dr Kaul* makes a profound observation:

"The Congress leaders failed to realise that India would not win freedom in disunity and even if a part of *British India* was liberated into a *Hindu* majority state, it would be far smaller and truncated and would ultimately fall asunder. The States were

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BACK-CHANNEL DIPLOMACY

Where it will lead to?

By Special Correspondent

'Joint-Parliament':

Two days before the visit of Mr Pranab Mukerjee, the Minister of External Affairs, Dr Mehboob Beg, senior leader of National Conference, while participating in debate on Governor's address in the Legislative Assembly claimed that he had authentic information that India and Pakistan were discussing a proposal on Kashmir through back channel diplomacy. He said as per this proposal the people of J&K and PoK will have dual citizenship and a joint parliament called 'Kashmir Parliament'. This would have, as per Dr Beg, representatives from the two sides, with India and Pakistan jointly supervising it. According to him the proposed 'parliament' would have all powers minus external affairs and defence. The NC leader claimed that his information was based on a very sensitive document being discussed at bureaucratic level. He demanded that such an initiative should be discussed at political level. Dr Beg went on to demand greater autonomy to J&K, holding unconditional talks with 'alienated class' of Kashmir on Naga pattern. He said 'attractive proposals' should be given to them.

Why did Dr Beg chose to go public on the eve of Mr Pranab Mukerjee's visit to Islamabad? Is the 'sensitive document' referred to by Dr Beg the 'non-paper' submitted by India to Pakistan for discussion in back-channel diplomacy? Pre-visit briefing by MEA, however, clearly rejected joint management as a solution. It said that India was open to ideas like setting up of joint consultative mechanism on various issues including tourism and health. UPA government also favoured 'softening of LoC', particularly to allow trade relations.

The Army Stand:

More significant is Army's minor to any move on 'joint management' and 'demilitarisation'. Earlier, the army opposed any withdrawal of troops on Siachen. Three days before Mr Mukerjee's visit, a spokesman of the Indian Army in Jammu told the press that any thought of a 'joint management' was a dangerous idea. The spokesperson stressed that

there could not be joint management between a military dictator of Pakistan and a democracy like India. He said the 'Joint Management' proposal would dilute India's control on 2/3rds of the original state of J&K.

The spokesman also rejected the 'de-militarisation' proposal. He said 'the withdrawal of forces would be fatal at a time when state was facing terrorism' and added Army could not afford any measure that compromised with the defence and internal security of the nation. The spokesman elaborated, "Even if normalcy is restored and peace returns, troops can go back to the barracks but 'demilitarisation', as such, cannot be considered, as the need to defend the country's borders still remains paramount, in fact, non-negotiable". He said, "Disarmament along the LoC is not possible". The spokesperson said, "the Pakistani demand for demilitarisation has also been voiced and repeated parrot-like by separatist leaders of the Valley".

The spokesperson said under the UN Resolution of August 13, 1948, Pakistan was asked to demilitarise the illegally occupied portion of Kashmir, but Pakistan has not done so till today. He added that Pakistan was also asked to demilitarise the Minimarg area between Guraiz and Burzil by the UN Commission for India and Pakistan on July 27, 1949, but was given a short shrift completely ignoring the written acceptance given by the country. A few days earlier Army had clearly told the government that 'de-militarisation' would hamper counter-insurgency operations as more and more number of locals were helping security forces with actionable information against terrorists. De-militarisation, army brass feels, would help terrorists to re-group and make pro-security forces elements vulnerable to terrorists' pressure.

The BJP Role

The BJP has been consistently attacking UPA government's handling of dialogue with Pakistan. On December 29, 2006 Mr Arun Jaitley, former Law Minister in NDA government, said Prime Minister was in hurry to resolve Kashmir. He claimed, "He wanted to change geogra-

phy to get into history. That position will never be accepted by India or any Indian. By calling Pakistan a victim of terrorism he allowed Pakistan to foot into door".

Mr LK Advani, former Deputy Prime Minister echoed the same views. He told the National Executive and Council meeting of BJP that 'UPA government was planning major surrender on J&K to Pakistan'. He demanded that the government should table 'non-paper' given to Pakistan. On January 5, 2006 he said BJP would oppose tooth and nail any move for 'joint management' with Pakistan to solve Kashmir problem as also a joint mechanism with that country to tackle cross-border terrorism. Mr Advani said, "the present government is trying anyhow to go for a pact to form a joint management to tackle terrorism". He added, "what is the joint management? Does it mean that Pakistan will also share power in J&K"?

Reacting to J&K Chief Minister Mr GN Azad's proposal of joint management of States' resources Mr Prakash Javadedkar, BJP spokesperson said in Jammu on January 6, 2006, "It is a shameful capitulation. Like Havana where PM bowed before Pakistan by asserting that Pakistan is also a terror victim, the talk of joint management also reflects UPA's inclination towards Pakistan". He also accused the Chief Minister of taking a total U-turn to his earlier stand on militancy, cross border terrorism and Self-Rule. The BJP spokesperson said, "this Govt. has betrayed the people and government has betrayed the people and today Pakistan is setting agenda and India is yielding to that". Mr Javadekar criticised the PM for saying that the government was ready to withdraw Army and Pakistan was also a victim of terrorism. He lambasted the UPA government for sending the PDP leader, Mufti Mohammad Sayeed to head a delegation to UNO, where he talked of 'shared sovereignty' during the month long session.

On January 11, 2006 Mr Venkaiah Naidu former President of BJP warned at Kathua that joint mechanism on J&K was not acceptable to BJP and Indian people. He cautioned against



Pranab Mukerjee

signing any treaty with Pakistan that undermined India's position on Kashmir.

The Prime Minister called senior BJP leaders for a luncheon meeting to brief them on foreign relations with neighbours. The BJP, however, refused to go to press on what transpired in the meeting. A few days later, Mr Advani said that there was no shift in the BJP stand vis-avis Pakistan and UPA's handling of Pakistan. He reiterated BJP would not accept any dilution of stand by UPA government on terrorism. Another BJP spokesperson, Mr Ravi Shankar Prasad said the BJP wants government to hold Pakistan to its agreement of January 2004 not to allow its territory to be used by militants for strikes against India.

In another development to pre-empt any deal the BJP J&K unit passed a resolution demanding re-organisation of J&K State. It also criticised the move to increase the number of assembly seats which will give edge of 12 seats as against earlier 9 to Kashmir Valley. With BJP planning a national campaign against the UPA's policy on Kashmir, the government has suffered a major setback. Without consensus no deal with Pakistan can come through.

The Congress Position:

The ruling Congress Party at the Centre is also facing a split down the middle in its handling of relations with Pakistan. A powerful faction is opposed to giving concessions to Pakistan on Kashmir. Media reports said Mr Ahmed Patel and Mr Pranab Mukerjee were opposed to PM's giving okay to welcome Musharraf's four point formula on Kashmir. Pressure by Kashmiri politicians overuled their opposition. National Security Advisor MK Narayanan and J&K Chief Minister were against giving any importance to Hurriyat, while another lobby backed by a Kashmiri politician was pushing forward for PM-Hurriyat meeting. The group opposed to Hurriyat has warned about the potential costs of giv-

ing too much importance to Hurriyat. They say it means giving veto to APHC over peace process. This would push APHC's competitors to adopt intransigent postures. Mr Azad is of the view that Pakistan was making proposals for media consumption and New Delhi should take initiative for firming up the proposals so that Pakistan's seriousness about resolving the Kashmir issue can be gauged. He is reported to have said that there should be synchronisation between public posturing and the stand taken at the negotiating table. Earlier, on January 4 in New Delhi Mr Azad had said that India and Pakistan could make headway on Kashmir issue by working out a plan for joint management of trade, tourism and water resources in two parts of region. He also asked Pakistan to spell out its views in writing what it meant by 'joint management' rather than speaking through electronic media.

The Prime Minister Manmohan Singh is also facing flak for "creating confusion" on Kashmir. He recently said time was coming when we will "have breakfast in Amritsar, lunch in Lahore and dinner in Kabul". The Pak Foreign Minister, Mehmood Kasuri, reacting to it said "it is because PM knows much about what was going on Kashmir". Pakistan is also engaged in a dubious game to selectively shower praises on Indian Prime Minister.

In Amritsar Prime Minister had said 'borders will become irrelevant'. This drew sharp criticism from country's foremost experts-Messers GP Parthasarthy and Ajit Kumar Doval. Mr Parthasarthy says that borders will never become irrelevant, they are sacrosanct. What we can have is that we can transcend borders, he added.

Pro-Concession Lobby:

A caucus in Delhi is deliberately trying to push India into yielding concessions to Pakistan on Kashmir and other issues. Some of the weak statements on de-militarisation, Siachen, soft borders, self-rule, joint management emanating from UPA government are being attributed to concerted efforts of this lobby. The majority view in Delhi is why should India succumb at a time when it was in an advantageous position and was going to be a world power economically. Instead, they advocate that India should firm up its interests in consonance with its status as an emerging power. This section believes and cites evidence that Pakistan has not

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Conference on Refugees

Refugees Demand Uniform Policy

KS Correspondent

JODHPUR, Dec 15: It is a famous adage: Wearer knows were the shoe pinches". And, his pain can be appreciated by a person whose shoe also pinches. Same was the case when the refugees from neighbouring countries and internally displaced Kashmiri Pandits met here for a two day-conference on 15th and 16th of December to share their pain and agony. The conference, named "Conference on Refugees," was jointly organised by Pak Visthapit Sang and Seemant Lok Sanghathan Rajasthan. While the participants resolved to express solidarity with each other, they demanded a uniform policy to deal with the refugees living in India.

Addressing the conference, the President of Pak Visthapit Sangh Hindu Sangh Sodha said that India being a democratic country the refugees have more expectations from her. He added that it is a fact that India is not a signatory to the UN Declaration of 1951 on refugees and 1967 Protocol but it is expected that a uniform policy is made to deal with all the refugee of the neighbouring countries living in India. It was regretted that the refugees from Tibet, Myanmar or Sri Lanka are not treated equally.

Kashmiri Pandits, who were represented by Major Yoginder Kandhari, made a forceful presentation and described politics based on religious fundamentalism as the root cause of their uprooting from the Valley. Major Kandhari gave a detailed account of the genesis of the problem, their sufferings in 17 year long exile and the roadmap for reversal of the exodus. He said that the exiled Pandits are also faced with all those problems

which other refugee groups are faced with and only difference being that they are refugees "in their own country." "The only difference between us and the refugees, as recognised by the "International Convention on Refugee", and other precepts and precedent of International Law, is that the Kashmiri Pandits are refugees who are displaced and live outside the land of their birth but within the territories of India. This has reduced us to an anomalous status," Major Kandhari regretted.

Tracing the course of persecution, the KP leader said that Kashmiri Pandits were subjected to severe accusations and religious persecution through twentieth century in the recent times.

Major Kandhari said that Islamic fundamentalists heralded the onset of armed uprising against Indian State by resorting to brutal and merciless killings of Kashmiri Pandits. This act of wanton vandalism had a distinct design to purge Kashmir of Kashmiri Pandits with an ultimate aim to convert it into a pure Muslim State and its final cession from Indian Union.

Accusing the government of failing to stem onslaught on Pandits, Major Kandhari said, "We are victims of a war which unfortunately the government and most political parties refuse to recognise. Most of our land and properties have been encroached upon by Muslims, supported by militants and administrative, triggering off distress sales. There has been widespread destruction and disappearance of their places of worship. History of Kashmir sans Pandits and their contribution is being rewritten. All these and many more acts are being perpetuated to ensure Pandit refugees are compelled to



The representative of various Refugee and Displaced Peoples Organisations interacting at Gandhi Bhawan Jodhpur.

give up their claim on their own land".

Referring to Indo-Pak CBMS, Major Kandhari said that contrary to the hope generated, in some refugee groups by CBMS initiated between India and Pakistan, these hold no relief in sight for Kashmiri Pandit refugees for their lot can get no better with these steps.

The PK representative demanded that Government of India should carve out Homeland to the North and East of the Jhelum for permanent rehabilitation of Kashmiri Hindus and till then they should be recognised as "Refugees within their own country".

Dr Prajnalankar Bhikhu, who represented Chakma Refugees from Chittergonj Hill Tracts in Bangladesh, decried the treatment met out to them in their homeland. He said that though Bangladesh claims to be constitutionally a "Republic" yet it recognises Islam as the only "state religion" and Bangla as the only "State Language". Dr Bhikhu said that as such the republic is an institution of one ethnic group Bangali one language Bengali and one religion-Islam.

Decrying the state policy he

said that "The republic has a hidden agenda to culturally wipe out the indigenous people of Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) and demographic invasion—that encourages and supports Bengali Muslims to settle in the CHT, is used as a weapon to force their nefarious designs". He added that all such acts are done in negation of "CHT Peace Treaty" of 1997" and indigenous political and human rights activists who try to uphold 'CHT Peace Treaty' are falsely implicated for involvement in "terrorists activities", arrested and put into jails.

He accused Bangladesh of carrying out a silent genocide or a systematic ethnic cleansing campaign against the indigenous people of the CHT.

The Bhutanese Refugee representative Laxman Dalal said that the causes of their problem are complex with ethnic, political, religious and others issues intricately intertwined. He added that even the Royal Government of Bhutan (RGOB) initially denied the existence of any Bhutanese citizens in refugee camps and claimed the removal of over-staying non-nationals in Bhutan to the unfounded claims of voluntary migrants.

Asking India to play a proactive role in seeking a solution to their problems, Laxman Dalal said that Bhutan should be pressurised to effect substantive changes in the circumstances leading to present refugee situation in order to enable the return and reintegration of refugees in the national mainstream of the country.

After a long discussion and exhaustive deliberations, the representatives signed a statement of "Expression of Solidarity" which says that "we have shared a variety of concerns related to the issues of forced migration, refugees, migrant workers and internally displaced people and express our solidarity and support to each other". The statement implores upon the countries Tibet Burma, Srilanka, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan and India to play as proactive role in resolving the current problems of forced migration and other issues and encourage frequent meetings of the delegates to discuss and arrive at durable solutions.

Refugees from Pakistan were represented by Hindu Singh Sodha of Pak Visthapit Sang, Tibetan Refugees by Acharya Yeshi Phuntsok of 'Parliament of Tibet in Exile' and Youndon Aukatsang of 'Tibetan Youth Opportunity Trust', Burmese Refugees by Salali Nicer and Joyce of Women League of Chinland, Bhutanese Refugees by Laxman Dalal, Srilankan Refugees by G Ashok Gladston Xavier of OFFER, Bangladeshi Refugees by D Prajnalankar Bhikhu and Kashmiri Pandit Refugees by Major Yoginder Kandhari of Panun Kashmir, Many Human Rights Groups were also represented in the conference.

INDIA & PAKISTAN: CAN MINDSETS & PERCEPTIONS CHANGE?

(From Page 6)

The London blasts of July 2005 in which three suicide bombers of Pakistani origin were involved and the arrests of over 10 people—all but one of them of Pakistani origin—by the London Police in August, 2006, on a charge of planning to blow up a number of US-bound planes, brought out that all the suspected terrorists or their parents came to the UK from this jihadi belt between Central Punjab and the FATA.

20. Consequently, Musharraf has been under growing international pressure to rid this area of its negative mindsets and perceptions by exercising a greater state control

over the madrasas, to reform their working and syllabus, to introduce modern, non-religious education and to dismantle the jihadi terrorist infrastructure. He himself has realised that the past actions of the Army and the ISI in encouraging and exploiting these negative perceptions and mindsets against India have resulted in Pakistan becoming the spawning ground of a variety of Frankenstein's monsters and that if he did not control, if not eliminate, them, they could pose a threat to Pakistan's own security and prosperity.

21. He has already initiated a number of measures for a better

control over the madrasas and started a campaign against negative ideologies in the name of enlightened moderation. The implementation has

CONTINUATION

been unsatisfactory due to a dilemma faced by him. He is convinced of the need to reduce their influence, but at the same time he needs them to keep the political parties of Mrs. Benazir Bhutto and Mr. Nawaz Sharif out of power and to sustain himself in power. He is similarly convinced of the need to rid their minds of their grandiose ideas of a global jihad and to persuade them to downsize their

agenda and keep their focus restricted to India and Afghanistan. However, having acted on the global scale since the formation of the IIF in 1998, they are not prepared to be less ambitious.

22. Can Pakistan's perceptions and mindsets towards India change? Not in the short and medium terms. Before they start changing, its State institutions and its religious class have to be convinced of the need for such a change. There are no indications of any such change of conviction. All the talk of enlightened moderation is meant to mitigate concerns in the rest of the world about Pakistan. It does not as yet

indicate an attempt to encourage a change of the mindset vis-à-vis India. We have to be patient. We can afford to be patient. Time and reason are on India's side.

23. This is not an argument against the promotion of confidence-building measures, people-to-people contacts etc. It is an argument to keep our feet firmly on the ground, to keep our eyes and ears open, not to mistake wishful-thinking for sound analysis and not to lapse into bhai-bhai reveries.

*(The writer is Additional Secretary (retd), Cabinet Secretariat, Government of India, New Delhi, and, presently, Director, Institute For Topical Studies, Chennai)

Back-Channel Diplomacy: Where it will lead to?

(From Page 9)

changed its policy on sponsoring cross border terrorism against India. Engagement is OK but no concessions, they aver.

Pak Game:

Pakistan is playing a calculated game-scoring brownie points through media hype and using pro-separatist groups in Kashmir and PoK as proxies. Recently, a senior Hurriyat leader called for ceasefire, talks on the basis of "equality". He harangued against patriotic Indian bureaucracy, blaming it for "deadlock". His faction also met European Union team. Pakistan had been seriously perturbed over EU's report on PoK. Many separatist groups had been floating so-called "Roadmaps", all of which support Pakistan through advocacy of dilution of Indian sovereignty over Kashmir. Pakistan's demands are repeated parrot-like by separatist leaders in Kashmir. Mr Usman Majid, MLA criticised APHC for visiting Pakistan frequently to take orders from there before meeting the Indian leadership. What India gains out by giving importance to these proxies of Pakistan at the cost of pro-Indian groups baffles average Kashmiri.

Pakistan's moves were stated by Sardar Attique Ahmed Khan, Prime Minister PoK. On January 8, he told an Indian press agency that "joint management need not be defined at this stage as this would create obstacles in the process. These concepts would acquire clarity as the process continued". He harangued that PoK was a model of 'self-governance'. He added that Musharraf's proposal for autonomy or self-governance would have to be implemented in J&K first' to bring it on the same level as PoK! The PoK PM demanded-Intra Kashmiri talks, issuance of 'South Asia Travel documents' for travel for Kashmiris, 'Token withdrawal' of troops from population centres in Kashmir by India. When asked for reciprocity by Pakistan, he claimed that there was no build-up or escalation of military in PoK'. On January 9, Ms Tasleem Aslam, Foreign office spokesperson of Pakistan said peace and security pact with India could not be signed till Kashmir was resolved.

Observations:

There are two views on the ongoing dialogue with Pakistan. One section says India is bargaining from a position of strength. According to it, the freedom, development and constitutional guarantees in PoK are

far below than that in the Indian side. First, Pakistan has to align and harmonise PoK's constitution with that of Indian side. Secondly, Pakistan, will at no cost, give up the Northern Areas, the strategically most sensitive area of Pakistan into such an arrangement. The strategic links between China and Pakistan, the existing Karakoram highway and the proposed rail link, runs through the area, besides river Indus, and Pakistan has pumped in hundreds of crores into the area over the years. Also, Pakistan has brought about changes in the demography in this area by pushing Pushtuns and Punjabis into this part. All this has to be undone first. Lastly, the issue of Kashmiri Pandits, ethnically-cleansed from Kashmir is to be addressed. They have to be resettled first in Kashmir where they would enjoy full security, political, economic and social rights. In any settlement on Kashmir it is they who hold the key. They have already raised a powerful demand for creation of Panun Kashmir for more than 7 lakh Pandits, with full integration with India. Even if Jammu, Ladakh and Northern Areas are kept out of discussion, how any settlement on Kashmir could be decided without first rehabilitating the entire Hindu minority of Kashmir. All these give India enough leverage at the negotiation table. This is why Pakistan is ambiguous on its proposals and seeks unilateral incremental concessions to improve its strategic position and maintain its potential for sponsoring cross border terrorism as a long-term strategy to weaken India.

There is yet another view which says India and Pakistan are inching towards a settlement. Rajinder Puri, a well-known columnist says that Pakistan has diluted its position--it was not claiming Kashmir saying it had no legal claim to Kashmir; it altered its school text-books. In these it attributes 1947 partition to unequal treatment of Muslims in India and not to two-nation theory. Puri surmises that around the same time, PM Manmohan Singh declared that priority must be given to Muslims while allocating government funds. He cites initially PM was cool to join management idea but on his return from Japan he dramatically changed tune. The PM said: 'I welcome the efforts whosoever puts into normalize relations between India and Pakistan. If any new ideas come, we welcome

them. In the last 2½ years we have had a very intensive dialogue with Pakistan". Puri claims that the appointment of Sachar committee was not dictated by garnering votes in UP polls but as reciprocation of gesture to Pakistan's alteration of school text-books. Puri observes that, "**The final goal of the secret dialogue would, in this case, surely be some sort of institutional arrangement that allows both nations a confederal relationship on certain subjects that affect the sub-continent**".

On Pakistani side also there are two views on change in Musharraf's strategy on Kashmir. Ijaz Hussain, former dean of Social Sciences at the Quaid-i-Azam University observes: "The public diplomacy could have the purpose of mentally preparing the people of Pakistan to accept a solution based on new realities in Kashmir. Or else Musharraf appears to be targeting the western audience in order to occupy a moral high ground on Kashmir in case the current peace process aborts as a result of the Indian intransigence. It is this thinking rather than anything else that

explains his numerous and gratuitous concessions to India on Kashmir. **Musharraf appears to be a man in a great hurry. He seems to believe that now is the time for a deal on Kashmir favourable to Pakistan, as India is destined to become a global player before long**". Hussain, however, feels Musharraf's strategy of public diplomacy is flawed on three counts-one he is bypassing public representatives; secondly there may be no takers for him in army; lastly western public opinion was favouring India and expects Pakistan to align its position with the latter's.

Meanwhile, the US Institute

of Peace in its latest report authored by A.Heather Coyne, has come out with suggestions which endorse 'joint management'. Do Musharraf's proposals emanate from Washington? Is US through its semi-official institutions overseeing back channel diplomacy.

Impact:

Whether any deal will really come out of back-channel dialogue is a moot point. The disastrous impact of the secret diplomacy and public posturing by UPA government is being already felt in Kashmir. There is no consensus for UPA government's moves within the country. This rules out striking any deal with Pakistan which dilutes Indian position on Kashmir, national security or weakens pro-India forces in J&K. BJP is all set to make it a campaign issue in the country, deepening the polarisation further.

In Kashmir this has sent wrong signals that a deal was around the corner and India was all set to agree to dilution of sovereignty. Not only separatist groups, regional parties like PDP and NC but even mainstream na-

tional parties and pro-India elements are readjusting their politics and adopting hawkish positions. Even a moderate leader like Mr Omar Abdullah, who has remained country's Minister of External Affairs had the temerity to ask Centre to "reciprocate the flexibility shown by the Pakistani leader (Musharraf" and 'take immediate steps to remove all impediments in early resolution of Kashmir issue'. His father, Dr Farooq Abdullah who aspires for the exalted office of President of India went to the extent of demanding **Special Economic Zone** for Kashmir on the pattern of Switzerland or channel Islands. This is the greatest damage which peace process has inflicted on the Kashmiris. It is easy to discuss roadmaps in ivory towers and float solutions to win international publicity but much more difficult to keep eyes to the ground.

The UPA leadership must do some soul-searching to ask itself why many Kashmiri politicians today are supporting variations of 'joint management'. Solutions to Kashmir will emanate from here.

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NEW DELHI, Dec 19— Commenting on President Parvez Musharraf's latest proposal for joint supervision in Jammu and Kashmir, the Governor Lt General (Retd) SK Sinha today said that it is an effort to gain foothold in the Valley through the backdoor.

Talking to media persons here, the Governor said that the proposal of joint control or joint supervision is an effort to seek entry for gaining foothold in Kashmir when efforts to do so through wars or terrorist violence had no succeeded.

In reply to a question, General Sinha said that the Pak President has also been proposing self-rule and demilitarization in the State without doing anything concrete or dismantling terrorist infrastructure in his country. He emphasized that demilitarisation or more appropriately return of troops to barracks, can be considered only when cross border terrorism and terrorist violence within the State ceases.

Earlier, addressing a high profile function of intellectuals and opinion makers here, the Governor touched Volley of subjects and gave his observations, making it clear that these were his personal views, and not official. On President- Musharraf's Out of Box solutions and self-rule, the General said that such rhetoric shows lack of sincerity as terrorist camps across the border are still intact. He said that it was very strange that the neighbour who has derailed democracy in its own country, throttled it in Northern Area, is wanting to give lessons in self-rule to India. Self-rule and democracy are synonymous. India is the most vibrant democracy in the Third World, he said adding that within India: J&K has more self-rule than any other State in the country. A law enacted by the Indian Parliament automatically applies to all States in the country but not to J&K, unless it is endorsed by the State Assembly, he elaborated and pointed out that no legislation passed by POK Assembly can become a law till approved by the Minister in charge Kashmir Affairs in Pakistan Cabinet. Similarly, no one who does not accept Kashmiris accession to Pakistan is allowed to participate in politics in POK.

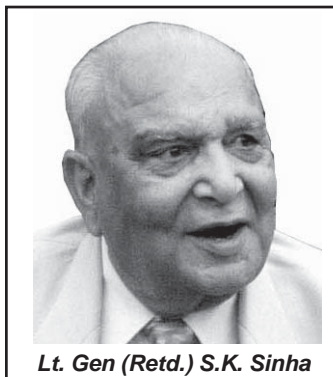
'We have no such stipulation in our administered Kashmir, he

Sinha questions Musharraf's sincerity

Pak eyeing to gain foothold in Kashmir through backdoor

said, adding that the separatist leaders in Kashmir openly preach sedition and indulge in anti-India rhetoric. This cannot be imagined in any other democracy. On top of this, these separatist leaders are provided security- and even medical treatment when required, at the expense of the Indian taxpayer, he said.

Associated with Kashmir from day one the Governor in his scholarly statement cleared misconceptions about the problem, saying that it is being constantly propagated that Partition took place on the basis of religion and Kashmir being Muslim majority State, should have formed part of Pakistan. It is not widely known that both Jinnah and the British warned that in the case of the 500 odd Princely States, their ruler should decide the future of their State and not the people. The Indian National Congress wanted that this be done on the basis of the wishes of the people of the States but both Jinnah and the British opposed this proposition. They had their own hidden agendas, Jinnah wanted Nizam of Hyderabad to accede to Pakistan. Hyderabad was the richest and largest State in India of the size of France. In those days in winter, Kashmir Valley used to get geographically isolated from the rest of India. Srinagar airfield was only a fair weather landing strip and Banihal Pass used to get blocked with snow. There was no Banihal tunnel at that time. Jinnah unleashed a tribal invasion of the Valley led by his Army officers on 22 October 1947. Had he done so ten days later, he could have easily achieved his objective during the winter and presented a fait accompli to the world, in the event, he could get neither Hyderabad nor Kashmir. The British advanced a legal argument. The Princely States had entered, into a treaty with the British Sovereign acknowledging his paramountcy. On withdrawal of the British from the Sub-Continent, paramountcy would lapse. They had a hidden agenda of a strategic consensus with Pa-



Lt. Gen (Retd.) S.K. Sinha

kistan to be formed in North West India. The Indian Independent Act passed by the British Parliament, specifically provided that the decision on the future of the States will be left to their rulers. Maharaja Hari Singh signed the Instrument of Accession merging Kashmir with India. The tallest political leader of Kashmir, Sheikh Abdullah, endorsed this accession. Thus, Kashmir became an integral part of India both legally and morally. Even the UN recognized the legality of this position, Its resolution accepted by both India and Pakistan, required Pakistan to withdraw all its forces from Kashmir but allowed Indian forces to remain in Kashmir for the Plebiscite. After the Cease Fire, the 200 square mile Tilel Valley, which had been no Man's land, was made inclusive to India, respecting India's valid legal position in Kashmir. Questioning the validity of this accession or referring to Kashmir as disputed territory flies in the face of facts of history, he said.

The second propaganda point, the Governor said is about consulting the wishes of the people and implementation of the UN Resolution of. 13 August. 1948. Here again fact' are sought to be buried under a barrage of false propaganda. Plebiscite could not be held because Pakistan violated the provisions of the UN Resolution in not withdrawing its forces which it had agreed to do and which was the prerequisite for holding of plebiscite. Pakistan, of course, had its reasons for not abiding by its commitment. Its raiders had alienated the "people of Kashmir by the rape of Baramula in

which thousands of Kashmiri Muslims were butchered and hundreds of young Kashmiri girls were taken away. Further, Sheikh Abdullah was a towering political figure who had a mass political base. Pakistan feared the results of plebiscite at that stage. Yet the propaganda unleashed has been that India's intransigence and not abiding by the UN Resolutions was the reason for plebiscite not being held. Pakistan flouted the UN resolution both, in terms of not withdrawing its forces from Kashmir and also in illegally ceding 27,000 square miles of Kashmir territory to China. Another false propaganda being carried out is that because plebiscite was not held, the people of Kashmir did not get an opportunity to express their choice. The people of Kashmir have been repeatedly participating in the electoral process despite terrorist threats and violence as also repeated boycott call of separatists. In the recent bye-elections in Kashmir, the voter turn out was 70%. in defiance of boycotts, threats and violence. Moreover, both in 1947-48 and in 1965 wars, the people of Kashmir made it abundantly clear where their preference lay. General Mohammad Musa, the Pakistan Commander-in-Chief in the 1965 War. has stated in his book. My Version, that Pakistan failed to achieve its objective in that war, because of lack of support from the people of Kashmir. In 2002, Opinion Poll conducted by Mori, a British NGO under the patronage of Lord Avebury. a known Pakistan protagonist revealed that. 61% of the people of Kashmir want to remain With India, 6% want to join Pakistan and 33% are undecided. Yet another propaganda. constantly unleashed in the Press is on the score of human rights violations by the Indian Army. In such, operations, odd violations are inevitable. Whenever these occur, immediate and severe action is being taken by the Army. During the ongoing militancy in the State, the India Army has court martialled and convicted 71 personnel with

sentences, varying from 2 years to 14 years rigorous imprisonment. The record of the Indian Army in Kashmir in respecting human rights is far superior to that of -foreign armies engaged in such operations anywhere in the world, as we see today in Waziristan, Baluchistan, Afghanistan and Iraq, he maintained. One should also note that the brutality being committed by terrorists against Kashmiri civilians like slitting throats, raping women, hanging people, and so on. These arce being ignored with a thundering silence. The terrorists have killed some 20,000 innocent Kashmiris including women and children. Over 90 % of civilians killed by these Jehadis are their co-regionals. While the vilification of the Army on the basis of false or highly exaggerated facts continues unabated-a Nelson's eye is turned towards the constant human rights violations by terrorists, he argued.

Giving an overview of the Kashmir problem by stating facts, the Governor expressed optimism about the settlement of this-vexed issue by the process of dialogue at various levels; He said the common man in India and Pakistan wants to have cordial relations between the two countries. The people of Jammu and Kashmir are sick and tired of violence and are yearning for peace. He said international opinion is getting mobilised against terrorism in any form. There is greater evidence of international understanding of the Indian view point as found during Clinton's visit to the Sub Continent in 1998. in international reaction to the Kargil War and in the report of Countess Ema Nicholson to the European Parliament, he said.

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—Business Manager

An Audacious Gamble



By K.P.S. GILL

As year 2006 ran towards closure, General Pervez Musharraf threw out another of his ostensibly 'out-of-the-box solutions' for the Jammu & Kashmir tangle, and this was picked up with unwarranted enthusiasm by an uncritical media and certain sections within the Indian political community. Those at the helm of national affairs have, however, remained cautious, and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh countered Gen Musharraf's proposals with an offer of a 'comprehensive treaty of peace, security and friendship'. A great deal of these proposals and counter-proposals is mere posturing, part of the entertainment South Asian leaders are required to generate for Western political audiences. There is, nevertheless, a tactical and strategic core to Gen Musharraf's proposals, variously, for 'joint management', 'joint governance' and now 'joint supervision' of J&K.

The tactical is relatively obvious. Gen Musharraf seeks to retain control of the trajectory of the discourse on the 'Kashmir conflict', forcing the Indian side into a state of perpetual reaction, and often making India seem the more recalcitrant and obstructive element in the counterfeit 'peace process' that is being staged. He seeks, moreover, to use his projected 'reasonableness' as a cover for the continued campaigns of terror in J&K and across India. All this is obvious and now commonly known.

What is less evident and largely ignored is the enormously dangerous and destabilising strategic intent of all Pakistani proposals—an intent that has displayed no signs of change or dilution over the past years, and that has only witnessed tactical adjustments in the instrumentalities for its attainment.

Gen Musharraf's new call for 'joint supervision' is at one with earlier proposals of a 'regional'—but in fact communal—division of J&K in that it would secure an extension of Pakistani control

and further the Islamist radicalisation of the region. Gen Musharraf's moves towards India need to be assessed within the context of broader Pakistani policies and strategies in the neighbourhood, and wider changes that are being fashioned across the Asian region—particularly the US coalition's increasingly unsuccessful campaigns in Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as a resurgence of Islamist radicalism and terror in expanding areas of West Asia.

This is the backdrop against which the handing over of large parts of Waziristan and the NWFP to the Taliban—and through them, to the Al Qaeda—need to be viewed, even as Pakistan continues to support a ferocious campaign of destabilisation against Kabul through Taliban proxies. It is significant that Islamist violence in Afghanistan has a clear and inverse relationship with the distance from Pakistan's borders, and North Afghanistan remains substantially unaffected by the 'discontent', 'alienation' and 'anger', that manifest themselves all along the Southern frontiers with Pakistan. The 'Afghan resistance'—essentially an Islamist extremist movement—receives full support from Pakistan, and seeks nothing more than to further Pakistan's strategic objectives.

At the same time, significant areas and operations in Pakistan Administered Kashmir (PAK), including both what is referred to as 'Azad Jammu and Kashmir' and the 'Northern Areas' (Gilgit-Baltistan), are being progressively transferred into radical Islamist control, particularly, though not exclusively, into the hands of the Lashkar-e-Tayyeba—another Al Qaeda affiliate and a continuing member of Osama bin Laden's International Islamic Front. The 'management of dissent' in the Northern Areas is also given over to extremist Sunni elements, who, from time to time, carry out campaigns of intimidation and assassination in the region, to quell the feeble voices demanding no more than minimal political rights and representation.

Against this background, any scheme of joint 'supervision', 'management', 'governance' or other euphemism for control, would essentially translate, over time, into an escalating demand

for the reduction of Indian military deployment in J&K, and a systematic entrenchment of Islamist extremist groups and forces in the wider region.

It must be clear that, under these circumstances, the Kashmiris would have no capacity to keep the terrorists out, and the entire population would be at their mercy, even as Indian capacities of response would not only be constrained by internationally validated agreements with Pakistan, but would also gradually diminish, with a corresponding consolidation of Pakistani proxy control. Crucially, the Islamist terrorist enterprise, within this context, is executed under the protection of Pakistani sovereignty.

What Gen Musharraf seeks, consequently, is to insulate Pakistan's core within a wide swathe of territories controlled by Pakistani-managed proxies, and to unite this region with a radicalised Islamist crescent extending from J&K to the Mediterranean.

There are, of course, extraordinary and direct risks for Pakistan itself, in this strategy. Significantly, the 'blowback' factor that is already visible in 'renegade' Islamist terrorist elements that have escaped control of Pakistan's Inter Services Intelligence, and some of who have already executed assassination attempts against Gen Musharraf and other senior elements in his junta.

This cannot, however, deter Gen Musharraf or sway him from the fundamentals of Pakistani strategy. For one, Gen Musharraf has already shown himself to be a consummate risk-taker. For another, the alternatives for Pakistan—from the perspective of its ruling elite, and particularly the Army that holds the nation captive—are an unacceptable but inevitable decline into the margins of strategic and historical irrelevance. Success, on the other hand, holds out the possibility of direct or indirect Pakistani control in a wide arc beyond its current borders, and of significant influence in regions as far a field as Central and West Asia. It is an audacious gamble, but in its brief history, Pakistan has not displayed any lack of audacity, or of ruinous folly.

The world, in the interim, and with it, India, remains enmeshed in what another writer has

described as the 'seduction of process'—the continuous and general agitation over the details of ever-new 'proposals' and 'statements'. What is missed is the fact that Pakistan has substantially restored, after an apparent post-9/11 reversal, its capacities for strategic projection through terrorism, and does this from a position of greater strength than before, since the US and its allies are caught in quicksand in both Iraq and Afghanistan. The lesson Pakistan's military leaders are drawing from this is simple: Powers that have failed in conflicts with these nations,

whose populations are less than a sixth of Pakistan's, can hardly act decisively and in concert against a Pakistan of over 160 million, and growing. This is the assessment that creates the spaces for the Islamist terrorist adventure in which Gen Musharraf is currently engaged, and within which Pakistan pursues its strategies of Islamist extension.

**(K.P.S. Gill is a former Punjab DGP and is currently advisor to the Chhattisgarh government on Naxalite affairs. This piece first appeared in the Pioneer)*

PANUN KASHMIR

19th January Holocaust Day

IT REMINDS US:

- Of the process of total cleansing being perpetrated upon us by Islamic Fundamentalists on one hand and by the insensitive successive state and the Central Governments on the other, for the last 16 years.
- **WE PLEDGE TO DEDICATE OURSELVES TO—**
- A fight to get our **rights** recognised as the **original inhabitants** of the Valley of Kashmir.
- To achieve for more than 7 lac displaced Kashmiri Hindus, a "Home Land" to the North and East of river Vitasta with a **UT status** in Kashmir Valley
- To expose the **farce** being enacted in the name of **peace process** and resist all such moves which legitimate it at our cost.
- To **delink** displaced Kashmiri Hindus from **state administrative setup**.
- To fight for constituting a "**Ministry of Rehabilitation**" at the Central level to deal directly with the displaced community affairs.
- To fight for constituting a **Tribunal** to look into the reasons of our **designed expulsion** from Valley.
- To fight for an **employment package** to the tune of 20,000 for unemployed community youth.
- To fight for declaring **distress sale of Pandit property in Valley as null & void**.

THE DAY REMINDS US OF OUR DUTIES

- To preserve our **cultural traditions and language**
- To remain **united** and to resist all those moves which **confuse** the community
- To effectively contribute to the **Movement of Panun Kashmir**

Please join us on Friday, 19th January, 2007

At 2 PM at REGAL PALACE, SURYAVIHAR
(ANAND NAGAR) BHORI, JAMMU.

&
(AT 2:00 PM AT JANTAR MANTAR NEW DELHI)

&
11 A.M. NEAR VICTORIA TERMINUS MUMBAI.

JAI PANUN KASHMIR

Who cares for Pandits?

By M.L. Kotru

It was a family do, partly to say farewell to me as I was preparing for my first visit to the US in ten years and in the other part to mark the celebration of 'khichri' amavas', a peculiar Kashmiri Pandit event, when, as is their wont, entire Pandit families get together for an evening repast. For me it had meant a 25 km drive from Gurgaon in the darkness of heavily congested roads, to Delhi. But then it was good that I did it make it.

For, apart from reviving links with the aged and the young in the family it brought to my notice, lying on the centre table of the drawing room, a glossy-looking mini magazine entitled "Kasheer" published in the US and giving you a fleeting view of the Kashmiri Pandit diaspora in far away United States. The magazine by itself may not have meant much to any non-Kashmiri but there was plenty in it to interest someone like me who had said his byes to (he Valley some six decades ago.

The writers were for the most part young professionals, engineers, doctors, students, many born in the US itself and other who had gone as students but stayed on. Expectedly, one was confronted by lots and lots of nostalgia, like one of the contributors recalling her summer vacation visits from Delhi to Kashmir to spend delightful times with her grandparents and cousins there. There were a few who recalled their first encounter with a famous Pandit shrine near Srinagar. There were the younger ones for whom Kashmir stood for nothing more than their forbears' home, strange yet in many ways very close to their young personas.

They had questions to ask.

Will they ever be able to visit Kashmir, the valley that is? I wish to tell them 'yes, you can, but only as tourists', for to my mind, I don't see the Pandits returning to the Valley. Not even at a time when

every Pandit is that lucky.

The Pandits, for their part, never tire of seeing themselves as the original Kashmiris, the aborigines, if you will, but times surely have changed. They will



Kashmir Pandit Women demanding Homeland during a demonstration in Jammu (File Photo)

both Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and his Pakistani counterpart, Gen. Pervez Musharraf are applauding each other's efforts to resolve the "dispute". Not even when most leaders from the Valley, including former Chief Ministers and, needless to say, the separatists of all hues, are seeing the Valley as an exclusively Kashmiri Muslim problem.

The Pandits just don't figure in their plans. Some 3.5 lakhs of them might have been forced out of their Valley homes in the aftermath of the jihad launched by the Pakistanis and their cohorts in the Valley and they, it would seem, should consider themselves lucky that they continue to survive, some in

to heal. I for one have been visiting the Valley regularly and staying always with a Muslim friend and his charming family, even regularly in the family's well appointed cottage in Pahalgam. Not

never tire of telling you how the Pandits had once ruled the State, before the advent of Buddhism and Islam. The harsh reality is that centuries of suppression, resulting in mass conversions and occasional migrations to the plains, have reduced the Pandits to a minuscule minor-Men, Matters & Memories By M L Kotru sub-human conditions, in camps in Jammu and other parts of the country. The more enterprising have carved out spaces for themselves within the rest of the country and many in other parts of the world but the vast majority of the 'migrants' must only hope and pray. Because not one in New Delhi or in Srinagar is really bothered about the community's return to the Valley.

For the record it will always be said that the Centre has sanctioned Rs 200 or even 5,00

crores for the rehabilitation of the Pandits but that must remain on paper only. Some two-room tenements may have been built somewhere near Badgam in Srinagar or in Mattan in the Anantnag district in South Kashmir but it will be a daring Pandit who will move into one of these, given the palpably hostile environment.

Personally many of the Pandits might find their old Kashmiri Muslim acquaintances friendly and warm but the 17 years of insurgency have left many scares difficult. There might be about 10 lakhs of them spread ail over the globe, about half of whom had clung to their roots in the Valley mainly because of their ability and skills in the art of governance.

Forget the Dogra Maharajas even the Pathan rulers of Kashmir had relied on the Pandits for keeping the system going, from revenue collection to manning various positions in the administration. That was also largely due to their amazing adaptability. It didn't take them long to switch from Sanskrit to Sharda or vice-versa, from Sanskrit to Farsi and from Farsi to Urdu. In the later parts of 19th and early in the 20th century they did a quick makeover and suddenly many of them had caught up with Macaulay's percept for educating British Indians. And mind you many of them travelled out of the Valley to earn degrees from Indian universities to return home to man positions in the prevailing system(s) of administration.

But, then, what do you do with a people so small in number that no one, apart from paying lip service, is

willing to lake up their cause in the ongoing Indo-Pak dialogue. I have not heard a word from any Pakistani leader, from Bhutto, Sharif down to Gen. Musharraf, speaking of an

honorable resettlement of those who left the Valley 1989 onwards. They invented the term internally displaced to describe them as a people. They were not refugees running away to save their lives (Yes, many Pandits were killed in the first flush of militancy), they were just internally displaced. Thank you.

It is not that simple, though, for any civilised Government or Governments to ignore the rehabilitation of those living in camps outside the valley in Jammu and those who have moved to other parts of India. Rehabilitation it must be understood, does not mean merely providing them with clusters of tenements; it means giving them a sense of security: it means making them economically viable. I don't think that many of those wanting to return to their abandoned homes (if these are still in existence) would be welcome there.

Remember that there is a ridiculously large number of outsiders, belonging to different Islamic orders, the Wahabis, the Deobandis, the Barelvis who have moved into the Valley during the last three decades (long before the insurgency) and with the help of a string of Madrassas have preached intolerance of other faiths. The old Rishi-Sufi ethos of the Valley culture is virtually on the nine as was demonstrated not long ago by the killing of a highly respected Muslim preacher who believed in Rishi-Sufism; he was killed while coming out of a mosque. Not so much by the local people as the preaching of hatred by the fundamentalist Islamists. Nothing to do with Islam at its purest. For I do believe that Islam, regardless of Bush and Blair, is predominantly a religion of peace. But that doesn't help the Pandits. They must at least be allowed a safe homeland of their own. And within the Valley for that. --*Courtesy: Daily Excelsior*

Roots of Congress Ambivalence lie in History

(From Page 8)

spread over 1/4th of the territory of India and constituted several strategic sea and land frontiers of the Indian empire".

The Congress's two major formulations on states i) Acceptance of the right of the Princes to determine the constitutional relationships in a future Union of India and ii) Recognition of separate political identity of the states drove it to accept the Cabinet Mission proposals with regard to Indian States. It took it sometime to realise the dangerous fall out of acceptance of lapse of paramountcy. But it was too late in the day. The British refused to countenance the change in

the Congress policy in the states. The acceptance of the lapse of paramountcy led to a series of crisis in—Junagarh, J&K and Hyderabad.

Even on the eve of partition, the Congress leaders naively believed that the Princes provided a fairly more stable guarantee for a United India than the States Peoples' Movement would be able to ensure. Their acceptance of the right of princes to determine the accession issue and future constitutional relationships with Centre was not only negation of the anti-colonial struggle, it led to severe crisis in integration of states, which were ultimately resolved by the pressure of strong

people's movements in the States.

Dr. Santosh Kaul has dealt at length how Congress's isolation policy created serious tensions in integrating Junagarh, Hyderabad and J&K. The book

CONTINUATION

also discusses the impact of League's stand on Muslim leadership in the Congress. The Muslim leadership in the Congress accepted the main postulate of the League demanding "self determination" for the Indian Muslims. The Congress Muslim leaders took a totally different ideological position from the Hindu

leadership. In a statement before the CWC, Maulana Azad accepted self-determination "even to the extent of separation under certain circumstances and with certain safeguards for the communities affected and the country as a whole". He proposed, "the decision to separate should not rest on the majority vote of the Assembly but on the vote of representatives in the Assembly of the areas concerned." Azad stated, "a large section among the Indian Muslims does not seem to be in the mood to view realities in their proper perspective. This section can be expected to do so only when it is assured that the determination of their

destinies rests with the Muslims themselves, without external compulsions. When this is realised, suspicion and doubt will largely disappear, solution of the communal problem will be fruitful". Dr Khan Sahib (of NWFP) took a similar position when he said: "Self-determination is the only thing. Actually, the principle was conceded by the Congress long ago, but it was wrapped up in a rigarmole".

Title: Ideology of Indian Freedom Struggle
Author: Dr. Santosh Kaul
Price: Rs 500
Published By: Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.
4374/4B, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi-110002

By SM Pandit

Describing demands like 'Autonomy', 'Self Rule' and 'Self Governance' as secessionist propositions, Panun Kashmir warned the Central government that any move aimed at weakening constitutional integration of J&K with India will deepen the crisis than inspiring a way out of it. Reiterating the demand of HOMELAND, the speakers described the Margdarshan Resolution-1991 as the roadmap for the reversal of the designed exodus and genocide of the community.

Addressing a well attended gathering on the occasion of the 16th Homeland Day, Panun Kashmir Chairman Dr Ajay Chrungoo said that partition of India was not applicable to Princely states but the British Ruled India and as such resolution of Kashmir imbroglio cannot be linked to it. He added that the argument that fiddling of Article 370 will lead to secession of J&K is a myth. Dr Chrungoo said that Panun Kashmir is strongly opposed to any move aimed at reversing the state to the Pre-1953 status. He asserted that 'Article 370' was incorporated in the constitution as 'transitory' and not out of will but out of duress.

Referring to the 'Working Group on 'State-Central Relationship', Dr Chrungoo said, "The deliberations shall be aimed at reinforcing the bond between the state and the Centre in the true spirit of the terms of reference". He said that during his presentation, he made it clear that J&K State on the Indian Territory but outside purview of Indian Constitution wouldn't be acceptable to Panun Kashmir. "One country two systems, a Republic within a Republic is an absurd proposition", he asserted. He added that accepting a Muslim State on the body of Secular India would be a blatant compromise with "Two Nation Theory". He further said that the organisation is opposed to turning a defacto Muslim State into De-jure Muslim State. Decrying the ambiguous stand of even those who are publicly speaking against Article 370, Panun Kashmir leader said that he made the organisers understand that he cannot shy away from taking a stand on the Centre-State relationship as we cannot allow balkanisation of the state and jeopardise the safety of Kashmiri Hindus, Jammu Hindus and even the minorities of India.

Dr Chrungoo said that Kashmiri Pandits are now

Homeland Day Celebrated

Autonomy, Self Rule Secessionist Propositions-PK



(L) Prof. M.L. Koul, Prof. Hari Om, Sh. ON Trisal & Sh. Kuldeep Raina speaking on the occasion of Homeland Day. (R) View of the audience --KS photo

recognised as a primary party to the resolution of Kashmir imbroglio and same is reflected by invitation to Pandit leaders to represent in the highest fora, including the Round Table Conference. Chiding Ghulam Nabi Azad for his comments on dissent in the community, Farooq Abdullah for 'disunity among community leadership' and the community leaders for denigrating the community, Dr Chrungoo said that it were only Kashmiri Pandit leaders who presented a united opinion in RTC-II and all the three spoke in favour of 'Homeland'. Patting the community for relentless struggle, the PK leader said that it was the outcome of the community struggle that even the European Union and Tony Blair, who at one time described uprising in Kashmir as "freedom struggle", are now accepting it as manifestation of terrorism.

Referring to the presentations of G.Parthasarthy, former diplomat and a frontline leader in Track-II diplomacy and Mr Ajit Doval Former IB Director in a seminar at Delhi, Dr

of Panun Kashmir and launched scathing attack on UPA government.

Accusing UPA government for pursuing a compromising policy on Kashmir, Prof Hari Om said that the nation has no expectations from the combination. He regretted that the Central government is run by those who have been rejected by the electorate and sited examples of Prime Minister, Home Minister etc. in this regard. Congratulating J&K Governor, Lt Gen (Retd.) SK Sinha for describing Kashmir crisis as the outcome of fundamentalism, the BJP leader said that such a stand by the constitutional head of the state generates a ray of hope among the nationalist forces.

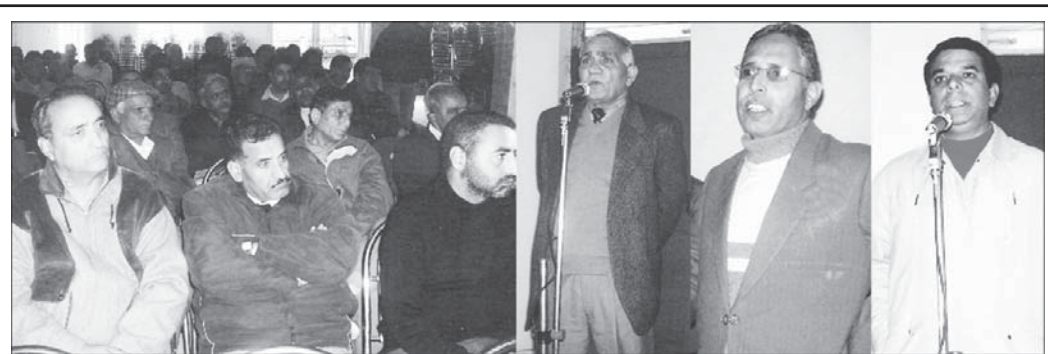
Prof. MK Teng, Chairman Advisory Panun Kashmir, described present Kashmir crisis as a war with greater dimensions against a civilisation. He said that "Islamic fundamentalism took a new dimensions in 1990 when a community was thrown out". Decrying peace process, Dr Teng said, "Peace Process is not a Peace-Process but a peace-

struggle, he said that the demand of Homeland was not an escapist route but expressionist in nature and respond to the war thrust upon the community.

Tracing the course of persecution, Prof. ML Koul, member Advisory Panun Kashmir, said that Pandits were subjected to persecution since 14th century when Sayeeds from Middle-East landed in Kashmir and guised themselves as Sofis. Terming 20 condition laid by Shah-e-Hamdan as barbaric, Prof. Koul said that Pandits were killed and their aesthetic and religious activities prohibited. Prof Koul added that Kashmiri Hindus had a sigh of relief for a brief period in Sikh and Dogra rule and they were again subjected to victimisation since 1931.

Mr Koul described creation of Homeland as a weapon to end the persecution and repeated exodus.

Mr Koul said that Shruja Bhat's would not be born again to reverse the exodus and exhorted Kashmiri Pandits to shape their own history.



(L) View of the audience (R) Dr MK Teng, Sh. SK Handoo & Sh BL Koul addressing on the occasion. --KS photo

Chrungoo said that it is not a mean achievement of the community that such personalities openly advocated that only such solution would be acceptable to them that is acceptable to Pandits.

The state BJP vice-president Prof Hari Om reiterated his solidarity with Pandits and cause

offensive as it is manifestation of civilisational war." Rejecting the latest proposition of Parvez Musharraf, Prof. Teng described it as an attempt to transfer the power in J&K State to Jehadi Muslims and allow Pakistan a toe hold in J&K for further intrusion.

Describing Margdarshan Resolution 1991 as flagstaff of

All Kashmiri Pandit Solidarity Conference President Sh ON Trisal underscored the relevance of Panun Kashmir and accused the majority community of the Valley of rejecting the principle of co-existence. Mr Trisal said that Kashmiri Pandits were subjected to discrimination by the successive state

governments and the community was finally hounded out of the Valley lock, stock and barrel by the Islamist zealots. He added that the Independence struggle was fight against British Imperialism and Pandits are fighting the Islamic fundamentalism and termed it as conflict of civilisations.

Describing Mufti Mohammad Sayeed as a great opportunist, he said that Mr Sayeed was part of government of Sadiq, who stood for greater integration of J&K State with India and it was during his tenure that jurisdiction of Supreme Court and Election Commission were extended to the state, but Mr Sayeed was speaking now a different language. He described three years of Mufti rule as anarchist and dictatorial in nature.

Mr Trisal thanked people of India in general and people of Jammu in particular for their co-operation extended to Pandits in hour of crisis and described Homeland as a weapon to end ethnic and administrative cleansing the community has been subjected to.

Panun Kashmir General Secretary Sh Kuldeep Raina described 28th December as an important date in the history of Kashmiri Pandits. He said that the community that had suffered long political persecution and economic strangulation, passed the MARGDARSHAN RESOLUTION on this day in 1991 which symbolises the aspirations of the community. Mr Raina said, "the resolution serves as a roadmap for the reversal of the genocide and exodus". PK leader described the demand of Homeland as the assertion of the community to live in the Valley on their own terms and conditions than the whims of the majority community.

Exhorting Kashmiri Pandits to associate the youth with the community struggle, Mr Raina said that we should educate the youth of our rich cultural heritage, victimisation and persecution that led to the exodus and the struggle that helped the community to come out of the morass of helplessness. He added that they should be educated and inspired to associate themselves with the struggle for return to the Homeland. Mr Raina also emphasised the preservation of the language.

The programme was compared by PK Secretary BL Koul and vote of thanks was presented by the press and publicity secretary Sh SK Handoo.

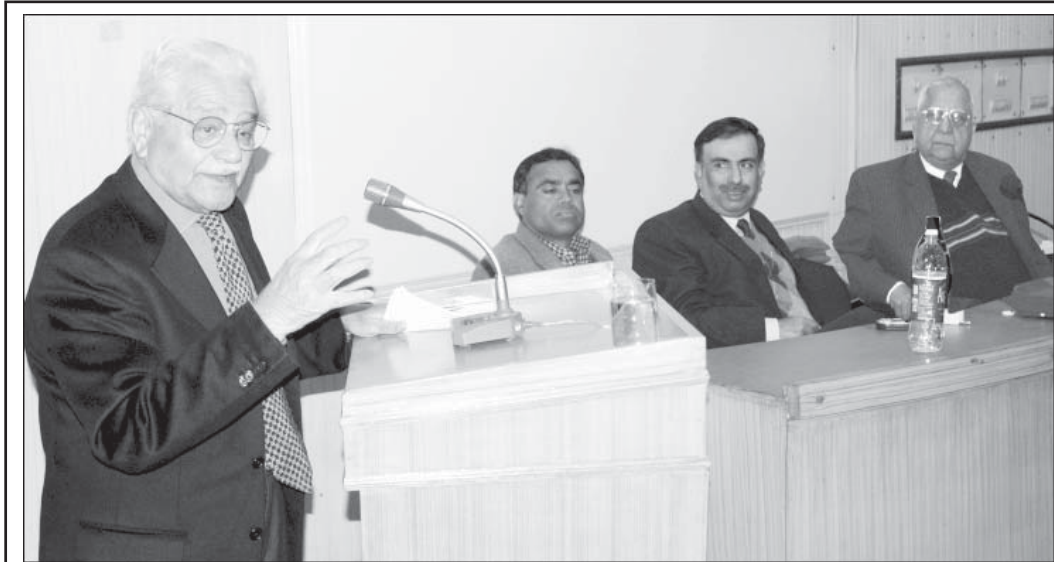
Asia Hotel Meet

Kashmiri Pandits will not return to a Talibanised Society: ON Trisal

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, Jan 8: The meet convened here today to discuss the issue of return of Displaced Kashmiri Pandits turned out to be a clever move by the organisers to float the concept of a university under the aegis of State government, but with minority character. The main presentation in this regard was made by Prof. Amitabh Mattoo, Vice-Chancellor Jammu University. He claimed that creation of such a University was an interim plan for return of migrants. Prof. Mattoo said creation of a 'Shardapeeth' University in Kashmir would provide "an intellectual Homeland" to Displaced Kashmiri Pandits. He went on to say that the move would provide 'physical, intellectual, reconciliation and economic space to Pandit Community. Mattoo added that this University would not be a technical University but a place to promote liberal and secular thoughts. He pleaded to the majority community in Valley to come forward to donate the land for this purpose. Prof. Mattoo claimed that no other road map would work. He did not elaborate but conceded that in diaspora Pandits had witnessed greater political and cultural assertion. He, however, went on to say that KPs cannot survive as a real community outside the Valley. Prof. Mattoo avoided discussion on all issues linked with exodus, continued genocide, role of majority community in Valley, various models for return etc.

Mr Ved Bhasin, editor *The Kashmir Times* made a brief intervention and said return issue has to be evolved within the displaced community. He added that Pandits in Kashmir should have an equitable sense of participation in socio-political and economic affairs. A speaker went lyrical, probably to describe such meets as futile but endorsed the University proposal. He said, "17 years of problem, 17000 solutions, 1700 players and hence goes this musical chair game". Another speaker described the



Prof. Amitabh Mattoo & Sh. Ved Bhasin look on with curiosity while one of the speakers is delivering his speech during the seminar.

proposal as peripheral, other observed it as an escapist route. A speaker from the majority community in Valley rose up to rake up urban/rural divide among Displaced Pandits. This was strongly resented by KPs, who felt it as yet another stratagem to create confusion in Pandits. Their feelings were expressed by Sh. Hira Lal Chatta, a senior leader of ASKPC, who rose up to counter, "there are no rural and Urban Kashmiri Pandits. We are one and united".

However, there was one intervention which raised fundamental issues connected with return. It was that of Shri Omkar Nath Trisal, a Left Congress leader of yesteryears and President All State Kashmiri Pandit Solidarity Conference. He strongly contested Prof. Mattoo's proposal, saying universities have never solved problems in history. He asked, "If Sri Lanka sets up a University in Jaffna would it solve the Tamil problem?"

In a spirited intervention Trisal mocked the meet and said, "It is an irony of fate that the issue of return of Displaced Kashmiri Hindus who are rotting in sub-human conditions in refugee camps is being discussed in a 5 Star Hotel". He said that 3.5 lakh Kashmiri Pandits, who have been victims of snake bites, sun

strokes and diseases like Diabetes, Hypertension, Pre-mature aging were facing negative population growth. He quoted reports to show how falling birth rates and increasing death rates have led to a doomsday scenario for Pandit refugees.

Mr ON Trisal, in a tone of sarcasm, asked leftist members in the audience 'what contradiction was responsible for religious-cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus'. He said it was unfortunate and intriguing that no speaker touched the issue—Why exodus took place? It was not even referred to in the report read at the meet. He said that during the autocratic rule it was said that principal contradiction was between Hindu Maharaja and Muslim Praja. With removal of Maharaja this contradiction stood resolved. Then it was said that Kashmiri Pandit was landlord/exploiter, while Tenant was poor Muslim. Land reforms without compensation resolved this contradiction. Then it was raked up Pandit was Shylock/Soodkhar/Usurer. Debt cancellation Boards were instituted and all debts stood cancelled. Subsequently, it was said Muslims suffered from educational backwardness and had to pay Mujwaza. The government did away with mujwaza and introduced free education up to the University

level.

Mr Trisal said during those days communists had changed the slogan from "All roads lead to Telengana" to "All Roads lead to Kashmir". It was said that Kashmir would become the first socialist state in the country. He observed that it was an irony of fate that the state which was predicted to become harbinger of socialism in the country had turned into a fundamentalist state, with its society totally Talibanised. Mr Trisal asked the

organisers and the members of the audience, "How would Pandits return to a Talibanised society, where Civil Society failed itself by not registering its protest over genocide and expulsion of its only Hindu minority? We were hounded out from our homeland by Islamic Zealots. This was the truth". The major contradiction that Kashmiri Pandits were facing today was Islamic fundamentalism, he observed. He went back to history and said in 1947 When Pakistanis had launched aggression Kashmiris had raised slogans of socialism and land to the Tiller. Mr Trisal asked the audience to ponder over why Kashmir had degenerated into a Talibanised society. The 'Naya Kashmir' slogans stands buried, he added. Mr Trisal raised the point 'Why Dr Farooq Abdullah is not able to talk about 'Hindu-Muslim-Sikh Itihad' in Kashmir today?' In this situation how dare you ask Kashmiri Pandits to return to a fundamentalist society, he asked. Mr Trisal said his community stands for peace, but not peace process. He said, "our hands are not soiled with blood of our neighbours. You cannot cite a single instance in history where we have harmed others". Mr Trisal concluded by saying, "the majority community in Kashmir has rejected peaceful coexistence. Its civil society has failed to protest over our genocide. My community will only return to a safe homeland in Kashmir where there is free, full flow of Indian Constitution".



We Want Muthi Not Jagti
Kashmiri Pandits from Camps protesting outside Relief Commissioners Office against fresh rehabilitation proposal

By Kuldeep Raina

A genocide is a terrible event. Every member of the victimised community has his own experiences—horrific and non-horrific to relate to. Yet it needs Parineeta Khar to weave these experiences into pieces of great literature. She was not part of the great exodus the Kashmiri Pandit community had to resort to in early 1990. But as a socially responsible writer she had a keen ear to listen to the experiences her relations and the members of the community underwent during the turbulence of 1989 and 1990 that left the Pandit community totally uprooted with permanent rootlessness staring it in face.

Parineeta Khar has succeeded where others members of her writers' tribe have failed the community. A genocide and a situation of exile is no dinner party. Jose Marti, the famed Latin American poet of 19th Century once said 'Now is the time of furnaces, and only light should be seen'. **Exile is no time for writing 'nostalgic tracts' or engaging in 'devotional escapism'**. The literature of exile should help link exile with consciousness of exile and raise the social awareness in the victimised community to facilitate reversal of genocide and exile. What distinguishes Khar from others is that she is courageous enough to depict social realism as it is, unmindful of whether it is part of the political correctness. Her deep insights into the sociology of Kashmiri Pandit society, the pride in Kashmiri ethnicity and its subset-battagi and the love for homeland has helped her produce a masterpiece—an anthology of short stories—"**We were and We will be**". The title is taken from the first story. About it she writes, "we are the children of legendary eleven families who tenaciously refused to accept anything, other than battagi (being a Kashmiri Pandit). I have an uncanny belief; the tyranny of bigots will abate, the contempt and conceit will end sometime and somewhere. **The bruised and pulped up battagi will come out of the debris of ruined mansions, peep out of the heaped up rubble, and stand erect again. Hence, we were and we will be**".

Parineeta Khar is not only a superb craftswoman in the art of

KASHMIRI PANDITS

Exile Literature Comes Of Age

short story writing, she brings new innovations as well. This is the hallmark of originality in a writer. Her earlier work '**on the shores of the Vitasta**' (1994) reflects on the social milieu of Kashmir when terrorism was an alien concept among Kashmiris. The stories in that collection emerged out of after-dinner sessions in Kashmir's dreary winter. The present book, the author writes, "**is the manifestation of inundating currents of ferocious magnitude ebbing in my own psyche**". She is candid in saying, "I have not chronicled the history of atrocities meted out to Pandits, neither did I enumerate the gruesome killings of the people of my community at the hands of terrorists. My tales allude to circumstances of distinct nature, some strange and others intriguing. These stories are an attempt to depict how terrorism affected and influenced all of us, one or the other way...**My stories depict a celebration of life—a continuation of life**".

The author uses the setting of a society gripped by terrorism, fundamentalism and social conflict to explore the human psychology—its frailties as well as strengths. She does not construct a fictional scenario about a social milieu. The society, is depicted as it is, with no theorisation or building imaginary scenarios to tailor it to the needs of political correctness. The generational conflict in Kashmiri Muslim society where two generations hold varying views on pluralistic coexistence and toleration when terrorism enters into the social life of Kashmiris, is delineated beautifully. Urban stereotypes about rural Pandit society, gender exploitation in an extended family system, psychological state among Pandit exiles and their passing into regression by turning to Godmen and soothe sayers, the devastation suffered by Pandits in the wake fundamentalism and terrorism, the dilemma—roots or pragmatism and the essential goodness of human beings, all these themes touched by the writer have not been ex-



plored before by Kashmiri Pandit writers in exile with such sensitivity and freshness. With the publication of this excellent book, literature in exile among Pandits comes of age.

Exile haunts Parineeta Khar. She says, "we had left Kashmir, for the betterment of our individual lives...She (ever pardoning mother: our Kashmir) waited for long and then discarded us with the bitterness of a mother who disowns her children after being left to dereliction...Now, when I am alone...the treasure drove of the reminiscences is my haven. I close my eyes, delve deep and peep into the days of my childhood, my early youth and my bridal days—in Kashmir". The pain experienced by the author when her husband's family decides to sell the house in Srinagar is described by her in '**A Lost Paradise-Home**'. She writes, "He and his siblings had the legal authority to liquidate their property, I felt helpless. The thought of having no home in Kashmir made me feel like an orphaned and lost child. **Their pragmatism called the unfortunate house a helpless liability. To me, it was a natural bond with Kashmir for us and our posterity**".

Parineeta is bitter not only against the brokers and the terrorists but also against her own community. In a tone of indictment, the author says, "The brokers, who traded in disposing of the matriarchal edifices, sought

out my husband's family and succeeded. The terrorists had vandalised it, but never could claim a genuine hold on our lovely home, but alas, we, the original inhabitants, sold it for a song. My moonlit classroom smashed to smithereens; the homestead wept bruised and lacerated. The phone call (from the broker) left me agonised and agitated. The walnut tree, under which lay intertwined my children's baby hair, was auctioned. The Kalpavriksha marked wall that had supported the dreams of a young bride and seen me through an unripe youth to a mellowed womanhood, had slipped from behind me. My husband calls my sentimental attachment to Kashmir and home, an exaggerated romantic outlook. I ask him why his eyes catch the cool degrees of temperature in Srinagar first watching the weather report".

Five stories in this tome under review deal with displacement and exile as its theme. The other two stories—**Yati and the Apsaras, The Deity of the Chinari** are meant for that generation of Kashmiri Pandits who never saw/or lived in Kashmir. Kashmiri Folklore abounding in such supernatural characters—dyav, Sheen Mohniv etc. comes alive in these stories.

We were and we will be

The story is set in a migrant camp in Delhi. A young physician, Dr Raman Raina, scion of a millionaire Kashmiri Pandit family that had left Kashmir four decades ago, while on his visits to the migrant camp to provide medical help, falls in love with a refugee girl, called Tripura Sondari. This fructifies into matrimonial alliance between the two. This is not accepted by the boy's mother, Khema. Through this conflict the author explores human psychology of characters. It is not the class but the human frailty that is the cause of the conflict.

The Invincible

In **Invincible** the impact of terrorism is shown more directly. The family of Poshkuj Kaul lives

in a village, not far from Srinagar.

Poshkuj's family lived in perfect harmony with their neighbours of the majority community. This harmony is reflected through two characters—Mala and her son Rasool. Terrorism raises its head in the village through the appearance of a character—a foreign mercenary who succeeds in brainwashing Rasool's son. Mala resents the presence and behaviour of the alien—the bearded mercenary who had no respect for values and ethos of the land. Rasool shows helplessness when his son begins to trouble Poshkuj's family. But Mala hurls curses on her grandson. One day this Pandit family's cowshed and barn are set on fire by a frenzied mob, Shamboo and his wife go out to save poor cows. They never return. Mala comes to her friend Poshkuj. She is accompanied by her son Rasool. He tells her that she should immediately leave the village alongwith two daughters of Shamboo. Rasool had been watching the misdemeanours of his son, first enthusiastically then with a disgust. He feared for the safety of Shamboo's daughters, and advises Poshkuj to take the daughters to Mumbai. Rasool arranges some space for ladies in a Jammu-bound truck carrying cattle. Subsequently, Rasool's family contacts Kauls at Mumbai through a phone call and seek a bargain. Remains of Shamboo and his wife could be given back only if Kauls agree to give them the entire property they owned in the village. Poshkuj wonders why had the friends turned predators. Poshkuj tells them that remains of their son and daughter-in-law needed to be kept in Kashmir itself as they belonged to Kashmir's earth. She reminds them that 'selling their property in Kashmir was like selling one's mother'. Poshkuj, unable to bear the phone call, passed away the same night.

Look who got Azadi:

An extended (joint) family in traditional Kashmiri society was the norm rather than an exception. It provided security—emotional and financial to the members of the family. With economic empowerment of the woman and their social emancipation the two major flaws of the extended

(Contd. on Page 19)

December 4, 2006—January 5, 2007

Dec 4: Security forces killed one of the most wanted JeM terrorist in Bandipore and killed two Al-Badar terrorists in Sopore. Terrorists killed a 20 year old Imtiaz at Sopore. Two terrorists were killed in an encounter at Labloti in Khari, Banihal.

Dec 5: A civilian was killed and 15 others injured in a grenade explosion in Baramulla town.

Dec 6: 13 civilians and two CRPF personnel were injured in a grenade attack at Batmaloo, Srinagar. A Punjabi carpenter Daleep Singh was stabbed to death at Tibetan Colony, Srinagar. Terrorists failed to cause any damage when they lobbed a grenade towards Gool Police Station. Army recovered explosive material from Dushnan forests in Doda and arrested an OGW of HM. A terrorist hideout was destroyed at Danar, Surankote.

Dec 7: Terrorists gunned down a civilian Maqbool Wani at Brinti Batpora, Anantnag. An infiltration bid was foiled and a terrorist killed in Poonch sector. Geelani rejected Musharraf's proposal saying that "General's four-point formula is the negation of Kashmiris freedom struggle".

Dec 9: A terrorist was gunned down in Ganderbal. Two terrorists, including HM Div Comdr Hekmatyar, an Army jawan and a civilian were killed and two soldiers injured in two encounters at Gool and Mendhar. As 18 demonstrators were injured in Pulwama, Zee and ETV stringers were caught in a sting operation. President APJ Abdul Kalam asks military to be ready for nuke and chemical wars.

Dec 10: A youth was allegedly shot at by an Army jawan at Mirbazar, Anantnag. Various KP organisations and separatists organised demonstrations on the World Human Rights Day. Defence Minister AK Antony said that Musharraf's proposal has no importance. A US delegation meets Mirwaiz and Lone there are reports that Centre-Hurriyat talks may be held next month.

Dec 11: Two HM terrorists were killed in an encounter at Sofigund, Tral. Terrorists fired at and injured a woman Maimoona at Chak Kawoosa while body of Rehana, a mentally unsound lady, was fished out of the Jhelum. An Army jawan ended his life at Kaluchak. Two Kashmiri terrorists with 1.5 kg RDX were arrested in Delhi. Working Group on Centre-State relations meets today at Delhi amidst boycott by NC. Dr Ajay Chrungoo Chairman Panun Kashmir represents KPs at the meet. US diplomats meet Yasin.

Dec 12: An HM terrorist surrendered in Doda. A hide-out was destroyed at Marhot, Surankote. Chief Minister Ghulam Nabi Azad and Union Home Secretary VK Duggal reviewed security situation at a meeting in Delhi. The widows of Parliament attack martyrs return medals and demand. Afzal Guru's execution. The government denies infiltration of LeT cadres in Indian Army.

Dec 14: Budgam Police claimed to have busted an Al-Badar teenage module by arresting eight teenagers who had allegedly taken contract killings at the rate of Rs 30,000 each. Eight SIM cards were reportedly provided to the terrorist organisation by a private operator. Union Home Minister Patil assures Parliament that All KPs would be provided jobs. External Affairs Ministry informed that China was occupying 38,000 sq km in J&K.

Dec 15: Villagers of Chandiyal, Mendhar chased two terrorists, who had kidnapped a girl, and hacked to death a Pakistani terrorist Istiyaq while another managed to escape. The local terrorist killed the kidnapped girl before his escape. Two terrorists were killed at Thanala, Baderwah. Two Bangladeshi exfiltrators were gunned down in Arnia sector. Top wanted terrorist Munna Janwari gave police a slip yet again but police arrested his associate-discharged J&K Police Constable Abdul Rehman Dar and recovered arms and ammunition hidden in a tyre. Police seized Rs 1.5 lakh meant for LeT and arrested three operatives from Palhalan Pattan. Ghulam Nabi Azad visited Northern Command HQs and reviewed situation in the state and on the LoC.

Dec 16: Terrorists gunned down a young girl and a boy at Pateli Daraj in Budhal. Two infiltrators were killed in Krishna Ghati and JeM district Comdr was shot dead at Mahore in Reasi. Even as PM described Musharraf's new ideas as welcome, his Defence Minister AK Antony said that terrorist infrastructure was intact in Pakistan and DG BSF admitted that Pak made full use of cease-fire to build defence structures close to the International Border. GoC 15 Corps Lt. General AS Sekhon said that 76 securitymen were punished for rights violations. Tension grips Kot Bhalwal jail as about 300 ultras refuse to go into the barracks.

Dec 17: The terrorists lived luxurious life in Kot Bhalwal jail as four rooms were found decorated with wall to wall carpets, CTVs and coolers. Even a poultry farm was detected in the premises. Amidst tension, 36 persons-21 detainees and 15 cops-were injured; iron rods, knives, tokas, two SIMs and cylinders were recov-

ered and four terrorists shifted out of the state. Police busted an LeT module by arresting four of its members in Sopore while six terrorists were reportedly holed up in three gun-battles in Bandipore and Lolab. Army regretted incident of killing a village headman for mistaken identity at Tarigam-Dooru. Mufti Sayed described NC's autonomy as just a part of PDP's self-rule and claimed sky as limit without changing borders. Two terrorist hideouts were busted in Doda district.

Dec 18: Three holed-up terrorists were killed while some separatist organisations, call for a shut down against Kot Bhalwal jail incident failed to evoke any response. Even if state government transferred Mr. Rajinder Tickoo as new DG prisons, two more SIM cards were recovered and three others burnt in Kot Bhalwal jail. A jawan ended his life in Kishtwar. Governor Lt Gen (Retd.) SK Sinah described fundamentalism as grave threat to national security but claimed that differences with Pak on LoC were narrowing down. 115 civilians cross LoC from Poonch-Rawalakote bus service.

Dec 19: Army recovered arms and ammunition, including 21 kg of explosives from Parhas, Budgam. An Army jawan committed suicide in Baramulla district. Five infiltrating Bangladeshis were arrested in Kathua district. Aamir of the detained terrorists Altaf Choudhary and his two associates were shifted out of the Kot Bhalwal to restore order in the jail. Three LeT terrorists from Manipur were arrested from near the Red Fort in New Delhi.

Dec 20: Security forces recovered arms and ammunition, including two RPG rockets, in Kashmir valley. A Pakistani smuggler Mohammad Ashraf was arrested near IB in RS Pura sector and recovered heroin worth Rs 25 crore from his possession.

Dec 21: Four terrorists were arrested with arms and ammunition and more than Rs one lakh recovered across Kashmir Valley. Nine Pakistanis were released from different jails and police stations in Jammu and Kashmir to be deported via Wagah.

Dec 22: Two people were killed and seven others, including four security personnel, injured in an encounter in Sopore. Terrorists killed a former LeT terrorist Abdul Hamid at Ajas, Bandipore. Security forces averted a major tragedy by recovering a live grenade from a passenger bus at Batmaloo Bus Stand; the grenade was found in a organe-box and one suspect was taken into custody. Two terrorist-hideouts were busted in Kishtwar and Surankote and arms and ammunition recovered. HC released a women, accused of helping terrorists and detained under PSA, in open court.

Dec 23: 13 members of two families of terrorists and eight other terrorists surrendered in Kupwara after their return from PoK. As six terrorists were trapped in gunbattles, Col GS Sarna of RR 29 Bn sacrificed his life in Bherampora encounter. 14 prisoners were among 70 repatriated by Pakistan. Four months after deportation, a Pakistani Abid crossed over India and was arrested in Arnia sector.

Dec 24: Three trapped up terrorists and a civilian were killed in Baramulla; one of the killed terrorists was claimed to be "Chief of Operations" of Al-Mansoorian-Abu Usama. Army recovered huge cache of arms and ammunition at Sheri on Baramulla-Uri road. Terrorists gunned down Mohi-ud-Din Dar of Turka Batpora at Shooch Palpora. LK Advani claimed that UPA was planning a major surrender on Kashmir.

Dec 25: Terrorists gunned down an Awami League activist and contractor Mohan Lal Bhandari at Chingam, Chatru; Bhandari had contested unsuccessfully last Assembly elections from Inderwal. A LeT terrorist was arrested in Rajouri and arms and ammunition recovered from him. KPs reject Musharraf's latest four point formula.

Dec 26: A Sumo driver and a soldier were killed and three others injured as terrorists targeted the vehicle carrying Armymen at Rakeh Liter, Pulwama. A top LeT terrorist Mohammad Iqbal of Bharat Doda was arrested.

Dec 27: Two Kulhand massacre accused-Mohammad Ashraf Ganai and Mohammad Yunus-were killed in an encounter at Udhiampur, Doda. Police arrested two OGWs of LeT from Dhaggal Halal, Kalakote. A civilian was killed and a dozen others injured as police opened fire on mob protesting the death of one Ramzan Sheikh in police custody. Police claimed Shah as an OGW of LeT. Two people were injured as terrorists caused in IED explosion near Degree College Baramulla. Chairman Municipal Committee Dooru was injured in a mis-fire by his PSO. Several localities of Pulwama-Shopian belt observed shut down against the killing of Tata Sumo driver. HC is to hear Armyofficer's petition in Pathribal killing case tomorrow. Arun Jaitely described

perverted definition of secularism responsible for KPs agony. Army Chief JJ Singh said that terrorists were entering through Nepal and Bangladesh borders.

Dec 28: Three infiltrating terrorists were killed in an encounter in Boniyar near LoC in Uri Sector. Terrorists gunned down a civilian Shenawaz Ahmed War at Nadihal, Baramulla. Six RPG rockets were seized in Lehran forest area in Nowshera, Rajouri. Arms and ammunition was also recovered from Sathutri, Poonch. Probe was ordered into Marwah killings. Three more mobile phones and SIMs were seized from Kot Bhalwal Jail. Pandits celebrate Homeland Day.

Dec 29: A young JE Shabir Hussain Khan of Bhagwanpora was killed as terrorists caused a major IED blast at Mirza Kamil Sahib Chowk in Hawal area of Srinagar; some vehicles were also damaged in the incident. Body of a mentally unsound Irfan Gujiri was recovered from Malpora, Pattan. A youth Nazir Ahmed Wagay was freed from the clutches of his kidnapers-Mohd. Yusuf Haji and Abdul Rasheed Bhat, Haji was described to be a Congress activist. Two OGWs of terrorists were arrested for pressurising youth to join terrorism in Doda district Hurriyat Chief Mirwaiz Umar Farooq said that Hurriyat was ready for talks and demanded declaration of cease-fire. 13 cross-over to PoK via Teetwal crossing. BJP said that Prime Minister was in a hurry to solve Kashmir in 2006.

Dec 30: Terrorists gunned down SHO Pampore and a civilian and injured four others in broad daylight attack; SHO Manzoor Ahmed was instrumental in counter insurgency operations and had also worked with SOG. In a bizarre incident Nazir Ahmed fired upon his son allegedly over a dispute over a pigeon in Zaildar Mohalla, Srinagar. An LeT terrorist was arrested in Handwara. Two OGWs were arrested in Doda for sheltering terrorists.

Dec 31: As top terrorist Muna Janwari is believed to be trapped alongwith two associates in an encounter in Sopore, people protested against the knocking down of a civilian by an Army vehicle in Kupwara. Two Kashmiri terrorists-Samiullah and Ali Mohammad were arrested in Delhi who were planning blasts on the eve of New Year Day in Paharganj area. Sources claimed that 47 top terrorists exfiltrated to PoK via LoC amidst dwindling local support and fear psychosis. Defence Minister AK Antony asked Pakistan to match words with deeds and make sincere efforts to end the problem.

Jan 1: Muna Janwari was killed alongwith one associate as forces demolished the non-residential structure where they had taken shelter. Massive anti-US demonstrations were held after Eid prayers in Jammu and Geelani raised anti-India and Pro-Pak slogans in his address after prayers. Panun Kashmir demands arrest of Geelani under IPC for preaching secessionism. TADA Court acquitted four Muslim Mujahideen terrorists who had surrendered in 1993.

Jan 2: An Al-Badr terrorist was killed in Mendhar while two impersonating as terrorists were arrested in Doda district.

Jan 3: A Naib Subedar was killed and two jawans injured in an encounter at Khadoon, Budhal (Rajouri). Two terrorist-hideouts were busted in Baderwah and Sunigarh in Doda. Two infiltrators were arrested near LoC in Karnah sector. A CRPF jawan was found dead under mysterious circumstances inside a camp in Anantnag. Two more mobile phones, a charger and kirch were recovered from Kot Bhalwal Jail where two barrcks are reported to have functioned as communication centres. A court discharged a terrorist-conduit Alam Din at stage of framing charges. As per police, Alam Din was running a shop outside Kot Bhalwal jail and serving as terrorist conduit. The Valley protests Sadam's execution.

Jan 4: Four top Comdrs of JeM and HUJI were killed in an encounter at Barf Wali Gali in Gool. A OGW was killed and another seriously injured as an IED, they were going to plant at Khari-Banihal, exploded in their hands at Lavlota. 50 travel across LoC in the Carvan-e-Aman. Salahuddin denied any links between Al-Qaeda and Hizbul-Mujahideen. 25 injured as massive anti-US protests continue in Kashmir valley. Dogra Liberation Front activists stormed Eid Milan of Syed Ali Shah Geelani. A Bangladeshi intruder was arrested in Samba sector. Mr Azad favours joint management of Kashmir's Trade Tourism.

Jan 5: Terrorists hearded a grenade towards PS Sopore which failed to cause any damage. Terrorists injured a civilian at Rajouri Kadal. An SHO, a photo-journalist were among 45 injured as Valley witnesses anti-US protests. Hurriyat likely to meet PM next week before their visit to Pakistan. Advani opposes joint management. A Kashmiri terrorist Imran was arrested in Bangalore; CM Karnataka claimed that attempts to attack airport, Wipro and Infosys were foiled by the arrest.

A Homage To *Pandit Janki Nath Kachroo, Former Principal, National School, Srinagar, Kashmir*

By MK Dhar

Pandit Janki Nath Kachroo, former Principal-National School, Karan Nagar, Srinagar, Kashmir, left for heavenly abode in September 2006. Shri Kachroo was a person with vast experience who had mastered the art of teaching. On one hand he was an expert in teaching of English language and on the other hand he was excellent in teaching of Mathematics and Science. He was among the pioneers of school B'casts programmes from Radio Kashmir in the Valley. A J&K State awardee for best teacher he had carved out a special niche for himself in the educational field of the Valley.

I knew him as a teacher, as a colleague and as a principal. In all the three capacities he had his own specific characteristics. He was an excellent teacher, an amiable colleague and a strict administrator.

When I joined the school as a student in Class-VII, he used to teach the 9th and 10th classes. He was known for his methodic and innovative teaching in Science and English language especially. When I reached 10th Class, he was assigned the teaching of English to our class, besides he was our form teacher. As a class teacher he believed in

involving students in various activities. We were given specific responsibilities in order to develop our specific capacities. Today, when I look on those days I am convinced that Shri Kachroo tried to develop in us critical attitude, scientific temper and a sense of responsibility. While teaching English language he would use structural approach to bring home to us certain grammatical structures and forms. During those days translation method was in use and structural approach had not developed much. However due to his personal reasons he had to proceed on long leave and was away from the Valley. This put an end to our interaction with him as a student and the teacher. But during that short period I could realize that he believed "in drawing out what is already in a student". His method of teaching was scientific, innovative and that he followed the maxim "from known to unknown".

I joined the school again in 1962 as a teacher. This time Sh Kachroo was my senior colleague. He at once took me into his arms and assured me of his guidance and cooperation. This provided me with an opportunity to work with him closely. I found that his academic activities were focused on promoting and introducing innovations. He

believed in proper planning and always advised me to make proper plans before going to teach in the classes. He believed in free and frank interaction with the students. Although he bore a stern face yet he was friendly to them.

In 1969 he was promoted to the post of headmaster. This was the beginning of modernisation for the School. English medium sections were added. KG classes were started. The academic atmosphere of the school was given a new and fresh direction.

In 1972 he became principal on the retirement of Sh DN Raina, the then Principal. Under the agile leadership of Sh JN Kachroo, the school started a number of projects in order to improve the academic environment of the school. An institutional plan was framed which defined in concrete terms the goals that the school had to achieve in the coming decade. From here onwards the students of school got sufficient opportunities in exhibit their talent in co-curricular and extra-curricular fields. Debate, Symposia, musical programmes, games, races, literacy competitions became integral part of the school curriculum.

Sh Kachroo had a vision and as the leader he tried to fulfil that vision. In this he was able to carry the staff with him. He got full

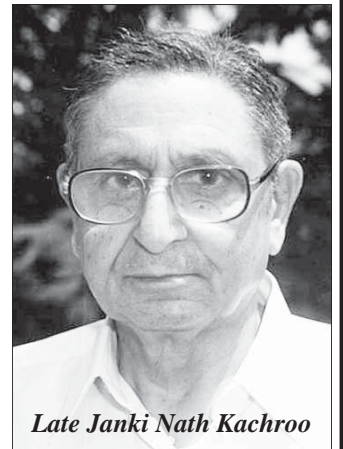
support from the members of the staff in implementing all the new and innovative measures.

From 1982 to 1986 the school passed through a difficult and trying period. The school building was gutted in a devastating fire in October 1982. Thereafter started a period of tough struggle against odds. His able handling of the situation and negotiations with various agencies enabled the management to acquire the building and consequent reconstruction. The school got a new lease of life.

In 1986, Sh Kachroo retired from the services of the school. The management made a special mention in appreciation of his dedicated and commendable services of the school :

"It gives the members of the managing committee of National School, Srinagar, immense pleasure to place on its record the appreciation for the dedicated, commendable and meritorious services rendered to the school by Sh JN Kachroo throughout his devoted and dedicated service of 40 years. His contribution to the school especially during the trying period from October 1982 deserves a special mention. His guidance and leadership as Principal of the school gave the institution a place of pride in the educational map of the state".

Sh Kachroo was associated



Late Janki Nath Kachroo

with a number of educational activities of the Valley. He was a resource person in teaching of English and participated in a number of workshops conducted by the Extension Services Department of College of Education, Srinagar. He was an excellent broadcaster and was associated with school B'cast programmes of Radio Kashmir. He was secretary, Kashmir Aided Educational Association for a number of years.

He was a scholarly person who believed that to be successful in life one has to be a human being. He had a keen sense of observation and analysis. He always advised us to do things creatively and differently in order to achieve excellence.

May God grant peace to his departed soul!

*(The author was formerly Principal, National School, Srinagar).

Kashmiri Pandits-Exile Literature Comes Of Age

(From Page 17)

family came to the fore-undemocratic atmosphere and social repression in the name of preserving ethos of the joint family. 'Look who got Azadi' is situated in this ambience.

Beg your Pardon

This is not only the finest story written in the collection, but also the best original story ever written by a Kashmiri writer. In terrible times of 1989-90 some of the Kashmiri Pandit families adopted an ostrich-like mentality and decided to stay back despite threats and provocation. They paid for it and lost their near and dear ones. The survivors overwhelmed by the guilt lapsed into severe reactive depression. Parineeta Khar has pre-

sented the four case stories.

In one family a six year old girl is the only survivor. Her father had braved every provocation to stay put in Kashmir. This was taken as challenge by the predators on the prowl. He began receiving threatening mail. One evening he was shot dead while returning from office. The little girl's shrieks who was witness to the killing brought her mother out. With her mouth agape a bullet consumed her also. Neighbours, taking pity on the little girl, send her to Jammu. The girl, who saw her parents dying, landed in severe depression. The only word she spoke was "Khotsan" (I am scared). A migrant psychiatrist tries a strange remedy for her. He uses

'auto-suggestion' to cure her and through her the other members of displaced community suffering from the same syndrome. The Psychiatrist tells her that she was a goddess who had no business

CONTINUATION

to fear men with pistols. He told her she was Sharika, the doom for the sinners and the messiah of sufferers. The girl slowly comes out of depression. She is then trained to help other guilt-ridden Kashmiris.

A hut temple with supernatural setting is built on the upper heights of Kud. The child goddess goes there on the first day of every dark fortnight in the dark hours of night. People turn up to

seek child goddess's "pardon" for atonement of their "sins". There are three bone-shaking case studies narrated in the story. The girl's therapy is simple. She asks them to narrate their "guilt", and go for atonement and repentance. This she says would rid them of their guilt. The child goddess prescribes treatment which is itself unique-helping the miserable ones in the Pandit refugee camps.

The Tumbaknari

It focusses on reconciliation. Parineeta Khar's narrative style is easy, reflecting command over vocabulary, usage of words and distinctively Kashmiri metaphors. She profusely uses colloquial Kashmiri expressions. Her female characters bear names af-

ter Kashmiri goddesses—Tripura Sondari, Ragniya, Shri Chakri, Sharika etc. The plots in the stories are well constructed and the characters are full of life. The endings culminate in reconciliation, rather than in conflict and uncertainty. With two anthologies already under her belt one wonders when would she bring out her first Historical Novel. We wish her goodluck.

Title: We were and We will be
Author: Parineeta Khar
Price: Rs 300 (Cloth Bound)
Published by: Utpal Publications
R-2, Khaneja Complex
Main Market, Shakarpur,
Delhi-110092

*The author is the Gen. Secy. of Panun Kashmir

Kashmiri Pandit Diaspora in Himachal Pradesh-Shimla-III

By Upendar Ambardar

My stay at Shimla was an odyssey of familiarization with the community diaspora settled here. The inquisitiveness on my part to equip myself fully with the related information, made me to trudge the downslide hilly path leading to Indira Cottage, Summer Hill Shimla. It is the residence of Dr VK Mattoo, a Professor in the Post Graduate department of Biosciences at the Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla. Dr VK Mattoo's father late Sh Amar Nath Mattoo, an inhabitant of Sona Masjid locality of Fatehkadal, Srinagar migrated to the princely state of Bilaspur in the year 1947 at the invitation of the then ruler late Raja Anand Chand. He was the ruler of the erstwhile Bilaspur state from the year 1931 to 1947. Dr VK Mattoo's father, Sh Amar Nath Mattoo had double post-graduation degrees in Hindi and Political Science besides being a B.Ed. He served in the education department of the Princely State in various capacities.

Dr VK Mattoo did his M.Sc. in Zoology in 1977 from the Himachal Pradesh University, and subsequently obtained the Doctorate degree in the year 1982 from the same University. The topic of his research work in PhD was 'Honey Bee Genetic Diversities in the Himalayn Region'.

Dr VK Mattoo's spouse Dr Neelam Mattoo is also serving in the Biosciences department of the Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla. Dr Neelam Mattoo has been awarded the PhD degree on the topic of "Honey Plant Resources of Himachal Pradesh" in the year 1989. Though being a native of Himachal Pradesh, Dr Neelam Mattoo is quite familiar with the cultural and social traditions of our community. She wears the auspicious and significant marriage symbol of 'Dejhor' without any inhibitions. During one of the chitchats, Dr Neelam Mattoo proudly revealed that she is adept in the preparation of traditional Kashmiri cuisine. She also shared her elation for being a member of the Mattoo family. Both Dr VK Mattoo and his spouse Dr Neelam Mattoo are down

to earth people, endowed with affiable nature and religious disposition.

Sh. PL Tikoo residing at Anand Cottage, Sanjouli, Shimla, is an original inhabitant of Tikoo Mohalla Shalla Kadal, Srinagar. He retired as PA in the Himachal Pradesh State Electricity Board, Shimla. The lure of making a livelihood in Himachal Pradesh made Sh. PL Tikoo migrate to Shimla in the year 1960. He has two daughters and a son-Mr Ashwani Tikoo, who is working as a project officer in Life Insurance Corporation office Sanjouli, Shimla. One of the daughters of Sh. PL Tikoo-Ms Nimmi is married to Mr Ravinder Bakshi, while the other one-Ms Simmi is married to Sh KK Tutoo of Roop Nagar Jammu, who is working as an Agriculture Assistant in the J&K Agriculture department. Though a permanent resident of Shimla for about five decades, his long spell of absence from the birth place has not deterred Sh PL Tikoo to abandon his emotional hold on his mother-tongue as his entire family is Kashmiri speaking besides being sincerely devoted to the traditional Kashmiri moorings.

Sh JN Koul, who retired as Superintendent in the Himachal Pradesh Accountant General's Office, is settled at Jakho area of Shimla. He came to Shimla in the year 1952-53. Prior to his joining the AG'S office Shimla, Sh JN Koul has served in the Northern Railway Account's department at Shimla.

Sh. Bhola Nath Aima, an original resident of Habba Kadal, Srinagar is also one of the early settlers at Shimla. He has served in the Monitoring Service of All India Radio at Shimla and retired as Deputy Director from the said department. He is now settled at Kaithu. One of his sons, Sh Jai Krishan, a correspondent in the Central Information Service is presently serving in the north-east region of the country, while his other son is a representative in a pharmaceutical concern.

Sh. Bhola Nath's daughter, married to a Himachali, is serving in a bank of Shimla. Sh Nand Lal Raina, settled at Phagli, Shimla has retired as a Superintendent from the Himachal Pradesh Secretariat, Shimla. He migrated to Shimla in the year 1952. One of his sons, Sh Roshan Lal Raina has served in the State Public Relations department and is now settled at Nabha estates, Shimla, while the other one-Sh Bushan Lal Raina has been an employee of Himachal Pradesh PWD.

Sh Shyam Lal Thathu, an erstwhile resident of Sopore came to Shimla in the year 1949-50. He joined as a stenographer in the secretariat of Himachal Pradesh and eventually retired as a Superintendent. His brother Sh Brij Nath Thathu has served in the medical department, while the other one-Sh Omkar Nath Thathu was an employee of MES in Himachal Pradesh.

Sh KN Wali, an original resident of Rainawari, Srinagar migrated to Himachal Pradesh in the year 1956. After doing post graduation in Mathematics, he joined the department of Economics and statistics and by dint of his hard work and dedication rose to the post of the Director. Subsequently, he occupied the prestigious

post of Deputy Director, Planning Commission, Government of India Delhi and was later on inducted in Indian Statistical Service, ISS. His son Mr Ashok Wali is an engineer at Delhi. The Wali family is even now wedded to Kashmiri traditions. Sh Chander Mohan Razdan is one of the oldest Kashmiri Pandits of Shimla, having his residence in the area between Lakkar Bazar and Sanjoli. He came to Shimla sometime around the year 1935, when Shimla was the summer capital of British India. Sh AN Zalpuri, a native of Chinkral Mohalla, Srinagar migrated to Shimla in the year 1950. He has served in the Himachal Pradesh Accountant General's office. One of his sons has now moved out of Shimla to Vadodara, where he is presently managing his own business, while as his second son is working as an engineer in HCL, Delhi. Sh Pyare Lal Koul, a native of Srinagar his served in the Horticulture department of Himachal Pradesh. He has done B.Sc. in Horticulture Sciences. Now retired, he is permanently settled at Shimla.

Late Prof Ravinder Kumar, an old Kashmiri Pandit of Allahabad (UP) has served as Head of the Post Graduate department of History in the Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla from 1976 to 1982. Later on he served as Director of the Nehru Museum. Prof. Ravnider Kumar was a renowned historian and an authority on the Modern history. Late Sh. Hriday Nath Mattoo, an original inhabitant of Habbakadal, Srinagar migrated to Shimla in the year 1950.

He served in the state medical department and worked as a theatre assistant in the Rippon hospital, Shimla. A very social person of gracious nature, Late Sh HN Mattoo was actively involved in the activities of the Kashmiri Pandit Association, Shimla.

Dr. Prabhu Krishan Raina, a native of the village Wanpoh in the district of Anantnag, first served as a lecturer and later on as a Reader in the Post-Graduate department of Physics in the Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla.

A brilliant student and a topper throughout his career, he was a Gold Medallist in M.Sc.

Physics. Dr Raina left the Himachal Pradesh University Shimla in the year 2000 to join as a Reader in the prestigious Indian Institute of Technology, Khargpur. He is married in a Himachali family. His father has also served in the state education department and retired as Headmaster. He is now settled at Upper Shimla.

Sh. Sanjay Raina, one of the cousins of Dr Prabhu Krishan Raina is running his own computer related business at Shimla and is permanently settled at Vikas Nagar, Shimla. Dr. Krishna Raina, an original resident of Bana Mohalla, Srinagar joined as a faculty member in the department of Hindi in the Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla and later on became the Head of the department in the same University. Sh Arvind Koul after serving as the Chief Secretary in the government of Himachal Pradesh became the chairman of the Himachal Pradesh Public Service Commission in the year 2004. Mr Vipin Koul, a civil engineer by profession is working in the Himachal Pradesh Housing Board, Shimla as an Assistant Engineer. He is permanently settled at Sanjouli, Shimla. His spouse is employed in MES, Shimla. His father, Sh ML Koul after serving the state education department retired as the Principal, Govt. Higher Secondary School, Lalpanu, Shimla. Sh Vipin Koul is deeply attached to the traditional values and is intimately involved with the various socio-cultural activities of the Kashmiri Pandit Association, Shimla

—(To be continued)

HOMAGE



Sh. Shamboo Nath Pandita

Panun Kashmir & Kashmir Sentinel pay respectful Homage to Sh. Shamboo Nath Pandita resident of Lalad Sopore presently at 35-A/B Vipan Garden Dwarika New Delhi, who passed away on 16th Nov, 2006 at Delhi. Sh. Shamboo Nath Pandita father of Sh. Dinesh Pandita, PK activists Rohini Delhi was a source of inspiration to all of us. We pay our heartfelt condolences to the bereaved family.

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