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### MARTYRS' DAY

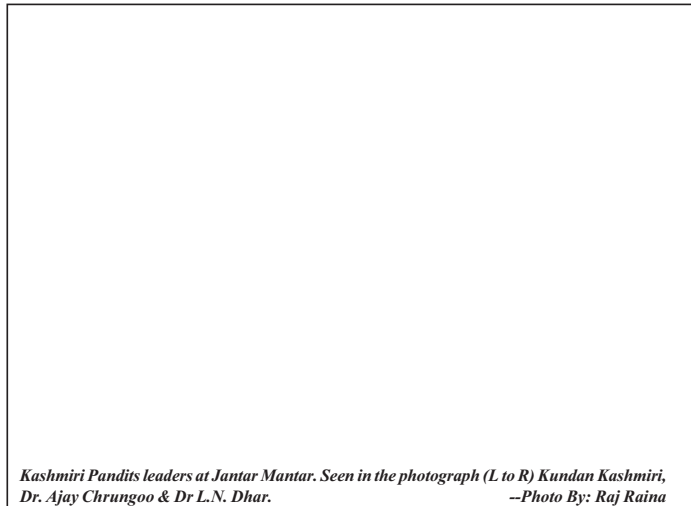
## Kashmiri Hindus hold massive demonstration at Jantar Mantar

By Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, Sep 14: Kashmiri Hindus held a massive protest demonstration at Jantar Mantar to pay tributes to the martyrs and submitted a "Memorandum" to Prime Minister of India demanding homeland, Ministry of Rehabilitation and employment package for the community youth.

The programme initiated by Panun Kashmir was later jointly organised by Panun Kashmir and Kashmir Samiti, Delhi. The demonstration was supported by the different KP's Sabhas of NCR Delhi like Faridabad, Gaziabad, Shalimar Garden, Vipin Garden, Najaf Ghar, Rohini, Vaishali, Dwarika etc.

At least a fortnight prior to demonstration, Panun Kashmir launched a massive publicity campaign in Delhi and NCR region by organising meetings with different Sabhas, Groups and Individuals. A massive



Kashmiri Pandits leaders at Jantar Mantar. Seen in the photograph (L to R) Kundan Kashmiri, Dr. Ajay Chrungoo & Dr L.N. Dhar.  
--Photo By: Raj Raina

poster drive, distribution of message/appeal was simultaneously launched urging Kashmiri Hindus to register their demand of Panun Kashmir by joining the protest march at Jantar Mantar. This whole publicity campaign was ably led by Sh. Vijay Tikoo and Sh. Kamal Wangnoo with support from scores of PK youth activists.

Notwithstanding the serial blasts in Delhi, with fear psychosis gripping the Delhites Kashmiri in huge numbers, drawn from NCR and the surrounding areas participated in the demonstration. The march to Prime Minister's residence could not be taken at the suggestion of Delhi government due to security concerns. The programme was organised to pay Shraadajali to the martyrs. It changed into 'Anti-Terrorism Rally' in the changed scenario

to give a strong signal to the terrorists and the support structures that the nationalistic people would not be cowed down by the heinous crimes perpetrated against humanity.

The theme of the programme was "one community, one voice and one goal" and the participants, including the Kashmiri Samiti and ASKPC Delhi Unit leadership, echoed in one voice "Homeland" demand as the only political demand of the community. The speakers said that the true tribute to the martyrs, who sacrificed their lives in J&K to uphold the sovereignty lies in J&K to uphold unity and integrity of India, and to pursue the homeland demand with assertion.

Speaking on the occasion, Panun Kashmir Chairman Dr Ajay Chrungoo said that the recent upsurge in Kashmir Valley

has further underlined the significance of "Homeland" demand. He added that so-called mainstream politicians with secular credentials blatantly talked of secession and it should open the eyes of the Indian state. He said that Panun Kashmir refuses to be intimidated by what is being proclaimed in the Valley. Our commitment to carve out Panun Kashmir to north and east of river Jhelum with a Union Territory Status in Kashmir Valley where there is free flow of Indian constitution is strengthening with each day. Our struggle will continue with redoubled vigour and energy now. Dr Chrungoo said that in the present scenario the Homeland demand is all the more important and the Government of India should take cognisance of the demand. (Contd. on Page 9

Sh. Rakesh Koul, Gen.Secy  
Kashmiri Samiti Delhi and  
Sh. Kuldeep Raina Gen.  
Secy Panun Kashmir at  
Jantar Mantar, New Delhi

Due to disturbed situation in Jammu we could not bring out August and September issues.  
We regret the inconvenience caused to our esteemed readers. ---Editor

## THOSE WHO LEFT US

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

1. Smt. Vomavati Jaan W/o Late Sh. S.N. Jaan of Tankipora Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at Amritsar Punjab. 9/1/2008
2. Sh. Shambu Nath Kachroo of Sopore Baramulla Kmr; presently was putting up at Yoganand Ashram Anandvan, Sapt Grover Hardwar. 10/1/2008
3. Sh. Janki Nath Rain S/o Latish Balak Balak Ram Raina of Trehgam Kupwara Kmr; presently residing at Camp Purkhoo Phase Ist Qtr. No: 24, Jammu. 10/1/2008
4. Sh. Hriday Nath Kanpasi S/o Late Pt. Vishinath Kampasi Prop. of (Vishinath Press Sgr) originally resident of Bana Mohalla Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at A-322, Sarita Vihar New Delhi. 11/1/2008
5. Smt. Indrawati Pahalwan W/o Late Pt. Ved Lal Pahalwan R/o Zaindar Mohalla Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 2, Lane-2-A Laxmipuram Chinore Bantalab Road, Jammu. 11/1/2008
6. Mrs. Kamlawati Pandit W/o Late Prof. Beel Ji Nath Pandit of Kulgam Kashmir; presently resident of H.I.G. 148 Sector 48-C, Chandigarh. 11/1/2008
7. Sh. Rattan Lal Kaul S/o Late Sh. Kanth Joo Kaul, R/o Shakti Niwas, 3-Rajinder Nagar Canal Road Jammu. 11/1/2008
8. Sh. Janki Nath Pandit S/o Late Goverdan Ji Pandi of Bagi Sunder Bala Chattabal Sgr; presently at 310-Migrant Camp Nagrota Phase-I, Jammu. 11/1/2008
9. Sh. Bal Ji Ganjoo S/o Late Sh. Maheshwar Nath Ganjoo of Baramullah Kashmir; presently resident of H.No: 15, Lane-0 Anand Nagar Bohri, Jammu. 12/1/2008
10. Sh. R.K. Bharati resident of 1004, Jawahar Nagar Talab Tillo Jammu originally resident of Kakran Kulgam Kashmir. 12/1/2008
11. Smt. Yumburzal (Durga Ji) W/o Late Sh. Shamboo Nath Cherwoo of Jabli Pora Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 716, Lane-3 Vinayak Nagar Muthi Jammu. 12/1/2008
12. Sh. Amar Nath Koul S/o Late Tara Chand Koul R/o Lok Bhawan Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 316, Lane-3H Tomal Anand Nagar, Jammu. 13/1/2008
13. Sh. Janki Nath Mahanoori S/o Late Sh. Zinda Lal Mahanoori originally resident of Mahanoora Chadoora Budgam Kmr; presently at 10912, Block A, Roop Nagar Enclave, Jammu. 13/1/2008
14. Smt. Omawati Mirza W/o Late Pt. Vesh Nath Mirza of Shalla Kadal Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 12, Lane No: 8 Netar Kothian Barnai Jammu. 13/1/2008
15. Sh. Janki Nath Bhan S/o Late Sh. Shankar Nath Bhan originally resident of Budhmulla Narwah Baramulla Kmr; presently residing at Muthi Camp Phase-I, Jammu. 13/1/2008
16. Sh. Chand Ji Bhat S/o Late Sh. Tika Lal Bhat of Kulussa Badipora Kmr; presently residing at Police Colony No: J-1/43 Channi Himmat Jammu. 13/1/2008
17. Smt. Lakshmi Mattoo W/o Late Sh. Shambu Nath Mattoo R/o 36 Mohinder Nagar Canal Road, Jammu and presently residing at H.No: 34, Sector-12, Panchkulla Haryana. 13/1/2008
18. Smt. Khimashori Kasid/Razdan W/o Sh. Brij Krishen Razdan R/o Karfali Mohalla Sgr; presently resident of Gurgaon Haryana. 13/1/2008
19. Sh. Janki Nath Tickoo S/o Pt. Ganesh Dass Tickoo R/o Handwara Kmr; presently residing at H.No:13/14 Lane-4 Saraswati Vihar Bohri Tomal Jammu. 14/1/2008
20. Smt. Raj Rani Kachroo originally resident of Syed Ali Akbar 2/3rd Bridge Sgr; presently residing at Nagpur. 14/1/2008
21. Sh. A.D. Razdan resident of E-61, Bali Nagar, Raja Garden New Delhi. 14/1/2008
22. Sh. Prem Nath Koul of Verinag Kmr; presently residing at 142, Old Rajinder Nagar New Delhi. 14/1/2008
23. Sh. Mohan Lal Wali S/o Late Sh. Srikanth Wali originally resident of Badyar Payeen (Ganpatyar) Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at Ajeet Colony Gole Gujral Jammu. 15/1/2008
24. Sh. Upendra Nath Mutto S/o Late Sh. Bajji Nath Mutto resident of E-43, Greater Kailash Enclave Part-III, New Delhi. 15/1/2008
25. Smt. Shobawati Kaul/Karihaloo resident of Villa 68/1 Palm Meadows Phase-I, White Field Bangalore. 16/1/2008
26. Smt. Mohan Piyari Tickoo W/o Sh. M.K. Tickoo originally resident of Ganpatyar Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 21, Lane-2, Udaiwalla Bohri, Jammu. 16/1/2008
27. Smt. Rani Raina/Omashori W/o Sh. Triloki Nath Raina, originally resident of Chinkral Mohalla Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at B-317, Durga Nagar Sector-1, Jammu. 16/1/2008
28. Sh. Makhan Lal Wali S/o Late Sh. Shankar Nath Wali of Chanpora Sgr; presently resident of B-22, Ext.IIInd Shalimar Garden Sahibabad (UP). 16/1/2008
29. Sh. Krishen Dass Koul of Sibdan Budgam, Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 152, Dina Nagar, Udhampur. 17/1/2008
28. Sh. Radha Krishen Tickoo S/o Late Sh. Sansar Chand Tickoo originally resident of Sathu Barbar Shah Sgr; presently residing at 34-Bagwati Nagar, Sector-1, Canal Road, Jammu. 18/1/2008
29. Smt. Rattan Rani Mattoo W/o Late Sh. D.N. Mattoo R/o Mattan Kmr; presently resident of Viveka Nand Colony Gangyal Jammu. 18/1/2008
30. Sh. Mohan Lal Bhat S/o Late Sh. Kanth Joo Bhat of Reshipeer Alikadal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 21, Lane-4, Saraswati Vihar Tomal Anand Nagar, Bohri Jammu. 18/1/2008
31. Smt. Leelawati W/o Late Sh. Ram Chand Tickoo of Hugam Kmr; presently residing at Swarn Vihar Domana Jammu. 18/1/2008
32. Sh. Radha Krishen Raina S/o Late Sh. Kailash Ram R/o Village Tarahama Tangmar Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 72 Ext. I/A Trikuta Nagar, Jammu. 19/1/2008
33. Sh. J.N. Sapru S/o Late Sh. Sarwanand Saproo originally resident of Shalla Kadal Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of Room No: 222, MLA Hostel Jammu. 19/1/2008
34. Smt. Phoola Jala W/o Sh. S.L. Jala R/o Hawanand Chowalgam Kulgam Kmr; presently resident of 30/2 Shanti Puram Lower Roop Nagar, Jammu. 19/1/2008
35. Sh. Shamboo Nath Pandit S/o Late Prasad Ram Pandit R/o Mantpora Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at Tomal Bohri Jammu. 19/1/2008
36. Sh. Radha Krishen Bhat S/o Late Sh. Aftab Lal Bhat R/o Hawal Pulwama Kmr; presently residing at Muthi Camp Jammu. 20/1/2008
37. Smt. Gonjgir W/o Late Sh. Sat Lal Bhat of Khunmoh Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 40, Sector-2A Durga Nagar, Jammu. 20/1/2008
38. Sh. Sri Kanth Koul S/o Late Aftab oul of Pampore Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 31, Dharmal Panchayat Ghar Barnai, Jammu. 20/1/2008
39. Smt. Mohini Handoo W/o Sh. Makund Lal Handoo of Khah Bazar Anantnag and presently resident of H.No: 7, Ext. Anuradha Puram Sector-1, Barani, Jammu. 20/1/2008
40. Smt. Roopawat Koul W/o Late Sh. Radha Krishen Koul (Teli) R/o Lal Chowk Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at Upper Barnai Near Talab Jammu. 20/1/2008
41. Smt. Kamlawati Tutoo W/o Late Sh. Shyam Lal Tutoo, R/o Plot No: 18, Lane No: 13, Swarn Vihar Police Colony Durga Nagar, Sector-1 originally resident of Malchimar Alikadal Sgr. 21/1/2008
42. Smt. Indira Devi Bhat W/o Late Sh. Jagar Nath Bhat of Qtr. No: 2, Block-7, Police Lines Gulshan Ground Gandhi Nagar, Jammu. 22/1/2008
43. Smt. Hiemal/Gangamal of Raooccha Rafiabad Kmr; presently resident of Swarn Vihar Trilokpora, Gol Gujral, Jammu. 22/1/2008
44. Sh. Ram Chand Kkou S/o Sh. Madav Koul R/o Bougam Kunzer Tangmarg Kmr; presently resident of Neelsheel Vihar Paloura Dokh Jammu. 23/1/2008
45. Smt. Arandati Ychoo W/o Late Sh. Sudarshan Yachoo originally resident of Karfali Mohalla Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at C-64, DLF Qtrs. Bhopara Chowk New Delhi. 23/1/2008
46. Sh. Rattan Koul of Wasoora Nazuk Mohalla Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 114, Lane No: 2 Arjun Nagar Janipora, Jammu. 24/1/2008
47. Smt. Kamlawati Bhat W/o Late Sh. Maheshwar Nath Bhat of Ashmuji Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at 30/2 Shanti Puram Near BSNL Tower Lower Roop Nagar, Muthi Jammu. 24/1/2008
48. Smt. Kamla Zijoo W/o Late Sh. PN Zijoo of Kralyar Rainawari Sgr; presently residing at 108-A, Sector-7, Plot No: 6, Satisar Appt. Dwarika New Delhi. 24/1/2008
49. Sh. Nirayan Joo Handoo R/o Bagh Jogi Lankar Rainawari Sgr; presently residing at Qtr. No: 279, Phase-1st, Muthi Camp Jammu. 24/1/2008
50. Sh. Dwarka Nath Koul S/o Late Sh. Mudho Koul of Village Damjan Vessu Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 77, Sector-1 Sharika Vihar Lower Roop Nagar Muthi Jammu. 24/1/2008
51. Smt. Uma Thaploo W/o Pt. Arjan Nath Thaploo of Nai Basti Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 34, Lane-7, Church Road Muthi, Jammu. 24/1/2008
52. Smt. Lakshmeshori Bhan W/o Late Sh. Kashi Nath Bhan of Krani Kadal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 320-B, Sector-1 Durga Naga, Jammu. 24/1/2008
53. Sh. Prem Nath Mawa S/o Late Sh. Raja Ram Mawa R/o EWS Colony Lower Roop Nagar, Jammu. 24/1/2008
54. Smt. Saraswati Devi W/o Late Sh. Shiv Jee Pandita erstwhile resident of Hakcharpora Kupwara Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 130, Lane-1, Vikas Nagar, Jammu. 25/1/2008
55. Sh. H.N. Kaul S/o Late Pt. Tara Chand Kaul formerly resident of Alikadal Sgr; presently residing at 661-A Palam Vihar Gurgaon Haryana. 25/1/2008
56. Sh. Shiv Nath Mattoo S/o Late Sh. Keshav Nath Mattoo R/o Malik Bagh Sgr; presently residing at 23/B Baba Sidh Gouria Lane Paloura, Jammu. 25/1/2008
57. Smt. Shyam Rani Jalla W/o Late Sh. Saligram Jalla R/o Kralyar Rainawari, Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 35, Akalpur Mohr Lower Muthi Jammu. 26/1/2008

EDITORIAL

# DENIAL APPROACH

**T**HE way Indian political leadership has responded to the wholesale cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus in Kashmir constitutes a sordid chapter in India's contemporary history. It does not simply indicate that it has run out of ideas on nation-building but is a larger reflection on the state of degeneration that has overtaken the polity. Vote-bank expediencies, criminalization and de-ideologisation of politics, rank opportunism etc. have all contributed to it. In this situation the Kashmiri Pandit community could not have hoped for a better response.

In 1990 when the terrorist entrepreneurs, aided and abetted by the local elements, embarked on a spree of religious-cleansing of the Kashmiri Pandit minority the country's political leadership reacted with denial. There was unwritten fiat to the media and other institutions of civil society to underplay the exodus, playing upon the unjustified fear that reporting Kashmiri Hindu genocide would upset the delicate communal peace in the country. This gave enough space to the groups ---Communists, Lohites, dubious Human Rights groups, NGOs, Ultraliberals etc. (which continue to undermine nation-building process by describing India as a 'multinational' state and not a multi-ethnic one which it is) to unleash a barrage of disinformation on Kashmiri Pandits exodus. Many of these groups, which don't hide their pro-separatist proclivities, insinuated that Pandits' exodus was engineered at the behest of former Governor, Jagmohan.

Denial policy pursued by the Indian State and its political leadership has hamstrung country's effort to work out a solution to break the impasse in Kashmir and facilitate Pandits' return. This approach (denying Pandits' genocide) has also handicapped India at the global level in exposing the jihadist campaign in Kashmir as a Theo-fascist uprising, aimed at destroying secular and democratic character of the state and the country. Crucial diplomatic support that was needed to give the desired thrust to the counter-insurgency campaign was thus found wanting. Our whole diplomatic approach got bogged down in semantics---whether Americans described jihadi acts in Kashmir as 'terrorism' or simply 'acts of violence'. Denial approach, where the Govt. is not prepared to visit the root causes of Pandits' religious-cleansing, has only served to deepen the cleansing process and attrition and delay working out a realistic policy on return and rehabilitation of the displaced community.

The denial policy further disadvantages the State on two more counts. One, it allows communalization and talibanisation processes in Kashmir to go unchecked. Secondly, non-reversal of genocide leads to its replication elsewhere, besides generating insensitivity in the mainstream civil society.

Reversal of genocide of Kashmiri Hindus should have been a matter of serious concern to the nationalist as well as secular segments of the country's political leadership. It is critical to the Indian State on many counts. Return of the Pandit community to their habitat, where they can live without fear and discrimination and perpetuate, is necessary to strengthening of what strategists describe as 'The Northern Frontier of India'. Secondly, India is a multi-religious country, which can remain united only by following secular principle actively. With what moral authority can this ideal be

advocated if the State and the Civil society across the divide remain insensitive to the reversal of genocide of Hindus in country's only Muslim-majority state.

These were the concerns Panun Kashmir leadership did well to articulate, first while presenting Memorandum to the Prime Minister at New Delhi on 14th of Sept. and later at the Srinagar meet convened by the Hon'ble Prime Minister recently.

Panun Kashmir conveyed three major concerns. One, the regional parties/politicians in the Kashmir valley who remain wedded to parochial subnationalism, cannot be trusted to redress the genocidal deprivations of the Displaced Kashmiris or help in formulating a realistic policy on their return.

Secondly, the Central govt. cannot absolve itself from its responsibility to see an end to the policy of attrition being pursued by the State administration and the local leadership. There is an oft-repeated demand by Panun Kashmir that the Centre must constitute 'Ministry of Rehabilitation' to directly oversee the day-to-day problems of survival and the long-term agenda of return and rehabilitation. How long should the refugees wait for this to happen? Delaying it further in the face of ongoing attrition would only serve to ease out the Pandit community from the state, leading to its total dispersal which would make return next to impossible. Kashmiri Pandit leadership firmly told the Prime Minister that the so-called packages crafted by the Central Govt. have been non-starters, precisely because these treated Displaced Pandit refugees as victims of natural disasters e.g. earthquake, floods, fire etc. rather than that of genocide.

Panun Kashmir leadership waxed eloquent to rubbish the policy to appease Islamists and weaken the nationalist and secular forces in J&K. It warned that those who advocate compression of Indian sovereignty in Kashmir would only facilitate Kashmir's emergence as epicenter of terrorism.

Panun Kashmir pleaded for a firm resolve on the part of Indian State and its political leadership to reclaim Kashmir as a functioning secular society, which demands delegitimising all variants of competitive communal politics in the Kashmir valley. The leadership demanded a national debate on Panun Kashmir demand, declaring that 'Panun Kashmir was the only framework which addresses the problems of nationalist consolidation, perpetual homelessness of Kashmiri Hindus and has the potentiality of creating bipartisan consensus on Kashmir'.

At the Srinagar meet Hon'ble Prime Minister made a historic statement. He declared, much to the discomfiture of separatists, "I have no mandate for retraction of Country's borders... I have my own limitations to work within the parameters of constitution." This needs to be followed up by other declarations ----'there will be no Confidence building measures on Kashmir until the Pandit Question is addressed in its entirety' and 'India will not countenance any process that legitimizes communalism and fundamentalism in Kashmir as policy of divided secularism will not work'. Doing this will enhance India's image nationally as well as internationally. Monocultural, exclusivist societies are out of tune with the global reality.

## Wahabism

Sir,

This letter is with reference to the write-ups 'the mechanics of Chauvinist rage' and a 'monument to hate Chhatterhama' by Praveen Swami in Kashmir Sentinel "July 2008".

The author has tried to show linkages between growing salafisation of Kashmir Valley and the apparent crisis in local shawl industry in Chhatterhama. If there is crisis in shawl baf industry how could only Chhatterhama be effected by it and not other places of shawl industry in the Valley. As usual Praveen Swami has a tendency to over-generalise a local situation and find a marxian economic explanation for it. The rise of Jamait-ahli-Hadis and Jamait-Islami and other new Wahabi outfits are to be seen in the historical development of the Wahabi movement in Kashmir and the emergence of transnational pan-Islamism at the region level.

So far as the role of NC in fanning anti-shrine board fires is concerned this organisation has throughout its career maintained opportunistic relationship with forces of fundamentalism and communalism.

--S.K. Raina,  
New Delhi.

*Sumer Kaul passed away on 20th July, 2008 at New Delhi. Though his family had sent us a communication about his demise on 25th July but due to postal delay it was received by us only a few days back--The Editor*

## IN MEMORIAM

**Sumer Kaul**, The Veteran Journalist is no more. He passed away recently at New Delhi after a critical illness. The sad event, unfortunately, went unnoticed in the national media. Kaul was a distinguished journalist and a widely admired commentator. He was a proud Kashmiri and a profound patriot too. His demise is a tremendous loss to the Pandit community to which he belonged and to the nation at large whose interests were always foremost in his mind.

### **Kashmiri Pandits' Genocide:**

Though Kaul had left Kashmir long back and rarely found time to visit his home place, yet he never reconciled to the religious-cleansing of the members of his community. He was deeply pained at the exodus and took on the high and the mighty in the media establishment for their shameful role in overlooking the genocide of Kashmiri Hindus. In a strong indictment he wrote, "It is a shame ascribable to a misconceived sense of professionalism and a perverse sense of secularism on the part of some of our media commanders. In their scheme of things, communalism is a one-sided coin and anti-majoritism is courage. Their task is not to inform the people of India and the world but to impress their cosy circle of like-minded species at home and, even more, the great white masters of the Universe yonder in Washington and their 'pommynarians' across the Atlantic. If and when something they say or write gets quoted in American and British media, they find themselves floating on cloud nine. No, it is not only a matter of receiving what they consider the ultimate certificate of good journalism; involved here are frequent foreign trips for self and admissions and fellowships and jobs for their progeny and other kin and kith (and of course unending invitations to parties in the coveted precincts of foreign embassies". (A tragedy compounded by petty politics," biased reports and poodle journalism', **Free Press Journal**, May, 10, 2002).

### **Panun Kashmir:**

Sumer Kaul patted Panun

Kashmir for its avante garde role, both in defending the cause of the Displaced Kashmiris, as well as in building public opinion for a strong and reinvigorated India. In Kaul's view Displaced Pandit community faced deep isolation, due to perverse political culture fostered by vote-bank politics and subversive mechanisms from within. The distinguished journalist was at pains to remind Panun Kashmir leadership that the displaced Pandit community faced 'a warlike situation which needed to be reversed through warlike measures'. He expressed solidarity with his community by participating in the seminars, organised by Panun Kashmir in Delhi from time to time. His opinions were always received with respect.

### **Renaissance Role:**

In times when India is beset with serious problems of nation-building Sumer Kaul used his pen powerfully to say what was wrong and what was right. He hated culture of sycophancy and playing to the galleries by the senior members of his profession. Kaul expressed his views fearlessly, being always ready to pay the price for it. He suffered for it. His fortnightly column in *Hindustan Times* was closed down during NDA years when he lashed out at US for its perfidious role in India, particularly in Kashmir.

Kaul's columns in the leading dailies of the country had a renaissance touch. His focus remained on enhancing national security and retrieving secularism from cliches. He measured the role of country's top political leadership by how it grappled with challenges to national security and defended India's national interests. In his opinion both NDA and UPA failed the test. His columns eloquently reflect this.

Kaul expressed serious disapproval of Central Government's policies on Kashmir, foreign policy vis-a-vis US and Pa-

kistan, Defence etc. He also spoke forthrightly about degeneration in polity, double standards on secularism etc. Sumer Kaul hotly contested the political correctness of his times.

### **Kashmir:**

On Kashmir Sumer Kaul opposed mollycoddling Hurriyat. He nailed down the belief that 'dialoguing' with Hurriyat would sooner or later wean them from their anti-India ideology as gross naivete. He said, "Such thinking ignores the fact that **the Hurriyat is not a bonafide party, albeit of misguided or disgruntled politicians. It is a creature of Pakistan and faithfully takes its orders from the ISI, even on whether and when to meet the Prime Minister**". Kaul observed that the fallout of dialogue process with these Pak proxies would have cascading effect on the polity. It would lend recognition and respectability to anti-India elements, thereby keeping the terror pot boiling. The duly-elected state government would stand undermined. The Kashmiris who brave the Hurriyat's boycott call and terrorists' threat to come out in large numbers to vote would become indifferent. Lastly, it sends a wrong signal to the people about the future of their state as an inseparable part of India, and thereby imperil India's territorial integrity and consequently its composite secular fabric.

**Sumer Kaul also upbraided Vajpayee regime for indulging in cliches of 'free and fair election' in J&K in (2002) at the instance of Colon Powel who talked about 'free, fair and inclusive' elections in J&K. Kaul said, "No foreign power, not even the sole super bully, has any right to tell us how to hold elections, much less to make scarcely veiled insinuations, about the 'fairness of the exercise. What makes this gross interference all the more galling is the "inclusive" bit-a naked euphemism for getting the avow-**

**edly secessionist Hurriyat to take part in the election". Dubbing Hurriyat as resident agents of Pakistan and its ISI-terrorist machine, Kaul said promoting Hurriyat to undermine the NC government (in 2002) was 'a case of cutting one's nose to spite one's face'.**

Kaul was the first journalist to find seeds of sell-out on Kashmir in Vajpayee's infamous 'Kumarakom Musings'. He said that Vajpayee's talk of the need to think in terms of "a new architecture" of Kashmir was nothing but a camouflage to deliver strategic concessions to Pakistan on Kashmir at the instance of Americans. Much of the turmoil seen in Kashmir recently has its legacy in these 'musings'. Widespread support to the Jammu agitation was in a major part the backlash against the separatist and pro-Pak policies pursued in J&K since 2002.

### **Feeble Minds and Weak Knees:**

Sumer Kaul dubbed NDA government as one of 'feeble minds and weak knees'. On rolling back of 'Operation Parakram' Kaul said that 'the only message it conveyed to the military-mullah machine there is that India may bark occasionally but it will never bite, and so they can go on with their diabolical games!' He declared loud and clear"

"I am not a war monger. Far from it. But like millions of other Indians I cannot countenance this country and its honour and interests being mauled endlessly. Nor, like my countrymen again, am I prepared to be taken in by the government's rhetorical bravado. The ruling establishment may persuade some committed commentators to echo and endorse the pretence of victory, but the people at large can no longer be fooled. They now clearly see this government for what it is--timid, even fumbling and bungling, out smarted by Pakistan and cheated by the

US...

### **US Role:**

In view of the blinkers the US administration has put on its fight against terrorism Sumer Kaul warned Delhi government not to pursue a subaltern policy vis-a-vis America. It pained Kaul that the Foreign Office was fighting over semantics in judging diplomatic successes on whether America used word 'terror' or 'violence' for terrorist acts by ISI in India. He wrote, "**How much longer must we go on missing the wood for the trees? Banning this or that terrorist outfit will not end our problem in Kashmir; they will simply take other names, as they have in the past. Anti-India terrorism will end only when the military-mullah complex in Pakistan is smashed. And this is not about to happen. The world may or may not have changed after September 11, nothing has changed for India.. Nor, let us understand, have there been any changes for the better in the basic mindsets in Washington and Islamabad... In the event, what we ought to do is to change our mindset. We should forthwith stop appeasing Washington and winning on its shoulders. We should take an honest stock of our disastrous foreign policy, and devise a strategy to counter Pakistan's terrorist apparatus.."**

### **Gujrat:**

Referring to incidents in Gujrat and the highly inspired reportage by Western and Indian media and the apologist stance adopted by the government in Delhi Sumer Kaul observed, "**It is this mindset, this subaltern thinking, this scorpoid writing that is more lethal to secularism and social harmony than the communal virus**".

### **Policy"**

Kaul never hesitated to talk about the degeneration in Indian polity over the years and its harmful fallout on national security. He lamented, "**our polluted polity has no pan-Indian entities**". He debunked those politicians and "lazy" commentators who welcomed 'coalition era' as reflection of the great diversity of India. Sumer Kaul described

(Contd. on Page 5)



## Jammu Agitation Unique

# "Panun Kashmir prelude to resolution of Kashmir," says Govindacharya

JAMMU Sep 1: Hailing the masses and organisers for carrying the agitation in Jammu to its logical conclusion, Rashtriya So-abhiman Andolan Chief Sh. Govindacharya described the Jammu mass movement as unparalleled in the history of India. This has lessons for the people of the country as well as the Indian state he added. Describing carving out of Panun Kashmir as nationalist demand, he said that creation of Panun Kashmir was prelude to the resolution of Kashmir issue. Sh.Govindacharya described the resolution of Parliament on liberation of POK as guiding force and termed any compromise on the issue as harmful for the nation.

Addressing a press conference in Jammu along with Panun Kashmir Chairman Dr.Ajay Chrungoo, PK general Sh.Kuldeep Raina and President Jammu Tigers, Sh.Kuljeet Singh, Sh.Govindacharya congratulated Sangarsh Samiti and the general masses of Jammu for leading the mass movement to its logical conclusion. He said that the success has infused a hope in nationalist masses that 'the commitment is key to success' and with resilience the Govt. can be bridled. He added that the agitation has a lesson for the Indian state as it has learnt that nationalist aspirations cannot be ignored. Sh. Govindacharya said that the secret behind the success of the agitation was that the issue was supreme and not the leader. Referring to the contribution of the Rashtriya So-abhiman Andolan in the movement Govindacharya said "RSA organised different types of programmes like Dharnas Protests, Hunger strikes in 140

districts and coordinated with other organisations at other places across the country in support of the Jammu Agitation. Responding to a question, Sh.Acharya described politicisation of the issue. Governor's role and centre's ill handling of the Amarnath Land Row as reasons for the crisis. "Indian State has a legacy of not recognising an issue in the first phase and after recognising it tries to sabotage the movement and then finds the solution belatedly. In the Amarnath Land Row it lived to its habitual practice," added Acharya.

Extending full support to Panun Kashmir Sh. Govindacharya described creation of Panun Kashmir as prelude to the resolution of Kashmir Imbroglia and demanded rehabilitation of Kashmiri Hindus with dignity honour and security. Sh.Govindacharya added that the idea of Panun Kashmir needs serious attention so that the problem is comprehended for further movement on the issue. Responding to a query Sh.Govindacharya opined that "What Indian State failed to do Panun Kashmir achieved that as it successfully contested the distortions in International fora including the UN and made Hindus party to the Kashmir Issue." He added that the ground work done by PK was the basis of success of the current agitation. Accusing political parties of promoting minoritism and compromising on

the national sovereignty, the RSA leader said that propositions like porous borders, joint management or loosened sovereignty are unacceptable to the nation. Recalling the unanimous Parliament resolution of 1994 on the liberation of POK, Sh.Govindacharya said that the resolution shall serve as a guiding force for the Indian State and any compromise on the issue will be harmful for the nation.

Later addressing a public rally at Nagrota Camp, Sh.Govindacharya described the present agitation in Jammu as unparalleled in the modern Indian history. He said that even during Quit India movement only 65000 people turned for Jail Bharo Andolan while in Jammu lakhs of people including women and children turned out to court arrest. Recalling his participation in Jaiprakash Narayan movement in Bihar Sh.Govindacharya said that the participation in Jammu movement was widespread and spontaneous.

Referring to the discrimination meted out to Jammu Province, Sh. Govindacharya quoted an old lady saying "Ati Ho Gaye" (Enough is Enough) and said that Amarnath Land Row served as an outburst to the continued discrimination. Lashing out at the Central Government for being Kashmir centric, Sh.Govindacharya said that the Centre always patronised, protected and promoted Kashmir leadership and their interests. Quoting Hindu scriptures he compared the relationship of Indian state to Kashmir leadership as one of Indra and Takshak. Referring to the "SARP YAGYA" he said that the Yagya was performed to get rid of Takshak. Finding himself in peril Indra withdrew his patronage to Takshak to save his skin. He added that the Jammu mass movement has a lesson for the Indian State that it no longer can afford to pursue Kashmir-centric politics.

Painting politicians across the spectrum with same tar, Sh.Govindacharya accused the politicians of compromising the national interests in pursuit of vote bank politics.

Speaking on the occasion Panun Kashmir Chairman, Dr.Ajay Chrungoo described the Jammu mass movement on the land row as a step in the right direction. He said that Panun Kashmir has been working with nationalist forces of Jammu. He added that Kashmiri Pandits should work for strengthening

Jammu as strong Jammu is in the national interest.

Referring to the foresight and contribution of Kashmiri Pandits in consolidation of northern frontiers Dr.Chrungoo said that Pandits knew the import of these Himalayan Frontiers and that is why Pandits invited Maharaja Ranjeet Singh. He added that Dogra rulers also contributed to strengthening these frontiers and there should be no compromise on these issues.

Sh.Kuljeet Singh of Jammu Tigers said that Jammu has reached a situation which Kashmir faced in 1989-90 and that is why Jammu Tigers had joined hands with Panun Kashmir to benefit from their experience and "Margdarshan". Referring to the present agitation as warning signal for Indian State, Mr.Kuljeet said that the success was achieved with beating of "Thali and Tali" and Jammuites should not be forced to use other means to fight for their rights. Messers Satish Kumar, Lalit Jee and Prof.Keshav Sharma also spoke on the occasion.

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## IN MEMORIAM

(Contd. from Page 4)  
the coalition era as "nothing but an era of political promiscuity spawned by the collapse of ideological politics, indeed of political-morality and driven, by lust for power." He decried Andhra government's decision to give subsidy to Christians for undertaking pilgrimage to Jerusalem as "witless". He observed that, "it is yet another manifestation of the sordid vote-bank politics that not only tends to create a backlash among even non-communal minded people of all communities but seriously questions the character and credibility of the Congress party's anti-communism stance".

### Professional Career:

Sh. Sumer Kaul hailed from

Fatehkadal quarter of downtown Srinagar. His father Pt.Prem Nath Kaul was a postmaster. Sumer Kaul's elder brother Prof. Ayodhya Nath Kaul taught English at Delhi University. He is an internationally known scholar on American literature and has authored many books.

Sumer Kaul was born on 14 November, 1938. He did his B.A.Hons. (Economics) from St. Stephens and M.A. from the prestigious Delhi School of Economics. Kaul played as lead actor in the annual plays of these institutions. He also edited the Journal of the Delhi School of Economics.

Sumer Kaul joined *Hindustan Times* in 1961, acting as reporter, film critic and feature writer. He

won the **Cabot Fellowship** for study at the Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University and secured Masters degree with Honours. Kaul won the **Henry Taylor Prize** for 1967 (gold plaque and \$1000). This prestigious award is given annually to a graduate "who has shown qualities of an outstanding journalist". He was the first Indian and Asian to bag this prize.

Sumer Kaul worked for *New York Times* in New York and *Associated Press* at the UN, and on its world desk. Kaul was foreign correspondent in AP's South Asia bureau in New Delhi. He wrote for *Washington Post* as India Correspondent. Sumer Kaul worked for *Indian Express* and left it as Deputy Editor-in-

Chief to Edit (*The Observer* and the *Herald*). He wrote columns for all major Indian newspapers - *Hindustan Times*, *The Tribune*, *Free Press Journal*. Currently he was writing for the *Statesman*. His columns also appeared, through a syndication in many Indian language newspapers.

Sumer Kaul taught for some time at IIMC as Visiting Professor. He presented a Weekly Current Affairs programme for Doordarshan for several years. He wrote and presented a special hourlong documentary on Jawahar Lal Nehru for Doordarshan.

### Kashmir Sentinel:

Sumer Kaul wrote with great pride for *Kashmir Sentinel*. He felt that this paper was doing a

yeomen's service in addressing serious problems confronting the nation and the Displaced Pandit community. As word of encouragement for this effort he would often send one-liner short letters 'Strength to your elbow'. He would also render useful advice, particularly in improving the layout of this paper. Kaul would say that this paper should carry more of news and photographs. We eagerly awaited his write-ups, which he would type himself on an old type-writer and then correct with pen. For quite sometime we had not received any write-up and were expecting one any time. Unfortunately, we received the sad news of his demise. He was a mentor and guide to us. Kashmir *Sentinel* feels orphaned by his loss.

By S.M. Pandit

JAMMU, Sep 14: The "Indian State" came under sharp criticism at a Panel discussion here today at Jammu. Speaking on the subject-"Indian Nation and challenges in Kashmir," the panelists opined that nation will continue to face challenges in Kashmir unless the Indian state changes its basic policy vis-a-vis Kashmir. The programme was organised by Panun Kashmir to observe the "Martyrs' Day" to pay their homage to community brethren and others including the Army and security personnel, who sacrificed their lives, upholding the sovereignty, integrity and principles of the nation.

Initiating the discussion, **Prof. M.K. Teng**, Chairman Advisory Panun Kashmir and a political expert, said that "Indian state is at war with its own civilisation" as the state does not reciprocate with the aspirations of the Indian masses. Prof. Teng added that the state denies the "civilisational continuity" and ignores "the civilisational" import of its frontiers. He said that the tendency was reflected since independence and the fact that Bharat is stated as "India i.e. Bharat" and not vice-versa in the preamble of the constitution underlines the same truth. Accusing the Indian state and the political establishment of trivialising the worst human tragedy, Prof. Teng described the exodus of Kashmiri Hindus as unparalleled in the post world war era as five lakh people faced genocide at the hands of fundamentalists and terrorists.

Describing NC's claim of accepting the accession subject to conditions as "distortion of history", Mr Teng said that NC had no role in the accession as it was the ruler of the state who was empowered to sign the instrument of accession.

**Prof. Keshav Sharma**, HoD School of Management University of Jammu, asked the Indian state not to nurture any illusions on Kashmir as "Mangoes" cannot be grown on "Chilly plants". He chided the Central government of extending VIP treatment to the separatists and said that anti-national elements should be dealt with iron hand.

Expressing serious concern over the growing terrorist attacks across the country, Prof. Sharma said that Kashmir has become gateway of terrorism. He said he did not want to see the day when "India would be called a hub of terrorism like Pakistan or Afghanistan". He accused separatists of misleading the general masses and leading luxurious life for themselves.

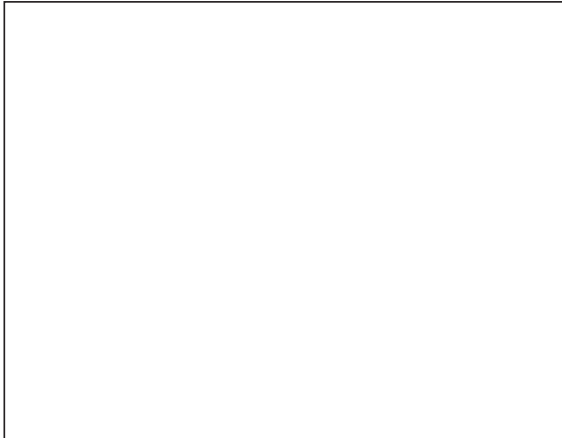
Accusing Kashmiri leadership of pursuing politics of blackmail, Prof. Sharma alleged that disturbance due to bandh in Jammu was projected as "Economic blockade" with ill intentions. He added that Jammu had suffered the most due to it.

Asking the Indian state to give up policy of minority appeasement, Mr Sharma said that the will and aspirations of the majority community of the nation shall have to be respected.

**Sh. Madan Lal Sharma**, senior Congress leader and Member Parliament, said that Kashmiri Pandits can play a constructive role as they have the first hand assessment of the situation. Mr Sharma said that Kashmiri Pandits have the feel of the ground situation in the Valley and as such they should be involved in the process of resolution of Kashmir to gain from their

Panun Kashmir observes "Martyrs Day" at Jammu

## "Challenge in Kashmir lies in the mindset of Indian state-Panelists"



Panelists at the Symposium (L to R) Dr.Keshav Sharma, Hon'ble MP Sh. Madan Lal Sharma, Sh. Ajat Jamwal, Sh. Shailendera Aima & Dr.Hari Om.

"wisdom" and "experience". Advocating empowerment of the community, Mr Sharma said that they should be given their share due in every sphere.

Extending his support to the "Homeland" demand, Mr Madan Lal Sharma said that it is his personal opinion that 'there is no harm in discussing the demand' When other propositions are being discussed.

Appreciating the vision and understanding of Dr Ajay Chrungeo, Chairman Panun Kashmir, the Congress leader said that he was very much impressed by him. Referring to Dr. Chrungeo's presentation in the RTC, Mr Sharma said that Prime Minister was moved by his presentation and walked upto Dr. Chrungeo to shake his hands as a sign of recognition and appreciation of the view point. Mr Sharma implored upon the Pandits to strengthen Dr. Chrungeo's hands.

He accused Kashmir leadership of pursuing the politics of blackmail and without naming PDP, he said that some mainstream political parties are pushing the agenda of separatists.

Prof. Hari Om, senior vice President and spokesperson BJP state unit, said that challenges in Kashmir lie in the Indian state as its policies have contributed to the Kashmir mess. Lambasting UPA government for patronising the separatists in the Valley the BJP leader referred to the 113 day long *Safar-e-Azadi* of Yasin Malik and alleged that the support structure including security arrangements came from the Central government. Prof. Hari Om said that the nation has been facing challenges in Kashmir since independence and laid the blame at the doorsteps of Congress for pursuing compromising policy.

He chided UPA government for sup-

porting trans-LoC trade via Muzaffarabad but opposing the opening of Suchetgarh-Sialkot road

Referring to the recent agitation in Jammu over the Amarnath land row, the BJP leader described it as historical and said that nationalistic forces in the country take inspiration from the mass movement in Jammu.

Sh. Harbans Nagokey, senior journalist and bureau chief JK Channel, came down heavily on the Indian state and opined that the "challenges in Kashmir" will continue unless the mindset of the Indian state is changed. He accused the Indian government of fighting the terrorism with kid gloves and said that there should be no soft policy towards terrorists and anti-national elements.

Extending his support to the "Homeland" demand, the senior journalist said that when the demand was raised, it looked unachievable but now it seems an imminent reality. He credited the Amarnath land agitation with consolidating the nationalist forces across the region.

Senior KP leader and President ASKPSC, Sh ON Trisal said that challenges in Kashmir lie in Islamic fundamentalism and added that the terrorism is now spreading to the entire country. He painted NDA and UPA with same tar for pursuing the so-called peace process, Mr Trisal opined that the 'proxy war and peace' cannot go together. He described the Homeland demand as a nationalistic imperative. Praising Jammuites for sheltering the community, the senior KP leader said that the exiled community owes gratitude to the Jammuites.

Asking the nationalistic forces in Jammu to be ready for longer struggle, the Chief of Jammu Tigers, Kuljeet Singh

said the land is going to turn as "Kurukshetra" of "Mahabarta".

Earlier, the panelists and PK activists paid floral tributes to Tika Lal Taploo, symbolising the martyrs. Two minutes silence was observed as a mark of respect to the community brethren, Army and security personnel, who sacrificed their lives in the service of Indian nation. The participants lead by Sh Sunil Bhat of Panun Kashmir took pledge to sacrifice anything for upholding the sovereignty and integrity of the nation and achieving the goal of homeland. The discussion was moderated by vice-chairman Panun Kashmir and editor '*Kashmir Sentinel*', Sh Shailendra Aima and senior journalist Ajat Shatru Singh.

### Jaya asks PM not to turn Nelson's eye to Kashmiri Pandits' plight

KS Correspondent

CHENNAI, Sep 4: Former Tamil Nadu Chief Minister and AIADMK General Secretary J Jayalalithaa today asked Prime Minister Manmohan Singh not to turn a Nelson's eye to the plight of Kashmiri Pandits, 3.5 lakh of whom have been displaced from homes due to terrorism.

In a statement here, she said "the displaced pandits lived in abominable conditions in make shift camps in Jammu and Delhi despite being the original inhabitants of an idyllic paradise with a 5,000-year old well-documented history;

Known for their highest literacy rate among all groups in India, the pandits liberal broad-minded and secular views made them good teachers. But their small numbers and polite and passive temperament made them easy to be ignored and overlooked.

In the 90s; militant groups destroyed or took away their property and thousands brutally killed and they became refugees in their own motherland.

As many as 1,800 Kashmiri Sikhs also became the targets of Islamic militancy as well, she claimed and they deserved to be viewed with the same sympathy as the Christian victims of Orissa violence.

While appreciating the prime minister for announcing a package of assistance for victims of Kandhamal violence in Orissa, she requested him to declare the Kashmiri Pandits as victims of religious extremism and provide them with rehabilitation package similar to that offered to the Orissa victims.

# TRT Complex-From Camp to Township

KS Correspondent

**T**HE allotment of 1000 two room flats to internally displaced families living in one room tenements at various camps in Jammu was welcomed with sense of relief by Kashmiri Hindus. The allotment which had got delayed had raised many doubts and apprehensions. Many believed that the office of Relief Commissioner, mired in corrupt practices in the past, was delaying the allotment simply to mint money by allotting the newly constructed flats in an arbitrary manner. Others suspected that the newly constructed flats will not be allotted at all because of serious opposition of some leaders of PDP and Congress who wanted tokenist presence of Kashmiri Hindus to be somehow repatriated back to Valley by hook or crook. These new constructions as well as the proposed township in Jagati was seen only as a ploy to milk

ever, set all these simmerings to rest by judicially allotting these new accommodations to the camp dwellers. The process adopted was by and large transparent and catered primarily to the most needy families.

Even some physically handicapped and destitute families living outside the camps have been accommodated which has been appreciated by all.

**Kashmir Sentinel** visited one of these newly constructed residential complex in Nagrota. It is a complex of 12 buildings with 384 quarters. Around 178 families have been allotted accommodation in the residential complex TRT Nagrota. The fencing of the perimeter of the complex is yet to be done. However, as per the inmates of Relief Commissioner has promised to expedite the construction of the fencing with three gates as soon as possible. In a deteriorating security environment where authorities have already cautioned various 'camps' about a terrorist attack following wireless intercepts, dwellers at TRT Complex, Nagrota feel that speedy fencing of their quarters would improve the sense of security.

There are a number of uncovered pits and drains in and around the residential complex. A boy living in the quarters has fallen into it.

The buildings of the complex give a feeling of spaciousness which was absent in one room tenements. There is ample space for parks and play grounds for children. But the work on these components of the complex is yet to start. Dispensary and proper store for Ration are under construction but the work is in progress at a slow pace. The dwellers in the complex have to go to collect ration from the relief counter at the adjacent Nagrota camp. This counter caters to more than 1500 families. The ques for Ration are long and due to delay in distribution of ration fight and scuffles between the camp-dwellers is a normal routine. Many families of the TRT complex have yet to be given proper allotment papers and have to go as far as Udhampur to collect their monthly ration.

There is no facility of a community Centre and school in the complex. The families who shifted from Batalbalian Camp complained that the standard of the new schools in which they had to seek admission for their children

Cracks in the building.

was very poor.

They showered praises at the Rishi Model School which was created by Sharda Peeth Trust at Batalbalian.

Even through the new complex is a definite improvement over the previous one room tenements, the symptoms of the virus of corruption can be seen just months after its completion. Cracks in construction have already appeared. At many places seepage and leaks in sanitary fittings can be seen even from distance.

The 4 buildings of the complex were allotted to 3 contractors. But different specification was followed by each one of them to construct the buildings. This has resulted in variation in quality of construction which only conveys that authorities could not ensure proper standardisation. Due to these variations some flats have windows with grills and nets while others have none. Some rooms have switch boards without plugs and absence of heating points.

There is no fresh water outlet in any of the quarters. Electric fitting and door locks in many flats are defective.

Even though relief commissioner has catered to the most needy families while allotting the flats yet certain needed considerations have been overlooked. For example families

which have been duly bifurcated could have been allotted flats adjacently on the same floor. This could have maintained family cohesiveness which most of residents crave for. Sh Vijay Koul has been allotted a flat on 4th floor in B-16 while his father, a heart patient and diabetic who requires nearness to his kith and kin has been allotted accommodation in D-19 ground floor. KS team saw a Tuberculosis female patient living on the 4th floor of C-Block and physically handicapped Maharaj Krishen Raina also on the 4th floor of F-Block. Given the occupancy of the new complex such families could have been accommodated in ground floor of the blocks.

The breaking of family cohesiveness due to allotment of flats is a major complaint particularly among villagers. Sh. Bihari Lal was offered a flat at Jagati which as per reports will be a better residential accommodation after completion of its works. But Bihari Lal has refused the offer and prefers to live in Nagrota where his parents were allotted the accommodation. There are many families living in TRT Nagrota who have allotments due but flats have not to be allotted.

The most glaring absence in the complex is of a Temple. But KS team was moved to find Ram Lila performed in the camp, a sign of cultural anchoring and better future.

A view of the bathroom

money from Centre to be used for local requirements subsequently. That the flats built for Kashmiri Migrants at Sheikhpura were not considered to be allotted to various Kashmiri Pandits living in Kashmir Valley who had been shifted to safer confines of some temples there for security reasons multiplied the suspicious in Jammu and there were many who thought that the new flats will eventually be used for other purposes. The Azad government and the Relief Commissioner department, how-

Delhi March--A Photographic Journey

--Photos By: Raj Raina

● At the very outset we on behalf of Kashmiri Hindus living in India and outside pay tribute to the memory of Sh. Kuldeep Verma who paid supreme sacrifice and became martyr for the cause of preserving the sanctity of holy Amarnath pilgrimage.

● We condemn Mr Omar Abdullah's speech in the parliament during the vote of confidence as one based on falsehood, denial and provoking communal passions.

● We believe Omar Abdullah's speech was targeted purely at communal fundamentalist regimes in the Valley. Through his speech he was probably trying to convey to the people in Valley that he can be as communal and as

**Brief of the press statement issued during media interaction addressed by Dr. Ajay Chrungeo, Chairman Panun Kashmir, Sh. ON Trisal, President (ASKPSC) & Sh. Kuldeep Raina, General Secretary Panun Kashmir on July 26, 2008 at Panun Kashmir Office, Jammu**

fundamentalist as Mrs Mehbooba Mufti and Syed Ali Shah Geelani.

● For six decades National Conference has tried to put on camouflage of secularism while pursuing stridently communal politics in J&K. His speech in parliament blatantly conveys that even the third generation Abdullah lives upto the organisation's communal legacy.

● How can Omar Abdullah decide on behalf of all Kashmiris whether the land is to be given

for use of pilgrims or not? Amarnath pilgrimage is linked with the history of Kashmiri Pandits for thousands of years. If any community has prerogative to decide the use of land it is the Kashmiri Hindu community which symbolises Kashmir's historical regional identity.

● By arrogating to himself and the people of his ilk the right to lay conditions for the Hindu pilgrimage Omar Abdullah is talking like a fascist..

● Which Kashmiri identity and Kashmiri Nationalism Omar Abdullah is talking about? Is denying the temporary allotment of land for building temporary infrastructure an expression of this Nationalism? Or is it linked with building Islamic fundamentalist society in Kashmir?

● Is it not a breach of privilege of Parliament when Mr Omar Abdullah peddles falsehood by declaring that there have been no attacks on Amarnath pilgrims? What did happen at Banihal, Ganderbal, Gulmarg and Batamalo recently?

● Mr Omar Abdullah also said that he was Muslim and an Indian and he did not find the difference between the two. Why

has he been silent then on the attacks on and ultimatum given to Non-Kashmiri labourers to leave Kashmir immediately.

● Those who qualify Mr Omar Abdullah's speech as best speech in the parliament endorse only communal and fundamentalist politics of Kashmir Valley.

● Mr Omar Abdullah is also short on History and facts. Amarnath pilgrimage is more than 2000 years old and has sub-continental importance. If it was stopped during the reign of intolerant Muslim kings it does not mean that pilgrimage was discovered recently. Selective history and selective amnesia do not help.

### Statement Issued by Dr. Ajay Chrungeo, Chairman Panun Kashmir on August 2, 2008 at Jammu

**P**anun Kashmir calls upon all citizens of India not to take the statement of PDP patron Mufti Mohd Sayeed at its face value but to thoroughly analyse it and read what is behind the words . Panun Kashmir outrightly rejects the contention of the PDP patron that the agitation in Jammu region is motivated by hatred, parochialism and has an intention to damage the amiable ethos in the state.

Panun Kashmir views the agitation in Jammu region as an assertion against culture of intolerance and mindset of exclusivism which PDP and its ilk in the state have perpetuated. The state has reached a stage where even providing temporary facilities for conduct of a Hindu pilgrimage to Amarnath shrine is considered as an affront to the sensibilities of people who identify with political ideology as practiced by PDP. The entire campaign which was started by PDP to scuttle the yatra and deny the transfer of land to build facilities for Hindu pilgrims is an expression of hatred and xenophobia. People of Jammu including the displaced Hindus from Kashmir have risen against this brazen intolerance. They have risen to raise their voice against the campaign of religious cleansing which started with the forced expulsion of the entire population of Hindus from Kashmir valley , destruction of Hindu habitat there, which includes hundreds of temples and shrines and is now seeking to disrupt the centuries old pilgrimage to

Amarnath cave. The people of Jammu have risen against a mindset that treats the Province of Jammu as a colony of Kashmiri Muslim hegemony. The people of Jammu have risen to call a halt to an era of discrimination, exploitation and subjugation at all levels and in all spheres of life.

Nobody believes in the subterfuges which PDP patron has put forward to hide his communal and fundamentalist agenda in the state. Everybody knows now that PDP has exerted all its energies to suck the people of Kashmir valley into the whirlpool of competitive communalism and secessionism. PDP is not a messiah of peace in the state but a vicious force which is relentlessly wrecking the chances of peace. PDP has day in and day out sought to legitimize terrorism and subvert the war against terrorism. The 'Self-Rule' proposal which guides the politics of PDP at present only aims at dividing Jammu Kashmir into Hindu and Muslim political domains to destroy the secular fabric and unleash forces of balkanization in rest of India. PDP overtly and covertly has sought to undermine the historical identity of Kashmir so that the religion based identity politics in Kashmir integrates easily with pan-Islamist imperatives. PDP policies have sought to give premium to Islamist terrorism and remove all moral censors against talbinisation of Kashmir. To any discerning student of politics and history of the state, PDP will appear to be the frontline instrument of Jamat-i-Islami.

Panun Kashmir would like all peace loving citizens of India to recognize the regressive and bigoted ideograph of PDP. A

party which seeks inspiration from such periods in the history of Kashmir like the Chak rule when the blood of Kashmiris was spilled both in the name of religion and sectarianism, can only breed hatred. The party which advocates development and progress based on religious identity can never nourish brotherhood amongst the citizens. The party which under one pretext or the other seeks the state to subsidize terrorism will only contribute to the thriving of terrorism.

The PDP patron is on record to have eulogized organizations like Hamas and has asked people of Kashmir to emulate it. The leader of PDP has described terrorists as 'freedom fighters' and martyrs. He mischievously equates Kashmir with the Palestinian issue. He forgets that the Palestinians are the dispossessed people, as are the displaced Hindus of Kashmir. He gloats over the fact that Kashmir is over-empowered in all spheres, reducing the other regions of the state into subject territories.

The movement which PDP wants the world to recognize as a 'freedom' movement, is primarily a movement for the destruction of the basic freedoms of the humankind and its first expression was the genocide of Kashmiri Hindus. Panun Kashmir condemns the statement of Mufti Mohd Sayad in its entire content and context. Panun Kashmir once again reiterates that the agitation in Jammu is an agitation against the forces of intolerance and communalism who have transformed J&K State into a prison house for the Hindus of the state and all other diversities that do not subscribe to the politics of exclusivism.

### Brief of the press statement issued jointly by Dr. Ajay Chrungeo & Dr. Agnishokhar during media interaction on 23rd August, 2008 at Jammu

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, Dated: 23/8/2008: The struggle of the nationalist forces in Jammu for the restoration of Land to Shri Amarnath Shrine Board has entered its fifty fifth day. We reiterate our full and unflinching support to Shri Amarnath Yatra Sangharsh Samiti.

This struggle has exposed the ugly communal face of separatist forces operating in the state. The agitation in Jammu has also torn down the veil of hypocrisy of government of India. Behind this veil Govt. of India has always concealed its preferences to surrender to muslim communalism.

Indian Govt. by its behaviour during these days has brazenly demonstrated that it is opposed to all efforts for the emancipation of people in the state from communal agrandizement, intolerance, discrimination, oppression as well as movement of resistance against Muslim separatism and secessionism.

The political class in Kashmir Valley which opposed the land transfer to SASB stands exposed now. Encouraged by the attitude of Govt. of India this class has thrown away any pretention of secularism and commitment to coexistence.

Led by the ilks of Syed Ali Shah Geelani the separatist forces are demanding a 'final settlement' on Kashmir. Tearing Kashmir away from its historical and civilisational past they seek creation of a Muslim state where religious theocracy will pervade and dictate each and every aspect of life.

The expressions of the Muslim leaders in the Valley and mobilization of people behind fundamentalist and communal banners once again vindicates the Panun Kashmir stand that the political class in Valley continues to reject co-existence as a cardinal principal of social and political life. We warn Govt to desist from any manoeuvres to accord legitimacy to any form of Muslim separatism be it secession to Pakistan. Independence, shared sovereignty or autonomy. We condemn pseudo experts on Kashmir like Arundhati Roy, Prem Shankar Jha, SA Aiyer Jag Suraya, Pratap Bhanu Mehta who are virtually working as overground workers of separatist fundamentalists in Kashmir valley.

We also declare that the entire effervescence in Kashmir Valley is a result of a false consciousness generated by falsifying history.

Kashmir belongs to Kashmiri Hindus as much it belongs to any other Kashmiri and no settlement of Kashmir will be acceptable which excludes Kashmiri Hindus and impairs integrity and sovereignty of India.

Panun Kashmir refuses to be intimidated by what is being proclaimed by Syed Ali Shah Geelani and his overground supporters. Our commitment to carve out Panun Kashmir to the north and east of river Jhelum with a Union Territory Status in Kashmir Valley where there is free flow of Indian constitution is strengthening with each day. Our struggle will continue with redoubled vigour and energy. We appeal to all sections of Kashmiri Hindu society to come forward and support Panun Kashmir whole heartedly as time and again history has proved that it is the only solution which can reverse their genocide.



# Amarnath Yatra: Lost in translation?

By Nitish Sengupta

A little over a decade ago, at the request of the then home minister Indrajit Gupta, I had conducted an inquiry into the Amarnath disaster of 1996. I had made 20 major recommendations, one of which was activation of the shorter Baltal route to the holy cave in order to ease the hardship on the traditional route via Chandanwari and Sheshnag. Another was to set up a trust board for Amarnath on the lines of the trust for the Vaishno Devi shrine. All 20 recommendations were accepted and things moved smoothly. This year too the yatra is on, but the atmosphere has become extremely murky and tense on account of the parallel and opposing agitations in the Kashmir Valley and in Jammu.

The agitation in the Valley, no doubt backed by separatist elements, is against allotment of about 100 acres of forest land to the Amarnath shrine board to construct temporary shelters for use by pilgrims during the yatra, which normally lasts for a month or at most for six weeks. The agitators argue that this amounts to changing the demographic composition of Kashmir, by settling in a large number of non-Muslim "outsiders" in this area. So serious was the agitation in the Valley that it caused loss of life and property, forcing the state government to eventually cancel the allotment and transfer the land in question back to the forest

department. This in turn led to a fierce agitation in Jammu against the state which, by bowing down to Muslim extremists, was accused of hurting Hindu sentiments.

Something was clearly amiss. To start with, there was a definite communication gap between the government and those who spearheaded the agitation in the Valley. It was never properly spelt out to the people that there was no proposal to transfer this land permanently to settle non-Muslims in the area. In any case, how many people can be settled on a stretch of land which is no larger than the Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium?

The Amarnath yatra lasts for around a month and pilgrims come only during that period. They would use these shelters for only two-three days during the yatra, and would thereafter leave the Valley. How could this be viewed as settling non-Muslim "outsiders" in the Valley and "permanently" changing its demographic composition?

The government failed completely to project the true picture and correct the mistaken impression in people's minds as a result of propaganda. There were also serious lapses by intelligence agencies — they were unable to anticipate the activities and the strategy adopted by pro-Pakistan elements, and to advise the

government properly on what course of action to take.

When the state government, somewhat awkwardly, cancelled the allotment order, this was deeply resented by the people of Jammu, who then launched a large-scale agitation — which led to casualties, loss of and damage to property, including uprooting of the rail track connecting the Valley with the rest of India, which is now under construction. If the object of constructing temporary sheds for pilgrims was properly explained to the people in general and to the agitators, some of the unfortunate developments could have been avoided. It should clearly have been spelt out that there was no plan to put up permanent structures where people could settle — that ideally the Valley's Muslims could donate this land for temporary use by the pilgrims — and that nothing was being done which would in any way change the Valley's demographic character.

This was simply not conveyed to people. The fact that the Amarnath shrine board is dominated by people from outside Jammu and Kashmir further fuelled the agitation. Incidentally, when the Kashmiri pandits were driven out of the state in 1991-'92, in the wake of the insurgency which began in 1989, was that not a huge disturbance in the "demographic balance" of Jammu and Kashmir?

It is high-time to let sanity reassert itself. Even at this late stage there should be a concerted effort to let people know the facts: there will be no permanent structures and what is proposed is construction of a few temporary huts like those which already exist at Chandanwari and Sheshnag to provide shelter for pilgrims only for the four to six weeks that the yatra lasts. Also, efforts should be made to set up a shrine board which would mostly include people from Jammu and Kashmir, which should go a long way to remove the "locals versus outsider" mindset.

In my one-man committee's report a decade ago, I had recommended putting restrictions on the number of pilgrims allowed to go to the Amarnath cave at any given time: there should not be more than 20,000 pilgrims at a time on the high ranges, namely the stretch between Chandanwari and the holy cave. This is to ensure that in case a natural disaster occurs, the effect on pilgrims would be minimal. If there are larger number of pilgrims on the high ranges and say a cyclone or natural disaster occurs, casualties might be high. As long as only 20,000 pilgrims are there, they would be able to take shelter in existing huts and be safe. This year, unfortunately, this restriction on numbers is not being observed, and a much larger number of pilgrims have

been allowed on high ranges. This should be avoided.

It is heartening that in the midst of these agitations, not a single Muslim voice has been raised in the Valley over the continuance of the Amarnath yatra. Kashmiri Muslims have, in fact, given categorical assurances that they would themselves ensure that devotees would be able to undertake the pilgrimage peacefully, without disturbance.

We also have to deal with the resentment of the people of the Jammu region who feel that they have been treated as second-class citizens within their own state for the past several decades. They are unhappy that not a single politician from Jammu has been able to become chief minister of the state, and that the rest of India — when it turns its attention to Kashmir — focuses exclusively on the Valley. They compare this unfavourably to the situation under the maharajas' rule in the pre-Independence period when people from Jammu comprised the ruling elite. This deep-seated resentment is also something that needs to be tackled on a long-term basis.

*\*(Dr Nitish Sengupta, an academic and an author, is a former Member of Parliament and a former secretary to the Government of India.*

*(Source: The AsianAge)*

## Kashmiri Hindus hold massive demonstration at Jantar Mantar

(Contd. from Page 1)

Supporting the Homeland demand, **Kashmir Samiti** Delhi President, **Dr LN Dhar** said that there is consensus among the community on the demand. He added that 98 percent community is convinced that creation of homeland is the only means to their return and political empowerment and 2 percent of the community members who try to create confusion are those who are guided by vested interest. Underlining the need for consolidation of homeland perception, Dr Dhar offered the services of cadre and infrastructure of the Samiti to Panun Kashmir.

**All State Kashmiri Pandit Conference** General Secretary and Spokesperson Delhi Unit, **Sh. Kundan Kashmiri** said that there

should be no confusion on the "Homeland" and "Kashyap State" demands as there is no difference. He added that, in fact, ASKPC has tried to give the name to the land as demanded by Panun Kashmir. Sh. Kundan Kashmiri said that ASKPC had decided to organise a Mahayagya to pay Shradanjali to the martyrs but cancelled the same after learning about the PK programme to reinforce the demand.

**Dr. Shakti Bhan**, Vice Chairperson of Panun Kashmir, said that the demand of 'Homeland' needs the population mass as well. Decrying the negative population growth she implored upon the community to have at least two children. She exhorted

parents to persuade their children about the same with logic. **Prof. ML Rania** said that Homeland is the only alternative to reverse the genocide and undo the injustice meted out to the community.

**Mr Taploo**, the son of Mr Tika Lal Taploo, whose death anni-

### CONTINUATION

versary symbolises "Martyrs' Day" thanked the community for making his father immortal and extended his support to the community politics.

**Rakesh Kaul**, General Secretary Kashmiri Samiti Delhi, said that time has come to work for the consolidation of Homeland demand and appealed the youth to come forward in propagating and consolidating Homeland demand by using the modern technological methods. At the be-

ginning of the programme, rich tributes were paid to martyrs and two minutes silence was observed as mark of respect. The participants were wearing Panun Kashmir Head bands and holding placards. The programme was anchored by PK General Secretary, Mr Kuldeep Raina. The refreshment was arranged by the Kashmir Samiti Delhi. In the evening a KP delegation led by Dr. Ajay Chrungoo met Hon'ble Prithvi Raj Chouhan, MoS State in PMO and Incharge Kashmir Affairs, at his residence to submit memorandum to Prime Minister and discussed the Kashmir situation. The meeting lasted an hour in cordial atmosphere. The delegation emphatically justified the Homeland demand and said that when Indian state is ready to discuss all alternatives there should be no taboo on the Panun Kashmir demand that is a nationalist solution. He was told that the crea-

tion of Panun Kashmir will strengthen Gol, encourage let down-Kashmiri Hindus and provide a space to the nationalist forces in the Valley.

Referring to the presentation of Dr Ajay Chrungoo in Round Table Conference the delegation asked the minister to go through the presentation made by Panun Kashmir in the RTC. While agreeing to the suggestion, Mr. Chauhan assured the delegation that he will brief the Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh on the issue and added that he was hopeful that it will change the course of discussion on Kashmir issue. The other members of the delegation were Dr LN Dhar of KSD Prof ML Raina, Sh. Vijay Tickoo, Sh. Kuldeep Raina, Sh. Kamal Wangnoo and Ramesh Handoo of Panun Kashmir. An ambulance service for the march was provided by Swami Nand Lal Charitable Trust under the supervision of Dr. Ashwani Pandita.

*(\*See full text of the Memorandum on Page 20)*

SPECIAL INTERVIEW

**THE Congress has hurt national interest in Kashmir—  
Lt. General (Retd.) S.K. Sinha, Former Governor, J&K**

In an exclusive interview to Organiser Correspondent, Deepak Kumar Rath, the former Governor of J&K opines that by revocation of land for Amarnath pilgrimage, the separatists have tasted blood and now they have their own agenda and would not let the Kashmiri Pundits settle in the Valley. Excerpts:

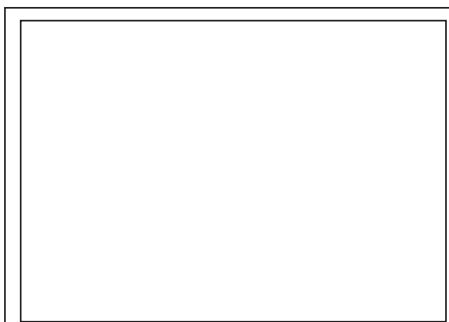
*What was the immediate reason for the land allocation to the Amarnath temple becoming a major controversy?*

So far as the land dispute was concerned, I looked upon it initially as a non-issue. So the people must be aware of the background first. The land allotted was a barren land and traditionally been used as a camping site for the yatra for the past many decades. We used tents in the first year for the shelter of the pilgrims. In 1996 there was a snowstorm in which 250 people died, many injured and some went missing. Then, a high-powered Nitish Sengupta Committee was formed which recommended that a Shrine Board should be constituted, which would manage the yatra, just like the Shrine Board of Mata Vaishno Devi. The then National Conference government brought a bill in the state assembly, on the lines of Mata Vaishno Devi Board, where the Governor was to be the chairman and with identical provisions. Mata Vaishno Devi Shrine Board was also given some forest land for their use to build permanent and temporary structures.

*What initiatives did you take to improve the facilities for the Amarnath pilgrims?*

When I took over as Governor, it was just two months before the commencement of the yatra. My first priority was to ensure the security of the yatra, because up to 2002, every year the yatra was attacked by terrorists. At that time Mufti Mohammed Sayed was the Chief Minister who suggested me that there should be minimum presence of uniformed security men for the yatra. But I strongly differed from his views, as there were regular attacks. I deployed maximum number of Army, CRPF, BSF and J&K Police personnel for the security of the yatra. In a coordinated effort, I organised sanitisation of the 40-km-long mountain track starting from Chandanvari on the Pahelgaon route up to the holy cave. And I am pleased to inform that since 2003 there has not

been a single attack on the pilgrims. In 2004, I decided to provide better facilities to the pilgrims and also to increase the duration of the yatra. If we could provide better facilities, more devotees would be able to come to the holy cave and indirectly it would also help the state's economy. There is a Malmas according to the Hindu calendar, and there are two Shravana months in every twelve years. So from religious point of view a two-month yatra was also desirable. From Baltal route, a large number of pilgrims go to the holy cave, so that route also needs to be improved. The snow on the Baltal route used to melt earlier. But irrespective of the timing of the yatra, thousands of people go to the holy cave through this route. The yatra used to start without adequate security arrangements and no proper infrastructure facilities for pilgrims. So I thought of starting the yatra a month early so that adequate arrangements for security could be made. Thus taking these points in view, I went to the Chief Minister with a project report stating the findings of the Sengupta Committee Report that recommended putting up of the permanent structures at various sites on the yatra route, so that when the cold breeze comes people can take shelter. The state government even before formation of the Shrine Board had started building 25 permanent structures on the route of the yatra, but none of them was completed. So I suggested putting up temporary structures which could be erected in four or five days and could be dismantled easily. We planned to have temporary structures with wooden floors and insulated walls to keep the rooms warm. In addition to this we suggested not to replace all the tents but it would be an additional facility for those who can afford to it, otherwise pilgrims can stay back in tents. I also recommended pre-fabricated toilets for better hygienic condition, in place of large number of pilgrims using the traditional toilets.



*Lt. Gen. (Retd.) S.K. Sinha, former Governor J&K talking to mediapersons during his last visit to Amarnath Pilgrimage as Chairman, Sh. Amarnath Shrine Board.*

*Do you squarely blame Mufti for anti-Hindu activities in Kashmir?*

Mufti Mohammad Syed, who is known to have come from a communal background and always emulates an anti-national agenda, has always opposed anything connected with the yatra. I don't have to repeat the rumours that all over Kashmir, the vandalism of all temples in the late 80's was carried out by Mufti's men. Whether he is directly involved or not God alone knows. But he certainly did not do anything to prevent it. Any man in Kashmir can vouch for this. The other rumour was that Mufti was gaining support of the extremists and had stage-managed the abduction of his eldest daughter, when he was Home Minister of India. For the release of his daughter, he struck a deal with the fundamentalists and later released them to Pakistan. And they are the people who started terrorist movement in J&K. It may be a rumour but Mufti was responsible for the release of the fundamentalists who were in jail. In 2002, he won the Assembly elections allegedly by pandering to the terrorists. Mufti was opposing anything that I wanted to do for the Amarnath pilgrims. He did not bother even to reply my letter. But the Deputy Chief Minister Pundit Sharma started announcing in public meeting that they would hold a two-month yatra with better facilities. My conclusion was government had approved the yatra but

fifteen days before the yatra Mufti said in a press conference that the yatra would be held for one month only and with no more facilities. Despite my suggestions, they did not allow us to carry out the yatra and the matter went to the Government of India. Four ministers from Mufti government resigned and ultimately the yatra was rescheduled for two months. In 2005, we faced the same problem again from the Mufti government. The matter was taken up in the High Court and a single bench gave a verdict in favour of the Shrine Board and said that the state government would only provide security. Again the state government went to the Division Bench of the High Court and an interim verdict came in 2005, that the Shrine Board would decide the timing of the yatra. So then also we carried out a two-month yatra.

*Then what is the real reason for such a hue and cry this year?*

This time, we put up the pre-fabricated structures, after getting written approval from the state government. We had a provision of two thousand toilets and all other comfortable facilities for the people. Four to five lakh people were expected to undertake the yatra. We also introduced a helicopter service for the yatra. The Forest Minister Kazi Mohammad Afzal and the Law Minister Muzaffar Hussain Baig for the last three years had been examining for providing land and facilities for the pilgrims. I had decided that if the

government will grant us permission then its okay, otherwise we will make our own arrangements on behalf of the Shrine Board. On May 27 this year I came to know that the state cabinet has taken a decision for providing land for temporary shelters only for the yatra and demanded the Shrine Board rupees five crore. The PDP minister Mr Kazi issued clarifications to the press that the government allocated land to the Shrine Board for temporary yatra purposes. But soon after the declaration, the separatist elements started agitation, which gained momentum. A section of the Valley press has always been hostile to this cause, so the Hurriyat leaders took advantage of the situation to press their communal agenda. Although I had been making all efforts to promote Kashmiriyat, a communal feeling was infused into the masses intentionally that a conspiracy was going on in Kashmir to bring the Hindus back into the Valley, and to bring up a new colony in Baltal called Amarnath Colony. And like Israel changing the demography in Palestine, the Shrine Board is trying to change the demography in the Valley. Now nothing could be more absurd than this! Geographically it's not possible to settle township in Baltal and near the holy cave. Who will live there? And can any one put up a township in 100 acres of land where there is heavy snowfall and torrent rain? And secondly, how can the Shrine Board do this? There is an elected state government. A state government, which has such a strong policy on this issue, how can one think of it?

*Lakhs of refugees from West Pakistan have been languishing in refugee camps in Jammu faced with worst inhuman conditions for the last 60 years. Comment.*

In 1947, 30 thousand West Pakistani refugees (Hindus and Muslims) had come to Jammu and later millions came to India. But the poor refugees in Jammu were not given citizenship status. Their number today is about one lakh. They have been staying there for sixty years, but they can't get a state government service or cannot acquire any land. Their children can't go to higher technical education for

(Contd. on Page11)

(From Page 10)

---SPECIAL INTERVIEW---

learning. Can anyone think of them to get them permanent citizenship even after sixty years? Their concerns have been deliberately blacked out by the valley press and the national press.

**Don't you think that the state government's lackluster attitude in controlling the agitations in Kashmir put the situation out of control?**

In the beginning, Azad was very confident that the agitation would lose its steam and would not gain momentum as has it got. Thousands of acres of land were given by the state government for various purposes, so if the Shrine Board got few acres of land for yatra purposes what was wrong in it? And in any case Jammu is part of the state. Moreover, land has already been given to Mata Vaishno Devi Shrine. So what is wrong in allocating land for Amarnath Shrine Board? On June 25 this year, Azad told me that everything is fine regarding the transfer of land but the PDP ministers who were part of the decision-making body to approve the land for the yatra, played a dual game in the hands of the extremists and a religious fervor was linked to it.

**Do you see any role of Congress high command and central government behind all of this?**

My successor, who is a nominee of Congress high command in Delhi, joined with a directive from Delhi. The order for allocation of land was revoked. But at least they should have put some sugar-coating on that order. They should have said the allotment of land was for temporary purpose, and virtually it was a non-issue and they should have educated the people that to bring about peace and harmony and due to a conjunction between the Shrine Board and the government, the order has been revoked. But it did not happen and the sentiments of millions of Hindus were hurt. But what did they do? They virtually blamed Amarnath Shrine Board, which had been doing an excellent work for the last five years. In one month three lakh pilgrims had already visited the holy cave and in another one month it must have crossed six lakh number. They found this yatra as a Hindu cultural invasion of Kashmir. By disbanding the Shrine Board and by reducing it to a body of priests who conduct holy rituals, and

the rest being managed by the state government, we went back to the status quo ante before the Shrine Board was formed. And it shows their policy of appeasing the fundamentalists. Revocation of the order was the first step and dissolution of the Board was the second step. This was not their demand but the Congress did this to appease the fundamentalists and the disbanding of the Board was done at the instruction of the Congress only. They have also lot of objections for the lot of infrastructure made for the Vaishno Devi Shrine. Owing to better facilities for the pilgrims of the Vaishno Mata, the numbers have been increasing steadily in lakhs. After disbanding the Amarnath Shrine Board they are tampering with Vaishno Mata Shrine Board. The fundamentalists have tested the blood and after getting success in disbanding the Amarnath Shrine Board, the fundamentalists' morale is sky high.

I had started a technical university in 2004 accommodating 1,800 students, which was inaugurated by Dr A.P.J. Abdul Kalam. But the fundamentalists were not very much happy with this initiative. We had built a 200-bed cancer hospital by putting 100 crore in Katra, Jammu.

**What do you think are the factors that contributed to the Valley making an issue of allotment of land to the Shrine Board?**

Well I don't know exactly what the centre has done. But I know every step taken by the Congress in Kashmir has only complicated the problem. In fact Congress was responsible from day one when Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru took the Kashmir issue against the suggestion of Sardar Patel to the Security Council. That was the beginning of troubles in Kashmir. I was involved in the operation from the day one in 1947. In November we were prevented from going to Muzaffarabad. There would have been no PoK today. We had lost a golden opportunity. I know better the political, military and diplomatic issues on Kashmir among the living persons. I was a witness to what happened. In 1971 Indira Gandhi did a wonderful work.

For a solution in Kashmir, what is required is a national party in power, not a regional party. There are two national

parties—the Congress and the BJP. The BJP does not have a ghost of a chance to come to power in Kashmir because of the demography. The Congress was the only party that had a chance, but the Congress high command had destroyed this possibility.

**The political parties and the media have accused you of creating the problem in Amarnath. Comment.**

The media in Kashmir, I can understand, had a bias against me because it didn't like my efforts in Kashmir, but the national media was either indifferent or was trying to carry 'secularism' on its side and was working overtime to do things which should be a music to the Muslim fundamentalists. We lost in the media war because of the communal bias in the Valley and indifference shown by the national media and the government regarding anything that is concrete.

**Azad has accused the PDP of getting inspired by across the border, i.e. Pakistan. Do you think this allegation is true?**

Can any one in his senses question on the authenticity what Ghulam Nabi Azad has said? The only one who can question is probably the Congress high command, who has proved herself to be the masters of appeasement. When a Chief Minister, in a discussion, says that if the Baghliar project would be solved by placing it under the joint control of India and Pakistan then as a Governor my response was: If you put Baghliar under joint control then tomorrow, the Kashmir would also be under the joint control of India and Pakistan. So what are we here for and what have we done for the past sixty years? But Delhi thought that Mufti is their man. Mufti had already talked of de-militarisation in 2006 and he added that it should be started immediately; he was not going to even wait for a day. The PDP's role in the alliance government in J&K is like the role of Liyakat Ali Khan as Finance Minister during the interim government in 1946-47, forcing the Congress, Nehru and Patel to accept that there was no option but the Partition of India. The Partition was due to the failure of alliance between the Congress and the Muslim League. The writing was clear on the wall. The Congress high command is now still in love with the PDP. The PDP is also getting bolder and bolder day-

by-day. They announced that there should be dual currency in Kashmir and Congress high command thought perhaps that is a very good thing and said go ahead. When Mehbooba Mufti visited Lahore three or four months ago, the Congress sponsored the entire visit. In Lahore she was received by Indian High Commissioner's son. Her meetings were arranged by Indian High Commission. At one conference in Lahore, Pakistan, she says, there should be dual control of Pakistan and India over Kashmir. The PDP is playing the same role all the time in Kashmir but still the PDP remains a dear ally of the Congress high command by opposing Azad and the local Congress members. When Azad says that the PDP is in league with the Hurriyat and the militants of Pakistan then what better proof one requires than I told you here.

**Despite doing all developmental works for the Valley why are they opposing you?**

I don't know. India has sunken more money for Kashmir than any other state in India. India has invested Rs 11 thousand per capita for development in Kashmir, and the average states like Bihar government spends Rs 9 hundred per capita, if the news paper reports are not wrong. The national average of Below Poverty Line is 26 per cent but in states like Bihar it is more than 36 per cent. In J&K it is 3.7 per cent. Still there is venomous attack in the Valley against India and its policies. Even Pakistan press is more soft on India than Kashmir press. Can we say that by development alone we can win heart and minds? Therefore, I was trying something more, i.e. sentiments and Kashmiriyat at the intellectual level. And the fundamentalists thought that these policies would hurt them in the long run. They picked up a non-issue and gave it a communal colour.

**You have been the Governor under the NDA rule and the UPA rule. Do you think under the UPA rule you didn't get full support?**

I had been the Governor for a short time under NDA rule in Kashmir. When I was the Governor of Assam I got maximum support from the NDA. See everybody says that

Kashmir is an integral part of India, but what have we done in this regard in the last sixty years? When UPA came, I presented a nationalistic plan to them on Kashmir, which I don't want to discuss here. Every one had an approval on my plan but no one did anything for it. We should create a situation of international acceptability and acceptability within J&K and amongst the people of J&K. When Barzelous Nickolson from European Union visited Kashmir, I interacted with her for two days. And for the first time, last year an international body like the EU gave a positive report favouring India's stand on Kashmir and criticising Pakistan. And Pakistan tried its best to modify or reject her report in EU. And despite Pakistan's effort the EU Parliament passed that report with 450 votes in favour and 9 against it. In my assessment, the UPA had no long road map to resolve the Kashmir issue. UPA had only empty talks. The Congress has hurt the national interest in Kashmir that is my feeling.

**Did you make any effort for the return of Pundits to the Valley? If you did, what are the reasons for the failure of making the issue a success?**

After taking over as the Governor, first thing I did was I visited the camps of Pundits both in Jammu and in Delhi. The Pundits are living in a precarious condition in their camps. When I discussed with the J&K state government, it replied that it is the responsibility of Delhi government. I said, maybe, but it is also the state subject of J&K. In last fifteen years I was the first person to visit their camps. Tears roll down their cheeks when they saw me visiting their camps. I could do very little for them. I talked to the then Lt. Governor Vijay Kapoor and he organised some local helps like DDA flats, water cooler and other useful needs. I also visited the camp in Udhampur, Jammu, etc. I saw the same problems they are facing at other camps. When talked to the state government it was of the opinion that they should first return to the Valley. I said they can return only after a conducive atmosphere. When Dr Kalam visited the camp in Jammu he was also equally concerned, but Mufti was adamant in his explanations. (Source: Organiser)



# 'We didn't anticipate such a reaction from Jammu'

Aasha Khosa in New Delhi

**I**T was the timing of the land allotment for the Amarnath yatra [Images] that led to the present crisis in the state, Ghulam [Images] Nabi Azad, former J&K chief minister, tells Aasha Khosa.

*To put it bluntly, you politicians have created a mess in Jammu & Kashmir.*

Frankly, no politician would like to create a situation as it is today. What led to the present crisis was an action taken by my government in good faith. Nobody realised then that things would come to such a stage. I feel that had it not been for the coming elections in the state, the cabinet decision (to allot land to the Amarnath shrine board) would not have been even noticed. It was the timing of the decision that resulted in a bad situation.

*Looking back, don't you feel that it was lack of understanding of the ground situation on your part?*

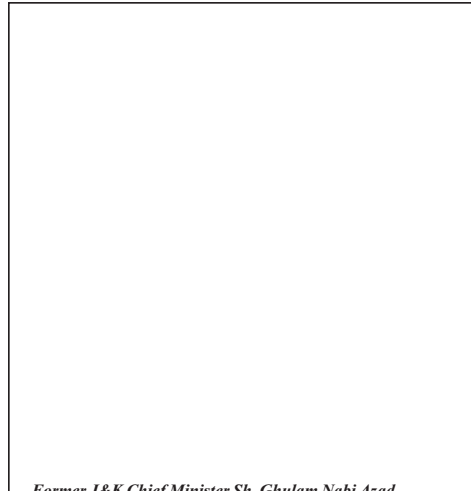
I feel the decision of the cabinet was a routine one. The land was sought in good faith and it was sanctioned in the same spirit. In fact, all over the country, during the last five-six years, transfer of forest or government land for infrastructure projects has become a routine administrative exercise. There is not much need to be cautious about it. On that day too, there were four to five other land transfer cases and I didn't feel anything was amiss in this particular case.

*It has become a blame game between you and the PDP, when till recently, you were allies. Why?*

The fact is that it was Mufti Mohammad Sayeed's government that first transferred 40 hectares to the shrine board in 2005. The order was cancelled after three months as it was felt that proper procedure was not followed. Neither the separatists nor the political parties raised a finger then.

Now, before the PDP pulled out from my government on this issue, the separatists started the propaganda that the land was being allotted permanently to the shrine board. They said India had plans to set up multi-storied apartments and fancy buildings on this land, where NRI would be settled, and it would change the demography of Kashmir in five years.

*The PDP suddenly thought why not encash this emotive issue. Mehbooba Mufti had her eyes fixed on the coming elections and she thought such*



Former J&K Chief Minister Sh. Ghulam Nabi Azad.

*a stand would get her votes.*

Your detractors are saying that things came to such a pass because you did not have enough administrative experience and political understanding.

I know that behind these detractors are nobody but PDP leaders. Mehbooba Mufti feels her rhetoric will mislead the people on this. She is too inexperienced to realise that all government orders and decisions are in files and in black and white. I have exposed her duplicity as I circulated a white paper on the role of the PDP in the (land) transfer order.

It was the forest minister, belonging to the PDP, who had been diligently working on the proposal for three years. It is he who sent the proposal to the central empowered committee of the Supreme Court for clearance. Then, the deputy chief minister, also from the PDP, who was also my law minister, okayed it on legal grounds.

The two PDP ministers, in fact, defended their decisions at two separate press conferences before Mehbooba Mufti landed up in Srinagar [Images] from London [Images] and asked them to shut up.

*It is convenient to blame the PDP while you, being the chief minister, also could not defend your decision*

Where was the time? The PDP gave a deadline of June 30 for withdrawal of support. On June 28, I held meetings with all PDP ministers, first separately, and later together. Meanwhile, news came that the PDP has withdrawn support two days before the deadline. It was nothing but betrayal and cheating.

magnanimously saying yes to the Mufti's proposal.

*Being the first chief minister of J&K from the Jammu region, why did you fail to read the anger brewing there before ordering cancellation of the land transfer?*

I agree we did not anticipate such a reaction from Jammu. I believe the people of Jammu saw a gang-up in Kashmir against their religious sentiments. They would not have minded the Hurriyat opposing the land transfer but when parties like the NC and the PDP joined in the protests, the people were shocked, and hence the reaction. Initially, the Jammu agitation was based on religious sentiments,

but now it has turned into a regional issue. It's unprecedented and unfortunate.

*Political pundits have started writing the obituary of the Congress in J&K after this agitation.*

It's too early for that. Raising passions and organising protests is one thing and running the government is another. When they decide to vote, the people will surely keep in mind that it was during my tenure that 550 development projects were undertaken. I can claim to have ushered in work culture in the state. This cannot go unnoticed by the voters after the dust settles. The Congress will come back to power in the state once again

## Neel Kashkari is the new Czar in America

KS Correspondent

**N**EEL TUSHAR KASHKARI, 35, whose parents hail from Habbakadal, Srinagar, has been appointed as the **Interim Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Financial Stability**. His job is to oversee \$700 billion financial stabilisation program, which the US government has launched to buy bad mortgages from financial institutions. In this new assignment Kashkari will be running one of the World's largest investment funds.

Kashkari previously served as **Assistant Secretary for International Economic and Development** at the Treasury and in that role also acted as **Senior Advisor to US Treasury Secretary Henry M. Paulson Jr.** providing Council on key policy matters. Kashkari was part of the Treasury team that negotiated the asset-repurchase programme. He was one of the originators of the plan. In 2007 he and Philip Swagel asst. Secretary for economic policy crafted a proposal called "**break the glass**"-referring to the **emergency nature of using such a tool, which envisioned Treasury buying bad loans and other assets. Kashkari had joined the Treasury Department in 2007.**

Prior to joining the Treasury Department, Kashkari was **Vice-President at Goldman, Sachs and Co.**, where he headed Goldman's information technology security investment banking practice in San Francisco, advising public and private companies on mergers and acquisitions and financial transactions. Goldman's along with Morgan's have been described as the best managed investment banks. Kashkari was only 30 when he was pointed Vice President. He served Goldman Sachs for 3-4 years.

Born to Dr. Chaman Kashkari and Sheila, Neel studied at Stow-Munroe Falls Schools. He moved to the Western Reserve Academy in Hudson, Ohio, from where he graduated in 1991. He had Bachelor's and Master's Degree in Engineering from University of Illinois at Urbana-Campaign. He did his MBA in international finance from Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania.

Before joining Wharton School, Kashkari worked for the aerospace firm TRW in Redondo Beach, California where he developed technology for space science mission such as **James Webb Space Telescope**, the replacement to Hubble, which is scheduled to launch in 2013.

Kashkari was still a student at Wharton in February 2002 when the **Philadelphia Inquirer** reported on his participation in a leadership class exercise. In 2006 he was reported to be selected as one of the regional finalists for the White House Fellows programme. A final listing of the actual recipients for 2006-2007 does not include Kashkari.

Married to Minal Kashkari has houses at Maryland and California.



By Upender Ambarar

**Sarada Mata Temple**, dedicated to the Goddess Sarada, is located at Dhrov region in Pakistan occupied Kashmir. In spite of being out of bounds presently for the worshippers to faith allegiance to the temple has in no way. The strong emotional bonds associated with the temple which stretch back to the age old times continue to remain alive. **The temple represents the spiritual and religious soul of Kashmir as the Goddess Sarada is regarded as the presiding deity or Kuldevi of Kashmir.**

As Goddess of speech, intellect and exalted thoughts, Sharda Mata is believed to be present wherever speech and communication exist. Goddess Sharda is also known by the name of **Vaksavitri**, the Creator of all kinds of communication and knowledge, particularly the spiritual one.

Prior to 1947, the holy pilgrimage would start from Tikar (Kupwara). The next halting stops were Batergham and Hiri villages. From Hiri, one could proceed either via Trehgam or through Liderwan. Liderwan, at a distance of about six kms. from Kupwara used to be the base camp for the yatrins coming from Baramulla, Sopore, Kupwara, Srinagar and other parts of Kashmir.

The arduous journey commencing from Liderwan had halting spots at Zurhome, Marhome (Marhama), Budan Pathar and Ganesh Pael. The area of Ganesh Pael was also known by the name of Bandook Pael by the native Gujjars. Ganesh Pael owed its name to the striking resemblance of a huge boulder to Lord Ganesh's appearance.

The area of Ganesh Pael would also serve as the resting place for the pilgrims. Next to it was **Pothkhagali**, which was also used as halting place by those yatrins, who would not prefer to make a stopover at Ganesh Pael. Pothkah Gali was followed by the destinations of Mirwali Naar, Dunaar (Dunari), the village of Jumgun and Katchban. The village of Kanthawali was the next stop, which was followed by small villages of Shawlbouth, Baensawali, Andher Bela and Dudhniyal. Dudhniyal had a narrow suspension foot-bridge. The pilgrims and travellers would unload their horses here as the narrow foot-bridge would not permit the loaded horses or horses with the riders to cross it. After taking the path along the bank of Kishanganga the travellers would reach the village of Bella Mohammed Khan, followed by Sheikh Bella and Mundkar villages.

Dusuth was the next village, followed by Khowaja Seeri and Kharigham villages. Kharigham was the nearest village on the route to Sharda temple. Upto 1947, the vil-

## SHARDA MATA TEMPLE- Repository of Faith; Legend And Love

lage of Liderwan had a lone Kashmiri Pandit household of two brothers namely Sh., Tika Lal Thusoo and Sh. Nand Lal Thusoo. Both jointly ran a grocer's shop at Liderwan. Smt. Rekhmaal, wife of late Sh. Nand Lal Thusoo, Smt. Teezmaal, wife of Late Sh. Tika Lal Thusoo and Smt. Dhanwati, wife of Sh. Sona Lal Thusoo, the elder son of Late Sh. Tika Lal Thusoo apart from doing their house hold chores would also manage the free community kitchen (*langar*) for the devotees proceeding on pilgrimage to Sharda temple. They would prepare rotis, Cook dry vegetables and pack them with pickles for the yatrins. A free kitchen run by them at the village Dudhniyal would also provide meals to the pilgrims. They also owned water driven mills at Katchban and Shardi villages. Late Sh. Thoker Pandit Thusoo was the first Kashmiri Pandit, who built a house at Laidervan. He alongwith his wife late Smt. Sokhded and their two sons Sh. Tika Lal and Sh. Nand Lal and their extended families would reside there. They had also constructed a dharamshala for the pilgrims at Dudhniyal.

A primary school built by them at Dudhniyal catered to the educational needs of Gujjar children residing there and in the adjoining areas of Dudhniyal. As such they were pioneers in the introduction of primary education in this remote region. Apart from being owner of residential houses at Dudhniyal and Shardi villages, they also had shops at these places. Thusoo brothers would also make arrangements for horses and palanquins for old and infirm pilgrims.

According to Sh. Puranji Thusoo, the grandson of late Sh. Nand Lal Thusoo, a densely foliated upland area in close proximity of Sharda temple was known by the name of **Ganesh Ghatti**. As divulged to him by his elders, it had a cave, the narrow opening of which would allow the entry of a single person at a time. The open space inside the cave was said to be big enough to accommodate about dozen people. The inside of the cave on one of it's side resembled the image of Lord Ganesh, on which water drops would trickle down from a naturally formed Sheshnag like configuration located above. As per local lore, a Kashmiri Pandit of religious

### Ganesh Ghatti Cave.

disposition posted at Shardi village during Maharaja's rule was once directed in a dream by Lord Ganesh to come to the said cave to have his darshan there. It resulted in the discovery of the cave and subsequent naming of the cave area as **Ganesh Ghatti**. According to Sh. Puranji Thusoo, a hill side elevated area in close proximity of Sharda Mata Temple was also known by the name of Amarnath. It was in the form of a massive boulder over which water from the adjoining mountain would flow down in a 'havan-kund' patterned natural enclosure below.

Smt. Arundati Dass, wife of Sh. Dina Nath Dass of Bomai (Sopore) is the daughter of Late Sh. Nand Lal Thusoo of Liderwan. Despite advanced age, she retains memories of her formative years spent at Liderwan and Shardi.

According to Smt. Arundati Dass, before Liderwan, the first major pilgrimage designation in the earlier times was the village of Jumagund. It is at a distance of 30 kms from Liderwan. She recalls that those on horse backs would proceed on journey at the crack of dawn from Jumagund. They would reach Dudhniyal in the afternoon. The horses were driven on the hilly track by their owners called 'markbans' locally. Jumagund village had then only a few scattered Gujjar dwellings. At Jumagund, most of the travellers would cook rice and vegetable preparations usually of 'hak' and potatoes in earthen pots (laej) on make-shift ovens in the open. Reminiscing further about those days, she said that life was simple and unostentatious, devoid of any competitiveness.

She revealed that the turban in those days was part of identity and culture for Kashmiri Pandits. Kashmiri Pandit ladies in addition to sporting traditional ethnic dress of 'Pheran' and head dress of 'Targa' would also wear a veil (*burka*) over it while moving out of their homes. In contrast to the black coloured veil

worn by Muslim women, Pandit ladies would wear white coloured 'burka'. The burka clad Pandit women were referred as a '**Setra Khatoon**'.

Mrs. Arundati Dass said the peculiar ambience combined with spectacular picturesque surrounding around the temple would arouse spiritual ecstasy in all and sundry. The stone steps leading to the temple at the start were smaller in size, . The staircase was called '**Pandav Haer**'

### Pandav Haer

in their times.

According to her, on chiselled stone steps of 'Panda Haer' four to five devotees could climb up together at a time. Before entry into the temple, there stood a huge 'Bren' tree on the left side of the plain area. It had a stone idol of Lord Ganesh at its base, which was smeared with 'sindoor'. Before making an entry into the temple, the devotees would perform puja of Lord Ganesh. The enclosure of the temple was spacious enough to accommodate two dozen devotees at a time. Smt. Arundati recounted that a huge 'Shila' about six feet long and same width and half a feet thick was the holy sanctum sanctorum of the temple. The 'Shila' is regarded as the manifestation of Goddess Sharda. It was in the middle of the inner enclosure of the temple. As per belief a spring of divine nectar (*amrit kund*) exists underneath the holy 'Shila'.

A streamlet, which flowed in the courtyard of the temple was believed to have its' origin from the divine 'Amrit Kund'. It was known by the name of Madhumati. A traditional belief says that the devotees could hear the sound of the underground water flow if one put his ears on the Shila surface. According to a native folklore, Goddess Sharda is believed to have taken shelter inside the divine spring beneath the sanctified 'Shila' after having come out from the nearby mountainous area of Narda on account of the dis-

pleasing and annoying pursuits of the demons there. Narda is a towering and giant mountain about 6-7 kms. away from Sharda Mata Temple. According to the same lore, Narda is regarded as the manifestation of the Goddess Sharda in the virgin form. Interestingly, Goddess Narda is one of the 'Kul Devis', of some of the Dogra Rainas of Jammu region. The temple lore believes that Goddess Sharda draped in the celestial attire and wearing divine gold and jewel ornaments resides in the 'Amrit Kund' underneath the holy 'Shila' of the temple. The same lore also says that the consecrated embellishments, accompaniments, divine garments and eating utensils like 'thal' of Sharda Mata are also sheltered in the sanctified spring of the Amrit Kund'.

As per local legend, a Kashmiri Pandit lady belonging to Gulgam, Kupwara was an ardent believer of Goddess Sharda. Driven by acute poverty, she came all the way from Gulgam to Sharda Mata temple and reverentially prayed to the Goddess to be redeemed from the deprivations. Pleased with her devotion, a divine 'thal' is believed to have emerged from the sacred spring underneath the holy 'Shila'. It was believed to provide food whenever the said lady desired but on the condition that none other than her could make use of it. However, once the said lady is said to have utilised the divine thali to offer food to her brother. The divine thali is believed to have broken into pieces at that very moment and simultaneously the thali is said to have vanished from the sacred spring. Another Sharda temple lore says that ferocious frontier tribals raiders, locally called 'Baemb' (Bamboos) once attacked the temple in order to grab the 'gold' and 'diamond' ornaments and other precious stones' supposed to exist in the spring beneath the holy Shila.

They attempted to remove the sacred Shila, under which the divine spring exists. To their shock stinging wasps, poisonous snakes and deadly insects were believed to have emerged from the cracked corner of the Shila, which was slightly damaged in the process of uprooting. Frightened by this dreadful sight, 'Baemb' are said to have fled away without causing much damage to the holy Shila. The damaged corner of the Shila, which was seen even upto the year 1947 bore testimony to this belief. During the conversation, Smt. Arundati reminisced that a small idol of Mata Sharda also occupied a reverential place inside the temple those days. However, for the devotees, the hallowed Shila regarded as the manifestation of Goddess Sharda was the sanctum sanctorum and epitome of reverence. The devotees would pay obeisance to the Shila amidst chanting of hymns and sacred shlokas in praise of Mata Sharda. They would also undertake a circuitous walk around the holy Shila.

(To be continued)

# Suraj Tiku-Theatre was his passion

By Dr. R.K. Tamiri

SURAJ TIKU carved out a niche for himself in the field of painting and set-designing. The truth, however, remains that acting was his real passion. It was again the efforts of Pt. Kashi Nath Bhan that drew Suraj to theatre. Bhan was the role model so far as theatre in Kashmir was concerned. Those were the days when theatre in Kashmir was still in its infancy, with little professionalism involved in it. Many artists preferred it as a pastime, rather than making it a full time pursuit.

Tiku had no formal training in theatre. He acquired acting skills through the process of self-learning. In fact, till 1964 no artist in Kashmir had any formal training. Pt. Ved Lal Dhar (Vakil), the grand old man of Kashmir theatre, had a brief stint at Alfred Co. in Calcutta. Sh. Sham Lal Dhar Bahar was the first local artist to acquire a **Diploma in Dramatics** at National School of Drama under Ebrahim Alkazi.

Suraj Tiku had the privilege to have acted in almost all the plays staged by Sudhar Samiti and Kala Kendra under the direction of Messers Kashi Nath Bhan, Madhav Lal Tiku and Trilok Dass.

## Samaj Sudhar Phase:

Though modern Kashmiri theatre had its modest beginnings in 1920s, yet it emerged as a distinct entity only in 1940s. Two types of theatrical activity were witnessed in Kashmir simultaneously from 1944 onwards. One was community (Pandit) focused, carried on under the aegis of Samaj Sudhar Samiti. This social outfit used to host plays initially at Shital Nath but had to shift later to Shivalaya, Chotta Bazar.

Many of the leading lights of Samaj Sudhar Samiti had remained in the forefront of Kashmiri Pandit community's **Roti agitation in 1932**. They had also been among the pioneers in Kashmir's Theatre movement from 1928 onwards. Sudhar Samiti plays had a strong social message. These castigated dowry as a social evil, attacked extravagant feasts and expenditure on marriages and other occasions. At times plays had also historical and religious mythological themes.

Pt. Nand Lal Kaul alias **Nanna** was a modern poet and perhaps the first playwright among Kashmiris in 20th century. He wrote **Satach Kahawat** (The Touchstone of Truth), **Davya-Lol** (Love of God), **Ramun Raj** (Ram Rajya), **Prahlad Bhagat** (Bhakt Prahlad) etc. Many of his works were Kashmiri renderings from Urdu but these were done excel-

lently.

Sudhar Samiti staged these plays of 'Nanna', besides **Akanandun**, **Vishwamitr**, **Satraat**, **Raja Harish Chander**, **Shiv-Parvati**, **Satyavan Savitri**. Suraj Tiku's real talent flowed in these plays in which he acted.

## Kala Kendra Years:

By 1950-51 Sudhar Samiti's theatre activity, conducted under its '**Natak Vibag**', had started losing steam. Many of its unemployed artists had found full-time job in **Central ordinance department** and had little time to carry on theatre work on a regular basis. Also, a new generation of theatre artists had arrived on the scene. They had higher aspirations and were im-

'**Land to the Tiller**', '**Shihil Kul**', '**Bombur Ta Yemberzal**', '**Himal Nagiraay**', '**Neki Badi**'. Kashmir's poet-laureate Pandit Dina Nath Nadim was moving spirit behind these plays. Some of the Kala Kendra actors took part in Cultural Congress activities as well. A patriotic play '**Kashmir Hamara Hai**' was staged under the able Direction of Sh. Kashi Nath Bhan. Suraj Tiku played a lead role in it.

Suraj Tiku was not among founders of Kala Kendra since he was actively involved with Samaj Sudhar Samiti's Theatre Work. He joined the new outfit only after Director Trilok Dass returned from Madras and enrolled himself in Kala Kendra.

Tiku worked with such veteran artists -Messers Ved Lal Vakil, Mahender Wali, Madhav Lal Tiku, Omkar Nath Khazanchi, Laxmi Narain Kaul, Hriday Nath Gurtoo, Omkar Nath Gursu alias ('Ibn Adam'), Makhan Lal Saraf (who later floated his own theatre group ('Rang Manch'), Krishen Langoo, Pyare Lal Razdan, Moti Lal Kemu, Somnath Sumbly, Girdhari Lal Dass and many others.

## Role Models:

Suraj had three idols in his life Pt. Kashi Nath Bhan (Direction and Stage Craft), Pt. Trilok Kaul (Painting) and Prithvi Raj Kapoor (Acting), Suraj Tiku was inspired by Prithvi Raj Kapoor. He would recreate him as a Kashmiri Pan-

play. Invariably Suraj would get best roles in best plays.

Suraj Tiku acted in the roles of Khandani Batta (A Pandit with distinguished lineage), **monoclynder**, Kashmiri Pandit official etc. He loved to do the role of villain as well. Suraj performed this with great finesse in plays like Manzirat, Kashmir Hamara Hai (Directed by Sh. Kashi Nath Bhan), **Satraat** etc. As a comedian Suraj was peerless. In many plays staged by Sudhar Samiti and Kala Kendra comedy used to be the premier item. Suraj performed comedian roles in these plays, which added to their popularity.

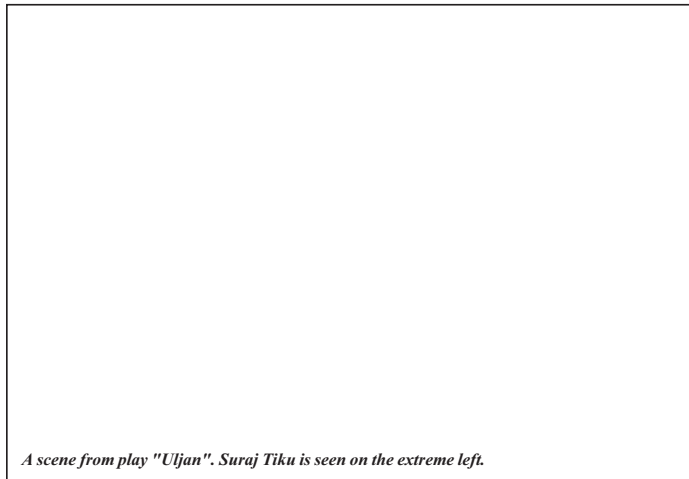
## Best Role:

Opinions are, however, divided on Suraj's all-time best role in acting. Bal Krishan Qasba, an artist colleague of Suraj, rates Suraj's role as comedian in '**Satyavan Savitri**' as the most outstanding one. Music maestro, Krishan Langoo regards Suraj's role as daughter-in-law's father in **Satraat** as the best. He recalls, "In those days Tiku was quite handsome and had curly hair, before turning bald in later years. As a 10 year old boy I had gone to see the play '**Satraat**' at Shitalnath with my neighbour, Pt. Mahendra Wali, who was himself an actor. The play castigated dowry as a social evil. As daughter-in-law's father Suraj had dressed himself in **Achkan** and **Tangmoori Pyjama**. Suraj's superb acting created a lasting impression on me. I developed fancy, initially for him and subsequently for theatre".

Sh. MK Tiku, a leading Saffron trader and connoisseur of theatre admires Suraj's role as 'beggar' in the play '**Uljan**'. This play was staged first at Shivalaya and later at SP College. When MK Tiku asked Suraj the secret of this great performance Suraj disclosed that for attaining perfection in this role he used to visit **Charas (Shoda) Gali** (near Hari Singh High Street) for hours together to study how begging was done.

Moti Lal Kemu, a legendary figure in Kashmir's folk theatre, '**Band Pather**' describes Suraj's role as **Sarvajana Mitr** in his play '**Tsaya**' as his best ever performance. Kemu says, "Suraj himself admitted that he enjoyed to play this role as it befitted his character. This role had to be created because there was no ideal he could imitate".

(Contd. on Page 16)



A scene from play "Uljan". Suraj Tiku is seen on the extreme left.

patient. Sudhar Samiti found itself handicapped to respond to their urges. A new cultural outfit '**Kala Kendra**' was launched by the newer artists. In a certain sense Sudhar Samiti's '**Natak Vibag**' took rebirth as '**Kala Kendra**'. History has its own dynamic. Some of the artists of Sudhar Samiti decided to work with Kala Kendra while others faded out.

## Cultural Front:

The other type of Theatre activity that gained impetus after 1947 was the one inspired by left-oriented **Indian Peoples' Theatre Association (IPTA)**. Balraj Sahni, the great actor, who was a leading light of this movement wanted a Kashmir Chapter of IPTA. This emerged in the form of **Cultural Front** (later **Cultural Congress**). Plays, written by the Cultural Front artists were staged regularly for quite sometime. The plays focused on the life of people in general and addressed broader issues. Plays staged by Cultural Congress included

Suraj was still with **Sudhar Samiti's Natak Vibag** when Prithviraj Kapoor, the great stage actor, came to Kashmir to lay the foundation stone of Samiti's Theatre Hall on 9th of October 1952. Kapoor had enacted **Silolquy-- 'Merchant of Venice** on the visit'. Samiti hosted a play for the visiting dignitary. Prithvi Raj Kapoor was all praise for Suraj Tiku, Kashi Nath Bhan and Trilok Das. Artist BK Qasba who was present on the occasion says that Kapoor called Suraj a great artist.

Suraj Tiku's great acting performances came in such plays- **Raksha Bandhan**, **Satvan Savitri** (1951), **Krishn Janam** (1952), **Aurat** (1953), **Prahlad Bhagat** (1957) **Akh Nar Akh Kotab** and **Tarqi Ki Rah par** (1962), **Bina Dewaraan Ke Ghar** (1967), **Graduate Pagal** (1972), **Taent Kor**, **Uljan**, **Satraat**, **Widhwa**, **Lol Fun Funkar**, **Widhwa**. After 1968 Suraj concentrated mainly on set-designing.

dit character in Kashmiri Pandit roles.

If Suraj had to choose any one after Prithvi Raj Kapoor it was Shashi Kapoor. Suraj's friend and the versatile actor, ON Khazanchi says, "In later days when my son took him to watch '**Suhag**' Suraj appreciated Amitabh Bachan as well but Prithvi Raj Kapoor remained the main influence. Suraj's delivery of dialogues was superb. In dialogue delivery he was much like Prithvi Raj Kapoor and remembered all his dialogues."

Critics rate Suraj Tiku as one of the five best actors of modern Kashmiri theatre, alongside Ved Lal Vakil, Madhav Tiku, Som Nath Sumbly and Omkar Nath Khazanchi. In many plays Suraj and his illustrious uncle, Madhav Lal Tiku acted together. Suraj had great versatility and could play any role. Yet experts rate Khazanchi higher than Suraj in versatility. Suraj Tiku always cherished doing a role and would feel upset if denied a role in a

# Men, Matters and Memories-III

By S.N. Gorkha

**Khankah-e-Sokhta:**  
THIS mohalla in the vicinity of Safakadal the 7th bridge owes its importance to being the birth place Mata Roopa Bhawani, the great saint-poetess of Kashmir in 17th century. She was daughter of Pt. Madhav Joo Dhar, a resident of this mohalla. Mata Roopa Bhawani was an ardent devotee of Goddess Sharika, the presiding deity of Srinagar city. Roopa Bhawani's temple stands here.

The well-known feudal clan of Dhars hailed from this mohalla. The palatial buildings of this clan which stand to this day attest to their immense affluence. The temple in the mohalla was also built by them. The leading personalities of the clan included Pt. Birbal Dhar, who guided Sikhs to Kashmir, Pt. Bal Kak Dhar, former Wazir-e-Wazarat, Sh. DP Dhar, a well-known politician and former ambassador to Soviet Union, Maj. General (Retd.) BN Dhar etc.

The other prominent members of this clan were Rai Bahadur Shyam Sunder Lal Dhar, former Panchayat and Development officer, Sh. Ratan Lal Dhar, former Director Food and Supplies, Pt. Manmohan Nath, a senior official in Maharaja's administration, Pt. Ramchand Dhar, an eminent educationist, Pt. Krishan Joo Dhar, former Director Flood Control, Sh. Janki Nath Dhar, Sh. Shamboo Nath Dhar, noted advocate and former President Srinagar Municipality (born Braripora, Nawakadal), Sh. Dina Nath Dhar, former Head Master and proprietor of **Normal press** at Lal Chowk etc.

The ace-cricketer Pt. Ramchand Tickoo also lived in this mohalla. His eldest son Sh. Prithvi Nath Tickoo was gunned down by the terrorists in May 1990. Late Nand Lal 'Begarz', the eminent teacher and the first to write a short story in Kashmiri also lived at Khankah-e-Sokhta. His nephew Prof. Nilakanth Lala Raina, whom he had taken in adoption, was a scholar of eminence. He was a trained historian. His essay on 'Northern Areas' was widely appreciated. In 1990 when fundamentalist insurgency erupted Prof Raina did not want to leave Kashmir. He was gunned down by terrorists for his refusal to leave Kashmir.

Sh. Niranjan Nath Razdan, the proprietor of Mercantile Press, Kothi Bagh also lived here. His father Sh. Madho Ram Razdan had published the religious texts of Kashmiri Hindus in Urdu and Kashmiri. Pt. Niranjan Nath had started an English daily, '**New Kashmir**'. This paper practised fearless journalism and was forced to close down.

**Nawakadal:**  
Prominent politician—Moulvi

Abbas Ansari, a Shia cleric and Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, former Chief Minister of J&K, belonged to this mohalla. Well-known *hakim* of his time, Pt. Sansar Chand Hakim also lived here. He was an employee of Accountant General's office.

On the left bank of Jehlum were located many mohallas—Gurgari Mohalla, Dab Tal, Rehabsab, Sehyar, Ganz Khud and Qutab-Din-Pora etc.

**Gurgari Mohalla:**  
Prominent personalities of this mohalla included Pt. Anand Kaul Bamzai, Saint Swami Nand Lal (of Tikker), Pt. Prem Nath Kanaw, former editor of Urdu daily '**The Martand**', Sh. Lamboodhar Kaul Kadalbujo, also an editor of '**The Martand**' Doyen of Kashmir archeology and former Prime Minister, Pt. RC Kak was also born in Gurgari Mohalla.

Pt. Anand Kaul Bamzai was a noted historian and first president of Srinagar Municipality. He was moving spirit behind the enactment of Municipality bylaws. His son, Pt. PN Kaul Bamzai

initially served as Science teacher in MP Higher Secondary School. Later, he moved to Delhi and retired as a senior official in Information and Broadcasting Ministry, Govt. of India. He also authored many books on Kashmir, which included '**A history of Kashmir**', '**Kashmir from Lake success to Tashkent**', '**Kashmir and Central Asia**', '**Socio-economic history of Kashmir under Dogras**' etc. Another member of Bamzai clan, Sh. Kashi Nath Bamzai, was correspondent of Blitz in 1947 and served as Press Advisor to Pt. Nehru after 1947. Sh. KN Bamzai retired as Registrar Newspapers of India. Sh. Bamzai's grandchildren—Sandeep Bamzai and Kavaree Bamzai too are senior journalists in Delhi. The former is author of '**Bonfire Kashmiriat**', a major contribution to historiography of Kashmir, while the latter is Deputy Editor of '**India Today**'.

Sh. Hriday Nath Bamzai, younger brother of Sh. KN Bamzai moved to Bombay while he was still a student of 7th Class. He changed his name to '**Hari Kashmiri**', but failed to make his mark as an actor.

Then he set up his own business—supplying extra actors to film companies. 'Hari Kashmiri' was very friendly to extra artists, helping them in every way possible. He would pay these artists liberally. It earned him tremendous popularity. This munificence earned him the wrath of rival suppliers who used to cheat extra artists of their wages. A conspiracy was hatched to assassinate him. Hriday Nath left behind a widow and a son.

Pt. Ram Kaul's son—Pt. Damodhar Kaul was an employee of AG's office. Subsequently, he started a big concern—'**Martand Trading Agency**' at Mahraj Ganj. This company dealt in paper and

tired as Secretary, GoI.

**Dab Tal Mohalla:**  
This mohalla is situated between Ganz-Khod and Gurgari mohalla. Sansar Chand Kaul, an advocate hailed from this mohalla. His younger brother, Sh. Niranjan Nath Kaul was an Income Tax lawyer. Sh. Chuni Lal Kaul S/o Sh. Sansar Chand Kaul, is a lawyer, presently based in Jammu. Sh. Som Nath Kaul, who migrated to Himachal Pradesh, retired as Headmaster.

The other well-known Pandit family who lived here was of Bhats. Sh. Gopi Nath (Mugloo) retired as Headmaster of a Govt. High School. His son Pt. Omkar Nath Bhat worked as a Professor in Vishwa Bharti College, Ra in a w a r i (Srinagar). The latter had a brief stint in Journalism when he worked as Assistant Editor of the weekly '**Rehnuma**' and '**Desh**'. For a while he also worked as a script writer with Radio Kashmir.

**Sehyar Mohalla:**  
This mohalla is located opposite Rehbab Sahib. The well known Kaul clan lived here.

It included Pt. Hargopal Kaul '**Khasta**' (Sher-e-Kashmir), Pt. Shiv Narayan Fotedar, Pt. Shamboo Nath Kaul (**Vakil**) and his two sons—Pushkar Nath Pyare Lal, Advocate and author of four books on contemporary history of Kashmir. Renowned teacher and first Headmaster of CMS School, Fateh Kadal, Pt. Shankar Pandit also lived here. Others who lived here included, Pt. Shivjee Kaul, a Govt. teacher. His son Sh. Kashi Nath Kaul, B.A.B.T. retired as T.E.O. Sh. KN Kaul was General Secretary of Samaj Sudhar Samiti, Chota Bazar, Srinagar. He also authored many books.

**Ganz—khod:**  
Eminent personalities of this mohalla included Pt. Amar Nath Ganjoo, a well-known RSS leader and Chaman Lal Kaul, a high official in ONGC, presently settled at Mumbai.

**Wattal-Kadal:**  
Wattal Kadal lies between Safakadal and Nawakadal. Pandita-Kaul family lived here. Of the three brothers Nand Lal was secretary to Govt. Sh. Bishamber Nath retired as Supdt. Police while Sh.

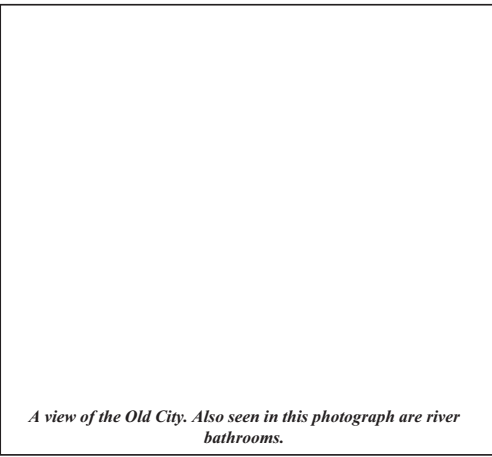
Radhakrishnan was an eminent educationist and retired as Headmaster Govt. High School, Bagh-e-Dilawar Khan, Srinagar. This family had a tonga. Sh. Bishamber had been trained by Scotland Yard and used to be immaculately dressed.

**Jamalata:**  
This mohalla is located between Sehyar and Nawakadal. It was in Jamalata Chowk. In 1953 the then senior NC leader Gh. Mohi-ud-Din Qarra addressed a public meeting and raised pro-Pak slogans. This stunned the audience. The then Prime Minister (Chief Minister) Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, was watching at that time a cultural programme at Govt. Girls Higher Secondary School, Nawakadal, quite near to the venue. The well-known clan of Mozas (Dattatreya Kauls) originally hailed from Jamalata. It was from here they migrated to different places.

**Shorgari Mohalla:**  
It lies between Jamalata Chowk and Nawa Bazar bridge on the left side. Khwaja Mohammed Maqbool Pandit, then Wazir-e-Wazarat lived here. He had a palatial bungalow. His eldest son, Bashir Ahmed Pandit after passing his B.A. migrated to Pakistan. He passed away at Lahore a few years back. The other son, Mr. Mohd. Shafi Pandit, an IAS officer is presently serving as Chairman J&K Public Service Commission. Kh. Maqbool Pandit had constructed another grand building near Govt. Medical College, Srinagar. This was later on sold to Khadi Ashram. Jamal Siraj, a leading carpet manufacturer also hailed from Shorgari mohalla.

**Qutub Din Pora:**  
Across Zaina Kadal Bridge near Gurgari mohalla lies the mohalla of Qutabdinpora. Hakim Ahmedullah, popularly known as 'Ama Hakim', was a native of this place. Patients came from distant corners of Kashmir to get treated by this renowned Hakim. Unfortunately, his son-in-law, Peerzada Ghulam Rasool, who retired as Headmaster State High School, Bagh-e-Dilawar Khan, passed away at an early age. Hakim Sahib became inconsolable due to this tragic incident. He affixed a paper at his clinic, describing that day as the most sorrowful one. Peerzada Ghulam Rasool's son, rose to be the Chief Engineer of PDD and also served as Chairman National Grid Corporation of India. Ama Hakim had two sons—Dr. Haffizullah, an allopathic doctor who died in an aircraft at Huin Heng and Hakim Qudratullah, a Unani Hakim. Dr. Hafizullah was a devotee of Swami Lakhman Joo, the Shaivite scholar and saint.

*\*(The author is a Veteran Journalist, based in Jammu.)*





By A.N. Dhar

**A** Kashmiri displaced from the Valley as a physician, Dr. Roshan Saraf didn't take long here in being seen as a talented person, precisely as a man of letters. An artist by taste and temperament, he has a melodious voice, sings tunefully and composes verses both in Kashmiri and English. Just a few years back, he brought out his book of Kashmiri lyrics under the title *Lola Osh* and thus carved for himself a place among the contemporary Kashmiri poets. Now he has made his debut as a thoughtful writer of English verse with the publication of his book titled *Rhythmic Verses*, that is being released at this function. In my view the book in question is welcome as a creative piece - attempted by an Indian aspirant writing in English. There is evidence in its contents of the author's promise and potential accompanied by actual accomplishment. Before I go into the contents of the volume, I should like to caution the prospective readers not to expect rounded perfection and formal finish from a writer who has something original to convey in English as a second language and so chooses to forge his own instruments of communication under an inward

## Some Observations on Doctor Roshan Saraf's Rhythmic Verses

compulsion. He has obviously not had any standard classic models in view.

Dr. Roshan Saraf has a sane and balanced outlook on life. He has a mind of his own; he presents his point of view on any and matters, and on situations - in fact on whatever happens around him in his day-to-day life. Rooted emotionally in his native Valley, he is aware of his rich cultural heritage as a Kashmiri and cherishes the age-old values associated with it. Nostalgic and anguished no doubt, all that he says is free from any rancour or bitterness. This is clearly reflected in the seventy-two pieces of written composition he prefers to call rhythmic verses rather than poems. He has written on a wide variety of topics; the titles of the individual poems are thoughtfully conceived and appropriately worded. As I have noticed, several titles occurring sequentially or otherwise have a thematic connection and can thus, as such, be studied as a group. As we discern this connection, we can list the broad themes touched upon in

the volume. A major theme is that of the displacement of the Pandits from the Valley, the pain and agony it has caused them - what is forcefully articulated in some of the pieces.

I would now turn to a few poems and quote select lines from them for illustrative support to some of the observations I have made on the contents of the book. I find the poems titled 'Home Sweet Home', 'Rustic Valley' and 'Retirement' thematically related. The poet conveys his deep sense of pain in these lines from 'Home Sweet Home':

**The Rome I built brick by brick was smashed and dashed bit by bit, within a jiffy carved nest dismantled and rubble by rough ruffians in a felonious fit.**

\* \* \* \* \*

There was a sudden drift in behaviour and attitude, Friends of yore became foes rude, and crude, love and affection was torn to shreds....

Similar feelings find expression in these line from the poem titled 'Rustic Valley':

**There blew a hurricane and erupted a rock 'Chinar' turned rusty with a severe shock, time turned violent and played mock, the valley saffron became a market of cadaverous merchandise**

This is further how the poet bewails the lot of the displaced Kashmiri Govt. employees who had to leave the Valley for fear of life, retire virtually from service and live on 'relief here as migrants (lines quoted from the poem 'Retirement':

**A dirty tag, a torn flag on his shabby tenement/an ethnic curse crushing every fragment, a native in his own land, labelled a migrant/still in service but Alas! in retirement.**

Several poems are obviously religious in content. The poet himself is known to be deeply religious, in fact an ardent devotee of Bhagavaan Gopinath Ji. The very first poem of the volume is titled 'His Majesty'. It is wholly devoted to Bhagavanji; the poem is, in fact, a successful portraiture of the Bhagvan as an

embodiment of divine qualities, at-once an august, lovable and awe-inspiring figure. This becomes evident from the lines cited below:

**An eternal flame erupting from everywhere, descended from the Heavens to share, touched this planet to absolve the miseries and to care.**

**I saw a shining sun with dazzling elegance glittering on a face in its absolute glory.**

\* \* \* \* \*

**I saw a fabulous lotus blooming in its excellence/glittering on a face in its absolute glory.**

Dr. Saraf has devoted one piece titled "The Frozen Beauty" to the ice-lingam formed naturally in the holy cave of Amarnath.

Here are the lines in which he makes us visualize the upward march of the pilgrims and devotees come from far off places:

**Devotees from far and wide walk the treacherous paths on foot and ride, pay humble obeisance and bash the pride**

\* \* \* \* \*

**Saffron-clad devotees chant the hymns of Lord with mace on their shoulders and head in rhythmic nod**  
(Contd. on Page 17)

# Suraj Tiku-Theatre was his passion

(From Page 14)

Sarvajana Mitri, who represents the people, is a historical figure - an outstanding scholar brought to Kashmir from Taxila University by King Lalitaditya. Kemu even goes to the extent of pronouncing that Late Trilok Dass owed his success primarily to the good team (which included Suraj Tiku) he had, 'who would assemble at Chottabazar and invariably spend their evenings together'.

Since Suraj had great versatility in his acting he was an asset to the organisation he was associated with. Once 'Song and Drama Division' had staged a play 'Desh Hamara Hai' at Mattan, under the direction of Gulshan Rai Kapoor, a talented actor with excellent voice. ON Raina, who had to do the role of a 'Maharashtrian' had not turned up. Kapoor was in a fix as Raina's item was third on the agenda. A man of crisis that Suraj was and also who loved to take up the challenges he volunteered to do Raina's item. Suraj did his make-up himself. It was a little difficult as he had to look like a Maharashtrian. Suraj sang and danced with gay abandon. No body could make out that Suraj was not a Maharashtrian. Gulshan Rai was so amused that tears started rolling down his

eyes as he burst into laughter.

ON Khazanchi the great actor, describes Suraj Tiku as an artist and actor of great calibre. He says, "I have never seen such outstanding talent. He would assist us in script/dialogue writing. Suraj was adept in tricks of stage and theatre. At times if an actor faltered in dialogue delivery Suraj knew enough tricks to cover this up, without the audience getting even remotely conscious about it."

**Kemu is equally effusive in his praise of Suraj Tiku. He observes:**

"Suraj Tiku was a talented artist. He had great sense of subtle high quality humour. He would set audience thinking in understanding the satirical element in it. Suraj learnt acting from Paris theatre, which he used to attend. He would do good acting, ranking almost equal to Madhav Lal Tiku. He was among the top five actors of his time. Suraj was equally proficient in Kashmiri as well as Urdu. He had good voice and flexibility in his body. Suraj would understand the assigned role well and then try to create and perform it equally well. His delivery of dialogues particularly in 'Taentkor' and 'Tsaya' was

very good. He had a radio voice" Tiku acted in radio dramas and a number of TV plays, including 'Simon's Papa'. He acted in two films - 'Manziraat' (produced by Prabhat films) and 'Shair-e-Kashmir Mehjoor' (in both Kashmiri and Hindu versions). In Delhi Tiku alongwith Krishan Langoo, Ali Mohammed Rah and Ali Mohammed Nishtar had a

brief role in 'Dr. Radio', produced by Vilayat Jafri. Suraj

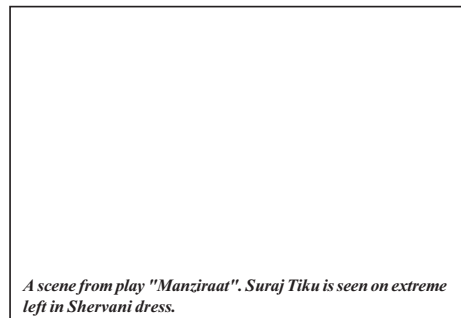
### CONTINUATION

Tiku toured different parts of the state and the country with roving theatre of 'Song and Drama Division' and gave performances.

**Make-Up:** Suraj's brilliance would come to fore in the art of make-up as well. He would perform this job for his theatre and police meet plays. Later, he trained Sh. Hriday Nath Gurtoo for this, who equally excelled in this job.

**Great learner:** Suraj Tiku had great zeal to learn and improvise. He kept himself abreast with the latest trends in set-designing and painting. He never missed an issue of 'Screen', a film journal, to keep himself posted with what was going in the film world.

At Kala Kendra he would



A scene from play "Manziraat". Suraj Tiku is seen on extreme left in Shervani dress.

have hair-splitting discussions with his artist colleagues. Sh. Chaman Lal Chrungoo, a veteran of Kala Kendra recalls on a nostalgic note, "Suraj was very intelligent and had great insights into the scope of a play. Since I was secretary of the organisation he would sit for hours together with me, discussing different aspects - social, psychological etc., of a play."

**Santosh Tiku, Suraj's son recalls the atmosphere at home, saying, "At home father used to discuss theatre personalities like Ebrahim Alkazi, Prithviraj Kapoor, Balraj Sahni etc. These discussions would be joined in by Madhav Lal Tiku, his son Tej**

Tiku etc. Invariably these discussions would turn to plays staged by Kala Kendra. Father knew everything about Elkazi's plays. He was a great learner and never hesitated to own up his inadequacies. He knew Kashmir's folklore pretty well and harnessed this to add new elements into plays. Father occasionally listened to music but was not a connoisseur of it. I have only heard him singing 'Parbhaton Ki Pedan...'"

Suraj Tiku had great sense of history and maintained an archive of theatre material. He was careful not to lend it to others for the fear of losing it.



Name of the Book: The Ugly Kashmiri Cameos in exile  
Author : Arvind Gigoo  
Publisher: Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd  
Pages: 186  
Price: Rs 250/-

# The Ugly Kashmiri

## (A Venomous Literary Manipulation)

**JONATHAN SWIFT** once remarked: "Cant and vision are to the ear and eye the same as tickling is to the touch". It is a meaningful collocation. Happiness is a perpetual possession of being well - deceived. Delusion is stronger than things as they appear in the glass of nature. Credulity is better than curiosity and superficial acceptance of the surface of things better than "pretended philosophy which enters into the depth of things". Swift informs us ironically that we should be content with what we can know by sight and touch only and ignore reason. Here is what may be called the possession of being well-deceived of being a fool among knaves. That is precisely an example of topsyturvydom or the technique of inversion. Is Gigoo somewhere near this description in his **The Ugly Kashmiri (Cameos in exile)?**

Again Swift's misanthropy, a product of deep personal frustration, made him declare: "I have ever hated all nations, professions and communities, and all my love is towards individuals..... I hate 'the English, the Scotch, the French

and the rest". Gigoo has not left any group or section of any community untouched making use of his scathing sardonic-satirical - scornful sarcasm of an order that cannot be described as sympathetic. His cynicism is of a quality and profundity that speaks volumes.....

Gigoo's uncharitable remark "a liberal man proves irrational and dangerous, and..... a goon performs a heroic act" negates the abiding belief that Gigoo has survived as a liberal in spite of the turmoil that he talks of repeatedly. Everybody does not travel from the realm of reason to that of unreason as the author would have us believe.

One can appreciate the technique of inversion as a tool of satire adopted by Gigoo but the abstractions make the statements more of epigrams than of a commentary on the socio-political panorama on the one hand and the moral and ethical basis on the other.

Have a look at **Conversion III (Cameo 14)**: "Conversion is the mother of repentance." "**Renaisance (Cameo 16)** is 'reviving dead rituals'. "Sale of house and land and everything in Kashmir" (Cameo 23) is the result of the belief 'Kashmir is my dear Motherland'.

**Ration Card (s) (Cameo 26)** is rather hyperbolic in connotation, as it puts across the idea that the entire question of exodus and the rest is to be analysed in the context of crumbs thrown at the displaced. Dreadfully - deadly an exaggeration! One has yet to come across a secularist who or a secular government which has not offered everything possible for the betterment of Kashmiri Pandits. Why be venomously satirical about the role of the secularist. Gigoo himself belongs to the clan.

**New Gods (Cameo 47)** is designed to make fun of Kashmiri Pandits' psyche, creating new gods in their desperation. Nothing unusual about it. Every mythology has a god for every object and phenomenon beyond the control of man. Why shouldn't the Pandit think of new gods who came to his rescue when the Indian State failed to provide any protection to him.

**The Sympathizer (Cameo 50)** highlights the greed for property displayed by the haves among the Muslim Community with the entire spectrum of the Muslims. —**The Loss (Cameo 66)** cuts both ways. Who is the actual loser? An answer to the question is the question of questions. How one wishes Gigoo could have answered it!

**The Catch (Cameo 79)** is a sad commentary on the role of the avaricious among the saviours. Is it universal? Not in the least.

**Jammu (Cameo 81)** is unnecessarily described as 'the large Old Age Home'. So was the vale of Kashmir right from early sixties.

**The Kill (Cameo 95)** is a classic example of the technique of inversion as an instrument of sarcasm.

**The Golden Handshake (Cameo 96)** of 1947 is not a myth. Let us recall the sacrifices of the martyrs who nurtured it with their blood but the fanatic fringe proved more manipulative for a while.

**Wife (A play) (Cameo 113)** displays cynicism of the highest order presented as a conceit to facilitate the assimilation of hy-

perbole. Is the picture so murky?

**The Day (Cameo 138)** associated with Sri Bhat and his day, may sound quite innocent but its bitterness is fathomless.

**Holy Places (Cameo 144)** is again a repetition of mockery aimed at the mushroom growth of shrines modelled after the ones that the adherents lost. Why grudge the helplessness of the Faithful?

**My Culture (Cameo 164)** has the undertones of bitterness directed against those who sought concessions (genuinely so) after the displacement. Why make fun of a human endeavour?

**Four Million (A Short Story) (Cameo 177)** may be re-read as Bakshi's Formula. Nothing of any trace of originality in it. "**See you in Panun Kashmir**" (Cameo 179) is a deliberate attempt to malign the K.P organizations that stand for the slogan. It may be a dream, but everyone has a right to have dreams in a social order based on democratic values. That is the beauty of our motherland, the land inhabited by people belonging to different regions, speaking different languages and expressing their opinion in a free atmosphere. Kashmir is in turmoil; the Kashmiri are in a bad shape. Let us not make the situation the

butt of our ridicule.

**The Ugly Kashmiri** shows a highbrow intellectualism that smacks of: "I am; I know; I understand yet I am not; I know not and I do not understand." That is precisely caricaturing the world at large. Swift was a master but he cannot be the guide in a context where human suffering is involved. Let us be humorously cynical and cynically humorous but let us adopt the sympathetic rather than the venomous form of this handy literary manipulation.

*\*The author is an eminent Professor of English, presently based in Jammu.*

### Some Observations on Doctor Roshan Sarafs

(Contd. from 16)

young and old, weak and strong on a compassionate prod.

These are the concluding lines of the poem:

"Shiv" is creator, ultimate destroyer,

he in trinity is the universal saviour

he with "Shakti" is the sagacious governor.

Within the short space of this note, it is not possible for me to discuss, even briefly, the over-all content of the volume in question. What I have noticed on going through the poems is that Dr. Saraf has a fund of English vocabulary at his command including terms drawn from his professional vocabulary. I am sure he writes knowledgeably too when he describes or narrates experiences. What is important, however, is that he should be able to bend language to his needs; when he deviates from normal language use, it must strike us as really creative and not just violating the norms. He has, no doubt, performed a painstaking and praiseworthy job in producing and publishing the present volume. He should not, however, rest on his laurels. A sizeable number of poems contained in the volume are fine and all right. But there is a noticeable unevenness in the volume as far as the over-all quality of the poems or the flow of language is concerned. The author needs to refine his tools and hone his materials. I hope he doesn't continue to be averse to adopting the free-verse form in vogue today and now onwards I believe he will aim at writing clean English as far as possible and desirable.

His book Rhythmic Verses is, of course, welcome.

*\*(This paper was read out by the author at the book release function in Jammu.)*

### Jammu Citizen Forum honours King C. Bharti

KS Correspondent

Jammu Citizen Forum honored prominent citizens of Jammu on September 6, for their great contribution towards the success of Mass Movement in their own way.

Jammu on Saturday. The prominent citizens included businessmen, lawyers, social leaders, journalists and women who played a vital role during the first ever mass movement of Jammu.

The prominent among those honored include King C Bharati, Executive Editor, The Shadow, Ram Sahai, President, Chamber of Commerce, Anil Suri, President Industrial Federation, Inderjit Khajuria, President, Jammu Hoteliers and Lodges Association, B. S. Slathia, President, Bar Association Jammu, S. S. Lehar, Supreme Court Advocate, Suhail Kazmi, General Secretary Jammu Press Club, D. K. Khajuria, senior Advocate, Dr. Verinder Gupta, Professor, Sheikh Shakil, Advocate, Aman Sharma, Kashmir Images, R. S. Gill, North Lines, Rajiv Chuni, Mahesh Padha and Aditya Malhotra.

Former Director General of Police MM Khajuria was the Chief Guest on the occasion. M.M Khajuria, former DGP, called it a historical revolution in the history of Jammu and Kashmir. He said that the agitation was unique as it was totally non-violent, secular and nationalistic while other agitations always stand in contrast. "There are attempts to break the agitation, but when it becomes a movement of the civil society, it gets strength and succeeds", said Khajuria. Ram Sahai, President, Chamber of Commerce in his address said that though everyone contribution equally in the agitation, these were the traders, business establishments and industries, who for the first time made it historical agitation while keeping their establishments closed for 55 days when bandh was observed in the region.

B. S. Slathia, President Bar Association Jammu, said that it was the contribution of one and all that included women and children as well. He said that though it was Sangarsh Samiti that took the forefront, Jammu Bar Association acted according to the aspirations of the people while working all pressures both within and outside.

## **CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS**

### **July 11, 2008--August 31, 2008**

- July 11: A top HM terrorist was arrested after an encounter in Handwara. A surrendered terrorist and SOG Sub Inspector were among eight people injured in a blast at Satingal, Bhaderwah. Amidst continuing of agitation, Sangarsh Samiti gave a call for Jammu bandh on July 16.
- July 12: Breaking its silence, the state administration today said that the 'Unknown Graves' belonged to terrorists, including foreigners, and the burials were performed by local people. NSA MK Narayanan today accused that ISI was involved in Kabul bombing of Indian Embassy.
- July 13: A top HM terrorist and close confidant of UJC Chief Syed Salahuddin, Abdul Rashid alias Mazam Bhai was arrested in Rajouri. Another OGW of HM Mushtaq was arrested in Rajouri. Hurriyat followers attacked Mehbooba and Omar Abdullah at "Mazar-e-Shuhada" on the "Martyrs' Day". Black flags and badges welcomed Governor Vohra on his first visit to Jammu. Mr G.N. Azad claimed that political parties, jealous of his achievements, joined hands to ensure his government's fall.
- July 14: A SPO was killed and two others injured as terrorists lob two hand grenades towards DPL, Doda. A VDC member was killed by terrorists at Dedal Dhar, Kishtwar. Terrorists lobbed a grenade towards the residence of a Territorial Army jawan at Chatru but failed to cause any damage. Chakkan-da-Bagh cross-points crossed 200 mark for first time. A LeT terrorist got life imprisonment. A Baldani Jatha was pushed back from Lakhampur while some managed to sneak into the state. Governor visited Vaishno Devi Shrine and announced diversion of Rs 3.5 crores from SMVDSB for public utility projects in Katra. Sangharsh Samiti held protests in front of Raj Bhawan.
- July 15: An Army jawan committed suicide in an Army camp at Nagrota. A boy was kidnapped for ransom in Srinagar. Governor Vohra claimed that there is no dilution in SASB's role.
- July 16: Two terrorists of JeM and a SPO were killed and 12 people including a Lt. Col. were injured in an encounter at Warpora on Sopore-Bandipore road. Security forces killed three terrorists in an encounter on the outskirts of Bhaderwah. Terrorists again attacked DPL Doda injuring one jawan on guard duty. Jammu observed complete bandh on the land row while Sangharsh Samiti accused Governor of trying to weaken the agitation. Samiti announced week long hunger strike from July 20.
- July 17: Terror funding in J&K was traced to an NGO in Netherlands, a Kolkata based Prof. and an Ahmedabad based advocate allegedly linked to the network.
- July 18: A civilian was killed and another injured while a VDC member was held captive by terrorists in Dudu-Basantgarh in Udhampur. 36 people, including four paramilitary and two police jawans, were injured as terrorists lobbed a grenade on a CRPF Gypsy in Banihal town. India-Pak discussed Kashmir CBMs.
- July 19: In a massive blast, terrorists destroyed an Army bus at Narbal killing 10 soldiers and injuring 18 others. At least five terrorists were killed in a gunbattle near LoC in Kupwara. Police busted a terrorist module by arresting three top ultras, including a Pakistani after their arrival at Jammu Railway Station by Hemkund Express. Two terrorists were held in Kishtwar in the case of Simthan Top attack. Terrorists cut hair of two girls at Gandoh accusing them to be informers. A jawan was arrested with brown sugar.
- July 20: Terrorists killed a civilian in Gulabgarh, Mahore. Terrorists gunned down an Amarnath Yatri-Ashok Kumar of UP and injured another at Gulmarg; the yatri had visited Gulmarg after their return from the cave. A local youth was also killed in the blast. Terrorists also attacked the yatra caravan at Ganderbal but failed to cause any damage, the gunbattle was on between the forces and the terrorists. Security forces killed three terrorists in two encounters in Bandipore and Handwara. A terrorist Tariq Watloo has revealed how he used visa and sea route to enter the country. An Army Major and a police Hawaldar were killed and three others injured in an encounter at Jarh Wali in Shahdara Sharief, Rajouri. Forces foiled an infiltration bid in Sabjian, Poonch. Sangharsh Samiti started chain hunger strike at all district headquarters.
- July 21: Security forces gunned down two terrorists involved in attack on Amarnath Yatra caravan at Ganderbal. Gulmarg and Tangmarg observed bandh against attack on the tourists at Gulmarg. Arms and ammunition was recovered in Pulwama and Rafiabab. Sh. Mula Ram accused BJP of exploitation on SASB land issue.
- July 22: Five IEDs were recovered in Rajouri. Tension on LoC mounts as Pakistan violated cease-fire agreement. A LeT terrorist was arrested after infiltration in Sabjian, Poonch. Sangharsh Samiti threatened of non-cooperation and economic blockade if government fails to resolve the land issue. BJP described Political power for Jammu and Ladakh and SASB as poll issues.
- July 23: Giving new turn to the Amarnath land issue, a youth Kuldeep Verma of Bishnah sacrificed his life on the 4th day of chain hunger strike. Protesters go on rampage as the news of 'martyrdom' spread in Jammu. Intelligence agencies have unearthed a "communication centre" in Pirpanjal used by terrorists for international communication. Omar Abdullah ruled out any poll alliance with Congress and others and described PDP as a party with broken pen and empty ink-pot.
- July 24: A lady of Kolkata alongwith four children was killed and 30 others including 18 Amarnath yatries injured as terrorists caused a grenade blast at Batmaloo Bus Stand targeting non Kashmiri workers and Amarnath Yatra. People's Political Party (PPP) Hilal Ahmed War set August 10 as deadline for non local labourers to vacate. A surrendered terrorist and his three family members were killed and another injured when terrorists attacked his house at Bari, Marmat. Violence erupted in Jammu after Police desecrated the body of Kuldip Verma and tried to cremate it during night. The administration called out Army as Samiti extends Bandh for 72 hours. Under new central guidelines for terror victims, rupees three lakh will be paid as compensation for death.
- July 25: A youth was strangled to death in Door, Anantnag. Even as administration admitted 'error of judgement' in body desecration case, Jammu protests and the protests spread to every nook and corner of the Jammu region. After losing power, Mr Azad admitted that PDP was worse than the opposition. Two people were killed as nine blasts rocked Bangalore.
- July 26: Pakistan violated ceasefire in Poonch. PPP leader Hilal War was held for threatening Bihari labourers; about a dozen people were injured in subsequent protests. Administration clamped curfew in Jammu as violence spread in the district amidst high handedness by the Police. Samiti extended bandh upto Monday. Panun Kashmir paid tributes to Kuldeep Verma and condemned Mr Omar's statement in the Parliament. 29 people were killed and 90 injured in 16 serial blasts in Ahmedabad. Security forces killed two terrorists in Lolab and busted a hideout in Pulwama. Police busted two terrorist hideouts in Poonch. The administration disallowed a tribute function as Police and RAF went berserk beating and detaining the tribute payers including Sangharsh Samiti and BJP leaders.
- July 27: A soldier was killed as Pakistan Army intruded in Nowgam sector and resorted to firing; the Pak Army retreated after Indian Army retaliated. Even as Governor announced judicial probe into disrespect of Kuldeep Verma's body and transferred SSP Jammu and attached SP Bishnah, Police went on rampage in Muthi, beating people inside their houses and damaging parked vehicles. Samiti extended bandh by 72 hours more. Vowing to stay in state politics, Mr Azad asked for two-third majority. US President Designate Barrak Obama warned Pakistan for funding terrorists in Kashmir.
- July 28: Security forces conducted searches in Sunjwan area, including house of a surrendered terrorist, on an input from Rajouri but no recoveries were made. There was a bomb scare in Udhampur and grenades were seized in Mendhar. Huge rallies replaced violent protests in most parts of Jammu. Samiti appealed to all parties to join the struggle. Tension in Samba as a youth Kamaljeet of Swankha attempted suicide over the land row.
- July 29: Police recovered a mortar shell under a culvert at Shakti Nagar, Jammu. Violent incidents and rallies continued across Jammu region. People in Samba set on fire two vehicles and blocked NH for hours. Tension gripped Chenani and Ramgarh as two groups clashed in the twin towns. Samiti accepted proposal for talks but extended Bandh by another 72 hours. Pakistan again targeted Indian post in Nowgam sector.
- July 30: A LeT terrorist was arrested in Doda. As administration diverted trucks via Dhar road, the convoy faced public wrath at Billawar. Huge rallies across the region as BJP decided for nationwide protests over land row. Samiti held talks with the Governor and the talks remained inconclusive. Sh. L.K Advani met Prime Minister to discuss Jammu situation.
- July 31: A youth was killed by terrorists in Mahore. An Army jawan committed suicide in Nowshera. Two people were killed and 26 others injured in firing at Samba. Army was called out and curfew imposed in Jammu and Samba as violence erupted in the twin districts. Mr Farooq Abdullah and Ms Mehbooba, who were to attend a meet organised by Governor, were left stranded for three hours at airport as people protested their presence in Jammu. Describing Jammu agitation as parochial and communal in nature, Mufti Sayeed sought Vajpayee and Mr Advani's help to resolve crisis.
- Aug 2: A HM terrorist surrendered in Gool, Udhampur. Curfew was imposed in Rajouri and Bhaderwah as agitation spread to Pathankot where protesters blocked trains. Samiti extended bandh by five days. Sonia spoke to Mr Rajnath Singh on the Amarnath issue; BJP warned that repression won't bring normalcy. Administration banned telecast of local channels but later lifted as the decision was widely condemned. Army foiled an infiltration bid in Uri sector. Protest demonstrations continued even as Army was out on the streets. Fruit Growers Association threatened its cross LoC.
- Aug 4: Army recovered arms and ammunition in Doda. An Army jawan committed suicide in Rajouri. Two people were killed and 18 others injured as police again opened fire in Samba. There was no let up in protests even with curfew in force in Jammu, Samba, Rajouri, Udhampur and Bhaderwah town. PM called for all party meet on August 6 as Home and Defence Secretaries reviewed situation in Jammu. DB of the State High Court issued orders for treating I-Cards as curfew passes and lifting ban on SMS. Sh. Bhim Singh started fast unto death as Sh. Satish Poonchi continues the same.
- Aug 5: Police foiled an attempt of terrorists to attack a temple in Doda town and arrested a LeT terrorist. Police claimed to have solved July 17 Bus Stand blast and arrested a LeT terrorist in this regard. In continuation of violence and protests 22 cops were thrashed in Jourian and the police post burnt. Rail track was damaged and curfew imposed in Kathua also. Samiti rejected Governor's offer to visit Ballal. PM sought Advani's opinion on land row. Yasin Malik started fast unto death.
- Aug 6: Pakistan again violated ceasefire in Nowgam sector. One person was killed and two others injured as Army opened fire at Palli Morh in Kathua. There was no let up in protests and violence across the Jammu region. All party meet at Delhi decided to send an all party delegation to the state. Samiti accused Centre for being worried about Kashmir and remaining insensitive about Jammu. Eight SASB members resigned as Governor appointed four member panel to hold talks with the Samiti.

(Contd. from Page 18)

Valley observed shutdown on Geelani's call against alleged economic blockade and any move to transfer land back to SASB.

- Aug 7: A HM terrorist surrendered in Doda. People held massive protest rallies even Jammu, Samba, Kathua, Udhampur and Rajouri remained under curfew. Prime Minister talked to Sh. Advani and Sh. Shivraj Patil to Arun Jaitley as All Party Delegation visits Jammu tomorrow. Governor appointed advisors.
- Aug 8: A LeT terrorist was arrested alongwith two grenades in Baderwah. A tragedy was averted by timely recovery of an IED in Baderwah. Curfew was imposed and Army called out in Poonch as huge rallies were reported across the Jammu region. Samiti extended Bandh for six days and decided to boycott the delegation if it contained Dr Farooq Abdullah, Ms Mehbooba or Soz. Army denied any economic blockade but admitted temporary disruption. PK described claims of NC's role in accession as distortion of history. Ms Mehbooba alleged that 'intolerant' fanatics were pushing state towards disintegration.
- Aug 9: Al-Badar Comdr. Sultan Bhat was killed along with his two associates in Tangmarg. Samiti held talks with Parliamentary delegation after Dr. Abdullah, Mehbooba Mufi and Mr Soz were excluded from talks; the talks remained inconclusive. Rallies continued even as Jammu remained under siege. Rashtravadi Muslim Manch (RMM) delegation was not allowed to enter the state and returned from Lakhnau. RDX was seized in Surinsar forests. After visit of the delegation to Kashmir, Sh. Shivraj Patil said that the Yatra will continue and there would be no march to Muzaffarabad. Even as the delegation expressed hope of solution, Sh. Arun Jaitley accused government of playing Politics. Curfew was relaxed in Jammu but huge rallies continued and a youth Anil Kumar Bali of RS Pura attempted suicide on the land row. Yasin Malik ended fast unto death.
- Aug 11: Six people including Hurriyat leader Sheikh Abdul Aziz were killed as violence erupted in Valley during "Muzaffarabad Chalo" march; curfew was imposed in major towns of the valley including Srinagar. A LeT terrorist surrendered in Doda. Pak troops violated ceasefire in Poonch. Massive protests continue in Jammu as Samiti accused Centre of being soft towards Kashmir. Dilawar Mir was beaten up in Sopore. 188 cross LoC at Chakkan-da-Bagh. Sh. Shivraj Patil described "Muzaffarabad Chalo" crowd figures as exaggerated.
- Aug 12: 11 people were killed and 500 others injured as violence continues in the Valley. Three civilians were killed and 10 others injured as a PSO of PDP leader and former minister Javed Mustafa opened fire. Protesters burnt the house of NC leader Mr Sayeed Akhoun. Two people were killed and 80 injured and property destroyed in Kishtwar as majority community went on rampage and was retaliated by the minority community. Curfew imposed in the town and troops and RAF deployed. As the Centre failed to find a solution to the land row, Sri Sri Ravi Shankar asked for faster action on land row. India asked Pakistan not to meddle in J&K.
- Aug 13: Terrorists killed a former Sarpanch in Kishtwar while a terrorist surrendered in Doda. Death toll reached 20 in the Valley as violence continued amidst anti-India and pro-Pak slogans. People torched the house of PDP leader and former minister Syed Bashir and SDA office in Srinagar. 17 people were injured in firing incidents. Samiti extended bandh till August 20 as rallies continued in the Jammu region. Samiti demanded judicial inquiry into Kishtwar violence. The country witnessed *Chakka Jam* for hours in response to VHP's call on land row. Home Minister Patil briefed PM on J&K situation.
- Aug 14: Two LeT terrorists were held in Doda. Dr. Balwant Raj Khajuria ended his life in support of the allotment of land to the Shrine Board as number of rallies swelt across Jammu region. Death toll in Valley violence reached 21 as look out notice was issued for PDP leader's PSO. Governor convened an All Party meet in Srinagar, Political parties appeal for peace.
- Aug 15: A top terrorist was killed in Mahore, Reasi. Sangharsh Samiti organised parallel functions to celebrate the Independence Day. Governor Vohra hoisted flag in Srinagar even as the Valley observed shutdown, black out. The tri-colour was reportedly disrespected at many places. Mr Pranab Mukherjee reviewed J&K situation.
- Aug 16: A jawan was killed as security forces foiled an infiltration bid in Uri sector. A terrorist was killed in Kupwara. Two terrorists were killed in Chatru where a civilian was killed in a chopper crash in Leh. At a massive rally in Pampore, Geelani called for "freedom of Islam" and asked pro-India politicians to resign or face "social boycott". A complete bandh on 25th day as Amarnath Yatra commencing performing the yatra. Two Bangladeshi detenues escaped from Jammu.
- Aug 17: Subjects as 200 labourers left Valley, vowing not to return to work until the agitation across Jammu region after gap of two days as the agitation till land was restored. Army jawan committed suicide. Anti-terrorist protests rocked PoK. Mr Omar Abdullah threatened that if the government was brutalised.
- Aug 18: Rallies continued across Jammu region on the first day to court arrests. Protesters burnt sign boards of Congress and PDP. Geelani hums 'Ham Hamara Hai' in a massive rally at TRC during "UN Chalo" campaign. Nationalising Kashmir as intolerable, Congress Spokesperson described Amarnath Sangharsh Samiti and the Hurriyat Conference as the same coin. Musharraf resigned as Pak President.
- Aug 19: A massive rally in Jammu, over two lakhs Jammuites court arrest during the Bhara Andolan, and constituted four member panel for the land row. 4000 BSF jawans placed at J&K Govt's disposal.
- Aug 20: A massive rally in Jammu as more than three lakh people including children participated in the first day of "Jail Baro Andolan". A youth Bunty Singh attempted suicide on the land row. Samiti asked for civil disobedience to force the government to solve the land row. Mr MK Narayanan visited Jammu.
- Aug 21: A terrorist hideout at Barakh, Reasi and recovered explosives

but the terrorists managed their escape. Four persons were rescued from terrorists in Chatru, Kishtwar. Pak troops fired mortar shells in Nowshera sector. Muzaffarabad bus service resumed and Pakistan expressed its commitment to early cross-LoC trade. Mr Mangat Ram former Health Minister was rescued as protesters gheroad him and damaged his vehicle at Bhagwati Nagar, Jammu. Protests continued in Jammu with reports of violence and pitched battles with security forces. Thousands courted arrest across the country on BJP and VHP call in support of Jammu bandh. Mr M.K. Narayanan briefed cabinet on J&K situation. Congress spokesperson, Mrs. Jayanti Natrajan described Jammu agitation as based on 'non-issue'.

- Aug 22: Five terrorists and two Armymen including a Colonel were killed in an encounter in Machil Sector. A major and a captain were among five armymen killed in a bus accident in Doda. 26 people were injured amidst communal clashes and curfew was imposed in Hiranagar as Jammu continues to witness rallies. Mr Omar Abdullah asked for debate on 'Azadi'. A massive crowd turned out at Eidgah on Hurriyat's 'Eidgah Chalo' call. Hurriyat called for 'Lal Chowk Chalo' on August 25.
- Aug 23: Death toll of terrorists in Machil sector rose to 13 with death of eight more terrorists. A LeT terrorist was killed in Kupwara. Talks between Samiti and government remained inconclusive but ended on positive note. 30 people were injured and 60 shops burnt as Poonch witnessed communal flare-up and curfew was imposed. Impressive Janamashtami procession was taken out as huge rallies were witnessed across Jammu. People condemned detention of protesters under PSA. Govt. decided to block Lal Chowk Chalo. Panun Kashmir took strong exception to upsurge in anti-national campaign and accused Indian State of appeasing separatists. JSM demanded reorganisation of the state with UT for Kashmir Pandits and other minorities.
- Aug 24: The Machil encounter ended with death of 14 terrorists. A HM terrorist surrendered at Navapachi Kishtwar. A youth Sunny Gupta attempted suicide at Bishnah over land row as Bandh continued and Samiti extended the same upto August 31. There was no curfew relaxation in Poonch as violence continued in the town. One protester was killed and 30 others injured and dozens arrested as administration imposed curfew in Srinagar and Major towns of the Valley. An Army jawan committed suicide in Jhari.
- Aug 25: Four terrorists were killed in a fierce encounter in the north Kashmir. Jammu observed complete "Chaka Jam" as police went on rampage beating people in houses in Digiana etc. Curfew was imposed in Kathua. Charging administration with committing atrocities on people, Samiti hardened its stand and demanded transfer of IGP and SSPs of Jammu and Kathua. Four people were killed and 200 others injured as the administration foiled Hurriyat's "Lal Chowk Chalo" Geelani, Mirwaz and Yasin Malik were arrested and hunt was launched for other separatist leaders. Accusing terrorists of using Kashmir situation to their advantage, centre is to probe Aziz's killing. Administration has ordered detention of Dinesh Bharti under PSA. SC extended stay on SMS in the state.
- Aug 26: A jawan was killed and another injured in Trehgam Kupwara. Alert sounded in Jammu amidst reports of infiltration in Kanachak sector. To give cover to the terrorists, Pak army opened fire in Sabjan area of Poonch sector injuring five BSF men including an SI. Police arrested Asiya Andrabi and Ashraf Sehrai as police raided houses of NC, PDP and senior officers in the hunt for other separatist leaders. Advani described Jammu situation as worrisome. Mehbooba Mufti accused state government of dealing Jammu situation with 'kid gloves' and Kashmir situation with 'iron fist'. Panic gripped GMC Jammu after a bomb hoax.
- Aug 27: Three army personnel, including a JCO, five civilians and three terrorist, were killed as the terrorists who had reportedly managed infiltration via Kanachak struck in Jammu before being eliminated in a house at Chinore, Jammu after the rescue of hostages. An alert has been sounded in Jammu amidst reports of infiltration. Two people were killed in firing in Budgam and Handwara as curfew continues in major towns of the Valley with relaxation on rotational basis. Samiti cancelled its parade rally to allow the forces to concentrate on terrorists at Chinore, rallies were held across the region as Jammu observed complete bandh on 36th consecutive day. Two recruits of LeT were held in Doda. Three mobiles used by the terrorists were recovered from the encounter site at Chinore and the data revealed that the terrorists were in contact with top ultras who had even asked to kill all the hostages. Searches were conducted in many areas to track the possible terrorists. Jammu agitation completed two months as government readies itself to hold fourth round of talks with the Samiti. Curfew continues in the Valley with rotational relaxation. Cable operators block all national and international channels to protest ban on news and current affair discussions on local channels.
- Aug 29: A Pak national was arrested in Hiranagar while a cop was arrested in Chadwal near railway track for mysterious movement. Samiti expressed doubts on the seriousness of the government as government-Samiti talks were yet again postponed while Jammu observed complete bandh on 38th day. Mufti Sayeed opposed government-Samiti talks. Shabir Shah was arrested as curfew continues in the Valley. NSG team visited Jammu to analyse encounter at Chinore.
- Aug 30: A minor girl was rescued from HM terrorists and two terrorist supporters arrested in the Valley. A surrendered ultra was killed in Kashmir. Sangharsh Samiti suspended agitation as government and the Samiti reached on agreement on the land issue. Dr Farooq Abdullah and Mr Omar meet PM on land issue.
- Aug 31: A terrorist was killed in Machil sector in Kupwara. Explosive material stored in Bandipore police station exploded accidentally. Jammu celebrated the Samiti government agreement as victory rallies were held all over even as administration imposed curfew in the Jammu region. Searches continue in Jammu to track the terrorists. Curfew continues in Srinagar

## MEMORANDUM PRESENTED TO HONOURABLE PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA, SH. MANMOHAN SINGH JI ON 14TH SEPTEMBER 2008 AT NEW DELHI

To  
Sh. Manmohan Singhji  
Hon'ble Prime Minister of India

Your Excellency Sir,

We, the Displaced Kashmiri Hindus, the victims of genocide at the hands of the Islamist terrorists, have been forced to live in exile for the past nineteen years and are clueless on how the Indian State and its political leadership would address the issue of reversal of our genocide.

It was on 14th September, exactly 19 years ago, in 1989 that the present phase of the religious cleansing process of the Hindus of Kashmir started with the gunning down of a prominent Kashmiri Pandit leader, Sh. Tika Lal Taploo. We have been observing this day as the MARTYRS' DAY since 1990 to pay our homage to martyrs who fell victims to the religious cleansing process and also to those brave Indian soldiers who made supreme sacrifice by laying down their lives in the defense of India. We also observe this day as the day of resolve to carry on our struggle with renewed vigour for India's unity and for reversing our genocide.

We believe that it is our paramount responsibility to keep on appraising the Indian State, its political leadership and the nation as such of the grave challenges to national unity and integrity in Jammu and Kashmir and also to remind them of their responsibility towards the frontline victims of terrorism in the State.

Sir, we would like to submit the following for favour of your attention and kind consideration.

1. The religious cleansing and genocide of Kashmiri Hindus is not an aberration. It is not only a consequence of Pakistan sponsored terrorism, but also the result of communalization, fundamentalization and militarization of Kashmir's polity and its social milieu over decades. This was the logical outcome of the pursuit of religious identity politics by the premier political outfits in Kashmir valley. To ignore the latter is to miss the real cause and obfuscate the issue. Our genocide and religious cleansing have also been facilitated by the failures of the Indian state, particularly its political leadership, in addressing the concerns of the Hindu minority of J&K and ignoring the subtle dimensions of communal-secessionist politics in Kashmir. J&K is the only State in India where a Hindu minority lives in a Muslim majority state. A far sighted Indian leadership, with belief in preserving the core values of secularism underlining the nation state, would have worked overtime to ensure preservation, security and survival of the minority Hindus in Kashmir.

2. During the past nineteen years of our displacement, the successive state governments have shown utter unwillingness to address the different aspects of our genocide. It has been pursuing adhocist, short-sighted and a community-hurting policy viz. a viz. displaced Kashmiri Hindus. The destruction of Kashmiri Hindus has manifested in the killing and maiming of the members of the community through selective killings and massacres; arson and plunder of our properties, temples and shrines; forcible and fraudulent grab of our residential premises, orchards and business establishments; administrative cleansing from the state services under a design; and total economic squeeze and all round deprivations. A terrorist land mafia-bureaucratic-politician nexus is completing the process of residential cleansing. Even the supposedly secular State Government, meant to protect the interests of Displaced Kashmiri hindus, is facilitating our cleansing through a dubious process of acquiring our properties selectively for "public utility purposes".

3. The State Government itself is involved in the genocidal attrition against the displaced Hindus by denying them jobs and economic opportunities, by not protecting their properties, perpetuating a policy of total economic squeeze. The mainstream political parties in general and the State administration in particular remain apathetic and even hostile towards the displaced Hindus from Kashmir. This attrition has lead to rampant disease, social disintegration and negative population growth among the Displaced Kashmiri hindus.

4. The process of Talibization in Kashmir valley has resulted in changing the name places, distorting and destroying the history of Kashmiri Hindu Shrines. This is part of the cultural effacement process, with an avowed objective

to deny Kashmiri Hindus the claim that they once existed in the valley. The State administration, having failed in its primary responsibility to initiate even a single confidence building measure, has chosen to resort to gimmicks to camouflage the religious cleansing of the Kashmiri Hindus. One such gimmick has been to enact a tokenist -symbolic return of the few displaced - some clusters in the valley. We believe that such gimmicks only aim at bailing out the Islamic terrorists from the charges of religious cleansing of the Hindus. The state government has also been linking employment of our youth with return. This 'policy of return' through coercion and blackmail only serves to reinforce the genocidal attrition of the displaced community. It has also invited massacres of the community in Sangrampura, Wandhama Telwani and Nadimarg, etc.

5. We also believe that the Central Government too has not displayed the required vision and will in ensuring the reversal of the process of religious cleansing and genocide of the Hindus of Kashmir. We hold that the crisis in Kashmir is primarily because of the failure of model of nation building process pursued by Government of India in Jammu and Kashmir State. There can be no nation building and augmentation of values of democracy and pluralism, as long as the Government plays soft to the forces communalism and secessionism in Kashmir. The policy to appease Islamists and weaken the nationalist and secular forces in Jammu and Kashmir has caused much damage to the national interests

and raised concern among the Hindus and Sikh minorities in the State. The way the State and the Central governments handled the peaceful nationalist protesters in the Jammu region has not been appreciated by those who have been holding the national flag high in J&K. Why did the Central Government take more than two agonizing months to correct a decision that affected the sentiments and rights of the Hindus of the State? The government should give up the policy to abandon the Hindus of Jammu and Kashmir in general and the displaced Kashmiri Hindus, in particular in the larger interests of nationalist consolidation and fair play.

—WE DEMAND—

*Kashmiri Pandit Delegation handing over copy of Memorandum to Hon'ble Minister of State PMO, Sh. Prithviraj Chauhan at New Delhi.*

1. That the genocide of Kashmiri Hindus be recognized as a national problem that requires a comprehensive solution.

For this purpose the first step should be that the Government of India should directly oversee the relief measures and rehabilitation of the displaced Kashmiri Hindus by instituting a Ministry of Rehabilitation.

2. A firm resolve on part of the Indian State and its political leadership to reclaim Kashmir as a functioning secular society. This would demand delegitimising all variants of competitive communal politics in Kashmir valley.

3. that the Government of India must start a process of political reorganization of the State of Jammu and Kashmir by initiating a dialogue on all aspects of the demand for Panun Kashmir (Homeland) for displaced Kashmiri Hindus, a Union Territory for Ladakh and a separate State for the Jammu region. Panun Kashmir is the only framework which addresses the problems of nationalist consolidation in Kashmir, perpetual homelessness of Kashmiri Hindus and has the potentiality of creating bipartisan consensus on Kashmir.

4. As initial Confidence-building Measures, Government of India should declare an employment package of 35000 jobs for the Kashmiri Hindu youth in exile for recruitment in State Govt., Central Govt. and Public Sector Undertakings, measures for immediate amelioration of deprivations of the displaced community-delinking these from return, institute high-powered Tribunal to vacate forcible, fraudulent, 'public utility' grab of property held by Displaced Kashmiri hindus and reopening of the cases of killings of Kashmiri hindus at the hands of terrorists to award deterrent punishment to the perpetrators of genocide.

Sd/-  
(Dr. Ajay Chingoo)  
Chairman  
Panun Kashmir

Sd/-  
(Dr.L.N. Dhar)  
President Kashmir Samiti