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A News Magazine of Kashmiri Pandit Community

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1 Editorial

U.S. Double Standards

The new diplomatic offensive launched by the Americans in South Asia, has provoked strong Indian resentment. On America's double standards on terrorism, the Indians are rightly asking--Is US naive or simply hypocrite? The State Department's prejudices against India, as reflected in the recent actions, threaten to torpedo the unrealised promise of closer Indo-U.S. relations.

America's apparent benign attitude towards Pakistan, its extraordinary tolerance of the violation of all norms on terrorism and the proliferation by Pakistan, the meek response to Pakistan's brazen nuclear and missile co-operation with North Korea and a return to the tone of "even handedness" in the public statements, simply confirm the worst suspicions about U.S. intentions. Of late, the US has been feeling shy in describing Pakistan's support to Jehadis as "terrorism". It would prefer to call it simply as "infiltration". Americans no longer demand end to cross-border terrorism on a permanent basis. They would like India to feel satisfied if "infiltration is reduced".

The U.S. has also made attempts to undermine India's defence co-operation with Israel and sought to create difficulties in India's burgeoning relationship with Iran, China and Afghanistan. This is being done to appease Pakistan and pressurise India to align with U.S. to fulfill its hegemonistic designs. Ambassador Blackwill, who had radically altered the discourse on three big issues--Kashmir, terrorism and nuclear proliferation, that bedevilled the bilateral relationship in the past, has been shown the door.

The apparent U.S. unwillingness to confront Pakistan on any issue raises deeper concerns in India about the nature of the emerging relationship between U.S. and Pakistan. Given the lack of political will in New Delhi, it is true that India's options in dealing with Pakistan-sponsored cross-border terrorism may be limited. Should that become a temptation for hanging on to U.S. for bailing us out? It is a good augury that a serious debate has begun in the country on whether "strategic alliance" with U.S. was in India's interests. The emerging consensus is that it will limit India's options, including military ones, without any great benefit.

To suggest that the U.S. does not have enough leverage is not credible at a time, when U.S. has pumped massive doses of economic assistance in Pakistan and also written off a billion dollars of debt. Pakistan cannot disregard what the U.S. says, as it is so dependent on Americans.

There is total divergence of views between India and the U.S. on Kashmir, cross-border terrorism and global terrorism, Indo-Pak relations, nuclear issue, the role of religious-identity politics in plural societies and the shaping of the new world order.

The US has been playing double games on Kashmir and using finer points to make about the complexity of the Kashmir situation and Pak sponsorship of cross-border terrorism. Its frequent references to Kashmir as a "disputed territory" and inclusion of "wishes of Kashmiris" in any final solution, have only served to stoke the Jehadi flames and accord legitimacy to religious-identity politics, with grave implications for India's pluralist society.

Americans have been deliberately maintaining ambiguity on the issue of cross-border terrorism, refusing to acknowledge the sources and linkages of terrorism in Pakistan or holding Pakistan state responsible for its complicity. U.S. categorises Jehadi campaign not as a threat to the civil society and stability of state but as an instrument to bring India to the negotiating table. By constantly harping on the dangers of nuclear conflict, the U.S., in effect, reinforces Pakistan's resort to nuclear blackmail.

The U.S. continues to pursue 'Brezhinski line', i.e. using Islamic fundamentalist groups for hegemonistic designs. Its concerns on global and cross-border terrorism are only America-specific.

There is a need to evolve innovative military and diplomatic responses to force Pakistan to desist from sponsorship of cross-border terrorism. New Delhi must tell Americans firmly that their advice will be welcome only, when they are sensitive to Indian concerns. At the same time, Indians must engage

American public and the business community, to educate them on how U.S. policies were indirectly encouraging Islamic fundamentalist forces. Such forces could strike U.S. interests too.

2 Panun Kashmir delegation meets Vohra, reiterates homeland

KS Correspondent

SRINAGAR, Apr 25: A three-member delegation of Panun Kashmir, headed by its Chairman, Dr Ajay Chrangoo met Mr. N.N. Vohra, the Centre's interlocutor on Kashmir, this morning. It made a detailed presentation on Kashmir and the problems of the displaced Pandit community. The other members of the delegation were Mr. Kuldeep Raina, General Secretary and Mrs. Nancy Kaul, General Secretary, Daughters of Vitasta Women's Wing of Panun Kashmir. The meeting lasted over an hour.

Homeland Reiterated :

The delegation told Centre's interlocutor that no serious thought was being given to the return of Kashmiri Pandits to their homes in the Valley. The manner in which the J&K government is addressing the question has boomeranged on Kashmiri Pandits. Dr. Chrangoo said, "The return of our community is being addressed more as a cosmetic, non-serious exercise rather than with the seriousness such a human problem deserves". The members impressed upon Vohra that the Kashmir government's appeal to the Pandits to return would evoke the right response only if a safe zone with Union Territory Status was carved out north and east of the river Jhelum. "The Union Territory Status is essential because we want the Indian Constitution and all the Central laws to be applicable to the places where we live and not laws with intermediary interpretations, as happens in Kashmir", Vohra was told.

The delegation held that last month's Nadimarg massacre in which over two dozen Pandits were killed was partly triggered by media reports that the Kashmir government was mulling plans for the return of Hindus to Valley. The members told Vohra, "It has to be a political dispensation of a far greater magnitude than the platitudes which the Central and State governments have become used to".

Panun Kashmir delegation talked about the genocide against the community. It made a strong plea for the provision of employment opportunities and improvement in the condition of migrant camps in Jammu. It demanded that Centre should build economic and psychological stakes for the displaced community in the state. Only then could it return to Valley. The members demanded that in no case the ratio of its employees should be allowed to fall below 1990 strength. It may be recalled that there were 13000 state government employees of Pandit community in total employee strength of 3.5 lakhs. They also referred to Centre's indifference to their plight. One and a half year back, the Prime Minister had announced raising of relief from Rs 2400 to Rs 3000. It has still not been implemented. Panun Kashmir demanded that relief should be raised to Rs 5000.

The delegation accused State government of building psychological attrition on community and worsening its plight. It referred to PK' delegation's visit to Sangrampora in 1997, where S.P. Budgam told them that the State government had not taken local administration in confidence on Pandit delegation's visit. NC government had virtually imperilled their security and BSF had come to their rescue.

On the policy of tokenist return of Pandit community, the delegation said the government was trying to delegitimise the communal and subversive role of separatists and was legitimizing the creation of monolithic Islamic state. Return of Pandits was not possible unless it was linked with ethnic-cleansing process and ideological contours of separatists ideology.

Dr. Ajay Chrangoo told Mr. Vohra that no single-track approach would help retrieve Kashmir. The Centre had to gear up social groups who were opposed to separatists. He argued how Panun Kashmir was a valuable strategic option for retrieval of situation.

Secular Nation-Building:

The Panun Kashmir delegation pleaded that the crisis in Kashmir basically reflects the failure of the secular nation-building process. Dr. Chrangoo told Vohra that if the solution to Kashmir problem has to be found then the communal politics has to be defeated.

The delegation explained how Kashmir was a military problem and in the present Political scenario, there was no space for political dialogues. The PK Chairman told Vohra that by responding to military problem with peace, the government was compromising peace and surrendering peace to those who violated it.

Three genres of secessionism:

Dilating upon this, they explained that there were three streaks of secessionism in Kashmir's Muslim politics. One demanded independence, second was for annexation of State by Pakistan while the third one, represented by NC was demanding autonomy and a semi-sovereign state, with two constitutions. The three variants of separatist politics only complemented one another. GOI has been making mistakes by patronizing one variant of communal-separatist politics to fight another.

Expressing pessimism over Centre's approach the members of the delegation argued that in the absence of an alternate ideological pole of politics in Valley, the fight against secessionists has remained hamstrung.

Outlining various steps that need to be undertaken for setting the things right in Kashmir, the members of the delegation presented a three point solution. One, the Central government must desist from enacting symbolic/tokenist return, and link it with broad aspects of the problem. Second, Centre must not succumb to the politics of blackmail, resorted to by either mainstream Valley groups or the separatists. In this context they upbraided Central leadership for giving long rope to Sheikh Abdullah in earlier years and bungling of Chief Ministership issue recently. The nation had to pay heavy price for it. In 1989-90, when Mufti Syed was Union Home Minister, lowering down of security forces' presence created a situation where people in thousands came out in streets to stage secessionist demonstrations. Again recently, Vohra was told, disbanding of STF undermined counter-insurgency efforts. Third suggestion was the Centre must contest and not cover up communal politics. The members minced no words in telling Centre's interlocutor that they were not going to legitimize religion-based politics in the state. They asked Mr Vohra how was Centre going to build stakes 'high for the separatists.

The Panun Kashmir leadership apprised Mr Vohra that they had raised similar issues when they met Mr KC Pant in May 2001 at Srinagar. They said Kashmiri Pandits had become civilisational and political frontline victims in the ongoing proxy-war. In Kashmir the challenge is not correcting so-called historical wrongs but re-establishing secular nation-building principles, they added. Referring to the contradictions in Centre's approach, they said "Kashmir has been projected as the refutation of two-nation theory, but sad story was it has been governed on two-nation principle". They warned this contradiction will not only destroy the J&K State but also undermine the entire polity of India.

The delegation lamented that India had allowed itself to be cornered on the issue of human and civil rights in Kashmir, because it allowed a selective discourse on human rights to flourish in the country. This discourse only concerns itself with "excesses" of the state and takes it out from the compulsions imposed on the state by the terrorist environment. GOI failed to place Kashmiri Hindu displacement in proper perspective. The members also referred to the role of NHRC, which was undermining the position of patriotic victims of terrorism.

Interaction with Media:

Later the Panun Kashmir delegation met the representatives from Kashmir's print and electronic media and had lively and frank interaction with them. In the troubled history of Kashmir, Panun Kashmir had few chances for interactions with Valley's media. Dr Ajay Chhangoo, head of PK answered questions, asked by media-persons.

Q: Doesn't homeland demand entail a communal division of Valley?

AC: This is the only secular political approach existing in Valley, as it links the survival of Kashmiri identity with free flow of Indian Constitution. Kashmiri Pandits have found, over the years, they were living in a defacto Muslim state. They have now resolved not to be part of any political process, which promotes or camouflages Muslim communalism.

Q: How can the Valley Muslims be dubbed as communal? Didn't they protest strongly over Nadimarg massacre?

AC: We have to understand the whole process in a balanced way. We know it very well that the local Muslims were involved in all the major massacres that have taken place. Why are Kashmiri Muslims trying to wish away this reality and after each massacre trying to give an impression that only foreign mercenaries were involved. If foreign mercenaries alone are involved, isn't it a more serious indictment of Kashmiri Muslim society, because a widespread societal connivance is required for foreign terrorists to operate. We have also in mind how lakhs of people joined Sheikh Abdullah's funeral. After a few years only, his grave had to be protected.

Q: What has led to the present crisis?

AC: It is failure of secular nation-building process. The crisis in Kashmir can be reversed only through reversal of process of communalisation of Kashmir's social milieu. GOI's emphasis has been totally misplaced.

Q: How can a 2 percent minority lay its claim to a large chunk of land in Kashmir?

AC: What is the basis of our demand has to be addressed? You cannot have a correct census of our community, when violence rules the roost. The figures of displacement, available with GOI project our population strength to be around 350 thousand. In this various diasporas of Kashmiri Pandits have not been counted.

Q: Doesn't this homeland demand visualise expulsions of Muslims from the demanded territory?

AC: Indian Constitution and its free flow does not exclude anybody. How do you assume that there are no Kashmiri Muslims, who want to live in such a dispensation? Conversely, we can ask whether those, who believe in separatism, have any dispensation for those who do not believe in autonomy, "azadi" or outright secession. Where will these people go in case these separatist proposals fall through?

Q: Do you have a final solution in mind?

AC: The lesson of this century is that final solutions do not work. Final solution of Jews led to the creation of Israel. Final solution for Palestine is almost on the brink. Palestinians are on the verge of getting homeland. Final solution for Kurds also failed. The reality of Kurds' attaining homeland has become a distinct possibility. I can assure you, each massacre against Pandit community and every bullet fired at a Kashmiri Pandit will not only build the logic for homeland. It will in fact deliver it.

Panun Kashmir delegation later flew to Jammu to brief the press about its talks with the Centre's interlocutor.

3 *Sampriti* organises seminar on 'Literature in Exile'

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, Apr 30: *Sampriti* an organisation of displaced writers organised, a three-day seminar here on 'Literature-in-Exile'. The seminar was inaugurated by the renowned art personality Kapila Vatsayan. In her inaugural remarks she stated 'Exile is the pain and it prepares the mind and men to make endeavors to further realise the lost promise of Kashmir'. She said, Kashmiriyat must be understood in the context of exile. The eminent scholar, who too spent her childhood and adolescent years in Kashmir, referred to the important role Kashmir played in Indian aesthetics movement, Buddhist art and Shaivite philosophy.

Prof. Amitabh Mattoo, who presided over the seminar, said Dalai Lama-the spiritual leader of Tibet had once told him that because of exile the narrow fundamentalism has given way to pluralistic ethos.

Dr. B.L. Koul, in his paper "*Vista-pan ka purv abas* in literature," discussed the role of Kashmiri scholars before migration. He threw light on the contribution of Dina Nath Nadim, Vasudev Reh and Moti Lal Saqi. He said many Kashmiri scholars had made forecasts about the events, which forced the community to flee its homeland. Prof. Kaul said 1986 communal incidents of Anantnag were also a premonition. He added that the pain and agony of the displaced community will end only after it is rehabilitated in its own homeland.

Earlier, Mr Moti Lal Kemu, a well-known theatre personality said that during the exile 150 books were written in Hindi, Kashmiri, Urdu and English. He, however, expressed serious concern saying the threat posed to co-existence in Kashmir can have serious repercussions as well. Prof. Omkar Koul, ex-Director, Centre of Indian Languages said there are various achievements of the migration in the field of literature. One is that women writers emerged, forgotten poets were published, monumental works were written, source material was made available and a number of literary organisations came into being.

Dr. Om Goswami said that migration has been taking place since old times but this time it is more metaphorical and vicious as the Pandit community was forced to abandon its homeland under the blunt edge of the ethnic sword. Dr Bali, in his paper said that the "Literature in Exile" has not been projected with full might and verve but in a whispering manner. He said the main brunt of the exile was born by old people, whose families fragmented. What can be more painful for them that at the time of death, they can find only their spouse at bed side and not children, Dr Bali lamented. He opined the people in exile were not bitten by sever frost but by the venomous desperation.

Prof. B.L. Fotedar commented that displaced writers were still apologetic in fixing the responsibility for exodus and this had affected the quality of literature brought out in exile.

4 Indo-Pak Dialogue: No Euphoria in India

By P.K. Kothari

India's 180° about turn on resuming dialogue with Pakistan and delinking it from the stoppage of cross-border terrorism as a pre-condition, does not come as a surprise. The nation has often felt let down by the lack of vision and absence of grit and determination, displayed by the political leadership. Oft-repeated rhetoric on Pakistan has been unmatched by action. The leadership has never acted decisively and boldly when necessary. Tendency to react in a knee-jerk fashion and yielding, too often, to external pressure has become part of strategic culture, evolved by the NDA government.

American Pressure:

Extending the olive branch to Pakistan, the Prime Minister, Mr Vajpayee, at the Srinagar press conference argued: "What has happened in Iraq is a Chetavni (warning) to the rest of the world, especially to the developing countries. India and Pakistan should sit down and sort out their problems. Inviting a third party will only expand the problem".

Of late, U.S. officials have been trying to arm-twist India into opening dialogue with Pakistan, by issuing nuanced statements. The CIA Director, George Tennen, stated recently: "The cycles of tension between India and Pakistan are getting shorter. Pakistan continues to support groups that resist India's presence in Kashmir, in an effort to bring India to the negotiating table".

The U.S. Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage stated that the Indo-Pakistan situation was totally frightening and the need of the hour was to "stop the weakening of international security architecture and put an end to the spread of nuclear weapons". He went on to praise Musharraf, as a man of his word, who had been able to curb the infiltration of Muslim militants from Pakistan into Kashmir. Mr Armitage also praised his role as reliable US ally: "In the war against terrorism, General Musharraf and his colleagues in Islamabad have been absolutely spectacular in breaking up terrorist cells, most recently one directed against our consul in Karachi, for which we are enormously grateful". Applauding America's pro-Pak tilt, Pakistani Foreign Minister, Khurshid Ahmed Kasuri praised U.S., saying it was an "honest broker", playing positive role.

Ground Reality :

The plain fact is, really nothing has changed in Islamabad's attitude towards India and terrorism. Since the Prime Minister's April 19 speech in Srinagar, J&K has already witnessed four bloody '*fidayeen*' attacks—at Bandipore, Radio Kashmir (Srinagar), Tral (Pulwama) and Drug-Mullah (Kupwara). There have been two attempts on the life of State Finance Minister, Mr Muzaffar Hussain Beig. As per official estimates, 350 terrorists (150 alone in April) have sneaked into Jammu during the past four months.

Fearing another brutal summer ahead, Ambassador Lalit Man Singh, told a gathering on Indo-U.S. relations, at the University of California, Los Angeles: "Close to 100 training camps have been spotted across the LOC, holding some 3,000 trained terrorists to be sent to India. An additional 1,500 are already on the LOC, waiting to slip across, with the active assistance of the Pakistan armed forces... Terrorists leaders in Pakistan have been released from detention and are being freely allowed to mobilise funds for Jihad". Pakistan has also begun diverting Taliban elements into Kashmir, to deflect U.S. pressure and to replenish the terrorist ranks. It has since equipped terrorists with Anza and many other SAMs.

Referring to the ground reality, Stephen Cohen, a Brooklyn scholar observes: "The structural differences between the two countries are deep. They seem to be conspiring to make the Americans believe that they are serious".

Compulsions :

U.S. pressure, Pakistan's internal compulsions, lack of grit to deal with a rogue state and rethinking on the "rigid" stand have all figured in the calculations that went into Vajpayee's offer. The NDA government has been quick to sense priority to Israel-Palestine problem, North Korea and Kashmir as the post-Iraq agenda of US.

Even at the height of Iraqi campaign, Colin Powell, the U.S. Secretary of State told the *New York Times* : "India, Pakistan and the whole of the sub-continent problem was part of the "broader agenda" that the U.S. planned to go back to after Iraq. Americans also warned India against pre-emptive strike against Pakistan. Joanne Prokopowicz, the State Department Spokeswoman said : "Any attempts to draw parallels between the Iraq and Kashmir situations are wrong and are overwhelmed by the differences between them".

There is a strong view in Delhi that the "rigid" stand, so far, has only served to reduce the space for Kashmir-related diplomatic manoeuvres. Pakistan's internal compulsions may have also figured in extending the olive branch. Musharraf's lack of domestic credibility, slowing down of foreign direct investment and increasing friction between U.S. and Pakistan over latter's covert support to Al-Qaeda-Taliban elements, have all influenced the Indian perceptions. Pakistanis believe, a dialogue with India, would help decrease U.S. pressure over its double-faced role vis-a-vis Al-Qaeda.

In the perceptions of the present NDA-Govt., New Delhi cannot engineer a change in Islamabad's behaviour without help from U.S. This assessment makes Delhi yield too often to American pressure. Manoj Joshi, a Defence expert elaborates : "New Delhi's current predicament is palpable and in part of its own making. Indian officials claim that the country was close to ordering its forces to go to war at two different points of time in 2002. But the final order did not come and a major reason for this is that India lacks the military capacity to punish Pakistan, which continues to facilitate the work of Jehadi terrorists in the state. India has little choice now but to lean on the U.S. to check Pakistan".

Security Threat:

Despite the optimism displayed in official rhetoric on both sides recently, the mood in India is full of scepticism and one of betrayal by Americans. Many top security experts of the country have done well to focus on the long-term Pakistani threat to Indian security.

In a brilliantly researched paper, read to a distinguished gathering in New Delhi recently, Prof. Satish Kumar stated Pakistan poses a long-term security threat to India. He said this was inherent in the nature of Pakistan state, its ideology, its power structure and the imperatives that determine the behaviour of its ruling establishment. He warns: "These factors are not likely to change in the next 20 to 30 years. India has to cope with this kind of adversary. Its strategic capabilities and thinking, its national will and character must respond to the situation accordingly".

Mr. J.N. Dixit, former Foreign Secretary concurs with this assessment. Delving deep into the official documents related to strategic planning by Pakistan concerning its relation with India, he opines: "whatever admonitions and pressures that the U.S. may generate on Pakistan, there is not going to be any qualitative or positive change in Pakistan's policies towards J&K". Arguing that alienating J&K from India is not a limited one issue objective for it, Mr. Dixit concludes: "The objective is the long-term strategic objective of the Pakistani power structure to destabilise India by generating violence and communal divisiveness and then fragmentation of India on the basis of centrifugal, ethno religious forces, which it seeks to create, sustain and encourage".

Mr. Dixit dismisses Pakistan's quest for dialogue as spurious, saying "its reiterations of insisting on a dialogue will be cover for these policy objectives and will also be an exercise in preventing world powers from understanding the substance of Pakistani machinations". Didn't Musharraf himself say, a month after Lahore Summit: "Low-Intensity conflict with India will continue even after the Kashmir issue is resolved".

Air Marshal (Retd.) R.S. Bedi explains Pakistani Schizophrenia in these terms : "Instead of striving to come up as an independent and powerful nation and developing economic and cultural relations with similar India for mutual development of both, Pakistan sought to move on an entirely different course. It chose to challenge India. It sought military parity, started to nibble at India's vulnerable parts and began to patronize Indian Muslims. Ambition for leadership and its denial to India became its core foreign policy objective. Migrant Muslims from India who had an ideological bias against Hindu India and who formed the ruling elite of Pakistan emerged as an important factor behind anti-Indian stance".

Independent Pakistani assessments have not been different. Hussain Haqqani, former Foreign Minister and a Carnegie scholar says, a feeling of insecurity against a much larger and “hostile” neighbour was the original source of Pakistani apprehensions about its nationhood. He argues that Pakistani attempts to destabilize India have been directly related to this sense of insecurity. In his opinion, over the years, structures of conflict have evolved, with the Pakistani establishment as the major beneficiary of maintaining hostility. He says, “the exclusion of Bhutto and Sharif from the political process has benefited the Islamist political parties. Their political power makes it difficult for politicians and intellectuals to advocate a settlement with India”.

Army-Mullah Nexus:

The political instability in Pakistan gave place to military bureaucracy, which thrives on hostility to India and exports terror as its official policy. Army dominates virtually every section of national life. There has also been growing trends of Islamisation within Army. A western expert on Pak army, Stephen Cohen analyses : “The present arrangement of a military-led or influenced government will prevail indefinitely, but not transform Pakistan. Rebuilding weakened institutions is pointless if the Central operational principles of the Pakistani establishment remain hatred and distrust of India and intolerance of diversity at Home”. Pak army, in fact, needs Kashmir issue for its own survival. It is a pretext to paper over internal contradictions in Pakistan.

Absence of any political infrastructure has led the Jehadi groups to occupy the available space. The fundamentalist groups are collaborating with the army-led government in fomenting subversion in India. Farrukh Saleem, a noted Pakistani analyst observes : “The military government is now engaged in a dicey-double stance, appeasing the Americans in the international front and using the mullahs on the domestic front. Internal policy is all about derailing democracy and splitting up democratic forces. External policy is nothing but India-Centric. The Khaki and the mullahs both have an identical view of national identity and that of national security...Both use Islam and India to distract the population from real issues”.

Pakistan Army’s subversive role has been supplemented by the huge Jehadi infrastructure, built over the past two decades. It includes 40-50 thousand madrassas. There are today 200 thousand armed Jihadis in Pakistan, backed by over one million young people, Jihad oriented but not yet armed. According to one estimate, Pakistan’s defence budget-at Rs 180 billion-is supplemented by Rs 80 billion, collected by the ‘jehadi’ organizations for the “cause”.

What is alarming is that there is widespread public endorsement of jihadis in Pakistan. A recent poll in Pakistan showed 88% people believe that the holy Quran and Sunnah should be the source of all laws in Pakistan. And 64% of those polled agree that Pakistan’s security interests were served by supporting jehadi outfits in J&K.

Pak Intransigence:

For many reasons, Pakistan’s military believes it can continue to bleed India. One, India has been deterred from responding militarily to its provocations because of fear of nuclear escalation. Haqqani observes: “The possession of nuclear weapons has given the Pakistani elite a sense of invulnerability and has increased its willingness to consider options of unconventional warfare”. India’s empty rhetoric on pre-emptive strikes and failure to intimidate Pakistan, with unprecedented mobilization of its troops along the border, and their subsequent tame withdrawal, without achieving any of the explicitly declared objectives, reinforced Pakistan’s conviction that its nuclear posture had been able to put India on the defensive. Musharraf even claimed that Pakistani armed forces were able to defeat the enemy without fighting the war. This is an important reason for heightened terrorist activities in India lately.

U.S. Role :

Secondly, Pakistan army is convinced that it has the support of the U.S. not only in ruling the country, but also in receiving U.S. economic and military assistance, despite the provocations it indulges in against India. Pakistan, not without justification, has a belief that the U.S. A will not really do anything meaningful to embarrass it on cross-border terrorism.

Colin Powell, the U.S. Secretary of State describes Pakistan's support for its Jihadis not as support for "terrorism" but as "infiltration". He, no longer, insists that infiltration has to end. Powell wants us to be satisfied if it has been "reduced". G. Parthasarthy laments: "By constantly speaking of the dangers of nuclear conflict, the U.S. in effect, reinforces Pakistan's resort to nuclear blackmail."

Even while U.S. is hunting Al-Qaeda and Taliban elements, it wants to keep Jehadi pressure on India to fulfill its narrow geo-political objectives. U.S. went out of its way to help Pakistan-over \$ 1 billion in aid, renewed IMF and World Bank soft lending, international debt-rescheduling of over \$12 billion and the promise to write off \$1 billion in U.S. debt. Against this U.S. has been trying to put spokes in the wheel for India's defence cooperation with Israel and burgeoning relationship with Iran and China.

Why U.S. still regards Pakistan as its front-line ally and overlooks Pakistan's double-faced policy towards Al-Qaeda Jihadis and the dangers of its nuclear assets falling into the hands of Jihadis and other rogue states?

G. Parthasarthy observes: "The U.S. needs Pakistan in its hunt for terrorists in Afghanistan and in Pakistan itself. It has concluded that it should support Musharraf and the Pakistani Army to achieve its objectives. This is a relationship of political expediency, but one India cannot ignore". In the view of Farrukh Saleem, a Pak analyst : "Pakistan produces nothing that can help America grow....our goals do not overlap America's...America's real interest in Pakistan, as a consequence, is that we do not become a rogue state and that we do not become an agent of instability in the region. No more, no less".

Reaction :

However, Americans are not taking any chances, once their direct security interests are threatened. It has been demanding regular purges of anti-American elements in ISI and Army. The recent air crash, in which Pak Air Chief, a known anti-American, was killed has led to lot of speculation on conspiracy theories. On the nuclear assets, Jane's Intelligence Digest (March 21) says, a U.S. contingency plan has been put in place to neutralize the threat of Pakistani nuclear assets and technology falling into the hands of Islamic fundamentalists. This follows revelation on the murder of Daniel Pearl, by Bernard Henry Levy, a French security expert.

The Prospect:

Even as India hopes to wrest few concessions in dialogue with Pakistan, the patriotic opinion is exercised over a number of issues-What options for pressure and measured retaliation are available to India should the terrorist violence escalate beyond a point? Secondly, do we have a long-term vision to deal with a rogue army that undermines democracy at home and promotes Jihad abroad.

The present, NDA government has put all its eggs in the American basket to bail out India from the mess in Kashmir. What it can lead to-G. Parthasarthy, India's foremost expert on Pakistan and former Ambassador warns on a prophetic note : "Nations lose their independence, self-confidence and self-respect not by importing foreign technology, goods and services, but by mortgaging their minds to foreign doctrines and concepts".

5 Allama Iqbal

Searching for Pandit Roots

Dr. Ramesh Kumar

SIR SHEIKH Mohammad Iqbal, who subsequently became famous as Allama Mohammed Iqbal was born in Sialkot on November 9, 1877. That Iqbal came from Kashmiri Brahmin stock was well-known. However, there were few details on how his ancestors came to settle down in Sialkot. The claim that Iqbal's family originally hailed from 'Saprain' a village on Shopian-Kulgam road, lacks historical data. Saprus, even if all of them hailed from this village, have been living in Srinagar city for more than five centuries. Another difficulty to trace roots of Sapru family in Kashmir is the lack of tradition to maintain geneology, among Kashmiri Pandits.

It was in 1969, Dr R.K. Parimu, the author of "History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir", provided a vital clue to Iqbal's ancestry. In 1939-40, when Dr. Parimu had been assigned the task of organizing and listing the Persian records for the state government in the J&K State Record office in Jammu, he stumbled upon a paper among the Persian documents. According to this document, one Sahaz Ram Sapru was in charge of the revenue of Kashmir during the regime of Afghan Governor, Azim Khan (1813-1819). Sapru" as per the document, had held the revenue in arrears, having expended the money in marriages, etc. in his family. When the report went to the Governor, he summoned him. Sahaz Ram admitted his guilt like a brave man. He was young, charming and attractive. The governor was moved and offered him death or Islam as a penalty. As per Dr Parimu, Sapru accepted Islam and at the same time requested that as Muslim he would not like to live in Kashmir. He was allowed to settle in Sialkot.

This view is discounted by Moulvi Hassan and rightly so. Pandit Sahaz Ram was first appointed as revenue collector in 1796 by Afghan Governor, Abdullah Khan Alkozai (1796-1800). Sahaz Ram was appointed Dewan in 1806 by the new Governor, Ata Mohammad Khan Barakzai (1806-13). The Governor was a just and generous ruler and led a simple life. In 1813 when Azim Khan became Governor, (1813-19) Pandit Sahaz Ram Sapru, was reappointed as Governor's Dewan. Pandit Sahaz Ram Sapru's loyalty and ability had stood him in good stead. He had been in Governor's service since 1796. The same Azim Khan had lynched Pandit Hara Dass Tiku, brother of Dewan Nand Ram Tiku.

When Sikh victory seemed imminent, Azim Khan hurriedly left Kashmir in 1819. He left his family and the huge treasure of one crore in cash and kind in the custody of his loyal official, Pandit Sahaz Ram Sapru to follow him. Pandit Sahaz Ram escorted Azim Khan's family and wealth to Kabul.

Fearing persecution at the hands of new Sikh rulers, for his extreme loyalty, to Azim Khan Pandit Sahaz Ram Sapru decided to settle down in Sialkot, a town just 14 kms from Jammu. He acquired lot of lands.

Family Tree:

The geneology of Iqbal's family so meticulously prepared by Mrs. Rajkishori Rawal (nee Sapru), daughter of Pandit Amarnath Sapru, Ist cousin of Iqbal's father, starts with Birbal Sapru, father of Iqbal's grandfather Kanhai Lal. There are enough reasons to believe Pandit Sahaz Ram Sapru was father of Birbal Sapru. Birbal Sapru's family settled in Sialkot around the time Sahaz Ram left Kashmir.

In nineteenth century there were just four Kashmiri Pandit families in Sialkot town. One was Ram Narain Handoo and his brother Hriday Narain Handoo, the maternal uncles of A.K. Hangal, the film actor. Second one was Birbal Sapru family. Third family was that of Mohan Zutshi. The fourth one was that of Damodar Pandit. All these Pandit families were related to one another. Damodar Pandit, a leading astrologer, who taught Sanskrit at Govt. High School, Sialkot had two daughters. One was married to Ram Narain. Handoo's father and second to Pandit Radhakrishan Sapru, the son of Birbal Sapru. Mohan Zutshi's grandson Gopi Krishan Zutshi was married to Ram Narain's sister.

Birbal Sapru:

Pandit Birbal Sapru had inherited lot of lands, located in Punjab Gujarat—Sobha Singh Ka Kila and Kuja. Despite the affluence, Sapru family of Sialkot did not form part of the upper class elite of the Pandit

community in Punjab. This family disliked services and led simple life. Tragedies struck the family too frequently. The only male survivor of the clan was Pandit Amarnath Sapru, who died decades ago.

Pandit Birbal Sapru had one daughter Gango and five sons-Ganga Bishan, Thakur Dass, Kanhai Lal, Mukand Lal and Radha Krishan. Gango had two sons-Dina Nath and Amar Nath, besides six daughters. Dina Nath's wife died too young, leaving behind a son, Kailash. Kailash completed college education and died soon after. Amar Nath went to study abroad and married an English lady. He took the name of Amar Nath Purbi and attained the top post of Director customs in J&K State government. He enjoyed great popularity among officials and the people. After the death of Amar Nath Purbi, his wife returned to England alongwith her lone daughter.

Ganga Bishan and Thakur Dass looked after the family lands. Ganga Bishan was married to Vedna but the two lived an unhappy married life. Vedna died young. Thakur Dass married Bhagvanti. They did not have any child. He adopted his youngest brother, Radhakrikshan as his son.

Kanahai Lal :

Kanhai Lal, Allama Iqbal's grandfather was the fourth child of his parents. He was married to 'Poshi'. In-laws had named her 'Indrani'. Three sons and five daughters were born to them. The three sons were Ratan Lal, Iqbal's father, Behari Lal and Nand Lal. Ratan Lal fell in love with a Muslim girl in the neighbourhood and married her. The family disowned him and Ratan Lal converted to Islam.

Behari Lal's birth has an interesting story behind it. One day, Indrani who was carrying Behari Lal, was enjoying siesta after lunch. In dream, she saw a big snake crawling over her body and heard it saying, "Indrani. I am going to take birth from you in the form of a son and will destroy all your three houses". Drowned in fear, Indrani opened her eyes and saw a snake actually moving over her body. Indrani subsequently turned short-tempered. After giving birth to Behari Lal, she gave him in adoption to Imberzali, her sister-in-law.

It was Nand Lal, who was the darling of his parents. He developed a unique personality, which combined simplicity with concern for others' welfare. He would just survive on milk and bread and did not marry.

Kanhai Lal's four daughters died quite early. His last surviving daughter Prano was married to Ram Prashad Sopori in Amritsar. After Prano's death, Nand Lal took full care of his nephew 'Srikrishan'. It were the efforts of Nand Lal that Srikrishan passed Matriculation with good marks. After he was admitted to college, Nand Lal was consumed by Plague. Now Indrani had to assume the full responsibility for looking after Sri Krishan. He joined police service and after a training course at Sagar got a good post. Srikrishan was married to Senapati, a girl from Bakshi Kashmiri family, settled in Jammu. She was named Chand Rani by Indrani. Chand Rani took her sister's son in adoption, who too joined police.

'Kunwari-Bahu':

Mukand Lal Sparu was the fourth son of Birbal Sapru. He was married to a beautiful girl, Rajo. Her mother-in-law enamoured of her great beauty had named her Imberzali. It is the name of a flower, that grows in Kashmir Valley. Once Mukand Lal fell ill. All cures failed. His mother brought an astrologer, who told her that her daughter-in-law was the cause of Mukand's illness. He advised that if she desired good health for her son, Mukand should not even see the shadow of his wife. The astrologer asked Mukand's mother to keep her daughter-in-law under strict veil. Imberzali, who was still in her teens, faced torture from her mother-in-law. She would be overworked and frequently subjected to assaults. No family member would even intervene. At times she would be denied food and even turned out from the house. She came to be known as 'Kunwari Bahu'.

Mukand Lal passed matric from Punjab University . Only three students had passed the examination and he had stood first. He became a judge in Amritsar. Mukand had a sterling character and was never overwhelmed by the fame he achieved.

To pass their time, drowned in sorrow, both Indrani and Imberzali had taken to spinning the wheel. Imberzali's mother-in-law had given Indrani's son, Behari Lal in adoption to her. Sapru family celebrated the Yagneopavit ceremony of Behari Lal with great pomp and show. He was seven years of age then. It

was around this time Mukand Lal passed away. Behari Lal was married to Chanda, who was named Brij Rani. Only five months after her marriage, Behari Lal left this world. Imberzali was crest fallen. Few months later Brij Rani gave birth to Shiv Nandan at Sialkot. At his Kahnethar (naming ceremony), ceremony, the entire Pandit Baradari of Sialkot had been invited. Indrani, Imberzali and Brij Rani performed mundane ceremony also at Sialkot. Few months after the mundan ceremony, Shiva Nandan fell seriously ill and death snatched him.

Iqbal's return :

Around this time, Indrani had come to Amritsar to stay with Imberzali. One day there was a gentle knock at the door. When Brij Rani opened the door, a young boy entered. Bowing his head in reverence, he wished Namaskar to the two old ladies and sat down near them. Astonished by the boy's grace, the old ladies in a single voice asked him, "Who are you? Where from have you come?"

The boy, in a moving tone told them, "Amma Jan, Don't treat me as a stranger. I am Iqbal, the son of your own Ratan Lal. Your and Sapru family's blood runs in my Veins, Amma! When father came to know about the tragedies that have struck this family, he felt humiliated and worried. He has sent me to you. He is confident, that you will accept me as your own. I am a part of your body. I am your own grandson, Dadi Jan".

Indrani got lost in her thoughts. Her filial love for her grandson had to contend with the decadent social code of the time. Izzat of the family depended on the community consensus. The Kashmiri Pandit Samaj of those days was bitterly divided by the polemics exchanged between Bishan Sabha and Dharam Sabha. Indrani had already lost her Ratan Lal, fearing for family Izzat. Indrani could not speak anything. Ratan Lal had sent Iqbal for family rapprochement.

Imberzali could not restrain herself and told the young boy, "Iqbal, you have been born to a Muslim mother. Neither our family nor our biradari will accept you again. It is impossible. You better return".

Iqbal still wanted to take a chance. He told Indrani, "Dadi Jan. Father does not care for us. He is all the time lost in his own world. Ammi is also worried. I have come with a firm belief that you won't disown me because I am your own". Indrani was all tears. This account is based on the family history maintained by Sapru family.

For many days after Iqbal had left, Indrani continued to feel as if he was sitting besides her.

Radha Krishan :

Pandit Radha Krishan Sapru was the youngest child of Birbal Sapru. A model of honesty and loyalty, he was deeply religious too. He was married to Parvati, the daughter of renowned Sanskrit teacher, Damodar Pandit. She was called Rajrani at in-law's house. Her marriage was performed at the famous shrine of Dhuni Saab, Mansa Razdan, at Killa Darpan in Punjab Gujarat. Father had bequeathed to her his varied learning. She was a good poet and composed around eighty poems, most of these in Punjabi. She also wrote few poems in Urdu. She could recite Shiv Mahima-Sutr, Indrani, Hanuman Chalisa, Vishnu Sahasarnama etc without any aid. Her knowledge of Ramayan, Mahabharat, Yog Vashisht, Gita, Upanishad was proverbial. Radha Krishan knew Urdu and Persian. He served in Sialkot district office.

Radha Krishan and Rajrani had one son, Amarnath and three daughters Jainti, Rupo and Shamo. Jainti was married in Khar family. She had two daughters Rameshwari and Gouri. The latter died quite young in Multan. Rameshwari had two daughters-Bimla Koul and Khema. Bimla was wife of Late Pandit Kashyap Bandu, the well-known Pandit leader. Shamo was married to Bal Krishan Gurtoo, son of Pandit Gopi Nath Gurtu. Shamo had one daughter Kameshwari (Kamandedi-born in 1901) and one son, Santosh Gurtu. Kameshwari was married to Inder Krishan Koul, younger brother of Pandit Ganga Ram Kaul. He died only a year after the marriage. Santosh Gurtu, is a well known journalist, who once edited "The Pratap".

Rupo was married to Ram Nath Karwanyu (Pandit). She had three sons Pran Nath, Iqbal Nath and Omkar Nath. Pran Nath's one son, Opinder Nath is settled in Holland and teaches chemistry at the University. The other son, Prof. Ravinder Kumar, who died recently, was a foremost scholar on Colonial India. He

served for many years as Director Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Rupo's only daughter was married in Thutha (Atal) family. Dr Jagat Mohini and Dr. Chand Atal, a well-known scientist and art collector are grand children of Rupo. Pran Nath Karwanyu also tried his hand at poetry. He once wrote, "Abhi Ruk Jaye Pandit Ka Janaza, Mujhe Kooch Puchna Hai Jism Aur Jan Se."

Amar Nath, the son of Pandit Radha Krishan also imbibed the best traditions of the family. After matriculation, he joined service as Accounts officer in Army. At the age of 18, he was married to Brij Kishori, who belonged to Kashmiri family, Thola. They had one daughter, Raj Kishori (born-1910) who was married to Pandit Jeevan Nath Rawal. Brij Kishori died at the age of 29 years in 1920.

Pandit Amar Nath:

Pandit Amar Nath served for a few years in Iran as well. He knew Urdu, Persian and Sanskrit. Intensely proud of his Kashmiri Pandit heritage, he translated Vaakhs of Lalleshwari, Kashmir's patron saintess, into Hindi, Urdu and Punjabi, without any fault. Pandit Amar Nath also authored *Kashmiriyon Me Vam Marg* and *Poshpuz*, which were widely acknowledged. He wrote hundreds of poems. His entire poetical collection, as per his family, lies with Prof. C.L. Sapru. His manuscript, Sahita, remains unpublished.

Pt. Amar Nath Sapru was a Yogi of high order and followed Arya Samaj tenets. He donated his entire property and rich collection of books to Gurukul Kangri, Hardiwar, where he passed his last days.

**The author is a keen researcher on Kashmir's History and Culture. END*

6 Blackwill contests U.S. policy on cross-border terrorism

Our Diplomatic Correspondent

Ambassador Blackwill's forthright support to India's stand on cross-border terrorism has cost him his job. He leaves the country as a great friend of this ancient nation. The ambassador challenged the State department, arguing how its dangerous policies vis-a-vis cross-border terrorism were preparing the ground for a renewed, more lethal phase of Islamist terrorism. The state department, which is seen as a part of the problem in this country, how could it stomach its own ambassador reminding it, "the fight against international terrorism will not be won until terrorism against India ends permanently. There can be no other legitimate stance by the US, no American compromise whatever on this elemental geopolitical and moral truth. US, India and all civilised nations must have zero tolerance for terrorism".

The state department, which is pursuing 'Brezinski line' in achieving geo-political objectives, brushed aside concerns and the assessment of Ambassador Blackwill. He warned that Pakistan having nuclear weapons in its armoury, might Jeopardise the American interests. In an article on the theme, "An action agenda to strengthen America's alliances in Asia", he forecast that the adverse impact may start coming to the fore in the next five years. He feared that Pakistan was on the verge of joining the category of a "failed state" and a fragmented nation, dominated by Islamic fundamentalists. Besides risking an Indo-Pak war Islamabad ran the risk of passing on the nuclear technology and fissile materials to a few other equally fanatic Muslim states.

Ambassador Blackwill reminded the state department how it was a mistake on its part to have viewed India "through the prism of its confrontation, with Pakistan". Also, the US fixation with India's nuclear programme, at the expense of a broader strategic approach, was not a correct one, he added.

The state department's obsession of a possible war over Kashmir and its blatant support to Pakistan in seeking parity with India, has only led to greater Jehadi intransigence and keeps South Asia smouldering.

Ambassador Blackwill did not believe that India has to hold a dialogue with Pakistan before terrorism comes to an end, a view clearly not endorsed by Christina Rocca, who authored the infamous statement after Nadimarg advocating a dialogue. Blackwill did not give to Hurriyat the political attention they craved for and refused to meet them on his two visits to Kashmir. He cancelled his only scheduled meeting with them, when APHC announced establishment of an "election commission" to monitor the poll in the state. At a briefing at 15 Corps Headquarters, Blackwill even interrupted when the word "militants" was used. He declared, "There is no such thing as militants. They are plain and simple terrorists". Ambassador also refrained from lecturing India on the issue of communal violence in Gujarat.

In early February this year, Rocca, known for her anti-Indian stance confronted Mr Kapil Sibal, Indian Foreign Secretary, accusing New Delhi of deliberately turning up the tension with Pakistan by threatening to take "strong measures". She also strongly believed that it was in US's interest to give General Musharraf whether over Kashmir or Afghanistan--a longer and longer rope. The pro-Pak lobby in state department was joined by the non-proliferation hawks to unleash a patently pro-Pakistan policy. There was an American demarche that told India to back off on Afghanistan. It was done to keep Pakistan in good humour. The non-proliferation lobby sought to put brakes on the Trinity issues (civilian nuclear, high-tech transfers, space) on which the transformed relationship between India and the US is not reflected. The State Department's recent policies to de-emphasise the need for Pakistan to fulfill its commitment on cross-border terrorism; and the increased emphasis on dialogue have put a spanner in the anti-terrorist campaign. In this scenario, Ambassador Blackwill was becoming increasingly irrelevant. With growing tension between Pentagon and the State Department, neither George Bush nor Condolizza Rice could help him out This left no options for Blackwill.

Ambassador Blackwill had previously spent 14 years teaching at Harvard and 22 more years as a career foreign service officer. He taught International Security at Harvard and was a specialist on Chinese affairs. His knowledge about China and Russia is phenomenal. At the time of his posting to India, he had

left an ambassadorship to NATO. He preferred India, believing he could inject substance into the Indo-US relations.

He established a close rapport with Deputy Prime Minister, L.K. Advani. His interactions with Indian bureaucrats and politicians made him more sensitive to Indian concerns. Blackwill didn't allow India to fall off the agenda and assiduously reminded top U.S. policy makers of the need to carry Indo-US relationship to a higher pedestal. He used his personal clout to push things forward. Among his major accomplishments was pushing for easing curbs on high-tech trade to India, increasing both the quality and quantity of senior US visitors, enhancing the military relationship and organising an Indo-US strategy group at the respected Aspen Institute. The problem the ambassador faced with the State Department was not merely on the pace of the India-US relationship but the sequencing of actions vis-a-vis Pakistan.

Blackwill's departure is a big loss to India. Selig Harrison, an expert on India at the Centre for International Policy in Washington, said he believed relations between the two democracies were at a stalemate. He added the hopes for progress for strengthening ties that were aroused when president George W. Bush came to office had not borne fruit.

7 George Tanham

A Great Friend of India

KS Correspondent

April has been bad news for India. It lost two great friends. One, Ambassador Robert Blackwill's spirited defence of India on the issue of cross-border terrorism cost him his job. Secondly, George K. Tanham (1922-2003), who passed away recently, was more concerned about India than India's own strategic elite.

Prof. George K. Tanham, associated with Rand Corporation, was a longtime friend and scholar on India. He died on March 29, in Washington, after a prolonged cardiac illness.

George and Kathleen Tanham saw India as their second home. His home in Strasburg, Virginia was often visited by India's elite. Tanham was deeply concerned about lack of strategic culture in India. This made India vulnerable to proxy-wars and frequent imperialist blackmail. It also retarded its march as a rising global power.

George Tanham, in a seminal essay, "Indian Strategic Thought: An Interpretive Essay", published in 1992, had tried to explore the reasons which denied India its strategic culture. He made a study of cultural and historical factors that shaped Indian strategic thinking. He found Indian elites, "show little evidence of having thought coherently and systematically about national strategy".

Prof. Tanham believed history was a poor guide for understanding Indian strategic thought because "Indian history is often dimly perceived and poorly recorded". He added until fairly recently "Indians knew little of their national history and seemed uninterested in it".

George Tanham outlined four key elements, which influenced Indian perceptions on power and security. The experience of the British colonial rule nurtured in Indian thinkers a pre-disposition toward a predominantly defensive, land-dominated strategic orientation. Geography lent Indian thinking an "insular perspective and a tradition of localism and particularism". The discovery of history by Indian elites in the past 150 years have also influenced Indian strategic thinking. Lastly, a key element in Indian elite thinking has been the primacy culture in its world-view and the "assumed superiority" of this culture. This path-breaking study has been republished in a volume--Securing India.

Prof. Tanham, born in Englewood, New Jersey, was trained as a historian at the universities of Princeton and Stanford. He took part in action during second world war. After the war, he joined the teaching staff at the California Institute of Technology. In 1955, he moved to the prestigious Rand Corporation, which he served till his death. He distinguished himself by bringing out an excellent study on the dynamics of Counter-Insurgency warfare.

8 104 SPOs desert their posts

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, May 1: After disbanding of Special Task Force (SOG), Are SPOs and VDCs the next target? The security forces and the patriotic sections are worried at why the Central government is destroying its own instruments to counter the terrorists. In a situation, where internal subversion and lack of local support made counter-insurgency operations a non-starter, there was need for innovative instruments and strategies. The gap was filled by creating SPOs, launching VDCs and raising an elite force--SOG (STF).

When the proxy-war engulfed the Jammu province and the minorities became the target for ethnic-cleansing campaign, formation of VDCs became a dire compulsion. It not only pre-empted the exodus of Hindus from the strategic district, Doda but also lent a sharp edge to the counter-insurgency campaigns in the district. Doda region has often come under international scanner in map-making subversion.

Both the State government and the Central government have bungled in handling local instruments to counter insurgency. With the success of VDCs, the concept was extended to other regions and involved other religious groups as well. There are over 15,000 VDC members at present. They are given a pittance of Rs 200 per head. In terms of arms and communication equipment also they continued to get a raw deal. The erstwhile NC government ran a sinister campaign against VDCs.

The scheme of SPOs (Special Police Officers) was started by Union Home Ministry with the three objectives. One, to lure the militants to surrender. Second, to use them to fight terrorists, in lieu of their knowledge of militant outfits. Lastly, the semi-police job offered them protection again reprisal by the terrorists whom they deserted. This scheme was further extended to the unemployed youth, to keep them away from joining terrorists. There are presently 23,000 SPOs, who get a monthly salary of Rs 1500 a month. Most of them belong to poor families of the militancy-affected districts of Jammu province.

These SPOs were raised by the state police along with material and training support of the Army. Security forces' commanders describe SPOs as "our best force multipliers", who serve as PSOs and go out on counter-terrorist operations.

Many SPOs recruited belonged to those families, whose kith and kin were killed by terrorists. Naturally they had higher motivation, knew local language and treacherous terrain. They were physically and psychologically fit to take up arms in war against terror.

The PDP government, which has been engaged in populism on security-related issues, failed to comprehend the fall-out of its ill-conceived policies. Senior police officers say that while the State government was keen to weed out the Ikhwani elements--the surrendered militants--the SPOs became a natural target.

Why the Union Home Ministry delayed the release of funds earmarked for the wages of VDC members and SPOs, has intrigued the observers here. Even if it is true, that some of the SPOs. Were being deployed in houses of bureaucrats and politicians for doing domestic chores or that they have been raised without prior approval, then who is to be blamed? Why does not Union Home Ministry have its own monitoring mechanism? Why are VDCs and SPOs receiving a raw deal in ex-gratia relief, when they are killed in operations?

The recent indiscipline in the ranks of SPOs in Doda districts needs to be viewed seriously. During the past week, more than 104 SPOs have mutinied in Doda district, in protest against the inordinate delay in the release of their monthly wages. The first batch of 40 SPOs had revolted in Police Lines in Doda on April 23. They had walked out, informing the authorities that were going to take on terrorists. The deserters had carried their weapons, ammunition and wireless sets. For two full days they walked to distant places, including Arnoda, Bharat and after crossing river Chenab camped at Shiva mountain belt. How SPOs were allowed to move out of the police lines on the pretext of carrying out operations against militants, with no senior police official heading them, too remains a mystery. All these SPOs were unemployed youth and not surrendered militants. After five days of negotiations, the deserters joined back. Many of them had not received wages for 5-6 months.

The batch had not yet reached the police lines in Doda, when another batch of 24 SPOs mutinied in Bhaderwah and its adjoining areas. Official sources said, a group of SPOs, equipped with sophisticated weapons, left the police post at Bhaderwah. They were joined by other colleagues at Sardhangal and Phanala posts. After traversing mountain ranges for two days, the deserters reached Padri Dar, on 28 April morning. Being the highest mountain-belt in the area, the senior police authorities were yet to reach them.

On April 28, another group of 30 SPOs from Gandhoy, Bartha and Changa, deserted their posts, carrying alongwith them weapons and wireless sets. Their whereabouts remain unknown.

Though an inquiry into revolt has been ordered, it remains to be seen what its impact would be on VDCs and SPOs, engaged in counter-insurgency operations. The decision of the state government to allow only matriculates into the police has SPOs staring at a bleak future. At a time, when centre has decided to give new teeth to counter-insurgency operations by re-designating the combined Unified Headquarters in J&K on the pattern of Unified Command in Assam, the developments in Doda demand beter vision on the part of Union government.

9 Pandits will return only if they get a separate homeland'

Dr Ajay Chrungoo, the Jammu-based chairman of "Panun Kashmir", a representative body of displaced Kashmiri Pandits, was in Srinagar to meet New Delhi's interlocutor Mr N.N. Vohra to put across views on various issues facing the community. Shortly before the two sides closeted at a guest house on the banks of the Jhelum. Yusuf Jameel spoke to Dr Chrungoo, Excerpts:

Q: You are meeting Mr N.N. Vohra. What would you tell him?

A: The first and foremost issue we are going to raise before him is that the Nadimarg massacre has reinforced our belief that a separate homeland for the displaced Kashmiri Pandits ought to be carved out within the Valley where there would a free flow of the Indian Constitution. Where those who identify themselves with the Indian Constitution can live as free citizens in peace. It would have a Union Territory status. This has been the main demand of Panun Kashmir and other sections of the Pandit community. We will tell him that no other solution can prove lasting. We'll also put across our view that in the prevailing circumstances, the displaced Kashmiri Pandits will not return to the Valley unless it means a passage into the homeland mapped by Panun Kashmir.

Q: One believes Panun (Our Own) Kashmir is to be drawn along the northern and eastern sides of Jhelum and involves a vast area in the districts of Anantnag, Pulwama and Srinagar.

A: Yes, it does.

Q: It seems a dream unlikely to come true...

A: It will become a reality some day.

Q: What would Panun Kashmir's contribution and that of the Pandit community as a whole be towards resolving the Kashmir issue amicably?

A: Some people try to link the Kashmir problem with the partition of India and its aftermath. The first thing we want to convey to the Kashmiris, to our own people and other victims of terrorism, is, the problem of Kashmir is actually an outcome of the failure of secular nation-building. The way the issues were dealt with in free India with Kashmir being accorded exceptionality, a communalisation process started. For the last 15 years we have only seen its militarisation in Kashmir. A vicious situation has developed here. To retrieve Kashmir will be very difficult, even if its entire population wants it, unless the decommunalisation process starts in more than one way. One has to address some fundamental issues within the Kashmiri community. No political party or institution seems to be concerned about Panun Kashmir. We link a solution of Kashmir basically to reverse the process of communalisation and militarisation in the state. Unless this happens, peace will not return to Kashmir.

Q: You spoke about a vicious circle. The growing feeling in Kashmir is that vested interests on all sides are preventing a peaceful solution to the imbroglio. Do you agree?

A: I do.

Q: Many people also believe that the Nadimarg massacre was an attempt to stall the process of Hindu expatriates returning to the Valley. What do you think?

A: This is the state government's viewpoint. It wants to pronounce that the ground situation had improved and it had a control over things and, therefore, was all set to bring the Pandits back.

We believe that the violence against the minorities right from the start of militancy in 1989 is part of a bigger ideological campaign. It would be a grave mistake on one's part to delink it from that. We will not be able to tackle it if we see the violence against minorities as a local aberration. For many years, we have maintained that any attempt or effort to separate the religious cleansing from the overall ideological contours of the separatist movement is bound to fail. To raise a religious moralist has been the major imperative of the separatist campaign in Kashmir. To a great extent they have succeeded in their design. I believe what has happened at Nadimarg, and earlier elsewhere, is a strategic butchering. Like in any religious cleansing process, some people stay back in certain pockets, as stands true about today's Kashmir. From time to time they shall fall victim. Mufti Sahib (the chief minister) has sought to draw a

link between the Nadimarg massacre and the so-called return process. But I see it only as an attempt on his part to underline his claim that he has control over the ground situation. He does not have any. The terrorist regime has made it emphatically clear to him that it is their writ that runs. The recent spurt in violence reflects an upgradation of terrorist violence following the setting up of a joint jihad council. You must have heard about and seen a series of terrorist attacks taking place in Poonch and Rajouri. As many as 37 houses of the minorities were torched at one place alone. The police was repeatedly targeted. Even Muslims who do not fall in line with terrorists were attacked. In a broader perspective, Nadimarg is part of that upgradation and game plan.

Q: If this is the ground situation, can Kashmiri Pandits really think of returning?

A: The lesson of the past 100 years is, final solutions don't work now. In the name of final solution, the English eliminated the indigenous population after descending on American soil. In Australia also, the indigenous population was got rid of in a similar fashion. The final solution plan for the Jews failed, the Palestine problem remains unresolved even after the eviction of millions of indigenous Palestinians from their land, the indirect solution to tackle the Kurdish problem also did not work. Until a few years ago, the view held was that the Kurds are virtually a hostage ethnic group that would perish with the passage of time. They have resurfaced with a big bang. A community facing an onslaught and extermination like we Pandits do, builds a logic to ensure its comprehensive protection which in our case is possible only in our own homeland.

Q: And that would be within the Valley? You will not agree to the expatriates' returning to the Valley and again mingling with the majority community?

A: There have been several migrations of Kashmiri Pandits in the past. There are instances of the migrants returning to their hearth and home after many years. We'll never forget Kashmir. We just can't live without Kashmir. No one can separate the two permanently.

Q: The areas you intend to bring on Panun Kashmir map have a huge Muslim population. What will happen to them? Will they be asked to leave? Will that not amount to a replication of Partition, and hence, defeat the very concept of India?

A: Look, when we talk about homeland and refer to its political demand, we have three main aspects in mind. Firstly, we want to bring back all those people who fled from the Valley and settle them in the homeland across the northern and eastern sides of Jhelum. Secondly, the relationship of the homeland with the rest of the country will be of a Union Territory. Thirdly, there will be a free flow of Indian Constitution without any restrictions or impediments. We basically talk about a political alternative that would link Kashmir's destiny with the free flow of the Constitution. Whosoever identifies himself with this kind of an arrangement can come and live in this homeland. We don't talk about a religious enclave. We are keen on a genuine secular constituency--an area where politics will not be done in the name of religious identity. Where there will be no issue of Muslim majority status or Hindu majority status. In the true sense of the term it would be a place where religious-identity politics will be delegitimised as was envisaged by the founding fathers of this country called India.

Q: And the indigenous population of these areas can stay back?

A: We don't visualise an expulsion of people. We visualise people living in a dispensation where there is a free flow of the Indian Constitution.

(Courtesy: The Asian Age: 5/5/2003)

10 Raise The Costs High For Pakistan's Terrorist War

By Sumer Kaul

It looks like a re-run of an old movie. The Prime Minister, as is his wont, suddenly waves an olive branch at Pakistan, Pakistan calls it a positive development, we call Pakistan's reaction a positive development and, across the seas, Washington and London see all this as a positive development and, lo and behold, there is an overnight change in the atmospherics and a palpable sense of optimism in the corridors of power in Delhi.

Taking a cue from this, certain pompous editorialists and commentators are building their usual castles in the musty air of their ivory towers, industrial and trade circles are happily speculating on what all they can cheaply import from and profitably export to Pakistan, and the big chiefs of the mercenary-minded cricket board are smacking their lips at the mega-bucks they will make from the anticipated resumption of India-Pakistan matches.

I find it difficult to share the optimism. After all, we have been here before, haven't we? The French call it *deja vu*, a feeling of something tediously familiar. Forget Tashkent and never mind even Simla, we have the all-too-recent testimonies of Wagah and Agra to the likely fate of such unilateral spasms of statesmanship.

So what is behind Mr Vajpayee's latest Noble-minded initiative? (The capital N and phonetic pun are not unintended). He says this his third (and "the last in my lifetime") attempt at sub-continental reconciliation is dictated by the transformed world situation post-Iraq, that all developing countries must wake up to the new threat, and that India and Pakistan in particular need to hear the "*khatre ki ghanti*", forget past acrimonies, enter into an honest dialogue and bury the hatchet, and presumably do so before the global hatchetmen conjure up some pretext or other and bury us both, *a la* Iraq.

Satya Vachan (as they say in those TV mythologicals), for there is no knowing what sinister designs the global overlords have up their sleeves. In fact, the prospect of a more muscled Anglo-American interest in the subcontinent came ominously to the fore even as their war machines were still pounding Iraq. The communique after the Bush-Blair summit clearly mentioned their intention to turn their attention to the India-Pakistan "flash-point". The series of meetings, already held or planned between American functionaries and their Indian and Pakistani counterparts underline the US-UK resolve to step in.

One wouldn't necessarily view this as a calamity if only the Anglo-American motivations were above-board and altruistic. But this has never been the case and if there were any doubts on this score they stand demolished in the light of their now openly proclaimed policy of undertaking invasive intervention wherever they fancy. It is perhaps in this light that some commentators see Mr Vajpayee's peace overture to Pakistan as a master stroke of pre-emptive diplomacy.

But is it really that? Given New Delhi's '*ji hazoori*' to Washington on all matters and especially in regard to our actions and non-actions on Kashmir vis-a-vis Pakistan's jehadi terror, one tends to suspect that India's peace offer has been blueprinted elsewhere. In fact, considering that both India and Pakistan have virtually ceded the captaincy of their policies as well as the umpiring to the U.S., there may well be some kind of 'match fixing' going on here.

I hope I am wrong. I hope our leaders have at last woken up to the dangers of letting the Americans take 'interest' in our affairs. In other words, I hope Mr Vajpayee's olive branch is homegrown and that he will prove third time successful in reversing the half-century-long tide of India-Pakistan hostility. But having said that I cannot help the feeling that this is hoping against hope.

Resuming full diplomatic ties and overflights and train and bus services is all very well. So is the desire to establish full and open trade and sporting links and other people-to-people exchanges. But let us face it: while it would be desirable to do all this, the absence of such relations is not the cause but the result of our troubles with Pakistan.

In the ultimate analysis these troubles are traceable to the infirmities of Pakistan's foundational ethos, infirmities which its successive rulers, instead of correcting, have further perverted. Simply because

Kashmir is a Muslim majority area Pakistan wants it (or rather that part which it failed to seize in 1947-48). That this two-nation obsession brazenly ignores the fact that historically and legally the state is an integral part of India and that there are more Muslims in India than in Pakistan is obviously of no import to the jackboot-jehadi regime ruling the roost in that country. In fact, this rabid and powerful combine has developed a deep vested interest in keeping the issue boiling and bleeding.

This situation is not going to change because of any emotional rhetoric for peace and friendship from India. As I see it there are only two ways in which it can change. One is if the United States decides to bring about a "regime change" in Islamabad. But given the original divide-and-rule imperialist mischief and the long-standing and still largely unchanged Anglo-American tilt towards the inherently more malleable Pakistan, I don't see them doing an Iraq in Pakistan, at least not in the immediate future.

The other way is for India to go all out to defeat Pakistans bloody game without further delay or dither. Periodic diplomatic dramabazi just won't do. We must hit back with all means at our command. This should entail not only a ruthless operation against the terrorists and their local agents in Kashmir but paying back in kind their masters and mentors in their own country. We must raise the costs of Pakistan's terrorist war so high for them that the people of Pakistan feel impelled to oust the military-mullah dispensation, and thereby join the people of India to establish peace and harmony in our subcontinent.

**The author is a veteran Journalists, based in Delhi.*

11 'Kashmir-War or Peace' released

KS Correspondent

NEW DELHI, May 4: "Kashmir-War or Peace", is the latest book penned down by the advocate-turned author, Pyare Lal Kaul. The book makes a claim that out of the remaining lot of Hindus in the Valley "conversion to Islam in one form or the other has already started". The book does not consider Kashmir a Muslim problem. It says, "It is in fact a Hindu problem in Kashmir, created by the Central and the State government, by their lack of vision and short-sightedness." He predicts that the fate of Hindus, Sikhs, and Buddhists was going to take a more serious turn in future.

Mr. Kaul opines, "occasional utterances of the Central and State governments asking the migrants to go back to Kashmir valley displayed the political bankruptcy and utter ignorance of the ground realities in Kashmir". In his view, Pandits' rehabilitation in Valley was impossible till terrorism was completely eradicated and the state completely merged with India".

12 Kashmiri Pandits Demand Action

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, May 5: Nadimarg massacre has jolted 5,000 strong remnants of the Pandit community, still living in Valley. They have decided to give three months notice the State government to address their security concerns and reverse anti-Pandit policies. An extraordinary meeting, attended by 75 representatives from different parts of the Valley was held in the precincts of Ramji temple, Sathu on May 4. They have threatened fast unto death.

The President of Hindu Welfare Society, Moti Lal Bhat, put three demands. One, to set up clusters of Pandit community homes in different districts of the Valley to ensure security. Second, quick rehabilitation of displaced members who had to move out of their homes in far off villages. Lastly, employment of its youth to hold the community back from leaving the Valley. The urgency for the meeting was attributed to the security concerns demonstrated by Ganderbal and Mattan Pandits. The spokesperson of the society lambasted Mufti government giving false promises in the wake of Nadimarg massacre.

It may be recalled that five days after the Nadimarg massacre, the State government had intercepted a convoy of fleeing survivors on their way out of Valley and impressed, on them to stay back. Unconvinced by the government's assurances, a week later the survivors moved out to Jammu.

Addressing the concerns of Pandit community continues to remain Achilles heel for the Mufti government. The Pandit community is strongly annoyed over government's response to protection of its property, left over in Valley, apathy towards those displaced in the wake of massacre and failure to nab the Nadimarg culprits. Demolition of shops in the upcoming yatri Niwas at Durga Nag temple drew strong protests from Pandit community in the Valley. The State government also acquired 66.12 kanals of land at Batapora Shopian, belonging to Pandit community and notified it for the Bus Stand. The affected families countered, saying on one hand State government was claiming it was committed to create conditions for Pandits return, while on the other, it was dispossessing them of their left-over properties.

The State government has been harassing the recently displaced Pandits and dodging them registration as migrants. While the State government was quite generous in doling out appointment orders to the militancy victims, belonging to other communities, it has treated such cases from Pandit community with stark indifference. The families of late Shibani Lal Koul and Rohit Sadhu of Tang Marg and Banshi Lal of Gulabagh continue to wait for the "healing touch".

Displaced Pandit community is also sore over governments' failure to nab culprits, involved in Nadimarg massacre. On April 10, 2003 DGP, A.K. Suri identified Zia Mustafa R/o Rawalkot (PoK) as the chief culprit. Lashkar-e-Toiba claimed Zia was arrested on March 16 from his hideout in Anantnag. Other reports said the nine police officials at Nadimarg picket were being interrogated for their direct complicity in the incident. Two terrorists, as per these reports, had visited the picket regularly over the past six months, often stopping for a meal or staying the night. They watched the recent world cup cricket series at the picket and even on March 21 stayed there. On the night of the massacre, the two terrorists were joined by six others, who actually carried out the massacre. Constable Abdul Rashid was sent alone to call the victims. His failure to warn the victims, call for help and even escape raised suspicions about involvement of policeman posted at the picket. Head constable Ghulam Ahmed War had applied for leave on the morning of massacre. It was refused. Not only he deserted the post but has also since disappeared. Repeated raids on his home in Kupwara have failed to locate him.

Praveen Swami, the noted columnist comments on the sad state of affairs, "while it seems probable that the Nadimarg killings involved the active collusion of police personnel on duty there, the fact remains that their failure is part of a larger pattern of security force dysfunction for which Chief Minister Mufti Mohammad Syed is directly responsible. Also, the failure of the PDP, the Congress-I and for that matter the NC to organise any real mass mobilisation against the killings is a matter of concern". On the priorities of mainstream Valley political groups, Swami ruefully adds, "All the major parties joined in a

protest strike on March 24, originally called by APHC to protest the war on Iraq. None saw it fit to hold any public rallies to condemn the killings. Nor has there been any meaningful action to assist the victims of terrorist violence".

Meanwhile, the Sikh community too has voiced fears over their security following recent developments. R.S. Bali, who was working as station engineer in Srinagar Doordarshan was kidnapped on March 22 during his visit to Bandipora. On April 4, his dead body was fished out of Jhelum river at Uri. This provoked strong resentment in the community. Subsequently a high-powered delegation of Sikh leadership of the state met the chief minister, and demanded fool-proof security. There has been direct incitement by LeT chief to kill Pandits and a number of Pandit villages were attacked after Nadimarg massacre.

Though State government has put on hold the so-called return plan and suggested few measures like night lodging arrangements in government accommodations, relief in cash and kind on the pattern of relief given to the Kashmiri Pandit migrants and job to at least one member of each Kashmiri Pandit family. All these remain an paper. The State government has also claimed that it was not trying to push Pandits to camps at Tulmulla and Mattan. Rs 10-crore was being demanded to beautify these holy places, it added. The displaced Pandit community continues to wait for clear vision and national will to restore them their homes and end the genocidal attrition.

13 Onkar Aima was a pure soul

By J.L. Manwati, Mumbai

If I were a poet I would pour my heart out and compose an ‘elegy’, If I was a Pastor I would sing a ‘requiem’ and if I were a painter I would paint a full canvass portraying the multifaceted personality of Kashmir’s proud and beloved son, Onkar Aima, who breathed his last on 28th September 2002, But, unfortunately, I am neither a poet nor a Pastor nor a painter, so I take refuge in the Canto (1) of the seventh chapter of Bhagavad Gita which, in my humble opinion, broadly encompasses the personality of Aima Saheb. Lord Krishna enunciates thus the virtues of Godly persons with divine nature in this Canto, which, undoubtedly Onkar was: -

“Fearless, purification of ones existence, inquisitiveness of spiritual knowledge, charity, austerity, simplicity, truthfulness, freedom from anger, compassion, fortitude, cleanliness, passion for honour. These are the transcendental qualities of Godly men with divine nature O-partha”.

Born in a venerable family of ‘Datatreya Kaul-Gotra’ Aima was the nickname acquired by the family as it is said, the family was gifted with a boon to be osteopaths (Waatangaer) who provide healing touch to people with orthopedic dislocations. At their Fateh Kadal joint family compound, it is believed, long queues of people with orthopedic ailments would be attended to by the family elders who were gifted thus. Onkar may not have inherited or practised osteopathy of his elders, but surely he had imbibed in abundance the art of providing ‘healing touch’, of harmony and friendliness which was evident by his exemplary behaviour.

Having been endowed with an impressive tall personality with chiseled Aryan features Onkar was born with masculine charm. This God gifted body of exquisite physical features had been enveloped by Aima Saheb by his conscious effort with virtues of a ‘human being’ which made him the most lovable person.

In the post Independence era when the cultural renaissance threw up talents in the field of art and aesthetics in the Valley, naturally Aima Saheb with his handsome personality and irresistible befriending qualities emerged as unanimous choice for spearheading the cultural movement. Drawn into the cultural vortex he soon found himself leading the cultural movement of the time. This movement not only revived the folk and traditional theatre of Kashmir but with the passage of time the movement became ‘Progressive Think Tank’ of the post-independence era of Kashmir.

By this time Aima Saheb had mastered the art of friendship which remained most amazing characteristic of his personality. Friendship to him meant life long bond even in the vicissitudes of life - a rare quality in the present day shifting-loyalties scenario.

In those days the siblings from the ruling clan Viz. Bakshi Saheb’s family were his contemporaries. They could also not resist Aima Saheb’s infection of friendship. The friendship in the following years grew so much that Onkar became part of the family. Any other person in his place would have exploited the relationship for his personal benefits, as was, sorry to say, wont of many of our Kashmiri Pandits of the time but Aima Saheb with his passion for his honour and self respect knew where to draw the line between friendship and overbearance. This trait of his character endeared him more to his friends and he was considered as a true selfless friend.

When political exigencies forced his politically connected friends to take a different political stance on various burning issues, Aima fearlessly did give vent to his feelings, but it did not create any chasm in the friendship-in fact it continued and became more cohesive. Now that Onkar is gone, the bond I am sure, shall always remain with his bereaved family.

When the history of cultural upsurge in Kashmir would be documented it would be mentioned loud and clear that Onkar Aima was the lead actor in the first ever made Kashmiri film ‘Menziraat’, which bagged the President’s silver medal as the best regional film in 1964.

Being an ardent student of aesthetics his passion to satisfy his creative talent brought him to Bombay in 1965 to pursue his career in film industry, leaving his lucrative government gazetted job. The industry was quite receptive and offered this new face a lot of chances and Aima Saheb played different roles

under famous banners of that era. But the irrepressible creative artiste in him remained restive. Here, the composite epicurean traits of Onkar, like the refined and discriminating taste, like subtlety of conduct, like exposition of beauty within, like sartorial preferences, like sobriety of approach and the finesse in all walks of life came to his rescue and he was drawn into modeling which he made his profession. In the mid 70's he rose on the horizon of modeling and rubbed shoulders with the famous models of the time not only rivaling them but at times excelling them-a cut above. He continued modeling till the end of his life.

When television made its foray in Bombay in 1972, Aima Saheb was perhaps the among the first few who played important roles in the Sitcoms which were featured by the Bombay Doordarshan then. Yet the creative bug in him did not sit idle and it made him write, produce and direct many a popular morning shows for Doordashan.

While he was pursuing his successful modeling career in Bombay, Sadiq Saheb, the then Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir formalized plans for his pet project of making a film on Mahjoor-the poet laureate of Kashmir. Prabhat Mukherjee was commissioned to produce and direct the film. The choice of playing Mahjoor naturally fell on Onkar who played with aplomb the role of Mahjoor. 'Mahjoor', incidentally was the first bilingual film which was made in Kashmiri and Hindi versions.

The film may not have done well commercially but it fortified the belief of Onkar that film medium could well project the essence of 'Kashmiriyat', of which he was an ardent advocate. As a sensitive artiste, Aima strongly believed that 'Kashmiriyat' was quintessence of harmony which, according to him, had its origin in Kashmir Shaivism, in the Vakhs of Lalla-Ded and the Shrukhs of Nund Resh which taught Kashmiris never to discriminate between the Muslims and the Pandits. Aima would often quote Lalla-Ded's Vakhs to prove the point.

Naturally, for such a peace loving person the ethnic-cleansing of Kashmiri Pandits by their Muslim brethren from their homeland lacerated the innocent heart of Onkar and he nearly gasped for breath of harmony. The problem faced by the community in the wake of this turmoil agonized him beyond measure. To help the community members he joined Kashmiri Pandits' Association-a nonpolitical, social organization and put his mite in mitigating the miseries of the uprooted youth and provided them whatever succour through the Association.

The diaspora of Kashmiri Pandits, he felt, would wean away Kashmiri youth from their culture and ethos and they would gradually get usurped by the alien culture and in the process Kashmiris would loose their identity. Aima Saheb felt that the least the youth could do to safeguard their identity would be to preserve their language. For this purpose he instituted "Mohan Lal Aima Music Award" in the memory of his brother, Mohan Lal Aima-the doyen of Kashmiri Music, under the auspices of Kashmiri Pandits' Association. Under the scheme Kashmiri youth upto the age group of 18 years are given cash awards to sing in Kashmiri. The underlying idea is to inculcate interest in Kashmiri language through music.

Notwithstanding the turmoil of 12 years in Kashmir, being an optimistic to the core, Onkar firmly believed that things would turn in his 'Reshwaer' and he would often quote Nadim Saheb's famous verse:

Me Chah Aash Paghaeh

Pagah Sholi Duniya He

(I hope for a better tomorrow)

To the dozens of youngsters who had landed up in Mumbai after the Pandit exodus, to pursue their career in the field of films, Aima Saheb was a father figure for them. He would befriend them irrespective of their age, encourage them and give them tips and share his experiences with them. In fact he was to them a friend, philosopher and guide.

From the family point of view Aima Saheb was not only a loving husband but caring and understanding too. They had long years of separation when Shakuntaljai was working for State Education Department in Kashmir and Aima Saheb was struggling to make his mark in Bombay. It was their caring attitude for each other which fortified their relationship. Finally when Shakuntalaji retired and joined her husband in Bombay, the understanding nature of the couple won the hearts of the Mumbai Biradari and they were

rightly christened 'made for each other'. As a doting father, Onkar always treated his two lovable sons as his friends. He believed that if the children are given good Sanskars they would grow in the right direction.

Onkar is survived by his wife Shakuntala, Alope-son, his wife Lakshmi, grand-daughter Rahel, son-Abhay and his wife Radha. I am sure Sanskars of the family would keep Onkar's name always alive.

Rich tributes have been paid to Onkar Aima throughout Jammu and Kashmir by his admirers and contemporaries. A lot of e-mails have been received from abroad lamenting the sad demise of Kashmir's noble and proud son. But the fittest tribute, I presume, has been paid through his last modeling assignment of Bharat Petroleum which he completed midway through his chemotherapy treatment braving the monstrous disease. The bottomline of the advertisement was "Pure for Sure"- "Surely" Aima Saheb was a "Pure Soul", and such souls rarely treated this earth.

**The author has remained President of Kashmiri Pandit Association, Mumbai and worked closely with late Onkar Aima.*

14 Blackwill's Vision of India

The following is a statement by the U.S. Ambassador to India, Robert D. Blackwill, announcing his desire to leave his post and return to academic career at the Harvard University.

THE following is a statement by the U.S. Ambassador to India, Robert D. Blackwill, announcing his desire to leave his post and return to academic career at the Harvard University.

This past January while in Washington, I informed President Bush, Secretary of State Powell, Secretary of Defence Rumsfeld and National Security Adviser Rice that I would be going back to the faculty at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government near the end of this summer to continue my academic career, I will thus join my illustrious colleague, John Kenneth Galbraith, in proudly representing my country for two years as American Ambassador to India, and then returning to Harvard to teach and to write.

It has been a special privilege to serve the President over the past four years, first during the 2000 Presidential Campaign, and then as the U.S. Ambassador to India. In naming me as his envoy to this magnificent country, President Bush did me a great honour. I have tried to justify his confidence by energetically promoting his vision of India as a rising great power of the 21st century, and his primary goal of the world's oldest and largest democracies operating together to transform their relations, to forge concentrated strategic collaboration for the decades ahead.

Under the leadership of President Bush and Prime Minister Vajpayee, Washington and New Delhi have made enormous strides to achieve this aim. I said in my Senate confirmation hearings that international peace, prosperity and freedom would be further advanced if the relationship between the United States and India were fundamentally transformed. In partnership with an accomplished Mission staff of Americans and Indians, I can say with certainty that this is occurring powerfully each day between the two nations.

Before the U.S.-India transformation began, it was rare for members of a President's Cabinet and senior American officials to visit India. Almost a hundred have come in the past two years. Two years ago, there were economic sanctions applied by the United States against India related to its 1998 nuclear tests. Today, those sanctions are long gone. Two years ago, the American and Indian militaries conducted no joint operations. Today, they have completed six major training exercises, and our defence cooperation flourishes. American and Indian counterparts now intensively engage across a broad spectrum of other essential subjects: fighting terrorism, diplomatic collaboration, intelligence exchange, law enforcement, development assistance, the global environment, HIV/AIDS and other public health problems. Two years ago, American and Indian policy-makers did not address together the important issues of cooperative high technology trade, civil space activity and civilian nuclear power. Today, all three are under continuing bilateral discussion. And in addition, there has been crisis management from time to time along the way concerning tensions in South Asia.

With President Bush and Prime Minister Vajpayee showing the route and buttressed by the Indian American community in the United States and the U.S. Congress, our consistently troubled bilateral past is behind us. In my view, close and cooperative relations between the United States and India will thrive in the decades ahead most crucially because of the convergence of common democratic values and vital national interests. We have overlapping vital national interests in promoting peace and freedom in Asia, slowing the spread of Weapons of Mass Destruction, and combating international terrorism.

With respect to the global war on terrorism, President Bush emphasizes that this scourge threatens both our values and our interests. As I have said many times during my stay in India the fight against international terrorism will not be won until terrorism against India ends permanently. There can be no other legitimate stance by the United States, no American compromise whatever on this elemental geopolitical and moral truth. The United States, India and all civilised nations must have zero tolerance for terrorism. Otherwise we sink into a swamp of moral relativism and strategic myopia.

As was so often the case, the late Daniel Patrick Moynihan put it best, “reason and careful moral reflection...teach us that there are times when the first and the most important reply to evil is to stop it.”

There is another issue on which together we must try harder.

As I used to teach students in my course on strategy at Harvard University and will soon do so again, national economic strength is a prerequisite for sustained diplomatic influence and military muscle.

Therefore, I hope for a robust India economic performance in the years ahead, and for a sharp increase in U.S.-India trade and American investment in India. Promoting U.S. business has been one of my major preoccupations while Ambassador to India.

The U.S-India relationship has a glittering future. To play a part in advancing this cause under President Bush’s direction has been my duty, my pleasure and my encompassing strategic conviction.

In that context, I particularly thank senior members of the Indian Government for their unfailing generosity to me as I have carried out my official duties.

I especially have in mind Prime Minister Vajpayee, Deputy Prime Minister Advani, Finance Minister Singh, External Affairs Minister Sinha, Defence Minister Fernandes, and Principal Secretary and National Security Adviser Mishra. I would also like to express my appreciation to the Leader of the Opposition, Mrs Gandhi, for her many courtesies to me.

Around this vast land, I have met men and women of superlative talent, of consummate entrepreneurial and political skill, individuals committed to helping their fellow citizens. Countless Indians from every part of society have given me their assistance, their views, and their hopes and dreams for stronger bonds between our two nations. I am grateful to them as we all recognize that people-to-people ties are at the heart of the U.S-India relationship.

For my wife Wera Hilderbrand and myself, getting to know something about this fabulous country has been one of life’s pinnacles. From North Block and South Block to the Valleys of Assam to the spare splendour of Rajasthan’s deserts and Mumbai’s exuberance, from the mountains of Kashmir to the Golden Temple to Kutch and Bangalore’s IT dynamism, all that is India compels us.

How could it not, for to quote Mark Twain.

“India is,

the creadle of the human race,

the birthplace of human speech,

the mother of history,

the grandmother of legend,

and the great grand mother of tradition.

Our most valuable and most instructive materials in the history of man are treasured up in India”.

But we miss our five children in the United States. We have one grandchild there and, praise be, two more on the way. We are attached to our home in Cambridge and to our friends in America. Harvard beckons. So during this coming New England winter, our vivid and lasting memories of India-its people, its culture, its beauty-will warm us as we face the snows.

Mother India has marked us deeply and only for the better-for all time.

15 The secular conspiracy

By Balbir K.Punj

THE formation of Pakistan was a "momentous" episode in the history of the subcontinent, though executed in a faulty manner. But we neither fully comprehended the forces behind this epoch nor raised the ideological and political bulwark needed to counter its long-time consequences.

Two recent events of unequal magnitude enforced in mind this problem we refused to fix in 1947. One was Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee's call from Srinagar for bilateral dialogue with Pakistan. And the other was the formal release of a book by deputy prime minister LK Advani. Titled *Religious Demography of India*, it was brought out by the Centre for Policy Studies, Chennai.

Making his recent visit to Srinagar an occasion, the Prime Minister extended an olive branch to Pakistan. The gesture has seemingly gone down well with both Islamabad and the NDA including the BJP. If there is anything against us, it is the past involving the two countries. Such talks, so far, have ended in failure, exacerbating the situation. India has been stabbed in the back by Pakistan whenever it has taken well-meaning measures like Prime Minister Vajpayee's Lahore bus-ride in 1999 and the 2001 ceasefire. But, we must be optimistic.

Though the issues are inter-twined, the solution to the Kashmir problem is no longer a priority as is the "peace in the Valley". It used to be so when the unrest of the eighties followed by the militancy of the nineties had not reared its ugly head in the Valley. Today, the government's priority is to put an end to the cross-LoC terrorism and the Pakistan sponsored proxy war with a heavy hand and disseminate the fruits of development in the Valley.

India won a military victory against Pakistan at Dhaka in 1971, but could not capitalise on that advantage to bring an end to the Kashmir problem. That was the only occasion when Kashmir was really a bilateral issue between India and Pakistan. At that time Pakistan, handicapped by a US arms embargo (for genocide by the Pakistan Army in Bangladesh), faced the real threat of not only losing Kashmir but also disintegrating into several splinter states like Sindh, Balochistan and Pakhtunkhwa. The mock-chivalry of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's speeches in those days only highlighted how real his fear was.

But which Kashmir do we refer to when we speak of Kashmiri peace? The total area of J&K is 222,236 sq kms, out of which 78,114 sq kms are illegally occupied by Pakistan and 42,685 sq kms by China, of which Pakistan illegally handed over 5,130 sq kms to China. However, for all practical purposes we have given up our hopes of reclaiming that territory from Pakistan and China. The Indian government or the media never raises the issue of the independence movement in Balwaristan (in PoK), thinking, it would irk Islamabad further.

All that we are fighting for, rather defending, is the Kashmir we still retain. After thousands of their fellow men and women were killed, the 300,000 Kashmiri Pandits expelled from the Valley are leading a sub-human life in the refugee camps of Jammu and Delhi. Their properties have been legally undersold or illegally occupied in a manner similar to Bangladesh's Enemy Property. The well-planned Nadimarg (Pulwama) massacre of March 23, is prompting the exodus of the residual Hindus from the Valley. The local Muslim populace has declined to guarantee their safety. The message is quite clear: "Sir, kindly leave and leave every square inch of your land-space for the cause of Dar-ul-Islam."

But when we talk of "Kashmir peace" or "Kashmir solution" we do not take into consideration the Kashmiri Pandits. With their ancestral properties gone, their return and rehabilitation is quite unlikely. The exodus of the Kashmiri Pandits is not only a human tragedy but also a civilisational holocaust. They were the original and culturally unalloyed inheritors of Kashmir. If Muslims could be a part of the "Kashmiriyat" of Hindus—which is as old as the land itself—why could Hindus not be a part of the "Kashmiriyat" of Muslims? Can one think of Hindus expelling Muslims from a place where the latter are in a minority? Then, there would not have been any Muslim left in India. Article 370 was meant to "protect the uniqueness of the state". This Article has been protected at every cost and pretext but the true

inheritors of Kashmir are languishing unprotected in the refugee camps of Jammu and Delhi. What an irony!

Since ancient times Kashmir has been a centre of the Shaiva tradition and a famed seat of Vedic learning, it is for this reason alone all Kashmir Hindus are referred to as Pandits (or scholars). Thus Kashmiri Pandits are the original and culturally unalloyed people of the land. Their exit thus marks the loss of Kashmir's soul. Moreover, it also raises the question that if Hindus are not safe as a community even in India where else will they be? The Muslims of Kashmir are the descendants of those Kashmiri Pandits who converted to Islam mostly under the threat of sword or in the hope of gaining some favour during the Muslim era. Sheikh Abdullah admits in his autobiography, *Atis-e-Chinar (Fire amongst Chinar)*, that his great-grandfather was a Kashmiri Pandit, Bal Mukund Kaul. But this great-grandson of a converted Kashmiri Pandit refuses to identify himself as an Indian. He always referred to himself only as a Kashmiri. In league with another Kaul viz. Nehru, who was ashamed of his Hindu identity, he turned Kashmir into his personal fiefdom.

But are we also not a party to this tragedy? Jagmohan pithily observes in his highly acclaimed book *My Frozen Turbulence in Kashmir*. "We denounced the Two-Nation theory, proclaimed to the world that in India religion did not constitute the basis of separation or distinction. Ironically, it is we who are applying the Two-Nation theory in Kashmir. And we are doing it in the most suicidal manner. Pakistan, which owes its birth to the Two-Nation theory, exists, after all, with its own resources. But here in Kashmir, Article 370 and the issue of autonomy are designed to be manipulated in such a way that a virtual Sheikdom or Sultanate, or mini-Pakistan, has been nurtured with Indian money. Unfortunately, we have neither the inclination nor the depth of perception to see through the game."

But where are the imperceptible roots of this palpable tragedy? Braving the secession of East Pakistan, Zulfikar Bhutto said in 1971, "Pakistan is an ideal. It will last even if it is physically destroyed. We are prepared for the decimation of 120 million people. We will then begin anew and build a new Pakistan." Thus he comes very close to saying that Pakistan exists first in people's minds then as a political unit. The concretization of the political vision of Pakistan took place in the Thirties and the Forties. But tragedy has its roots in the negation of Indianism. Not even one percent of Indian Muslims came from outside India, say Arabia or Central Asia, but are converts from Hinduism and Buddhism, mostly under duress. But on conversion their mindset became a chain reaction of the Arab imperialism. That is the reason why several thousand Indian Muslims quitting British India (a Dar-ul-Harab or land of the enemy) had chosen to migrate (*hijrat*) to Dar-ul-Islam Afghanistan, out of which only 20,000 were allowed to settle. A large number of Shias from Lucknow, including the descendants of the Nawab of Awadh, chose to migrate to Karbala (now Iraq). At the root of this is the denial of a pre-Islamic identity.

The second event was the formal release by deputy prime minister LK Advani on April 20, of a highly statistical book, *Religious Demography of India*. It is a mammoth study of the census available for 110 years (1881-1991) of the subcontinent by A.P. Joshi, M.D. Srinivas and J.K. Bajaj for the Centre for Policy Studies, Chennai. Advani, however, did not agree with the authors' categorisation of religions as Indian religions and others (like Christianity, Islam) and said that the Indian nationhood had suffered no devalorisation due to the "unfortunate" Partition.

Generally, we treat Partition as unfortunate. But let's see how "fortunate" Hindus would have ended up if there were no Partition in 1947. The study observes: "The proportion of Indian religionists in the population of India (Indian subcontinent) has declined by 11 percentage points during the period of 110 years for which census information is available. Indian religionists formed 79.32 percent of the population in 1881 and 68.03 percent in 1991. This is an extraordinary high decline to take place in just about a century; at the peak of Mughal rule at the time of Akbar, after nearly 400 years of Islamic domination, number of Muslims in India was said to be no more than one-sixth of the population. If the trend of decline seen during 1881-1991 continues, then the proportion of Indian religionists in India is likely to fall below 50 percent early in the latter half of 21st century." So, is the fear misplaced that if there were no Partition India would have become a Lebanon for Hindus? India remains secular and pluralistic because the decisive majority comprises Hindus.

So, Partition in a way staved off the Islamisation of India. But how does one now cope with the large-scale infiltration of illegal Bangladeshi immigrants into West Bengal and Assam, people who could turn these provinces to "Greater Bangladesh"? The deputy PM has rightly called for the repealing of the IMDT Act, which in effect is a "secular" conspiracy of dismember and Islamise India in parts, progressively. And notably, in an Islamic state, secularism or communism will also have no place. A typical example of this are the communists who actively worked towards the formation of Pakistan in the Forties, provided Jinnah all the intellectual arsenal he ever needed, but were themselves cleansed from the Islamic state which was contemptuous of an impure object.

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**Source: The Asian Age*

16 Kashmiri Pandits: Are they not made in India?

By J.N. Raina

It is prime time for India to abrogate Article 370 of the Constitution, to stop mass extermination of the Hindu minority community in Kashmir and restore the Valley's demographic character to its original form, that existed at the time of partition, or even prior to that period.

Brave nations do not seek permission from other countries, however powerful, to enact laws, which are in the best interests of its people. It is the Union Government's bounden duty under the Constitution to provide security to its citizens, irrespective of caste, creed and religion.

Enough of precious blood has been shed, that has flowed down the holy Vitasta river, meandering through the Valley, whose nomenclature, without any government effort, has changed to "Hell upon this earth" from what famous Persian poet Firdous had described as "Heaven upon this earth".

The carnage of 25 Kashmiri Hindu Pandits in village Nadimarg in Pulwama district, should not be treated as an isolated event. It is not an ordinary murder. It is a coward act of ethnic cleansing, committed by foreign mercenaries at the instance of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence ISI agency, against the will of the Muslim majority community.

The minority Hindu community is on the verge of extinction in their original abode. Exiled Pandits living as refugees in their own country, have been bereft of their cultural moorings. When Islamic militants and Muslim fundamentalists, led by Jamaite-Islami, resorted to "jihad" in 1988-89, to establish what they had said "Nizam-e-Mustafa" (Islamic way of life) in Jammu and Kashmir, an estimated 3,50,000 Hindus were forced to leave at gun point. They migrated only after a few hundred people of the community were mercilessly killed, when women were raped and murdered, when their dwellings were looted and set afire. But despite all this, some 10,000 to 15,000 Hindus had opted to stay back.

However, over 200 Hindus were butchered since 1996 in 28 gruesome incidents of ethnic cleansing. Will there be an end to Islamic barbarity? The victims had been living shoulder-to-shoulder with their Muslim brethren.

Secularism, the hallmark of the Indian Constitution (Jammu and Kashmir has a separate Constitution under Article 370, guaranteeing a special status to the state), has been rendered irrelevant for the hapless minority community. The Pandits have been forcibly exiled. This is the worst kind of human rights violation.

Following are some of the recorded incidents of ethnic cleansing:

On January 25, 1997, twenty five Kashmiri Hindu Pandits were killed at Wandhama-Ganderbal. On March 20, the same year, seven Pandits were killed at Sangrampora. On April 18, 1998, twenty seven Hindus were killed at Prankote in Udhampur district. On January 19, same year, 25 Hindus were killed at Chapnari in Doda district. On July 28, sixteen Hindus were killed in two villages of Doda. On March 20, 2000, thirty five Sikhs were killed at Chatisinghpora in Anantnag district. On August 1, that year, 31 people, including many Amarnath pilgrims were killed at Pahalgam.

Should India wait for the Islamic terrorists to snatch catastrophic weapons of mass destruction from rogue countries like Pakistan and North Korea to create hell in India? How long should India wait and watch the recrudescence of terrorist violence? Sometimes in a fit of rage, we talk of "*aar par ki ladai*". Should we seek permission from the US to make suitable laws aimed at providing secure life to its people? Should we continue to allow militants to create mayhem in Jammu and Kashmir? Rather, India should copy the US model in dealing with its enemy.

An impression is gaining ground around the globe that India is a weak country. The United States has unilaterally abrogated the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty with Russia, pressed ahead with the development of the national missile defence system and ignored the wide international consensus on the monitoring of the 1972 Biological weapons conventions. The US has also refused to accept the jurisdiction of the international criminal court and rejected the international protocol on climate change

(Kyoto Agreement). The Americans did all this in the best interests of the nation. What is it doing in Iraq today, it considers, it is doing so in national interest. And who has raised a finger?

The US is dictating India not to take pre-emptive action against Pakistan because of our neighbour's "export of terrorism" and its threat to use weapons of mass destruction. Washington has restrained India from punishing Pakistan for engineering cross-border terrorism. Is the Bush administration justified in launching full-scale war on Iraq on the mere pretext that it possesses weapons of mass destruction?

Why should India feel shy of enacting laws, which can empower the government to devise ways and means, so that all communities can live in perfect harmony? Article 370 has brought ruin to the people of Jammu and Kashmir. What is the point in retaining a temporary article? Circumstances have drastically changed over the years. What has autonomy given to the Kashmiris, who do not bother about it now. They laugh at it.

Late Kashmir leader Sheikh Abdullah had once likened the Valley to a garden, in which flowers of all hue could bloom. Even Chief Minister Mufti Mohammad Sayed has remarked recently that a garden, in which flowers of only one colour bloom, does not look beautiful.

Without touching upon Article 370, there can be a law, which can enable people of different ethnic groups to settle in the Valley, provided all political parties are above board and help in framing such a law. Besides Muslims and Hindus, other communities like the Buddhists, Christians, Sikhs, Jains and Parsis should be allowed to settle there, which can definitely lead to a congenial atmosphere. If demographic character is maintained properly, not only in the Valley but also elsewhere in the country, I am sanguine, there can hardly be any communal trouble.

Sheikh Abdullah had dreamed of making the Kashmir valley a model state and a real paradise, but his dream remained unfulfilled.

The same formula can be applied in the country's communally sensitive areas. If the people of different ethnicity are 'forced' to live together, communal peace can be surely maintained.

Army and paramilitary forces personnel should be settled near the borders when they retire, to ensure security in the area and check infiltration. In fact, it is for the Valley's Muslims to realize the past mistakes and seek abrogation of Article 370. They should themselves take the lead. If fifteen crore of Muslims can live in India peacefully, what is the problem with just fifty lakh Muslims residing in the Valley? Pakistan wants to marginalize those Kashmiri Muslims who want peace with India.

It is time for Indian leadership to shun away its idiotic policy of depending on foreign support on Kashmir. Why should we ask the US to declare Pakistan a terrorist country when India has granted our petulant neighbour the most-favoured nation status? Why should the US do it for India?

India should repudiate the Sindh Water treaty with Pakistan, if it does not honour the Shimla agreement. India is a formidable power and should not get scared of Pakistan. Militants recently chopped off noses of six persons, including that of a woman in Rajouri district. When Ravana's sister Shrupnakha was dishonoured similarly, the demon king Ravana did not tolerate it and kidnapped Sita, leading to war and consequent destruction of Lanka.

If the Centre continues to act in a lackadaisical manner, it might give rise to a revolution and anarchy. Had not Jayaprakash Narayan (JP) during emergency, told army jawans to look into their conscience first before firing a shot? That was the outcome of wrong policies.

17 Kashmiri Pandits and the healing touch

By B.M. Kohli

The ethnic cleaning of a particular community by the militants against started in Kashmir and other areas within four months of Mufti's assuming power. It clearly indicates that nothing is in his control and the reigns are being pulled only from the other side of the border. The only difference, of course, is that such acts are being participated less by the locals and more by the mercenaries. The trend began much earlier before election but the support of locals has not receded probably due to the danger of gun. There is no doubt now that this massacre of Nadimarg, killing fifty percent minority population of the area in one stretch, has derailed completely the process of re-habilitation of Kashmiri Pandits in Kashmir. The helpless and innocent Pandits, who chose to stay back in their home-land inspite of all odds, were killed after being paraded in rows in the heart of the village by the militants in Army uniform. This time the chief minister may not be in know how of the reduced strength of security to minority class in Nadimarg but the police officers cannot escape their responsibility, leaving doubts that such heinous crimes are being committed with their connivance in one way or the other by surrendering before the militants without resistance and handing over their arms to them to accomplish their job. As per Star news more than 600 policemen have been suspended for showing cowardice in the discharge of their duties but many of them have been re-instated after manipulated enquiries. But the that remains that Kashmiri Pandits now are more afraid to visit Kashmir, not to speak of resettling there. Such selected massacres of one community and failure of successive Governments to protect them has resulted into complete frustration and mistrust on the assurances made to them. As per a survey conducted in migrant camps and those who are living in their own accommodation, none is willing to return to Kashmir inspite of the difficulties they are facing in the camps and changed circumstances. Some of them were bold enough to say "We were not fools to leave our homes, land and every thing in Kashmir We have done it to save our lives. The Govt. has no control and can provide only lip service." The feeling of loosing their home land and their acquaintance always reminds them of miseries which they faced for no fault of theirs. The recent incidents at Sunder Bani and Mahore etc. are glaring examples and Police as well as the Govt never feel tired of repeating the same dialogue of healing touch that action shall be taken against the defaulters and the sufferers shall be granted ex-gratia relief". The militants earlier were seen moving around in the area by the inhabitants continuously for few days and then no action taken by the police or the administration until the militants accomplish their job of killing the innocent villagers, is another example to demonstrate the non seriousness of the authorities, whether Central or State, in such matters Either the resources available with our forces are not sufficient to cope with such emergencies or there is lack of co-ordination between them and the administration. An immediate action in Sunder Bani could have saved the lives of innocent victims, had the authorities taken it seriously. One is at a loss to understand how the concerned officers slept peacefully after the dreaded militants were seen roaming in the area when any body including they themselves whether revenue or policemen could be their victims. A leading national newspaper revealed that two Pakistanis have been found recruited in J&K police. Disbanding of SOG and some VDCs are again going to increase such incidents in future. The Central Govt. is continuously expressing its concern over such matters but initiative has to be taken by the State Govt. like that in UP by the Mayawati Govt. by arresting the anti-national students with out caring for the appeasement of any individual. The healing touch policy no doubt is impressive and required to bring the indirect sufferers to the main stream by making them to realize that the Govt. cares for them. A care has to be taken not to provide balm to the militant first and to the sufferers later. Already Pakistan is exploiting the youth in Kashmir and in other Muslim countries by luring them with money or all the comforts they are going to receive in heaven. The need of the hour is to educate them to get the most of it in the present world, where all of us are living with our kith and kin and should work for making it a peaceful world and rest is a bonus in case we get it, which no body has seen so far.

18 Chronology of Events

April 5, 2003 to May 4, 2003

Apr 5: Four jawans and two civilians were injured in a blast in Tral while five HM terrorists were arrested in Srinagar city. Three terrorists were killed in Doda district.

Apr 6: Eight terrorists including six infiltrators were killed and a mercenary apprehended by people in Rajouri district. Security forces gunned down a HUM terrorist in Aharbal area; terrorists killed a lady SPO at Lassipora, Pulwama and a civilian of Kharbatpora, Kulgam while a civilian injured in a blast in Tral earlier succumbed to his injuries. Two soldiers were injured in an encounter in Dhano-Kandimarg.

Apr 7: Security forces gunned down five terrorists in Poonch-Udhampur while two boys were killed in an IED blast at Bafiaz, Surankote. Three terrorists were killed while planting an IED in Shopian while three more terrorists were killed by security forces in Kashmir valley. A former terrorist turned cable operator was killed by terrorists in Srinagar city.

Apr 8: Security forces killed two terrorists in Pattan and a terrorist and a civilian were injured in a blast in Srinagar. Two civilians including a woman were killed and three others injured in different incidents in Poonch-Udhampur. Police recovered arms looted from Ind Police Station and a terrorist surrendered in Ramban area.

Apr 9: Four terrorists were killed and a jawan and a civilian were injured in Rajouri and Doda districts. A JUM terrorist, a PDP activist and a former terrorist were killed in Kashmir valley.

Apr 10: Forces busted a terrorist hideout in Khanetar forests in Poonch and recovered arms while five VDC members were robbed of their weapons in Pouni, Reasi. Police produced a LeT Commander Zia Mustafa before media persons and described him master mind of Nadimarg massacre.

Apr 11: Security forces gunned down five terrorists while terrorists kidnapped and latter slaughtered a cop of J&K Auxilary in Kashmir valley. Army killed two infiltrators in Mendhar sector while three civilians were injured in a blast in Surankote.

Apr 12: An HM Commdr was killed in Pulwama while a physician was killed and 45 others injured in different blasts triggered by terrorists in South Kashmir. A terrorist was killed in Kalakote, Rajouri while terrorists again attacked PS Ind.

Apr 13: Terrorists gunned down a woman and injured her husband at Kasalbari, Mendhar, injured a CRPF jawan at Faisalabad, Surankote and kidnapped an SPO in Darhal, Rajouri.

Apr 14: An LeT terrorist was killed in Banihal and five more terrorists were killed in Poonch district; terrorists attacked residence of MP Jammu in Rajouri. Three people were injured in a blast outside Nishat garden while four more people were injured in yet another blast in civil-lines Srinagar; a soldier died in an encounter in Lolab valley.

Apr 15: Terrorists gunned down a Congress-I leader at Topa, Mendhar while an HM terrorist was killed in Gandoh, Doda. A terrorist was killed in Kokernag area. An army havaldar and a woman were killed and two others injured in Pak shelling in Nowshera sector.

Apr 16: Forces gunned down two terrorists in Kokernag area; terrorists gunned down a civilian at Hassanwani, Pulwama and a constable injured earlier succumbed to his injuries. A youth was detained under PSA in Rajouri and a jawan was killed in as mine explosion in Ramgarh sector.

Apr 17: A policeman was killed and 25 people including 13 civilians injured in terrorism related incidents in Kashmir valley. Terrorists again attacked Police Post Ind killing an IRP jawan and injuring one another; a terrorist was killed in Thannamandi, Rajouri and an SPO was injured in Gandoh Doda.

Apr 18: Four terrorists and a Delhi fruit merchant were killed in Kashmir valley. Two terrorists, a police cop and a civilian were killed and ears, nose, tongue of a civilian chopped off in Jammu division.

Apr 19: Security forces gunned down five terrorists while terrorists killed a civilian in Kashmir valley. Six terrorists surrendered in Gandoh, Doda.

Apr 20: 11 terrorists, including nine infiltrators and an SPO were killed in Poonch-Rajouri. Three terrorists, reportedly involved in Nadimarg massacre were killed at Yaripora, Kulgam.

Apr 21: Terrorists gunned down a forest guard in Gool, Udampur. Of the nine infiltrators killed in Poonch, one happened to be a PHE employee. BSF arrested two groups of HM and Al-Jehad terrorists and recovered arms and ammunition from them in Srinagar city.

Apr 22: 14 top terrorists and a jawan were killed in an encounter in Hill Kaka, Surankote. Six civilians were killed and 12 others injured in a blast in Tral while nine BSF jawans were injured in yet another blast in Lower Munda, Qazigund. A terrorist was killed in Briangam while a CRPF jawan was killed and another injured as terrorists attacked escort of SDPO Shopian.

Apr 23: Death toll in Hill Kaka, Surankote encounter rose to 18 with killing of four more terrorists. Two former militants engaged as SPOs were disengaged for alleged rape in Surankote area. Terrorists gunned down two Hindus in captivity in Gandoh, Doda. An exfiltrator was killed while two others managed to cross over to Pok in Poonch sector. Three terrorists and a jawan were killed in Kashmir valley.

Apr 24: A cop was killed and three others injured in an IED blasts in Tral. A boy was killed and another injured in blast in Rajdhani School in Thannamandi and two jawans were injured in an explosion in Ramban. Three terrorists were killed in Poonch.

Apr 25: An Army Major, four soldiers, two PDP activists were among 16 killed and 38 others injured in Kashmir valley. Four terrorists and three jawans were killed in Jammu region.

Apr 26: Three terrorists and two paramilitary personnel were killed in a *fidayeen* attack on Radio Kashmir; terrorists killed five soldiers in Kupwara and made an abortive attempt to kill finance minister Muzaffar Beig in an IED blast in which 14 civilians were injured. Four terrorists were killed in Handwara and Kokernag. Security forces recovered huge cache of arms including solar rockets in Poonch-Rajouri and rescued two kidnapped boys in Doda.

Apr 27: Security forces killed four HM militants in Zainageer, Sopore. A mother-son duo were found dead in Digwar Madana, Poonch while two kidnapped boys were rescued from terrorists in Pangi, Thannamandi.

Apr 28: Eight terrorist and an Army jawan were killed in different operations in Doda and Poonch. A terrorist and a civilian were killed in Kulgam.

Apr 29: 20 people-13 terrorists, six jawans and a civilian-were killed in Bharat, Doda. A terrorist of HM surrendered in Poonch. Two *fidayeen* were killed as they tried to sneak into any Army camp in Kupwara; terrorists also caused two IED blasts in Pulwama district.

Apr 30: Five terrorists and four civilians were killed in Kashmir valley. Terrorists attacked NC activists returning after attending Omar's rally at Surankote killing an NC Sarpanch and injuring four others. Terrorists also blasted a Telephone Exchange in Darhal Rajouri and injured five children at Kala Wachi, Kishtwar with an explosion.

May 1: A *fidayeen* was killed in Tral while a youth was killed by forces at Nowgam, in outskirts of Srinagar. Forces described the youth as "militant" while people protested saying the youth was innocent.

May 2: Army eliminated two LeT terrorists at Kalali Morha, Surankote.

May 3: Security forces killed a terrorist in Handwara while 15 civilians were injured in a grenade explosion at Anantnag.

May 4: Four terrorists and a civilian were killed in Kashmir valley. Four terrorists were killed in Rajouri and a cop was injured in Banihal.

19 Those Who Left Us

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

1. Dr. Kashi Nath R/o Kramdigam Anantnag; presently at 112, Jadi Phase-II Community Hall Nagrota Migrant Camp. 1/3/2003
2. Smt. Gonavati W/o Sh. Mahadev Bhat R/o Devar, Tral Kmr; presently at H.No: 44/45 Lane No: 2, Gole Pully Shyam Vihar Talab Tillo, Jammu. 1/3/2003
4. Sh. Jawahar Lal Raina S/o Sh. Sarwarand Raina, R/o Machipora Handwara; presently at Muthi Camp/Police Line Gandhi Nagar, Jammu. 1/3/2003
5. Sh. Bhushan Lal Kaul S/o Late Sh. Kashi Nath Koul, R/o 271-Jawahar Nagar, Sgr; presently at B-438, Sector No: 51, Kendriya Vihar Noida (UP). 2/3/2003
6. Smt. Gunawati W/o Late Sarwanand Raina, R/o Vill. Deri Distt. Pulwama Kmr; presently at H.No: 1604, Phase-5, Mohali Chandigarh. 2/3/2003
7. Sh. Jaggar Nath Bhat S/o Late Sona Kak Bhat, R/o Bagdagi Rainawari; presently at Fire Station Canal Road, Jammu. 3/3/2003
8. Sh. Hari Krishan Zutshi S/o Lt. Pt. Nand Lal Zutshi, R/o Chalpan Kocha Bohri Kadal, Sgr; presently at Jorhat (Assam). 3/3/2003
9. Sh. Krishen Dass Mahnoori S/o Lt. Pt. Ganesh Dass, R/o Mahnoor Chodura Kmr; presently at House No: 9, Sector 6, Trikuta Nagar, Jammu. 4/3/2003
10. Sh. Ramesh Kumar Mattoo S/o Sh. G.L. Mattoo R/o 683 B/A Block Gandhi Nagar, Jammu. 4/3/2003
11. Sh. Triloki Nath Bhat S/o Late Sh. Sudershan Bhat, R/o Bhagwanpora Sgr; presently at H.No: 332, Sector-2, Durga Nagar, Jammu. 5/3/2003
12. Sh. Badri Nath Bhan R/o 77, Jawahar Nagar, Sgr; presently at 50-A, Sector-13, Lane No: 1 Nanak Nagar Jammu. 5/3/2003
13. Smt. Vijay Lakshimi Dhar W/o Sh. Bhupendra Nath Dhar, R/o 384-A, Gandhi Nagar, Jammu. 7/3/2003
14. Sh. Kashi Nath Razdan S/o Late Sh. Anand Joo Razdan, R/o Kharyar, Habba Kadal; presently at H.No: 9, Vinayak Vihar, Mohalla Khazuria Paloura. 7/3/2003
15. Smt. Shobawati W/o Lt. Shredar Bhat, R/o Lalpora Lolab Kupwara; presently at Qtr. No: 166, Phase-Ist Mig Camp Purkhoo. 7/3/2003
16. Sh. Arzan Nath Wali R/o 48-B-Indira Nagar Sgr; presently at near Peer Baba Satwari Jammu Cantt. 8/3/2003
17. Sh. Dina Nath S/o Lt. Rajav Ram Raina, R/o Mahind Bijbehara Kmr; presently at Qtr. No: 8, Sailan Talab Udhampur. 8/3/2003
18. Sh. ON Koul S/o Late Sh. Gopi Nath Koul, R/o Bul-Bul Lankar Ali Kadal Sgr; presently at H.No: 47, Ambedkar Nagar Old Janipur Jammu. 8/3/2003
19. Sh. Jawahar Lal Koul S/o Lt. Nila Kanth Koul, R/o Sholipora, Badgam; presently at Hydrabab. 9/3/2003
20. Sh. Jagar Nath Dhar S/o Lt. Sh. Amar Chand Dhar R/o 906, Subash Nagar Jammu. 10/3/2003
21. Smt. Tarawati W/o Lt. Darshan Koul, R/o Brariangan Anantnag; presently at Hotel Sushila in B.R. Shopping Complex Gole Market Udhampur. 10/3/2003
22. Smt. Sarojni Bhat W/o Sh. Shadi Lal Bhat, R/o Kalusa Bandipora; presently at D-23, Paryavaran Complex Saket. IGNOU Road New Delhi. 10/3/2003

23. Sh. Mahishwar Ntah Bhat S/o Lt. Shiv Jee Bhat, R/o Khrew Pulwama, Kmr; presently at 170 Rehari Colony Jammu. 10/3/2003
24. Sh. Bushan Lal Koul S/o Lt. Sh. Kanth Koul, R/o A-11, Bharat Nagar, Talab Tillo Jammu. 11/3/2003
25. Sh. S.N. Pandita S/o Late Pt. Nilakanth Koul R/o 4/R, Trilokpur Road Gole Gujral Jammu/42/AIIMS Apartments, Mayur Kunj, Vasundra Enclave New Delhi. 11/3/2003
26. Sh. Ved Lal Koul S/o Late Prasad Koul, R/o Lookbown Anantnag; presently at Qtr. No: 251 Phase 3rd Block U Purkhoo Camp Jammu. 11/3/2003
27. Sh. Janki Nath Koul S/o Lt. Sh. Jia Lal Koul, R/o Hanjura Teh. Chadoora; presently at H.No: 152-A, Sector-3 Durga Nagar Jammu. 12/3/2003
28. Sh. Kishen Ji Sharma S/o Late Pt. Madhusudan Shastri, R/o Kharyar Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at 57-A, Type-II AG's Colony Shakti Nagar, Jammu. 12/3/2003
29. Smt. Tulsi Razdan W/o Lt. Sh. Ram Chand Razdan R/o Malyar Nai-Sarak Sgr; presently at H.No: 378 Subash Nagar Jammu. 12/3/2003
30. Sh. R.K. Matoo, R/o Chinkral Mohalla Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at 234-C, LIG Flats East of Loni Road Delhi. 13/3/2003
31. Smt. Sooma Wati W/o Sh. R.N. Malla, R/o Babapora Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at H.No: 80/2 Roop Nagar Enclave-A Jammu. 13/3/2003
32. Smt. Lachhkuji W/o Raghunath Malla. 13/3/2003
33. Smt. Sona Kumari W/o Sh. Soom Nath Pandita, R/o Mattan Anantnag, Kmr; presently at Near Soap Factory Paloura Jammu. 14/3/2003
34. Sh. Hirday Nath Pandita S/o Lt. Sh. Nand Lal Pandita, R/o Chandpora, Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at 11RH-18 HIG Duplex, Rajinder Nagar Sector-2, Sahibabad UP. 14/3/2003
35. Sh. Shamboo Nath Raina S/o Sh Aftab Ram Raina, R/o Goshbug Pattan Baramulla, Kmr; presently at Flat No: 27, Delux App. D-5, Vasundra Enclave Delhi. 14/3/2003
36. Sh. Prem Nath Raina S/o Late Pt. Bhagwan Dass Raina, R/o Levedora, Qazigund, Anantnag; presently at H.No: 12, Sector-2, EWS Colony Roop Nagar Jammu. 16/3/2003
37. Mrs. Suneeta Koul W/o Sh. Salil Koul R/o Gurgaon, Jammu. 16/3/2003
38. Smt. Chuni Pandita W/o Sh. Gopi Nath Pandita, R/o New Colony Sopore; presently at 569, Pocket-2 Sector-19, Dwarika New Delhi. 16/3/2003
39. Smt. Kamlawati Pandita W/o Lt. Sh. Rugh Nath Pandita, R/o Khayar Anantnag; presently at 209/4, Channi Himmat Jammu. 17/3/2003
40. Sh. Bansi Lal Razdan R/o 6-Bhawani Nagra Gole Pully, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 18/3/2003
41. Sh. Devki Nandan Durani S/o Late Sh. Brij Lal Durani R/o Sathu Bar-Bar Shah Sgr; presently at 6/104, Sector-2 Rajinder Nagar, Sahibabad UP. 18/3/2003
42. Sh. Chuni Lal Khosa S/o Sh. S.N Khosa, R/o D-331, Shiv Nagar Near Women's Polytechnic Jammu. 19/3/2003
43. Sh. Jawahar Lal Kotha S/o Late Sh. Bola Nath Kotha, R/o Bagh Jogi Lankar Rainawari Sgr; presently at H.No: 170/2, Pamposh Colony Janipur Jammu. 20/3/2003
44. Sh. Dina Nath Tickoo S/o Lt. Pt. Ragav Ram Tickoo, R/o Batapora Kulgam Kmr; presently at H.No: 34, Lane No: 5, Kothia Netar Lower Barnai Jammu. 20/3/2003
45. Smt. Janak Rani Kak W/o Late Sh. Janki Nath Kak, R/o Narpirastan Sgr; presently at 467 Sector-17, Faridabad. 22/3/2003
46. Sh. Radha Krishan Koul, R/o Raj Ghat Baramulla; presently at G-136 Sector-2 Durga Nagar P.O. Roop Nagar Jammu. 22/3/2003

47. Sh. D.K. Razdan R/o Razdan Lane Bana Mohalla Sgr; presently at 68-Apartment, Seschachal Colony, Warradpally West Secunderabad AP. 23/3/2003
48. Smt. Soomawati Vaishnavi W/o Lt. Sh. Gopi Nath Vaishnavi R/o Bagi Sunderbala Chattabal Sgr; presently at Qtr. No: 534 Sector-9, R.K. Puram Delhi. 23/3/2003
49. Sh. Bushan Lal Koul S/o Late Pt. Bishambar Nath Koul, R/o Bulbul Lanka Ali Kadal Sgr; presently at Gawalior. 23/3/2003
50. Smt. Shyam Rani Bhat W/o Sh. Shyam Lal Bhat R/o Ladhoo Batapora, Kmr; presently at near Raina's School Mandlik Nagar, B.S.F. Quarters, Paloura, Jammu. 25/3/2003
51. Sh. Badri Nath Kuchroo R/o Dewan Bagh Baramulla Kmr; presently at 53, Patoli Mangotrian Jammu. 26/3/2003
52. Sh. Nath Ji Raina S/o Late Sh. Thakur Raina, R/o Gotanga Kupwara; presently at Qtr. No: 131, Phase-Ist Purkhoo Camp Jammu. 28/3/2003
53. Sh. Narayan Joo Wali S/o Sh. Rishi Ram Wali, R/o Brah (Ranipora) Anantnag; presently at Battal Ballian Camp, Udampur. 28/3/2003
54. Sh. Makhan Lal Bhat S/o Late Sh. Anand Ram Bhat, R/o Drangbal Pampore Kmr; presently at H.No: 52 Tophsherkhania Jammu. 29/3/2003
55. Smt. Raj Rani Bhat W/o Lt. Sh. Mahishwar Nath Bhat, R/o Rohmoo Pulwama at H.No: 61, Aman Vihar Gobind Nagar Gole Gujral Jammu. 31/3/2003
56. Smt. Sheela Trisal W/o Sh. Shuban Lal Trisal, R/o Trichal Pulwama; presently at 103 GH-12, Paschim Vihar Delhi. 31/3/2003
57. Smt. Dhanwati Mattoo W/o Sh. Niranjana Nath Mattoo R/o Waskura Ganderbal Kmr; presently at Dhayansar Bari Brahmana aJammu. 31/3/2003
58. Sh. Shamboo Nath Koul S/o Lt. Arjan Nath Koul R/o Badshah Nagar Natipora Sgr; presently at H.No: 22, Sector-1A, Parwanoo (HP). 31/3/2003
59. Smt. Roopawati W/o Lt. Shamboo Nath Koul R/o Badshah Nagar Natipora Sgr; presently at H.No: 22, Sector-1A, Parwanoo (HP). 31/3/2003
60. Sh. Pushkar Nath Sharma S/o Late Sh. Gash Lal Sharma, R/o Kulgam Kmr; presently at H.No: 117, L.No: 4, Anand Nagar Bohri, Jammu. 1/4/2003
61. Sh. Niranjana Nath Kaul S/o Sh Prasad Koul. 1/4/2003
62. Sh. Shayam Lal Bhat S/o Late Swami Ved Lal Bhat, R/o Village Gund Gushi Kupwara Kmr; presently at Rewari Haryana. 2/4/2003
63. Smt. Laxmishoree Koul W/o Late Sh. Kashi Nath Koul, R/o Narpiristan Fateh Kadal Sgr; presently at E-19/66 Sector-3, Rohini, New Delhi. 3/4/2003
64. Sh. Hari Krishan Ganjoo S/o Late Sh. Srikanth Ganjoo, R/o Sathu Barbar Shah Sgr. 4/4/2003
65. Sh. Vishnath Dhar S/o Late Prasad Dhar, R/o Hugam Anantnag; presently at 1/107 Vikas Nagar Sarwal Jammu. 4/4/2003. 4/4/2003
66. Smt. Shyam Rani W/o Lt. Pitambar Nath Mawa R/o Chalpan Kocha Bohri Kadal, Sgr; presently at 2/127 Shant Nagar Old Janipur Jammu. 5/4/2003
67. Smt. Shanta Dhar W/o Lt. Sarwanand Dhar R/o Tulmulla Kmr; presently at Deena Nagar Barnaie, Jammu. 6/4/2003
68. Dr. Bal Kishen Razdan S/o Late Sh. Bishambar Nath Razdan, R/o Shaliyar Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at 15 Peel Place, The Avenue Liford, Essex IG50-PS, England. 7/4/2003
69. Smt. Durga Wanchoo W/o Sh. P.N. Wanchoo, R/o 74, Samrat Apts. Vasundra Enclave Delhi. 7/4/2003

70. Sh. Vijay Kumar Drabu S/o Late Pt. Gopi Nath Drabu R/o Dabiyar Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at 2/19, Pamposh Colony, Janipur. 8/4/2003
71. Smt. Veena Raina W/o Sh. R.L. Raina, R/o Alikadal Sgr; present at Flat No: 44 Sector No: 7, Rashi Apts. Dawarka Delhi. 8/4/2003
72. Romesh Koul S/o Lt. Sh Raju Nath Koul R/o Sathu Naqashpora Sgr; presently at H.No: 3, Sector-4, Pandoka Colony Patoli Jammu. 9/4/2003
77. Sh. Janki Nath Koul S/o Lt. Raghu Ram Koul, R/o Trishal Pulwama Kmr; presently at H.No: 385 Sector-2 Gangyal Jammu. 9/4/2003
78. Smt. Koushalya Devi W/o Lt. Sh. Gulab Ram Mantoo, R/o Sangrampora Sopore Kmr; presently at 21/3-C Om Nagar Udhaywala Bohri Jammu. 9/4/2003
79. Sh. Shamboo Nath Pandita S/o Sh. Anand Joo Pandita, R/o Purshiyar Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at 226 Old Janipur, Jammu. 10/4/2003
80. Sh. Prem Nath Tak S/o Sh. Narayan Joo Tak, R/o Qaziyar Zainakadal Sgr; presently at 150-151, G-1, Sector-16, Rohini Delhi. 10/4/2003
81. Sh. Jawahar Lal Pandita S/o Sh. Lt. D.N. Pandita, R/o Dalhasanyar R.N. Mandir Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at H.No: 156-F, Door Darshan Lane No: 2, Tali Morh Old Janipur, Jammu. 10/4/2003
82. Smt. Ichawati W/o Sh. Late Jotishi Tika Lal Dutta R/o Upper Sathoo Barbar Shah Sgr; presently at Qtr No: 303 P Block Toph Sharkhanian Subash Nagar Jammu. 10/4/2003
83. Smt. Kishni Bhat W/o Sh. Hirday Nath Bhat R/o Danow Bogund Kulgam Kmr; presently at Lower Muthi Opposite Poultry Farm Jammu. 11/4/2003
84. Smt. Chuni Devi W/o Lt. A.N. Raina, R/o 135/4, SBI Lane Pamposh Colony Janipur Jammu. 12/4/2003
85. Sh. Soom Nath Kabu S/o Lt. Sh. Arzan Nath Kabu R/o Lal Nagar Chanpora Sgr; presently at H.No: 3 Lane No: 2A, Adarsh Nagar Bantalab Jammu. 12/4/2003
86. Sh. Mohan Lal Saraf S/o Late Pt. Shri Kanth Saraf R/o Karan Nagar Sgr; presently at H.No: 329 Sector-3 Extension Trikuta Nagar, Jammu. 12/4/2003
87. Sh. Amar Nath Sapru R/o Safriyar Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at H.No: 50 Vishnoo Enclave Opp. Gate No: 2 Govindpuram Gaziabad UP. 12/4/2003
88. Mrs. Saroj Kaul W/o Shri Avtar Krishan Koul R/o Bagh, Jogi Lankar Rainawari; presently at 16, Cassia Marg, DLF City 11 Gurgaon Haryana. 12/4/2003
89. Sh. Shyam Lal Raina S/o Amar Nath Razdan R/o Maharaj Ganj Sgr; presently at 1/134, Indira Vihar, Old Janipur Jammu. 13/4/2003
90. Smt. Kamla Pajnoo W/o Lt. Sh. H.N. Pajnoo R/o H.No: 55, Shalimar Garden Hazuri Bagh Lane No: 5 Bohri Talab Tillo. 14/4/2003
91. Smt. Pushkuji W/o Lt. Sh. Nanak Chand Bhat, R/o Khrew Kmr; presently at 50-D Pocket-F Dilshad Garden Delhi. 14/4/2003
92. Sh. Raj Nath Dhar R/o Hugam; presently at Gaziabad. 15/4/2003
93. Smt. Uma Shori W/o Sh. Rattan Lal Bhat R/o Hardu Tusu Anantnag; presently at Lala-de-Bagh Opp. K.V. 16/4/2003
94. Smt. Arundati Kuchroo W/o Lt. Arzan Nath Kuchroo, R/o Raj Ghat, Baramulla; presently at A-3, Police Housing Colony Channi Himmat Jammu. 16/4/2003

95. Sh. Mohan Lal Dhar S/o Sh. Gwashlal Dhar, R/o Budhgair Ali Kadal Sgr; presently at H.No: 20, Lane No: 2, Roop Nagar Enclave Jammu. 17/4/2003

96. Smt. Nancy Bambroo W/o Sh. Inder Krishan Bambroo, R/o Akoora Distt. Anantnag; presently at Qtr. No: 2, Block-1 PWD Staff, Qtrs. Exchange Road, Jammu. 17/4/2003
97. Sh. Moti Lal Kak S/o Sh. Late Prem Nath Kak R/o Bagdaj Rainawari Sgr; presently at F0765/A Rehari. 17/4/2003
98. Sh. Moti Lal Ganjoo S/o Late Krishna Joo Ganjoo R/o Bagh Jogi Lankar Rainawari; presently at H.No: 6, Lane No: 1, Upper Laxmi Nagar Sarwal Jammu. 17/4/2003
99. Pt. Prem Nath Dhar R/o Shalayar Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at 38-A, Small plots Gandhi Nagar Jammu. 18/4/2003
100. Sh. Shamboo Nath Raina R/o Peth Bugh Dialagam Anantnag; presently at H.No: 56, Lane No: 2, Adarsh Nagar Bantalab Jammu. 18/4/2003
101. Sh. Nand Lal Kaw S/o Pt. Shyam Lal Kaw R/o Bagh, Jogi Lankar Rainawari Sgr; presently at 165/A, Indira Colony Excelsior Lane Janipur Jammu. 18/4/2003.
102. Sh. Lassa Kaul S/o Late Sh. Neil Kant R/o Kral Khud Habba Kadal; presently at Qtr. No: 480, Phase-Ist Muthi Camp Jammu. 18/4/2003
103. Smt. Tarawati W/o Late Sh. Tara Chand Pandita, R/o Paryavaran Complex Saket Delhi. 18/4/2003
104. Smt. Jai Kishori Raina W/o Lt. Dina Nath Raina, R/o Wussan Ganderbal; presently at Sharda Colony Patoli Brahmna Jammu. 18/4/2003
105. Sh. Lass Lal Raina S/o Lt. Sh. Sridar Joo Raina, R/o Vill. Avil Kulgam; presently at 228/Ext. Housing Colony Jammu. 19/4/2003
106. Sh. Niranjana Nath Tickoo R/o Hugam Anantnag; presently at 207, Elephanta Heights Sector No: 10/41 Dwarika New Delhi. 20/4/2003
107. Sh. Prem Nath Thaploo, R/o Heera Mohalla Anantnag; presently at B-20 Harmukh Apts. Sector Alpha-1 Greater Noida. 21/4/2003
108. Sh. Niranjana Nath Tickoo S/o Sh. Shridar Tickoo, R/o Hugam Anantnag; presently at 207, Elephanta Heights Sector-10, Plot No: 41, Phase-1, Dwarika New Delhi. 21/4/2003
109. Sh. Jagar Nath Dhar S/o Lt. Sh Ram Joo Dhar R/o Bagh Jogi Lankar Rainawari; presently at H.No: 567, Near Post Office, Subash Nagar Jammu. 22/4/2003
110. Smt. Sati Jigri W/o Sh. N.N. Pandita, R/o Anantnag; presently at 159 A/M Shalimar Bagh Delhi. 22/4/2003
111. Sh. Kanya Lal Mantoo, R/o Sangrampora Sopore Kmr; presently at H.No: 10, Lane No: 12, Hazuri Bagh Bohri Jammu. 22/4/2003
112. Sh. Durga Nath Bhat, R/o Newa Pulwama; presently at H.No: 65, Sector-1, JAA, Colony Bantalab Jammu. 23/4/2003
113. Smt. Shanta Koul W/o Lt. Mohan Lal Koul, R/o Babapora Habba Kadal, Sgr; presently at Qtr. No: 10, Irrigation Colony Akhnoor. 24/4/2003
114. Sh. Kashi Nath Pandit S/o Lt. Shankar Pandit, R/o Village Krangsoo, Anantnag; presently at H.No: 212 Vinayak Nagar Sector-I, Muthi Jammu. 24/4/2003
115. Sh. Prem Nath Bhat S/o Sona Bhat R/o Sirhama; presently at Buta Nagar Lane No: 6, Near Police Station Post Muthi Morh, Jammu. 25/4/2003
116. Sh. Chuni Lal Mattoo S/o Lt. Sh. Bagwan Dass Mattoo, R/o Jawahar Nagar, Sgr; presently at B-18, 4rd Floor East Uttam Nagar New Delhi. 25/4/2003
117. Smt. Shobawati Koul W/o Lt. Sh. Vishambar Nath Kaul, R/o Lagripora Anantnag; presently at H.No: 118, Lane No: 10, Laxmi Nagra Muthi Jammu. 25/4/2003
118. Smt. Soom Rani Wakhloo W/o Sh. S.N. Wakhlu R/o Bana Mohalla Narsingh Pora Sgr; presently at 2/1A, Trikuta Nagar East Extension Jammu. 25/4/2003

119. Sh. Ved Lal Koul S/o Late Govind Koul R/o Noorpora Tral Kmr; presently at Chinore Jammu. 25/4/2003
120. Pran Nath Koul S/o Sh. Meheswar Nath Koul, R/o Broadway Sgr; presently at JK Colony Paloura. 25/4/2003
121. Sh. D.N. Watal, R/o 10 Wazir Bagh Sgr; presently at Banglow No: 9, NCL Cooperative Housing Society Panchwati Pashan Pune. 25/4/2003
122. Sh. Soom Nath Bhat S/o Lt. Anand Bhat, R/o Ali Kadal Sgr; presently at Vinayak Vihar Paloura. 25/4/2003
123. Smt. Gunwati W/o Late Sh. Lambordar Bhat, R/o Broadway Sgr; presently at Noida. 24/5/2003
124. Smt. Arandati Koul W/o Lt. Gopi Nath Koul, R/o Zainapora Shopian; presently at H.No: 415 Sector-2nd, Vinayak Nagar Muthi. 26/4/2003
125. Sh. J.N. Tickoo, R/o Peeth Kanihama Magam; presently at 158/2 E.W.S. Colony Roop Nagar Jammu. 26/4/2003
126. Smt. Shobawati Raina W/o Lt. Tika Lal Raina, R/o Purshayar Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at D-11, Doordarshan Staff Qtrs Bagwan Mahvir Marg Jalandhar Punjab. 26/4/2003
127. Sh. Girdhari Lal Raina, R/o Nai Sarak Sgr; presently at H.No: 259 Block-D, Lane No: 10, Laxmi Nagar Delhi. 26/4/2003
128. Sh. Manohar Nath Tickoo S/o Lt. Sh. Ram Chand Tickoo, R/o Drabiya Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at 214P, Sector-1, Ext. Trikuta Nagar Jammu. 26/4/2003
129. Sh. Kashi Nath Koul, R/o Bagadaji Rainawari Sgr; presently at H.No: 30A, Neelam Colony Top Morh Patoli Jammu. 27/4/2003
130. Sh. Manohar Nath Tickoo S/o Lt. Ram Chand Tickoo, R/o H.No: 214 P Mandir Lane, Near Tubewell Sector-I, Ext. Trikuta Nagar Jammu. 27/4/2003
131. Sh. Rattan Lal Tiku S/o Lt. Sh. Dina Nath Tiku, R/o Kanikadal Sgr; presently at 78-A, Shastri Nagar, Jammu. 27/4/2003
132. Sh. Prithvi Nath Muthoo S/o Late Sh. Prakash Joo Muthoo, R/o Malik Angan, Fateh Kadal Sgr; presently at Shiva Enclave Lane No: 3 Roop Nagar Jammu. 27/4/2003
133. Sh. Radha Krishan Gareeb S/o Late Sh. Sarvanand Gareeb R/o Sopore Kmr; presently at H.No: 76, Lane No:2, Anand Nagar Bohri Jammu. 27/4/2003
134. Sh. Amar Nath Koul S/o Late Sh. Shudar Koul, R/o House No: 7, Sharda Lane Luxmi Puram Chinore Jammu. 28/4/2003
135. Sh. Arzan Nath Zutshi S/o Pandit Narayan Joo, R/o Shalyar Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at Sector-F, H.No: 123 Sainik Colony Jammu. 28/4/2003
136. Smt. Rajni Dhar W/o Sh. Vijay Dhar R/o 64-Amar Palli Appts. Patparganj Near Depot Delhi. 29/4/2003
137. Sh. Gwash Lal Raina, R/o Kathwar Budgam; presently at Vill. Kalyanpora Jehri. 29/4/2003
138. Smt. Jaya Koul W/o Sh. Nand Lal Koul R/o Budgam Kulgam Kmr; presently at 471-A, Sector-2, Vinayak Nagar Muthi. 30/4/2003
139. Smt. Shanta Pyaree R/o Siligam Phalgam; presently at H.No: 696, Sector-3, Muthi, Vinayak Nagar, Jammu. 30/4/2003
- Sh. M.K. Dhar S/o Sh. Kashi Nath Dhar, R/o 361 Jawahar Nagar Sgr; presently at Basant Nagar Janipur F.No:427, Sector-17 Block-E, Vasundara Gaziabad UP. 30/4/2003 END

20 Letter

‘Official Apathy’

Dear Editor,

I desire to make it clear that the root cause of most of our misfortunes, which if not corrected, forebodes serious disorders in the future, is the growth of an unsympathetic and illiberal spirit in the bureaucracy towards the age old downcast people. The bureaucracy with its vested interests, its dominating habits, its old traditions of absolute and unquestionable authority and averse to innovation like very close corporation, cut off from the people by its racial exclusiveness is antagonistic to the age old persons. The present bureaucracy as a body has never been in sympathy with the aspirations of Kashmiri Hindu age old migrants.

The main aim of bureaucracy is the preservation of the class privileges and the vested interests of pampered groups.

The classical example of such bureaucracy is that more than 10 months passed that under his letter no: Admn 1/Audit/155(48) 2002-2003/694 dated 27/6/2002, the Accountant General (Audit), Jammu and Kashmir, Srinagar, forwarded my case to the Comptroller and Auditor General of India, New Delhi for seeking his advice and approval as to how my pension could be regulated on 1/4/1986 (i.e. the date when my pension was fixed and authorised in the pre-1986 pay scale), when my personal pension also stands stopped; but till date the Comptroller and Auditor General of India, New Delhi did not take any action in the matter, though 17 reminders were issued to him from A.G. J&K, Srinagar, Bank of India, Satara and myself.

This is the height of bureaucracy. May God save us from such bureaucracy!

--Man Mohan Nath Ambardar)

'Rachana', Sadar Bazar,
Satara 415 001

Kashmir Sentinel

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