

# **Kashmir Sentinel**

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## 1 EDITORIAL

# Ministry for Rehabilitation

During his interaction with Hurriyat leaders recently, the Union Home Minister focussed on the homeless Displaced Kashmiris and the inhuman conditions they live in. Politely but eloquently he told them that for any dialogue on Kashmir to move forward the Pandit question needs to be addressed with all sincerity. This concern displayed by Mr LK Advani has won for him the appreciation of the people languishing in exile for the last fourteen years.

The Union Home Minister also asked the Hurriyat leaders whether their claim as representatives of all sections of people and the pursuit of communal ghettoised politics were mutually reconcilable. Kashmiri Muslim alienation and the rise of separatist sentiment are the fall out of pursuit of 'Muslim identity' politics by the Valley's political leadership over the years. If this were untrue one may well ask people in which other state of India people have risen in arms to wage war against the state on the issue of unemployment/rigged elections and pushed out the entire religious minority through a process of religious cleansing.

A paradigm shift from omissions/commissions of Government of India to communal basis of Kashmir politics as a genesis of the rise of separatism in Kashmir holds the potentiality of tackling Kashmir on the long term basis. A Kashmiri infatuated by Muslim identity politics would always be uncomfortable with secular India as well as Kashmir's secularist presence i.e., Kashmiri Pandits. The Valley's mainstream political leadership instead of contesting the communal and separatist politics competes for this agenda. Sharpening the genocidal attrition against displaced Kashmiris has been linked to reaping of political dividends. The role of Kashmiri's political leadership on the issue of genocidal discrimination against the displaced employees, the administrative cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus from the state services, large scale grab of Pandits' property and shrines and its policy on return with an inbuilt potential for massacres has been condemned universally.

Over the years the elements owing allegiance to Jammāt-i-Islami and other communal separatist groups have come to dominate the state administration at all levels. They torpedo all those proposals which could lessen the pain of genocide. The Valley's ruling party also patronises them to project itself as better defender of Muslims and separatists. There are also allegations that there has been misuse of vast funds for the displaced Kashmiris. The state government's recurrent blackmail on return has only lead to massacres. In comparison to this the central government's role vis-a-vis displaced people has remained far better. It has managed the problems of Central government employees in a better way. On the issue of relief in income tax or reservation of seats in professional colleges and appointment of teachers in Delhi administration, the Central government has played a positive role. In fact the state government has only created problems even in these areas.

The tagging of displaced Kashmiris to a hostile state administration which even does not foot the bill for a section of its own employees and cash relief to its own people, is not only morally wrong but disastrous for the hapless refugees. It is in this context the demand of Kashmiri Pandit groups for creating a Ministry of Rehabilitation at the centre needs to be viewed with urgency. In fact such a demand was made way back but put in cold storage.

The direct supervision of the Central government will bring the displaced peoples' problems in better focus and lead to their speedy resolution. Handling of return issue by the Central government will also release the rehabilitation problem from the petty political expediencies of the state government. This will create a tremendous goodwill and confidence of displaced Kashmiri in the Indian state, an essential prerequisite for ultimate return of Kashmiri Hindus to the Valley. This measure can also create compulsions for the Valley ruling political leadership to secularise itself.

END

## 2 *Esteemed Readers*

As you know, we could not publish your valued news magazine- *Kashmir Sentinel*- continuously for two months earlier. The main constraint of not publishing the paper was the lack of money. The subscription of many readers has expired since long and they have not renewed their subscriptions despite continuous appeals through the paper and even through letters.

Kashmir Sentinel is a nationalistic voice and serves as the spokesperson of the hapless exiled community. There is no advertising support to the paper and survives on your donations and subscriptions.

As this voice is to be sustained, please renew your subscriptions at the earliest and donate generously to ensure regular publication of the news magazine.

Even those who receive the paper but have not subscribed to the paper are also requested to subscribe and donate to this paper. You can also help by broadening the subscription network through your relatives and acquaintances.

Some people have responded to our appeal in the previous issue and have renewed their subscriptions or sent donations. We hope that others will also appreciate our concern and will respond at the earliest.

The annual subscription is Rs.150 only. Please send us your subscriptions and donations through Demand Drafts/Payees Account Cheques (payable at Jammu) in name of Kashmir Sentinel and mail them at the earliest to Kashmir Sentinel c/o149, Ramvihar, Old Janipur, Jammu.

*The matter is most urgent.*

**Business Manager END**

## 3 *Dialogue and its perils*

*The real problem is that there are not just two sides to the conflict in Jammu and Kashmir*

*By Praveen Swami*

IN at least some senses, the dialogue on Jammu and Kashmir is a little like a bargain between a shopkeeper with no goods to sell and a customer with no cash in his pocket; and yet, the fact that this unhappy negotiation is the best chance of peace the State has had in a decade.

In the course of this morning, leaders of the All Parties Hurriyat Conference are scheduled to meet the Deputy Prime Minister, LK Advani, and begin the first-ever formal dialogue between secessionist politicians from Jammu and Kashmir and the Union of India. Whatever course the dialogue takes, the fact that it has come about at all marks a significant breakthrough.

Both sides have displayed considerable flexibility. If the government of India has not insisted that the PHC first endorse the Constitution of India, the secessionist coalition, in turn, has dropped demands that India recognize that Jammu and Kashmir is a disputed territory. Both sides, most important of all, have made clear their commitment to a negotiated end to the conflict. In this commitment, however, is also contained the real problem: there aren't just two sides to the conflict in Jammu and Kashmir.

Broadly, three major challenges confront the peace process. First, terrorist groups based in Pakistan, including the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen and Lashkar-e-Toiba, have already rejected the dialogue process between India and the APHC. Just on January 14, the Jamait-ul-Mujahideen warned the APHC chairman, Maulvi Abbas Ansari and his colleagues "not to kneel at the doorsteps of Delhi", or face being "done to death one by one".

Underlying these threats are some unpleasant realities. Terrorist groups have no desire to see the politicians walk away with the spoils of their war. The fact that such threats are being held out by groups based in Pakistan suggests the military and intelligence establishment in that country continues to keep the terror card in reserve. Speaking to journalists on January 15, the Army chief, General NC Vij, noted that

the volume of signals traffic from terrorists in Jammu and Kashmir to base stations in Pakistan had not declined. This, he pointed out, meant camps in Pakistan were still operational.

A second major problem is that the APHC has no influence over terrorist groups. Even if the Union government should, at some stage decide to meet all the APHC's demands, its minimum condition would be a meaningful reduction in levels of violence within Jammu and Kashmir. Mr Ansari and other moderate APHC leaders are, quite obviously, in no position to deliver anything of the kind. Most within the APHC privately concede their best hope is that Pakistan will be compelled by the United States to scale back hostilities: the Srinagar religious leader, Mirwaiz Umar Farooq, even claims to be privy to a detailed American road-map.

Pakistani de-escalation, however, is dependent on that country getting what it wants. It is unlikely that Pakistan would be willing to settle for India's maximum offer, internal autonomy and open borders for Jammu and Kashmir. Some in Pakistan have spoken of a partition of Jammu and Kashmir along its internal communal lines as being a possible solution. Even though this idea may find acceptance with the extreme Hindu Right, it is unlikely any government in New Delhi could sell the idea, American-road map or not. Sooner or later, then, Pakistan may again resume using its covert military options.

Third, the APHC moderates are just one faction of secessionist opinion in Jammu and Kashmir. The rival APHC, led by the Islamist hardliner, Syed Ali Shah Geelani, is bitterly opposed to the dialogue process. Mr Geelani has succeeded in winning the backing of many supposed centrists. Those who attended the Qul post-burial rites of the Hizb's recently killed Jammu and Kashmir field chief Ghulam Rasool Dar, were treated to the spectacle of lavish tributes being paid to him by the JKLF Second-in-Command Javed Ahmed Mir. JKLF leaders have asserted several times that their supposedly-secular organisations was wiped out by the Islamist Hizb in alliance with Indian security forces.

Underlying the peculiar alliance arrayed against the mainstream APHC is the fact that representation of the secessionist movement in Jammu and Kashmir is deeply contested. None of the APHC leaders, moderate or Islamist, hawks or doves, has actually proved his credentials as mass leader in Jammu and Kashmir. Most have influence in limited pockets of the State, but it is far from clear whether even a united APHC could actually come anywhere near winning an election. Hardliners, thus, have a vested interest in avoiding putting their status to test. Their best option is to sit on the sidelines and incite terrorist groups to snipe at the moderates.

What reasons, then, are there for hope? It has passed largely unnoticed that the APHC negotiators include among them Fazl-ul-Haq Qureshi, a politician with no real connection with the coalition. Mr Qureshi had been chosen by the pro-dialogue Hizb commander, Abdul Majid Dar, to be his negotiator with the Union government during the abortive 14-day ceasefire of 2000. The ceasefire was withdrawn by the Hizb central command, and Majid Dar himself was assassinated last year. Mr Qureshi's inclusion in the negotiation team could signal that the APHC has the blessings of at least one section within the Hizb.

Certainly, there have been several signs of warfare within the Hizb through recent months. The organisation has lost a string of top-level commanders over the last year—a sign, some believe, of a blood-feud sparked off by Majid Dar's killing. Ghulam Rasool Dar was just the latest in a string of successful Indian security forces hits against the top echelons of the Hizb. In April, the Border Security Force succeeded in eliminating Rasool Dar's predecessor as military commander, Ghulam Rasool Khan. Rasool Dar's deputy, Pakistani national Saif-ul-Rahman Bajwa, was also subsequently killed by the BSF in November. Rasool Khan's killing would have given considerable satisfaction to the Hizb dissidents, since he had ordered the execution of Majid Dar's closest aide, Farooq Sheikh Mirchal. Rasool Dar and Mirchal were members of the Hizb negotiating team that met the Union Home Secretary, Kamal Pande, during the 2000 ceasefire.

The Hizb supreme commander, Mohammad Yusuf Shah, is now struggling to find a new field commander who can push ahead with the task of intimidating the moderates in the APHC. Shortly before his death, Rasool Dar is believed to have personally met the Jamaat-e-Islami chief, Syed Nazir Ahmad Kashani, to demand that the organisation throw its weight behind Mr Geelani. Rasool Dar's efforts to swing support for Mr Geelani had met with little success. Even Mr Geelani's parent organisation, the Jamaat-e-Islami, refused to support his breakaway APHC faction. Notably, Mr Kashani chose not to attend Rasool Dar's burial rites.

Mr Shah is also confronted with discipline issues within his organisation. Local Hizb units in some areas, notably Budgam and Anantnag, are believed to have entered into profitable protection rackets involving contractors working on the Qazigund-Baramulla railroad. Unfortunately for the Hizb supreme commander, he is open to criticism for having made deals of his own with the Indian state. Mr Shah has

five sons, not one of whom has joined the *jihad* in Jammu and Kashmir. One, Wahid Yusuf Shah, studies at the Government Medical College in Srinagar, to which he was granted an almost-unprecedented transfer from a privately-run institution in Jammu.

What could the Hizb's options now be? Both Rasool Dar and the Hizb central division commander, Abdul Rashid Pir, had in recent weeks met senior political leaders from the ruling People's Democratic Party, as well as the Opposition National Conference. One meeting, with a top PDP leader is believed to have taken place only four days before Rasool Dar was eliminated. Rasool Dar is also believed to have met a senior National Conference leader from central Kashmir with substantial support among the Gujjar community. Although mainstream politicians have expressed enthusiastic support for the APHC-Delhi dialogue, they have an obvious long-term interest in seeing it fail: success, after all, would mean an end to the mainstream politicians' own position.

Both New Delhi and the APHC understand their best chance of success is to spend as long haggling as they possibly can, an art all in South Asia are well accustomed do. Other bazaar bargaining rituals--the slow walking away from the shop, the staged huff, the entreaties to return and talk further--are almost certain to be on display in the weeks and months to come. Dozens of questions--including the actual modalities of the dialogue after today--need to be addressed before substantial issues can be addressed. Fortunately, neither New Delhi nor the APHC moderates seem in a hurry to close a deal--if, indeed, they actually have one in mind.

—*Courtesy The Hindu END*

## **'Opposing Panun Kashmir Means Facilitating Kathwari Chenab Plan'**

### **4 AIKS playing subversive Role**

*Sh. O.N. Trisal is a veteran freedom fighter who was one of the four Political Commissars of JK National Militia in 1947. He was amongst the foremost leaders of left movement in J&K and served in Democratic National Conference and later on in Congress. Presently he is President of*

*All State Kashmiri Pandit Solidarity Conference. Here are the excerpts of the interview that Kashmir Sentinel had with Mr. Trisal ---Editor*

*KS: A qualitative change in the regional situation has taken place. India and Pakistan. At the domestic level, there is engagement with Hurriet. Do you visualise peace round the corner?*

**O.N. Trisal:** No doubt some important developments have taken place, but to read too much optimism in all this seems misplaced. The latest dialogue between the two countries has been brokered by the Americans. What behind the scenes, commitments have been made by both the countries, nothing has been made public. In fact American think tanks have once again resumed map making on Kashmir. Dialogue with Hurriet is also a link in the same chain. A scenario is emerging where even if there is some drop in violence, you can see more and more pressure building on India to concede something strategic on Kashmir. My concern is not whether peace is returning but can the Indian strategic interests in Kashmir be defended.

**K.S.:** *In a democratic society, dialogue is the basis for resolving conflicting situations. Why is displaced Pandits' leadership shying away from dialogue with Hurriet? If Govt. of India can talk to Hurriet why is Pandit leadership sounding too idealistic?*

**O.N.T :** I agree ultimately dialogue has to be the basis for resolution of every problem. But then you have to qualify the dialogue process. It is important with whom you are talking and to what objectives. The argument that if GOI can talk to Hurriet what harm is if Pandits also talk to them is simply ridiculous. The compulsions and the expediencies of a state do not visit on the victimised minority groups. For us the priority is neither engaging nor legitimising Hurriet but to help evolve a dispensation which reverses the process of genocide. Then there is also the question if you can talk to Ansari faction then what stops you from talking to Geelani faction or even Syed Salahuddin? Aren't we entering in a dangerous game. Besides, at this juncture, when Pakistan is trying to put an idegenous camouflage over the terrorist movement, why should we play into the trap by holding dialogue with Hurriet or any other group?

**K.S.** *All India Kashmiri Samaj including Kashmiri Pandit Sabha Jammu have asked Hurriet to hold dialogue with them. Please comment?*

**O.N.T.:** The leadership of AIKS as well as Kashmiri Pandit Sabha Jammu is headed by non-displaced Kashmiri Pandits. They are the people unaffected by genocide. They have no stakes in going back. Naturally they have no sensitivity about reversal of genocide. This non-displaced leadership has been playing a subversive role by facilitating Muslim communal agenda in Kashmir and backstabbing community interests from time to time. As a part of the ideological subversion and personal aggrandisement the compulsions of these leaders are to facilitate the Muslim-communal-separatist agenda by lending secular credibility to their arguments. Their design is also to pit displaced Pandits against the Nationalist sentiment. By opposing trifurcation they are trying to unleash ethnic hatred against displaced Pandits which has been a premiere strategy of the Valley's secessionist and communal leadership. Similarly the opposition to Panun Kashmir demand is to facilitate the Kathwari plan or Chenab formula. The concern of these non-displaced bodies is to strengthen the Muslim separatist lobbies and their interests. They will soon be exposed.

***K.S.: How is their role effecting the displaced?***

**O.N.T.:** The problem is that these non-displaced bodies have been trying to project themselves as spokesmen of the displaced Kashmiri Pandit community. They have been misrepresenting the community's aspiration and endorsing those designs of Muslim communal establishment which threaten our very survival. For example the community believes Mr MK Kaw has been responsible for the recent punitive transfer of 24 officials of the displaced community. We believe that there is an understanding between MK Kaw and the PDP government. A state government which does not even want the improvement in health and sanitation conditions in camps how come it offers the post of chairman of the government body of the upgraded REC to a Pandit. Then there are people who have business interests and they want a deal to benefit themselves.

***K.S.: What are the challenges before the displaced community?***

**O.N.T.:** There are primarily three challenges. First and foremost is to expose the non-displaced leadership's nefarious anti-national role and delink them from representing the displaced community. To this end, we will be soon writing to the state governor, the President of India, PM, NHRC, Union Home Minister, World Human Rights for a and other international bodies. The second challenge is to launch a well publicised campaign throughout India on the discrimination and genocidal policies unleashed by PDP led state government against displaced Kashmiri Pandits. To create national awareness about how Panun Kashmir is a solution to Kashmir problem as such. END

## 5 *American's Imperial Delusion*

# US drive for world domination has no historical precedent

By Eric Hobsbawm

*THE following piece by the renowned historian appeared in The Guardian (June 14,2003). Actually it is an extract of an article edited by Victoria Britain and published in Le Monde diplomatique's June English-Language edition. Eric Hobsbawm is the author of Interesting Time, The Age of Extremes and the Age of Empire. This piece is being reproduced here, with due acknowledgment, for the benefit of our reader.* -Editor

The present world situation is unprecedented. The great global empires of the past-such as the Spanish and notably the British-bear little comparison with What We See today in the United States empire .A key novelty of the US imperial project is that all other empires knew that they were not the only ones, and none aimed at global domination. None believed themselves invulnerable, even if they believed themselves to be central to the world - as China did, or the Roman empire. Regional domination was the maximum danger envisaged until the end of the Cold War. A global reach, Which became possible after 1492, should not be confused with global domination.

The British empire was the only one that really was global in a sense that it operated across the entire planet. But the differences are stark. The British empire at its peak administered one quarter of the globe's surface. The US has never actually practised colonialism, except briefly at the beginning of the twentieth century. It operated instead with dependent and satellite states and developed a policy of armed intervention in these. The British empire had a British, not universal, purpose, although naturally its propagandists also found more altruistic motives. So the abolition of the slave trade was used to justify British naval power, as human right today are often used to justify US, military power. On the other hand the US, like revolutionary Russia, is a great power based on a universalist revolution - and therefore on the belief that the rest of the world should follow its example, or even that it should help liberate the rest of the world. Few things are more dangerous than empires than empires pursuing their own interest in the belief that they are doing humanity a favour.

The cold war turned the US into the hegemony of the Western world. However, this was as the head of an alliance. In a way, Europe then recognised the logic of a US world empire, whereas today the US Government is reacting to the fact that the US empire and its goal are no longer genuinely accepted. In fact the present of any other US Government has ever been, and probably than that of any great power has ever been.

The collapse of the Soviet left the US as the only superpower. The sudden emergence of a ruthless, antagonistic flaunting of US power is hard to understand, all the more so since it fits neither with long-tested imperial policies nor the interests of the US economy. But patently a public assertion of global supremacy by military force is in the minds of the people at present dominating policy-making in Washington. Is it likely to be successful. The world is too complicated for any single state to dominate it. And with the exception of its superiority in hi-tech weaponry, the US empire is relying on diminishing assets. Its economy forms a diminishing share of the global economy, vulnerable in the short as well as long term. The US empire is beyond competition on the military side. That does not mean that it will be absolutely decisive, just because it is decisive in localised wars.

Of course the Americans theoretically do not aim to occupy the whole world. What they aim to do is to go to war, leave friendly governments behind them and go home again. This will not work. In military terms, the Iraq war, was successful. But it neglected the necessities of running the country, maintaining it, as the British did in the classic colonial model of India. The belief that the US does not need genuine allies

among other states or genuine popular support in the countries its military can now conquer (but not effectively administer) is fantasy. Iraq was a country that had been defeated by the Americans and refused to lie down. It happened to have oil, but the war was really an exercise in showing international power. The emptiness of administration policy is clear from the way the aims have been put forward in public relation terms. Phrases like "axis of evil" or "the road map" are not policy statement, but merely soundbites. Officials such as Richard Perle and Paul Wolfowitz talk like Rambo in public, as in private. All that counts is the overwhelming power of the US. In real terms they mean that the US can invade anybody enough, The consequences of this for the US are going to be very dangerous

Domestically, the real danger for a country that aims at world control is militarization. Internationally, the danger is the destabilising of the world. The Middle East is far more unstable now than it was five years ago. US policy weakens all the alternative arrangements, formal and informal, for keeping order. In Europe it has wrecked NATO-not much of a loss, but trying to turn it into a world military police force for the US is a travesty. It has deliberately sabotaged the EU, and also aims at ruining another of the United Nations is less of a drama than operate marginally because of its dependence on the security council and the US veto.

How is the world to confront-contain-the US. Some people, believing that they have not the power to confront the US, prefer to join it. More dangerous are those who hate the ideology behind the Pentagon, but support the US project on the ground that it will eliminate some local and regional injustices. This may be called an imperialism of human rights. It has been encouraged by the failure of Europe in the Balkans in the 1990s. The division of opinion over the Iraq war showed there to be a minority of influential intellectuals who were prepared to back US intervention because they believed the world's ills.

There is a genuine case to be made that there are governments so bad that their disappearance will be a net gain for the world. But this can never justify the danger of creating a world it does not understand, but is capable to intervening decisively with armed force whenever anybody does anything that Washington does not like. How long the present superiority of the American lasts is impossible to say. The only thing of which we can be absolutely certain is that historical it will be a temporary phenomenon, as all other empires have been. In the course of a lifetime we have seen the end of all the colonial empires, the end of the so-called thousand-year empire of the German which lasted a mere 12 years, the end of the Soviet Union's dream of world revolution.

There are internal reasons, the most immediate being that most Americans are not interested in running the world. What they are interested in is what happens to them in the US. The weakness of the US economy is such that at some stage both the US government and electors will decide that it is much more important to concentrate on the economy than to carry on with foreign military adventures. Even by local business standards Bush does not have an adequate economic policy for the US. And Bush's existing international policy is not a particularly rational one for US imperial interests-and certainly not for the interests of US capitalism. Hence the divisions of opinion within the US government.

The key questions now are: what will the Americans do next, and how will other countries react? Will some countries, like Britain, back anything the US plans? Their governments must indicate that there are limits. The most positive contribution has been made by the Turks, simply by saying there are things they are not prepared to do, even though they know it would pay. But the major preoccupation is that of-if not containing-education or re-educating the US. There was a time when the US empire recognised limitations, or at least the desirability of behaving as though it had limitations. This was largely because the US was afraid of somebody else: the Soviet Union. In the absence of this kind of fear, enlightened self-interest and education have to take over. END

## 6 Sectarian violence in Pakistan-The Regional Factors

By P.K. Kothari

**MIGRATION** to Pakistan of Mohajirs belonging to areas with a strong tradition of sectarian conflicts served as a catalyst for militarized sectarianism, which was to emerge later. In the beginning the state was neutral in the intramuslim conflict. The rise in sectarian violence in 80's and 90's is due to a complex interplay of domestic and regional factors. In the previous article an attempt was made to place the evolution of sectarian violence in domestic perspective.

General Zia-ul-Haq, a Mohajir from Jullundur was an ardent admirer of Jamaat Islami. He usurped power after dethroning democratically-elected government. Zia was desperate to bolster legitimacy for his regime and used Islamisation to the hilt. In 1979, Zia attempted to implement the **Sunni Hanafi Fiqh**. Shias, a sizable minority, 15-25%, not only contested Zia's Islamic vision but also viewed his Islamisation as a threat to their social position. In particular, they were incensed over implementation of Sunni laws of **inheritance** and **Zakat** (the obligatory Islamic Tax). Strong countrywide protests, which included a two-day siege of Islamabad in July 1980 jolted the Martial Law regime. It led to exemption of Shias from all those aspects of Islamisation that contravened Shia law.

### **Iranian Revolution :**

Zia's Islamisation drive coincided with the victory of Khomeinist Islamic revolution in Iran. It was the first successful Islamic revolution by Shias anywhere and led to radicalisation of Shias worldwide. Pakistani Shias did not escape this phenomenon and asserted themselves as never before. Succumbing of Martial Law Regime to Shia demands and the new assertiveness of Shias led to conflict at two levels—first between Pakistani state and its Shia community and, later a broader competition for power between Shias and Sunnis. Pakistani Army began viewing Shia activism as a strategic problem in that it tied domestic political issues to regional concerns and relations with Iran.

Politicisation of Pakistan's Shia identity and competition between Iran and Pakistan over export of rival 'Islamic revolution' produced sharp antagonism between Pakistan and Iran. **Chibli Mallat**, an analyst observed, "It was this competition between the Iranian and Pakistani models that lay at the heart of Iran's posturing to Pakistan and also provided Pakistan's Shias with a cause to rally around" On this Irani-Pakistan rivalry was imposed another factor—competition for influence in Pakistan between Saudi Arabia and Iraq on one hand and 'revolutionary Iran' on the other. Persian Gulf conflict thus spilled over to Pakistan. Iranians had another grouse—Zia had been quite close to Shah's regime. Subsequently, during Afghan war, when Pakistan became a frontline state, it allied closely with the US, with which Iran was increasingly at logger heads.

### **Politicised Shia Identity:**

The Iranian revolution and the Iran-Iraq war impacted on Pakistani Shias in two ways. Apolitical Shia organizations overnight turned politically assertive. Shia leadership, which was earlier in the hands of **Zakirs** was replaced by a new generation of clerics, belonging mostly to the Pakhtun tribal areas and the Northern Areas of Gilgit and Baltistan. They had studied in **Najaz** and in **Qom** where they built up contacts with Shias from Middle Eastern countries and particularly Lebanese Shias. They came back to Pakistan in the early 1980s and opened madrasas with Iranian funding.

Iran poured massive funds into Pakistan and sent its Zealous emissaries to organize Pak Shias. Iran cultural centres were opened in every major town. Large number of Shias, who belonged to lower-middle class got scholarship to study in Iran. They came back, impressed and saw Pakistan as 'the mirror of Iran'.

Allama Arif Hussain al Hussaini, a Turi Pakhtun from Parachinar who studied in Najaf and Qom was sent back to Pakistan after Iranian resolution to organize the Shia Community. He became head of the **Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jaafria** (TNFJ) in 1984. Shia protest against Zia's Islamisation was further radicalized after the Quetta incidents of 1985. In July 1987 Allama Hussaini transformed TNFJ into a political party to fight for 'Iran-type' revolution in Pakistan. The charter of the party- '**Sabiluna**', inspired by Shariat's ideas, is very similar to the charter of **Amal** the Lebanese Shiite fundamentalist movement. The Ithna Ashariya Student Organisation (Twelve Shia Student Movement, ISO), founded in 1972 in the Engineering University of Lahore also turned militant and began mobilization in favour of Palestinian and Bosnian Muslims.

### **Sunni Backlash :**

Exemption of Shias from new Islamization drive led to the demands for declaring Shias as non-Muslims by Zia's Sunni Islamist allies. Shia radicalization was also seen by Sunni fundamentalists as proof of that community's 'disloyalty' to Pakistan and its Islamic ideology and more important as threat to veritable Islamisation.

Initially Pakistan sought to resolve problem with Iran by deputing a delegation led by Aga Shahi (himself a Shia) a senior diplomat and Foreign Minister to Iran. After the mission failed, Zia even packed off Aga Shahi. Zia drew a blue-print for countering Shias and Iran. Pak agencies sought out Haq Nawaz Jhangvi as a front to counter Shia militancy. Jhangvi, a young Sunni extremist, who was naib amir of Jamiyat-i-Ulama-e-Islam (JUI) in the Punjab, created the Anjuman-e-Sipah-e-Sahaba (later Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan or SSP) in 1985 with a virulent anti-Shia programme. Jhangvi belonged to a poor Sunni family. He launched a political campaign against the Shia feudals of Jhang, often resorting to sectarian slogans. Agencies also involved Jamiyat-i-Ulema-e-Pakistan (JUP) and JUI to counter Shias and two Ahle-e-Sunnat Conferences were organized. Second measure Zia took was to pour vast sums of money into existing Sunni madrasas (seminaries) and establish new ones. The government also expanded the role of madrasas in national education to entrench Sunni identity in the public arena. Madrasa graduates helped establish the place of Sunni identity in various government institutions.

About the role of these madrasas, SVR Nasir, a political analyst writes, "**the state used madrasas to strengthen Sunnism,... Much of these effort was undertaken by Pakistan's military, and its elite intelligence wing, the ISI. The military's involvement in sectarianism would grow over time as Sunni militancy would develop organizational ties to the Islamist resistance in the Afghan war, and sectarianism would become relevant to the military's domestic political agenda after the return of democracy to Pakistan in 1988**". Samina Ahmed observes that the military and the ISI use the instability, which is caused by sectarian violence to pressure democratically elected governments.

To counter Shia resentment, Zia tried to placate Shias by throwing few symbolic gestures e.g. electing Shia as speaker of the National Assembly and elevating some Shia Army officers as Generals. However, he ensured that none of them was placed incharge of sensitive operations.

The federal government in 1988 permitted marauding bands of Sunni activists to raid the town of Gilgit, killing some 150 Shias, burning shops and houses in the process. The government then proceeded to build an imposing Sunni mosque in the Centre of the predominantly Shia city. Another sinister conspiracy was strategic settling of Pathan refugees to change the social demography of Northern Areas, turning Shias into a minority in their homeland. Explaining its geo-political significance, SVR Nasr notes, "**Sunnification of Northern Areas was also part of the strategy of using Sunni sectarianism in the Kashmir Civil War**".

### **Open-Door Religious POLICY:**

Zia's efforts to contain Shia resurgence were complemented with those of Saudi Arabia and Iraq. The two Arab states were wary of Iran's growing influence in Pakistan and its ideological-military threat. The ground was fertile for proxy wars. According to Mariam Abou Zahab, Iran revolution, Iran-Iraq war and the Afghan Jihad were main factors, which led to the internationalization of sectarian politics and gave scale and sustenance to the sectarian tensions so far latent.

Religious parties radicalized by foreign influences used massive outside funds to launch aggressive campaigns. New mosques and *deeni madrasas* (religious schools) came up often on state lands, and a new kind of *maulvi*, the '**donor funded moulvi**,' appeared, moving around in a Pajero with armed bodyguards. These *maulvis* with foreign linkages developed strong clout in the local administration. Successive governments ignored their activities because the donors were friendly Muslim countries.

Pakistan practised an open door religious policy to foreign countries. Radical Sunni groups exploited every sign of Shia assertiveness to ask for more funds. Funds came from the CIA and anti-Iran Arab states and from private donors for deepening Shia, Sunni schism by promoting a narrow extremist interpretation of Sunni Islam. Militant outfits emerged. Afghan arms pipeline provided these recruits easy access to arms and training and brought them into contact with Arab mercenaries, most of them with Wahhabi orientation.

### **Sectarian Violence :**

Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1988 added a new dimension to sectarian conflicts. The same year Allama Hussaini was assassinated. Fingers were raised against Iraq for this killing. Saudi Arabia and Iraq openly funded a number of Sunni armed outfits and the primary beneficiary was Sipah-Sahab Pakistan, SSP. Radicalised Sunni groups sought to outdo one another in their use of vitriol and violence to grab the larger share of foreign funds. Since 1990, Sunni sectarian groups have assassinated Iranian diplomats and military personnel and torched Iranian cultural centres in Lahore and Multan. The killing of 25 Shias in

Lahore in January 1998 escalated tensions between the two countries further as Iran openly warned Pakistan about the spread of sectarian conflict.

The regional dimension of the sectarian conflict, therefore helped increase the scope of the violence, which quickly went out of the control of the government in Pakistan .

#### ***Afghan Jihad:***

The onset of the Afghan Jihad deepened Saudi Arabia's commitment to its Sunni clients in Pakistan. Saudi funds for Afghan Jihad also subsidized Sunni sectarian organizations, in Pakistan through the intermediary of Pakistan's military and ISI. Taliban, SSP, Harkat-ul-Ansar, Harkat-ul-Mujahideen, etc. all hail from the same madrassas and received training in the same military camps in NWFP and Southern Afghanistan. All this was done under supervision of Pak military. Decade-long war in Afghanistan flooded Pakistan with weapons and embedded militancy in the country's Islamism. It also spawned several militant Islamist groups with international connections. According to Ahmed Rashid over 25,000 volunteers from 30 countries were trained in Pakistan and fought in Afghanistan. In addition, the Taliban's austere militancy, and its drive to consolidate power over Afghanistan provided the sectarian forces with a model to follow. For instance, the Tehrik-i-Tulaba (Students Movement), a recent creation, follows the example of Taliban. It operates in the Orakzai Agency in Federally Administered Tribal areas of north-western Afghanistan.

The Afghan war and the Kashmir conflict helped aggravate the situation. Observers have noted direct link between these regional conflicts and the use of militant Islamist forces as proxy soldiers in guerrilla campaigns and rise in sectarian violence in Pakistan. In addition, the Afghan scene itself was wrought with sectarian tensions as Shias and Persian-speaking pro-Iranian factions vied for power and position with the Saudi and American-backed Mujahideen groups based Pakistan.

#### ***Drug Syndicates :***

The Afghan war also produced criminal networks that profit from trade in contraband and drugs. Overtime, the drug trade developed ties with sectarian organizations, reproducing in Pakistan relationships between militant groups and drug traffickers that had already developed in Afghanistan. In many instances criminals actually set up sectarian organizations as fronts for criminal activity Nexus between sectarian and criminal forces has weakened the ability of the state. In many places in the country the combined forces of sectarian and criminal organizations have eliminated government authority altogether, replacing it with local political control rooted in criminal activity and sectarian politics.

A recent study provides graphic details of how the CIA and ISI developed a nexus with the religious groups during Afghan Jihad. This had strong impact domestically in Pakistan. This factor and the fallout of extending Jihadist war onto Kashmir on sectarian violences Pakistan merits a separate study END

## ***7 Compassionate Folly***

### ***Mufti's healing programme should not turn into India's pain***

IT was a thank-your gesture with a difference from one of the newsworthy beneficiaries of Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister Mufti Mohammed Sayeed's healing touch. Yasin Malik, leader of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front and the media savvy "victim of India" in the Hurriyat Conference, challenged his benefactor to an electoral duel to vindicate his "freedom struggle" against India-a contest between the imposter and the son of Kashmir. Poor Mufti, he continues to be under the impression that he has the mandate to make the Valley the happiest place in India. He doesn't realize that he can only free victims like Malik from the jail, not from India. The healing programme of the compassionate leader is going to be a thankless job-and a dangerous one too. For, what Mufti thinks is his mandate is, in the anti-Indian Weltanschauung of his beneficiaries, not worthy of the aspirations of the Kashmiris. Still, the benevolent Mufti seems to believe that his humanitarian approach to terrorism will humanize the terrorist. It is an inflammable fantasy. For the chief minister's information, there are no hardcore terrorist and softcore terrorists. Some kill with a Kalashnikov and some make the perfect situation for the killer with anti-national rhetoric. And all of them are united by Hate India.

Mufti, however, wants to maintain a distinction between the good terrorist and the bad terrorist. A free and fair election, he thinks, call for a free and fair deal to those who have denied legitimacy to the democratic process. "Democracy", he says, "is basically a battle of ideas. Let those released express their

views and we will fight them politically.” This lofty idealism is far removed from national reality. The election was India’s triumph, and it exposed those who claimed a copyright over Kashmir’s destiny. It is not a battle of ideas, sorry. What is happening is a bloody battle against the idea of India. There can be no dialogue between India and those who see Kashmir as a stifled Indian colony. As the chief minister of an Indian state, Mufti, in spite of his election slogan, is subordinated to the idea of India. And this national status doesn’t allow him to open all the prison gates for those who are engaged in a battle against India. Perhaps his partner, the Congress, being India’s Grand Old Party, should act as a national force from within. What matters is not the chief minister’s political interests but India’s national interests END

## **8 Dialogue: Content and Contours**

### ***A Kashmiri Pandit Perspective***

*Sentinel Bureau*

#### ***Premises***

**DIALOGUE** is the essence of open and civilised societies. It is the totalitarian states and the fundamentalist ideologies that promote exclusivism and stifle political, cultural and religious dissent. The ongoing Pan-Islamist campaign in Kashmir masquerading as the "freedom movement" has upturned the native ethos nurtured over centuries. The gifts of this Islamist campaign have been hate and violence leading to ethnic-cleansing of the entire Hindu minority, all round criminalisation of society and elimination of social and political dissent. Kashmirian society has been pushed back to medieval ages and into anarchy. This is what constitutes the "freedom movement".

It is not the so-called national aspirations of Kashmiris that is under threat but the entire value-system that symbolises a healthy democratic society. To see employment packages or autonomy deals as solution to the continued cycles of violence and Kashmir's socio-political debasement is to ignore the basic issues at stake. Kashmiris need vision and political will to come to grips with the dangerous agenda of the Pan-Islamist forces. The new Chief Minister, Mufti Mohammad Sayeed has been at pains to impress upon the Centre to hold dialogue with the elected representatives of the state. The magnitude and the complexity of the problem demands a wider debate—a multilateral dialogue. This implies dialogue within Kashmiri Muslim society, between Hindus and Muslims in Kashmir, between Kashmiri Muslims and the nation, between Pandits and the nation, between Kashmiri Muslims on one hand and people of Jammu and Ladakh on the other and lastly, between Indian Muslims and the nation.

Of late, it is being said, Kashmiri Muslims are becoming tired of the war of attrition being fought in Kashmir. In view of the fluid situation, it is difficult to gauge whether this new phenomenon can be harnessed to smash the terrorist infrastructure. A senior official of CRPF said some time back that the militants were present in good numbers within the Valley and were still potent enough to carry out deadly strikes. He predicted that "if local populace decides that enough is enough and stop giving food and shelter to the militants, we can assure them the menace would be cleaned up in a very short time."

At the same, a section of non-Jamaat separatist leadership has been engaged in loud thinking. Occasionally in public they have been claiming that they are opposed to violence of any kind and desire revival of Pandit-Muslim brotherhood. This revival, they argue, was key to retrieve Kashmir from cycles of violence and mayhem. This rethinking, if at all it is sincere, is being attributed to a realisation that Kashmiris have failed to garner crucial international support for their separatist cause. Separatist movement is being seen as a part of global Pan-Islamist terrorist campaign. However, there is little hope. The separatist leadership looks confused and repeats the old sadistic harangues bordering on paranoia against Indian state and even displaced Pandits. Across the spectrum and from time to time, they have asked Kashmiri Pandits to join their 'freedom struggle' in case they have to return and live peacefully in Valley.

#### ***Pluralism and Democracy***

It is imperative that the society, which has itself invited the trouble must go for introspection. A frank debate within the ranks of Kashmiri Muslim society would have to decide whether visions of pluralism and democracy or surrender to medievalist fundamentalist ideology which preaches revanchism, violence and hate are desirable for Kashmiri self respect and futuristic development. It is said revolutions devour their own children Hasn't criminalisation of society, and rise of lumpen gangs, violence against women and

suppression of social/political dissent affected Kashmiri Muslims more than anyone else? Who has benefited from the terrorist and fundamentalist entrepreneurship?

Today a Kashmiri has lost voice to defend good against the evil. He does not protest against inhuman killing even of his fellow Muslims, kith and kin, brutal slaughter of Muslim women who do not surrender to fundamentalist diktat or terrorists lust. This loss of faculty to discriminate good from evil is also reflected in Kashmiri's tacit acceptance of the reality of the ethnic-cleansing of Pandits, the grab and the loot of his left-over property. Jihad has taken toll of accountability and toleration. It is this Jihadist fervor that forces a section of Kashmiris to call criminal gangs of international mercenaries as 'guest Mujahideen'. Talibanised culture and value system of pluralism and democracy cannot co-exist. **Bangla Muslim society can pride itself in producing a Tasleema Nasreen, who has the courage to write Lajja to depict the plight of non-Muslims and liberals in the wake of fundamentalist campaign. Did Kashmir produce a single 'moderate' Muslim, who would speak with similar pain about the genocide of Kashmiri Hindus?**

The truth remains that in contemporary Kashmir the distinction between the 'moderate' Muslim and the 'fundamentalist' Muslim has become blurred. It simply does not exist. Attributing this to fear is to engage in semantics. Civil society in Kashmir has to decide how it relates to pluralism, democracy and revanchist ideology of Islamic fundamentalism. **Monocultural societies are not only out of tune with the spirit of globalisation, but are self-destructive. Such societies lack broader legitimacy and deny internal enrichment, democracy and accountability.**

**As per official estimates, nearly thirty-thousand Kashmiris have perished in the terrorist violence. Five lakh Kashmiris have been thrown out of their homes and live a state of permanent homelessness. Thousands of widow, orphans, etc. live life as social outcasts on the margins of society in a state of total uncertainty. Minorities, who have still not abandoned their homes live in perpetual fear. Women too have been subjected to indignities, rape and slaughter for standing up to the terrorists' diktat. A sincere debate within Kashmiri Muslim society would also fix responsibility on those who have forced this situation on Kashmiris.**

**Aren't leaders of Jamaat Islami and other separatist outfits responsible for all this?** Did not they become willing mercenaries to import ideas and conspiracy of Pan-Islamists to Kashmir?

A frank debate within Kashmiri Muslim society would also debate if there was any justification--political, economic, social or religious for taking resort to arms. To what extent pursuit of 'Muslim identity politics' by local pro-India mainstream leadership and ideas of Pan-Islamism imported in the wake of 1973 Gulf oil boom and Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, has contributed to Muslim alienation in Kashmir needs proper assessment. **Essence of alienation in Kashmir is psychological. The more a Kashmiri feels as a Muslim and a fundamentalist, the more he will feel alienated from secular nation-building model in India. Rigging factor, Farooq's dismissal, bad governance--all these factors have been overplayed. These are part of aberrations in India's political structure and do not reflect any selective bias against Kashmir.**

Separatist leadership has also harangued that India does not trust Kashmiris and minority groups have to accept the solution, which meets the aspirations of the Muslim majority in Kashmir. They also argue that nothing short of political package will satisfy Kashmiris. This is political opportunism as well as fascism at its worst. You cannot wage war against the state and at the same time expect to be trusted by it. The main beneficiaries of the post 1947 largesse have been the Kashmiri Sunni Muslim-elite, the group waging war against the state. Secondly, it is only fascist societies that demand subjugation of the minority to the will of the majority--the majoritarian tyranny. The essence of the argument that only political package will deliver peace for India is that Kashmiri Muslims demand more rights than others. This strikes at the root of democracy and secularism. The more a communal group is appeased, the more intransigent it becomes. The Central focus of the intra-Muslim dialogue has to be what do the Kashmiris ultimately want.

#### ***Dialogue between Pandits and Muslims***

A dialogue between Pandits and Muslims would have to address the issue of religious cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus, communalisation and Talibanisation of Kashmir's social milieu and ultimately the task of secularization. Reversal of genocide has to be linked by ensuring that displaced Hindus return to Kashmir as a matter of right and choice. In essence it means political empowerment of the minority group.

Having gone through the humiliating experience of living as second class citizens, Kashmiri Pandits can no more be humoured by the cliches of 'amanat' or 'tokenist' return to Khirbhawani or Mattan. Speaking about the 'amanat' concept", Dr KN Pandita observes, **"The syndrome of "amanat"--certainly a laudable ethical precept in empirical terms--is virtual decree of Pandit's perpetual enslavement. It is**

**shameful for those who offer and those who take". He adds "De-theocratisation of Kashmir must precede its secularisation....Return and rehabilitation of Pandits can wait another couple of years. But Kashmir's de-theocratisation cannot".**

Much before terrorists threw Kashmiri Hindus physically out, seeds of Kashmiri Pandits' destabilisation had been sown by the mainstream so-called secular political leadership in Valley. This leadership talked of Muslim identity politics in Valley, while outside it "stood" for "secularism". The pursuit of 'Muslim identity' politics pushed Kashmiri Hindus to a state of permanent inferiorisation Communalisation of the social milieu and finally its take-over by the fundamentalists was a logical outcome of pursuit of Muslim identity politics. This identity politics and misgovernance fed on each other and provided a fertile substratum for fundamentalist and communal trends to grow. Even a partisan writer like Gautam Navlakha, who does not conceal his sympathies for the Muslim communal movement in Valley, concedes, **"It goes without saying that the absence of a clear cut policy towards non-Muslims is a short-coming of the political leadership in Kashmir. It has seldom bothered to go beyond the generalities, which only assuage the insecurity felt by Kashmiri Pandits"**.

Problems have only become compounded with the introduction of gun. How difficult is the task of secularization in Kashmiri society, is best summed up by Dr KN Pandit a **"Kashmiri Muslim society has undergone a sea change with the rise of militancy in the Valley. Born and brought up in anti-India atmosphere and subjected to indoctrination of hatred for over a decade, the Kashmiri Muslim youth is left with very little rather negligible space for maneuvering secular politics. Having linked himself to the radical segments of the wider Islamic world, a Kashmiri Muslim, by strange quirk of unconscious imbalance and the imperatives of buffer psychosis, found himself exposed to the compelling pressures of a democratic and secular political arrangement of larger human society. He is forced to fight a religious war against an adversary that rejected religion as the arbiter. He is forced to label his struggle a secularist one when it is not. He is not fighting only with the world outside but also with the world within. Without being able to resolve his inner contradiction--an option of his own choosing--he is inadequately introspective of its ramifications beyond the boundaries of his territorial habitat. How would it be possible for him to deal with his Pandit neighbour, who, somehow, denied himself the luxury of contradiction"**.

Whenever Pandits contested communalisation or fundamentalisation of the social milieu or expressed concern over rise of secessionism, they were labelled as agents of India. Even Sheikh Abdullah did not spare them. Thus dialogue between Pandits and Muslims would also focus on the linkage between secessionism and communalisation.

The civil society in Kashmir has only evaded the issues of genocide of Hindus or the tasks of secularization. Faced with compulsions of legitimising the separatist movement, occasionally the members of civil society engage in rhetoric of Pandit-Muslim brotherhood, but at the same time avoiding the specifics of return. It is also argued Kashmiri Muslims were opposed to Pandits' exodus and did not approve of it. If Muslims really felt so, what did they do to protect Pandits and their property. Haven't the ideologues of separatists linked return to Pandits' joining the terrorist movement or resettlement of those "Kashmiris", who voluntarily went to Pakistan in 1947.

**Kashmiri Pandits, who have gone through the experience of tribal raid in 1947 and the ethnic-cleansing in 1990 would tell the change and the transformation of Kashmiri Muslim society over the past five decades.**

The mainstream politician, cognisant of the ground realities in Kashmir knows well that Pandits cannot return to Kashmir. Since somehow the legitimacy of a ruling dispensation in Kashmir has got linked with Pandits' return, compulsions for tokenist return have increased. On the one hand, a mainstream politician is reluctant to create a conducive atmosphere for return of Hindus through political mobilisation and administrative action, while on the other he has to answer the nation. If the Hindu minority in the only Muslim-majority state is not allowed to stay, can secular nation-building model succeed in India. This dilemma is sought to be resolved by trivalising genocide and exodus, creating defections and reducing the issue to the return of a few hundred desperate families in camps. Larger issues of genocide, holistic return of the community and its perpetuation are circumvented. Sangrampora and Wandhama massacres were the outcome of this short-sighted vision.

#### ***Kashmiri Muslims and the nation***

A structured dialogue between Kashmiri Muslims and the nation (civil society and the state) has also to take place. Such a dialogue should focus on a) compatibility of Muslim identity politics with secular nation-building in India b) how secular constitution of India undermines the political, social, economic or

religious rights of Kashmiris c) compatibility between Muslim identity politics and the pluralism-secularization d) Defining the attitude towards national commitments and Pan-Islamist imperatives e) the future of harmonious religious co-existence in Kashmir, and equal treatment to Jammu and Ladakh.

**Problems of alienation, misgovernance or particularly democracy are to be addressed within Valley through an intra-Muslim dialogue. Local political vested interest have kept these issues alive to perpetuate Muslim identity politics. Observers have speculated on whether mis-governance was a deliberate option to keep alienation alive. This has been supplemented by a nexus of liberal—left in Indian Civil Society. This section wants to keep the insult alive in Kashmir to force Indian nation-state to re-define federal principles by forcing a shift from administrative devolution of power to recognition of linguistic subnational separatism. In a way Kashmiri separatists and a section of liberal-left are working in tandem to undermine the unity and strength of India.** When we talk of dialogue between Kashmiris and the nation, liberals and the left do not constitute part of the national consensus.

#### *Pandits and the nation*

Kashmiri Pandits on the eve of independence were led by a triumvirate, which consisted of Pandit Kashyap Bandhu, Pt. Jia Lal Killam and Pt. Shiv Narain Fotedhar. This leadership did not have illusions about the ideological moorings of Sheikh Abdullah and conveyed their apprehensions to Nehru. The latter advised them restraint. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, despite his failing health, asked Nehru to decide the future of Kashmiri Pandits.

Kashmiri Pandits, whose contribution to the nation-building remains substantial observed restraint for a number of reasons. Decolonisation process was on and Anglo-American bloc was trying to destabilise India in Kashmir. The new fledgling Indian state was weak. There were also assurances by Nehru that over a period of time their miseries would end.

These problems never ended because Indian leaders lost their track. They talked of Kashmir being secular crown of India, yet they were not serious about promoting secularism in Kashmir. As forces of destabilisation gained clout in the Valley, GoI began placating pro-accession communal groups there, leaving 42% nationalistic minorities in the lurch. Over a period of time pro-accession and anti-accession Muslim communal groups evolved a symbiotic relationship. This had a disastrous impact. It fuelled secessionist and communalist politics in the Valley. As these gained strength, pressure on Kashmiri Pandits and other non-Muslim groups grew. Indian leadership caught in a bind demonstrated neither any vision nor will to break this vicious circle. It showed only its willingness to succumb further. Rise of violent secessionism in Valley in late 80's is in part a consequence of GoI's weak-kneed approach and political hollowness. This situation allowed large-scale communal aggression against Kashmiri Hindus in Anantnag in 1986 and total ethnic-cleansing in 1990. Why was Central government totally ineffective in pre-empting the ethnic-cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus? Was not the experience of 1986 already there? And how did the nation react to in its aftermath? The government and the civil society made this major blow to secularism a non-event. Today, the Central government looks with hope the state government's tokenist return proposals.

#### **Between Kashmiris and People and Jammu and Ladakh:**

To keep proaccession communal groups in Valley in good humour, Indian leadership abandoned nationalistic groups and made them hostage to 'Muslim Identity' Politics. It accepted the separatist Article 370 and the principle of Muslim precedence. Exchisivist politics came to be seen as politically correct, while nationalist politics became a taboo in the political landscape of J&K. Jammu and Ladakh became colonies of Kashmir while Kashmiri Pandits were thrown into the political Junkyard.

If Kashmiri leadership is sanguine that J&K should stay as one entity, then regional discrimination has to go. A section of Indian intellectuals are by design trying to perpetuate enslavement of these non-Kashmiri regions. Healthy demands of equity in economic and political participation are being dubbed by them as extension of Dixon Plan and Hindu fundamentalist game. Autonomy based on religious precedence is being articulated as consistent with 'national' aspirations of Kashmiris. Any solution to Kashmir imbroglio has to be a secular one that recognises the aspirations of all ethnic and religious groups.

#### *Between Indian Muslims and the nation*

Indian Muslim leadership cannot absolve itself of its responsibility when Islamist terrorists are trying to undermine the sovereignty of India and principles of secular nation-building. Muslims are India's largest minority. Who should have more stakes in India's secular nation-building than Indian Muslims? No section of Indian Muslim leadership from fundamentalist to Marxist has tried to present Pandits' ethnic-cleansing in perspective or argued for their return as a matter of right and choice. No Muslim leader or academician

in India has stood up to the communalisation and talibanisation of Kashmir's social milieu and taking over of the forces of intolerance. Instead most of these leaders are trying to justify support for communally motivated autonomy demand at national level. One of the senior leaders was even a signatory to the dangerous resolution drafted at the symposium "**Kashmir: the need for a bold initiative**", held at **Taj Hotel**, Mumbai in **June 1990**. Muslim leaders are also silent on how anti-national elements are using madrassas. The nation wants to know why Muslim leadership is reluctant to support those proposals which hold to potentiality of promoting pluralism secularism and participatory democracy in J&K. END

## 9 *A Response to Tejnath Dhar's book titled*

### **Under The Shadow Of Militancy: The Dairy of an Unknown Kashmiri**

*By A.N. Dhar*

**THIS** short write-up is not meant to serve the purpose of a critical review of the book in question when, within the space of a year only, as many as 23 reviews on it have already appeared in various journals and newspapers published in the country'. They include the latest one by Ravinder Kaul published in the December 2003 issue of the *Koshur Samachar* (having earlier appeared in the *Daily Excelsior*, Jammu). What I am going to present briefly is a point of view on an important aspect of the book which, as far as I am aware, has not been specifically discussed or touched upon in any of the reviews so far. My stand-point has somehow a bearing on what the author himself has maintained in response to some of the observations on the book contained in the review that was carried by the *Daily Excelsior*; Tajnath Dhar rebutted these observations in a subsequent issue of the same daily. Most reviews on the book have been positive and some of them very favourable, including Ravinder Kaul's. A thousand copies of the book, I am told, have been sold within a year of its publication. This indicates that the book has well-nigh turned out to be a best-seller.

During the past 13 years or so much has been written on the subject of militancy in the Valley of Kashmir and the resultant turmoil there. The displacement of our community from the land of our birth, almost en-masse, has been a pervasive theme in a number of literary works produced by our writers in Kashmiri, Hindi and English (prose as well as verse). The recently published work in Hindi titled *Sahitya Aur Visthapan: Sandharb Kashmir*, authored by the erudite scholar, Prof. Bhushan Lal Kaul, that is focussed on the literary works of Khema Kaul, Rattanlal Shant, Arjandev Majboor, Motilal Kemu and Prem Nath Shad, offers an interesting and intelligent appraisal of their contents. The volume, in fact, examines in depth and detail the displacement of about half a million Kashmiri Pandits, who got uprooted from the Valley.

Prof. Tejnath Dhar's book is a welcome addition to the literature of exile that has steadily grown up in bulk in recent years and is now engaging the attention of many critics and literatures, especially those from among the Kashmiri Pandits. The author is a well-known scholar of English, a researcher of note an expert in English fiction. With the publication of the present book, he had made his debut as a creative writer. Through the literary device of the Diary, he means to present a fictionalised version of the ethnic cleansing of a large number of Kashmiri Pandits and the consequent exodus of the community from Kashmir. The targeting of the minuscule community is seen as a pre-planned conspiracy by the diarist; the fear of the fugitives, especially as it grips their psyche, comes alive in the pages of the Diary. The book immediately reminds us here of another creative volume—the well-known book of poems titled of *Men, Militants and Gods* authored by Dr KL Chowdhary.

The volume *Under the Shadow of Militancy* consists of two parts—a short Introduction by the author and the Diary written by the "unknown Kashmiri". The Diary consists of 67 units; how the author came by it, is explained in some detail in the Introduction. Interspersed with anecdotes and intellectual analyses of happenings, the Diary records how, with the outbreak of militancy, turmoil grew up in the Valley during the initial period (1989-90). The account given broadly tallies with what was reported in the local and national newspapers. The contents of the Diary are, on the whole, readable and absorbing, in spite of the unpleasant and gruesome-happenings recorded. The narrative grips the reader's attention enlivened as it is by the many anecdotes and some diverting incidents that are not necessarily centered on the theme of militancy.

The Diary lays bare the psyche of the sensitive and thoughtful narrator, who as well performs the role of the protagonist. Till he meets his end, he is haunted by the prospect of his leaving the Valley, his homeland. Yet he is aware throughout of the prevailing ethos of peace between the Kashmiri Muslims and the Pandits. Many nostalgic references are made by the protagonist to the mutual amity that existed traditionally between the two communities in the Valley. Nowhere does the diarist express any bitterness against his Muslim friends, whom he continues to hold in esteem in view of their human and moral qualities.

One important feature of the book that has escaped the critical attention of most reviewers is: the technical device of the author's distancing himself from the narrative and bringing in the diarist. It is relevant to mention here that the reader is likely to raise questions such as these here: (i) Are the events narrated in the Diary to be taken as true and authentic? (ii) how far has the author succeeded in distancing himself from the events narrated in the Dairy? (iii) does the Dairy pass for a piece of fiction? Yet the reader cannot dispute the fact that the author has succeeded in investing the narrative with an aura of topicality and contemporary relevance. Ravinder Kaul observes in his review of the book that the "Dairy is an important chronicle of its time". In my view, the diarist serves not only as the protagonist but also as the author's mouthpiece. Significantly, the words of Andre Brook quoted in the Diary seem to specify the author's own intention of writing about himself both as an individual and as a member of the community he belongs to. He has obviously attempted to distance himself from what is recorded in the Diary and, therefore, it is not fair on the part of a reviewer to question him for what is said about Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah or Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad (based on hearsay). At the same time, the illusion of the author's being distinct from the diarist has perhaps not been fully sustained. However, in no case can it be maintained that the book is in any way flawed on that account. It is very readable and has sold well as a creative piece and as a "chronicle" or our time.

The sad story of the displaced Kashmiris presented in the fictional garb—a welcome book. END

## *10 Forget terror, let's talk trade*

### ***Pakistan should have dropped the Kashmiri jihad after 9/11. Better late than never***

*By M.B. Naqvi*

**IT** is high time Pakistanis defined their permanent purposes and interests vis-a-vis India. Pakistan's relations with India have so far been driven by an adversarial attitude and the vicissitudes of the Kashmir dispute. Following Kargil operations and the 2002 grand confrontation, Islamabad has been desperate for the resumption of dialogue with New Delhi.

This has been a second U turn in policy; hitherto, the Kashmir policy was premised on jihad in the disputed areas forcing India into an acceptable settlement. This has been given up. Politically, it is a big price paid by a military-sponsored regime for resumption of dialogue.

Many questions arise. If only the great strategists in Islamabad could read the situation right, they would have found it logical to turnaround the Kashmir policy as soon as they were forced into changing their policy of seeking strategic depth in Afghanistan. It was necessary to re-assess the nature of US relations with India—and Pakistan—by trying to understand the larger American strategic needs in Asia.

Was there any understanding of the changes and commonalities in the American strategy between the Bush and Clinton governments before the famous "either with us or against us" telephone call? It is doubtful. Far too many Pakistanis thought a Republican administration was pro-Pakistan and a Democratic one was pro-India. There is more to American foreign policy than such simplistic notions.

The US strategy now seeks to make India a strategic partner, the way Japan and Britain are. With Pakistan, the US relationship is cynical flirtation or worse; it is all too temporary, if only Islamabad can see clearly.

It is right and proper that the Musharraf regime has seen the need to go back to the agreements made successively at Simla, Lahore and the abortive one at Agra, and to build on them. That is the only logical course.

In terms of old mindsets, Musharraf has already paid a heavy price by conceding on three major issues. First, Pakistan will not allow its territory to be used against either India or Afghanistan; if fully implemented, it will put paid to Kashmir's jihad insofar as it was Pakistan-sponsored. The Taliban campaign in Afghanistan too will be greatly handicapped.

The second major concessions is agreeing to SAFTA (the South Asian Free Trade Agreement). If it is implemented fully, and in its true spirit, it will set off a great expansion of trade in the region. The third major concession is starting to favour the people-to-people contacts and, more unusual and difficult for old mindsets in Islamabad, cultural exchanges.

Kashmir is however not to be forgotten. Far too many people in Pakistan are deeply concerned with the issue. A practical solution of the problem must be sought—but through peaceful and negotiated means.

Pakistanis have to think hard on how to make India more flexible and make it ready to make some concessions on Kashmir. It will mean, in realpolitik terms, Pakistanis have to offer over time some kind of a deal that will make India relent and relax. A very good beginning has already been made by the three major initiatives that Islamabad has initiated. All that is necessary to be said is: stay the course.

The purpose of free trade and economic cooperation in south Asia can only be to sustain higher rates of economic growth in all SAARC member states. A single market, and closer internal cooperation, can make for rapid economic development of all.

The pathway to progress lies through regional integration and the region's integration with the rest of Asia and Europe through better communications. Pakistan being at the tri-junction of west, south and central Asia can benefit greatly from overland trade.

What it boils down to is to show India the benefits of friendship with Pakistan. One benefit would be common: economic advancement and more wealth creation. If SAFTA, SAPTA and these steps are taken, there will be all round enrichment.

The second major benefit will be through cultural exchanges and free movement of people. These should be the major objectives for Pakistan's policy-making in future. In this connection, the importance of free travel, preferably visa-free throughout the region, at some stage in future, will be necessary.

—*The News END*

## ***11 No Talks with Hurriyat : PANDITS***

### ***KS Correspondent***

JAMMU, January 31: Kashmiri Pandits rejected to enter in any dialogue with the Hurriyat Conference holding them responsible for their mass exodus and said that they will hold talks with the Government of India only. Describing the orders to some displaced employees to join in valley as 'blatant coercion' and showing total lack of confidence in the state government, the Pandit leaders asked 'Government of India' to establish a 'Ministry of Rehabilitation' at the Centre to address the issues confronting the community.

These views were expressed at a joint press conference by Pandit leaders belonging to Panun Kashmir, All Kashmiri Pandit Solidarity Conference, All State Kashmiri Pandit Conference, Coordination committee Camps and JK Watch to show that the community leadership is united when some one comes to play with the interests of the community.

Describing Hurriyat leaders as part and parcel of the religious cleansing process of Kashmiri Pandits, Chairman of Panun Kashmir Dr. Ajay Chrungoo said that Hurriyat leaders are communal and fascist in nature, pursuing the agenda of 'Muslim interests'. He added, "There is no change in the thinking and outlook of the Hurriyat Conference. The conglomerate was making mere tactical manoeuvres to seek political legitimacy for a terrorist campaign spearheaded by it".

Ruling out any talks with those who ask the community to support their movement, Dr. Chrungoo said that Pandits being natural party to Kashmir issue would hold talks with Government of India only.

Referring to the government order to 24 displaced government employees at Delhi to join their duties in Kashmir, General Secretary ASKPC, Heera Lal Chatta said, "When dialogue between India and Pakistan and GoI and Hurriyat is on, PDP led government has unleashed a process to intimidate the Kashmiri Pandits. The order also appears to be part of the design to force displaced Kashmiri Pandit employees to seek premature retirement or give up the jobs so that the state administration is cleansed of them". Mr. Chatta sought immediate intervention of central government on the issue.

Sh Mohan Lal Sopori of J K Watch said there was unity amongst the Pandit leadership. He said that whether you call it Panun Kashmir, Kashyap State or something else but the fact is that it is the only solution to reverse the exodus and rehabilitate Pandits permanently.

Sh. Roshan Lal Raina of Camp Coordination Committee, Referring to the recent issue of recruitment in Police department and transfer of some displaced employes to valley, said that Mufti govt has resorted to intimidating tactics. Questioning the sincerity of the state govt to address the concerns of the community, Mr. Raina said that the govt is not addressing the problems of the Pandits living in valley who even were forced to resort to fast unto death. Describing the govt. claims about normalcy as illusion, Mr. Raina said that 629 Muslim families from valley have been registered as migrants by relief organisation recently.

In a joint statement released to the media at the conference, the Pandit leaders also had a dig at those forces within the community who are contributing to the agenda of separatists and fundamentalists. 'It is very disconcerting for all of us to observe that a small coterie of non displaced Kashmiri Pandits under the name of All India Kashmiri Samaj are complementing the Muslim separatist movement by according them the legitimacy of leading a secular and indigenous freedom struggle. It is nothing but shameful that they have begged Hurriyat to call them for talks. The contents of the official organ of the AIKS over a period of time indicate that this group has been trying to sell the idea of independence of Kashmir or maximum autonomy for Kashmir as possible solutions to Kashmir problem. We denounce all these efforts and declare that this group led by M/s. M.K. Kaw, M.L. Kaul and T.N. Khosa have no locus standi to speak on behalf of displaced Kashmiri Pandits who consider them mere instrumentalities of Muslim subversive machination'.

Showing lack of confidence in the state government and the administration, the leaders said, "We also appeal to the GoI to forthwith declare a ministry of Rehabilitation at the centre, which will handle all the matters with regard to displaced Kashmiri Pandits. This is imperative because the state govt. has chosen to abandon Kashmiri Pandits at all levels".

The others who addressed the press conference were M.K. Teng of Panun Kashmir, O.N. Trisal and Rajni Bhat of AKPSC and R.K. Raina of ASKPC.

The organisations hailed the stand of Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee that no meaningful dialogue or solution was possible as long as Pakistan continued its claim on Kashmir because of its Muslim majority character. They strongly opposed centre's initiative of holding exclusive dialogue with the Hurriyat Conference, which ran counter to Vajpayee's assertion.

This stand was taken by the organisations when Prof. M.K. Teng, Head of the Advisory Committee Panun Kashmir and O.N. Trisal, President ASKPC, addressed a press conference on January 16.

Referring to the recent initiative on Indo-Pak talks, Prof. Teng said that there was little optimism keeping in view the past bitter experience but, added that "the only reassuring aspect of the entire exercise is that Prime Minister of India has linked the return of peace to the change in the basic outlook of Pakistan on Kashmir, which claims it on the basis of its Muslim majority character".

Rejecting the scheduled talks between Deputy Prime Minister and Ansari led Hurriyat Conference; Dr. M.K. Teng said Panun Kashmir rejects such negotiations or talks with any communal, separatist and fundamental regimes because of dangers inherent in it. "We have experience in J&K and other parts that whenever negotiations have been carried by govt. of India (GoI) with fundamentalist and separatist regimes, it led to further consolidation of secessionist forces", opined Mr. Teng.

Demanding a comprehensive dialogue on the issue of Kashmir, Prof. Teng said, "Panun Kashmir favours and fervently demands a comprehensive dialogue in which the representatives of Muslims of J&K, representatives of Hindus of J&K, particularly half a million Displaced Hindus of Kashmir, and representatives of all other ethnic minorities of the state are invited".

Prof. Teng said that Panun Kashmir still believes that India is a democracy and as such "Indian government cannot take a decision in which Muslim majority community of J&K will determine the fate of total of its population". He, however, added that a tradition is being followed in which only "Muslim majority state of J&K is the privileged state and the Muslim majority of the state the privileged community", which Panun Kashmir repudiates vehemently. "If GoI follows the precedence of Muslim majority in the state, Panun Kashmir organisation will approach the people of India on the issue", he warned.

Addressing the press conference AKPSC President, Sh. O.N. Trisal said, "The official line on return and rehabilitation has been to enact a tokenist symbolic return through coercion, bribery or defection and creating a media hype while abandoning the community to its own fate". Rejecting any such return module, Mr. Trisal said one hundred crore people of India have to decide on the issue and the return shall be in

totality, taking cognisance of dispersal and exodus, and must be the last exodus. Mr. Trisal reiterated the demand of Homeland and added that no solution was possible unless the issue of genocide and ethnic cleansing were addressed to. Showing solidarity with Jammu people, who have also suffered immensely, Mr. Trisal lambasted those Pandit organisations that poked their nose to reject trifurcation of the state. Mr. Trisal said that Jammuites have the right to decide their fate and our demand of reorganisation of state is to supplement their struggle for statehood to Jammu. Referring to the attitude of Mufti government towards Pandits, Mr. Trisal said that it is totally apathetic. Accusing Mufti Sayeed for pursuing communal politics, he said that his role as Home Minister was suspect and his role as PCCI Chief in Anantnag riots in 1986 was established even by Congress, which is reflected in K.N. Singh's report.

Showing total lack of confidence in the State government and administration Mr. O.N. Trisal demanded that GoI shall declare a Ministry of Rehabilitation at the centre to 'take over all the aspects of the problems faced by Kashmiri Hindus so that at least a halt is put on the geoncidal-war on Kashmiri Hindus'.

Expressing apprehension that the state administration has been impregnated with separatist and fundamentalist elements, Mr. Trisal demanded a thorough probe into the pattern of recruitment in the state since 1996 to identify Jammuites who have found access into the corridors of administration".

#### **Shri Bhat Samman for KOA**

Udhampur, 24 Jan: In recognition of the help provided to the exiled community by Kashmir Overseas Association (KOA), Shri Bhat Memorial Trust, Udhampur presented 'Shri Bhat Saman' to President, KOA, Shri Sanjay Kaul. The Saman was presented to Mr. Kaul at a function organised by the Trust at Sharda Peeth Rishi Model School, Battal Ballian Udhampur.

Speaking on the occasion, Chairman of the Trust, Sh. P.N. Raina said that the Trust Initiative 'Rishi Model School' is unique in its nature. The School is mostly run on donations for the hapless displaced children of Battal Ballian camp. He said that KOA has a definite role in the establishment of the school being our permanent donors and Sh. Sanjay Kaul has almost institutionalised the process of the donation transactions. He added that by honouring Sh. Kaul we are honouring the KOA as a whole for their help to the Pandit community after their exodus.

Sh. Sanjay Kaul, in his address, acknowledged that since his last visit, the institution has progressed. He said that community has suffered immensely after the exodus and we shall work to preserve our identity and culture. He exhorted the trust and the parents to strive hard to educate the children, who will bring us out from the morass of misery and helplessness. Mr. Kaul said that Kashmir belongs to us but we will return only on our terms and conditions. He appreciated the role of Shri Bhat Memorial Trust for which the trust was honoured by KOA at a function at Abhinav Theatre Jammu yesterday.

Sh. Sanjay Kaul also gave away prizes and certificates to the meritorious students and the students who won medals at state and northern-zone sports competitions, organised by 'Vidhya Bharti Akhil Bharti Shiksha Sanstha'. 'The Parent Of The Year,' 'The Student Of The Year' and 'The Teacher Of The Year' awards were also given on the occasion.

The function was attended by the trust members, BL Koul, RC Koul, LK Bhat, parents of the students and many camp dwellers. The principal of the school, Sh TN Raina also spoke on the occasion and the programme was compared by the trust Gen. Secretary, Satish Mohan Pandit. END

## **12 AIKS Ties To Hurriyat Apron Strings**

### **KS Correspondent**

**"Through your esteemed daily we request to APHC chairman to invite Kashmiri Pandits while holding talks with the deputy Prime Minister, invitation thus extended to them,"**. This appeal from All India Kashmir Samaj appeared in *Kashmir Times* on 16 January 2004 barely a few days before APHC was to meet the Deputy Prime Minister Sh. L.K. Advani. In June 2003, six months earlier. All India Kashmir Samaj had in its well publicised 'National Policy on Kashmir: our locus standii' declared that, **"talks should be held in the case of Kashmiri Muslims with their elected representatives and with no one else. In no case should talks be held with those who are not prepared to talk within the parameters of the Indian Constitution"**. The appeal to Hurriyat for audience not only ridiculed AIKS own position but also brought out the fact that many of the AIKS publicly proclaimed policy imperatives which appeared to be in sync with community view are merely a facade to operate within the Kashmiri Pandit Social milieu.

The appeal to Hurriyat by AIKS has far reaching implications. When Sh LK Advani broached the aspects of diversity of political opinion in J&K with Hurriyat leaders and eloquently emphasised about the issue of displaced Kashmiri Pandits, their displacement, plight and aspirations it did have an underlying political message. Hurriyat lacked both representative and secular legitimacy. Hurriyat must have already anticipated that during their dialogue with GOI the issue of their legitimacy as a representative organisation of Jammu and Kashmir will come up besides the issue of cleansing of Kashmiri Pandits. But when they met Advani they were already equipped with the confidence. AIKS' virtual imploring for an audience with Hurriyat meant that they can overcome the legitimacy issue with ease. If Kashmiri Pandits can accord them respectability, forgetting every thing, then other social groups in the state will be no problem. AIKS leaders as per reports have been having series of meetings with separatist leaders both before the Hurriyat-GOI dialogue as well as after it. These flirtations have come at a time when Pakistan is desperately trying to project that Kashmir crisis as indigenous in character a revolt of Kashmiris against India.

The outrage about the role of All India Kashmiri Samaj among the Kashmiri Pandits has been building for quite some time. While AIKS was gearing for a probable meeting with the Ansari lead faction of Hurriyat the state government released a bombshell by serving orders to 24 displaced employees in Delhi to report for duty in Srinagar. The general impression within the community has been that the order was a result of a deal between AIKS leaders MK Kaw, TN Khosa and ML Koul with Mufti Mohammad Sayeed in which these leaders had in principle accepted the piece-meal, tokenist return formula of the state government. As per these impressions these leaders had given a go ahead to the Mufti Government promising that they would contain the community reactions and will not allow the situation to go beyond making some public noises.

The visit of MK Kaw to Jammu and his meetings with the press as well as some prominent Kashmiri Pandits at Press Club had raised such suspicions. It was generally felt that Kaw was publicly attacking Panun Kashmir only to please Mufti and the separatist leadership. In his address to Kashmiri Pandits Sh MK Kaw also made indirect suggestion for a gradual piecemeal return for which many a Pandits in the gathering rebuffed him on face. That Kaw was made chairman of the governing body of upgraded engineering college in Srinagar is being interpreted by many as the part of the same deal. Rumours have gained currency in Jammu that Sh TN Khosa has been frantically lobbying with Mufti Government for a seat in the government.

AIKS stand on return as articulated in its policy document and subsequent utterances of no less than its President MK Kaw confirms not only its blatant double standards and deceitful behaviour but also the endorsement of Mufti's proposal for return of Kashmiri Pandits. "Kashmir Pandits cannot be forced to return at the point of a gun...The fundamental prerequisite is the creation of a peaceful atmosphere," such a declaration of AIKS appears only to allay the fears of the Kashmiri Pandits as well as to keep the retreat route patent. However the impressions in its policy document that, "the return cannot be sudden nor can it be in large numbers. Undue publicity to measures taken to facilitate the return results in a panic reaction among militant groups and process is thwarted by massacres of innocent KP's", is a clear endorsement of what Mufti and his government has been stating on return.

Ironically the endorsement of Mufti's views on return are projected as tactical ploys to expose the state government by Sh. M.K. Kaw.

He himself accepts in his column that, "Nobody was prepared to return to the Valley in the present circumstances. If he (Mufti) wanted to give jobs why not let them stay on at Jammu and draw salary from there like the other state government employees? Why was he keen to take KPs only in the police where many of them had already died? Why was he not offering jobs in the secretariat. People were not mad that they would send their children for a tour to they Valley? What if they are killed? Who would be responsible?". While Kaw raises such pertinent questions, about Mufti's Pandit policy he in the same breath trivialises them by offering a total surrender to Mufti's dictates in the garb of a tactical manoeuvre. "Why don't we call his bluff? I asked--If he does not mean what he says the best way is not to reject outright what he is offering but to take him at his word. For example of he offers a thousand jobs we should give him a list of two thousand boys fully qualified, of proper age and willing to serve in district headquarters (in Valley), if then he does nothing he will be exposed."

A streak of sadist tendency is glaringly evident in such an approach. AIKS is willing to allow experimentation on Kashmiri Pandits to prove a point. The return process unleashed by the state government has lead to four massacres-Nadimarg being the latest exposing Mufti's intentions at all levels. But yet AIKS wants Pandits to take the same course again.

The questions which is being asked within the community is that whether this coterie of non-displaced leaders which are running the AIKS are doing these things out of political naivety or ideological considerations? Some well meaning Kashmiri Pandits members of AIKS unable to defend it attribute it to naivety. "You see it is ML Koul who is mischievous and does things over and above the knowledge of the President -Mr Kaw is a well meaning bureaucrat but does not have the understanding of Community pulse and ground situation."

A retrospective study of AIKS proposals and views however points towards a very clear cut purpose which AIKS has been pursuing. AIKS is supervising a process of internal subversion of community struggle by ensuring that the fundamental issues which have led to Kashmir crisis and religious cleansing of Kashmir Hindus are not raised by displaced Kashmiris. For example while various Kashmiri Pandit organisations in their petitions pleaded with NHRC that Kashmiri Pandits were targeted as a social group with a particular religious affiliation the AIKS representative who would be always present to oversee the proceeding is reported to have made written presentations to NHRC which were never made public to contest the issue subtly. In fact NHRC in one of its judgements quotes AIKS representation to make the judgement that violence in Valley did not have a direct objective of killing the Kashmiri Hindus. A senior AIKS representative till recently and retired DG of ITBP sometime back made a bizarre observations in one of his write ups in Koshur Samachar-that the displacement of Kashmiri Hindus was a result of the assault of ISI and Pakistan on the majority community of Kashmir. These observations absolving the role of local communal processes in the Valley in the genesis of Kashmir crisis and exodus of Kashmiri Pandits is one of the consistent features of AIKS ideological outlook.

Compromise with Muslim Communalism as the only hope for Kashmir Pandits to live in Valley is the other dimension of the same outlook which AIKS has been trying to propagate amongst Kashmiri Pandits directly or indirectly. But the most dangerous aspects of AIKS outlook as underlined by one of its policy documents points to a wider design of legitimising dilution of Indian sovereignty in Kashmir. The draft prepared by AIKS steering committee named 'AIKS stand on Kashmir Issue' makes following observations in its para 'D'. "One way of looking at the demand for 'Azadi' or 'Autonomy' or return to pre-1953 position is to see these as positive trends a means to wean away Kashmiri Muslims from joining Pakistan where Islam is the basis for governance..."

Rationalising compromises with Muslim communalism, deflecting any debate on the communal content of dominant politics in Kashmir and camouflaging the communal processes in the state has been the hallmark of the strategy of a section of Congress and left-Muslim elite to gradually push India towards second partition and eventual disintegration. Is AIKS their instrumentality or does it represent a mind set of 'Slave drivers' who relish enslaving their own people for small gains.

The association of a known Kashmiri journalist with left leanings who at one time was arrested for anti-India activities points to a broader design. AIKS is perhaps used as an instrument to legitimise a deal on Kashmir. At least as per our reports from Valley the Muslim separatist elite have discovered lot of hope in this group to further their designs. Has AIKS finally tied itself to Hurriyat Apron strings needs to be seen? One thing is clear that the large masses of displaced Kashmiri Pandits have discovered AIKS as a coterie of non-displaced Kashmiri Pandits with no stakes in Kashmir but lot of axe to grind END

### ***13 Nishkasan Diwas observed***

#### ***KS Correspondent***

AMBALA, Jan 19: Panun Kashmir Haryana state observed **Nishkasan Diwas** today in Banke Bihari Mandir. The function was chaired by Sh. Kuldeep Raina, general secretary Panun Kashmir.

Sh. Kuldeep Raina general secretary Panun Kashmir briefed the gathering about Nishkasan Diwas and the role of Kashmiri Hindus in preserving unity of the country. He emphasised that Panun Kashmir is movement of not only Kashmiri Hindus but a movement towards the awareness the threat to Indian sovereignty and integrity.

Sh. Trilok Sharma vice-president Bhraman Sangthan along with general secretary Sh. R.C. Sharma assured of full cooperation and assistance to displaced Kashmir at Ambala.

Sh. J.L. Koul informed gathering about the latest tasks taken by Panun Kashmir Haryana for registration/relief for Kashmiri displaced families residing in Haryana.

On the occasion Sh. Kuldeep Raina honoured media persons present at the function with mementos for the help extended by the media to highlight the issues of exiled Pandits.

On the occasion, Sh JL Koul was nominated state secretary of Panun Kashmir Haryana, and other members of the state and district units were also nominated. END

## ***14 Shri Bhat Samman for KOA***

### ***KS Correspondent***

UDHAMPUR, Jan 24: In recognition of the help provided to the exiled community by Kashmir Overseas Association (KOA), Shri Bhat Memorial Trust, Udhampur presented 'Shri Bhat Saman' to President, KOA, Shri Sanjay Kaul. The Saman was presented to Mr. Kaul at a function organised by the Trust at Sharda Peeth Rishi Model School, Battal Ballian Udhampur.

Speaking on the occasion, Chairman of the Trust, Sh. P.N. Raina said that the Trust Initiative 'Rishi Model School' is unique in its nature. The School is mostly run on donations for the hapless displaced children of Battal Ballian camp. He said that KOA has a definite role in the establishment of the school being our permanent donors and Sh. Sanjay Kaul has almost institutionalised the process of the donation transactions. He added that by honouring Sh. Kaul we are honouring the KOA as a whole for their help to the Pandit community after their exodus.

Sh. Sanjay Kaul, in his address, acknowledged that since his last visit, the institution has progressed. He said that community has suffered immensely after the exodus and we shall work to preserve our identity and culture. He exhorted the trust and the parents to strive hard to educate the children, who will bring us out from the morass of misery and helplessness. Mr. Kaul said that Kashmir belongs to us but we will return only on our terms and conditions. He appreciated the role of Shri Bhat Memorial Trust for which the trust was honoured by KOA at a function at Abhinav Theatre Jammu yesterday.

Sh. Sanjay Kaul also gave away prizes and certificates to the meritorious students and the students who won medals at state and northern-zone sports competitions, organised by 'Vidhya Bharti Akhil Bharti Shiksha Sanstha'. 'The Parent Of The Year,' 'The Student Of The Year' and 'The Teacher Of The Year' awards were also given on the occasion.

The function was attended by the trust members, BL Koul, RC Koul, LK Bhat, parents of the students and many camp dwellers. The principal of the school, Sh TN Raina also spoke on the occasion and the programme was compared by the trust Gen. Secretary, Satish Mohan Pandit. END

## ***15 Chronology of Events***

### ***November 13, 2003 to December 1, 2003***

Nov 13: Two terrorists were killed in Poonch.

Nov 14: Terrorists killed three civilians, including a woman, in Kashmir valley. In yet another technique, terrorists tied IEDs with the parts of a dead human body to target security forces in Doda; however, they failed in their mission.

Nov 15: Security forces killed eight terrorists, seven in Rajouri and one in Doda, and suffered death of an Army jawan in Jammu. Three civilians and a soldier were killed in Kashmir valley; moreover, a child died and his mother was injured in an IED blast in Lolab and seven more were injured in another blast in Hazratbal, Srinagar.

Nov 16: Four terrorists, two civilians and two Army personnel, including an Intelligence Officer, were killed in Kashmir valley. Three jawans and two terrorists were killed and four soldiers and a civilian injured in militancy related incidents and Pak shelling across Jammu region.

- Nov 17: Terrorists have killed yet another PDP worker Mohammad Ismail Khanday of Logripora, Pahalgam; terrorists also killed a civilian in a blast in Ganderbal and killed an ITBP jawan and injured three civilians in yet another IED blast in Anantnag. Terrorists tortured to death a young girl at Tatagoan (Gandoh), Doda.
- Nov 18: A CRPF jawan was killed and two others injured in a *fidayeen* attack at their formation in Indra Nagar, Srinagar. A jawan and a terrorist were killed and three others, including a Lambardar, injured across Jammu region; two terrorists surrendered in Doda.
- Nov 19: Two terrorists and a BSNL official are believed to be dead as the terrorists, who had attacked CRPF yesterday, engaged forces in an exchange from a BSNL exchange; the exchange was also completely destroyed in Indra Nagar locality. Two terrorists were killed in Sopore. A terrorist was killed in Kreeri, Rajouri and a body was recovered from Baderwah.
- Nov 20: Army called off the Indranagar encounter claiming the death of all the terrorists; a major was also killed in the encounter. Six students were injured in a blast at Batpora, Rafiabad. A jawan and three terrorists were killed in Jammu region.
- Nov 21: Six terrorists, a jawan and a civilian were killed across Jammu region; 118 Bangladeshis were arrested in Ramgarh. A surviving terrorists in Indranagar fiasco made a dramatic appearance but was reportedly taken to army net by an auto driver. Terrorists dragged a civilian Ghulam Hassan Ganai out of a mosque at Sanoo Kalipora, Beerwah and shot him dead.
- Nov 22: A jawan was injured in a blast in Bafliaz, Mendhar while a civilian was killed and five others injured in Pak shelling in Poonch and Sunderbani sectors. Terrorists killed two civilians and a former-militant while three civilians were injured in Kashmir valley.
- Nov 23: Three terrorists and two civilians were killed in Kashmir valley. Three terrorists were killed in different operations in Poonch and Doda districts; two civilians were injured in Pak shelling in Digwar sector.
- Nov 24: An Awami League leader Bushan Lal was injured along with two others and his PSO and a shop keeper were killed as terrorists attacked him in Anantnag. A youth Mohammad Ayub Khan of Chaklipora Chattergul, allegedly a militant, was killed in Shangus area. Terrorists killed a civilian at Kolihand, Doda while a terrorist hideout was busted in Banihal.
- Nov 25: Five terrorists and two jawans were killed in Mendhar and Budhal and two JeM terrorists were arrested in Kishtwar. DC Anantnag has ordered an inquiry into alleged custodial death case of a youth of Chaklipora.
- Nov 26: Army and Police killed three HM terrorists and described them to have been involved in the killing of Mushtaq Lone and his brother last year. Two army jawans and a terrorist were killed in Jammu region.
- Nov 27: Terrorists hurled a grenade in Ambrikadal Srinagar killing one and injuring 12 others; elsewhere, an ASI and a former SPO were killed and a woman was injured. Four terrorists were killed and two other terrorists and a jawan were injured in different incidents in Jammu region; terrorists set ablaze a Dak Bungalow in Kishtwar.

- Nov 28: Four terrorists, including three exfiltrators, and a civilian were killed and two others injured in Jammu region; a suspected over ground worker of terrorists was arrested alongwith Rs one lakh in Mahore. A cop was killed as terrorists escaped in full view of public in presence of police in Pampore-Shopian road. Security forces killed a terrorist in Ganderbal area and about nine people, including security men, were injured in different incidents across Kashmir valley.
- Nov 29: Terrorists gunned down a youth in Qamarwari, Srinagar. An SPO was killed and a girl injured as terrorists opened fire on a passenger bus in Kishtwar; two civilians and a terrorists were killed elsewhere in Jammu region.
- Nov 30: One policeman and a terrorist were killed and senior IAS officer KB Pillai was among nine injured persons as terrorists struck in Sidhra area and the encounter was going on in Mahamaya forests. Two army men, including a Major, and a terrorist were injured in an encounter at Ghambir Mugalan, Rajourip; Rs 2 lakh were received from a terrorists' harbourer arrested from Mahore recently.
- Dec 1: Mahamaya encounter ended with the death of another terrorist, two terrorists were killed in Banihal and two Pak brothers held in RS Pura. Two army men, including a JCO, and two terrorists were killed in an encounter in Kapran, Shopian. A girl died in mysterious firing in Kulgam, while terrorists killed an auto driver in Srinagar and attacked the residence of a PDP worker at Soibug, Budgam.

## 16 THOSE WHO LEFT US

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

1. Sh. Bansi Lal Bhat S/o Lt. Sh. Daya Ram Bhat, R/o Ladhoo Distt. Pulwama, Kmr; presently at 12-B, 2/3 Roop Nagar Enclave Jammu. 1/1/2004
2. Sh. Makhan Lal Dhar S/o Lt. Sh. Suraj Ram Dhar, R/o Khankahi Sokhta Safakadal Sgr; presently at H.No: 103, Shanker Vihar Talab Tillo Jammu. 1/1/2004
3. Sh. Prem Nath Tickoo S/o Lt. Sh. Nath Joo Tickoo, R/o 23-Nai-Sarak Sgr; presently at Ashirvad Bhawan Lane No: 2, Main Stop Pamposh Colony Janipur, Jammu. 1/1/2004
4. Smt. Bimla Magazine W/o Lt. Sh. Triloki Nath Magazine, R/o 93-Karan Nagar Sgr; presently at 4A, Prince Avenue Race Course Road Amritsar. 1/1/2004
5. Sh. Gokul Nath Razdan S/o Lt. Sh. Neil Kanth Razdan, R/o Gund Ahelmar Sgr; presently at F-19, Street No: 6 Suraj Nagar Talab Tillo, Jammu. 1/1/2004
6. Smt. Jai Kishori Koul W/o Sh. A.N. Koul, R/o 237 B/B Greater Kailash New Delhi; presently at USA. 2/1/2004
7. Sh. Makhan Lal Rania S/o Lt. Sh. Kashi Nath Raina, R/o Nahama Handwara Distt. Kupwara; presently at Qtr. No: 86 Mishriwala Camp Jammu. 2/1/2004
8. Sh. Arjun Nath S/o Sh. Kinam Chand Raina, R/o Bandi Brahmna Uri, Kashmir. 2/1/2004
9. Sh. Ram Nath Chrungoo S/o Lt. Sh. Jia Lal Chrungoo, R/o Malyar, Ganpatyar Sgr; presently at H.No: 163 Durga Nagar Sector-3 Jammu. 2/1/2004
10. Sh. Dwarka Nath Koul S/o Lt. Sh. Bajwan Dass Koul, R/o Maharaj Gunj Sgr; presently at H.No: 499-b2 Shiv Colony Pinjore Haryana. 3/1/2004
11. Smt. Sonabatni Aima W/o Lt. Sh. Prithvi Nath Aima, R/o 105/7, Trikuta Nagar Jammu. 5/1/2004
12. Smt. Arandati Tak W/o Lt. Sh. Dina Nath Tak, R/o Sopore; preently at 9/7, Anand Nagar Bohri Jammu. 4/1/2004

13. Smt. Leelawati W/o Lt. Shanker Nath Koul, R/o Sathu Payeen Sgr; presently at Muthi Camp Phase-IIInd Jammu. 4/1/2004
14. Smt. Soomawati Raina W/o Sh. Radha Krishen Raina, R/o Magam Kmr; presently at Barnai Jammu. 4/1/2004
15. Smt. Shoba Wati W/o Lt. Sh. Tara Chand R/o Veri Nag Anantnag; presently at H.No: 345-N Durga Nagar Sector-2, Jammu. 4/1/2004
16. Smt. Sarla Misri W/o Sh. Rajinder Nath Misri, R/o 499-A Gandhi Nagar Jammu. 4/1/2004
17. Smt. Subagwati Dhar W/o Lt. Sh. Dwarika Nath Dhar, R/o Khankhe-e-Sokhta Safakadal Sgr; presently at 160-A, Gandhi Nagar, Near Shiv Mandir Jammu. 5/1/2004
18. Sh. Prem Nath Razdan R/o Wussan Kangan Ganderbal; presently at H.No: 54 Sector-1 Sharika Vihar Roop Nagar Jammu. 5/1/2004
19. Smt. Uma Shri Dhar W/o Lt. Sh. P.N. Dhar, R/o Bana Mohalla Sgr, Kmr; presently at 1403/21-D New (GBN) School Faridabad. 5/1/2004
20. Smt. Kaushlawati W/o Sh. Kashi Nath Pandita, R/o Batargam (Kupwara); presently at H.No: 108-A, Sector-2 Pamposh Colony Janipur Jammu. 6/1/2004
21. Shashi Kaul D/o Sh. Durga Nath Koul, R/o Bagh Jogi Lanker Rainawari Sgr; presently at E.P.-1041, Mast Garh Jammu. 6/1/2004
22. Sh. Radha Krishen Labroo S/o Sh. Raghu Nath Labroo R/o Indra Nagar, Sgr; presently at H.No: 33 Apna Vihar Jammu. 7/1/2004
23. Smt. Rupawati Koul W/o Lt. Shamboo Nath Koul, R/o Aga Hamim Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at H.No: 303 Gayatri Niwas Prem Nagar New Plot, Jammu. 7/1/2004
24. Sh. Radha Krishen S/o Lt. Sona Pandit, R/o Tachoo Teh. Shopian Kmr; presently at H.No: 742 Near Ram Lack Ground Housing Colony Janipur, Jammu. 7/1/2004
25. Sh. Shamboo Nath Pandita S/o Lt. Sh. Prakash Ram, R/o Hardu Chanam Distt. Baramulla; presently at Community Hall Purkhoo Camp Phase-III. 8/1/2004
26. Sh. Dina Nath Bhat R/o Magam Tangmarg Kmr; presently at H.No: 415 Sector-3 Gangyal Gardens Jammu. 9/1/2004
27. Smt. Parmishori Wali W/o Sh. PN Wali, R/o Verinag Ang. Kmr; presently at H.No: 85, Phase-IIInd Virath Nagar Model Town Panipat. 9/1/2004
28. Sh. Shyam Lal Bhat S/o Shri Kanth Joo Bhat, R/o Ladhoo Pampore Kmr; presently at Shantipuram, Lower Roop Nagar Muthi Jammu. 10/1/2004
29. Miss Joytsana Dhar D/o Smt. Surekha & Sh. Naresh Dhar, R/o 414 Colonel Colony Jammu. 11/1/2004
30. Sh. Triloki Nath Koul S/o Sh. Kanth Ram Koul, R/o Lar Ganderbal Kmr; presently at Happy Home Apartments No: 43-44-B Shanti Park Mira Road East Bombay. 11/1/2004
31. Smt. Raj Laxmi Koul W/o Lt. Sh. Amar Nath Koul, R/o 70/1 Jogi Lankar Rainawari Sgr; presently at 458 Julaka Mohalla, Jammu. 11/1/2004
32. Sh. Bal Ji Handoo S/o Lt. Sh. Dina Nath Handoo, R/o 63, Kochi Nidam, Rainawari Sgr; presently at 146-561F Upper Laxmi Nagar Sarwal Jammu. 13/1/2004
33. Sh. Opinder Bhan S/o Lt. Triloki Nath Bhan, R/o F-115 Old Janipur Jammu. 13/1/2004
34. Smt. Prabha Kachroo W/o Sh. H.N. Kachroo, R/o 42-Lower Laxmi Nagar Sarwal Jammu. 14/1/2004.
35. Smt. Raj Lahori W/o Lt. Sh. S.N. Lahori, R/o Battapora Shopian Kmr; presently at Moscow. 14/1/2004
36. Sh. Prem Nath Koul, R/o Kachwa Mujam Baramulla Kmr; presently at Phase-IIIrd Purkhoo Camp Jammu. 14/1/2004
37. Sh. Jia Lal Koul (Razgaroo) R/o Nai Sarak Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at 320-B Faridabad. 14/1/2004
38. Sh. Shamboo Nath Shah S/o Lt. Sh. Vishen Nath Shah, R/o Jogi Lanker Rainawari Sgr; presently at Sector-I, Gajyal Garden Jammu. 15/1/2004
39. Sh. Avtar Krishen Bhat S/o Lt. Sh. Suraj Ram Bhat, R/o Chandpora Harwan Sgr; presently at H.No: 11 Chowk Chabutra Jammu. 15/1/2004
40. Smt. Roopawati Bhan W/o Lt. Sh. Shamboo Nath Bhan, R/o Hardu Bani Tangmarg Kmr; presently at 5/35, Neter Kothian Lower Barnai Jammu. 15/1/2004
41. Sh. Lambodhar Nath Kaul S/o Lt. Pt. Gobind Ram Lal Kaul, R/o Sabdan Budgam Kmr; presently at Qtr. No: 142 Phase-IIInd Purkhoo Camp. 16/1/2004
42. Sh. Ram Krishen Sumbly S/o Lt. Sh. Vishamber Nath Sumbly R/o Ganpatyar Sgr; presently at H.No: 51, Teerath Nagar, Jammu. 17/1/2004

43. Sh. Raghu Nath Koul, R/o Azad Basti Natipora Sgr; presently at H.No: 356/110 Gali No: 16, Ashok Vihar Gurgoan. 17/1/2004
44. Smt. Nand Rani Zutshi R/o Bhaderwah; presently at 1-B/AD Shalimar Bagh Delhi. 17/1/2004
45. Smt. Janki Mali Tikoo W/o Lt. Sh. Gopi Nath Tickoo, R/o Hiyam Anantnag; presently at 6/7, Kailash Vihar Barnai Jammu. 18/1/2004
46. Smt. Anjali Bakshi W/o Sh. Kamal Krishen Bakshi, R/o 688-B, Vinayak Nagar Sector-3, Muthi Village. 18/1/2004
47. Sh. Bushan Lal Koul S/o Lt. Sh. Bagwan Dass Koul, R/o Sathu Barbar Shah Sgr; presently at 117/4 Pamposh Colony Janipur. 19/1/2004
48. Smt. Chanda Jigri R/o Bulbul Lankar Ali-Kadal Sgr; presently at Pocket 32 Mayur Vihar-III New Delhi. 19/1/2004
49. Smt. Shama Ji Kaw W/o Lt. Sh. R.N.Kaw R/o 13/6 Trikuta Nagar Jammu; presently at Chandigarh. 20/1/2004
50. Mrs. Jaikishori Kadalbaju W/o Sh. Pyare Lal Kadalbaju, R/o C-2/232 Janakpuri New Delhi. 20/1/2004
51. Smt. Shama Ji W/o Lt. Sh. Jagar Nath Koul, R/o Salia Anantnag; presently at 52/53 Phase-1st Purkhoo Camp Jammu. 20/1/2004
52. Sh. Som Nath Ji Kaw S/o Sh. Niranjn Nath Kaw, R/o 56 Amar Colony Camp Road Talab Tillo Jammu. 21/1/2004
53. Sh. Jagar Nath Pandita S/o Lt. Prasad Pandith R/o Uma Nagri Anantnag; presently at Sector B-2, Laxmipuram Chinore, Jammu. 21/1/2004
54. Sh. Lal Chand Tak S/o Lt. Anand Ram Tak, R/o Sogam (Lolab); presently at Qtr. No: 257 Mig Camp Battal Ballian. 21/1/2004
55. Sh. Justice Janki Nath Bhat, R/o 47-Lower Laxmi Nagar Sarwal Jammu. 22/1/2004
56. Smt. Vjyay Bhat W/o Sh. Brij Krishen Bhat, R/o Wandhama Ganderbal, Kmr; presently at Durga Nagar Sector-3, Lane No: 8, Jammu. 22/1/2004
57. Master Pawan Zutshi S/o Sh. Narinder Zutshi, R/o 9/2 Shiva Enclave Pamposh Colony Janipur Jammu. 22/1/2004
58. Sh. Arzan Nath Koul S/o Sh. Anand Ram, R/o Salia Anantnag, Kmr; presently at Qtr. No: 224, Block-M, Janipura Colony, Jammu. 23/1/2004
59. Sh. Pushkar Nath Bhat S/o Lt. Pt. Mahader Joo Bhat, R/o Tulsi Bawan 11-A, Pvt. Gandhi Nagar Jammu. 23/1/2004
60. Sh. T.N. Raina S/o Sh. Darshan Pandita Raina, R/o Ali Kadal; presently at 100-C, Om Nagar Udheywala Jammu. 23/1/2004
61. Smt. Shanti Raina W/o Lt. Sh. Dina Nath Raina, R/o 92/8 Mohalla Jadid Baramulla; presently at H.No: 698 GH 5 & 7 Meera Bagh Pachim Vihar New Delhi. 24/1/2004
62. Sh. Dwarika Nath Bhat S/o Lt. Pt. Shivji Bhat, R/o Darend Teh. Ganderbal Sgr; presently at H.No: 248, Friends Sector, Subash Nagar, Jammu. 25/1/2004
63. Sh. Niranjn Nath Dhar, R/o Muran Pulwama Kmr; presently at WZ-143 A/35A Gali No: 7, New Mahvir Nagar, New Delhi. 25/1/2004
64. Sh. Jawahar Lal Bhan S/o Lt. Sh. Kanth Bhan, R/o Drussu, Pulwama Kmr; presently at H.No: 7, Lane No: 27, Rajpura Mangotrian, Shakti Nagar Jammu. 25/1/2004
65. Sh. Gopi Nath Bhat S/o Sh. Nand Lal Bhat, R/o 38, Yariwari Chanapura Sgr; presently at F-115, New Palam Vihar Gurgoan. 26/1/2004
66. Sh. Avtar Krishan Kalla S/o Lt. Sansar Chand Kalla, R/o Ganpatyar Sgr; presently at 21-B Bhawani Nagar Janipura Jammu. 27/1/2004
67. Smt. Pushpa Dhar W/o Sh. Pushkar Nath Dhar, R/o Bana Mohalla Sgr; presently at 118 Nimini Colony Phase-I, Delhi. 27/1/2004
68. Smt. Padmani Sopory W/o Lt. Sh. Mohan Lal Sopory R/o 23-Wazir Bagh Sgr; presently at C-407, Sarita Vihar, New Delhi. 28/7/2004
69. Smt. Leelawati Koul W/o Lt. Nand Lal Koul, R/o Kanjullar Shopian, Kmr; presently at H.No: 142/A, Subash Nagar Jammu. 31/1/2004
70. Sh. Moti Lal R/o 131, Jawahar Nagar; presently at 74, Sector-7, Roop Nagar Jammu. 31/1/2004
71. Sh. Tara Chand Pandita, R/o Sopore Kmr; presently at Qtr. No: 644, Migrant Camp Nagrota. 31/1/2004

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