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1 Editorial

Abandoned People

FLURRY in Diplomatic activity of late has created media hype on heralding of peace in Kashmir. Whether this hope will translate into reality is a million dollar question. In view of the past experience and the contradictions inherent in Pakistani state and society, as such there is little basis for optimism. Parallel with this diplomatic initiative Government of India has decided to open an internal dialogue with separatist groups. It has invited officially a faction of the separatist Hurriet and expressed willingness to talk to, if need be, to other separatists groupings outside this conglomerate. This knowing well, that all these factions retain limited manouverability in delivering peace on the ground.

In the context of these initiatives it is pertinent to ask whether the much hoped cessation of hostilities will deliver peace to the ethnically cleansed Kashmiri Pandits also? To express it differently would it remove all the road blocks for the eventual return of the exiled community. Adhering to 'First things first' neither the Indian State nor its political leadership has so far cared to debate it. The official line on return/rehabilitation has been--to enact a tokenist/symbolic return through coercion, bribery, or defection and creating media hype on return, while abandoning the rest of the community to its own fate.

It is said that history is a great healer. May be the Indian State in the ultimate realises that creating conditions for voluntary return of the entire Pandit community is not only its moral duty but it is desirable also. To attribute Pandits' religious cleansing only to the depredations of externally sponsored terrorist groups is to speak only a part of the truth. Much bigger reality is that destabilisation of genocidal dimensions has been the consequence of the gradual communalisation and fundamentalisation of Kashmir's social milieu over the past few decades. The yearning of Kashmiri Muslim elite for an exclusivist Muslim state has put Kashmiris in conflict not only with the secular state of India but also Kashmir's secularist presence-Kashmiri Pandits. Espousal of Kashmir's historical, regional, secular identity by Kashmiri Pandits has made them suspect in the eyes of those elements who posit narrow sectarian identity for Kashmir. The entrenchment of these retrograde elements owing allegiance to Jamaat-e-Islami and other neo-fundamentalist outfits in the Muslim dominated state administration has been responsible for the genocidal attrition against Kashmiri Hindus both before and after 1990.

The so-called mainstream 'pro-Indian' political groups, instead of countering the revanchist communal forces have been playing talists to the politics of Jamaat elements in the state administration. So long as the Jamaat continues to get patronage and the mainstream political parties draw their sustenance by competing communal and secessionist agendas, there can be no reversal of genocide against the displaced Hindus and no return. It may be tactically expedient for the Indian State to hold dialogue with the secessionists. But durable peace will continue to elude it so long as the Indian state and its political leadership show no vision or will to contest the communal and fundamentalist orientation of Kashmir's Muslim politics.

No patriotic group, despite its immense contribution, has been as humiliated and alienated by its own government as Kashmiri Pandits. Why does GoI need an American Senator Frank Pallone to remind it that the state government has willfully chosen to abandon Pandits? Is it not its responsibility to censure the state government for its failure to get vacated fraudulent forcible occupation of Pandit Property and Shrines; restore jobs, promotions and routine service benefits to the displaced employees; launch political campaigns on Pandits' return in the Valley proper itself and engage accredited of displaced Kashmiris for reversal of genocide and on the issue of return.

In a weak from now, GoI will be officially be talking to those Kashmiris who were instrumental in the cleansing of Kashmiri Pandits. It should seize the opportunity to tell these people that whatever the cost may be GoI will restore Pandits to their homeland and communal politics will never be tolerated. If secularism is good for rest of India, it should survive in Kashmir as well. Any ambiguity on this will have serious consequences for India's sovereignty and long term peace. It is time Indian state owns its abandoned people. end

2 Karachi killings reveal sectarian-jihadi nexus

Intelligence agencies are finally coming round to councing the link between sectarian and jihadi outfits

By Hassan Mansoor

THE ongoing investigation in the recent killing of six Shite SUPARCO employees reveal the hand of jihadi outfits active in the city since the US attack on Afghanistan. "We don't know which jihadi outfit is involved but we have enough evidence by now to say confidently that the attack was carried out by some outlawed jihadi organisation," senior investigator Akbar Arain told TFT.

Arain and other officials, however, refuse to divulge details of the investigations, saying it could alert the suspects and their accomplices. "But we are closing in on them and will net them soon enough," says one officer.

Sources say investigations prove, once again, what intelligence agencies have known all along: there is no difference between sectarian and jihadi organisations. This fact first came to light in a top-secret report of a premier intelligence agency which implicated activists of Harkat-ul-Mujahideen in the massacre in Lahore of over 20 Shite mourners. The report, which was reviewed in TFT just before the US struck the camps in Afghanistan in 1998, even gave the names of the people implicated in the attack.

Scores of investigations into various incidents, from Daniel Pearl's gruesome murder to the various bomb blasts and sectarian related killings in Karachi, Quetta, Islamabad, Taxila and Murree, over the last year-and-half have constantly proved the link between sectarian and jihadi outfits.

"The finding is that they are one and the same. They throw up names to confuse the law enforcement agencies, but they have deep linkages. These groups, mostly banned and defunct, include SSP, LJ, Jaish, Harkat and various others and are all linked with the Taliban and the Al Qaeda," says an intelligence official.

With Karachi being in the limelight, say sources, a number of Al Qaeda operatives have shifted to other places from here. An interesting theory about the recent spate of violence is that smaller jihadi-sectarian groups have mounted the violence as a cover for fleeing Al Qaeda cadres so they can entrench themselves elsewhere. "The violence is meant to give the impression that Karachi is still a safe haven for Al Qaeda. But reports indicate most of these people are shifting to other, safer places," says a source.

After the September 11 attacks on the United States two years ago, Karachi earned the dubious distinction of being the "most dangerous city" in the region. It disgorged dozens of Al Qaeda men as well as Pakistani jihadi and sectarian terrorists. Two of them were top Bin Laden lieutenants, Ramzi Bin al-Shibh and Khalid Sheikh Mohammad, though in the case of the latter, he was shown to have been arrested from Rawalpindi.

Recently, police arrested dozens of Southeast Asian students from the city who have been investigated and handed over to law enforcement agencies of their respective countries. Official say all will be deported soon after the formalities have been taken care of. The investigators have come to the conclusion that the violence has been perpetrated by activists of Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, Harkat-ul-Mujahideen al-Aalmi, Jaish-e-Mohammad and SSP. Besides, there is the Muslim United Army, a loose conglomeration of these groups and their cadres.

Akram says while law enforcement agencies first thought the SUPARCO killings was the handiwork of Indian RAW, "now we have certainly got evidence that it is the job of a jihadi outfit, the name of which cannot be disclosed at this stage".

Interestingly, religious leaders continue to deny that jihadi groups are responsible for sectarian violence. Just after the October 6 killing of sectarian leader Azam Tariq of Millat-e-Islami Pakistan, the renamed SSP, Qazi Hussain Ahmed of the Jamaat-e-Islami was reported as saying that Tariq was killed by RAW. Intelligence officials TFT spoke with in Karachi pooh-poohed the claim. "He (Tariq) was a marked man. He lived by the gun and would have died by the gun, sooner or later," says one officer. There are various possibilities. "He had differences with people within his organization and he was a marked man as far as the Shiite community is concerned. He could have been killed by either," he says.

Regarding the stunning link between the jihadi and sectarian outfits, which the intelligence agencies had so far been denying, officials, while declining to give full information, told TFT that every time an operation is carried out in the areas bordering Afghanistan, terrorists target Shiite Muslims. This happened in Quetta twice in July and then immediately following the South Waziristan operation with the killings in Karachi.

Similarly, recently police in Karachi arrested five suspected Harkat al-Alami militants who were plotting to kill foreigners and leaders of minority communities. A few days before these arrests, police arrested three LJ militants and recovered six bombs and huge quantity of explosives from their possession. These suspects were also alleged to have plotted to attack a western diplomatic mission in Karachi, an imambgarh and a sensitive facility. END

3 *Come What May*

By Amir Mir

PAKISTAN'S intelligence agencies have the uncanny ability to nab key terrorists whenever General Pervez Musharraf proceeds to the United States for a meeting with President George Bush. The first such arrest of American journalist Daniel Pearl's alleged killer, Sheikh Ahmed Omar Saeed, was effected in February 2002 while the latest prize is Gun Gun Rusman Gunawan, a 27-year-old Indonesian madrassah student who is said to be the younger brother of Riduan Isamuddin, alias Hambali the operational chief of the Jemaah Islamiyah.

Since Musharraf joined hands with the US in Washington's 'war on terror', the al-Qaeda network has suffered serious body blows to its command and control system, particularly due to the arrests in Pakistan of top operatives. Some of the al-Qaeda big fish snared so far are Abu Zubaidah (arrested from Faisalabad in March, 2002), Ramzi bin al-Shibh (captured from Karachi in September, 2002), Khaled Sheikh Mohammad (arrested from Rawalpindi in March, 2002) and Waleed bin Attash (captured from Karachi in April, 2003). All were instantly handed over to the US Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) for interrogation. Khaled Sheikh is thought to be the mastermind behind the 9/11 strikes in the US with the help of Ramzi bin al-Shibh while Waleed bin Attash is a key suspect in the October 2000 assault on the US Cole off the coast of Aden. Zubaidah, reportedly a computer expert, was billed as the number-three man in al-Qaeda.

General Musharraf, who is under constant US pressure to help break the al-Qaeda network, was in New York last month for the annual session of the UN General Assembly when news of Gunawan's arrest was made public. While there seems to be no doubt that Gun Rusman Gunawan was arrested, confusion persists about when and under what circumstances he was detained. Some senior intelligence officials say that Gunawan was actually arrested on September 1 but was lumped together with the other suspects. The Federation Investigation Agency (FIA) made his arrest public three weeks later on September 20 when General Musharraf was heading for the US. Understandably, news of Gunawan's arrest could not have been better timed. For the outside world, Pakistan's first commando president seems to be doing all the right things at the right time.

A day before Gunawan's arrest was announced, a joint raiding team comprising personnel of the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) and the Special Branch, supported by heavy police contingents, raided two religious seminaries of Salafi origin in Karachi—the Jamia Abubakar Islamic University in Gulshan-e-Iqbal and Jamiat-ud-Darasatul Islamiya on University Road and arrested 20 foreign students including 13 Malaysians, six Indonesians and a Burmese national. According to the National Research and Development Foundation, some 586,000 religious students are currently enrolled in roughly 4,000 seminaries in Pakistan. Nearly 16,600 are foreigners and the bulk are Arab or African. Around 150 are enrolled with the Jamia Abubakar, representing nations as diverse as Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Uganda, Djibouti, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, the Philippines, Maldives, Australia, Ghana, Somalia, Cambodia, Cameroon, Kenya, Senegal and Afghanistan.

A senior Karachi police official was quoted as saying after the arrests: "They were already declared suspects in a survey conducted last year after the arrest of Ramzi bin al-Shibh. They have finally been arrested after it transpired that they were involved in anti-Pakistan activities. None of those arrested had any links with al-Qaeda and they will all be deported to their respective countries shortly." For his part, Brigadier Javed Iqbal Cheema, chief of the crisis management cell of the interior ministry, responded in these terms when asked to comment on the Indonesian foreign ministry's decision to summon Pakistan's ambassador in protest. "The arrests were made after Malaysia and Indonesia withdrew permission for the 15 students to stay on in Pakistan. They were arrested for involvement in undesirable activities aimed at damaging our national interests. And once the interrogation is completed, all those arrested will be deported to their respective countries."

Gunawan's file with Jamia Abubakar clearly reveals that Pakistani and Indonesian authorities had consistently given him a clean bill of health over the last three years. The Indonesia Consulate in Karachi issued him an NOC on September 10, 2001 to study (vide letter no: 135/kono/IX/2001). This NOC was issued by Indonesian vice-consul Iswayudha, allowing for transfer from the Islamic University Islamabad to Jamid Abubakar in Karachi. His visa was extended by the interior ministry until March 31, 2003 (reference letter no: 9/36/01 Poll E (1) 2002). On February 26, 2003, the interior ministry awarded Gunawan another extension up to March 31, 2004 (reference letter no: 9/36/01-Poll. E(1) 1851). The visa number was 1119/03, issued on March 5, 2003 from Karachi. At the Jamia, Gunawan was popularly known as Abdul Hadi.

Intelligence sources involved in the operation concede that Gunawan was arrested on September 1 after being summoned to the Gulshan-e-Iqbal police station where he was questioned by an army colonel and later taken to an undisclosed location. During questioning, Gunawan, who joined the Jamia in 1999 on a scholarship, admitted that he was Hambali's brother. Sources say Gunawan was summoned to the police station in the light of information provided by Hambali to FBI interrogators. The FBI suspect Gunawan might be a coordinator between al-Qaeda and the Jemaah Islamiyah, the ultimate goal being to carry out anti-US terrorist operations on Pakistani soil.

According to intelligence sources, Gunawan is presently being interrogated by a joint FBI and ISI team. He is, however, proving to be a tough nut to crack. "The FBI claims to have evidence of communication between Gunawan and his brother Hambali from 1999 to 2003 and thus wants to extract from him information on attack plans and possible hit lists that could help in preventing future terrorist attacks," says an impeccable intelligence source. "In the light of the material recovered from the students, the FBI believes a group of Malaysian and Indonesian students studying in Karachi was being groomed to lead the al-Qaeda-linked Southeast Asian terror network. The material was in the shape of computer disks, CDs and literature, highlighting the virtues of jihad and the duty of all Muslims to strike terror in the hearts and minds of infidels. The FBI, therefore, feels it has been able to nip evil in the bud by capturing a would-be second generation of terrorists".

According to the source, the FBI believes Hambali is Asia's point man for al-Qaeda as well as the Jemaah's operational chief. Hambali is already in US custody since his August 11 arrest from Thailand. Hambali's name repeatedly figured in the past as an associate or acquaintance of Ramzi Yusuf, arrested from Pakistan and currently in jail in the US for his involvement in the February 1993 New York World Trade Center explosion, Khalid Sheikh Mohammad, currently in US custody since his March 2003 arrest from Rawalpindi, and two alleged September 11, 2001 hijackers, Khalid al-Mihdhar and Nawaf al-Hazmir, with whom he supposedly attended a meeting in Malaysia in January 2000. "If Abu Bakar Baasyir, currently on trial in Indonesia, is the ideological head of the Jemaah Islamiyah, Hambali used to be its operational head, with a wide network of jihadi contacts in Afghanistan, Pakistan, his homeland Indonesia, Malaysia, where he moved to from Indonesia, the Philippines, Singapore, Cambodia and Thailand, where he was finally caught on August 11, 2003 after a manhunt lasting more than two years," says the source.

According to Pakistani intelligence sources, terrorist outfits like al-Qaeda and Jemaah Islamiyah are not leader-dependent in their anti-US operations. Indeed, they have shown remarkable operational autonomy. For instance, the arrest of Abu Zubaidah in March last year could not prevent the attacks in Karachi on French submarine engineers and the US Consulate. Similarly, Ramzi bin al-Shib's detention last September did not postpone the terrorist strikes in Bali and in Mombasa, Kenya, and the arrest of Khalid Sheikh Mohammad in March this year could not prevent the terrorist attacks in Riyadh and Casablanca. END

4 NAB ONE, LET ONE GO

By M.Ilyas Khan

A 10-year-old girl playing near a cluster of houses at the western-most fringe Hayatabad's Phase VI says she was among hundreds of residents who witnessed the four-hour-long police operation in the area in mid-August. But she was not a detached onlooker. The shooting led to the death of her brother-in-law while her sister got a bullet through the palm of her hand. The girl points to the lone structure of a four-marla, two-storey house some 40 yards away which was the scene of the shooting, saying "they killed him because he was defending Islam".

Abdur Rahman alias Abu Haith, a Libyan national in his early 40s, married the girl's 14-year-old sister, Khadija, last April. In June, he moved into the house in question probably due to its location: it is open on all four sides and sits just 10 feet from a chest-high barbed-wire fence that separates Peshawar from Khyber Agency's Shahkas area. Rahman received Arab visitors regularly and one of them was in the house when the raid took place. Mohammad Ayub, an Algerian whom the Pakistani intelligence circles also identify as Abu Suleman who carries an FBI reward of 100,000 dollars, was able to clear the fence and escape into the tribal area even though the area had been cordoned off by khasadars (tribal police) and the Frontier Corps. Rahman intended to do the same but a grenade blew up in his hand, killing him instantly.

Khadija is now back in the house of her paternal uncle and guardian (her father died in 1997), Abdul Hayee, a retired civil servant and former deputy secretary defence. Before Khadija, Hayee married off five of his own daughters to the so-called Arab Afghans. Three of them are presently with their husbands in Saudi Arabia (he wouldn't say where in view of the Saudi government's recent sweep against al-Qaeda elements) while one is in Iraq. His youngest daughter is married to a Sudanese national, Saleem Mahmood Adam, a prisoner in Guantanamo Bay. He says Rahman had been a mujahid in Afghanistan during the 1980s and an Islamic scholar with a Masters degree from the Islamic International University, Islamabad. He denies Rahman's links with al-Qaeda but is circumspect when explaining what Rahman did for a living.

Hayee belongs to the Sunni section of Parachinar's Bangash tribe and has been a sympathiser of the Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) since the early 1950s. The scope of his subsequent involvement in the Afghan war may be gauged from the fact that he was picked up and interrogated by the FBI in 1999 ahead of US president Bill Clinton's visit to Pakistan and by the ISI soon after 9/11. His close association with the JI first led him to an Arab-funded training camp in the Jaji Maidan area of Afghanistan and onward to a stint in the Afghan war in 1987 while he was still a government servant in Pakistan.

He says he has been an acquaintance of Abdullah Uzzam, a Palestinian ideologue of the Afghan war who was assassinated in Peshwar in the late 1980s. He met Osama bin Laden at the Jaji Maidan camp in 1987 and again in 1997 when some Pakistani religious elements, backed by the ISI, were busy fixing up bin Laden with the top Taliban leadership. He says he is very well known to "government agencies" and could have been approached for help in turning Rahman over for interrogation. "(The agencies) knew all along that Rahman was my son-in-law and that he was living in this house."

The shooting caused considerable embarrassment to the MMA government in the Frontier because it has been opposed to security operations against al-Qaeda. Understandably, much of the noise has emanated from the JI camp. The party held the first public demonstration against the shooting and its leaders have since been issuing regular statements in the press to condemn the operation. The Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam, which holds the chief minister's office in the Frontier, has not been as noisy but has complained that it was not taken into confidence by the ISI which tipped the law enforcement agencies to conduct the operation. Senior provincial officials say the government was in the loop but is loath to admit it in public. The latter has now ordered the home department to hold an inquiry into the matter.

It seems that the MMA's performance in the October elections, and the politics that ensued, has helped its component parties skirt many critical questions. Why, for instance, does the JI continue to avoid the axe even though its members have been found protecting al-Qaeda suspects in at least four instances so far? More importantly, how did the FBI's most wanted man escape from a house that had been surrounded on all four sides by personnel of six different security agencies? END

5 *Back to The DRAWING BOARD*

Militant outfits banned in January last year are inching their way back to business

By Mubashir Zaidi

FOUR of Pakistan's top sectarian outfits which were banned on January 12, 2002, have effectively regrouped and are operating their respective networks as openly as before though under different names. According to a report prepared by Pakistani intelligence earlier this year to assess the situation a year after the ban was enforced, the move has failed to check either the activities or the relentless funding of these terrorist outfits from all corners of the world. Even in cases where Pakistani missions abroad are aware of the identities of the financial sponsors of these organisations, the military government has been able to do little to stop the relentless financing of terror in Pakistan.

Heading the list of these organisations is the Sipah-e-Sahaba which changed its name to Millat-e-Islamia after the ban and continues to draw huge amounts of money from its foreign patrons. The ISI has listed the names of 14 of its top office bearers, most of whom remain at large even after a lapse of nearly 20 months since the ban was implemented. The intelligence report says that it continues to receive anywhere between 200,000 to 300,000 Saudi riyals a month through one Wajid Ali who shuttles between Jhang and Jeddah to organise and regulate the flow of funds. Wajid Ali is assisted by Abdur Razzak, formerly a resident of Kamalia, Faisalabad, and now based in Saudi Arabia. Wajid Ali's other contacts in the royal kingdom include a Medina-based Saudi national Abdul Hafeez Makki and Maulana Saifur Rehman. Interestingly, despite the fact that the latter is in regular contact with the Pakistani mission in Jeddah his activities have gone unchecked so far.

The Sipah-e-Sahaba (SSP) also receives funds from one Abdul Hameed based in the United Kingdom. Hameed is one of the 31 individuals identified by the ISI as "hardcore SSP workers" based outside Pakistan. Of this contingent, 11 are based in Saudi Arabia, six in London, three in the US, two each in Germany and France and one each in Canada, Norway, Italy, Hong Kong, Qatar, Dubai and Bangladeshi. The SSP is estimated to draw about one million dollars a month from its Saudi sources alone.

However, according to intelligence officials, it is the SSP's breakaway faction, Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, that poses the greatest threat to Pakistan because of its focus on western interests, including personnel, in the country. Following the January 12 ban, the Lashkar bore the brunt of the government's crackdown on extremist outfits and, by April this year, security officials were claiming that they had busted the entire network. In real terms, though, this means that the Lashkar no longer operates from any central office nor can it solicit funding openly. Interestingly, the Lashkar's sources of funds include "donations from fanatic supporters, dacoites, robberies, kidnapping for ransom and theft."

Security officials believe that a large part of the Lashkar hierarchy has been eliminated since January 2002 but its cadres have somehow managed to remain active and effective. The terror attack in Quetta on July 4, for which the Lashkar claimed responsibility through a video tape sent to the BBC offices in Pakistan, is indicative of the fact that its second-tier leadership has now taken control of the organisation and continues to plan suicide missions across Pakistan.

Similarly, Tehrik-e-Jafaria Pakistan (TJP) is drawing huge amounts of money from wealthy individuals in Pakistan and Iran. However, the ISI estimates that the biggest source of income for the TJP is khums, the Shia version of zakat. The organisation is believed to receive more than 100 million rupees annually from khums collected from Pakistan and Iran. Pakistani security officials are convinced that Iran is supplying money as well as weapons to TJP militants while the Iranian cultural centres in major Pakistani cities are secretly providing training to Shia militants. The head of the TJP, Allama Sajid Naqvi, is currently a member of the central shura of the Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) despite the fact that his party has been under a ban since January 2002.

The last in this list is Jaish-e-Mohammad, the party created by Maulana Masood Azhar immediately after his release from an Indian prison in December 1999. Now operating as the Khadam-e-Islam, Jaish's finances are currently being handled by five men from Lahore and Sheikhupura who have a network of donors spread across several countries. The five men identified by intelligence officials include Hafiz Tariq Masood, Qari Ehsan and Shabaz Haider of Lahore and Qari Abdul Hafeez and Mohammad Tariq of Sheikhupura. These men were the key to the Jaish's organisational gains in Lahore, where the group has established 21 local offices in the short span of three years. Four of the Jaish's key activists including Abdul Wahab, Qari Faraz, Maulana Mohammad Javed Hamza and Maqsood Ahmed have gone underground since the January 2002 ban, posing serious problems for the agencies keeping tabs on their activities.

However, according to one senior official in Islamabad, the intelligence agency responsible for the reporter may have deliberately gone soft on Maulana Masood Azhar. The reason: not all of Azhar's activities are as big a secret as they are made out to be. For example, this source points out, the two Jaish training camps, Batrasi and Syed Ahmed Shaheed in Mansehra and Balakot respectively, are once again operational.

Besides, the control that Maulana Azhar enjoys over his organisation was demonstrated last month when 10 of his 'commanders' parted ways with him. The expelled included Abdul Jabbar (the Jaish chief commander now under arrest), Maulana Abdullah Shah Mazhar (naib amir), Mohammad Tahir Hayat, Maulana Ghulam Murtaza (head of the Jaish's baitul maal), Ghulam Haider, Nasir Shirazi, Naveed Farooqi, Qair Abdul Majeed, Ijaz Mahmood, Maqsood Ali Shah, Abdul Samid Soomro and Shukat Hayat. Maulana Azhar, says this source, sent a letter to the concerned authorities, informing them that the expelled commanders were sectarian terrorists who should be arrested. A countrywide manhunt was launched by a number of security agencies which met its first success when Abdul Jabbar was nabbed from Sargodha in the first week of July. The rest were arrested from different cities within a couple of weeks of Jabbar's arrest. Jabbar once used to run Jaish's Mansehra training camp.

Similarly, the Lashkar-e-Toiba has also become active of late under its new name of Jamaat-ud-Dawa. Its chief Hafiz Saeed is currently on a tour of the Punjab, primarily to rally support for the organisation's new name as well as to recruit more volunteers. The Lashkar's donation boxes are also back in many cities, including the posh F-10 Markaz market in Islamabad. While the Lashkar's training camps in Muzaffarabad, namely Qila Bandi, Aqsa and Mansard, are currently inoperative—having shut down following the assurances given to the US by General Musharraf—Hafiz Saeed continues to enjoy considerable influence in concerned military circles thanks to his friend and former ISI boss General Hameed Gul.

Clearly, the ban imposed on these organisations has failed to work. Observers in Islamabad believe that there can be no real breakthrough in blocking the activities of these militant outfits till such time that the government moves against the individuals leading them. But given their 'services' for Pakistan in the times when jihad was kosher, it is hardly likely that the establishment will abandon the people who were once its unsung heroes. END

6 Dr. Uma Shanker Sharga—A Top Entomologist

Dr. B.N. Sharga

ALL along the Nawabi period from 1775 when Lucknow became the capital of Oudh upto 1856 when its last king Nawab Wajid Ali Shah was dethroned by the British, Kashmiri Mohalla was the most favourite destination for the Kashmiri Pandits and was the biggest centre of their population. It is said that about 1000 families of Kashmiri Pandits used to live in this locality at that point of time. It used to give the look of a mini Kashmir by maintaining the same ambience. It was a perfect township for the Kashmiri Pandits and a nerve centre of their social, cultural, political, educational and religious activities, where they built big 'havelis' on the pattern of Mughal architecture for their living and for organising community functions on a very grand scale.

Among the earliest settlers in Kashmiri Mohalla were the ancestors of Dr. Uma Shanker Sharga, who moved to this locality from Rani Katra around 1810.

Dr. Uma Shanker Sharga's ancestor Pt. Zind Ram Kaul "Dattatreya", was originally a resident of Rainawari mohalla in the Srinagar district of the Kashmir Valley, who came to the imperial capital Delhi during the rule of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb (1658-1707) after taking refuge at different places Murree, Rawalpindi and Lahore. He was a Sanskrit and Persian scholar. After sometime he got a job in the Mughal court and started living in Bazaar Sita Ram with his family members. Not much is known about his son. Pt. Sahab Kaul 'Dattatreya' as to what type of job he did for his livelihood. Some say that he became a commander of a regiment of the Mughal army as in those days the jobs were given generally from father to son in the same department.

Pt. Sahab Kaul "Dattatreya" had two Sons Laxmi Narain Kaul and Niranjana Das Kaul, who after completing their traditional education in Urdu and Persian language at Delhi came to Faizabad in Oudh around 1770 for some good job in the court of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula (1753-1775) which was the seat of provincial government at that time. Pt. Laxmi Narain Kaul was born around 1750 and his younger brother Pt. Niranjana Das Kaul was born around 1753. Since both these brothers had a very good physique they were very good horse riders and highly skilled fencing experts, so Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula made them commanders of the mounted division of his royal army and entrusted them the job to look after the security arrangements of his daughter in law Begum Shanisul Nisa and her *jagir*.

Ummatul Zohra the principal Begum of the Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula popularly known as Bahu Begum was the richest Begum of Oudh. Her evergrowing source of income was a large *jagir* which included Gonda, Jais, Khara, Alita, Rukka, Parsiddipur, Mohanganj, Salone and Simiantar with Zilas' like Nawabganj, Gharaiyya Khas, Begum Ban, Meerganj and Sindh. She was entitled to collect taxes from the meat merchants and branding cattle. Apart from all this she owned an extraordinary collection of rare jewellery worth crores of rupees.

Bahu Begum used to manage her big *jagir* by about 10,000 regular and irregular soldiers. Her force of 2000 horsemen was under the over all command of Ahmad Ali. She also had a fleet of 25 boats at her disposal. So that way she used to command great authority over the administration of Oudh. She was much pleased with the performance of both Pt. Laxmi Narain Kaul and his brother Pt. Niranjana Das Kaul and granted them a royal "Wasika" a sort of hereditary pension of Rs. 250/-per month to each of them. They were the two out of 12 eminent people who were selected by Bahu Begum for this special royal honour. As these brothers were expert in beheading the enemy in the quickest possible time so in some old Persian documents they were often referred as "Sarkabz". After getting this royal recognition they started writing "Sharga" as their surname.

When Nawab Asif-ud-Daula (1775-1797) shifted his seat of government from Faizabad to Lucknow in 1775 to avoid interference of his mother Bahu Begum in the day to day administration both Pt. Laxmi Narain Kaul Sharga and Pt. Niranjana Das Kaul Sharga came to Lucknow with his entourage and started living in Rani Katra. Pt Laxmi Narain Kaul Sharga had three sons Durga Prasad, Sheo Prasad and Prem Narain while Pt. Niranjana Das Kaul Sharga had four sons Nar Singh Dutt, Badri Nath, Kanhaiyya Lal and Kedar Nath besides two daughters Chando married in Mushran family of Rani Katra and Meena.

Pt. Sheo Prasad Sharga had a son Pt. Ganga Prasad Sharga, who was born around 1820 in Kashmiri Mohalla, Lucknow. After completing his traditional education he became a "daroga" around 1838 during the rule of Nawab Mohammad Ali Shah (1837-1842). He was married with Jaywantishuri the daughter of Pt. Badri Nath Kao and grand daughter of Pt. Daya Nidhan Kao who was a dewan in the court of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula (1775-1797) and used to live in Kashmiri Mohalla at that time.

When the British dethroned the last king of Oudh Nawab Wajid A Shah in 1856 Pt. Ganga Prasad Sharga like Pt. Brij Nath Sopori and Pt. Sri Krishna Kaul "Bhaiyyaji" the other contemporary community members of the locality then joined the police department under the British dispensation and became a sub inspector. The British somehow developed a notion that the Mutiny of 1857 was the conspiracy of Muslims against the British, so they initially started giving preference to Hindus from respectable families in government service and also used to give them *jagirs* to maintain their social and economic status in the society properly. Under this policy the British gave three villages to Pt. Ganga Prasad Sharga in Chauri Chaura in Bihar

It is also said that a member of this Sharga clan in July 1857 went to England from Kashmiri Mohalla as a member of a delegation with Malka Aliya the mother of Nawab Wajid Mir Shah to submit a petition before Queen Victoria for restoring the throne of Oudh to Nawab Wajid Ali Shah. Queen Victoria refused to grant an audience to this delegation. The petition bearing the signatures of Nawab Wajid Mir Shah's mother Janaba Aliya Taj Ara Begum, his eldest son and heir apparent to the throne Mirza Mohammad Hamid Ali and his next brother Mirza Mohammad Jawwad Ali Sikander Hashmat Bahadur was then presented on 6th August 1857 before the House of Lords for a brief debate but was later on withdrawn. It was put up before the House by the then Chancellor of Exchequer Lord Campbell who told the House that the petition had come from Queen of Oudh and her eldest son, who expressed the deepest pain and regret at the news recently received from the East India Company of the general defection of the native troops in the Bengal Presidency and they went on to state their surprise at its being supposed that their relative the king of Oudh Nawab Wajid Ali Shah had been at all concerned in that movement. They denied all complicity in it on the part of the sovereign and they said they

felt confident from assurances they received from him that he was entirely innocent of the charges brought against him. That all the members of the Royal Family of Oudh were faithfully attached to the connection with Great Britain and that for the redress of any wrongs, they thought they had suffered, they only looked to the Queen Victoria and Parliament of Great Britain.” This was a sort of written apology from the mother of Nawab Wajid Ali Shah to the British monarch to pardon them for their wrong doings and to restore the throne of Oudh to its heir.

Pt. Ganga Prasad Sharga was a farsighted person. He adjusted himself very well in the new dispensation under the British and served the police department satisfactorily. He had a son Pt. Durga Shanker Sharga who was born around 1865. Pt. Durga Shanker Sharga after completing his studies like his father also joined the police department and became a sub inspector. He had two sons Prem Shanker and Uma Shanker.

Pt. Prem Shanker Sharga was born around 1885 in Kashmiri Mohalla, Lucknow. He had his early schooling in Government Jubilee College, after completing his education he joined the police department of the state and became a sub inspector. He then migrated from Kashmiri Mohalla to Model House and started living there with his family members. He had three daughters Shanti who was married with Pt. Pushkar Nath Bhatt the son of Pt. Devi Prasad Bhatt of Kashmiri Mohalla Lucknow, Malti who was married with Pt. Gyan Nath Katju the son of Pt. Amar Nath Katju who was the younger brother of Dr. Kailas Nath Katju of Allahabad and Kanti who married outside the community much against the wishes of her relatives as the intercaste marriages were not in vogue in the community then and were considered to be against the tenets of the community and its established conventions. After the death of Pt. Prem Shanker Sharga the Lucknow Municipal Corporation named the road in front of his house after him as Prem Shanker Sharga Marg.

Dr. Uma Shanker Sharga was born in 1901 in his ancestral *haveli* in Kashmiri Mohalla, Lucknow. He had his early schooling in Government Jubilee College, Lucknow and did his matriculation in 1920 in first division. He then went to Allahabad for higher studies and took admission in Muir Central College. He did his F.Sc. from this institution in 1922 in first division. He then passed the B.Sc. examination from the University of Allahabad in 1924 in first division with Chemistry, Botany and Zoology as his subjects. He then did his M.Sc. in Zoology from the University of Allahabad in 1926 in first division.

Dr. Uma Shanker Sharga enrolled himself as a research scholar in the department of Zoology in the Allahabad University where he worked for about a year upto 1927. He then joined the Indian Central Cotton Committee at Kanpur as a Research Assistant and carried out some research work on the pink ball worm of cotton “*platyedra gossypella*” to improve the variety and yield of the cotton flower. While working on this project the UP. State Foreign Scholarship was awarded to him by the British government in 1929 for higher studies.

Dr. Uma Shanker Sharga then went to U.K. from Kanpur and joined the department of Zoology of the University of Edinburgh in Scotland as a research scholar. He did his Ph.D. from this university in 1931. The topic of his Ph.D. thesis was “Studies on Thysanoptera” and the Ph.D. degree was conferred upon him on the 2th July 1931 by the University of Edinburgh. He passed the German language examination from Heriot Watt College, Edinburgh which was essential for getting a Ph degree.

Dr. Uma Shanker Sharga went from England to America on a scholarship in 1931 and joined the Cornell University in New York to carry out his post doctoral research work there. During his stay in America in connection with his research work he visited Canada, Rothamsted Experimental Centre in Geneva, Experimental Centre in New York and Rochester and some other continental Entomological centres.

Dr. Uma Shanker Sharga then attended the Fifth International Conference of Entomologists which was held in 1932 at Paris in France. He returned back to India in 1932 and joined the Government Agriculture College in Kanpur as the Professor and head of its Entomology Section when Dr. Mayadas was the Principal of this institution.

The Government Agriculture College of Kanpur, was later rechristened in 1975 as the Chandra Shekhar Azad University of Agriculture & Technology and Dr. Kailas Nath Kaul became its first Vice-Chancellor, has a very long and interesting history.

Dr. Uma Shanker Sharga after joining the Government Agriculture College started living in the college campus to devote more time to his research work. In 1932 he discovered a new nematode, “*Tylenchus aptini*” a parasite of *Aptinotrips rufus* Gmelin. (Thysanoptera : Insecta). His work was published in the journal of Parasitology of the Cambridge University, London.

In 1937 Dr. Uma Shanker Sharga took up research work on the insecticidal properties of Kerosene and lubricating oil emulsions Prior to that in 1936 he studied the effect of blue jay feeding on a scorpion.

Dr. Uma Shanker Sharga then took up an exhaustive research programme around 1938 on rearing of Silkworms to produce high quality silk in the state. His original research work in this highly specialised field brought him world’s recognition. Pt. Shyam Sunder Kaul Kilam who was appointed as an Advisor to the UP government for Sericulture in 1953 by the then Chief Minister of the State Pt. Govind Ballabli Pant used to come quite often from Dehra Dun to Kanpur to consult Dr. J Shanker Sharga on the finer techniques of Silk worms rearing.

Dr. Uma Shanker Sharga also did some research work on bee keeping to find out ways and means to produce a better quality of honey from them. He published quite a good number of original research papers of high academic standards on different aspects of Entomology in foreign scientific journals. He was able and learned teacher. Some of his students later on occupied very high positions in their lives all over the world like Dr. HG. Singh who became the Vice Chancellor of the Govind Bal Pant University of Agriculture and Technology, Pant Nagar in 1990, Dr. OP. Singh who became the director of V.P. Council of Sugarcane Research. Dr. Akhtar Husain who became the director of CIMAP in 1977 and Dr. B.B. Nagaich who became the director C.P.R.I. Shimla in Himachal Pradesh.

Dr. Uma Shanker Sharga retired from the active government service in 1961 after attaining the age of superannuation. After his retirement he started living in Visinupuri locality in Kanpur where he built a house.

Dr. Uma Shanker Sharga was married to Raj Kumari Kaul who was the daughter of Pt. Triloki Nath Kaul, a leading criminal lawyer of Bahraich and grand daughter of Pt. Baij Nath Kaul 'Chungi' of Kashmiri Mohalla, Lucknow. He had three daughters Asha, Usha and Geeta. His eldest daughter Asha was married with Dr. Shiv Narain Bahadur the son of Pt. Anand Narain Bahadur of Peer Jaleel, Golaganj, Lucknow. His next daughter Dr. Usha is married to Dr. Sanjay Kachru of Delhi and his youngest daughter Geeta is married to Ashok Kumar Hangal the son of Pt. Shyam 'Narain Hangal of Rani Katra, Lucknow.

Dr. Uma Shanker Sharga was connected with many academic and scientific bodies of the state and the country. He was an honorary life member of the Entomological Society of India. He worked as the Dean, Faculty of Agriculture of the Agra University, Agra. He was also a member of the Senate of the Agra University. He guided several post graduate students for their Ph.D thesis. He was a recognised authority on Entomology of the country. He was one of the founder members of the Kashmiri Association of Kanpur besides Dr. Harihar Nath Hukku and Pt. Someshwar Nath Dar. He had good relations with the people like Pt. Shyam Sunder Nath Tikku, Pt. Madanmohan Nath Kunzru, Pt. Gyan Nath Raina and Dr. Tapeshwar Nath Kaul. He chaired many national and international conferences and seminars on Entomology.

As per family traditions he was against tercaste marriages and never encouraged such marriages in his life time. Once he went to attend a wedding ceremony of one of his close relatives where he found a lady who married a person of some other caste group sitting there on the floor on a 'masnad'. He scolded her with such an intensity that the string holding her petticoat gave way out of fear and she found herself in a very delicate situation before the people present around her thus forcing her to make a hasty retreat from the scene for good just to avoid any further embarrassment.

Reading books on different subjects was his main hobby. He had a vast collection of books on different subjects in his personal library. He was also fond of travelling. He died in 1980 at the age of about 79 years. His wife Mrs. Raj Kumari Sharga died a few years later. The house built by him in Vishnupuri in Kanpur was then sold out by his descendants. He cherished high ideals all through his life and gave a lot to the society at large. END

7 LETTERS

Kashmir Sentinel-burning lamp amidst hurricane

Sir,

The obituary page that accompanies each issue of the nationalist journal-"Kashmir Sentinel" seems to have failed to stir human emotions in our compatriots who are at the helm. The lip-service that the leaders have evinced has yielded little by way of relief to the sufferers of the war of hatred that has lasted over a decade. The aid granted to the evacuees has not been worth its name. A state receiving eleven times the per capita revenue granted to other states has not cared to share part of it with the down-trodden called Pandits. The plight they are in is horrendously miserable. The ex-gratia academic seats offered to them in other states have lapsed-deliberately ignored by the state they hail from.

The only inference one can draw from the situation is that our government at the centre is handicapped due to the mounting pressure of the "secularists" and other countries who have little to gain by ameliorating the plight of an ancient civilization called Hindu. To name the religion is a sin today, thanks to the press, especially, the English one. An inevitable small repercussion in Gujarat has upset the globe while the initiators of it own the world's sympathy. Our Human Rights Commissions are Non-Hindu Rights Commissions. Judiciary is no exception as they are also concerned with their repute as secularists, as the environ demands.

Boris Pasternak has written a small verse on the lamp that keeps burning amidst a hurricane. So does your small journal with a stupendous mission. It also keeps up the lamp of native culture-art, literature, philosophy etc. History will draw from such sources in the coming era rather than from the celebrated flamboyant papers and journals that bamboozle the simple reader by shibboleths of secularism-a despicable mask of axes to grind.

Our best wishes to you for your relentless war against diabolistic trends reserved for this poor country God alone knows why.

—D.C. Sharma

Sir,

BJP-led Union Government acts even without taking in confidence its NDA allies when it is determined to do so, otherwise it is clever enough to postpone issues (like Women Reservation) in name of consensus. It went ahead with POTA despite all warnings of opponents about its possible misuse. Irony of the situation is that NDA's own supporter Vaiko was booked under POTA by his arch rival Jaylalita just for political purposes. Union Cabinet's decision for resting Union Government as final authority is a much-desired corrective measure.

—Madhu Agrawal
1775 Kucha Lattushah
Dariba Delhi. END

The plight of Pull-Doda people

Dear Sir,

The Baglihar HE Project at Chanderkot with potential capacity of 200M. watts is coming up very soon. Its 1st Phase of 45 M watt capacity is to be completed on or before Dec. 2004.

This project on its completion shall not only benefit the J&K State but also the adjoining states like Haryana, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh. A lot of revenue will be generated from different aspects of the project, thereby making the state self sufficient and prosperous one.

The estimated cost of the project shall be recovered within 5 to 10 years period and there after it will serve as a hen which lays golden eggs.

Hence the Govt. of J&K should give top most priority for its completion within stipulated time.

Chanderkot and Pull-Doda are situated on left banks of river Chenab and topographical difference between them in respect of distance and height is not more than 65 kms by road and 150 mtrs respectively. The height of the dam proposed over river Chenab shall be 845 mtrs. above MSL and its height from R.Bed is proposed to be 145 mtrs. The well settled township of Pull-Doda is situated at 835 mtrs. above MSL. In other words, it means that centuries old township of together, the whole of Pull-Doda Ward No: 1 will be submerged under water of mighty river Chenab on the commencement of the 1st Phase of the project.

Pull-Doda township is situated on Batote-Kishtwar NHIB and 55 kms away from Batote. Neeru Nallah of Bhaderwah also joins the mighty river Chenab at Pull-Doda. This place is Sangam of two rivers and transcendently sacred place for Hindus. A grand Baisakhi Mela is celebrated here and thousands of people throng from different localities for holy dip in the river Chenab at its Sangam.

An age old and well settled Pull-Doda is called Kanshi Nagar also. Pt. Kanshi Ram who settled here first is no more but his family members still live there with dignity.

This place is a junction of Roadways leading towards Doda city-6 kms, Bhaderwah-30 kms, Thathri-30 kms, Goa-30 Gandoh-60 kms, Kishtwar-60 kms and Padder, Marwah Dachchan Chatru Chingam etc.

Hence people settled here have sufficient people to people contacts with each of the above mentioned areas and are dependent for their day to day business on them. The inhabitants of Pull-Doda comprising of more than 300 families have built up their Pacca Houses cum Shops there, with a view of their permanent settlement. A lot of investment has been made by them.

There are number of wholesale-cum-retail shops on either side of Batote-Kishtwar NHIB. Being centrally located there are number of Hotels, Dhabas, Khokhas and Rehries etc. In addition there are number of institutions such as J&K Bank, Post Office, Govt. Girls High School, Govt. Boys Middle School, Govt. Primary Health Centre, Govt. Ayurvedic Dispensary and other private educational institutions etc. A well furnished Dak Bangalow, having a capacity of six double bed rooms, also exists there. All this is being submerged under water before December 2004 or 2007 which is the estimated time frame for completion of 2nd phase of the Project at Chanderkot over river Chenab.

Since the two kms stretch of Batote-Kishtwar National Highway at Pull-Doda is also to submerge as such the Govt. has started construction of alternate alignment from Khallain via Perjote and then to connect it with Bhaderwah road just about 1 km away from Pull-Doda.

The estimated length of this alternate alignment has been worked out more than 11 kms with number of unnecessary zigs unwanted stretches. At present the road length of NHIB from Pull-Doda to Khallaini is only 6 kms. The journey on this alternate alignment shall be very cumbersome. The people will have to negotiate number of un-wanted

Zigs and rising gradient right from the take off point from Pull-Doda-Bhaderwah road. The plea of the executing authority is that they have tried to avoid the Neple slip/slide. Actually the fact is that they have pleased chunk of *Pergote* people and have increased its length at the cost of Govt. ex-chequer and people of Distt. Doda as well.

Had this alternative alignment been got surveyed by an expert civil engineer of PWD, the length would have not been more than 8 kms and with one or two zigs at the most and thereby avoiding the Nepli slide zone and steep gradient as well. The cost would have also been reduced making smooth-possible journey for vehicular traffic on this road.

The Govt. has ordered the concerned authorities to assess the losses due to submerging of the township. The Distt. PWD authorities and Revenue department are busy with the assessment was but so far nothing has been done.

The people being displaced are longing for their migration/re-settlement after receiving the compensation for their homes and hearths. It is feared that some people may suffer from heart attack because of the fact they have to vacate their ancestral as well as personal property and look for future livelihood at some new place destined them as migrant like Kashmiri Pandits or border area people.

Hence the present Govt. should come forward with liberal and healthy proposal for their re-settlement by paying early compensation. It is well known where the people shall go and shift their belongings in the absence of alternative shelter. If compensation is paid well in time before vacating they will be in a position to arrange their desired destination of settlement. END

8 Genesis of Indo-Pak conflict (a study)

By Er. B.M. Kohli

DUE courtesy Britain, India was divided in 1947 with the well thought conspiracy of creating a wedge between Hindus and Muslims. The differences between them had already been there and needed a catalyst to precipitate, the job English did with quite aptness indicating as if to conceding the demand of both the communities. This set the seeds to keep this region burning for times to come. Motive was to prevent it from emerging as a power, knowing well that the Indians are hard working force and are capable of doing this unless they are engaged in their communal trifles. Her fantasy really proved true till today, due to the backwardness and fanatic attitude in both the sects. Both fought four wars and still a proxy war is undergoing for the last 13 years now. In the second quarter of last century, Hindus had started accepting the modern western way of education whereas the Muslims denied themselves the same. The *ulema* of Deoband even came out with *fatwa* by declaring Sir Syed Ahmad Khan as a *kafir*, who advocated the modern education based on scientific theories and way of education. "Muslims remained backward because they were religion bound revivalists who refused to modernize themselves," reveals Mr. Hamid Dalwai, a renowned Politician and experienced journalist in his book "Muslim politics in secular India" (page 30), a book written in Marathi and later translated in English, Hindi and Urdu. Defining Sir Syed as a great visionary, Mr Hamid opines that with his efforts and those of other like minded persons, the rigid religious mind of educated Muslims began to redefine life in terms of the modern age and broadened their views about man and society. It was this process that could have brought Hindus and Muslims close to each other. But hardliners in the sect forced even Sir Syed (because he lacked the virtue of being free from atavistic vanity of an inheritor of Mughol past) to succumb to the egoistic conception that Muslims were the conquerors of India, it belonged to Muslims only and had their grand dream of converting India into a Islamic state. Mr. Hamid even described Jinnah as the later version of Sri Syed due to the policies adopted by him thereafter.

The above views of Hamid Dalwai were fully endorsed by Prof. A.B. Shah, then President, Indian Secular Forum and many others. The emergence of Pakistan was the beginning and attack on Kashmir in 1947 to annex it was the next step towards its goal. Then there were 1965, 1971 and 1998. Osama Bin Laden and other like minded persons joined hands with Pakistan to exploit this fanatic spirit. On the basis of his study, Mr. Hamid further revealed that there had been practice of blaming every failure to Hindus and credit the success to their religion. Right from the battle of Badr, battle of Panipat, battle between Babar and Rana Sanga, between Abdally and Marathas, the reason is stated to be the same. There is no argument accepted on the basis of scientific or advantageous positions occupied by their armies as argued by some of the Generals. The battle of Badr was the first fought by Muslims. It was the battle in which Prophet scored his victory over his opponents. His Army consisting of 310 Muslims fought against Quraish tribe of Mecca consisting of 1000. It was memorable battle and was a turning point in the history of Muslims.

Mr. Hamid in his book first published in 1972, stating mind of a Muslim community. "How the Muslim mind is averse to accepting scientific explanations? It sees in every victory the repetition of battle of Badr. Why did Abdally win? The answer is because he was a Muslim. Why did Marathas lose? The answer is because they were *kafirs*. Why then did the Arabs suffer a crushing defeat at the hand of Israelis? The answer, this time, is that the Arab leaders were not faithful Muslims: Nasser led The Arabs. What exactly do they mean when they criticise Nasser for lack of

faithfulness in Islam? The answer, again, is obvious: Nasser is unfaithful because he refuses to bring about the rule of Shariat in Egypt. How could a handful of Muslims rule India for thousand years? It is a simple: they were possessed by tremendous religious zeal. How can Muslims regain lost power in India? To this the answer is again very obvious: "Muslims in India have to be made more devout." He further elucidates the Muslim mind by saying that the Muslims in India think that India suffered because it was not ruled by Islam and only Muslims can save this nation from doom. He is of the view that only remedy to Muslim communalism is an enlightened liberal intellectual leadership that has to emerge from the Indian Muslims. He quotes the example of George Fernandes, leader of the working class, Catholic by faith, but his faith never intrudes into his social and political life. It is irrelevant whether he is religious in his personal life or not. What is important is the fact that he does not bring his religious interests into public life. Nehru was also an example. And he hoped that in future Indian Muslims too would have such leadership. Having a look at the present scenario there is no dearth of such leaders now in India but the fanatics are also on the increase due to the constant patting and financial doles from and through the border states of Muslim base. At an estimated 5,00,000 Jihadis (as revealed in the press recently) trained from *madarassas* and financed from Muslim world the situation has deteriorated to such an extent that few reformers cannot change the minds of that huge trained terrorists and the en-block under training until and unless some drastic steps are taken. For feeding five lakhs terrorists, providing ammunition, food, travelling and security of their wards etc. an amount of at least Rs 50 thousand crores per month is required which is beyond the reach of one country like Pakistan which has become the playground for such activities. There is a global contribution and part of this expenditure is being met from the trade of drug smuggling and Arab countries who are increasing the rates of crude oil day by day. The money being diverted from the aids received from America in one form or the other amounting to about 800 million dollars already released and 300 million dollars in the pipe line can not be ruled out. Now the policy of *Kabhi Haan Kabhi Na* and the inability of General Musharraf is widely eminent from his assurances and withdrawals every time under pressures of America and the fundamentalist in his own country and elsewhere. Radical reform of such a huge number of Jihadis looks like Himalayan task. The task becomes more difficult for India when she is directly involved and has threat of nuclear proportions from Pakistan. In case of war no sport-rules apply and who ever strikes first may win since international community is bound to interfere for continuing the reactions thereafter. The scenario of the situation forces India to adopt strategy as was adopted against Iraq involving world powers like America and Britain who have confirmed the basis of terrorist activities in Pakistan as one of the breeding centers and harbors of the wanted terrorists of Afghanistan and India. Other wise the efforts of sweeping terrorism by world community in Afghanistan will end in futile if this process of cleansing is not initiated in Pakistan also. END

9 “JK Informer organises Seminar on Journalists' Responsibilities”

KS Correspondent

RECENT past, for the first time a seminar was organised on the responsibilities of the Journalists in Jammu in which the veteran journalists emphasised the need to maintain quality, credibility and objectivity in the field of journalism.

The seminar, ‘Responsibilities of Journalists in J&K’ was organised by ‘JK Informer’, an English monthly magazine from the Jammu and Kashmir state, to celebrate its first anniversary of launching the magazine. The function was presided over by the veteran journalist, Mr. Sat Paul Sahani and the former Resident Editor Indian Express, Mr. Prem Kumar was the ‘guest of honour’.

Welcoming the guests, Editor-in-Chief ‘JK Informer’ Deep Ji Pandit gave a brief profile of the magazine and said about the aim of organising the seminar. He said that the magazine completed first year of publication with the due cooperation of the contributors, subscribers, advertisers, readers and the employees of the magazine. He said that to share the celebrations with the people, ‘JK Informer’ decided to dedicate the celebrations also to the field of journalism by organising the seminar ‘Responsibilities of Journalists in J&K’.

Speaking on the responsibilities of Journalists, he said that the profession is seen as a ‘profession of privileges’ rather than the ‘profession of responsibilities’. He said “the journalists have social, legal and professional responsibilities. Journalism is a mirror of society and spokesman of the man kind”. He added that the journalists have to be the voice of society and facilitate two-way communication between leaders and different organisations of the society.

Quoting Manchester Guardian’s statement-facts are sacred, comment is free-he said that facts shall never be trampled while making comment.

Speaking on the occasion, Bureau Chief Hindustan Times (J&K), Mr. Arun Joshi highlighted the need of upholding the facts in the field of journalism. He said, “The facts are the soul of a story and a journalist must follow this truth”. He

described journalism as 'religion' and exhorted the journalists to 'worship' their profession. He said that it is the responsibility of the journalists to disseminate information to the masses based on facts.

Asking the journalists to become the spokesmen of the society, he said, "A good journalist has to reflect the pain of suffering masses". Underlining the need for objective writing, Mr. Joshi said that reporting about the failure of Indian army in Tanda or the Char-e-Sharief fiasco does not make one anti-national. Similarly, writing about the pain of displaced people does not make one communal. He added that burning of a mosque is as much sacrilegious for him as much as burning of a temple.

Mr. Joshi also shared with the assembled people his experience of staying in Srinagar in the initial phase of militancy. He said that a journalist has to be aware of the happenings every time and to be bold enough to write the truth accordingly.

In his inspiring address, Former Resident Editor Indian Express, Mr. Prem Kumar said that the number of people reading the newspapers has increased manifold and as such the journalists have to be more responsive to educate the people. He added that the responsibilities of the journalists working in militancy infested J&K state increases, as they have to be more careful while reporting. Referring to the responsibilities of the journalists towards the society, Mr. Prem Kumar said, "The journalists are the part of society and major responsibilities of moulding the masses lie with them", "They (journalists) should always file factual and impartial reports", Mr. Prem Kumar emphasised.

Referring to the boon in the field of journalism, Mr. Prem Kumar said that in past some years there have been many changes in the field. "Presently, there are eight thousand news papers, sixteen thousand weeklies, eight thousand monthly magazines and one and a half million readers. But, still crores of people are deprived of the facilities of newspapers", he said. He, however, expressed dissatisfaction that the readers of the magazines are on decline and attributed it to the failure of the magazines to adapt to the changing trends and the competition from the electronic media.

Expressing his regret on the behaviour of present day media for not attacking the system, the veteran journalist Mr. Prem Kumar emphasised that "media should not forget its social responsibility". He described it very bad trend that the journalists are after small things. Mr. Prem Kumar also stressed the need for revival of investigative reporting and discussions on the social and general issues. Mr. Kumar also appreciated the editor and the team of 'JK Informer' for bringing the improvement in the magazine regularly and exhorted them to strive hard to make the magazine a 'research paper'.

In his presidential address, the veteran journalist of the Jammu and Kashmir state, Mr. Sat Paul Sahani, stressed the need for sticking to the facts and expressed his concern that journalism is now becoming a 'business' than a 'mission'.

Describing the facts as sacred, Mr. Sahani emphasised the need for sticking to the facts. "When a journalist goes by facts in his news, he can face even a lion", claimed Mr. Sahani. Sharing his experience in the field of journalism in J&K, Mr. Sahani said that journalism in J&K could be divided into three phases-pre-1947 era, post-Independence era and the post 1990 era.

Mr. Sahani said that in the pre-independence era, most of the journalists were educated but untrained. They had a very great feeling for working for the society and had devotion with their job. "The reporting in those days, was of two types-one was in favour of democracy and the other in favour of autocracy", he said.

"In the post-independence era also, there were not many trained people in the field of journalism but the state witnessed a swarming growth in the publication of newspapers around 1982 and as many as 129 newspapers were registered at that time in Jammu and Kashmir state", said Mr. Sahani

He described the third phase in the field of journalism to post-1990 era when militancy started in the state.

Mr. Sahani said, "After the mass exodus of good journalists from Kashmir valley, quality of journalism deteriorated". "A number of untrained persons, mostly working for senior journalists as their tele- printer operators and other hawkers, took over the mantle of journalists and thus defamed the profession", he regretted.

Mr. Sahani also lauded the role of electronic media in presenting day-to-day and minute-to-minute happenings in the trouble torn state of Jammu and Kashmir.

Mr. Sahani also appreciated the role of senior journalist Arun Joshi for reporting bravely with transparency, accountability and responsibility and exhorted the young journalists to file their reports based on facts so that their stories are not refuted.

On the occasion, 'JK Informer', honoured the columnists-Messers Sarvadaman, Omkar Dattatray, Satish Mohan Pandit, V.K. Wattal, B.L. Machama and M.N. Koul for their contribution to the field of journalism in general and JK Informer in particular. The mementoes were presented to the speakers, chairman and the guest of honour. Trophies were also presented to the JK Informer team- *Graphic Designer Sachin Tikoo, Marketing Incharge Ruby Singh, Jammu Correspondent Sanjay Ganjoo, Kalakote Correspondent L.R. Sehgal, Vishal Fotedar, Niti Pandit and Sunil Pandit.*

Major Kulbir Singh also spoke on the occasion. Mr. P.N. Sadhu, Senior Vice President Hero Group of Industries and Member Advisory 'JK Informer', presented the vote of thanks on the occasion and Ms. Nimi Koul compared the programme. END

10 *The issue of the return of Pandits*

By K.N. Pandita

THE religious minority of the Pandits of the Valley formed nearly 7 percent of the total population of the province of Kashmir at the time of Kashmir's accession to the Indian Union in 1947. Owing to discriminatory policies of successive regimes in J&K ever since, a good percentage of the Pandits was forced to leave Kashmir and seek livelihood in other parts of the country. As a result of eruption of armed insurgency in late 1989-90, the Islamists made the Pandits their selective targets and killed nearly a thousand innocent members within a couple of months of insurgency. Their objective was to enforce ethnic cleansing of Kashmiri Pandits from the Valley in order to pave the way for Islamic homogenization with *sharia* replacing secular democratic dispensation. Radical and Wahhabi Islamic ideologues in Saudi Arabia and Pakistan who have sponsored the jihadi terror world over, consider Kashmir integral to the concept of Islamic Caliphate. The Pandits were considered a symbol of secularist presence in Kashmir. In this connection we are reminded of an Urdu language pamphlet titled "*Kashmir mein aksariyyat ko aqalliyat mein badalne ki sazish*" authored by the then MLA and later on a senior cabinet rank minister, namely Abdur Rahim Rather in the previous cabinet of Dr Farooq Abdullah and printed at NC's Nawa-e-Sobh press in 1982.

In 1990, the popularly elected Congress-NC coalition Government of Jammu and Kashmir did not want to protect life and property of this religious minority against lawless Islamic brigades. Not only that, in stead of facing with courage and determination the dire threat to law and order in the state, in fact to its stability, the then popularly elected government quit the office abandoning the people, particularly the defenseless minority, to armed Islamic insurgents. In doing so, it facilitated space for the insurgents to indulge freely in acts of pogroms and violence of the Pandit minority. Protection of life is the foremost constitutional and moral duty of any government. It is also the first article of the UN Charter on Human Rights.

Abandoned by the popular government, surrounded by an atmosphere of unrelenting threat to life and honour relayed through loudspeakers from mosque tops and in vernacular media, targeted by the gun-wielding marauders and ignored by the national press and mainstream political parties, the minuscule religious minority was left with no option but to abandon, albeit most unwillingly their homes and hearths. Then ensued their mass exodus to unfamiliar places and environs. By April 1990, almost 99 percent of their population had to depart from the Valley.

The Government of India, in its official note to the International Commission of Jurists, (ICJ) an international NGO of repute, communicated in writing the story of ethnic cleansing and exodus of the Pandits. It is fully reproduced in its published report on Kashmir, 1995.

Extirpated people sought refuge in another region of the State, Jammu and other places in the country like Delhi, Bombay, Chandigarh etc. They did not cross the borders of the Indian State but remained as refugees within the confines of their own country.

Paragraph 2 of the report of the Representative of the UN Secretary General pursuant to the UNHRC resolution 1997/39, dealing with the scope and purpose of the Guiding Principles defines the IDPs as this :

For the purpose of these Principles, internally Displaced Persons are persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognised State border. (E/CN:4/1998/53/Add. 2. page 5).

Section A paragraph 9 of the Report of the representative of the UN Secretary General to the Commission of Human Rights states.

Loss of life, brutality, violence and threats thereof that create a climate of insecurity frequently force people to flee their homes: for instance, in cases of direct or indiscriminate attacks on civilian sites. In fact, violence and threats affecting life and personal security are a particularly effective and frequently used means of inducing displacement and are often also employed in the course of displacement. In some cases the forced movement of persons may amount to genocide, including "ethnic cleansing", or to inhuman and degrading treatment. (E/CN.4/1998/53/Add. 1. page 5)

In the matter of "ethnic cleansing" of the Pandits of Kashmir, a situation which the Government of India has conceded in its report to the ICJ, (to which allusion has been made above), the report of the representative of the Secretary General observes in paragraph 73:

“Ethnic cleansing” is never admissible. The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination in its concluding observations on the report of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (CERD/C/247/Add. 1), condemned “ethnic cleansing” because it constitutes” a grave violation of all basic principles underlying the international convention on the Elimination of All forms of Racial Discrimination.” (E/CN.4/1998/53/Add. 1 page 17).

We have already stated that by April 1990 over a thousand members of the Pandit community had been gunned down by the armed Islamists. In regard to genocide, the report of the representative of the Secretary General states in paragraph 74 as follows :

Certain forms of forced removal, in particular in the context of “ethnic cleansing” or extreme suppression of ethnic or indigenous peoples may amount to genocide. Genocide constitutes an especially grave form of violation of the right to life, as discussed in detail in the Compilation and analysis of legal Norms (paras 73-74). Article 1 of the Genocide Convention recognizes genocide, committed at any time, to be an international crime. Article 11 of the Genocide Convention defines genocide as “...any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, such as ;

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part ..(E/CN.4/1998/3/Add.1 page 18).

Despite this ground reality, the Government of India has, so far, refused to declare the Pandits of Kashmir as IDPs. Indian National Human Rights Commission seems to toe the policy of the government.

We do understand that response to internal displacement worldwide, frequently resulting from civil war, is, in the words of the representative of the UN Secretary General, “often constrained by ruptured sense of national solidarity and identity.” This could be a reason for the Government of India’s reluctance to declare the Pandits as IDPs in terms of the UNHRC’s definition. But apart from this, the Government of India might be averse to the involvement of a UN agency or its nominee or reputed human rights agencies like Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) or any other of high credibility to address within its competence and legal jurisdiction the human rights violations of the internally displaced persons from Kashmir.

Conceding the right of the states to sovereignty, it would be apt to refer at the same time to the concept of “sovereignty with responsibility” as enunciated in the Guiding Principles of the representative for the IDPs. In that sense it does not seem justifiable for the Government of India to obstruct, as it has hitherto done, the affected IDPs from enjoying the rights and privileges, which are provided by the international community through various UN instruments and treaty bodies. It is tantamount to disregard of international obligation if not violation of human rights of the IDPs when they are kept outside the jurisdiction of the Emergency Relief Coordinator (ERC) designated by the UN Secretary-General as the UN’s focal point on internally displaced persons. (See para 9 of E/CN.4/2003/86/Add. 6. page 6) **Among other serious deprivations caused by refusing to declare them as IDPs would be the denial of their right to seeking asylum in a foreign country. This is gross violation of human rights and the right to freedom of movement.**

It is a matter of regret that neither the Government of India nor the Government of the Jammu and Kashmir State (the State in which ethnic cleansing and genocide of a religious minority have occurred and where from the mass exodus of the community members has taken place) has instituted a Commission of Inquiry into the rise of religion-based terrorism allegedly with full connivance of sections of local authorities, political groups and segments of civil society. Five major massacres of the members of the community’s residual members in Kashmir and adjoining areas have taken place during last twelve years. Never has been an inquiry ordered nor has even an official statement been made on the floor of the Legislative Assembly in regard to these pogroms. This shows the State and the Union government’s lack of concern about a blatant case of human rights violations.

Now there is much talk about the return and resettlement of the IDPs. The talk has become a cliché with the State and the Central government. Observers feel that real ground situation does not support practicability of any such plan at least for the near future. We expect the Indian authorities to be in full knowledge of the observations, recommendations and resolutions of the UN, the Human Rights Commission and other UN subsidiary bodies in the matter of rights of Internally Displaced Persons.

In the context of the return of Pandit religious minority, the ground situation and its harsh realities are decisive factors. Indian security forces are locked in heroic combat against the committed jihadis and Islamic suicide squads who strike suddenly and at vulnerable places or soft targets. Most of Kashmiri Muslim bureaucracy and administrative structure abhors broad nationalist and secular orientation. A senior minister of Mufti cabinet was indicted by security agencies for known involvement in the Akshardham mandir attack has been cleared by Mufti and given the "healing touch" by restoring him to his cabinet post. Mattan and Khirbhawani, the Hindu religious sites in the Valley, are being projected as future habitats of the exiled Pandits. This is not for any real love of the minority. Mattan is the constituency

of Mufti himself and Khirbhawani is the constituency of Qazi Afzal now a cabinet rank minister in Mufti government. He had no qualms of conscience in publicly announcing that he won the election through the support of militants. Crores of rupees feigned for the rehabilitation of Pandits are actually to bolster vote bank syndrome of these two constituencies. **There appears little sense in making Hindu religious places in the valley as the focal point for their concentration. Are the exiled people to become mendicants and monks at their shrines or are they to be activated as equal partners in the architecture of country's political and social process?**

In these conditions, return of the IDPs becomes a secondary issue. The primary issue is of reversing the Islamisation of Kashmir. It is re-establishing and reinforcing the primacy of secular democratic dispensation. It is providing constitutional and institutional cover to physical security. It is recognition of the right of the minority group to become partner in nation-building process. It is re-interpretation of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution in the light of ongoing *jihad*. Above all, it is recognizing the sacrifices made by the community first as nuts and bolts of freedom movement, then as sufferers of discrimination and finally as the victims of genocide and ethnic cleansing.

It is moral, legal, administrative, constitutional and humanistic duty of the union government to advise the state authorities to desist from building attrition ethnically cleansed people. The report of the representative of the Secretary-General on IDPs, the Special Rapporteur on Minorities, and also of the Chairman of Working Group on Minorities -- the important subsidiary of the UN Commission on Human Rights-that has defined the Pandits as a clear example of 'reverse minority', should form the basis of the blue print for Pandit return. The blue print has to be implemented only when de-communalization of Kashmir along with wiping out terrorism is brought about.

Whether the Indian State has the capacity of transforming the aggressive Kashmiri jihadi activism into peaceful coexistence among the people of different faiths through the current instrument of appeasement and concessions is the crux of the problem. So far the Indian experiment in Kashmir has yielded only the extirpation of the minuscule non-Muslim population of the State and the collapse of Indian projection of Kashmir as its secular face. New Delhi will have to redefine its secularist prognosis.

Principle 28 of the Guiding Principles in Section V relating to Return, Resettlement and Reintegration of the IDPs' states:

1. Competent authorities have the primary duty and responsibility to establish conditions, as well as to provide the means, which allow internally displaced persons to return voluntarily, in safety and with dignity, to their homes or places of habitual residence, or to resettle voluntarily in another part of the country. Such authorities shall endeavour to facilitate the reintegration of returned or resettled internally displaced persons.

2. Special efforts should be made to ensure the full participation of internally displaced persons in the planning and management of their return or resettlement and reintegration (E/CN.4/1998/53/Add. 2. page 14)

From this principle, the following inferences become self explanatory.

- a) The IDPs will not be coerced into return. Return will be their free choice
- b) It is the responsibility of the State authorities to care for their "return, resettlement and reintegration"
- c) The returnees have the freedom of resettling in their homes or places of habitual residence, or to resettle voluntarily in another part of the country/state
- d) Internally displaced persons will be involved actively in the decision of planning their return, resettlement and reintegration.

In the light of these inferences, it is logical if the internally displaced Kashmiri Pandits are demanding concentrated resettlement in one part of the Kashmir valley. This is what the right to freedom of movement and the right to freedom of resettlement embody. These being the human rights cannot be denied. Again there is full justification for the Pandit IDPs to ask for adequate political empowerment and full participation in the decision making and planning process in the State. This is their constitutional, political and human right. Additionally the right to compensation is equally important substantiated in the Guiding Principles. Ultimately, the Pandits have to return to the Valley. Ultimately secularist dispensation has to be the basic philosophy of Indian nation. But this return is not an ordinary one. It is the return of the ethnically cleansed minority. It is the return of the indigenous people to their homeland. It is the return of a religious minority, which has been persecuted by the majority community. It is the return of a community abandoned by the democratically elected government. It is the return of a community portrayed by the Indian State as its secularist model in Kashmir. Naturally, return, rehabilitation and re-integration of this community has to be under very clear terms and conditions. Its survival, development, integration and future concerns have to be insulated through constitutional and institutional guarantees in the light of re-interpretation of Article 370 of the Constitution of India :

1. The Union Government constitute a Commission of Inquiry with the following clear terms of reference :

- (a) Probe in the causes of the rise of extremist religion-based armed insurgency in Kashmir in 1990
- (b) Probe into the causes and events of selective killings of Pandits followed by their ethnic cleansing in 1989-90.

The report of the inquiry into 1986 Anantnag attacks on Pandits should also be made public.

Constituting this commission is essential for preventing recurrence of communal pogroms in future and also for strengthening secular democracy of India. It will pave the way for the return of the IDPs. It must be understood that return of an ethnically cleansed minority to its homeland essentially depends not only on the quantum of security provided by the government but also in reversing the factors which leads to ethnic-cleansing. No amount of rhetoric can be a substitute. Also GoI's attempts to impose non-displaced opportunists as spokespersons of exiled community will be counter-productive playing divisive politics with nationalist groups is the policy of anti-people state. END

11 *Dialogue with Jamaat Islami can be dangerous*

Dr. Ajay Chrangoo

SECESSIONIST violence in Kashmir is a product of complex interplay of regional and domestic factors. Jihadist war in Afghanistan, militarisation of Islamic fundamentalism and Jihadi intransigence, which dreams of an Islamic caliphate with Kashmir as its constituent, provide the regional backdrop.

At the regional level some other factors also influence the course of the terrorist violence. Pak army generals have inherited a dangerous mindset, which visualises stability of Pak state in the balkanisation of India. Destabilisation of Kashmir is perceived as a step forward in this process. US perspective for the region is another factor that has emboldened the paranoid Pak military junta and the jihadists.

US Role :

Despite a nuanced shift the Americans continue to checkmate India's emergence as a major player by subtly patronising Pakistan. US diplomatic encouragement to Kashmiri Jihadists forms a part of this strategy. Americans also pamper Pakistan for advancing their geopolitical designs in oil-natural gas rich Central Asia. They also seek its help to counter anti-American section of Islamists.

Domestic Factors :

At domestic level, the heightened sense of Muslim communal identity is the driving force behind the emergence of secessionism in Kashmir. On the eve of partition, Kashmir was relatively insulated from the subcontinental Muslim politics. There was uneasy relationship between the local Kashmiri leadership and the top hierarchy of Muslim League. The differences were not ideological. These bordered over clash of personal egos. Also attempts by the League leadership to run down the popular Kashmiri leadership alienated the latter. In 1946, National Conference launched 'Quit Kashmir Movement'. This campaign shifted the focus of Kashmiris from larger subcontinental agenda of Hindu vs Muslim to the immediate local agenda i.e. transfer of power to the local Muslim elite. Indifference of League leadership to 'Quit Kashmir movement' made politically-aware sections of Kashmiris confused about the objectives of Muslim politics.

Muslim-Identity Politics :

Communal undertones in the anti-Maharaja movement led by NC came to surface soon after the tribal raiders were driven out. National Conference chalked out a programme, which was not different from Muslim League agenda in pre-partition India. Its Muslim identity politics had three objectives--to fortify Muslim identity constitutionally and force India to dilute its sovereignty over Kashmir; at politico-economic level to enforce Muslim precedence in all walks of life and marginalise non-Kashmiri Sunni groups; to promote Islamisation of Kashmir and undermine religious pluralism. This was achieved through changing the name-places of hundreds of villages, raking up disputes over Pandits' historical places of worship, funding dubious scholarship on history and culture to weaken Kashmir's civilisational identity and promote the Islamist identity. Religious pluralisms was weakened through well-planned destabilisation of Kashmiri Hindus. Dialectically militarised fundamentalist campaign of 1980's and 1990's is a continuation of Plebiscite Front politics of 1950's and 1960's. Plebiscite Front and Jamaat Islami, both essentially stood for secessionism, communalism and exclusivist Muslim fundamentalist identity.

Mainstream political groups, instead of countering, played tailts to the politics of these groups, even while indulging in loud nationalistic rhetoric. Those who attribute Pandits' ethnic-cleansing solely to externally sponsored terrorist groups miss the thread for restoring Pandits' back to their homes in future. This religious cleansing can only be explained in the context of systematic assaults by the local Kashmiri leadership on secular values and pluralism.

Communalisation and fundamentalisation of Kashmir's social mileu have made Kashmiri Muslims deeply chauvinist about their Muslim identity. They feel alienated in secular India. More the Kashmiri clamours for communal identity the deeper would be his alienation from India. Only a secular Kashmiri society can be at peace with India.

Indian Policy :

Some political groups as well as a section of bureaucracy have been thwarting country's efforts to meet the terrorist challenge in Kashmir. This lobby works at two levels. It tries to underplay the communal dimension of the terrorist movement and Kashmiri politics. Secondly, it creates a diversionary bogey for Kashmiri alienation by attributing it to

deliberate acts of misgovernance, recurrent fraudulent elections, denial of economic and political opportunities to Kashmiris by successive Central governments. The objective is to coerce Centre in yielding more concessions to Kashmir Sunni elite at the cost of other groups. It is because of this crafted campaign that the Centre finds itself at sea in evolving a policy that would attack the social and material basis of separatism.

Bribery, selective appeasement of sections of Kashmiri elite and ambivalent nationalist agenda has passed so far as the official Kashmir policy. This has only nourished communal and separatist politics. The result is that even otherwise responsible mainstream politicians are forced to play the game of one-upmanship in competitive communalism and secessionism. Demanding opening of Rawalpindi Road, offering strategic concessions to terrorists, raking up politically-worn issues of autonomy, plebiscite or Chenab council (read Dixon Plan), advocating dialogue with terrorist and theo-fascist groups and opposing legitimate aspirations of ethnically-cleansed Kashmiri Pandits look perfectly legitimate in politics of competitive communalism and secessionism. As long as healthy democratic, secular and patriotic politics continues to take a back seat, durable peace and hegemony of the egalitarian nationalist agenda in Kashmir will remain an elusive dreams.

Role of Jamaat Islami :

In the dynamics of the evolution of the secessionist movement, the role of Kashmir chapter of Jamaat Islami has not received the desired attention. Dabbling in the secessionist movement has acted as a force multiplier for Jamaat Islami to expand its social base. It has proved to be the most reliable ally for ISI backed terrorists and other Jihadis. Its vast infrastructure of cadres, overground sympathisers, moles in administration and mainstream political groupings continue to sustain the terrorist war by providing crucial logistic support.

During the past quarter of a century, Jamaat Islami has succeeded in indoctrinating generations of Kashmiri youth to Pan-Islamist and secessionist ideas. Ideological message of Khomeinist revolution, Hamas and other Wahabist movements too was transmitted to Kashmiri Muslim youth through the agency of Jamaat Islami. Jamaat Islami, Kashmir Chapter not only provides the most committed "indigenous" jihadis to the terrorist ranks but also tries to ensure that no other separatist group dilutes the agenda of secessionism.

To restore long-term peace and revive religious pluralism, there is no option but to counter Jamaat Islami and its cover outfits at all levels-militarily, administratively, politically and ideologically. Engaging these theo-fascists can spell doom for India in Kashmir. END

12 Restructuring India's Northern Frontiner Policy

By K.N Pandita

The strategic importance of the Northern Frontier for the British Indian rulers was thrown up first in the course of the 'Great Game' of mid-19th century. At that time Czarist Russia was expanding southward till it reached the watershed of the Karakorum and the Pamirs.

Reinforcing the British Indian policy for the northern frontier was necessitated by the more dangerous phenomenon for the western imperialism in Asia. This time it was the ideological expansion of Marxism-Leninism.

Physical resistance could not counter this ideological thrust from the Great Steppes southward. Therefore the strategies changed on both sides because now the imperialists and the Marxist Ideologues was bound to spread to the poverty stricken and deprived nations not only in Asian continent but elsewhere in the world as well particularly Africa and Latin America.

With the transfer of power in 1947, rather in a bizarre manner, the Indian leadership somehow lost the sight of the strategic importance of the Northern Frontier to the independent Indian State. The reason, one may infer, was that partition was accompanied by a host of political, economic and social problems too oppressive to spare time to attend to subtle game of international diplomacy.

In addition, the clandestine military intervention in Kashmir by Pakistan gradually made it clear to the Indian leadership that the British Imperialism was now operating through its surrogate. They put a high premium to their philosophy of governance rather than on the importance of sealing their porous frontier to the north. The Congress leadership had the track record of swearing by Indian secularism. Immediately after Independence, it became an obsession with them.

Little did the Indian leadership take into cognizance the history of Kashmir prior to the advent of the British? This history is essentially the history of recurring incursions of Central Asian hordes including those who were located in her immediate west and north-west during the ancient and medieval times. The significance of three Afghan Wars fought by British Indian against Afghanistan and finally winning over Amanullah Khan to their side was hardly analysed by the Indian policy planners at the time when India was about to be partitioned and made independent. On the other hand, the British imperialism had taken the entire gamut of northern frontier of India into their reckoning.

For long, the question why India agreed to ceasefire in 198 with her troops still not in control of the Kishan Ganga valley will be debated in political circles. The answer to this puzzling query is to be searched in the Kashmir policy of the then Governor General Lord Mountbatten.

When the Cabinet Defence Committee met in circumstances of urgency in New Delhi on October 24, 1947 to take a decision on the request of the Maharaja of Kashmir for military assistance, the stance of the Governor General and his three British Chiefs, who were members of the Defence Committee, was not only negative but also actually obstructive. Prime Minister Nehru's strong plea that Kashmir had to be saved out no ice. For nearly two hours the Governor General supported by his Chiefs in olive green harangued the Indian side and the request was almost close to be dropped. Then the iron man of India, the Deputy Prime Minister and the Home Minister, Sardar Patel, who had been patiently listening to the rhetoric of the Generals came out bluntness with one short, certain and decisive sentence: "Generals, roads or no roads, supplies or no supplies, I want Indian troops in Srinagar tomorrow morning." The Sardar straight we to his office, called the Defence Minister Baldev Singh and hinted that the British Army Chief be replaced by General Cariappa the same evening.

Contemplated retaliatory measure (if any). For last thirteen years India has been providing a plethora of proofs but the sponsors are not convinced.

India's retaliatory action has to be an amalgam of her experience in Bangladesh and Pakistan's proxying in Kashmir. First of all, she has to prepare the ground in PoK and Northern Areas so that her physical movement inside PoK is greatly facilitated. Here comes into play the Indian Intelligence factor. It has to show its vision, planning, maneuverability and guts. This would be the litmus test of her top agency's capabilities and efficiency. It asks for planning the plan.

The basis of our intelligence organisations' role in PoK should be the political opposition to Pakistan's domination of the area and denial of civil and political rights of the people there. All dissenting segments have to be brought together and welded into a strong nationalist group ready to make sacrifices. The PoK ruling apparatus is prone to vulnerability. Even elements within are prepared to undertake internal subversion. The key to this segment lies in their Diaspora in London. But care has to be taken that only the PoK nationals are contacted and not emigres from Kashmir valley.

Likewise, political situation in the Northern Areas is fully ripe for any effective and result-oriented action. The ethic card works fine there. It has to be reminded that General Musharraf during his tenure as the Corps Commander of Northern Corps of Pakistan got two million Sunni Hanfai Pathans settled in Gilgit and Baltistan thus changing the demographic complexion of the region. The Shia domination has been thus diluted and considerably neutralized. In order to sensitize the Shia elements to this sordid act of Pakistani racists, the Indian planners must get into touch with the Ismaili leadership and explain to it the necessity of taking the step in the larger interests of the people, their civil, political and economic rights. Remember that there is a large Ismaili segment in Gilgit, Baltistan, Hunza, Nagar, Chitral, Wakhen and the Badakhshan and Pamir ranges. This segment can form the backbone of the nationalist freedom movement. They only precaution that needs to be taken is to ensure that never ever to sectarian and communal clashes surface. This is what the Indians must have learnt from the folly of the JKLF musclemen during the initial stages of their insurgency as a result of which the minority community in the Valley was extirpated from its home and hearth. JKLF movement failed because of that Himalayan blunder.

Apart from Shia leadership of Northern Areas, political dissenting groups, at least seven of them, are also suffering under Islamabad's repression. Their voice has been stifled. What has immensely boosted their aspiration for separation from Pakistan is the historical verdict of the "Azad Kashmir" High Court. It declared Northern Areas as part of Kashmir, meaning the State of Jammu and Kashmir under the Dogra rulers. All these elements have to be galvanized into meaningful cooperation and the starting of a nationalist movement as in Bangladesh. Arms, ammunition and other supplies have to be provided to support the struggle of the people of a part of India illegally and forcibly kept under siege by Pakistan. India needs to make an announcement in declare terms that she will have to hesitation in providing military assistance to freedom fighters. In the Pakistan occupied part of Kashmir. She need not behave in a cowardly manner as Pakistan does in Kashmir.

In terms of military strategy, Indian military planners must put their heads together to draw a comprehensive plan for military action in PoK and NA when time is ripe. The strategy would be to prepare airstrip close to the border by the PoK volunteer force. The volunteer force would be entrusted with the responsibility of protecting the bridges and strategic installations in PoK, which will have to fall in the hands of Indian troops. The movement has to be all along the LoC but with specific targets in between that would yield a link up later on.

Indian troops will have no need to deal with the ambivalent elements and the lumpen once hostilities reach the peak. The PoK and NA volunteer force will itself take care of this development. The volunteer force has to be trained in that sphere also.

India has already very small military presence in Tajikistan. The whole concept has to be redrawn. India must obtain a military base in Tajikistan or Kyrgyzstan in Central Asia somewhere. But as we all know, he had abandoned Kashmir

to Nehru, a policy decision that had been taken and the decision to accept of cease-fire at Uri was entirely of the Prime Minister Nehru. This decision seriously endangered the whole of Aksaichin region, shrank India's northern frontier from Mustang to Drass and Kargil. We have faced Kargil and what we may have to face in future is unpredictable. Thanks to General Thimayya for giving us the Zojila and the link to Chashul.

The proxy war begun by Pakistan in 1990 opens on us the critical chapter of defence of northern frontier once again. We have been fighting "terrorism" for nearly 13 years. We may not have allowed the "terrorists" to make any significant achievement in Kashmir but we have not won the proxy war. We have lost our secular credentials in Kashmir. Our military credibility is at stake and Islamic fundamentalist terror look at us in an eyeball to eyeball stance.

What is going on in Kashmir is not terrorism or fundamentalism. These are the instruments used by the enemy to further its designs in Kashmir and farther in south and southeast of the country. It is imperialism deploying its surrogates and sub-surrogates to destabilize the Indian nation and bring about its disintegration. The conventional imperialism has worn a new mask, is using new tools, and has devised new methodology.

Thirteen years is too long a timer for any self-respecting nation to bear the tantrum aimed at rationalizing the perfidy unleashed in a neighbouring sovereign state? At the end of the day, the general opinion wonders whether India is that pusillanimous, weak-kneed and devoid of will power to assert as a big nation? A wrong and misleading impression has been created that India is unable to maintain its sovereignty and integrity vis-a-vis its smallish western neighbour. This has emboldened the surrogates and sub-surrogates that the faith for which they are required to wage the jihad is bound to overawe all other faiths and systematically efface them from the surface of the earth. They find reinforcement in the scriptural assertion that when God wills small numbers shall prevail upon larger numbers.

The time has come when India has to come out of this prison house of slavish mentality. The entire situation asks for deep analysis and dispassionate conclusions. In other words, it means reassessing our northern frontier policy because so far our vulnerability on this front has not been only exposed but also exploited to the hilt.

What should be the contours of this restructuring? What will be the stakes we cannot avoid and what will be the net gains in the balance? These are the aspects of the question of redrawing our northern frontier policy.

Essentially two factors surface more prominently. First the Northern Areas and PoK region are posing a source of recurrent threat and destabilisation for the Indian State. Second, the northwestern border of the Indian State as at present being dangerously porous is strategically disadvantageous to India and hence not acceptable. It gives average Pakistani adventuring military regimes to make the border live as and when it suits their needs at home. History of Indo-Pak conflict tells us that whenever the military-feudal combine in Pakistan found its position vulnerable in face of internal turmoil and instability, they opened the mouth of their guns on Indian territory.

Legally, our claim to the PoK including Northern Areas is justifiable. Acceptance of cease-fire along the LOAC indirectly meant that sovereignty of the respective states over the part of the State under their respective control had to be conceded. Shimla Agreement further reinforced this logic. But on the ground, Pakistan threw the underlying purpose of the cease-fire and the commitment at Shimla to winds once she sponsored, abetted and infiltrated armed fighters into Kashmir Valley. Obviously she had to characterize it a nationalist uprising a desk book rule of columinous diplomacy in all such cases anywhere in the world.

Normally India should have retaliated to this perfidy way back in 1990. But once again she was trounced in the imperialist share. She was asked to produce convincing proofs to justify close to the Northern Areas/Chitral in the narrow valleys of the Badakhshan and Pamirs. India would need to fix missiles at these bases so that in the event of escalation of war in PoK and NA, India should be able to strike. The Central Asians have to be told in unambiguous terms that this action is needed to curb and control the dangerous fundamentalist-Islamist nexus in the sub-continent as it would imperil the security of Central Asia also if no remedial measures are adopted now.

Having dismantled the fundamentalist-terrorist structure in PoK and NA, India must prepare international opinion for providing an opportunity to the people to decide their fate themselves. But in doing so, India will have to maintain its northern military outpost somewhere near Chitral. A Frontier Corps would be established permanently to frustrate any attempt of destabilizing India in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Once such a development happens, Pakistan will have no option but to think of living with India in Peace.

Yes, Pakistan will retaliate once India begins military operation in PoK and NA. This would be to the advantage of India. The entire populace of PoK and NA will require no further proof that Pakistan wants to keep them enslaved and is not prepared to concede their freedom. India will cash on it. And if the war escalates, its consequences are obvious. Let Pakistan get parceled into ethnic satrapies, the logical conclusion of the arrogance of not learning anything from Bangladesh experience.

India is an emerging power. If she embarks on this action and now, there will be no adverse reaction from international community. It is because of international fundamentalism and terrorism. The US may have interests in Pakistan but she would not resent its disintegration for its own faults. It should also be known that China hitherto posing as Pakistan's supporter is too fragile to stand by her in military terms. And one should wish that in the event of armed

confrontation between India and Pakistan, China decided to jump into the fray. India has to obtain a seat in the Security Council. India has to assert in the world market. India has to be dominant in South Asian region. All this has to be her agenda because democracy. Secularism and pluralism must replace the obsolete, conservative and regressive political systems in the region. END

13 Pandits' Return-Escapist Solutions Won't Work

By Ajay Chrungoo

A senior official of the Union Home Ministry was in the town recently. As per media reports he made a significant policy statement on Displaced Pandits' return issue. He was quoted as having said that Government was making efforts to bring the exiled people back to the Valley. The official further announced that action plan for this would be finalised during the following 30-45 days. He also disclosed that as many as 444 flats-144 in Anantnag and 300 Budgam and Srinagar were being constructed for them. These he said, would be temporary shelters till Pandits' went back to their native places. He, however, confessed that this required a lot of motivation among migrants and also public support.

Whether the official was just making a proforma statement to bolster the legitimacy of PDP-led state government or something seriously was being contemplated, overlooking the apprehensions of the displaced people, time alone will tell. However, it can be said with certainty that at the official level the issue of rehabilitation of exiled Pandits is being addressed in a thoughtless and perfidious manner. This has only embittered the victims of terrorist violence and the government's unworkable plans are doomed to defeat.

Observers often ask why is Government of India shy of involving exiled people in formulating a return plan on the basis of the ground realities. Subtle inference is that GoI is simply not interested in restoring Displaced people back to their homeland. In that context involving the displaced Pandits or taking cognisance of ground realities does not make any sense. Confusion, lack of political will and adhocism have been the cardinal features of GOI's handling of proxy war. Policy on return suffers from the same malaise and larger issues concerning return escape attention.

Communal Politics :

Looking at Kashmiri Pandits' cleansing simply through the prism of terrorist violence is to miss its larger context. Destabilisation of Pandits is the consequence of gradual communalisation of Kashmiri society and polity over decades. Subversion in administration and its total collapse in the wake of eruption of terrorist violence facilitated the process. Total indifference of Central and State government to respond to threats to Pandits' continued stay in the Valley from time to time, removed all impediments in extirpation of this defenseless community. Mr Girish Chander Saxena, the former Governor attributed the official apathy to respond to initial attempts at ethnic-cleansing to Government's failure to gauge the magnitude of the problem. Central government had also sat over reports sent to Union Home Ministry in 1986 by many agencies, including then DGP. Central government's failure in understanding the ramifications of Pandits' ethnic-cleansing has already led to five major massacres of Kashmiri Hindus during the past five years.

At the dawn of independence national leaders of stature vied with one another in declaring that Kashmir was the secular crown of India and extolled the 'secular' virtues of Kashmiris to the skies. These leaders forgot that mere rhetoric does not make a society secular. Only a society that actively practises secularism can justify such a claim.

Exploiting the gullibility of the national leadership to swallow secularist rhetoric of Kashmiri leaders, the Kashmiri political leadership felt unrestrained in pursuance of Muslim identity and separatist politics. Pernicious policy of implementation of indiscriminate Muslim precedence created conditions conducive for destabilisation of Hindus in Kashmir. Communalism, as the official state policy, had disastrous impact on the evolution of healthy and secular politics. Democratic National Conference, which looked like a ray of hope for growth of competitive and secular politics, too was snuffed out.

Pursuit of Muslim identity and Muslim precedence politics shaped three genres of separatists politics. One group advocates loosened Indian control over Kashmir and demands autonomy on the basis of Muslim-majority character. Second group chases an elusive dream of an Islamic state of Independent Kashmir. Third group calls for outright merger with Pakistan. The first group maintains ambivalence on secessionism only because it participates in power politics. However, what is common to all the three groups is their steadfast commitment to exclusivist Muslim identity and linking sovereignty with Kashmir's Muslim-majority character.

A few mainstream Kashmiri political groups, not so overt in advocacy of separatist demands, are quite vocal in defence of Muslim precedence politics. Roots of Kashmiri Hindus' destabilisation lie in that they are seen as an adversary 'the other', both in religious as the well as nationalist terms, by the separatist as well as mainstream Kashmiri groups. Return of Displaced Pandits can be visualised only by legitimising a new paradigm which strongly derecognises communal politics in any form.

Pan Islamism:

Emergence of Jamaat Islami in 1970's has only made communal and separatist tendencies more strident. Kashmiri society was further radicalised to fundamentalist proclivities, when it related itself to trans-national Islamist movements in Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan and West Asia. Rise of communalism and separatism as significant trends in Kashmiri society facilitated subversion of administration because officials and the rank and file came from the same social milieu.

Majoritarian Role :

It sounds simplistic to attribute the religious-cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus simply to the designs of externally-sponsored terrorist groups. It needs to be viewed in a larger context. The point is not to say that ethnic-cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus was not a premier conspiracy of ISI-sponsored terrorist groups but just to emphasise that this conspiracy would not have succeeded without active connivance of sections of Kashmiri society and its political leadership. This is further substantiated by the post-cleansing large scale loot and grab of Pandit property and shrines, recurrent massacres with identified connivance of locals, hostile and communally inclined attitude of local administration towards deprivations of Displaced Pandits, administrative-cleansing of Kashmiri Pandits from state government services and lastly the double-speak of ruling party politicians.

There is nothing to suggest that the situation has changed in any respect. Even if the terrorism is uprooted from the soil of Kashmir, Displaced Pandits cannot go back as a community. It is the communalisation of society and polity that needs to be addressed before any so-called action plans on return are devised. A society that has little stakes in religious pluralism will not allow religious-cleansing of the victimised community to be reversed. Neither the GOI nor the nation have as yet told Pandits how they intend to do it. Have they the political will to hold Nuremburg-type trials for those political criminals who indulged in criminal act of subjecting Kashmiri Hindus to religious-cleansing. By characterising genocide of Kashmiri Hindus as not genocide but genocide-like NHRC has only conveyed how serious it is on issues of human rights and secularism.

Kashmiri Political Leadership :

Occasional, rhetoric of Kashmiri Political leadership on '*Bhaichara*', erroneously called '*Kashmiriat*', is part of a deft strategy to keep Pandit community out of its homeland as well as at the same time dilute the nationalist anger over the ethnic-cleansing. To camouflage the harsh existence of extended homelessness of Kashmiri Hindus, the Kashmiri leadership has been trying different strategies--bribery, defections within Pandits' ranks, promoting, 'tourist' secularism (where yatra politics gets legitimacy as revival of secularism), tokenist-coerced return, building media-hype on return etc.

Centres Role :

What hurts the Displaced Kashmiris most is the petty-political expediency of a ruling group with sectarian agenda defined as national interest. In 1990 when terrorist violence erupted Central government failed to pre-empt Pandits' exodus. Incidentally, Mufti Mohammad Syed was then the Union Home Minister. After the Pandits' were forced out, Centre played its role by underplaying the ethnic-cleansing. Subsequently disinformation campaign was launched that the exodus was a contrived affair. All this helped a communal-fascist movement to acquire the halo of a genuine sub-nationalist uprising. The victims of religious-cleansing became the villains.

Statistics are often dished out to show how much the government is caring for 'migrants'. What has the government done to compensate the victims of genocide? Less than 10% Kashmiri refugees have been housed in dingy inhabit pigeon-hole like rooms. Paltry cash relief is being given to those non-government employees who every-year lose lakhs of rupees as income from business, horticulture and agriculture. A government that gets censured everyday for its lack of will to get vacated illegal/forcible occupation of Pandit property, to ensure regular service benefits/promotions to left-over Pandit employees and promotes 'administrative-cleansing' by not recruiting Displaced Pandits in State government service, cannot at the same time claim that it is working earnestly for return of Kashmiri Pandits. It is a national shame that the tremendous talent of our community professionals, who have invested too much in acquiring skills is allowed to rot. Uncertainty, insecurity, hostile environs have caused health problems of serious magnitude. Declining birth-rate and high death-rate due to adverse conditions are leading to negative population growth in the community. On an average 70-75 deaths are reported everymonth. Suicides, accidents, and premature deaths have assumed alarming proportions. Mental health of the Displaced population too has suffered.

Unhelpful attitude of Central and the State government has made Displaced Pandits feel that the government is serious neither about addressing the deprivations in the wake of genocide nor return. Common refrain is that 'Return Stick' is brandished only to harass the community and force remaining five-thousand state government employees to seek premature retirement.

The Prospect :

Curbing terrorist menace is going to be a long haul in Kashmir. Combating communal and fundamentalist politics in Valley is yet to become the agenda of any political party in the country.

Where do the Pandits go? God helps those who help themselves is a time-tested adage. There is a need for Displaced Pandits eschew social-darwinist instincts and mobilise internal resources to address the economic, spiritual and political

urges of the community. Since the government and the nation have failed to give any blue-print for reversing the genocide, and rehabilitating the community, 'Panun Kashmir' demand has re-invented the exiled community. To translate it to reality, the members of Pandit community and its intelligentsia have to go all out to convince the nation about the rightness of this demand. If they fail, Kashmir is lost to them for ever and for the Nation as well END

PK meets Vishwa Hindu Sewa Sangh

In its campaign of establishing contact with community brethren through prominent persons and organizations of community in different areas, Panun Kashmir held discussions with ***Vishwa Hindu Sewa Sangh*** at Paloura, Jammu.

Two meetings were held with the organization in which the participants resolved to work for strengthening the movement of Panun Kashmir and to increase the subscription network of community voice-Kashmir Sentinel. While the first meeting was mostly between the activists of the organizations, the second meeting was attended by a large number of prominent Pandits of the locality.

There was a consensus that the community needs to be vigilant of those agents who want to sacrifice community interests for their petty interests. The participants also felt that there was need to keep the momentum of Panun Kashmir struggle as it is the only means to reverse exodus and restore social, political and economic rights to Pandits in right perspective.

The president of ***Vishwa Hindu Sewa Sangh*** Sh. Bharat Gasha, who was instrumental in organizing these meetings, highlighted the need for fighting for the interests of the community and extended his support to the struggle of Homeland.

Mr Gasha emphasised the need to integrate the struggle of Kashmiri Hindus with that of the Hindus in rest of the country. He lamented that Bharat Varsha succumbed the slavery only due to mutual bickerings of Hindus. He also emphasised the need to create common civilisational symbols like 'OM', common prayers etc. to unify the Hindus.

Mam reelected president

Dr. MK Mam was re-elected president of Kashmiri Sabha Ludhina. The elections for the Sabha were held recently in which the members participated actively. The elections were conducted by Dr. TK Koul. Mr. MK Mam was elected as the president of the Sabha and Mr. SK Lidhoo was elected as the vice president. Sh. AK Pandita was elected as the general secretary while Sh. KL Razdan and Sh. Ramesh Kaul were elected as Joint. Secretary and finance secretary respectively. Messrs. Vinod Bhat, Rakesh Raina, Ravinder Shalla and Sanjay Tikoo and Raj Dhulari Kaul and Usha Kaul were elected as the executive members of the Sabha.

Speaking on the occasion, Dr. Mam and AK Pandita thanked the members for reposing their faith in them and assured the members of their total commitment and dedication to complete various tasks at the earliest. The executive committee requested the members for their support and cooperation. Sq. Ldr. BL Sadhoo, vice president AIKS and president Kashmiri Sabha Chandigarh also addressed the members and gave details about the activities of their organizations. Sh. HL Takoo and Sh. Sanjay Khar also spoke on the occasion.

Meanwhile, the executive committee held its first meeting in which it was decided to put in all the energy and efforts to further strength and maintain the unity of the *biradri which was the utmost need of the hour. It was also decided to activate the life membership of the Sabha and further improve the interaction with the members in Ludhina and other Kashmiri Sabhas.*

It was also decided to make all efforts to build Bhawan of its own to celebrate the festivals and carry on Sabha activities there END

14 1st half of 2004 will bring progress and difficulties in 2nd half

First few months of new year will pass with peace and prosperity, but gradually peace will be disturbed by the violent activities and extremist forces of the country. Maintenance of peace and harmony will be a problem for central government. Image building programme of BJP, which may start after few months, will not get desired results. Lok Sabha election is likely to be held 4/5 months before schedule. Neither NDA nor Congress with its ally will get majority. Some gain of congress is possible. New coalition government will form the government in the centre, which will not last more the two years.

Rains and agriculture production will not be satisfactory; unbalanced rain will be the cause of worry among the people. Some parts of the western India may face drought and hard days. Prices of rice, flowers, vegetable and fruits will go north. Shortage of Milk and Butter/Ghee will be felt. Businessmen in general will not be happy in middle of the year. From September 2004 to January 2005, when saturn will move in cancer sign, will adversely effect the progress and peace in country. Political uncertainty or violent activities may give a bad name to the country.

Industrial production and business may grow inspite of the adverse situation. Export and international business will find new areas. FIIs and MNC's lean interest in India may continue with ups and downs. In international market rupee may often slip or weaken. Stock Market may show its pink colour in beginning of the year with sudden ups and downs thereafter; only few sector will move up.

Long term peace and prosperity will return in Kashmir gradually in three years, but few violent incident cannot be ruled out. People of the Kashmir will support peace and development programme. Western border of the country will be peaceful in first 4/5 months. Thereafter tension is possible. American forces will continue their presence in Iraq with casualties and headache. China and North Korea will not care to Bush, and will move according to their own plan. Improvement in relation and trade with China will improve. Germany and France may take interest in India.

—Jeevan Dar

Director Shree Kashmiri Panchang, Allahabad END

LETTER

Cry of a Kashmiri Dogra

Sir,

Nameste. Received with thanks three copies of Kashmir Sentinel, very interesting voice of Time for the right thinking people of Akhand Bharat in general and the Dogras of Kashmir in particular.

Natural Divisions create nations; whereas, un-natural divisions divide families. It is law of nature; it is Law of Political Science. After the Second World War, Germany, Korea, Vietnam and India suffered un-natural divisions effecting families on mass scale, like proverbial suffering of grass when two bulls fight. Remedy lies in ending un-natural divisions, starting with people to people contact, followed by confederation. It is not utopic. Vietnam and Germany have already discarded their un-natural division and are happy, the latter being most prosperous nation of Europe today. Our's is a complex division; unlike others, our people, willing, unwilling, or misled, were native participants. Kashmir problem is still more complex, as otherwise, Nehru, who was more pro-Muslim than Jinnah could have solved it long ago. The main problem is division of families. Even after taking whole of Kashmir, only one percent Muslim families will be united, viz 20 lakhs out of 20 crores. Regarding autonomy based on 370, autonomy was practised in the erstwhile USSR under dictatorship. With the demise of dictatorship, USSR, disintegrated, thus becoming "No Power" from "Super Power Status".

In multi religious countries, riots occur due to difference in civil code based on religion as per ones land of origin. However, no such conflict occurs where common civil code prevails based on national environment. Our Supreme Court is right in suggesting common civic code in tune with civilised democracies world over. "While in Rome, live as Romans live" is dictum if not scripture.

Union is strength which India lacked for being huge nation of multi linguistic regions. Dis-united we suffered invasions, defeats and slavery. Alaxander the great defeated us when India was disunited into numerous city states; whereas his direct descendent, Celucus suffered ignoble defeat from United India led by Chander Gupt Maurya, grandfather of Ashok the Great, and was forced to vacate vast Indian ancient lands with Sanskrit suffix "stha", along with his daughter to perpetuate peace.

Soldier behind the gun counts, yet he counts much better behind a better gun. Babur defeated Rana Sangha because of better gun (*top khana*). Marathas suffered defeat due to better guns possessed by Ahmed Shah Abdali; on the other hand, Hari Singh Nalwa with better gun chased Afghans up to Jamrood, after suffering defeats after defeats for seven centuries together. It is good we acquired Atom Bomb enabling Atal Behari Vajpayee to roar-roar that makes a lion! India suffered first defeat about 2300 years ago, when non-violence gripped the masses-sheepish ideology against aggressors.

With good wishes and regards.

—Pran Salhotra
574, Krishna Nagar
Gurdaspur, Punjab END

15 *From despair in Agra to hope in Islamabad*

By Satish Mohan Pandit

ANY expert on matters of diplomacy and foreign relations will think hundred times before opening his mouth to comment on the developing relationship between two countries born of the same womb, India and Pakistan. Since 1947, the two countries have fought three regular wars and a mini war in Kargil and came to brink of war in 2002. The relationship has vacillated between two extremes. If one day they sign agreements to live in peace with each other and resolve all outstanding issues bilaterally through the process of dialogue, the next day the situation is created in which the two neighbouring nations match each other in enmity and war looks the only option. It has happened umpteen times and most foreign affairs experts met failure once they predicted anything about the unfolding relationship between the two countries (now nuclear powers).

If the much hyped Agra summit in the summer of 2001 ended in despair, the most guessing meet of Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and "Uniformed" Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf, at the side lines of SAARC Summit in Islamabad, has ended in 'hope'. As the two countries look to be galloping in outwitting each other in the announcement of, what they call, confidence building measures (CBMs) to strengthen the process of peace, the analysts are watching the unfolding scenario with puzzle.

As Vajpayee's unilateral Ramzan cease fire in 2000-2001 resulted in more bloodshed in shape of more civilian and security personnel killings, Vajpayee government called off the ceasefire in May 2001 only to invite 'the mastermind of Kargil intrusions-Pervez Musharraf to walk to Agra to talk peace.

Much hype and euphoria was generated on the eve of summit as Vajpayee had taken a the calculated risk to talk peace with "Master of Kargil Violence" in the vicinity of "Taj Mahal", the symbol of love, to invoke General's conscience and replace "hatred" with "love". The Agra summit ended in fiasco and much air of the "peace balloon" had been deflated once Musharraf addressed an "Editors' Conference", telecast live from Pakistan. Musharraf showed more tendency to address his fundamentalist and hardline constituency back home-Pakistan—than any concern to demonstrate diplomatic maturity, which holds key to inking agreements, during the press conference. Many draft proposals were exchanged to reach a consensus on the language of the agreement but the general did not budge to compromise centrality of Kashmir issue without making any commitment to end support to cross border terrorism till the Indians were convinced that even "joint statement" was impossible in the given situation and the General and his team left Delhi in the darkness of night. The summit ended belying hopes of the populace of the two countries as well as the international community. Even if Pakistan wanted to pick the threads from Agra summit, India refused to go on building relations via Agra, describing it as a "mere package" to bargain peace. As India failed to make Pakistan to agree to friendship through Agra package, India maintained that they will have to go back to Shimla and Lahore to make ground for any future dialogue.

In between Agra and Islamabad, there was a deep freeze in the relationship and the two neighbouring countries came to brink of war and reportedly many countries including US and UK prevailed upon the two countries to desist from going out for a full-fledged war.

Once the Pakistani terrorists came knocking on the door of Indian Parliament, the highest seat of power, India severed bus, rail and air links with Pakistan, drastically reduced the High Commission strength and mobilised the troops. Pakistan reciprocated the same and the armies of the two countries remained in eye ball-to-eye ball contact in the state of readiness for almost a year.

Many eyebrows were raised once Atal Bihari Vajpayee offered hand of friendship to Pakistan from the soil of Kashmir in April 2003. Pakistan also reciprocated to seize the stretched hand of Vajpayee and the two countries showed signs of improving relationship though blood bath continued and continues in Jammu and Kashmir. Confidence Building Measures were announced and people to people contact revived.

The increased temperature in the warmth of relationship resulted in one-to-one meet between Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Pervez Musharraf in Islamabad. Behind the scene diplomatic maneuvers ensured that the meeting, which was described as a courtesy call till the beginning of the meeting, lasted for an hour in conducive atmosphere. India claims that the movement forward on relationship was possible as Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf assured end of support to cross-border terrorism. But, it is not for the first time that Musharraf Committed him self to end support to cross-border terrorism. Once, India mobilised its troops and there was every likelihood of break of war, Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf, under pressure from US, announced not to allow his territory for terrorist—campaign in Kashmir in his address to the nation on January 12, 2002. Musharraf stated that "Kashmir runs in our blood", reiterated Pakistan's "moral, political and diplomatic support to the Kashmir issue," but asserted that no organisation would be allowed to indulge in terrorism in the name of Kashmir. He also added that "Pakistan will not allow its territory to be used for any

terrorist—activity in the world". Despite these assertions, Pakistan continued exporting terrorism to Jammu and Kashmir and Kaluchak, Rajiv Nagar, Nadimarg incidents are few to mention.

This time as well, Musharraf has reiterated same commitment and the two countries are publically holding their ground on Kashmir issue. The only difference is that the two countries instead of matching each others' rhetoric, try to ignore it to keep the peace process afloat. Only hope among the masses is that in changing global scenario, Pakistan has understood that it can not continue support to terrorist-violence in the name of freedom struggle. Those powers, which looked otherway earlier on the issue of Pakistan's involvement in terrorism on Indian soil, cannot justify Pakistani action any more. Double standards can be sustained only on the cost of ones own peril. People wish that the present peace initiative meets success and India and Pakistan commit themselves to live in peace in future. These developments shall also serve as an eye opener for those elements within India who are hand-in-glove with Pakistan in the campaign of destabilising Indian Union.

The wish can fructify only if Pakistan reconciles to the reality and permanently abandons support to so-called Jihad and terrorism in the name of "freedom movement"; otherwise, we will be back to square one sooner than later END

16 Homeland day rally turns into demonstration against Mufti's return plan

KS correspondent

JAMMU, Dec 28: In departure from past practice of organising programmes like conventions and seminars, Panun Kashmir organised an impressive rally in Jammu to commemorate 12th Homeland Day. The Panun Kashmir rallyists reiterated commitment to the creation of 'homeland' and rejection of all such return modules that do not guarantee social, political and economic rights of the community as envisaged in 'Margdarshan Resolution' in 1991.

A large number of community brethren drawn from various shades, including a number of women, joined Panun Kashmir activists in the rally. Riding on scooters and motorcycles and in cars, the rally started from Panun Kashmir office, near old Janipur, and passing through various localities and main bazaars, it concluded near Press Club Jammu. Agitated over the recent overtures of Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister Mufti Mohd. Sayeed on the return issue without talking cognisance of the ground situation in the valley, the rally turned almost into a demonstration against the ill conceived return formula.

Addressing the rally near Press Club Jammu, the Pandit leaders described the return plan as an attempt of destabilisation of Kashmiri Hindus and expressed apprehension that the drumbeat on return may invite back lash of the likes of Nadimarg.

Panun Kashmir Chairman, Dr. Ajay Chrungoo said that it was on this day in 1991 that the Kashmiri Pandits resolved to return and live in Kashmir valley collectively only. He added that Kashmiri Pandits would not return in a communal order-described secular by Indian and state governments, which resulted in the exodus of the community. Describing the present return policy as destabilising in nature, Dr. Chrungoo said, "The state government has unleashed a policy of destabilisation of Kashmiri Hindus. It has chosen to pursue its agenda, which is nothing but political sadism. The lessons of the Nadimarg massacre have been ignored by this government and it appears that once again a situation is developing when our community is haunted by a pre-emptive or an eventual Nadimarg type backlash". Dr. Chrungoo said that the situation has further deteriorated after Nadimarg massacre as we have witnessed remobilisation of Hizbul Mujahideen. Dr. Chrungoo accused government for procuring property and land belonging to Hindu community under a definite plan in the name of public interest, while, on the other hand, the encroachment and fraudulent occupation of Pandits' land continues. Having a dig at Mufti government for denying Pandits any incentive in exile, Dr. Chrungoo said, "The state government considers any measure aimed at amelioration of the plight of Kashmiri Hindus in exile as an incentive not to return. The stance of the government not to do anything for the displaced Hindus is brazen and shameless". Dr. Chrungoo said that in coming days, Panun Kashmir would start a mass awareness scheme to educate community members about the conspiracies being hatched against them and get their feed back. He added that this programme would also help to expose those traitors who are compromising community interests for their own vested interests.

Referring to centres initiative of holding dialogue with the Hurriyat Conference, Mr. Chrungoo said, "We do not understand the frame work of the dialogue process". Why it has been upgraded to Deputy Prime Minister's level; why the government is now ready to talk to secessionist forces, which have been continuously harping pro-Pakistani tunes?"

Senior Pandit leader and AKPSC President Sh. O.N. Trisal, in his address, launched a scathing attack on Mufti Sayeed for pursuing communal politics through out his political career. He said, "Mufti Sayeed, through out his career, has demonstrated communal bent of mind. His involvement in Anantnag riots was pin pointed by Congress leaders themselves. He is bent upon stifling KP voice". Commenting on oft-repeated 'change of mindset of the people' Mr.

Trisal wondered what change of mind set is talked of. He asked where that mindset was when more than three lakh Kashmiri Pandits were hounded out of their homes and no one came to stop the exodus. Accusing Islamisation of the polity in Kashmir he said that Kashmiri Pandits reject that Kashmiriyat which resulted in their exodus. He added that Kashmiri Pandits do not belong to such Kashmiriyat but have 5000-year-old golden civilisational past which is secular and Indian in character. Rejecting Mufti government's return formula, Sh. Trisal said, "There can be no return to the valley (Kashmir) unless Kashmiri Hindus are granted Homeland in Kashmir".

Panun Kashmir general Secretary, Sh. Kuldeep Raina said that PK would approach all quarters-national and international to expose the designs of the present government. "Kashmiri Pandits will approach Human Rights bodies-national and International-to tell them about the real motivations of Mufti government on return. The approach of Mufti government to Kashmiri Pandits' problems is communal and fascist", he added.

The participants were raising slogans against terrorism, Pakistan, Mufti government and in rejection of present return plan and in favour of 'Homeland'. The participants were holding placards with writings like '*Yeh Kaisee Sarkaar, Jo Militantoon Ki Madadgar, 'Healing touch for terrorists, killing touch for Pandits', 'Mufti Sarkar-Hai Hai', 'Pandits Reject Mufti's Return Plan', 'Key to Reverse Exodus-Homeland' Mera Bharat Mahan, Kashmiri Pandit Pareshan' 'Secessionism with gun or pen is not acceptable'.*

Meanwhile most of the Kashmiri Pandit organisations have also rejected Mufti Sayeed's return plan, describing it premature and ill conceived. Kashmiri Samiti Delhi which had invited the Chief Minister to their Delhi office Jammu on 22nd December, itself has rejected the return plan in as proposed by the state government.

Reacting to Chief Minister's assertion on the return plan, Delhi Samiti President Sunil Shakdar accused government of lacking any concrete policy for the Pandits.

Ridiculing Sayeed for offering a job each to returning family, Mr. Shakdar asked how many Pandits benefited from healing touch policy in Sayeed's one-year rule. Mr. Shakhdar said that return of Pandits is only possible if secular values are restored in the valley and government of India demonstrates its will and capacity to protect the life and honour of the community.

During Sayeed's visit, a memorandum was presented to him demanding that the return is only possible if it is not symbolic in nature but return as a whole is taken into consideration. The memorandum further said that restoration of secular values shall precede return and the government will have to demonstrate will to guarantee the protection of life and retention of the community END

17 Matrimonial

Alliance wanted for Kashmiri Pandit girls (Twins), born and brought up in Mumbai, Sept. 1979, 5'-4". Qualifications B.A. (Hons.), Diploma in Business Management and B.Com. One year Diploma in Computers.

Parents of the prospective boys are requested to contact or write to Shri. Hridaynath Kaul. D/40 Pamposh Enclave Greater Kailash New Delhi-110048. (Tel: 26215461) or Shri. Yoginder Kaul C-302, Snehdhara, 5 Natwar Nagar Jogeshwari (East) Mumbai-400060. Tel: 28300179, alongwith a copy of TEKNI and the bio-data of the boys and the family back-ground.

18 CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

Oct 15: A soldier was killed and five others, including a Major, were injured in a terrorist attack in Bandipore. 11 people were injured in an IED blast in Kupwara and five of a family were injured in a blast in Tangdar. Army eliminated HM 'Divisional Commander' Nazir Ahmed alias Pappu in Banihal; four more terrorists were killed in Poonch-Rajouri. A blast rocked a shop in Banihal.

Oct 16: Five terrorists, a civilian and a soldier were killed in Kashmir valley. A terrorist was killed and another surrendered while a kin of a police officer was arrested for militant-links in Jammu region.

Oct 17: An Army jawan and a civilian were killed in Jammu region; three terrorists surrendered in Poonch while Mubarak Shah alias Battu surrendered third time in Rajouri. Two BSF jawans were killed and 10 others, including three photo journalists were injured as terrorists made an attempt to attack CM's residence; the two terrorists took shelter in a nearby shopping complex. Terrorists killed three civilians elsewhere in the Valley while a terrorist was killed in Kupwara.

Oct 18: Security forces killed both the terrorists, who had taken shelter in Ali Jan Shopping Complex near CM's residence; two BSF men were killed and 22 others, mostly security and policemen, were killed in the incident. A civilian, who had been injured in a terrorist-attack in Ganderbal earlier, succumbed to his injuries while terrorists shot at a civilian at Sarfran Gund, Ganderbal. Four officials, including Principal ITI Budgam, were injured in an IED blast. An Army jawan, a VDC member and two terrorists were killed and two hostages rescued in Jammu region. An SPO Shabir Ahmed deserted alongwith SLR in Doda district.

Oct 19: Army Lieutenant DS Atri and two terrorists were killed and two jawans injured in a gun battle in Kupwara; terrorist also injured a woman SPO in Anantnag district. Two army jawans and two civilians were killed and three SPOs and a woman injured in different incidents in Jammu region.

Oct 20: Two civilians were killed and 60 others, mostly civilians, were injured in two grenade attacks in Srinagar and Anantnag; two terrorists and a civilian were killed in an encounter in Pulwama while terrorists killed a student in Kupwara. Holed up terrorists held eight civilians hostage in Tharnia, Pulwama. A civilian was kidnapped and latter shot dead in Doda; two civilians were injured in Pak shelling in Nowshera sector.

Oct 21: The two holed up terrorists were shot dead after rescuing hostages at Tharnia Pulwam; four more terrorists were killed in another incidents while 17 civilians were injured in grenade explosions in Kashmir valley. A *Ziarat* and a house were damaged in Pak shelling in Poonch sector while three bunkers were destroyed and two Pak armyman killed in retaliatory action.

Oct 22: A cop was killed and eight others, including the judge, injured as a grenade exploded in the court of Additional Sessions Judge, Kishtwar. Seven members of a pre-marriage party were killed and one another injured as two police personnel and a surrendered militant reportedly opened fire on them in Pul Doda. Security forces killed seven terrorists in Kashmir valley while four civilians were injured in Pak firing in Uri sector.

Oct 23: A VDC member was killed in Doda and a BSF jawan injured in Udhampur. A Rajouri youth and terrorist guide Assidul Bari was arrested from New Delhi.

Oct 24: Five terrorists were killed and a BSF jawan and a police constable injured in Kashmir valley; a police man, injured near Mufti's residence, succumbed to his injuries. Two Afghan mercenaries, two Army jawans and a civilian were killed in Jammu region.

Oct 26: Security forces killed five terrorists while terrorists killed Dy Speaker's PRO at Kreeri, Pattan and injured 13 people in a grenade attack at Bijbehara. An explosion derailed five bogies of Shalimar express near Jatwal but there was no casualty. Army foiled an infiltration bid and killed a terrorist in Krishan Ghati, near LoC; terrorists attacked a police picket at Shahdra Sharief while two houses were damaged in Pak shelling in Nowshera sector. A civilian was killed and nine others injured in a grenade attack near Kishtwar Bus Stand.

Oct 27: Two terrorists, two civilians and two Armymen were killed and nine others, including a major, injured as terrorists struck at many places on National Highway and reached Akhnoor after causing blast on the railway track near Jatwal. HM Commander Saif-u-Rehman Bajora was among the killed while 50 Hurriyat activists were arrested as Kashmir valley observed a partial bandh on separatists' call.

Oct 28: Terrorists killed a civilian in Pulwama district and injured 35 others in a grenade blast near Central Telegraph Office, Srinagar. Three jawans were killed and seven others injured as terrorists blasted their vehicle near

Khilani, Doda. Three terrorists and two army jawans were killed, two jawans injured and two terrorists arrested in Poonch district. A terrorist struck again at MES Qtrs Akhnoor killing two children and injuring eight others.

Oct 29: As a civilian injured in yesterday's blast succumbed to his injuries, terrorists caused yet another blast in Anantnag injuring 20 people, mostly civilians. Akhnoor operation ended with the killing of the terrorist while a jawan and a woman injured in the attack, succumbed to their injuries. Two terrorist were killed in Paddar, Kishtwar; three BSF men were injured in an IED blast in Ramban. 17 terrorists, including four commanders, surrendered before GoC 16 Corps and IGP Jammu Zone in Poonch.

Oct 30: A terrorist and two civilians were killed and one another injured across Kashmir valley. Civilian death toll in Akhnoor episode rose to four with succumbing of one more child. 10 Bangladeshies were arrested from RS Pura.

Oct 31: A PDP activist, two terrorists, a porter and a former terrorist were killed in Kashmir valley while 16 people were injured in a grenade attack in Shopian. Forces killed four terrorists in Mahora Bachi while terrorists kidnapped and later killed a civilian in Marhoot, Poonch. An Army Poter was killed in Nowgam sector and 15 houses damaged in Kargil sector as Pak resorted to shelling in these areas.

Nov 1: Two terrorists and a jawan were killed in Kashmir valley while seven persons were injured in yet another grenade attack on Srinagar-Gulmarg highway. Three more terrorists, including an Afghani, and a jawan were killed in Mohra Bachi encounter taking the toll to seven. A terrorist was killed and two hideouts destroyed in Ramban area while two terrorists escaped in injured conditions after an encounter in Mahore area.

Nov 2: Six terrorists were killed and five others surrendered in Kashmir valley. Four terrorists and two civilians were killed across Jammu region and a Pak youth arrested in Ramgarh sector. Police busted an LeT module arresting four, including an SPO, and recovered Rs two lakh in Mendhar area.

Nov 3: Four terrorists and a civilian were killed, four people held for alleged terrorist links and two hideouts busted in Jammu region. Terrorists injured a BSF jawan and the wife of an SOG cop in Kashmir valley.

Nov 4: Terrorists gunned down a PDP leader Ghulam Mohammed Ganai in Pampore; a terrorist was killed in Handwara. Six terrorists and a student were killed across Jammu region.

Nov 5: Terrorist killed a Range officer of Wild Life Protection Department near TRC Srinagar and beheaded a former militant in Budgam. Two women were killed in Pak shelling in Machael sector. Foru terrorists, a PHE employee and an army jawan were killed in Jammu region.

Nov 6: Terrorists killed a PDP leader Zulfikar Ali in Anantnag and three more civilians in Kunzar-Tangmarg area; six terrorists were killed and five jawans injured in another incidents in Kashmir valley.

Nov 7: Security forces killed three terrorists in Poonch and Rajouri while a terrorist was reportedly poisoned to death by LeT terrorists in Poonch.

Nov 8: 12 peoples, including seven terrorists and three jawans, were killed and six others injured in Jammu region. Two terrorists and two civilians were killed and two HM terrorists arrested in Kashmir valley. Two porters were killed in Pak shelling in Kargil sector.

Nov 9: A cop was injured in cross-firing in Nowgam, Banihal while a terrorist surrendered in Manjakote, Rajouri. Two children were killed in Pak shelling in Kargil. While army described the youth killed in Sopore as a terrorist, two bodies were exhumed in Gool, describing them as civilians.

Nov 10: Terrorists killed one more PDP leader Ghulam Rasool Malla in Awantipore; four terrorists and two civilians were killed elsewhere in the Valley. Troops recovered a large quantity of ration from terrorists' hideout in Baramulla forests. Three HM PPR terrorists an SOG cop were killed in Surankote. Death toll in terrorists attack on MES Qtrs. Akhnoor rose to five with succumbing of one more woman.

Nov 11: Security forces killed seven terrorists, including three infiltrators, in different actions in Rajouri and Doda districts; A youth was killed in mysterious circumstances in Thannamandi, Rajouri. Security forces killed five terrorists, including a kin of an MLC, while terrorists killed two civilians and a counter insurgent in Kashmir valley.

Nov 12: Three terrorists, an army jawan, a CPI(M) worker and a surrendered militant were killed and a major injured in different incidents in Kashmir valley. A terrorists was killed in Budhal and another surrendered in Surankote. Three VDC members were killed and a hunt launched to nab a BJP leader and his PSO for allegedly killing a police cop at Bian, Chenani.

19 THOSE WHO LEFT US

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

1. Sri Kant Raina S/o Lt. Zanardan Raina, R/o Trichal Pulwama Kmr; presently at Lower Roop Nagar Sharikha Vihar Muthi Road, Jammu. 1/10/2003
2. Sh. Chaman Lal Sus S/o Lt. Jia Lal Sus R/o Shalyar Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at 179-C, Durga Nagar Sector-1 Lane No: 4 Jammu. 4/10/2003
3. Sh. T.N. Kaw S/o Lt. Sh. Aftab Joo Kaw, R/o Zaindar Mohalla Sgr; presently at 310-Express Building Vaishali Ghaziabad (UP)-4/10/2003
4. Smt. Soomawati Shair W/o Lt. Sh. P.N. Shair, R/o Karan Nagar Sgr; presently at Camp Road Near Gagan Academy Talab Tillo, Jammu. 5/10/2003
5. Smt. Kamla Wati Dhar W/o Sh. Arzan Nath Dhar, R/o Zablipora (Kulgam); presently at A-1 Community Centre Kashmiri Migrant Camp Bapudham Chanakya Puri, New Delhi. 5/10/2003
6. Sh. Mohan Lal Dhar, R/o Herman Shopian Kmr; presently at New Community Hall Mishriwalla Camp. 6/10/2003
7. Sh. Soom Nath Razdan R/o Salia Anantnag; presently at 5-C, Tagore Nagar University Road, Thathipur Gwalior. 6/10/2003
8. Sh. Kama Ji Raina S/o Lt. Mohan Lal Raia, R/o Saraf Kadal Sgr; presently at Lane No: 7, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 7/10/2003
9. Sh. Soom Nath Pandita S/o Lt. Sh. Keshew Nath, R/o Sajom Anantnag; presently at H.No: 139, Lane-4, Anand Nagar Bohri Jammu. 8/10/2003
10. Sh. Omkar Nath Bhat S/o Prem Nath Bhat, R/o Mani Hal Shopian; presently at H.No: 115 Gole Pully Talab Tillo Jammu. 8/10/2003
11. Smt. Shyamrami Koul W/o Lt. Shyam Lal Koul, R/o Ganpatyar Kmr; presently at Surkasna Vihar Paloura Top Jammu. 8/10/2003
12. Smt. Somawati W/o Lt. Prem Nath Safaya R/o Motiyar Rainawari Sgr; presently at 95/1, Ganga Nagar, Bantalab Jammu. 8/10/2003
13. Sh. J.N. Bhat S/o Lt. Sh. Madhoo Lal Bhat, R/o 97-Chota Bazar Sgr; presently at H.No: 1036, Ward No: 3 Panipat Haryana. 8/10/2003
14. Mr. Rishak Raina S/o Sh. Ravi Kumar Raina, R/o H.No: 11, Lane No: 10, Rajpora Mangotrian Jammu. 9/10/2003
15. Sh. Nath Ji Kaw S/o Lt. Sh Ganesh Dass Kaw, R/o Kawpora Handwara; presently at Trilokpur Muthi. 10/10/1003
16. Dr. C.L. Koul S/o Lt. Sh. A.N. Koul R/o Lal Chowk Anantnag; presently at H.No: 8 Manorama Vihar Bhoori Jammu. 11/10/2003
17. Sh. Virender Kumar Misri S/o Lt. Sh. Mohan Lal Misri, R/o G-11, Alliance House 71, S.D. Road Secunderabad. 11/10/2003
18. Sh. Pushkar Nath Koul S/o Lt. Sh. Prakash Koul, R/o Wuyan Kmr; presently at 416-B Vinayak Nagar Sector-2, Muthi. 11/10/2003
19. Smt. Sonabatni Koul W/o Lt. Pt. Prem Nath Koul, R/o Prem Niwas, Sheikh Bagh Sgr; presently at 40-41 B/C Gandhi Nagar Jammu. 12/10/2003
20. Sh. Janki Nath Bhat R/o Kupwara; presently at Begumpora, Rajiv Nagar Ext. New Delhi. 13/10/2003
21. Dr. Madsudhan Musnhi, R/o Munshi Mohalla Ali Kadal Sgr; presently at C-2/17 Bagwati Garden Ext. Uttam Nagar, New Delhi. 14/10/2003
22. Sh. Avtar Krishan Dutta S/o Lt. Sh. Govind Joo Dutta, R/o Navidyar Rainawari Sgr; presently at H.No: 52 Phase-3 Om Vihar Uttam Nagar New Delhi. 15/10/2003
23. Sh. Jia Lal Nagri S/o Lt. Shri Resh Ram Nagri R/o Zaindar Mohalla; presently at Qtr. No: 803 Purkhoo Camp-III. 16/10/2003
24. Smt. Kamla Koul W/o Sh. O.N. Koul, R/o Mirhama Kulgam; presently at 2509 Jain Nagra, New Delhi. 16/10/2003

25. Sh. Pappu Ji S/o Sh Omkar Nath Bhan, R/o Shivpora, Broadway Sgr; presently at H.No: 116-A Priyadarshani Nagar Lane No: 3, Talab Tillo Jammu. 16/10/2003
26. Sh. Badri Nath Raina S/o Lt. Sh. Anand Ji Raina, R/o Chowalgam Kulgam; presently at Qtr. No: 340 Phase-Ist Camp Purkhoo Jammu. 17/10/2003
27. Sh. Shamboo Nath Wali R/o Verinag Kmr; presently at H.No: 4-1 Lane No: 1, Sharika Nagar Gole Panch Peer, Talab Tillo Jammu. 17/10/2003
28. Smt. Tulsi Devi Wanchoo W/o Lt. Pt. Dina Nath Wanchoo, R/o Malyar, Sgr; Kmr; presently at G-37, Poonch House Qtrs. Talab Tillo Jammu. 17/10/2003
29. Sh. Mohan Lal Dhar S/o Lt. Pt. Maheshwar Nath Dhar, R/o Krala-Kudhu, Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at Sector: A-1, Laxmipuram Bantalab, Jammu. 18/10/2003
30. Sh. Ram Nath Bhat S/o Lt. Balak Ram Bhat, R/o Wakura, Ganderbal Sgr; presently at H.No: 15, Lane No: 24, Rajpura. 18/10/2003
31. Dr. Girdhari Lal Koul S/o Lt. Sh. Maheshwar Nath Koul R/o Drugmulla Kupwara; presently at Sharda Colony Patoli Brahmana Jammu. 18/10/2003
32. Sh. Muno Ji Khushu S/o Lt. Brij Lal Khushu, R/o Chelpen Kocha Zainakadal Sgr; presently at Kacha Talab Bahu Fort Jammu. 18/10/2003
33. Sh. Soom Nath Bali R/o Shopian; presently at 118-Shanker Vihar Talab Tillo, Jammu. 19/10/2003
34. Smt. Tarawati Saraf W/o Lt. Sh. Nand Lal Saraf, R/o Malyar Sgr; presently at J/137 Sector-25 Noida-UP. 19/10/2003
35. Smt. Laxmi Shori Razdan, R/o Salia Anantnag Kmr; presently at New Bank Colony Street No: , Near Bishen Prakash Park Khanna, Punjab. 20/10/2003
36. Smt. Gawrisharee Saraf W/o Lt. Sh. Prathvi Nath Saraf R/o Malapora IInd Bridge Sgr; presently at H.No: 82-Block-A, Lane No: 2, Roop Nagar Enclave Jammu. 20/10/2003
37. Smt. Babli W/o Sh. Kuldeep Chander Raina, R/o Khan-Kahi Sokhata Safa Kadal Sgr; presently at H.No: 21, Lane: 1/A, Roop Nagar Enclave Jammu. 21/10/2003
38. Sh. Kashi Nath Raina S/o Lt. Sh. Kesho Ram Raina, R/o 49 Mohinder Nagar, Jammu. 21/10/2003
39. Sh. Gawash Lal Zutshi S/o Lt. Anand Ram Zutshi, R/o Baba Pora Habba Kadal Sgr; presently at 64-Swaran Vihar Co-operative Housing Colony Behind Durga Nagar Sector-1, Jammu. 21/10/2003
40. Sh. Ramesh Hkaim S/o Lt. Sh. K.N. Hakim, R/o Badiyar Sgr; presently at F-25 Lane No: 2, Shakti Nagar Jammu. 22/10/2003
41. Sh. Omkar Nath Dhar, R/o Razdan Kocha Sgr; presently at A-19, Manavshathi Apts. Vasundra Enclave Delhi. 22/10/2003
42. Smt. Kamlawati Tiku W/o Lt. Balji Tiku, R/o Bomai Sopore; presently at Qtr. No: 1, Bld. 1, BSNL Qtrs. Camp Road Talab Tillo, Jammu. 25/10/2003
43. Smt. Indrawati Warikoo W/o Lt. Sh. D.N. Warikoo R/o Rainawari Sgr; presently at 2173/35-C Chandigarh. 26/10/2003
44. Sh. Maheshwar Nath Koul, R/o H.No: 295, Jawahar Nagar, Sgr; presently at 220-C/3 Ram Vihar Old Janipura Jammu. 27/10/2003
45. Smt. Kamla Wati Koul W/o Sh. Lassa Koul, R/o Sathu Barbarshah Sgr; presently at H.No: 734, Sector 22-B, Gurgoan Haryana. 27/10/2003
46. Sh. Maharaj Krishen Koul S/o Sh. Soom Nath Koul, R/o Badshah Nagar Sgr; presently at 4/2A, Inderpuri Ambala Cantt. 28/10/2003
47. Smt. Batan Jigri W/o Lt. Madhu Ram Razdan R/o Safapora Manasbal Kashmir; presently at Punchkula Sector-11 H.No: 694, Haryana. 28/10/2003
48. Smt. Kamla Koul W/o Lt. Sh. A.N. Koul, R/o Munshi Bagh Sgr; presently at K-5/26-A Model Town 111 Delhi. 29/10/2003
49. Smt. Leela Wati W/o Lt. Sh. Dina Nath Koul, R/o Narparistan Fateh Kadal Sgr; presently at Asha Cottage near Radio Station Kathua. 29/10/2003
50. Sh. Triloki Nath Raina S/o Lt. Sarwanand Raina, R/o Pattan; presently at 83, Paras Building Khanpur Road, New Delhi. 30/10/2003

51. Mrs. Naina Koul W/o Sh. L.N. Koul, R/o Magarmal Bagh Sgr; presently at 3-Doordarshan Lane Old Janipur. 31/10/2003
52. Sh. Nath Ji Koul, R/o Bagh Jogi Lanker Rainwari, Sgr; presently at H.No: 23, Lane No: 1, Anand Nagar, Bohri Jammu. 31/10/2003
53. Sh. B.N. Karihallo R/o Community Hall Muthi Camp Phase-II, Jammu. 31/10/2003

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